E. A. Crowninsield.
The Preface.

The natural increase of people upon the British continent of North-America is so great as to make it highly probable that in a few generations more a mighty Empire will be formed there.

The rise and progress of the several Colonies, of which this Empire will be constituted, will be subjects of entertainment for speculative and ingenious minds in distant ages.

He who rescues from oblivion interesting historical facts is beneficial to posterity as well as to his contemporaries, and the prospect thereof to a benevolent mind causes that employment to be agreeable and pleasant which otherwise would be irksome and painful.

The
The papers of which this volume consists are intended to support and elucidate the principal facts related in the first part of the History of Massachusetts-Bay, and may serve as an Appendix to it.

The author of that History was possessed of many other ancient and very curious original papers, which are irrecoverably lost by an unfortunate event, sufficiently known.

If this Collection shall be favourably received, another volume of Papers will probably be published, to serve as an Appendix to the second part of the same History.

Collection
A COLLECTION
OF
ORIGINAL PAPERS
Relative to the
HISTORY
OF THE
Colony of Massachusetts-Bay.

BOSTON, NEW-ENGLAND:
Printed by THOMAS and JOHN FLEET,
1769.
Massachusetts Colony Charter.*

CHARLES by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greetings,

WHEREAS our most deare and royal Father King James of blessed memory, by his Highness's letters patents bearing date at Westminster the third day of November, in the eighteenth year of his reign, hath given and granted unto the Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New-England in America, and to their heirs succession and assignes for ever: All that part of America lying and being in breadth from forty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoxtial line, to forty eight degrees of the said northerly latitude inclusively, and in length of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout the maine lands from sea to sea, together also with all the firme lands, foyles, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters, fishing, mines and mineralls, as well royall mines of gould and silver, as other mines and mineralls, precious

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* This first Charter of the Massachusetts Colony has never been printed. There are very few Manuscript Copies of it. Those are liable to so many accidents that it is thought proper to publish it as the most likely means of preventing it's being irrecoverably lost.
precious stones, quarries, and all and singular other commodities, jurisdictions, privileges, franchises and preheminences both within the said tract of land upon the maine, and also within the islands and seas adjoining. Provided always that the said islands or any the premises by the said letters patent intended and meant to be granted were not then actually possessed or inhabited by any other christian prince, or state, nor within the bounds limits or territories of the southern colonies then before granted by our said deare father to be planted by such of his loving subjects in the southern parts. To have and to hold possess and enjoy all and singular the aforesaid continent, lands, territories, islands, hereditaments and precinfts, seas, waters, fishings, with all and all manner their commodities, royalties, liberties, preheminences, and profits that should from thenceforth arise from thence with all and singular their appurtenances, and every part and parcel thereof, unto the said Council, and their successors and assignes for ever, to the sole and proper use, benefit and behoof of them the said Council and their successors and assignes forever: To be houlden of our said most deare and royal Father, his heirs and successors, as of his manor of East-Greenwich in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not in Capite nor by knights service. Yielding and paying therefore to the said late King, his heirs and successors the fifth part of the oare of gould and silver which should from time to time and at all times thereafter happen to be found, gotten, had and obtained in, at, or within any of the said lands, limits, territories and precinfts, or in or within any part or parcel thereof, for or in respect of all and all manner of duties, demands and services whatsoever to be done made or paid to our said dear Father the late King, his heirs and successors; as in and by the said letters patent (amongst sundry other clauses, powers, privileges and grants therein contained) more at large appeareth. And whereas the said Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New-England in America, have by their deed indented under their common seal, bearing date the nineteenth day of March last past, in the third year of our reign,
reign, given, granted, bargained, fold, enfeoffed, aliened
and confirmed to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young,
knights, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John En-
dicott and Symon Whetcomb, their heirs and associates
forever, all that part of New-England in America afores-
faid which lieth and extendeth between a great river there
commonly called Monomack, alias Merrimack, and a cer-
tain other river there called Charles river, being the bot-
tom of a certain bay there commonly called Massachusetts,
alias Mattachusetts, alias Maffachusetts bay, and also all and
singular those lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying
and being within the space of three English miles on the
south part of the said Charles river, or of any or every
part thereof, and also all and singular the lands and here-
ditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the space of
three English miles to the southward of the southermost
part of the said bay called Massachusetts, alias Mattachus-
etts, alias Maffachusetts bay, and also all those lands and
hereditaments which lye and be within the space of three
English miles to the northward of the said river called
Monomack, alias Merrimack, or to the northward of any
and every part thereof, and all lands and hereditaments
whatsoever, lying within the limits aforesaid, north and
south, in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude,
of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the
main lands there, from the Atlantick and western sea and
ocean on the east part to the south sea on the west part,
and all lands and grounds, place and places, foils, wood and
wood grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters, fishing and
hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the said bounds
and limits, and every part and parcel thereof, and also all
islands lying in America aforesaid in the said seas or either
of them on the westerne or easterne coasts or parts of the
said tracts of lands by the said indenture mentioned to be
given, granted, bargained, fold, enfeoffed, aliened and con-
firmed or any of them: And also all mines and minerals,
as well royall mines of gould and silver, as other mines and
minerals whatsoever in the said lands and premisies or any
part thereof: And all jurisdicions, rights, royalties, liberties,
freedoms, immunities, privileges, franchises, preheminencies, and commodities whatsoever, which they the said Council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon for the planting ruling ordering and governing of New-England in America then had or might use exercise or enjoy, in and within the said lands and premises by the said indenture mentioned to be given, granted, bargained, sold, enfeoffed and confirmed, or in or within any part or parcel thereof. To have and to hold the said part of New-England in America which lyeth and extends and is abutted as aforesaid, and every part and parcel thereof; And all the said islands, rivers, ports, havens, waters, fishings, mines and minerals, jurisdictions, franchises, royalties, liberties, privileges, commodities, hereditaments and premises whatsoever, with the appurtenances, unto the said Sir Henry Rolsewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Symon Whetcomb, their heirs and assigns, and their associates, to the only proper and absolute use and behoof of the said Sir Henry Rolsewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Symon Whetcomb, their heirs and assigns, and associates for evermore. To be houlden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent, in free and common socage, and not in Capite, nor by knights service, yielding and paying therefore unto us, our heirs and successors, the fifth part of the ore of gold and silver which shall from time to time and at all times hereafter happen to be found, gotten, had and obtained, in any of the said lands within the said limits, or in or within any part thereof, for and in satisfaction of all manner of duties, demands and services whatsoever, to be done, made or paid to us, our heirs or successors, as in and by the said recited indenture more at large may appear. Now know ye, that we, at the humble suit and petition of the said Sir Henry Rolsewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Symon Whetcomb, and of others whom they have associated unto them. Have, for divers good causes and considerations us moving, granted and confirmed, and by these presents of
our especial grace, certain knowledge and meere motion
do grant and confirm unto the said Sir Henry Rosewell,
Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey,
John Endecott, and Simon Whetcombe, and to their associ-
ates hereafter named (videlicet) Sir Richard Saltonstall
Knt. Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Mat-
thew Craddock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard
Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel
Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams,
John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William
Vassall, William Pinchon, and George Foxcroft their heirs
and assignes, all the said part of New England in America,
lyeing and extending betweene the bounds and limits in
the said recited indenture expressed, and all lands and
grounds, place and places, foyles, wood and wood grounds,
havens, ports, rivers, waters, mines, mineralls, jurisdic-
tions, rights, royalties, liberties, freedoms, immunities, pri-
viledges, franchises, preheminences, hereditaments and
commodities whatsoever to them the said Sir Henry Rose-
well, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Hum-
frey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe, their heirs
and assignes, and to their associates by the said recited in-
denture given granted bargained could enfeoffed aliened
and confirmed, or mentioned or intended thereby to be
given granted bargained could enfeoffed aliened and con-
formed. To have and to hould the said part of New Eng-
land in America and other the premisses hereby mentioned
to be granted and confirmed and every part or parcell
thereof with the appurtenances unto the said Sir Henry
Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Tho-
mas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Symon
Whetcombe, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven,
Matthew Craddock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell,
Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright,
Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Tho-
mas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas
Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchon, and George
Foxcroft, their heirs and assignes for ever, to their only
proper and absolute use and behoof for evermore. To be
houlden of us our heirs and succeffours as of our mannor of East Greenwich aforesaid in free and common foccage, and not in Capite nor by knights service, and also yielding and paying therefore to us our heirs and succeffours the fifth part only of all oare of gould and silver, which from time to time and at all times hereafter shall be there gotten, had or obtained, for all services, exa6lions and demands whatsoever, according to the tenure and reservation in the faid recited indenture expressed. And further know ye that of our more especiall grace, certain knowledge and meere motion we have given and granted, and by these presents do for us our heirs and succeffours give and grant unto the faid Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonfall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersfey, John Ven, Mattheu Craddock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richarid Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vaffall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vaffall, William Pinchon, and George Foxcroft, their heirs and assigns, all that part of New-England in America which lies and extends between a great river there commonly called Monomack river, alias Merrymack river, and a certain other river there called Charles river, being in the bottom of a certain bay there commonly called Massachufetts, alias Mattachufets, alias Maffatufets bay, and also all and singular those lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the space of three English miles on the south part of the faid river called Charles river, or of any or every part thereof, and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the space of three English miles to the southward of the southermost part of the faid bay called Massachufetts, alias Mattachufetts, alias Maffatufets bay. And also all those lands and hereditaments whatsoever which lye and be within the space of three English miles to the northward of the faid river called Monomack alias Merrymack, or to the northward of any and every part thereof, and all lands and hereditaments whatsoever
forever lyeing within the limits aforesaid north and south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout the maine lands there from the Atlantick and western sea and ocean on the east part, to the south sea on the west parte, and all lands and grounds, place and places, soyles, wood and wood grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters and hereditaments whatsoever lyeing within the said bounds and limits and every part and parcel thereof, and also all islands in America aforesaid in the said seas or either of them on the western or eastern coasts, or parts of the said tracts of lands hereby mentioned to be given or granted or any of them, and all mines and minerals as well royall mines of gould and silver as other mines and minerals whatsoever in the said lands and premises or any part thereof, and free liberty of fishing in or within any the rivers or waters within the bounds and limits aforesaid and the seas thereunto adjoining, and all fishes, royal fishes, whales, balan, sururgeon, and other fishes of what kind or nature forever that shall at any time hereafter be taken in or within the said seas or waters or any of them, by the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Symon Whetcombe, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Matthew Craddock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilius Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchon, and George Foxcroft their heirs and assigns, or by any other person or persons whatsoever there inhabiting by them or any of them appointed to fish therein. Provided always that if the said lands islands or any other the premises herein before mentioned, and by these presents intended and meant to be granted, were at the time of the granting of the said former letters patents dated the third day of November in the eighteenth yeare of our said deare fathers reigne aforesaid actually possessed or inhabited by any other christian prince or state, or were within the bounds, limits, or territories of that southerne colonie
colonie then before granted by our said late father to be planted by divers of his loving subjects in the south parts of America, that then this present grant shall not extend to any such parts or parcels thereof, so formerly inhabited or lying within the bounds of the southern plantation as aforesaid, but as to those parts or parcels so possessed or inhabited by such christian prince or state, or being within the bounds aforesaid, shall be utterly void, these presents or any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding. To have and to hould, possess and enjoy the said parts of New-England in America, which lye, extend and are abutted as aforesaid and every part and parcel thereof, and all the islands, rivers, ports, havens, waters, fishings, fisheries, mines, minerals, jurisdictions, franchises, royalties, liberties, privileges, commodities and premises whatsoever, with the appurtenances unto the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Symon Whetcombe, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Matthew Craddock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchon and George Foxcroft, their heirs and assigns forever, to the only proper and absolute use and behoofe of the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Symon Whetcombe, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Matthew Craddock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchon, and George Foxcroft, their heirs and assigns forevermore. To be houlden of us, our heirs and successeours, as our manor of East Greenwich in the county of Kent within our realme of England, in free and common socage, and not in capite, nor by knights service, and also yeielding and paying therefore.
fore to us, our heires and successors the fifth part only of all care of gould and silver which from time to time and at all times hereafter shall be there gotten, had or obtained, for all services, exactions and demands whatsoever. Provided always and our express will and meaning is, that onely one fifth part of the gould and silver care above mentioned in the whole, and no more, be reserved or payeable unto us, our heirs and successors, by colour or vertue of these presents, the double reservations or recitals aforesaid, or any thing therein contained notwithstanding. And for as much as the good and prosperous succeffe of the plantation of the said parts of New-England aforesaid intended by the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Symon Whetcombe, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Matthew Craddock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuel Vaffall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vaffall, William Pinchon, and George Foxcroft, to be speedily sett upon, cannot but chiefly depend, next under the blessing of Almighty God and the support of our royall authority, upon the good government of the same, to the end that the affairs and busineses which from time to time shall happen and arise concerning the said lands and the plantation of the same, may be the better managed and ordered, We have further hereby of our especial grace, certain knowledge and meere motion, given, granted and confirmed, and for us, our heires and successors, do give, grant and confirm unto our said truflie and well-beloved subjects Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Symon Whetcomb, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Matthew Craddock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuel Vaffall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vaffall,
William Pinchon and George Foxcroft, and for us, our heires and sucessours, wee will and ordaine, That the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Symon Whetcombe, Ifaac Johnfon, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Matthew Craddock, George Harwood, Increafe Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchon, and George Foxcroft, and all such others as shal hereafter be admitted and made free of the companie and society hereafter mentioned shall from time to time and at all times forever hereafter be by virtue of these presents one body corporate politique in fact and name, by the name of the Governor and companie of the Massachusettts Bay in New England: And them by the name of the Governor and Companie of the Massachusettts Bay in New England, one body politique and corporate in deed fact and name, wee doe for us our heires and successours make ordaine constitute and confirme by these presents, and that by that name they shall have perpetuall succession, and that by the fame name they and their successors shall and may be capable and inabled, as well to impleade and to be impleaded and to prosecute demand and answer, and be answered unto in all and singular suites, causes, quarrells, and actions of what kind and nature foever. And also to have, take, poiffe, acquire and purchase any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or any goods or chattells, the same to leafe, grant, demife, alien, bargain, fell and dispose of as other our leige people of this our realme of England, or any other corporation or body politique of the same may lawfully doe. And further that the said Governor and Companie and their succesors may have forever one common seal to be used in all causes and occasions of the said Companie, and the same seal may alter, change, break and new make from time to time at their pleasures. And our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us our heires
heirs and successors ordaine and grant, that from henceforth for ever there shall be one Governor, one deputy Governor, and eighteen Assistants of the same Company to be from time to time constituted elected and chosen out of the freemen of the said Company for the time being, in such manner and forme as hereafter in these presents is expressed. Which said officers shall apply themselves to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the generall business and affaires of for and concerning the said lands and premises hereby mentioned to be granted, and the plantation thereof and the government of the people there. And for the better execution of our royall pleasure and grant in this behalfe, we do by these presents for us our heires and successors nominate, ordaine, make, and constitute our well beloved the said Matthew Craddock, to be the first and present Governor of the said Company, and the said Thomas Gosse to be deputy Governor of the said Company, and the said Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersley, John Ven, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Symon Whetcombe, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, John Browne, George Foxcroft, William Vassall, and William Pinchon to be the present Assistants of the said Company to continue in the said several offices respectively for such time and in such manner as in and by these presents is hereafter declared and appointed. And further we will and by these presents, for us our heires and successors do ordaine and grant that the Governor of the said Company for the time being, or in his absence, by occasion of sickness or otherwise, the deputy Governor for the time being shall have authority from time to time upon all occasions to give order for the assembling of the said Company, and calling them together to consult and advise of the business and affaires of the said Company. And that the said Governor, deputy Governor and Assistants of the said Company for the time being shall or may once every month or oftener at their pleasures assemble and hould and keep a court
or assembly of themselves for the better ordering and directing of their affairs. And that any seven or more persons of the Assistants together with the Governor or deputy Governor so assembled shall be said, taken, held, and reputed to be, and shall be a full and sufficient court or assembly of the said Company, for the handling, ordering and dispatching of all such businesses and occurrences, as shall from time to time happen, touching or concerning the said Company or plantation, and that there shall or may be held and kept by the Governor or deputy Governor of the said Company, and seven or more of the said Assistants for the time being upon every last Wednesday in Hillary, Easter, Trinity and Michaelmas Terms respectively for ever, one great general and solemn assembly, which four general assemblies shall be styled and called the foure great and general courts of the said Company: In all or any of which said great and general courts so assembled, We do for us, our heires and succeffours, give and grant to the said Governor and Company and their succeffours, that the Governor, or in his absence the deputy Governor of the said Company for the time being, and such of the Assistants and freemen of the said Company as shall be present or the greater number of them so assembled, whereof the Governor or deputy Governor and six of the assistants at the least to be seven, shall have full power and authority to choose, nominate and appoint such and so many others as they shall think fitt, and that shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said Company and Body, and them into the same to admit, and to elect and constitute such officers as they shall think fitt and requisite for the ordering, managing and dispatching of the affairs of the said Governor and Company and their succeffours, and to make lawes and ordinances for the good and welfare of the said Company, and for the government and ordering of the said lands and plantation, and the people inhabiting and to inhabit the same, as to them from time to time shall be thought meete. So as such lawes and ordinances be not contrary
contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England. And our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heires and succesfours, establish and ordaine, That yearely once in the yeare forever hereafter, namely the last wednesdaiy in Easter terme yearely, the Governour, deputy Governour and Assistants of the said Companie, and all other officers of the said Companie shall be in the generall court or assemblie to be held for that day or time newly chosen for the yeare insueing by such greater part of the said Companie for the time being, then and there present, as is aforesaid. And if it shall happen the present Governour, deputy Governour and Assistants by these presents appointed, or such as shall hereafter be newly chosen into their rooms, or any of them, or any other of the officers to be appointed for the said Companie, to dye, or to be removed from his or their several offices or places before the said generall day of election (whom we do hereby declare for any misdemeanor or defect to be removeable by the Governor, deputy Governor, Assistants and Companie, or such greater part of them in any of the publique courts to be assembled as is aforesaid) that then and in every such case it shall and may be lawfull to and for the Governour, deputy Governour, Assistants and Companie aforesaid, or such greater part of them so to be assembled as is aforesaid, in any of their assemblies to proceed to a new election of one or more others of their Companie in the room or place, rooms or places of such officer or officers so dyeing or removed according to their discretions. And immediately upon and after such election and elections made of such Governour, deputy Governour, Assistant or Assistants or any other officer of the said Companie in manner and forme aforesaid, the authority, office and power before given to the former Governour, deputy Governour, or other officer, and officers so removed, in whose stead and place new shall be so chosen, shall as to him and them and every of them cease and determine. Provided also, and our will and pleasure is that as well such as are by these presents appointed to be the present Governour,
Governour, deputy Governour and Assistants of the said Company, as those that shall succeed them, and all other officers to be appointed and chosen as aforesaid shall before they undertake the execution of their said offices and places respectively take their corporall oaths for their due and faithfull performance of their duties in their severall offices and places, before such person or persons as are by these presents hereunder appointed to take and receive the same, that is to say, the said Matthew Craddock who is hereby nominated and appointed the present Governour of the said Company shall take the said oaths before one or more of the Masters of our court of chancery for the time being, unto which Master or Masters of the Chancery we do by these presents give full power and authority to take and administer the said oath to the said Governour accordingly. And after the said Governour shall be so sworn, then the said deputy Governour and Assistants before these presents nominated and appointed shall take the said several oaths to their offices and places respectively belonging before the said Matthew Craddock the present Governour so sworn as aforesaid. And every such person as shall at the time of the annuall election, or otherwise upon death or removall, be appointed to be the new Governour of the said Company shall take the oaths to that place belonging before the deputy Governour or two of the Assistants of the said Company at the least for the time being. And the new elected deputy Governour and Assistants, and all other officers to be hereafter chosen as aforesaid from time to time shall take the oaths to their places respectively belonging before the Governour of the said Company for the time being. Unto which said Governour, deputy Governour and Assistants, we do by these presents give full power and authority to give and administer the said oaths respectively, according to the true meaning herein before declared, without any commission or further warrant to be had and obtained of us, our heirs and successors in that behalf. And we do further of our especiall grace, certain knowledge
ledge and meere motion for us our heires and successors
give and grant to the said Governour and Companie and
their successors for ever by these presents, that it shall be
lawfull and free for them and their assigns at all and every
time and times hereafter, out of any of our realmes and
dominions whatsoever, to take, leade, carry and transport
for in and into their voyages, and for and towards the said
plantation in New England all such and so many of our
loving subjects or any other strangers that will become our
loving subjects and live under our allegiance, as shall wil-
lingly accompany them in the same voyages and plantation,
and also shipping armour weapons ordinance ammunition,
powder, shot, corne, victuals, and all manner of clothing,
implements, furniture, beast, cattle, horses, mares, mer-
chandizes, and all other things necessary for the said plan-
tation, and for their use and defence, and for trade with
the people there, and in passing and returning to and fro,
any law or statute to the contrary hereof in any wise not-
withstanding,* and without paying or yeelding any custome
or subsidie either inward or outward to us, our heires or
successours, for the same, by the space of seven yeares from
the day of the date of these presents. Provided that none
of the said persons be such as shall be hereafter by speciall
name restrained by us, our heires or successours. And for
theire further encourgement, of our especiall grace and
favour, we do by these presents for us, our heires and suc-
cessours, yeeld and grant to the said Governour and Com-
panie and their successors and every of them, their
factors and assigns, that they and every of them shall be
free and quit from all taxes, subsidies and customes in
New-England for the like space of seven yeares, and
from all taxes and impositions for the space of twenty and
one yeares upon all goods and merchandizes at any time
or times hereafter, either upon importation thither,
or exportation from the same, into our realm of Eng-
land, or into any other of our dominions, by the said
Governour and Companie and their successors, their de-
puties, factors and assigns, or any of them, except only

* This is an extraordinary instance of dispensing power.
the five pounds per centum due for custome upon all such goods and merchandizes, as after the said seven yeares shall be expired, shall be brought or imported into our realme of England, or any other of our dominions, according to the ancient trade of merchants, which five pounds per centum only being paid, it shall be thenceforth lawfull and free for the said adventurers the same goods and merchandizes to export and carry out of our said dominions into forreine parts, without any custome, taxe or other duty to be paid to us, our heires or successours, or to any other officers or ministers of us, our heires and successours. Provided that the said goods and merchandizes be shipped out within thirteen months after their first landing within any part of the said dominions. And we do for us, our heires and successours, give and grant unto the said Governour and Companie and their successours, that whensover, or so often as any custome or subsidie shall grow due or payable unto us, our heires or successours, according to the limitation and appointment aforesaid, by reason of any goods, wares or merchandizes to be shipped out, or any return to be made of any goods, wares or merchandizes, unto or from the said parts of New-England hereby mentioned to be granted as aforesaid, or any the lands and territories aforesaid, that then and so often and in such case the farmors customers and officers of our customes of England and Ireland, and every of them for the time being, upon request made to them by the said Governour and Company or their successours, factors, or assignes, and upon convenient security to be given in that behalfe, shall give and allow unto the said Governour and Companie and their successours, and to all and every person and persons free of that Companie as aforesaid, six months time for the payment of the one halfe of all such custome and subsidie as shall be payable unto us, our heires and successours for the same, for which these our letters patents, or the duplicate or the enrollment thereof, shall be unto our said officers a sufficient warrant and discharge. Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that any of the said goods, wares and merchandizes which
which be or shall be at any time hereafter landed or exported out of any of our realmes aforesaid, and shall be shipped with a purpose not to be carried to the parts of New-England aforesaid, but to some other place, that then such payment, dutie, custome, imposition or forfeiture shall be paid or belong to us, our heires and succesors, for the said goods, wares and merchandise so fraudulently fought to be transported, as if this our grant had not been made or granted. And wee do further will and by these presents for us, our heires and succeers, firmly enioine and commande as well the Treasurer, Chancellor and Barons of the Exchequer of us, our heires and succesors, as also all and singuler the customers, farmers and collectors of the customes, subsidies and imposts, and other the officers and ministers of us, our heires and succesors, whatsoever for the time being, that they and every of them, upon the shewing forth unto them of these letters patents, or the duplicate or exemplification of the same, without any other writt or warrant whatsoever from us, our heires or succesors, to be obtained or sued forth, do and shall make full, whole, entire and due allowance and cleeare discharge unto the said Governour and Companie and their succesors, of all customes, subsidies, impositions taxes and duties whatsoever that shall or may be claimyd by us, our heires and succesors, of or from the said Governour and Companie and their succesors, for or by reason of the said goods, chattels, wares, merchandises and premisses to be exported out of our said dominions, or any of them, into any part of the said lands or premisses hereby mentioned to be given, granted and confirmed, or for or by reason of any of the said goods, chattels, wares or merchandises to be imported from the said lands and premisses hereby mentioned to be given, granted and confirmed, into any of our said dominions or any part thereof as aforesaid, excepting only the said five pounds per centum hereby reserved and payable after the expiration of the said terme of seven years as aforesaid and not before. And these our letters patents, or the inrollment duplicate or exemplification of the same shall.
shall for ever hereafter from time to time, as well to the Treauser, Chancellor and Barons of the Exchequer of of us our heires and successors, as to all and singual the customers, Farmors and Collectors of the customs subsidies and imposts of us our heires and successors, and all searchers and other the officers and ministers whatsoever of us our heires and succsessors for the time being a sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalfe. And further our will and pleasure is, and we doe hereby for us, our heires and succcessors, ordaine, declare and grant to the said Governour and Companie and theire succcessors, That all and every the subjefts of us, our heires or succcessors, which shall goe to and inhabite within the said lands and premisses hereby mentioned to be granted, and every of theire children which shall happen to be borne there, or on the seas in going thither or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all libertyes and immunities of free and naturall subjefts within any of the dominions of us, our heires or succcessors, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever, as is they and every of them were borne within the realme of England. And that the Governour, and deputy Governour of the said Companie for the time being or either of them, and any two or more of sugh of the said Assistsants as shall be thereunto appointed by the said Governour and Companie at any of their courts or assemblies to be held as aforesaid, shall and may at all tymes and from tyme to tyme hereafter have full power and authority to administer and give the oath and oathes of supremacie and allegiance or either of them to all and every person and persous which shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter goe or passe to the lands and premisses hereby mentioned to be granted to inhabite in the same. And wee do of our further grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion give and grant to the said Governor and Companie and their succesors, that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the Governour or deputy Governour and such of the Assistsants and Freemen of the said Company for the tyme being as shall be assembled in any of their generall courts aforesaid, or in any other
other courts to be specially summoned and assembled for that purpose, or the greater part of them (whereof the Governour or deputy Governor and sixe of the Assistants to be always seven) from tyme to tyme to make, ordaine and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, lawes, statutes and ordinances, directions and instructions not contrary to the lawes of this our realme of England, as well for the settling of the formes and ceremonies of government and magistracie fitt and necessary for the said plantation and the inhabitants there, and for nameing and styling of all sorts of officers both superiour and inferior which they shall find needful for that government and plantation, and the distinguishing and setting forth of the severall duties, powers and limits of every such office and place, and the formes of such oathes warranteble by the lawes and statutes of this our realme of England as shall be respectively ministred unto them, for the execution of the said severall offices and places, as also for the disposing and ordering of the elections of such of the said officers as shall be annuall, and of such others as shall be to succeed in case of death or removall, and ministring the said oathes to the new elected officers, and for imposition of lawfull fynes, mullets, imprisonment or other lawfull correction, according to the course of other Corporations in this our realme of England, and for the directing, ruleing and disposing of all other matters and things whereby our said people inhabiting there may be so religiously, peaceably and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may winne and invite the natives of that country to the knowledge and obedience of the onely true God and Saviour of mankind, and the christian faith, which in our royall intention and the adventurers free profession is the principal end of this plantation. Willing, commanding and requiring, and by these presents for us, our heires and succesors, ordaining and appointing, that all such orders, lawes, statutes and ordinances, instructions and directions as shall be made by the Governour or deputy Governour of the said Company and such of the Assistants
and Freemen as aforesaid and published in writing under their common seal, shall be carefully and duly observed, kept, performed and putt in execution according to the true intent and meaning of the same. And these our letters patents or the duplicate or exemplification thereof shall be to all and every such officers, superiour and inferior, from tyme to tyme, for the putting of the same orders, lawes, statutes and ordinances, instructions and directions in due execution against us, our heirs and successors, a sufficient warrant and discharge. And we doe further for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant to the said Governor and Companie and their successors, by these presents, That all and every such chief commanders, captains, governours and other officers and ministers, as by the said orders, lawes, statutes, ordinances, instructions or directions of the said Governour and Companie for the tyme being, shall be from tyme to tyme hereafter employed either in the government of the said inhabitants and plantation, or in the way by sea thither or from thence, according to the natures and limits of their offices and places respectively, shall from tyme to tyme hereafter forever within the precincts and parts of New-England hereby mentioned to be granted and confirmed, or in the way by sea thither, or from thence, have full and absolute power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern and rule all such the subjects of us, our heires and successors as shall from tyme to tyme adventure themselves in any voyage thither or from thence, or that shall at any tyme hereafter inhabite within the precincts and parts of New-England aforesaid, according to the orders, lawes, ordinances, instructions and directions aforesaid, not being repugnant to the lawes and statutes of our realme of England as aforesaid. And wee do further for us, our heires and successors, give and grant to the said Governour and Companie and theirire successors, by these presents, That it shall and may be lawful to and for the chief commanders, governors and officers of the said companie for the tyme being, who shall be resident in the said part of New-Eng
land in America by these presents granted, and others there inhabiting, by their appointment and direction from time to time and at all times hereafter, for their special defense and safety to encounter, repulse, repel and resist by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, and by all fitting ways and means whatsoever, all such persons and persons as shall at any time hereafter attempt or enterprize the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance to the said plantation or inhabitants: And to take and surprize by all ways and means whatsoever all and every such persons and persons, with their ships, armour, munition and other goods as shall in hostile manner invade and attempt the defeating of the said plantation, or the hurt of the said Companie and inhabitants. Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to all Christian Kings, Princes and States, That if any person or persons which shall hereafter be of the said Companie or plantation, or any other by lycense or appointment of the said Governor and Companie for the tyme being, shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter, robb or spoyle by sea or by land, or do any hurt, violence, or unlawfull hostility to any of the subjects of us, our heires or successors, or any of the subjects of any Prince or State being then in league and amity with us, our heires and successors, and that upon such injury done, and upon just complaint of such Prince or State or their subjects, Wee, our heires or successors shall make open proclamation within any of the parts within our realme of England commodious for that purpose, that the person or persons having committed any such robbery or spoyle, shall within the terme limited by such a proclamation make full restitution or satisfaction of all such injuries done, so as the said Princes or others so complaining may howse themselves fully satisfied and contented. And that if the said person or persons having committed such robbery or spoyle shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly, within such tyme so to be limitted, that then it shall be lawfull for us, our heires and successors, to putt the said person or persons out of
our allegiance and protection; and that it shall be lawfull
and free for all Princes to prosecute with hostility the
said offenders and every of them, theirs and every of
theire procurers, ayders, abettors and confortes in that
behalfe. Provided also, and our expresse will and pleasure
is, and wee do by these presents for us, our heirs and suc-
cessors, ordaine and appoint, that these presents shall not
in any manner enure, or be taken to abridge, barre or
hinder any of our lovinge subjects whatsoever to use and
exercise the trade of fishing upon that coast of New En-
grand in America by these presents mentioned to be granted:
But that they or any and every or any of them shall have
full and free power and liberty to continue and use theire
said trade of fishing upon the said coast in any of the seas
thereunto adjoineing, or any armes of the seas or salt-wa-
ter rivers where they have beene wont to fish, and to build
and set up upon the lands by these presents granted such
wharves, stages and workhouses as shall be necessary for
the salting, drying, keeping and packing up of their fish
to be taken or gotten upon that coast; and to cut downe
and take such trees and other materials there growing,
or being, or shall be needfull for that purpose, and for all
other necessary easements, helps and advantage concerning
theire said trade of fishing there in such manner and forme
as they have beene heretofore at any tyme accustomed to
do, without making any wilfull waste or spoyle, any
thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding. And we do further for us our heirs and suc-
cessors ordaine and grant the said Governour and Companie
and heires succesors by these presents, that these our let-
ters patents shall be firme good effectual and available in
all things and to all intents and constructions of lawe, ac-
cording to our true meaning herein before declared, and
shall be construed reputed and adjudged in all cases most
favorably on the behalfe and for the benefit and behoofe
of the said Governour and Companie and their suc-
cessors. Although express mention of the true yearly
value or certainty of the premises, or any of them, or of
any
any other gifts or grants by us or any other of our progenitors or predecessors to the foresaid Governor and Company before this time made, in these presents is not made, or any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation or restraint to the contrary thereof heretofore had, made, published, ordained or provided, or any other matter cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourselves at Westminister, the fourth Day of March in the fourth yeare of our reigne.

This is a true copy of such letters patents under the great seal of England. In testimony whereof I John Winthrop governor of the Massachusetts aforesaid have caused the publick seal of the same to be hereunto affixed this 19th day of the mouth called March 1643.

1644.

John Winthrop, Gov.
Mr. Francis Higginson’s Agreement with the Massachusets Company, the Engagement of several of the principal Undertakers to transport themselves and Families, Mr. Higginson’s Journal of his Voyage, his Considerations in favour of the design of colonizing, and his Answer to the Objections made against it.

The Agreement with Mr. Higginson.

A true note of the allowance that the New England Company gave by common consent and order of their court and counsell granted unto Mr. Francis Higginson minister, for his maintenance in New England, April 8. 1629.

1. IMPRIMIS, that 30l. in money shall be forthwith paid him by the Companyes treasurer towards the charges of fitting himself with apparell and other necessaries for his voyage.

2. Item, that 10l. more shall be payed over by the said treasurer towards the providing of books for present use.

3. Item, that he shall have 30l. yearly paid him for three yeares to beginne from the tyme of his first arrivall in New England; and so to be accounted and paid him at the end of every yeare.

4. Item, that during the said tyme the Company shall provide for him and his family necessaries of diett, housing and firewood; and shall be at charges of transporting him into New England: And at the end of the said 3 yeares, if he shall not like to continue there any longer, to be at the charge of transporting him backe for England.

5. Item, that in convenient tyme an house shall be built, and certayne lands allotted thereunto; which during his stay in the country and continuance in the ministry shall bee for his use; and after his death or removall the same to be for succeeding ministers.

6. Item,
6. Item, at the expiration of the said 3 yeares an 100 acres of land shall be assigned to him and his heires forever.

7. Item, that in case hee shall depart this life in that country, the said Company shall take care for his wid- dow during her widdowhood and aboade in that country and plantation; and the like for his children whilst they remaine upon the said plantation.

8. Item, that the milke of 2 kyne shall bee appointed towards the chardges of diett for him and his familye as aforesaid, and halfe the increase of calves during the said 3 years: But the said 2 kyne, and the other halfe of the increase to returne to the Company at the end of the said 3 years.

9. Item, that he shall have liberty of carrying over bedding, linnen, braffe, iron, pewter, of his owne for his necessary use during the said tyme.

10. Item, that if he continue 7 years upon the said plantation, that then 100 acres of land more shall be allotted him for him and his for ever.

The true coppie of the agreement at Cambridge, August 26. 1629.

UPON due consideration of the state of the plantation now in hand for New England, wherein wee (whose names are hereunto subscribed) have engaged our selues: and having weighed the greatness of the worke in regard of the consequence, God's glory and the churches good: As also in regard of the difficulties and discouragements which in all probabilities must be forecast upon the execution of this businesse: Considering withall that this whole adventure growes upon the joynt confidence we have in each others fidelity and resolution herein, so as no man of us would have adventured it without assurance of the rest: Now, for the better encouragement of our selves and others that shall joyne with us in this action, and to the end that every man may without scruple dis-
pose of his estate and afayres as may best fitt his prepara-
tion for this voyage, it is fully and faithfully agreed amongst
us, and every of us doth hereby freely and sincerely pro-
mise and bind himfelfe in the word of a christian and in
the presence of God who is the fearcher of all hearts, that
we will so really endeavour the execution of this worke,
as by God's afliftance we will be ready in our persons, and
with fuch of our feverall familyes as are to go with us, and
fuch provision as we are able conveniently to furnish our-
selves withall, to embarke for the faid plantation by the
firt of March next, at fuch port or ports of this land as
faull be agreed upon by the Companie, to the end to paffe
the seas (under God's protection) to inhabite and continue
in New England. Provided always, that before the laft
of September next the whole government together with
the patent for the faid plantation be firft by an order of
court legally transferred and eftablifhed to remain with
us and others which faull inhabite upon the faid planta-
tion. And provided alfo that if any faull be hindered by
fuch just and inevitable lett or other caufe to be allowed
by 3 parts of four of thefe whose names are hereunto
fubfcribed, then fuch persons for fuch tymes and during
fuch letts to be discharged of this bond. And we do
further promise every one for himfelfe, that faull fayle
to be ready through his own default by the day appoint-
ed, to pay for every day's default the fum of 3l. to the
ufe of the rest of the Companie who faull be ready by the
fame day and time.

This was done by order of court the 29th of August, 1629.
Richard Saltonftall  Ifaack Johnson
Tho: Dudley       John Humfrey
William Vaffall    Tho: Sharp
Nicko: Weft        Increase Nowell

John Winthrop
Will: Pinchon
Kellam Browne
William Colbron.
Generall considerations for the plantation in New England, with an answer to several objections.

FIRST, it will be a service to the church of great consequence, to carry the gospell into those parts of the world, and to raise a bulwarke against the kingdom of Antichrist which the Jesuits labour to rear up in all places of the world.

Secondly, all other churches of Europe are brought to desolation, and it may be justly feared that the like judgment is coming upon us; and who knows but that God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he meanes to save out of the general destruction.

Thirdly, the land growes weary of her inhabitants, so that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth they tread upon; so as children, neighbours and friends, specially of the poore, are counted the greatest burdens which, if things were right, would be the highest earthly blessings.

Fourthly. Wee are growen to that excess and intemperance in all excess of riot as no meane estate almost will suffice to keep faile with his equals, and he that fayles in it must live in sorrow and contempt. Hence it comes to passe that all arts and trades are carried in that deceitful manner and unrighteous course as it is almost impossible for a good upright man to maintayne his chardege and live comfortably in any of them.

Fifthly. The schools of learning and religion are so corrupted, as (besides the unsupportable chardge of this education) most children, (even the best wittiest and of fayerest hopes) are perverted, corrupted and utterly over powered by the multitude of evill examples and licentious governors of those seminaries.

Sixthly. The whole earth is the Lord's garden and hee hath given it to the sons of Adam to bee tilled and improved by them, why then should we stand starving here
Collection of Papers.

here for places of habitation (many men spending as much labour and cost to recover or keepe sometymes an acre or two of lands, as would procure him many hundreds of acres, as good or better in another place) and in the meane tyme suffer whole countryes as profitable for the use of man, to lye waste without any improvement?

Seventhly. What can bee a better worke and more noble and worthy a christian, than to helpe to raise and support a particular church while it is in its infancy, and to join our forces with such a company of faithfull people, as by a tymely afliftance may grow stronger and proffer, and for want of it may be put to great hazzard if not wholly ruined?

Eighthly. If any such as are known to bee godly and live in wealth and prosperity here, shall forfaile all this to joyne themselves with this church, and runne in hazard with them of hard and meane condition, it will be an example of great use both for the removing of scandall and sinister and worldly respects, to give more lyfe to the faith of God’s people in their prayers for the plantation and also to encourage others to joyne the more willingly in it.

Objections.

Object. 1. It will be a great wrong to our owne church and country to take away the best people; and we still lay it more open to the judgments feared.

Ans. 1st. The number will be nothing in respect of those that are left. 2dly, Many that live to no use here, more than for their own private familyes may bee employed to a more common good in another place. 3dly, Such as are of good use here may yet be so employed as the church shall receive no losse. And since Christ’s coming the church is to be conceived as univerfall without distinction of countryes, so as he that doth good in any one place serves the church in all places, in regard of the unitye. 4thly, It is the revealed will of God that the gospell should be preached to all nations, and though we know not whether the Indians will receive it or not, yet
it is a good worke to obserue God's will in offering it to them; for God shall have glory by it though they refuse it.

Obj. 2. Wee have feared a judgment a long tyme, but yet we are safe; therefore it were better to stay till it come, and either we may flie then, or if we be overtaken in it wee may well be content to suffer with such a church as ours is.

Anf. It is likely that this consideration made the churches beyond the seas as the Palatinate and Rochel, &c. to fit still at home, and not look out for shelter while they might have found it, but the wofull spectacle of their ruine may teach us more wisdome to avoid the plague while it is foreseene, and not to tarry as they did till it overtooke them. If they were now at their former liberty wee may be sure they would take other courses for their safety. And though most of them had miscarried in their escape, yet it had not been halfe so miserable to themselves, or scandalous to religion, as this desperate backsliding and abjuring the truth, which many of the antient professors among them, and the whole posterity that remayne are plunged into.

Obj. 3. Wee have here a fruitful land with peace and plenty of all things.

Anf. Wee are like to have as good conditions there in tyme; but yet we must leave all this abundance, if it bee not taken from us. When we are in our graves, it will be all one whether we have lived in plenty or in penury, whether we have dyed in a bed of downe or lockes of straw. Onely this is the advantage of the meane condition, that it is a more freedom to dye. And the lesse comfort any have in the things of this world, the more liberty they have to lay up treasure in heaven.

Obj. 4. Wee may perish by the way or when wee come there, having hunger or the sword, &c. and how uncomfortable will it be to see our wives and children and friends come to such miserie by our occasion?

Anf. Such objections favour too much of the flesh. Who can
can secure himselfe or his from the like calamities here?
If this course be warrantable, we may trust God's providence for these things. Either he will keepe those evils from us, or will dispose them for our good and enable us to beare them.

Obj. 5. But what warrant have we to take that land, which is and hath been of long tyme possessed of others the sons of Adam?

Anf. That which is common to all is proper to none. This favage people ruleth over many lands without title or property; for they inclofe no ground, neither have they cattell to maintayne it, but remove their dwellings as they have occasion, or as they can prevail against their neighbours. And why may not christians have liberty to go and dwell amongst them in their waste lands and woods (leaving them such places as they have manured for their corne) as lawfully as Abraham did among the Sodomites? For God hath given to the sons of men a two-fould right to the earth; there is a naturall right and a civil right. The first right was naturall when men held the earth in common, every man sowing and feeding where he pleased: Then, as men and cattell increas'd, they appropriated some parells of ground by enclosing and peculiar manurance, and this in tyme got them a civil right. Such was the right which Ephron the Hittite had to the field of Machpelah, wherein Abraham could not bury a dead corpse without leave, though for the out parts of the countrey which lay common, he dwelt upon them and tooke the fruite of them at his pleasure. This appears also in Jacob and his sons, who fedd their flocks as boldly in the Canaanites land, for he is said to be lord of the country; and at Dotham and all other places men accounted nothing their owne, but that which they had appropriated by their own industry, as appears plainly by Abimelech's servants, who in their own countrey did often contend with Isaac's servants about wells which they had digged; but never about the lands which they occupied.

So likeweife betweene Jacob and Laban; he would not...
take a kidd of Laban's without speciall contract; but he makes no bargaine with him for the land where he fed.
And it is probable that if the countrey had not been as free for Jacob as for Laban, that covetuous wretch would have made his advantage of him, and have upbraided Jacob with it as he did with the rest. 2dly, There is more than enough for them and us. 3dly, God hath consumed the natives with a miraculous plague, whereby the greater part of the country is left voide of inhabitants. 4thly, We shall come in with good leave of the natives.

Obj. 6. We should send our young ones and such as can best be spared, and not of the best of our ministers and magistrates.

Anf. It is a great worke, and requires more skilfull artificers to lay the foundation of a new building, than to uphold and repayre one that is already built. If great things be attempted by weake instruments, the effects will be answerable.

Obj. 7. Wee see that those plantations that have been formerly made succeeded ill.

Anf. The fruit of any public designe is not to be discerned by the immediate success: it may appear in tyme, that they were all to good use. 2dly, There were great fundamental errors in others, which are like to be avoided in this: for 1st there mayne end and purpose was carnall and not religious. 2d, They aymed chiefly at profit and not at the propagation of religion. 3d, They used too unfit instruments, a multitude of rude and ungoverned persons, the very scums of the land. 4th, They did not establish a right fourme of government.
A true relation of the last voyage to New England, declaring all circumstances with the manner of the passage we had by sea, and what manner of country and inhabitants we found when we came to land; and what is the present state and condition of the English people that are there already.

Faithfully recorded according to the very truth, for the satisfaction of very many of my loving friends, who have earnestly requested to be truly notified in these things.

Written from New England July 24. 1629.

Any curious criticke that lookes for exactnes of phrases, or expert seaman that regards propriety of sea-termes, may be disappointed.

A true relation of the last voyage to New England, made the last summer, begun the 25th of April, being Saturday Anno Domini, 1629.

The Company of New England, consisting of many worthy gentlemen in the city of London, Dover, and other places, ayming at the glory of God, the propagation of the gospel of Christ, the conversion of the Indians, and the enlargement of the King’s Majesty’s dominions in America, and being authorised by his royal letters patents for that end, at their very great costs and charges, furnished 5 ships to go to New England, for the further settling of the English plantation that they had already begun there.

The names of the 5 ships were as followeth.

The first is called the Talbot, a good and strong ship of 300 tunnes, and 19 pieces of ordinance, and served with 30 mariners. This ship carried about an 100 planters, 6 goates, 5 great pieces of ordinance, with meale, oatemeale, pease, and all manner of munition and provision for the plantation for a twelve monthe.

The second the George, another strong ship also, about 300 tunnes, 20 pieces of ordinance, served with about 30 mariners;
mariners; her chiefe carriage were cattell, 12 mares, 3o kyne, and some goates: Also there gad in her 52 planters and other provision.

The third is called the Lyon’s Whelpe, a neat and nimble ship of 120 tunnes, 8 pieces of ordnance, carrying in her many mariners and about 40 planters, specially from Dorcester and other places thereabouts, with provision, and 4 goats.

The 4th is called the Four Siflers, as I heare, of about 300 tunns, which sayme ship carried many cattell, with passangers and provision.

The 5th is called the Mayflower, carrying passangers and provision.

Now amongst these 5 ships, the George having the special and urgent cause of hastening her passage, set sail before the rest about the middle of April. And the Four Siflers and the Mayflower, being not thoroughly furnished, intended, as we heard, to set forth about 3 week after us: But we that were in the Talbot and the Lyon’s Whelpe, being ready for our voyage, by the good hand of God’s providence, hoystled our saile from Graves-end on Saturday the 25th of April, about 7 o’clock in the morning. Having but a saynt wynd we could not go farre that day, but at night we arrived against Leigh, which is 12 miles from Graves-end, and there we refled that night, and kept Sabbath the next day.

On Monday (the 27th) we sat forward and came to the flats, a passage somewhat difficult by reason of the narrownes of the channel and shallownes of the water; and going over this we were in some danger: for the ship being heavy laden and drawing deep water was sensibly felt of us all to strike 3 or 4 tymes on the ground: but the wind blowing somewhat strong we were carried swiftly on, and at last by God’s blessing came safe to ancre at Gorin roade.

Tuesday (28th) we went a little further, and ancred over against Margret downe, staying for a wind for the Downes.

Wednesday (29th) we came safely through with much turning and tacking thorow the gullies into the Downes, and stayed that night.
Thursday (30th) Fryday and Saturday (May 1st & 2d) the wind blew hard from south west and caused our ship to daunce, and divers of our passengers and my wife specially were sea-sick. Here the King’s ship called the Assurance, pressed 2 of our mariners. Here we saw many porpuses playing in the sea, which they say is a signe of fowlwe weather.

(May 3.) Sabbath day, a windye day and could: We kept Sabbath staying still at the Downes.

Monday (4th) God sent us a fayre gale of winde, North N. East, whereby we came merrily from the Downes, and passing Dover we saw 6 or 7 faile of Dunkirkers waiting after us; but it seemed they saw our company was too strong for them, for then we had with us 3 or 4 ships that went for the Streights: So they returned backe from pursuing us any longer. But sayling with a good wind we went speedily, and at night came neere the Isle of Wight, but being darke, we durst not put into the channell, but put backe for sea-room 4 horees; and then other 4 houres sayled backe agayne the same way.

Tuesday (5th) early in the morning we entered the channell, the wind being weake and calme, and passed by Portsmouth very slowly; but in the afternoone the wind quickened, and we were forced to ancre a little on this side Cowcastle, but the wind growing more favourable, we weighed and came to ancre againe, right against Cowcastle, thinking to stay that night, the wind being very calme. Here I and my wife and my daughter Mary, and 2 maids, and some others with us, obtained of the master of the ship to go a shoare to refresh us, and to wash our linnens, and so we lay at Cowes that night. But the wind turning when we were absfent, they hoysted sayle and left us there, and ancred 8 miles further, over against Yarmouth, about 8 of the clocke at night.

Wednesday (6th) betyme in the morning the shalope was sent from the ship to fetch us to Yarmouth; but the water proved rough and our women desired to be sett on shoare 3 miles short of Yarmouth, and so went on foote by land and lodged in Yarmouth that night.
On Thursday and Fryday (7th & 8th) there master Becher, allowed by the Company, gave me 40/ to make our provision of what things we would for the voyage.

Saturday (9th) we went to board againe; and this day we had 2 other men pressed to serve the King’s ship; but we got one agayne by intreaty.

The Sabbath next day (10th) we kept the ship, where I preached in the morning; and in the afternoone was intreated to preach at Yarmouth, where Mr. Meare and Captain Borley entertained us very kyndly, and earnestly desired to be satisfied of our safe arrivall in New England, and of the state of the country.

Monday morning (11th) blew a fayre wind from E.S.E. and the Lion’s Whelpe having taken in all her provision for passangers, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone we hoysed fayle for the Needles, and by God’s guidance safely passed that narrow passage a little after 4 a clocke in the afternoone. And being entred into the sea, from the top of the masts, we discerned 4 fayle of ships lying southward from us. But night coming on we tooke in our long boare and shalope. And the next day (12th) we had a fayre gale of easterly wind that brought us towards night as farre as the Lizzard.

Wednesday (10th) the wind still houlding easterly, we came as farre as the land’s end, in the utmost part of Cornwall, and so left our deare native soyle of England behind us; and sayling about 10 leagues further we passed the Iles of Scillie and launched the same day a great way into the maine ocean. And now my wiffe and other passengers began to feele the tossing waves of the western sea, and so were very sea sicke,

And this is to be noted, that all this while our passage hath beene upon the coast of England, so ought truly to be accounted the first day of our parting with Ould England.

Thursday (14th) the same easterly wind blew all day and night, and the next day (15th) so that some of the seamen thought we were come by this tyme 200 leagues from England, but toward night the wind was calme.

D 2 Saturday
Saturday (16th) we were becalmed all day. This day met us a little ship that came from Christopher islands.

Sabbath (17th) being the first Lord's day we held at sea was very calm, especially in the morning, but we were disturbed in our morning service by the appearance of a Biscayners ship, a man of warre, that made towards us, and manned out his boate to view us: But finding us too strong for him he durst not venture to assault us, but made off.

This day my two children Samuel and Mary began to be sick of the small-pocks and purples together, which was brought into the ship by one Mr. Browne who was sick of the same at Graves-end, whom it pleased God to make the first occasion of bringing that contagious sickness among us, wherewith many were after afflicted.

Monday (18th) calm still, the wind being N.W. blowing a little towards evening, but contrary to our course.

Tuesday (19th) wind S.W. as little helpfull as the former and blowing very weake. This day the master of the ship, my selfe and another went aboard the Lion's Whelpe, where Mr. Gibbs made us welcome with bountifull entertainment. And this day towards night my daughter grew sicker, and many blew spots were seen upon her breat, which affrighted us. At the first we thought they had beene the plague tokens; but we found afterwards that it was only an high measure of the infection of the pocks, which were strucke agayne into the child, and so it was God's will the child dyed about 5 of the clocke at night, being the first in our ship that was buried in the bowells of the great Atlantic sea; which, as it was a grieve to us her parents and a terrour to all the rest, as being the beginning of a contagious disease and mortality, so in the same judgment it pleased God to remember mercy in the child, in forcing it from a world of misery wherein other wise she had lived all her daies. For being about 4 years ould, a yeare since, we know not by what means, sweyed in the backe, so that it was broken and grew crooked, and the joynts of her hipps were loosed and her knees went crooked, pitiful to see. Since which she hath had a most lamentable
lamentable payne in her belly, and would oft tymes cry out in the day and in her sleep also, my belly! which declared her extraordinary distemper. So that in respect of her we had cause to take her death as a blessing from the Lord to shorten her miserie.

Wednesday (20th) a wet morning, the wind was W.S.W. and in the afternoone N.W. by W. both being contrary to our course, which was to saile W. by S. Thus it pleased God to lay his hand upon us by sickness and death and contrary winds; and stirred up some of us to make the motion of humbling ourselves under the hand of God by keeping a solemn day of fasting and prayer unto God, to beseech him to remove the continuance and further increase of these evills from us, which was willingly condescended unto as a duty very fitting and needful for our present state and condition.

Thursday (21st) there being two ministers in the ship, Mr. Smith and myselfe, we endeavoured, together with others, to consecrate the day as a solemn fasting and humiliation to Almighty God, as a furtherance of our present worke. And it pleased God the ship was becalmed all day, so that we were freed from any encumbrance: And as sonne as we had done prayers, see and behold the goodnes of God, about 7 a clock at night the wind turned to N. E. and we had a fayre gale that night, as a manifest evidence of the Lord's hearing our prayers. I heard some of the mariners say, they thought this was the first sea-faste that ever was kept, and that they never heard of the like performed at sea before.

Fryday (22d) the wind fayre, and east northerly, and for our purpose for New England. It did blow strongly and carried us on amayne with tossing waves, which did affright them that were not wonted to such fights.

Saturday (23d) the same wind blowing but more gently. Now we were comforted with the hope of my sonne Samuel's recovery of the small pockes.

(24th) The 2d Lord's day, an orderly wind and prosperous.
On Monday (25th) a fayre furme gale, the wind S.S.W. 
Tuesday (26th) about 10 of the clocke in the morning, whilst we were at prayers a strong and sudden blast came from the north, that hoyfed up the waves and tossed us more than ever before, and beld us all the day till toward night, and then abated by little and little till it was calme. This day Mr. Goffe's great dog fell overboard and could not be recovered.

Wednesday (27th) the wind still N. and calme in the morning, but about noone there arose a So. wind, which encreased more and more, so that it proved to us that are landmen a fore and terrible storme; for the wind blew mightily, the rayne fell vehemently, the sea roared and the waves tossed us horribly; besides it was searefull darke and the mariners mait was afraid; and noyse on the other side with their running here and there, lowd crying one to another to pull at this and that rope. The waves powred themselves over the ship that the 2 boats were filled with water, that they were fayne to strike holes in the midst of them to let the water out. Yea by the violence of the waves the long boats roape which held it was broken, and it had like to have been washed overboard, had not the mariners with much payne and daunger recovered the same. But this lasted not many houres; after which it became a calmish day. All which while I lay clofe and warne in my cabine, but farre from having lift to sleepe with Jonah; my thoughts were otherwise empoyed as the tyme and place required. Then I saw the truth of the scripture Psal. 107. from the 23d to the 32d. And my feare at this tyme was the leffe, when I remembred what a loving friend of myne, a minister accustomed to sea stormes said to me that I might not be dismayed at such stormes, for they were ordinary at sea, and it seldome falls out that a ship perisheth at them if it have sea-roome. Which I the rather wryte that others as well as myselfe by the knowledge hereof may be encouraged and prepared against these ordinary sea-stormes.

Thursday (28th) So. wind; calme at night.
On Fryday (29th) a boistrous wind blowing croffe, but was allayed towards night with a showre of rayne.

Saturday (30th) So. wind, but Fayre and quiett.

Sabbath day (31st) being the 3d Lord's day, Fayre and Calme; we saw abundance of grampus fishes, 2 or 3 yards long, and a body as bigg as an oxe.

Monday (June i.) the wind wefterly and calme: But besides our being flayed by contrary winds we begun to find the temperature of the ayre to alter and to become more foletry and rubje (fit to unwholsome foggs. For coming now to the height of the Westerne Islands, some of our men fell sicke of the fcurvie and others of the small pockes, which more and more increased: Yet thankes be to God none dyed of it but my owne child mentioned. And therefore, according to our great need, we appointed another faft for the next day.

Tuesday (2d) we solemnly celebrate another faft. The Lord that day heard us before we prayed and gave us an answer before we called; for early in the morning the wind turned full east, being as fitt a wind as could blow. And sitting at my study on the ship's poole I saw many bonny fishes and porpuses pursueing one another, and leaping some of them a yard above the water. Also as we were at prayers under the hatch, some that were above saw a whale puffing up water not farre from the ship. Now my wiffe was pretty well recovered of her sea-ficknesse.

Wednesday (3d) a Fayre day and fine gale of full East wind. This day myselfe and others saw a large round fish sallying by the ship's side, about a yard in length and roundeth every way. The mariners called it a funne fish; it spreadeth out the finnes like beames on every side 4 or 5.

Thursday and Fryday (4th & 5th) the wind full E. we were carried with admiration on our journey. By this we were more than half way to New England. This day a fish very strange to me, they call it a carvell; which came by the ship side, wafting along the top of the water. It appeared at the the first like a bubble above the water as bigg as a man's fist, but the fish itselfe is about the bignes
of a man's thum, so that the fish itselfe and the bubble resembled a ship with sayles, which therefore is called a carvell.

Saturday (6th) wind direct East still.

(7th) The 4th Sabbath we kept at sea. The wind easterly till noone, and then it came full S.E. a strong gale that night and the next day (8th) till night. Tuesday (9th) the same wind held till 9 a clock in the morning; and then a great showre which lasted till about 7 at night, and then it was a very calme. There we founded with a dipsea lyne above 100 fadome and found no bottom. This day we saw a fish called a turkle, a great and large shell fish, swimming above the water neere the ship.

Wednesday (10th) wind northerly, a fine gale but calmish in the afternoone.

Thursday (11th) the wind at N. an easye gale and sayre morning. We saw a mountayne of ice shinning as white as snow like to a great rocke or cliff on shoare, it stood still and therefore we thought it to be on ground and to reach the bottom of the sea. For though there came a mighty streame from the north yet it moved not, which made us found, and we found a banke of 40 fathom deepe whereupon we judged it to rest: and the height above was as much. We saw also 6 or 7 pieces of ice, floating on the sea, which was broken off from the former mountayne, We also saw great store of water fowle swimming by the shipp within musket shott, of a pyde colour and about the bigness of a wild duck, about 40 in a company. The mariners call them hag birds. Towards night came a fogge, that the Lions Whelp was loft till morning. And now we saw many bony fish porpuses and grampus every day more and more.

Friday (12th) Foggie and calmish, the wind northerly in the morning, but about noon it came S. E. a dainty loome gale which carried us 6 leagues a watch.

Saturday (13th) the same wind till night, and we saw great store of porpuses and grampus.

The 5th Sabbath, (14th) the same wind, towards noon it began to be foggie, and then it rained till night, we went 4 or 5 leagues a watch.

Monday
Monday (15th) a fayre day but foggie, the fame wind blowing but with fresh gales carried us 7 leagues a watch. In the afternoon it blew harder, so the sea was rough, and we lopt the figh of the Lions Whelpe: it being foggie we drummed for them, and they shot of a great piece of ordi- nance, but we heared not one another.

Tuesday (16th) wind S.byE. foggie till about io a clocke. While we were at prayers it cleared up about an hour, and then we saw the Lion’s Whelpe, distant about 2 leagues southward, we presently tackt about to meet her, and she did the fame to meet us, but before we could get together a thick fogge came, that we were long in finding each other. This day we founded divers tymes, and found ourselves on another banke, at first 40 fathom, after 36, after 33, after 32. We thought it to have been the bank over againft Cape Sable, but we were deceived, for we knew not certainly where we were because of the fogge. After 3 or 4 hours company we lopt the Lion’s Whelpe agayne, and beate the drum and shot of a great piece of ordinance, and yet heard not of them. But perceiving the banke to grow fìll shallower we found it 27 and 24 fathom. Therefore, being a fogg, and fearing we were too neare land we tackt about for sea-roome for 2 or 3 watches, and steered southeaft.

Wednesday (17th) very foggie fìll, and wind S.byW. and founding found no bottome that we could reach.

Thursday (18th) wind full W. and contrary to us. This day a notorious wicked fellow that was given to swering and boastings of his former wickednes, bragged that he had got a wench with child before he came this voyage, and mocked at our daies of falt, railing and jesting against puritans, this fellow fell fìck of the pockes and dyed. We founded and found 38 fathom, and staved, for a little while, to take some cod fìsh, and feasted ourselves merrily.

Fryday (19th) wind West fìll, a very fayre cleare day. About 4 a clock in the afternoone some went up to the top of the maff, and affirmed to our great comfort they saw land to the northeaftward.

Saturday
Saturday (20th) wind S. W. a fayre gale. We founded and found 40, 30, 22, and a little after no ground.

Sabbath (21st) being the 6th Lord's day; wind northerly but fayre and calm.

Monday (22d) wind easterly, a fayre gale. This day we saw a great deal of froth not farre from us: we feared it might be some breach of water against some rockes, therefore the master of our ship hoitent out the thallop and went with some of the men to see what it was; but found it onely to be a froath carried by the streame.

Tuesday (23d) the wind N. E. a fayre gale.

Wednesday (24th) wind N. E. a fayre day and cleare; about 9 a clocke in the morning we espied a shipp about 4 leagues behind us; which proved to be the LionsWhelpe, which had been a weeke seperated from us, we stoped for her company. This day a child of good man Clarke, which had a consumption before it came to shipp, died. This day we had all a cleare and comfortable fight of America, and of the Cape Sable that was over against us 7 or 8 leagues northward. Here we saw yellow gillyflowers on the sea.

Thursday (25th) wind still N. E. a full and fresh gale. In the afternoon we had a cleare fight of many islands and hills by the sea hoare. Now we saw abundance of mackrill, a great store of great whales puffing up water as they goe, some of them came neere our shipp: this creature did astonish us that saw them not before; their back appeared like a little island. At 5 a clocke at night the wind turned S. E. a fayre gale. This day we caught mackrill.

Fryday (26th) a foggie morning, but after cleare and wind calme. We saw many foools of mackrill, infinite multitudes on every side our ship. The sea was abundantly stored with rockweed and yellow flowers like gillyflowers. By noon we were within 3 leagues of Capan, and as we sayled along the coasts we saw every hill and dale and every island full of gay woods and high trees. The nearer we came to the shoare the more flowers in abundance, sometymes scattered abroad, sometymes joyned in
in sheets 9 or 10 yards long, which we supposed to be brought from the low meadowes by the tyde. Now what with fine woods and greene trees by land, and these yellow flowers painting the sea, made us all desirous to see our new paradise of New England, whence we saw such forerunning signals of fertilitie afarre off. Coming neare the harbour towards night we takt about for sea-roome.

Saturday (27th) a foggie morning; but after 8 o'clocke in the morning very cleare, the wind being somewhat contrary at So. and by West, we tacket to and againe with getting little; but with much ado, about 4 o'clock in the afternoone, having with much payne compassed the harbour, and being ready to enter the same, see how things may suddenly change! there came a fearfull gust of wind and rayne and thunder and lightning, whereby we were borne with no little terrour and trouble to our mariners, having very much ado to loose downe the sayles when the fury of the storme held up. But God be praised it lasted but a while and soone abated agayne, And hereby the Lord shewed us what he could have done with us, if it had pleased him. But blessed be God, he soone removed this storme and it was a fayre and sweet evening.

We had a westerly wind which brought us between 5 and 6 o'clock to a fyne and sweet harbour, 7 miles from the head point of Capan. This harbour 20 ships may easily ryde therein, where there was an island whither four of our men with a boate went, and brought backe agayne ripe strawberries and gooseberries, and sweet sngle roses. Thus God was merciful to us in giving us a taft and smell of the sweet fruit as an earnest of his bountiful goodnes to welcome us at our first arrivall. This harbour was two leagues and something more from the harbour at Naimkecke, where our ships were to rest, and the plantation is already begun. But because the passage is difficult and night drew on, we put into Capan harbour.

(28th) The Sabbath, being the first we kept in America, and the 7th Lord's day after we parted with England.

Monday (29th) we came from Capan, to go to Naimkecke,
kecke, the wind northerly. I should have told you before that the planters spaying our English colours the Governour sent a shalop with 2 men on Saturday to pilot us. These rested the Sabbath with us at Capan; and this day, by God's blessing and their directions, we passed the curious and difficult entrance into the large spacious harbour of Naimkecke. And as we passed along it was wonderful to behold so many islands replenished with thick wood and high trees, and many fayre greene pastures. And being come into the harbour we saw the George to our great comfort then being come on Tuesday which was 7 daies before us. We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world.

The next morning (30th) the governour came aboard to our ship, and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wife to come on shoare, and take our lodging in his house, which we did accordingly.

Thus you have a faithful report collected from day to day of all the particulars that were worth noting in our passage.

NOW in our passage divers things are remarkable,

FIRST, through God's blessing our passage was short and speedy, for whereas we had 1000 leagues, that is 3000 miles English, to saile from Ould to New England, we performed the same in 6 weeks and 3 daies.

Secondly, our passage was comfortable and easie for the most part, having ordinarily fayre and moderate wind, and being freed for the most part from stormie and rough seas, saving one night only, which we that were not used thought to be more terrible than indeed it was, and this was Wednesday at night May 27th.

Thirdly, our passage was also healthfull to our passengers, being freed from the great contagion of the scurvie and
and other maledictions, which in other passages to other places had taken away the lives of many. And yet we were in all reason in wonderful danger all the way, our ship being greatly crowded with passengers; but through God's great goodness we had none that died of the pockes but that wicked fellow that scorned at fasting and prayer. There were indeed 2 little children, one of my owne and another beside; but I do not impute it meere to the passage; for they were both very sickly children, and not likely to have lived long, if they had not gone to sea. And take this for a rule, if children be healthfull when they come to sea, the younger they are the better they will endure the sea, and are not troubled with sea-sicknes as older people are, as we had experience in many children that went this voyage. My wiffe indeed, in toffing weather, was something ill by vomiting, but in calme weather she recovered agayne, and is now much better for the sea sicknes. And for my owne part, whereas I have for divers yeares past been very sickly and ready to cast up whatsoever I have eaten, and was very sicke at London and Gravesend, yet from the tyme I came on shipboard to this day, I have been strangely healthfull. And now I can digest our ship diett very well, which I could not when I was at land. And indeed in this regard I have great cause to give God praise, that he hath made my coming to be a method to cure me of a wonderful weake stomacke and continual payne of melancholly wynd from the splene: Also divers children were sicke of the small pockes, but are safely recovered agayne, and 2 or 3 passengers towards the latter end of the voyage fell sicke of the scurvie, but coming to land recovered in a short tyme.

Fourthly, our passage was both pleasurablc and profitable. For we received instruction and delight in beholding the wonders of the Lord in the deepe waters, and sometimes seeing the sea round us appearing with a terrible countenance, and as it were full of high hills and deepe vallyes; and sometimes it appeared as a most plain and even meadow. And ever and anon we saw divers kynds of fishes:
fishes sporting in the great waters, great grampuses and huge whales going by companies and puffing up water-streames. Those that love their owne chimney corner, and dare not go farre beyond their owne townes end shall never have the honour to see these wonderfull workes of Almighty God.

Fifthly, we had a pious and christian-like passage; for I suppose passangers shall seldom find a company of more religious, honest and kynd seamen than we had. We constantlie served God morning and evening by reading and expounding a chapter, singing, and prayer. And the Sabbath was solemnely kept by adding to the former, preaching twice and catechising. And in our great need we kept 2 solemne fasts, and found a gracious effect. Let all that love and use fasting and praying take note, that it is as prevailable by sea as by land, wheresoever it is faithfully performed. Besides the ship master and his company used every night to sett their 8 and 12 a clocke watches with singing a psalme and prayer that was not read out of a booke. This I wryte not for boasting and flattery; but for the benefit of those that have a mynd to come to New England hereafter, that if they looke for and defyre to have as prosperous a voyage as we had, they may use the same meanes to attayne the same. So letting passe our passage by sea, we will now bring our discoure to land on the shoare of New England, and I shall by God's assistance endeavour to speake nothing but the naked truth, and both acquaint you with the commodities and discommodities of the country.

[Of the earth: Of the water: Of the ayre: Of the fire in New England: As also of the discommodities of the country, and the condition of the Natives, that may be seen at large in Mr. Higginson's printed relation of New England.]

NOW for the present condition of the plantation what it is. When we came first to Naimkecke, now called Salem, we found about half a score houses built: and a fayre house
house newly built for the governour, and we found also abundance of corne planted by them, excellent good and well liking. We brought with us about 200 passengers and planters more, which now by common consent of all the ould planters are all now combyned together into one body politique under the same governor. There are with us in all ould and new planters 300, whereof 200 are setted at Naimkecke, now called Salem, and the rest plant themselves at Massachusets bay, being to build a towne there called Charleston or Charlestowne; we that are setted at Salem make what haste we can to build, so that within a short tyme we shall have a sayre towne. We have great ordnance whereof we doubt not but to fortifiye ourselves in short tyme, to keepe out a potent adverfarye. But that which is our greatest comfort and means of defence above all others, is, that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of almighty God amongst us. Thanks be to God we have plenty of preaching and diligent catechising, with strift and carefull exercize of good and commendable orders to bring our people to christian conversation, which whilst we do we doubt not but God will be with us, and so Rom. 8. 31. what shal we then say to these things. If God be with us who can be against us?

Some brief collections out of a letter that Mr. Higginson sent to his friends at Leicester.

There are certainly expected here the next spring the coming of 60 familyes out of Dorcettershire, who have by letters signified so much to the Governour to desyre him to appoint them places of habitations; they bringing their ministers with them. Also many families are expected out of Lincolnshire and a minister with them, and a great company of godly christians out of London. Such of you as come from Leifter, I would counsell you to come quickly, and that for two reasons. 1st, if you linger too long, the passages of Jordan through the malice of Sathan
Sathan may be stopped; that you can not come if you would. 2dly, Thofe that come firft speed beft here, and have the priviledge of choosing choife places of habita-
tions. Little children of 5 years ould may by setting corn
one month be able to get their owne maintenance abun-
dantly. Oh what a good worke might you that are rich
do for your poore brethren, to helpe them with your
purses onely to convey them hither with their children
and families, where they may live as well both for foule
and body as any where in the world. Besides they
will recompence the cost by helping to build houfes and
plant your ground for a tyme; which shall be difficult
worke at the firft, except you have the helpe of many
hands. Mr. Johnson out of Lincolnshire and many others
have helped our godly christians hither, to be employed
in their worke for a while, and then to live of them-
selves. We have here about 40 goats that give milke,
and as many milch kyne; we have 6 or 7 mares and an
horse, and do every day expect the coming of half a score
mares more, and 30 kyne by two shippes that are to follow
us. They that come let them bring mares, kyne and
sheepe as many as they can: Ireland is the beft place to
provide sheepe, and lyes in the way. Bring none that are
in lambe, nor mares in foale; for they are in more dan-
ger to perifh at sea. Of all trades carpenters are most
needful, therefore bring as many as you can. It were a
wise course for thofe that are of abilityes to joyne toge-
ther and buy a shipp for the voyage and other merchan-
dize. For the governor would that any man may em-
ploy his ftocke in what merchandifes he pleafe, excepting
only beaver skins, which the company of merchants re-
serve to themselves and the managing of the publique
flocke. If any be of the mynde to buy a shipp, my cou-
sin Nowells counfell would be good. Also one Mr:
—a very godly man and the master of the shipp we
got in, and likewife one Mr. Graves the master's maitre,
dwelling in Wapping, may herein haund you in feed.
The payment of the transportation of things is wondrous
deare, as 5/. a man, and 10/. a horfe, and commonly 3/. for every tunne of goodes: So that a little more then will pay for the passage will purchase the poffeffion of a ship for all together.

No man hath or can have a house built for him here unlesse he comes himfelfe, or else fends feruants before to do it for him. It was an error that I now perceive both in myfelfe, and others did conceive by not rightly understanding the merchants meaning. For we thought that all that put in their money into the common stocke should have a house built for them, besides such a portion of land; but it was not fo. They shall indeed have so much land allotted to them when they come to take poffeffion of it and make use of it, but if they will have houses they must build them. Indeed we that are minifteres, and all the rest that were entertained and fent over and maintained by the rest of the company, as their servants, for such a tyme in fuch employments, all fuch are to have houses built them of the companies charge and no others nor otherwise. They that put money into the stocke, as they do a good worke to helpe forwards fo worthy a plantation, fo all the gayne they are like to have, is according to the increase of the stocke at 3 yeares end, by the trade of beaver, besides the lands which they fhall enjoy when they will.

All that come must have viettuals with them for a twelve month, I meane they muft have meale, oatmeale and fuch like fuffenance of food, till they can gett increafe of corne by their owne labour. For, otherwise, fo many may come without provision at the fift, as that our small beginnings may not be fufficient to mainayne them.

Before you come be carefull to be strongly instructed what things are fitteft to bring with you for your more comfortable passage at fea, as also for your husbandrey occafions when you come to the land. For when you are once parted with England you fhall meete neither with taverns nor alehoufe, nor butchers, nor grofers, nor apothecaries shops to helpe what things you need, in the midst of the great ocean, nor when you are come to land, here
are yet neither markets nor fayres to buy what you want. Therefore be sure to furnish yourselves with things fitting to be had before you come; as meale for bread, malt for drinke, woollen and linnen cloath, and leather for shoes, and all manner of carpenters tooles, and a good deale of iron and steele to make naiies, and lockes for houses and furniture for ploughs and cars, and glasse for windowes, and many other things which were better for you to think of them there than to want them here.

Whilst I was writing this letter my wife brought me word that the fifters had caught 1600 buffe at one draught, which if they were in England were worth many a pound.

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Copy of a Letter from Governor Endecott to Governor Winthrop.*

Right Worshipful,

Did expect to have beene with you in person at the court, and to that end I put to sea yesterday and was driven back againe the wind being stiffe against us. And there being noe canoe or boate at Saguft I must have beene constrained to goe to Mislick and thence about to Charles town, which at that time I durst not be so bold, my bodie being at this present in an ill condition to wade or take cold, and therefore I desire you to pardon mee. Though otherwise I could much have desired it, by reason of many occasions and busineses. There are at Mr. Hewfons plantation 5 or 6 kine verie ill and in great danger, I feare they will hardlie escape it whereof twoe are myne and all I have which are worse than any of the rest. I left myne there this winter to doe Mr. Skelton a pleasure to keepe his for him here at Salem that he might have the benefit of their milk. And I understand by Wincoll

* This Letter and divers others are intended meerly to give some idea of the writers and contain no interrelling historical matters.
Wincoll that they have been ill tended and he faith almost starved. Besides they have fed on acornes and they cannot digest them for that they vomitt exceedinglie and are so bound in their bodies that he is faine to take them and to use all his skill to maintaine life in them. I have willed him to be there till he can bring them to some strength againe if it be possible. And I have given him malt to make them mashies of licris and annis feedes and long pepper and such other things as I had to drench them. I could with when Manning hath recovered his strength that you would free him, for he will never doe you or Mr. Hewfon service, for when he was well he was as negligent as the worst of them. Mr. Skelton, myselfe and the rest of the congregation desire to be thankfull to God and yourselfe for your benevolence to Mr. Haughton's child. The Lord restore it you. I prevailed with much adoe with Sir Richard for an old debt heere, which he thought was desperate, to contribute it, which, I hope I shall make good for the child. I think Mr. Skelton hath written, to you, whom he thinks stand most in neede of contribution of such provisions as you will be pleased to give amongst us of that which was sent over. The yele pots you sent for are made, which I had in my boate, hoping to have brought them with mee. I caused him to make but two for the present, if you like them and his prices (for he worketh for hiselse) you shall have as many as you desire. He selleth them for 4 shillings a pce. Sir, I desired the rather to have beeene at court because I hear I am much complaynd on by goodman Dexter, for stricking him. I acknowledge I was too rash in stricking him, understanding since that it is not lawfull for a justice of peace to strike. But if you had seene the manner of his carriage with such daring of mee with his armes on kembow, &c. It would have provoked a very patient man. But I will write no more of it but leave it till we speake before you face to face. Onely thus farre further that he hath given cut if I had a purse he would make mee empty it, and if he cannot have justice heere he will doe wonders
in England, and if he cannot prevale there hee will trie it out with mee heere at blowes. Sir, I desire that you will take all into consideration. If it were lawfull to trie it at blowes and hee a fitt man for mee to deale with, you should not heare mee complain, but I hope the Lord hath brought mee off from that course. I thought good further to wryte what my judgment is for the dismissing of the court till corne be fett. It will hinder us that are farre off exceedingly, and not further you there. Mens labour are precious heere in corne setting tyme, the plantations being yet so weak. I will be with you, the Lord assisting mee, as soone as conveniently I can. In the meane while I committ you to his protection and safeguard that never failes his children, and rest

Your unfeigned loving friend to command.

Salem, the 12th of Aprill 1631. Jo: Endecott.
in a day of thanksgiving to our mercifull God (I doubt not but you will consider if it be not fitt for you to joyne in it) who as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up, by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that which our enemies built their hopes upon, to ruine us by, he hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further acquaint you when occasion shall serve.

The Copie of the Order follows.

At the Court at Whitehall, January 19, 1632.

Sigillum Crescent.

Lord Privy Seale
Earle of Dorset
Lord Viscoun Faylckland
Lord Bischof of London
Lord Cottington

Mr. Trevers
Mr. Vice Chamberlaine
Mr. Secretary Cooke
Mr. Secretary Windebank

WHEREAS his Majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in the plantations in the parts of America called New-England, which if they be true, and suffered to run on, would tend to the dishonour of this kingdom, and utter ruine of the plantation: for prevention whereof, and for the orderly setling of government, according to the intentions of those patents which have been granted by his Majesty and from his late royal father king James, it hath pleased his Majesty that the Lords and others of his most honorable Privy Council should take the same into consideration. Their Lordships in the first place thought fitt to make a committee of this Board to take examinations of the matters informed. Which committee having called divers of the principal adventurers in that plantation, and heard those that are complainants against them, most of the things informed being denied, and restling to be proved, by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expence of time, and at present their Lordships finding, they were upon dispatch of men, viuals and merchandize for that.
that place, all which would be at a stand if the adventurer should have discouragement, or take suspicion, that the state here had no good opinion of that plantation; their Lordships not laying the fault or fancies (if any be) of some particular men, upon the general government or principal adventurers, which in due time is further to be enquired into, have thought fit in the mean time to declare, that the appearances were so fair and hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom, and profitable to the particulars, as that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patent is appointed, his Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply any thing further that might tend to the good government, prosperity and comfort of his people there of that place, &c.

Mr. Cotton's Letter, giving the Reasons of his and Mr. Hooker's Removal to New-England.

Reverend and beloved brother in our blessed Savior,

THAT which you observe touching the wonderfull goodness of the Lord to my wife, and child, in the midst of deep dangers, I desire never to forgett it, but to walke (as the Lord shall be pleased to helpe me) accordinge to that abundant faithfullnesse of his to one so undeserving all my dayes. Helpe me with your faithfull prayers to doe: That as by the prayers of yourselfe, and other brethren, I acknowledge the former mercy to have beene grantted me, doe by the same, a faithfull and fruittfull use of it may be grantted likewise; otherwife I may say it with shame, I see a frame of spirit in my selfe ready to turne every grace of God into unprofitablenesse, yea and forgetfullnesse of the most high God, the God of
my salvation: However God dealt otherwise with my cosigné Suckey, and which might give unto some whom it nearly concerned a reasonable advertisement, yet I am persuaded it was in much faithfulness to her, that God took her away to prevent the disquietness and discouragement of her spirit, which the evils ensuing, evils hastening upon the town, would have brought upon her: The Lord is wise and gracious, and knoweth how to deliver his, out of the hour of temptation; blessed for ever be his name in Christ.

The questions you demand, I had rather answer by word of mouth, than by letter, yet I will not refuse to give you account of my brother Hookers removal and mine own, seeing you require a reason thereof from us both. We both of us concurre in a 3 fold ground of removal. 1. God having shut a door against both of us from ministering to him and his people in our wanted congregations, and calling us by a remnant of our people, and by others of this countrye to minister to them here, and opening a door to us this way, who are we that we should strive against God and refuse to follow the concurrence of his ordinance and providence together, calling us forth to minister here. If we may and ought to follow Gods calling 3 hundred miles, why not 3 thousand? 2. Our Saviors warrant is in our case, that when we are distressed in our course in one country (nequid dicam gravius) we should flee to another. To choose rather to bear witness to the truth by imprisonment than by banishment, is indeed sometimes Gods way, but not in case men have ability of body and opportunity to remove, and no necessary engagement for to stay. Whilst Peter was young he might gird himselfe and goe whither he would, Joh. 21. 8. but when he was old and unfit for travel, then indeed God called him rather to suffer himselfe to be girt of others, and led along to prison, and to death. Nevertheless in this point I conferred with the chefe of our people, and offered them to beare witness to the truth I had preached, and practiced amongst them even
even unto bonds, if they conceived it might be any confirma-
tion to their faith and patience; but they disswaded me
that course, as thinking it better for themselves, and for
me, and for the church of God, to withdraw my selfe from
the present storne, and to minifter in this country to such
of their towne as they had sent before hither, and such
others as were willinge to goe alonge with me, or to follow
after me; the most of the choosing rather to dwell
in the

[obliterated]

there. What service my selfe, and brother Hooker
might doe to our people or other brethren in prifon
(especially in close prifon which was feared) I suppose we
both of us (by Gods helps) doe the fame, and much more,
and with more freedom from hence, as occasion is offered:
Besides all our other service to the people here, which
yet is enough, and more than enough to fill both our
handes, yea and the hands of many brethren more, such as
your selfe, should God be pleased to make way for your
comfortable passage to us. To have tarryed in England
for the end you mention, to appear in defence of that
cause for which we were questioned, had been (as we
conceyve it in our case) to limit witness-bearing to the
cause (which may be done more ways than one) to one
only way, and that such a way as we doe not see God
callinge us unto. Did not Paul beare witness against the
Levitical cerimonys, and yett choose rather to depart
quickly out of Hierufalem, because the most of the Jews
would not receyve his testimonye concerninge Christ in that
question (Acts 22. 18.) than to stay at Hierufalem to bear
witness to that cause unto prifon and death? Not that
we came hither to strive against cerimonys (or to fight
against shadowes) there is noe neede of our further labor
in that course; our people here desire to worship God in
spirit and in truth, and our people left in England know
as well the groundes and reasons of our suffering against
these things, as our sufferings themselves, which we befeech
the Lord to accept and bleffe, in our bleffed Savior. How
farre our testimony there hath prevayled with any others, to search more seriously into the cause, we doe rather observe in thankfulness and silence, than speake of to the prejudice of our bretheren.

3. It hath been noe small inducement to us, to choose rather to remove hither, than to stay there, that we might enjoy the libertye, not of some ordinances of God, but of all, and all in purity. For though we bless the Lord with you for the gracious meanes of salvation, which many of your congregations doe enjoy (whereof our owne soules have founde the blessinge, and which we desire may be for ever continued, and enlarged to you) yet seeing Christ hath instituted no ordinance in vayne (but all to the offeringe of the body of Christ) and we know that our soules stand in neede of all to the utmost, we durst not so farre be wanting to the grace of Christ, and to the necessity of our owne soules, as to sit downe some where else, under the shadowe of some ordinances, when by two monethes travayle we might come to enjoy the libertie of all.

To your 2d question, how farre minifters are bound to beare witnesse against corruptions cast upon the face of Gods ordinances, it is too large a point for me to give answer to in the heele of a letter. But thus much briefly, witnes is to be borne against corruptions. 1. By keeping a mans owne garments cleane; I meane his owne outward practice. Rev. 16. 15. 2. By declaringe the whole counfell of God to his people, not shunninge any part of it, as reasonable occasion is offered, to prevent sinne in them. Acts 20. 26. 27. 3. By avoyding appearances of evill, as well as evill it selfe. 1 Thess. 5. 22. Eleazerus durst not eate mutton, or bread, or any other cleane foode, when it had an appearance of eateing swines flesh, but chose death rather than deliverance by such meanes. 2 Maccab. cap. 6. ver. 21. to 25. whose story though it be apochryphal, yet the example authenticall, as being ratified by the apostiles testimonie amongst the rest of like nature. Heb. 11. 35. where by the others he speaketh of he meaneth not other women, but other men, for the word is αλλας masculine.
Collecion of Papers.

Masculine. Howsoever, Peters dissimblinge is evidently blamed by Paul in a like case, when by his example he countenanced the imposing of ceremonyes upon the Gentiles, to whom God never gave them. Gal. 2. 11. to 14. 4. By contendinge for the truth in an holy manner, when others contend with us against it. Jude 3. 4. By givinge account of our fayth before magistrates, if they call us to it publiquely, requireing to be informd of our doctrine and manner of life. 1 Pet. 3. 15. Otherwise, if they call us to knowe our opinions in private (intending to bringe us into trouble) or publiquely, rather as captious questionists than judiciall governors, in such a cafe, I suppose we may conceale our mindes, and put our adversaries upon profe, as our Savior did, John 18. 19, 20, 21. But why doe I spend time and wordes to you in these things, who know them as well as I can tell you, I rather desire you may be kept in a peaeable way of bearinge witnesse to the truth (if the will of God be such) than exposed to hazards by such confessions as mighte prejudice your liberty. My poore requests are to heaven for you, as I desire you might not forgett me and mine, and all us here. Now the God of peace and power guide and support your spirit, in all your holy endeavours, bleffe and prosper your labors, and kepe you as a chosen vessell in the shadowe of his hande, through him that hath loved us.

Present my humble service to my right honourable lord; as also my dear affectyon to Mr. Ball, Mr. Slater, and all the brethren with you, especially to Mr. Dod, Mr. Cleaver. Mr. Winstin, Mr. Cotton, with earnest desire of the continuance of all their prayers (with your owne) in our behalfe. So I rest

Your very loving brother in our blessed Savior,

Boston, Dec. 3. 1634.

J. C.
Copy of Mr. Owen Rowe’s Letter to Governor Winthrop.

London the 18th February 1635.

Worthy Sir,

I have received yours dated the 10th December 1635, being very glad to hear of your welfare, it doth somewhat rejoice my heart when I consider and think what you enjoyne: my heart is with you, I shall I hope be glad if the Lord make mee a waye which I hope hee will that I may come, fee your glory and behould the beauty of our God in those gowenings of his in his temple: Sir it dyd glad mee to see that you had not forgott mee and more that you would be pleased to take the paynes to wryt to mee. Sir I have now put of my trade and as sone as it shall please God to fend in my debts, that I may paye what I owe and cleare things so here that I may come away without giving offence I am for your parte, the Lord make mee a cleare waye: now Sir seeing you have mee in your thoughts help forward that Mr. Ransford may be accommodated with lands for a farme to keepe my carrele that so my stocke may be preferved, for I conceive I have loft neare £500 as Mr. Willfon can certifye you: thus not doubting of your love he refis

Who is yours to command,

Owen Rowe.

Copy of a Letter to Governor Winthrop from Mr. Herbert Pelham.

Loving Cofen,

I returne you many thanks for your great love and hearty intertaynment of my brother, the ten pounds you desired me to pay for his board I payed to your brother

† Owen Rowe was a Tradesman in London and of the Company designed to New-England, but upon the change of times in England chose to remain there; was one of the King’s Judges and among those who were condemned and not executed.

‡ Mr. Herbert Pelham, Keb. Lord.
ther Downing, and think it little enough if not to little as things are with you for the present, and must acknowledge my selfe your debtor for your care and paynes with him, the account you sent I have perused and cast it up together with my disbursements and those of Sir Richard Saltonstalls which I have added to myne having repaid him what he laid out for stones £10 and bralls, and fraught of the stones with some other small things as when I send you the accompt will appear, soe that if I be not mistaken the accompt will be somewhat over, but for the present I conceive a mistake in the calling up of your account which because I could not tell how to rectifie I resolved by Mr. Downing's advise to send you backe your owne copy and to keepe an other my selfe, which his man hath written out for me soe that when you see your own hand you may be the better able to set it right.

I have sent over some fruit trees and some grape cuttings the best I could gett, if you like any of the grapes you may take what you please of them, I pray advise what I were doe with my trees, I shall be larger next time, remember me kindly to my cousin your wife, so with my hourly prayers I rest your ever loving cousin,

Feb. 23. 1635.

H. Pelham.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Winslow to Governor Winthrop of the Massachusets.

Being newly rysen from court I was requested by our governor, who cannot at present write, to dispatch a messenger to you just to informe you that we have this day by solemn act of court ingaged ourselves to take part with you and our brethren of Connecutacut in the war against the Peconists, purposing to send fourtie thirty men for the land service besides the managing of the vessels which we provide will not be lesse than forty; now we feare it will be longer than we willingly would for want of boats or vessels which are very scarce with us, unless you can
can furnish us for which we would willingly pay, as also some other necessaries hereunto belonging, tomorrow we shall know who are the men to goe with them, but hereof our governor will write at large (who desireth to salute you once more by my pen) so soone as our court is ended and opportunity is offered. Another maine end of our sending is in regard we have heard no more till since we rose this evening of the last expedition of our brethren of Conectacut and Capt. Underhill, and that is by Capt. Standish his Indian who was sent this morning to Namasket and faith the defeat of the fort is true and that onely three English were slaine in the taking of it. As also that the foresaid English and Capt.Patrick are still at Narraganset and have been some daies which makes us jealous and shall be till we hear from you, and the rather because we heard nothing from any of them by letter when John Jenny came away. I pray you therefore let us heare, and let not this (though true) discourage the sending of your 160 men, but take such revenge as may be a service to after times for any the barbarians to rise against us. If any letters be come from England I pray you to send them by the bearer, or such news as is worth the sending. I am sorry for the carriages of your people, God sanctifie his hand and fit us for such trials as he hath appointed. Thus with my love to you and prayers for you and yours desiring you to salute my christian friends with you take leave remaining yours till death,

Pлимouth the 5th of the
4th Month 1636.

Ed: Winslow.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Israel Stoughton to the Governor of the Massachusetts.

Honourable Sir,

IT hath pleased God further to crowne our poore endeavours with success graciously as you shall largely and punctually understand by Capt. Patrick, to whom I leave the

† Massachusetts History Vol. I. p. 76.
the relation wholly, seeing a lively voyce will do it: and therefore I entreat your favour for this omission; specially because it is late in the night and a faire wind attends us. Surely there have been so many singular providences as are worthy of due observance and eternall prayse. And allbeit we have not the whole of our desires, yet O that we could extoll him for what we have and waite for more. Much is done, but not all, and if ought be well done I desire we may not be weary thereof but proceed as God shall minister new occasions. Capt. Patrick can informe you of our intentions for the future: both for Block Island, Long Island, Indians beyond Puillipioak,&c. Allso if it shall appear usefull, and pleasing to you we will some of us come march through Neepenet: I earnestly desire the worke may be thoroughly done, and see we and our friends will suffer much by scattered wretches, if they be not closely followed. But I shall write more fully suddenly, and do desire to understand your pleasures: For we will prefer your minds before ours: But 'tis clear some must reside here or hereabouts. It is beyond my abilities for the present to resolve you which is best in all things, or particularly about planting Pecot. For tho' the place be subfittable, and an excellent harbour, and abundance of corne, and the same ground ready for English grayne forthwith, which is a great help to planters, yet the providence of God guided us to so excellent a country at Quaillipioak river and so all along the coast as we travelled, as I am confident we have not the like in English possession as yet, and probable 'tis the Dutch will seaze it if the English do not. It is conceived generally far more worthy than Pequid notwithstanding the former considerations. It is too good for any but friends, Capt. Patrick can informe you the full. I heartily thank you for your loving care of us about necessaries and do acknowledge your kind acceptance of our poore imperfect indeavours, craving your prayers for more grace that we may so increase in loyall faithfullnes and fruitfullnes, such as may be God's honor and

† New-Haven.
and the fullfilling of your and our joy through Jesus Christ our Lord, and so, with my due respect to your self with the counsell and majeistrates I take leave,

Yours as in duty I am bound,

Israell Stoughton.

Possession house in Pequid, the 4th day of the 5th weeke of our warrfare about midnight.†

Libertye and the Weale Publick reconciled: In a briefe and cleare declaration of the mis-apprehension of some grieved mindes concerning the lawfull and orderly proceedings of the late Court of Elections at Newtown, the 17th of the 3d month, 1637.*

The complaint is, that the peoples libertye was restrayned, by such as withstanded the reading of a petition tendered before the elections made.

For clearing hereof it is to be considered, 1. What the libertye is which they desire to have preserved: That I take to be this, viz. That the people may not be subjefted to any lawe or power amonge themselves without their consent; whatsoever is more than this, is neither lawfull nor durable, and instead of libertye may prove bondage or licentiousness.

2. If this libertye be at any tyme restrayned by the people themselves, they are guilty of their owne harme; if any be.

3. If such restraynt be not redresse, upon any seana-ble opportunity, when lawfully it may, they can blame none so much as themselves.

4. That the power of a popular state being unlimited in its owne nature, and being by free consent and wise adviše,
advise, brought into a method; and so bounded, in order onely, not in power, it is more safe to be so continued and exercised (though with offence or perhaps damage to some particulars in some transient cases, the original power remaining still inviolate) than to be putt out of its settled course, upon every pretence, or occasion, of publick grievance: seeing every deviation in the verye forme of any such government is allways attended with much trouble, and some danger.

Answ. If we examine the passages of the court, we shall see where the error was.

It is observable that the proper businesse of this court was matter of election, and it is also obviouse, that it hath obtained, by custom, the first place in that day (except ad- mission of freemen) and where it was objected, that in the court 1635, the petition in Mr. Endecott's case, was heard and answered before election: It is not true: For I can shew by that which hath been faithfully kept of the pas-sages of that court, among other, that all petitions were rejected till the elections were passed; and many can re-member, that when that case was heard, Mr. Heynes late governour, who had been elected that court.

It is objected againe, that the court might yet have heard the petition first, and seeing it was for the peoples libertye, why was it stopped? To this it may be answerd, that it is true, they might, if they had so pleased: But first they would not, and their refusal was lawfull upon these reasons.

1. It had been no point of wisdom to break order, without pressing necessity, or for some prevalent advantage, neither of which could the court then apprehend.

2. When the question was, whether petition or election should be first, none could give answer there, but the court it selfe, which was the whole bodye of freemen (for none of the magistrates had any more influence in that court than any other freeman) so as here was no other way to knowe the minde of the court but by putting it to vote, and by numbering either side; to decide the question; this
was done, and the major part being for election, it may truely be sayde, that the people or the court did order that election should proceed before the petition should be heard: And now let any wise man judge, who hath done the people wronge, or what restraint hath been putt upon their liberty. For if the people would have had the petition first heard, who could have judged it, or what exposition did any make against it, otherwise than is lawfull for any freeman to doe, by shewing his dislike and giving reason for it?

If it be objected, that a great parte of the people did not consent: I answer, there was not one freeman there but his consent was to it: for it is an inseparable incident to all bodyes politick, which are composed of voluntary members, that every one (in his admission) gives an implicite consent to whatsoever the major parte shall establishe, not being against religion or the weale publick, and this they are further bound unto by their oathe: yea if the oath be disputable, yet their consent is in it, till it be cleared, and the error of the major part convinced by plain arguments: otherwise no such societye would long subsist: neither could peace be at all preserv'd in it; for it is hardly possible, to establishe any thinge (except of indifferent nature) that shall please every man: and if one or more in any societie may be at libertye, when the rest are restrayne'd, it can neither be equal nor safe.

3. It had been meere injustice, for the people then assembled to have concluded any publick businesse by popular vote. The reason is apparent. Because those towns, which by lawful order, upon publick considerations, sent their proxies for elections, and their deputyes for other affaires, had been iniuriouly surpriz'd, and deprived of their due interest to discerne of those things, which did no les concern them than the rest who were present. And upon this grounde, whatsoever the freemen then present had concluded had been meere ly vide and no man bound to submit to it: for, besides the manifest iniurie to such as had been so unduly kept awaye, it might have fallen out, that
that, being present, they might have given such reasons as might have altered the judgment of the rest of the court.

4. If the petition had contained any matter of grievance which had necessarily required the help of the people to redress it (as in some cases it may fall out) yet why this might not as well have been done after the election as before doth not appeare: for the people must have stayed as long time, for dispatch of bothe, whichsoever had first been handled. petitions or elections: And if they had unadvisedly elected any unworthy person, they might soone have removed him: and the just disgrace upon such an one had more than recompenced the short tyme it would have required.

5. So the generall court at Boston, in the 3. mo. 1634, when the people established a reformation of such things as they judged to be amisse in the government, they then settled an order, that in the court of elections they should leave their deputyes to manage all other affairs.

6. It is verye difficult and dangerous for so great a people and of so different apprehenfions, to give judgment in a cause of right or wronge, being suddenly discovered to them: and if we should growe to such a multitude as (through Gods blessing) we may soone be, it will be impossible it should be well carried.

7. It is easye to judge, that 30 or 40 distinct men, chosen out of all the countrye, and by all reason as free from partialitye or prejudice as any other, may give a more just sentence in any such cause (upon deliberation and quiet discourse) than a whole multitude upon the suddaine, when many may be thought not to heare what is proposed, and others not to understand it, and perchance the greater part in a heate and tumult, and when the weakest and worst member of the common-wealth adds as much weight to the sentence as the most godly and judicious.

8. The people (in the saide court 1634) having (by searious advice of such as they best knew, and that seemed to be much lovers of their libertye) given power to their deputyes, for future tyme, to doe whatsoever them-
felves might (save in matters of elections) order requires
they should first referre the redresse of their grievances to
their deputyes, and the people not to entermeddle, except
the deputyes should first sayle, and that apparently and
previously: which is seldom like to fall out in a popular
state, where nothing but force can deprive them of their
libertye, except they shall wittinglye and willinglye give
them away, and then volunti non fit injuria, a man cannot
blame another for the harme he does to himselfe.

A Defence of an Order of Court made in the
Year 1637.

A Declaration of the Intent and Equitye of the Order
made at the last Court, to this effect, that none should be
received to inhabite within this Jurisdiction but such as
should be allowed by some of the Magistrates.*

For clearing of such scruples as have arisen about this
order, it is to be considered, first, what is the essentiaall
forme of a common weale or body politic such as this is,
which I conceive to be this—The consent of a certaine
companie of people, to cohabite together, under one go-

evernment for their mutual safety and welfare.

In this description all these things doe concurre to the
well being of such a body, 1 Persons, 2 Place, 3 Consent,
4 Government or Order, 5 Weallfare.

It is clearly agreed, by all, that the care of safety and
wellfare was the original cause or occasion of common
weales and of many familyes subjecting themselves to
rulers and laws; for no man hath lawfull power over an-
other, but by birth or consent, so likewise, by the law of
proprietye, no man can have just interest in that which
be-longeth to another, without his consent.

From

* The Defence and the Replication are undoubtedly the Per-
formances of Mr. Winthrop. The Answer is by Mr. Vane,
afterwards Sir H. Vane. I leave the Reader to judge who had the
From the premises will arise these conclusions.

1. No common weale can be founded but by free consent.

2. The persons so incorporating have a public and relative interest each in other, and in the place of their cohabitation and goods, and laws, &c. and in all the means of their welfare so as none other can claim privilege with them but by free consent.

3. The nature of such an incorporation tyes every member thereof to seake out and entertaine all means that may conduce to the wellfare of the bodye, and to keepe off whatsoever doth appeare to tend to their damage.

4. The wellfare of the whole is to be put to apparent hazard for the advantage of any particular members.

From these conclusions I thus reason.

1. If we heere be a corporation establisshed by free consent, if the place of our cohabitation be our owne, then no man hath right to come into us &c. without our consent.

2. If no man hath right to our lands, our government privileges, &c. but by our consent, then it is reason we should take notice of before we conferre any such upon them.

3. If we are bound to keepe off whatsoever appears to tend to our ruine or damage, then may we lawfully refuse to receive such whose dispositions suite not with ours and whose society (we know) will be hurtfull to us, and therefore it is lawfull to take knowledge of all men before we receive them.

4. The churches take liberty (as lawfully they may) to receive or reject at their discretion; yea particular towns make orders to the like effect; why then should the common weale be denied the like liberty and the whole more restrained than any parte?

5. If it be sinne in us to deny some men place &c. among us, then it is because of some right they have to this place &c. for to deny a man that which he hath no right unto is neither sinne nor injury.

6. If strangers have right to our houses or lands, &c. then it is either of justice or of mercy; if of justice let them plead it, and we shall know what to answer: but if
it be only in way of mercy, or by the rule of hospitality, &c., then I answer 1st, A man is not a fit object of mercy, except he be in miserye. 2d, We are not bound to exercise mercy to others to the ruine of oursewes. 3d, There are few that stand in neede of mercye at their first coming hither. As for hospitality, that rule doth not bind further than for some present occasion, not for continual residence.

7. A family is a little common wealth, and a common wealth is a great family. Now as a family is not bound to entertaine all comers, no not every good man (otherwise than by way of hospitality) no more is a common wealth.

8. It is a generall received rule, turpius ejectitur quam non admittitur hospes, it is worse to receive a man whom we must cast out againe, than to denye him admittance.

9. The rule of the Apolile, John 2. 10. is, that such as come and bring not the true doctrine with them should not be received to house, and by the same reason not into the common weale.

10. Seeing it must be granted that there may come such persons (suppose Jesuits, &c.) which by content of all ought to be rejected, it will follow that this law (being only for notice to be taken of all that come to us, without which we cannot avoyd such as indeed are to be kept out) is no other but just and needfull, and if any should be rejected that ought to be received, that is not to be imputed to the law, but to those who are betrufted with the execution of it. And herein is to be considered, what the intent of the law is, and by consequently, by what rule they are to walke, who are betrufted with the keeping of it. The intent of the law is to preserve the wellfare of the body; and for this ende to have none received into any fellow ship with it who are likely to disturb the same, and this intent (I am sure) is lawful and good. Now then, if such to whom the keeping of this law is committed, be persuaded in theire judgments that such a man is likely to disturb and hinder the publick weale, but some others who are not in the same trust, judge otherwise, yet they are to follow
follow their own judgments, rather than the judgments of others who are not alike interested: As in tryall of an offender by a jury; the twelve men are satisfied in their consciences, upon the evidence given, that the party deserves death: but there are 20 or 40 standers by, who conceive otherwise, yet is the jury bound to condemn him according to their own consciences, and not to acquit him upon the different opinion of other men, except their reasons can convince them of the error of their consciences, and this is according to the rule of the Apostle, Rom. 14. 5. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.

If it be objected, that some profane persons are received and others who are religious are rejected, I answer 1st, It is not knowne that any such thinge hath as yet fallen out. 2, Such a practice may be justifiable as the case may be, for younger persons (even profane ones) may be of less danger to the common weale (and to the churches also) than some older persons, though professors of religion: for our Saviour Christ when he conversed with publicans, &c. sayth that such were nearer the kingdom of heaven than the religious pharisees, and one that is of large parts and confirmed in some erroneous way, is likely to doe more harme to church and common weale, and is of less hope to be reclaimed, then 10 profane persons, who have not yet beene hardened, in the contempt of the meanes of grace.

Lastly, Whereas it is objected that by this law, we reject good christians and so consequently Christ himself: I answer 1st, It is not knowne that any christian man hath beene rejected. 2, A man that is a true christian, may be denied residence among us, in some cases, without rejecting Christ, as admitting a true christian should come over, and should maintaine community of goods, or that magistrates ought not to punish the breakers of the first table, or the members of churches for criminal offences: or that no man were bound to be subject to those lawes or magistrates to which they should not give an explicite consent, &c. I hope no man will say, that not to receive such an one, were to reject Christ; for such opinions (though being maintained
maintained in simple ignorance, they might stand with a state of grace yet) they may be so dangerous to the publick weale in many respects, as it would be our sinne and unfaithfullness to receive such among us, except it were for tryall of their reformation, I would demand then in the cafe in question (for it is booteleffe curiosity to re-frayne openefle in things publick) whereas it is sayd that this law was made of purpoſe to keepe away such as are of Mr. Wheelwright his judgment (admitt it were so which yet I cannot confefse) where is the evill of it? If we conceive and finde by fadd experience that his opinions are such, as by his own profefion cannot stand with externall peace, may we not provide for our peace, by keeping of such as would strengthen him, and infect others with fuch dangerous tenets? and if we finde his opinions such as will caufe divisions, and make people looke at their magiftrates, ministers and brethren as enemies to Christ and Antichrifts, &c. were it not sinne and unfaithfullness in us, to receive more of thofe opinions, which we allready finde the evill fruite of: Nay, why doe not thofe who now complayne joyne with us in keeping out of fuch, as well as formerly they did in expelling Mr. Williams for the like, though lesſe dangerous? Where this change of their judgments should arife I leave to themselves to examine, and I earnestly entreat them fo to doe, and for this law let the equally mynded judge, what evill they finde in it, or in the practice of thofe who are betrufted with the execution of it.

A briefe Answer to a certaine declaration, made of the intent and equitye of the order of court, that none should be received to inhabite within this jurifdiction but fuch as should be allowed by some of the magiftrates.

The scope of the declaration is to defend and justifye the order in question, to which purpose these fouer things are layde downe.
1. A ground worke to upholde such reafons as are produced in the caufe.
2. The reafons themselves, whereby the order is defended.
3. Obje£tions are made and anfwered as would feeme.
4. The conclusion of the whole discourse.

For the ground worke which is layde in the firft place; it conffits partly of a decription of a common wealth, which in fome fentre is explyoued, and partly of diverse conclusions arifing from fuch decription and explication.

The decription which is fett downe in effect is this. A common-wealth is a certaine companie of people confenting to cohabit together under one government, for their mutual safetye and wefflare. In which decription this maine faulie is founde. At the beft it is but a decription of a common-wealth at large, and not of fuch a com- mon-wealth as this (as is faid) which is not only chriflian but dependant upon the grante also of our Souveraigne; for fo are the expreff e words of that order of court to which the whole countrey was required to subfcribe.

Now if you will define a chriflian common-wealth, there muft be put in; fuch a confent as is according to Prov. 8. 5 God; a subje£ting to fuch a government as is ac- cording unto Chrifl. And if you will define a corporation, incorporated by vertue of the grante of our Souveraigne, it muft be fuch a confent as the grante re- quires and permitts and in that manner and forme as it prefcribes. Or else it will be defective. The common-wealth here described, may be a companye of Turkifh pirates as well as Chriflian profeffors, unleffe the confent and go- vernment be better fimited than it is in this deffinition; for sure it is, all Pagans and Infidels, even the Indians here amongst us, may come within this compaffe. And is this fuch a body politicke as ours, as you fay? God forbid. Our common-wealth we feare would be twife miserable, if Chrifl and the King fhould be shut out fo. Reafons taken from the nature of a common-wealth, not founded upon Chrifl, nor by his Majeftyes charters, muft needs fall to
the ground, and faile those that relye upon them. In the application of the description, and the conclusions inferred, all things are not currant, all things doe not agree concerning the causes of common-wealths as is affirmed. There are 7 several opinions of this matter, which writers speak of, though this be not so material. Members of a common-wealth may not seeke out all meanes that may conduce to the wellfare of the body, but all lawful and due meanes, according to the charter they hold by, either from God or the King, or from both: Nor may they keepe out whatsoever doth appeare to tend to theire damage (for many things appeare which are not) but such,as upon right and evident grounds, doe so appeare, and are so in truth. Thus farre concerning that which hath beene touched may for the present suffice.

The second thing is the reasons, which we shall fett downe and answer.

The first reason of the equity of the order is this, “If we be a corporation established by free consent, if the place of our habitation be our owne. then no man hath right to come unto us without our consent.”

Anf. We do not know how we that stand a corporation, by vertue of the Kings charter, can thus argue; yet to avoyd dispute, suppose the antecedent should be granted, the consequence doth not follow. This is all that can be inferred, that our consent regulated by the worde, and suitabe to our patent ought to be required, not this vast and illimitted consent here spoken off, our consent is not our owne, when rightly limitted, 1 Cor. 6. 19, 20. An unlawful dissent can hinder no man, though a lawful may.

The 2d reason runs thus, “If no man hath right to our lands, our government privilegdes, &c. but by our consent, then it is reason we should take notice of men before we conferre any such upon them”

Anfw. Belydes the doubtfulness of the truth of the supposition, the question here is changed; for so most states doe in takeing the names of such as come to dwell among them, but the question is whether the admitting or rejecting
rejecting of persons should depend upon such unlimited and unsafe a rule, as the will and discretion of men, suppose magistrates or others not regulated.

The 3d reason is thus framed, "If we are bound to " keepe off whatsoever appeares to tende to our ruine and " damage, then may we lawfully refuse to receive such " whose dispositions suite not with ours, and whose societie " we know will be hurtefull unto us, and therefor it is " lawful to take knowledge of men before we doe receive " them."

Answ. This kinde of reasoning is very confused and fallacious, for the question here is not only changed, but there is this further deceite of wrapping up many questions in one, and besides if it were put into a right forme, the assumption would be false.

The question is not, as was said before, whether knowledge may not be taken of men, before they be received, nor whether magistrates may refuse such as suite not with their dispositions, or such whose societie they know will be hurteful to them; though the second of these is not, nor cannot be proved; but whether persons may be rejected, or admitted, upon the illimitted consent or dissent of magistrates. The assumption also would be false, for men are not to keepe off whatsoever appeares to tend to their ruine, but what really doth so; Elijah appeared to Ahab, and, no doubt, to his counsell of state, a troubler of the common-wealth, one that brought 3 yeares famine, enough to ruine the whole state: Yet the Jewish magistrates ought not to have rejected him and all those of his frame and judgment, because thus it appeared; for in truth Elijah was the horsemen of Israel and the chariots thereof. It appeared also to the chiefe priests and pharisees, that if our blessed Saviour were let alone, it would tend to their ruine, John 11. 47, 48. and therefore used meanes to keep it off by rejecting Christ and his gospel, and yet we hope you will not say they were bound to doe so. Lastly, it appears to the Natives heere (who by your definition are compleat common-wealths among themselues) that the cohabitation
collection of papers.

cohabitation of the English with them tends to their utter ruine, yet we beleevie you will not say they may lawfully keepe us out upon that grounde, for our cohabitation with them may tend to their conversion and so to their eternal salvation, and then they shoulde doe most despe-

rately and sinnefully. Let us then doe unto our brethren at least as we would defyre to be done unto by Barbari-

ans, which is not to be rejected, because we suifie not with the disposition of their Sechem, nor because, by our com-
ing, God takes them away and troubles them, and so, to their appearance, we ruine them.

The 4th argument stands thus, "The churches take " libertye (as lawfully they may) to receive or rejecte at " their discretion; yea particular townes make orders to " such effect, why then shoulde the commonwealth be denied " the like libertye, and the whole more restrained than " any part?"

Answ. Though the question be here concluded, yet it is farre from being soundly proved, yea, in trueth, we much wonder that any member of a church should be ignorant of the falseness of the groundworke upon which this conclusion is built; for should churches have this power, as you say they have, to receive or rejecte at their discretion, they would quickly grow corrupt enough. Churches have no libertye to receive or rejecte, at their discretions, but at the discretion of Christ, whatsoever is done in word or deed, in church or common-wealth, must be done in the name of the Lord Jesu. (Coll. 3. 17.) Neither hath church nor common-wealth any other than ministeriall power from Christ (Eph. 5. 23.) who is the head of the church, and the prince of the kings of the earth. (Rev. 1. 5.) After that Cornelius and his companye had received the holy ghost, whereby the right which they had to the covenant was evidenced, it is not now left to the discretion of the church whether they would admitte them thereunto or not. But can any man forbid them water faith Peter, he commanded them to be baptized. (Acts 10. 47, 48.) There is the like reason of admission into churches, when
when Christ opens a door to any there is none may take liberty to shut them out. In one word, there is no liberty to be taken neither in church nor commonwealth but that which Christ gives and is according unto him, Gal. 5: 1.

The 5th reason produced is, "If it be sinne in us, to " deny some men place amongst us, then it is because " they have some right to our place."

Answ. The question is here again changed, for it is not whether some may be denied, but whether any or all such as the magistrates illimitted different shall rejecte. But besides this, we say, that the kings christian subjects have right by his majesties patent, to come over and plante in places not inhabited, for a double end, 1st, to enlarge his majesties dominions, 2dly, for the conversion of the Pagans. And since his majestie hath given them right for these ends, we may not deny them, unless they forfeite it, either by denying the land which they inhabite to be an enlargement of his majesties dominions, or becoming such dissolute and profligate persons as rather doe harden the Indians than be a means of their conversion, for by so doing we shall exceed the limitts of his majesties grante, and forfeite the privilegeds, government and lands which we challenge to be our owne.

Moreover, we may not deny residence, to any of his majesties subjects without just grounds, except we will doe injury both to the king and his subjects, who have ventured both their estate and lives to enjoye those privilegeds and libertyes, which he hath granted them. But besides the law doth not only prohibite those whom the magistrates shall dislike to plante in those places uninhabited, though in an orderly manner, but to make their abode in friends houses, either given or sold, or hyred, which are lawful meanes of obtaineing right. Now if the kings majestie give me right, if title be procured by donation, purchase, farmeing, &c. If now this state at their pleasure, take this away and expell men from the same, what were this but to exercise robbery, and to vex the poore and
and the needy, and oppress the stranger wrongfully, a
sinne forerunning desolation, (Ezek. 22. 29.) and such an
one as will more ruine the state by the execution thereof,
than those persons (whom the law intend to expell) were
the law abolished.

The 6th reason assigned is this, "If strangers have
"right to our houses or lands, &c. then it is either of
"justice or mercye," &c.

Answ. The question still is changed, but in answer to
this we say, such may the stranger be as have true right
of cohabitation, and sojourning with us, as hath beene
shewed, and that of justice, by his majesties patent, for
they are fellow subjects to one and the same prince, they
are also of the same nation, and if they be christians they
are in a farre nearer relation than all these, even fellow
brethren, and coheires of all the blessings layd up for them
in Christ Jesus, and in all these considerations have right
of cohabitation and residence with us.

The 7th reason is this, "A familye is a little common-
wealth and a common-wealth is a great familye, now a
familye is not bound to entertaine all comers, no not
"every good man, otherwise than by way of hospitallitye,
"no more is a common-wealth."

Answ. Here againe the question is much changed, it
should not have been proved that we are not bound to
receive all comers nor all good men, but rather no comers
at all, unless it be upon the unlimitted consent of the
magistrates. Although it be true, that there is some
proportion betweene a familye and a common-wealth, yet
there is a great disparitie in this matter. A maister of a
familye hath another kinde of right to his house and estate
than this common-wealth hath to all the houses and lands
within this patent. The maister of a familye may bequeath
his whole estate to his wife and children, and so may not
the body of this common-wealth to theirs. The king
will looke for some right, nor may we blame him, if he
doe. Many are no members of the common-wealth, and
yet have good right both to houses and lands here, many
members of this state agree not to this law, but have
protested
protested against it as sinnfull and unwholesome, and yet we hope the rest have not as good right to their houses goods and lands as the maister of the familye hath to his. If the state should take upon them such a right, I pray you consider whether it would not prove a greater wronge, even like to that of Labans toward Jacob, who told him that all were his, Gen. 31. 43. It is to be feared such pleas of right will worke more trouble to this state, if they be noysed abroad, than the entertainment of those people against whom this law is made.

Eighthly it is thus reasoned, "It is a generall rule, "turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur hospes, it is worse "to receive a man whom we must cast out, than to deny "him admittance."

Answ. Let any man resolve these words, and they will be farre from proveing the equitie, though they may perhaps the intent of the courts order. The thinge which from hence is concluded will only amount to this. That it is worse for a common-wealth to receive a man whom they must cast out againe, than to deny him admittance. The reason is taken from humane authoritye, but what is this to the pointe in controversye, why should men thus argue, and their conclusions so farre from the marke, yet as we said perhaps this may shew the courts intent, for this intimation we have from hence, That the intent of the common-wealth is to cast out all such as have beene received in tymes past, who are of the same judgment with them, whom the magistrates will not admit but cast out, though with a greate deale more dishonestye, for turpius ejicitur, &c. which if it must be, the Lords will be done.*

Ninthly, it is thus further argued, "The rule of the "Apostle, John 2. 10. is, that such as come and bring not "the true doctrine with them should not be received to "house, and by the same reason not into the comwealth."

The question is still wonderfully changed, for if the order now in question were but conformable to this rule of the Apostle none would oppose it, but the order is therefore

* Mr. Vane's adherents were afterwards banished. See Majf. Hift. Vol. p. 75.
therefore scrupelled, because it setts downe no rule for the magistrates to walke by in that admittance or rejection of such as come, but leaves it to their illimited consent or dissent, nay such were the expressions of the same, in the court, who had a hand in this law, as cleares it to us that this law opposeth directly this rule; for such as doe bring the doctrine intended in the text, are the persons which are aymed at to be denied residence, as sad experience also in the execution hath given us in parte to see already, and wee feare in the future will yet doe more.

The 10th and last reason is this in effect, "Such may not " come into the land as by the consent of all are to be re-" jected, and therefore it is lawful to take notice of them."

We much marvaile that it should be so often faid, the law is only for taking notice, if it not plaine that such are to be fined who receive them whom the magistrates allow not? and cannot notice be taken of men without such a course as this? Why should any in higher place speake in open court—Let us have their money first?— What means the words immediately following which speake of rejection and keeping out by vertue of this order, if it were only made to take notice of such? It would have done very well to have kept to the question, and not argue so farre distant from the purpose as this doth. What if some come into the land and are to be rejected, are any therefor to be rejected in an undue and sinnful way? In the enlargement of this reason the law is excused, if it be not rightly executed, and they which are to execute it are likewise defended, if they follow their judgments and cons-\fciences. The law is excused because it hath a good intent, but good intents do not make a law or action good, what was intended the execution doth declare. Now is it suffi-\cient for those who are betrufted with the execution of this law to follow their perswasions, judgments, and consciences, except they be rightly ruled by the word of truith? Paul was perswaded that he should doe those things which he did against Jesus of Nazareth, Acts 26. 9. They which kill Gods children may thinke they doe God good service,
John 16. 1. but in so doing, neither the one nor the other are to be excused. It is not a full persuasion that makes a thinge lawfull from the rule Rom. 14. 5. but a full persuasion upon good grounds. All the actions of christians must be according to the rule Christ gives them to walke by, Gal. 6. 6.

Object. 1. Some prophane persons are received, and others who are religious are rejected. To which you answer there is no such thing knowne to be done, and if it were it might be justified, because prophane persons may be lesse dangerous, than such as are religious, of large parts, confirmed in some erroneous way, our Saviour conversed with publicans, &c. and sayd they were nearer the kingdom of heaven than religious pharifees. This is the summe. As for the objection which is made, it is your owne; for any thing we know, we would not object in this manner. It is not the refusing of some religious persons against which we except, but against the libertye which is given by this law of rejecting those, that are truly and particularly religious, if the magistrates doe not like them, which is already put in practice, as farre as may be judged. If you deny any thing to be done, there are divers witnesses will affirme the contrarye. If you say it be more dangerous to accept such than prophane persons you need not much confutation, such shall be blessings wherefoever they come, Gen. 12. 2. they will not need to be bound to the peace or good behaviour as some that are admitted by authoritie by their blasphemous and quarrelling speeches. As for scribes and pharifees wee will not pleade for them, let them doe it who walke in their way; nor for such as are confirmed in any way of error, though all such are not to be denied cohabitation, but are to be pitied and reformed, Jude 22, 23. Ishmael shall dwell in the presence of his brethren, Gen. 16. 12.

Object. 2. It is objected that by this law we reject good christians and so consequentely Christ himselfe, and it is made of purpose to keepe away such as are of Mr. Wheelwrights judgment. To the former parte of this objection you
you say, it is not knowne that any christian man hath been rejected, and that christians in some cases may be rejected, holding some pernicious errors. This is the substance.

To which we answer that diverse christians have been already rejected so farre, as they are not allowed to make any abode amongst us, but for a short limited tyme, and by the law they may be rejected for ever. All the tyme such are rejected Christ is rejected, Luke 10. 16. Acts 9. 4. Suppose some christians may be refused and Christ not refused (which is not yet proved) that is nothing to the law nor to the present execution of it. If you deale with such make it appear. To the latter parte of this objection you answer, that you cannot confesse that it is made against them of Mr. Wheelwrights judgment, and if it were, where is the evil of it, seeing that the opinions are such as he professeth cannot stand with external peace, and will cause divisions, and will make the people looke at their magistrates, ministers and brethren, as enemies to Christ and antichristian, more dangerous than the opinion of Mr. Williams? We omit divers words for brevityes sake and change not the matter. To this we replye, that though you cannot confesse it, yet it doth appeare by your examinations of them you refuse, for present demanding of them whether they know him, and willing of them to disclaim his doctrine, and excepting against them because they are allied to them of the same judgment, as likewise by the courts proceeding against him, that there is some such thing; though indeed we would not make this objection, though some of the like kinde.

Now whereas you grante this by way of concession, and give reasons to justifie the same, they are either weak or greate mistakes. First you finde fault with his opinions, because he said they could not stand with externall peace. He affirmed indeed that the preaching of the gospell could not stand with externall peace, and doth not the word of God hold this forth? Our Saviour came not to send peace but a sword, Matth. 10. 34. That chapter speakes fully to the purpose, and when news of Christ comes, Herod...
and all Jerusalem is troubled, Matth. 2. 3. Paul and Silas were accused for turning the world upside down, Acts 17. 5. We question not but he will grante that the Lord can and doth sometimes give his church rest, Acts 9. 31. but this will not stand nor continue, which we know to be his meaninge. A man cannot be Christ's disciple but he must meete with crosses, Matth. 16. 24. Esau and Jacob wrestled together in their mothers wombe, Gen. 25. 22. In the 2d place you except against his opinions, because they make devils. The gospell which he or any man holds forth will cause devils by accident, Matth. 10. 34. 35. If he be blamed for this, Christ cannot be excused. The 3d thing you alledge is that his opinions make people looke at their magistrates, ministers and brethren as antichristians, enemies to Christ, but we know no such doctrine which he taught, all which he delivered concerning this matter, was a description of the way of workes and antichristianisme, and so farre as magistrates and ministers walke in that way they are to be looked at as antichristian. John 4. 1, 2, 3. Lastly, it is said that his opinions are more dangerous than those of Mr. Williams which, if it be true, then is the doctrine of the gospell more dangerous than that for which Mr. Williams was banished; for as yet we know nothing which Mr. Wheelwright helde dissonant from the gospell, neither hath he beene confuted, though condemned, and it is not our judgments so much as the cause which is changed.

These objections and answers being viewed, and what is unsound refuted, we come to the conclusion, wherein we are delieryd to judge what evil we finde in the law, and this we will doe faithfully by the helpe of Christ. This law we judge to be most wicked and sinnefull, and that for these reasons.

1. Because this law doth leave these weighty matters of the common-wealth, of receiving or rejecting such as come over to the approbation of magistrates, and suspends these things upon the judgment of man, whereas the judgment is Gods, Deut. 1. 17. This is made a ground worke of grosse popery. Priests and magistrates are to judge, but it
it must be according to the law of God, Deut. 17. 9, 10, 11. That law which gives that without limitation to man, which is proper to God, cannot be just.

2. Because here is liberty given by this law to expel and reject those which are most eminent christians, if they suite not with the disposition of the magistrates, whereby it will come to passe, that Christ and his members will finde worse entertainment amongst us than the Israelites did amongst the Egyptians and Babilonians, than Abram and Isack did amongst the Philistines, than Jacob amongst the Shechemites, yea even than Lott amongst the Sodomites. These all gave leave to Gods people, to sit downe amongst them, though they could not clayne such right as the Kings subjectes may. Now that law, the execution whereof may make us more cruell and tyrannicall over Gods children than Pagans, yea than Sodomites, must needs be most wicked and sinnefull.

3. This law doth crossse many lawes of Christ, Christ would have us render unto Cæfar the things that are Cæfars, Math. 22. 21. But this law will not give unto the Kings majesty his right of planting some of his subjectes amongst us, except they please them, Christ bids us not to forget to entertaine strangers, Heb. 13. 2. But here by this law we must not entertaine, for any continuance of time, such stranger as the magistrates like not, though they be never so gracious, allowed of both by God and good men, except we will forfeite unto them our whole estates, it may be and much more than our estates comes unto. Christ commands us to do good unto all, but especially to them of the household of faith. Many other lawes there are of Christ, which this law dasheth against, and therefore is most wicked and sinnefull.
A Reply to an Answer made to a Declaration of the Intent and Equity of the Order made at the Court in May last, whereby none are to be received &c. but by allowance of the Magistrates.*

Contentions among brethren are sad spectacles, among the churches of Christ, especially when they come once to favour of bitterness, which would have discouraged me from publishing the former declaration, if I could have expected such an answer: And in that respect I should willingly haveitten downe under my reproach, if the cause of truth and justice had not called me againe to this task; wherein, if I deale more sharply, than my own disposition leads me, the blame must fall upon him, who puts such occasions upon me, as I cannot otherwise shunne.

Many faults doth the Answerer find in my declaration, which I must examine as they come in order. The "if" is, that in describing a common wealth (such as ours "is") I do not describe it, as it is christian, nor as it is "founded upon the grant of our King."

To this I replye if, the definitions or description of the genus may be applied to all the species, reserving the specificall differences: To define a man to be a reasonable creature is a true definition of any man, whether rich or poor, christian or heathen: and when I describe a common wealth in general or in a more civil or politicke respect, the churches or christians which are in it, fall not into consideration, as to the being of it, for it may be a true body politicke, though there be neither church nor christian in it.

The like may be saide for the forme of government, whether it be by parent or otherwise yet it is a government, and so the description is safe and true.

2d. The description which I make doth include all that which he doth complaine to be wanting. The words are

* This Court was held at Newtown, now Cambridge, in May 1637.
are these. A company of people, consentling to cohabite under one government, for their mutual safety and welfare. Now let ours be layd to this description and the truth will appeare. We A. B. C. &c. consented to cohabite in theMassachusetts, and under the government set up among us by his Majesty’s patent or grant for our mutual safety and welfare, we agreed to walke according to the rules of the gospell. And thus you have both a christian common weale and the same founded upon the patent, and both included within my description.

I will adde only what I conceive from this and other like passages in his answer, viz. that he makes this exception rather to shelter himself under pretence of his tendernefs of the kings honour and right, than out of any ignorance of the true latitude of my description; and withall he discovers how little he regardeth what jealousyes he put us under, so he may shelter his owne parties. The Lord give him to see his secret underminings, that it may be forgiven him. Having thus faulted my description, he taketh upon him to teach me a better; and for this he refers me, by a marginal quotation to Proverb 8. 5. the text is this, Oh ye simple understand wisdom and ye fools be ye of an understanding heart; and to Isai. 6. 7. And he lyled it upon my mouth and sayd loe this hath touched thy lipps &c. How these places will prove his description of a christian common wealth, founded upon the kings patent is beyond my reach, but it suits well with a præfìde now in use, to speak nothing but what they bring scripture for; so scripture be alledged it matters not how impertinent they be.

As for your description it self, I have no more to say against it, but that it was not requisite, to that which I projected, to expresse those particulars; and our lawyers will tell you that expressio eorum que tacite infunt nihil operatur: My intent was to prove the proprietye and privileges of a common weale which may also belong to such government among Turkes and Pagans, so far as they may fail within my description without any prejudice to the most christian government, that is, as if I speake of one
that is an honest man, and say that he goeth upright, speaks, laughs, &c. when a Turke or a Pagan doth the same.

His next exception is, that I say "that such a body " politic may use all means, which may conduce to their " wellfare, and do not restrain it to lawful means."

To this I reply, that it is according to scripture phrase, and our common speech. When we call upon a fickle man, to use means for his recovery, we are well enough understood, though we put not the word lawful: I may do all things, faith Paul, and give all diligence faith Peter, without expressing lawful, which the Answerer would have understood well enough, if he had not beene minded to seeke a knot in a rulh; only I see not why he should passe over thote many things which he faith are questionable in my ground worke, and take up thote which will afford so little advantage.

Then he proceeds to examine the reasons which I lay'd downe to prove the equitie of this law.

The first reason is this, "If we be a corporation established by free consent, if the place of our habitation be our owne—then no man hath right to come in to us, without our consent."

To this he answers, that "he knoweth not how we who stand a corporation by the Kings parent can thus argue." To this I replye then. I will tell him, that which the King is pleased to bestow upon us, and we have accepted, is truly our owne.

2. He denyeth the consequence by a distinftion of a consent regulated, and a vast and illimited consent.

Replye: To speake of consent in general, implyeth always a consent suitable to the power or interest of him who is to give it; as when we say, a child may not marrye without consent of parents, we know it is regulated, yet when a father pleads it, he doth not neede to expresse all the limitations.

Thus he runs on in a frivolous discourse, and in the end falls upon this fallse conclusion, "An unlawful dissent can hinder no man." So that if he had need to borrow my
horfe, and I ought by the rule of love to lend him to him, though I refuse to consent to his request herein, yet he may take him, because my dissent is unlawful; so by this conclusion a wife, a child, a servant may doe any things that is lawfull, though the husband, father, or master deny their consent. If this speed well, the next conclusion will be an anarchie.

After this discourse I expected somewhat to have taken away the consequence of my argument, but I finde not a word to that purpose, he is suddenly fallen upon my second reason, which is this,

“If no man hath right to our land, &c. but by our consent, then it is reason we should take notice of men, before we conferre any such upon them.”

This he partly grants, but complains of the change of the question, to which I replye that I did not propound any reasons in a syllogistical frame, but by way of discourse, and that which this argument tends unto was only to shew why some were not presently allowed, but a time taken, wherein we might gayne some notice and tryall of them, and there was no need why the answerer should so often complaine of the change of the question; for if he takes my reasons together he cannot denye but the question it selfe is argued and concluded, as will appeare by the sequell, I will therefore passe by all that he strives about, upon this supposed fallacie, and joyne with him in the question, as he states it, viz.

Whether the admitting or rejecting of persons should depend upon the discretions of men, which he calls an unlimited and unsafe rule and their discretion not regulated, though they should be magistrates.

To this I replye, or rather answere, first, That which he takes for granted, and wherein lies the whole strength of his defence is untrue, viz. That the magistrates will and discretion in our case is not regulated, for 1st, the magistrates are members of the churches here and, by that covenant, are regulated to direct all their ways by the rule of the gospell, and if they faile in any thinge, they are subject to the churches correction. 2dly. As they are
freemen, they are regulated by oath, to direct their aymes to the wellfare of this civill body. 3dly. As they are magistrates, they are sworne to doe right to all, and regulated by their relation to the people, to seeke their wellfare in all things; so as here is no such irregulated discretion as is supposed, and it seems to me an improper speech and favouring of contradiction; for discretion always implies a rule for its guide. And herein I have occasion to take in his answere to my 4th reason drawne from the practice of our churches, and some towns where matters of admitting or rejecting are ordered by discretion. And here it is made a wonder that I shew so much ignorance. I must confesse my ignorance is greate, and I cannot hide it, being expos'd so much as I am to publick view: Yet that will notcover the answerers blindness, from prejudice in this greate wonder, which is such as he cannot discern the voyce and will of Christ dispenced in the discretion of his servants and people, and yet tells us not how it should be knowne otherwise. Did he never heare, that our practise is, that none are propounded to the congregation, except they be first allowed by the elders,* and is not this to admit or reject by discretion? Did he never heare of a christian man rejected by the church, or put off at least, because a brother hath profesed want of satisfaction? Hath he never heard that the dissent of some few brethren may, by rule, (as hath beene sayd) cause the rejection of a man, whom all the rest of the brethren shall approve of? And where is Christ's voyce to be heard now, if he will have discretion shut out of the church. So says the instance of townes matters (which he wisely declines and gives no answer to) he well knowes that within the towne of Boston it is an establisshed order, that none should be received into cohabitation there, except they be allowed by certain men appointed to judge of their fitness for church-fellowship. And so, whereas the way of God hath alwayes beene to gather his churches out of the world; now, the world, or civill

* This must needs render the influence of the Clergy very great under the old Constitution. No body could be proposed to the Church for a Member unless the Minister allowed it. No body could be admitted a Freeman unless he was a Member of the Church.
civill state, must be raised out of the churches. And yet the answerer can finde nothing of wonder of ignorance here. And if he had enquired of our neighbours at Plymouth, they could have told him that their practice hath beene upon the like law, for many yeares, I mean in referring it to the discretion of the magistrates to receive and reject such as come to them. And if he had considered of a rule in the law of Moses, he should finde that there is power given to a husband or father to allow or make void any vow of a wife or childe at their discretion, yet I hope he will not call this a vail and unlimited rule.

But because the word discretion seems so offensive and unsafe, let us trye it by the balance of the sanctuarye, if we can finde it to hold weight there, sure it will prove a good measure for civill affaires.

The word in scripture is sometymes taken for sound reason, as Psal. 112. 5. He will order his affaires by discretion; so Pro. 11. 12. Sometymes for understanding, as Pro. 19. 11. Isai. 28. 26. Sometymes for skill, as Pro. 2. 11. Pro. 3. 21. Sometymes for judgment, Phil. 1. 9. And in all places in a good fence, for it is a gift of God wherein he deserveth his own wisdome in all the affaires of men, both in church and common wealth; all lawes are made by discretion, and the equitie of them is found out and applyed to particular cases by discretion; by it (being guided by the spirit of God) the mynde and will of God is found out in his word, Acts 5. 8 and Acts 8. 23. Acts 15. 38. Acts 21. 23. Levit. 27. 8, 12. So for judgment in civil causes; by discretion did Solomon judge betweene the harlots. It is not possible to provide a law that in the letter of it shall reach every case which may fall out, as we see by the law of God it selfe in the same place of Levit. 27. 8. then it must rest in the discretion of the judge to discerne, so doth the Lord himselfe appointe, Deut. 17. 8, 9. &c. they are to do as the judge shall determine, and that which he shall declare for law, that must they obey, otherwise there could be no determination in hard and doubtful cases. As for these scriptures which the Answerer alledged about Christ his souerainty, &c. they
they are nothing to the question; for the prerogative authority of Christ in all affaires in church and common wealth, doth not hinder the manner of his dispensations of the miniftery of his servants, and in the improvement of such gifts of his, of wisdome, discretion, &c. as he is pleased to exerçise his authority in, according to the rule of his word.

My 5th reason is, that it is no sinne or injury to deny a man that which he hath no right unto, therefore we may deny some men place amongst us. In the answer, there is againe complainte of changing the question, because I go about to prove that some men may be rejected, which he leemeth to grant, and if so then that which he maketh the maine question will easily be cleared, for if we may reject some, then the care of this must be committed to some persons, for to speak of discerning Christ his authority in church or common wealth, otherwise than as it is dispensed in the miniftery of men, is a meer idea or fantasy. If then it must be committed to some persons, to whom may it more properly than to the fathers of the common wealth? And if it cannot be foreseene who are to be received and who to be rejected, those persons must be trusted with the tryall of them, and if no certaine rule can be set downe which may be sufficient to discern of every man, then must it be committed to their discretion, regulated by the word of God, and the dutye of their place, which they are bound to observe. And whereas the Anwserer cryes out against this course as vast, illimited, fineful and injurious, and yet will not (and cannot) prescribe us a better, neither in his answer, nor at the court when he oppossed the makeing of this law, may we not safely judge that such opposition and those reprochful termes as are cast from it, upon an ordinance of God, in the faces of those whom he would have to be had in honor for his sake, proceed rather from distemper of minde, than from any just cause of offence?

Now here I might strike him with his owne weapoon, for when he seake to prove that any of the kings sub-
jects, have right by our patent to come and plant in places not
not inhabited, he changes the question indeed, for both the
law and our dispute have beene about entertaining into
houfes and townes, and not into places not inhabited. That
question may fall to be discudst upon some other occasion.

Againe (that we may take notice how his zeale for the
caufe outrunes his judgment) he gives to all the kings
christian subjects a right to plant among us, by vertue of
our patent, and such a right as by misufage whereof they
may forfeit the patent, and here he might fitly have
brought in his vaft and illimitted termes, had he not mis-
placed them, for haft, for there was never feene such a vaft
patent of incorporation as fhould comprehend all the kings
christian subjects, which is as large as if he had fayd all his
subjects.

But that others may fee his errour, if he himfelfe will
not, let the patent be perufed, and there it will be found,
that the incorporation is made to certaine persons by name,
and unto fuch as they fhall associate to themselves, and all
this tract of land is granted to them and their associates:
And after this he gives leave to any of his subjects to de-
part out of his other dominions to this place: So then the
case standeth thus, the 10 men of Bofton allow a ftrainger
to fit downe among them, yet this gives him no right to
any mans houfe or land, nor to any lot in the towne, till it
be granted him, nor to any privilege there till he be made
free; we muft have a new fort of reafon to make this a
good argument; the King gives a man leave to inhabite in
the incorporate colony of the Massachusetts, ergo, he hath
hereby right to the lands there. His discourse about the
matter of general right by patent is fo confused and irra-
tional, as I shoule but waste tyme and paper to follow him
in it, valeat ut valere poteft. I finde nothing in it
which may endainguer my argument, except it be put out
of countenance, by a fafe clamour of robbery, vexation, op-
pression, &c. as if the fiate here went about to take from men
their lawful right and expell them from their houfes, &c.

The 6th reafon is this, if ftraingers have right to our
houfes, &c. then it is either of justice or of mercy, &c.
The answerer, after his wonted prejudice of change of
the question, undertakes to prove, "that some strangers
"have right in justice by the Kings patent," only he re-
straineth it to cohabitation and sojourning (which will con-
clude nothing for him, seeing this law doth not shut out
all strangers) The reasons he bringeth are three, the 1st,
because they are fellow-subjects, 2dly, because they are of
the same nation, 3dly, because they are christians.

To this I replye, that I have already cleared this pointe
in laying open the extent and meaning of the patent, and
this I may say further, that I have reade over all the
laws of England and all the general customes and privi-
leges of the Kings subjects there, but I have not found
any thinge that may give the least colour for such a privi-
ledge as is pretended.

As for that of christiantye I have granted in my de-
claration that there is a right of hospitality, but for other
right of cohabitation or sojourning it must be considered
in such special cases, as may fall out and cannot be pro-
vided for by general rule.

My 7th reason is drawne from the proportion or re-
semblance that a common-wealth hath to a familye, which
is not bound to entertaine all comers, no not every good
man, otherwise than by way of hospitality.

The answerer (his complainte of changing the question
premised) seekes to disprove the proportion, by "distin-
"guishing between the right which the master of a familye
"hath to his house, &c. and the right which this common
"wealth hath to all the houses, &c. within this patent." This
he amplyfyes by particular instances. "1. in power
"of bequeathing them to his wife and children. 2. In re-
gard of the King's right. 3. In respect of such as are no
"members, &c. and yet have right to their houses, &c.
"4. In regard to such as have protested against this law."

To this I replye, that it is not needful they should hold
proportion in all respects: It is sufficient if they hold in
that which is intended, viz. libertye to receive or reject;
which being knowne to all and confessed by the answerer,
in granting that some may be rejected, is sufficient to make
good the argument drawne from this similitude: yet to
make it more cleare, I replye to these instances.

To the first I say, that a bodye politicke may leave
their houses, &c. to their succersors, which are in the place
of their children. 2. For the Kings right, that being para-
mount, hinderes no more in a common-wealth than it doth
in a familie, for he hath the same interest in the houses,&c.
of the father of a familie. 3. For such as are no members
they are as sojourners in a familye, who though they have
right to be in the familie themselves, yet may not receive
in any to reside in their particular chambers, without con-
sent of the master of the familie. 4. For such as protested
against this law, that protestation cometh too late (except
they first convince us of the injustice of the law) seeing
they formerly gave an implicite consent to all the whole-
some lawes and orders of the body; neither need we feare
to proclaime our right to our houses, &c. against all in-
truders, more than particular persons and corporations may
do in England, notwithstanding his Majesties interest in
them also. Such objections are not worth any answere.

In his answere to my 8th reason, viz. "Turpius eijcitur
quam non admittitur hofpes," he faith it is of humaine
authority, and that my conclusions are farr from the marke.

To this I replye, that though this sentence be humaine,
yet the equitie of it is strengthened by divine truths: It
had been leffe griefe to Abraham not to have received
Hagar to his bed then it was after to caft her out; and it
was turpius for Tobija and his fluffe to be caft out of the
temple, then it would if he had not been received in.
Now that it may appear how farre my conclusion is from
the marke, I will thus lay downe the argument. That law
which shus out such as being received in, shall be
worthy to be caft out is honest and of good reporte, but
this law doth fo, ergo, &c.

The major proposition is proved by the examples of
Hagar and Tobija, the minor I prove thus; the law pro-
vides to have such kept out as will disturbe the peace here,
rightly
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rightly established by the rules of God's word, ergo, &c. except the argument may be avoyded, the conclusion will hitt the marke.

But the Answere faith that, "1. Such ones as are intended to be kept out, are no disturbers of our peace. "2. That the law doth not declare who are to be kept out and who not."

To these I replye first, for brevitys sake let the apologie and the remonstrance, with the coppie of the whole sermon (which himselfe delivered into the court) be compared and examined, and they shall decide the question, if you will stand to it.

To the seconed I replye, that yourselse confesstes who the law intended to keepe out; and though such a preamble as might have expressed the full intent, was (for want of time) omitted (which was indeed a defect) yet such as were of the court, and did well know, can make no such advantage of it, seeing the magistrates have other rules to guide them in the execution of it; and so it is warranted by scripture examples as that of our saviour Math. 16. 19. and 18. 18. whatsoever you binde on earth shall be bound in heaven &c. yet he doth not there tell them, who they ought to binde or loose.

The 9th argument is taken from that of the 2 John 10. Such as bring not the true doctrine are not to be received to house, and consequently not into the common wealth.

The Answere (after his usual complainte of the change of the question) acknowledgeth, that if the order had been made against such it would not have been opposed; but affirmeth that it appears (by the same expressions in the court, and by the execution of the law in part) that this law is made to keepe out such as bring the true doctrine of the gospell, so that now he hath brought the question to this late, whether the opinions spread in the country, and opposed by the magistrates and elders, be the doctrines of the gospell or not, which seeing it is to be decyded by the synod assembled, it will be beft to attend the issue thereof.
In his answer to the 10th reason, he doth only discourse and finde fault with a conclusion which is of his own framing (for I do not conclude that the law was only for taking notice of such as come to us, but I add also the ende of such notice, viz. for avoyding such as are to be kept out) which being all included in one parentesis, it is more than a slip thus to mistake it.

And whereas he chargeth me, as if I grounded the law upon no better foundation than a good intent, the reader may easily judge that it is a meere slander: For I lay down the order of the law to be, that such should not be received into our fellowship who are likely to disturbe the same; and thence I inferre that this intent is lawfull and good.

The like caft he hath at the persuasion and conscience of such as are to execute this law: And here I must make bold to ask him this question, viz. Seeing you are bound by your oath in all causes wherein you are to give your vote for elections, &c. to goe according to your conscience, if then one be propounded to be chosen a magiftrate, and you are persuaded in your conscience, by the best knowledge you can get of him, that he is not fitt for that place, whether are you to give your vote for him or not? When you have answered this question, I will replye further to you: And with all I defyre the anfwerer to take this along with him; that this law concerning the freemens oath, whereunto all the godly of this common-wealth consented, (and which referrs the judgment of persons and churches in that cause to the conscience and persuasion of christian men) was never yet held to be a vaff and illimitted rule.

The Anfwerer proceeds to the objections, and least his arguments should not reach his ayme, he speakes to prejudice the readers judgment, by averring much unsoundnes, &c. beforehand, but I must intreate him to make a better discovery ere it be yeelded.

The 1st objection is, that some profane persons are received and others who are religious are rejected.

The anfwerer disclaymes this objection as none of theirs, which matters not greatly. I know from whome I heard it
it, though he did not; yet he might as well owne it, as offer to prove that such as are truly and christianly religious have been rejected, except he will denye such to be religious: But I affirme still, as I did before, that I know of none such, who have been rejected, nor any such blaphemers or quarrellers (as he speakes of) to have been received.

In his answer to my solution of this objection, I only observe this, that whereas my argument is by way of comparison "betweene a younge prophaine person and an elder professor confirmed in some errour," he gainsfaith the comparison by introduction of Abraham, who was a blessing to others; but alledged not any opposite member; but sure he was in a greate freight, otherwise he would not have held forth the father of the faithfull as such an one, as he must produce to answer my comparison; but it well accords with his owne tenent, that he must have leave to advance his owne partie, whatever danger or damage befal all others by it.

After this he takes upon him to prove, "that all such "as are confirmed in any way of errour, are not to be de-"nyed cohabitation, but are to be pittyed and reformed, "for this he alledged two places of scripture, Jude 22,23. 
"Gen. 16. 17."

To this I replye 1st, Let it be observed how this an-
swers my argument. I endeavoured to prove that some professors were to be denied cohabitation, rather than some prophaine ones, for this reason, viz. because they may be more dangerous. His answer is, that all such as are confirmed in any way of errour are not to be denied, &c. and omitts that wherein the weight of the argument lies, viz. their being dangerous to publick peace. 2dly, I denye that these scriptures prove his proposition, for that in Jude speaks nothinge of cohabitation, or confirmation in errour, nor speaks he to magistrates, or such as had power, to receive or reject, &c. and if he will bring that place to his purpose it will inferre this conclusion, that no compassion is to be had of such as we may denye cohabitation unto.
As for that, Gen. 16. 12. it is as little to the purpose. 
Imaell dwelt in the house of his brethren, but not among
them; so, by our law, such as we hold not fitt to dwell
among us are not denied to dwell by us.

Another objection is, "that by this law we reject true
christians, and so consequently Christ himselfe."

The solution of this objection is, that in some cases a
man that is a true christian may be rejected or denied re-
sidence, and yet Christ not rejected; for proof whereof I
instance in diverse particulars, all which he passeth by,
without any directe answer; but concludes, that is nothing
to the law; which I must leave to the reader to judge of,
seeing he brings neither reason nor scripture against it, to
which I may replye.

After this he comes to the particular occasion of the law,
and here he layes about him in earnest, and strikes all that
come in his way, magistrates, elders, and all that doe walk
in that way which Mr. Wheelewright hath described to be a
way of a covenant of works, and holds them forth as Anti-
christis; and for proof her eof alledges that in 1 John 4. 1, 2, 3,
where the Apostile, giving a rule to discover falle spirits
by, gives this as the marke, they confesse not that Jesus
Christ came in the fleth, and such a spirit is of Antichrist.
How this place proves his affertion I am not able to dif-
cerne: Sure I am that such, as he cafts under a covenant
of works, doe confesse that Christ is come in the fleth,
but then I fee that hereby he hath brought the cause,
which he is so zealous for, into such a toyle as all the skill
he hath cannot extricate, unleffe (as before) he will draw
in Abraham into the same estate of antichristianism; seeing
by that doctrine he walked in the same way of a covenant of
workes, 14 yeares together, viz. while he kept Hagar, &c.

For his answer in defence of Mr. Wheelewright his
opinions, I will make no replye, but waite the successe of
the conference among the churches now assembled.

In the last place he bringeth diverse reasons to prove
"that this law is most wicked and sinnesfull."
His 1st reason is, this law giveth that, without limitation, to men, which is proper to God; and so is a ground of grosse popery; for proofe he cites Deut. 1. 17. and 17. 9, 10, 11.

To which I answer, that I have proved already that the magistrates are limited both by their church covenant and by their oath, and by the duty of their places, to square all their proceedings by the rule of God's word, for the advancement of the gospell and the weale publick; neither doth it cross either of the places mentioned, for whatsoever sentence the magistrate gives, according to these limitations, the judgment is the Lords, though he do it not by any rule particularly prescribed by civil authority. As for that other place in Deut. 17. 9. it strengtheneth our law, and reflecteth sharply upon such as doe oppose it; for it staightly commands all persons to submitt to the sentence of the judge, and to receive the exposition of the law from his mouth; so as such gainesayers stand guilty of presumption in opposeing the sentence of the judges, before they have clearedly convinced them that their sentence is contrary to the law of God.

As for that aspersion of popery, &c. it will draw no blood; his earnestnes in the cause makes him thus to cast dirt upon his opposers, when he hath spent his shot.

2. His 2d reason against this law is, that it gives libertye to the magistrates to expell and reject those who are most eminent christians, if they be not with the magistrates disposition; and thence concludes that Christ and his members will finde worse entertainment among us than the Israelites did among the Egyptians and Babilonians, han Abraham and Isack among the Philistines, than Lott among the Sodomites, &c.

To this I answer, 1. His earnestnes confounds his memory: he knows well, that this law gives no power to expell any, neither doth it make the magistrates disposition the rule for rejecting any; but this slander hath beeene confuted before. 2. For a brother in church covenant and a fellow member of such a civill body as ours, to conclude fo
so peremptorily of his fellow brethren, favours of much arogance and desperate prejudice. If his charity can hope no better of us, but that we will deale worse with Gods people than the Pagans (and that before he hath seene any experience of it) it is no marvaile if he favour such as have ranked us with the same before; onely herein he deales fairely with us, in giving us tymely warneing what to expect from the imbittered mynde of such a brother; but for his argument it selfe thus it stands: The Egyptians, &c. gave leave to Gods people, to set downe amongst them: But the magistrates will not give leave, &c. ergo, they are worse than the Egyptians, &c.

I answer, howsoever the magistrates cannot stopp his fury, yet we shall free the law from the force of his argument: For except he had assumed thus, the magistrates must or may &c. for it is nothing to the law, that they will doe so, seeing a magistrates will may transgresse a good law, and if they should doe so, yet I denye that it is by the liberty of the law, which I shall not need further to prove, seeing my denyall will bear as much weight as his affirmation.

3. His 3d reason is, this law doth crosse many lawes of Christ. This he proves by enumeration of 3 particulars, Matt. 22. 21. Heb. 13. 2. Gal. 6. 10.

To this I answer, and 1. to that of Matt. 22. 21. Give unto Cesar the things which are Cesarvs. The reason lyes thus: The King hath right to plant any of his subiects among us; but we denye to let him plant some of his subiects among us, unlesse they please us; ergo, we denye to Cesar, &c. The proposition is falsse; for I have proved before, that the King hauing given all the land within certaine limits to the patentees and their associates, cannot fend others to possesse that which he hath granted before.

2. As for that in Heb. 13. it is nothing to the purpose: This law of the court hinders not the entertainment of strangers so farr as the rule of hospitallitye requires; and there is no other intended in that place:
3. For that in Gal. 6. I confesse the household of faith are principally to be regarded; and it is apparent that the care of their welfare was the only occasion and ground (next the glory of God) of the making of this law: For, the court, taking notice how the hearts of the faithfull were fadden by the spreading of diverse new and unsound opinions, and the uncharitable cenfures which they laye under by occasion of them, how brotherly love and communion decayed, how the ordinances of religion were neglected, and the faithfull dispensers thereof (sometimes more precious than fine gold) slighted and reproached, throughout the whole countrey, they found it needfull to provide remedye in tyme, that it might goe well with the household of faith, and though the execution of this law should turne to the damage of some of this household, yet better it is some member should suffer the evill they bring upon themselves, than that, by indulgence towards them, the whole familye of God in this countrey should be scattered, if not destroyed.

His last argument (by which we may see that he meant not to quitt the cause, so long as his breath would hold) is this, This law dasheth against many other lawes of Christ ergo, it is most wicked and sinnefull.

To which my answer may be short, and yet sufficient to withstand the force of his argument. This law dasheth not against any law of Christ; ergo, it is just and good.
A Quo Warranto brought against the Company of the Massachusetts Bay by Sir John Banks Attorney-General.

Trin. 11mo. Car. 13mo. R. 2
In Banco R. 3

London fl. THAT Sir Henry Rosewell and all the Massachusetts Company named in the patent and others of the said Company in New England, for 3 yeares last past and more, used in London and other places, as also in several parts beyond the seas, out of this kingdom of England, without any warrant or royall grant, the liberties, priviledges and franchises following, viz.

(1) To be a body corporate and politique by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and by that name to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered in all courts and causes.

(2) By that name to be capable of purchasing and retaining any lands, hereditaments or goods from his Majesty or any other in England or elsewhere, and of aliening the same to any person.

(3) Have several common seals alterable at their pleasures.

(4) To make and sweare a Governor and Deputy Governor, of themselves, and to name and sweare any persons either out of themselves or others, to be assistants of the said society, and to appoint and sweare out of themselves so many officers in England and abroad in Massachusetts Bay, as they please, and at their wills to displace and change any of them.

(5) To admitt whom they please into the said Company, as well aliens as others, and to take several sums of money for such admissions, and at their wills to disfranchise whom they please, and turn them out of that Company.

(6) To hold to themselves and successors all that his Majesty's territory of Massachusetts Bay in New England,
and the same to fell, give or dispose of as they please, and to have the sole government of all that country and all persons there or coming thither or trading thither, by the orders and constitutions of their society.

(7) To keep a constant council in England of men of their own Company and choosing, and to name, choose and swear certain persons to be of that council, and to keep one council ever resident in New England, chosen out of themselves and to name choose and swear whom they please to be of that council.

(8) To appoint council houses in England and beyond seas and there, when they please, to hold a court of such of the said company as they please; and in such courts to make such laws and statutes concerning the lands goods and chattels of that company and other persons beyond seas, against the laws and customs of England, and all such, as well of the said company as others who are disobedient to the same, to imprison fine and amerce and them to levy and convert to their own use.

(9) To transport out of England beyond the seas his majesty's subjects and others and them, at their wills, to govern on the seas and on parts beyond the seas.

To have power, against the laws and statutes of England, to transporte thence into parts beyond the seas all merchandizes and other things whatever prohibited by the laws and statutes of England and all weapons and instruments of war powder shot victuals horses mares and all other merchandize custom free.

(10) To exact of all persons trading there, his majesty's or others, of the said company or others, certain sums of money, at their wills, and to imprison such as refuse or neglect to pay the same.

(11) To have the sole importation, from thence, of all merchandizes into England and, by their own authority, prohibiting any of their company to export out of England any merchandizes or other things thither.

(12) And to lay fines and amercements on such persons trading with any goods thither and to imprison their persons and lay such mullets on their merchandize as they pleased.
To use, in those partes beyond seas and upon the high sea, at theire pleasures, martiall law.

And to examine on oath any person in any cause touching life and member and to proceed to tryall sentence judgment and execution touching life and member lands tenements goods and chattells, against the lawes and customs of England.

All which franchiseis liberties &c. the said Sir Henry Rosewell and others of the said company have, for all that time, and still do usurp in contempt of his majesty &c.

And Mr. Attorney prayes proces against the said persons to answer by what warrant they held the same.

In Michas T. xi\textsuperscript{mo}. Car. i\textsuperscript{mi}.

Theophilus Eaton came in and pleaded, that he never usurped any the said liberties, priviledges and franchiseis in the information, nor did, nor doth use or claime any of the same, but wholly dislayymes them and prayes dismission, whereupon the court gave judgment:

That the said Theophilus shall not for the future intermeddle with any the liberties priviledges or franchiseis aforesaid, but shall be forever excluded from all use and claime of the same and every of them.

Hill. xi\textsuperscript{mo}. Car. i\textsuperscript{mi}.

Sir Henry Rosewell comes in and pleads the same.

Pass. xii\textsuperscript{mii}o. Car. i\textsuperscript{mi}.

Sir John Young comes in and pleads the same.

Hill. xii\textsuperscript{mo}. Car. i\textsuperscript{mi}.

Sir Richard Salstonfall comes in and pleads the same, and judgment given against him as against Eaton.

Mich. xi\textsuperscript{mo}. Car. i\textsuperscript{mi}.

John Ven comes in and pleads the same, and the like judgment against him.
Eod. Termino.

Matthew Cradock comes in, having had time to interplead, &c. and on his default judgment was given, That he should be convicted of the usurpation charged in the information, and that the said liberties, privileges and franchises should be taken and seised into the King's hands, the said Matthew not to intermeddle with and be excluded the use thereof, and the said Matthew to be taken to answer to the King for the said usurpation.

Eod. Termino.

George Harwood comes in and pleads the same with Eaton, and the like judgment given against him as Eaton.

Eod. Termino.

Richard Perry and Thomas Hutchins came in and pleaded the same and had like judgment as Eaton.

Eod. Termino.

Nathaniel Wright does the same, and judgment alike.

Eod. Termino.

Samuel Vassall pleads the same and has the same judgment against him as Eaton.

Eod. Termino.

Thomas Goffe pleads the same and has the same judgment.

Eod. Termino.

Thomas Adams pleads the same and has the same judgment.

Mich. xiiiio. Car. 1mi.

John Browne pleads the same and has the same judgment.

Mich. ximo. Car. 1mi.

George Foxcroft pleads the same and receives the same judgment as Eaton.

The rest of the patentees stood outlawed and noe judgment entred up against them.
A Coppie of a Letter sent by the appointment of the Lords of the Council to Mr. Winthrop, for the Patent of this Plantation to be sent to them.

At Whitehall April 4th 1638. Present,

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury Earle of Holland
Lord Keeper Lord Cottington
Lord Treasurer Mr. Treasurer
Lord Privy Seal Mr. Controuler
Earle of Marshall Mr. Secretary Cooke
Earle of Dorset Mr. Secretary Windebank

This day the Lords Commissioners for foreign Plantations, taking into consideration that the petitions and complaints of his Majestys subjects, planters and traders in New-England grow more frequent than heretofore for want of a settled and orderly government in those parts, and calling to mind that they had formerly given order about two or three years since to Mr. Cradock a member of that plantation, to cause the grant or letters patent of that plantation (alleged by him to be there remaining in the hands of Mr. Winthrop) to be sent over hither, and that notwithstanding the same, the said letters patent were not as yet brought over: And their Lordships being now informed by Mr. Attorney General that a Quo Warranto had been by him brought according to former order against the said patent, and the same was proceeded to judgment against so many as had appeared, and that they which had not appeared, were outlawed.

Their lordships well approving of Mr. Attorney's care and proceeding therein did now resolve and order, that Mr. Meawtis clerk of the council attendant upon the said commissioners for foreign plantations should in a letter from himselfe to Mr. Winthrop inclose and convey this order unto him. And their Lordships hereby in his Majestys name, and according to his express will and pleasure strictly require and enjoin the said Winthrop or any other
other in whose power and custody the said letters patent are, that they fail not to transmit the said patent hither by the returne of the ship in which the order is conveyed to them, it being resolved that in case of any further neglect or contemp by them shewed therein, their lordships will cause a strict course to be taken against them, and will move his Majesty to reassume into his hands the whole plantation.*

Copy of Sir William Martin's Letter to Governor Winthrop, enquiring about the State of the Colony.

I am glad to hear of Mr. Norrons safe arrivall, and should have been more glad if it had beene at the baye. I hope he will settle with you; his abilityes are more than ordinary, and will be acceptable and profitable to the churches. I have received Prats exposition from Mr. Downing; and in the mayne I finde little difference therein from his letter. I should be glad to be truly informed by you, what you conceive of the foyle and meanes of subsistances, and whether that exposition agrees with the truth of things. I am sorry to hear of Mr. Williams's separation from you: His former good affections to you, and the plantations, were well known unto me and make me wonder now at his proceedinges. I have wrote to him effectually to submit to better judgments, and especially to those whom formerly he reverenced and admired; at least to keepe the bond of peace inviolable. This hath been always my advise; and nothing conduceth more to the good of plantations. I praye shew him what lawfull favour you can, which may stand with the common good. He is passionate and precipitate, which may transport him into error, but I hope his integrity and good intentions will bring him at last into the waye of truth, and conforme him

* Whether the intent of this order was that the Patent should be sent over that the Government of the Colony might be under a Corporation in England, according to the true intent of the Patent, or whether it was that the Patent might be surrendered, is uncertain.
him therein. In the mean time, I pray God to give him a right use of this affliction. Thus leavinge him to your favourable censures, and you all to the direction of God, with my best respects to you and yours, I signe me March 29, 1636. Your affectionate, W. M.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. George Fenwick* to Governor Winthrop.

Sir, I Thank you for your continued offices of love in your countsaile to my servant, while the Lord granted him health, and your kindnes and respect to him in his sicknes; as the Lord shall offer me opportunitie you shall ever find me ready to performe the like or any other fruit of well affection for you or yours. The change that his death hath made in my occasions puts me upon much new labour that I thought I had done with, and therefore I must be very breife at present. I shall desire that those cattle that are in your hands or any others may be continued as they were till next springe, when I shall, if the Lord grant life, take order for them. I wrote to you concerning powder that was left in the bay, the store we had here grows short, but I hope we shall have noe need till next springe, until when I leave it also, only I directed my man that if he saw it decaying, having been long kept, (though that we have here holds yet well) he should fell 8 or 10 barrels of it. Concerning the last part of your letter I can yet say little, only thus much that whatsoever tends to mutual defence and shall conduce to the settling and maintaining unfained love, you may expect from me and all those who are intrested in this place. For other matters, as they are of great consequence and near concernment to others as well as myself, I can at present say thus much only, that if there be any thing betwixt you and the townes above, about bounds, whatsoever is concluded without us heare I shall account invalid and must protest against

* Afterwards Col. Fenwicke under the Parliament and Cromwell. This Letter was wrote from Say Brooke where he was beginning a Plantation for Lord Say, Brooke, &c.
against it. I speak not this out of any fear of wrong or neglect from you or them, but to tell you in short (having many other busines) what I hold my self bound to doe in that particular, and when there shall be a fitt time for any thing betwixt us you shall find us in all things to submitt to right and good conscience. I am lastly to thank you kindly on my wifes behalf for your great dainties; We both desire and delight much in that primitive imploy-ment of dressing a garden, and the tafte of foo good fruits in these partes gives us good incouragement. We both tender our loves and respects to your self and bedfellow. If there be any thing wherein you can use me, I am

Yours in any real office of love,

October 1639.

This young man came by a provi-dence in the bark that brought me news of Richards death, and having been versed in buffines while he was an aprentice I hope will eafe me of some occasions that I send him over to dispatch.

Gyles Fyrmins Letter to Governor Winthrop, about his settling.

Much honoured and deare Sir,

BUT that I thinke it needlesse (God havinge more than ordinarye fitted you for such trials) my letter might tell you with what griefe of spirit I received the news of that sad affliction which is lately happened to your worfhip, by means of that unfaithful wretch; I hope God will find a shoulder to helpe you beare so great a burthen. But the little time there is allotted me to write I muft spend in requesting your worships counsel and favour. My father in law Ward, since his sonne came over, is very desirous that wee might sett down together, and so that he might leave us together if God should remove him from hence. Because that it cannot be accomplished in this town, is very desirous to get mee to remove with him to a new plantation.
plantation. After much persuasione used, consideringe my want of accommodation here (the ground the town having, given mee lying 5 miles from mee or more) and that the gaines of phyfick will not finde mee with bread, but, be- fides, apprehendinge that it might bee a way to free him from some temptations, and make him more cheerful and serviceable to the country or church, have yeelded to him. Herein, as I desire your counfel, so I humbly request your favour, that you would be pleased to give us the libertye of choosinge a plantation; wee thinke it will be at Pen- tuckett, or Quichichchek, by Shauhin: So soon as the feason will give us leave to goe, wee shal informe your worship which we desire: And if that, by the court of election, we cannot gather a company to beegine it, wee will let it fall. Wee desire you would not graunt any of them to any before wee have seene them. If your worship have heard any relation of the places, wee should remaine thankful to you, if you would bee pleased to counsel us to any of them. Further, I would entreate for advife in this: The towne gave mee the ground (100 acres) upon this condition, that I shoul stay in the towne 3 yeeres, or else I cou'd not sell it: Now my father supposes it being my first heritage (my father having none in the land) that it is more than they canne doe to hinder mee thus, when as others have no busines, but range from place to place, on purpose to live upon the countrey. I would entreate your counsel whither or noe I canne sell it. Further: I am strongly set upon to studye divinitie, my studyes else must be lost: for phyfick is but a meene helpe. In these cases I humbly referre to your worship, as my father, for your counsel, and so in much haste, with my best services pre- sented to your worship, wishinge you a strong suppore in your affliction, and a good and comfortable issue, I rest

Your worships in what he canne to his power,
Ipswich, 26. 10th, 1639. Gyles Fyrmin.*

Wee humbly entreate your secrecye in our desires.

* This Giles Fyrmin was afterwards a celebrated nonconformist Minister in England, and died there after the Revolution.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Winslow to Governor Winthrop.

Worthy Sir,

Had not the Almighty (who is righteous in the midst of mans unrighteousnes) stirred up certaine malicious and slanderous persons to defame me with impudent, false and shameles reports, to my no small griefe and trouble, I had been with you before this day, knowing right well how comfortable the face of a friend is in such sad conditions as yours at present. How I have been and am affected with those losses and crosses as are befallen you by your unfaithful servant, he that made the heart best knoweth. But when I consider how unhappy a man may be, in the fullest and most plentiful enjoyment of worldly treasures, then I judge you neerer happiest in the loss of them; not doubting but our gracious God will sanctifie his hand unto you, assuring my selfe it will be good for you in the end. How prone would Gods people be to have their hearts ensnared and taken up with the world and the riches and honors thereof, if he should not sometimes shew us their vanity. He that brought Job so low (after he was humbled before him) blessed his latter daies more than his former. We have to doe with the same God: He can doe what he will, and let this be our comfort, he will doe what is best for us: Therefore let us shew forth his praiſe by patient submitting to his hand, joining therewith a diligent enquiry after the caufe twixt him and ourselves. I have too often used a foolish proverb, I had rather be envyed than pitied: But I finde by lamentable experience Gods word true, That none can stand before envy; and therefore prefer your condition farre before mine owne, whom I conceive to be compassed about with friends. But alas, however a friend loves at all times, now is the time of tryall; and herein (as many other waies) I doubt not but you will gaine by your present condition; which the Lord
in mercy grant. What you wrote to our Governor he imparted to me. Few or none of note have come from your parts this way of late, by reason of the season: So that we heare not what order you have taken in your business. If my presence may any way stand you in need, you may command it, and my best service therewith. I pray you, Sir, take it not ill that I am thus plaine. If I faile this occasioned by my love, knowing right well how such an unexpected strait may pinch a good estate, which I should be very sorry to heare. Be you and yours fa-luted in the Lord, to whom my prayers are that his com-forts may exceed your crosles: And so deliring your prayers take leave, remaining

Your assured friend,

sympathizing with you,

Careswell,* this 17th Mo. ult. Edw. Winslow.

1639.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Thomas Jenner to Governor Winthrop.

Worthy Sir,

YOUR pious and good letter I received; for which I humbly thank you. Your judicious counsel therein I lovingly imbrace, as concurring fully with mine owne judgment: Hence have I not troubled the people at all with church discipline, or constitutions of churches, &c. but have bent my whole studlies to shew them their miserable and lost estate without Christ, &c. Nor have I enveyed, in the least measure, against the church of England (to my remembrance) but have been (and still am) very fearfull to give one word of distaft about those things, but altogether do seek to gaine them to Christ. True, I do acknowledge that after I had been here for the space of a month or 6 weeks, and perceiving them very superstitious, (performing mans invention rather than the

* The name he gave his Farm in Marshfield.
instituted worship of God) now, that I might gaine their good esteeme of Gods pure ordinances, and make them see the evill and folly of their superstition and will-worship, I made choice of Pf. 19. and 7. to handle it at large: And, in one of the uses of reproof, I bent myselfe as strongly as I could against the religion of the Papists, and condemned those practices, which I saw the people here were superstitiously addicted to, in that use against the Papists; whose religion I shewed, at large, consisted either of a new instru的第一个 worship not mentioned in the law of God, or of, Gods instituted worship miserably abused, either by their additions or diminutions; and shewed the particulars wherein. Now (I heartily thank God for it) it took a general good impression, excepting Mr. Vines and one more who told me I struck at the church of England, though I mentioned her not. Whereupon he pressed me to dispute with him about one part, of baptizing infants with godfathers and godmothers; the which I was very loth to dispute about; yet I saw that either I must, or else fit downe with shame, for he had called together his whole family to heare it. Now, it pleased God so to strengthen me (through the riches of his mercy) that he was utterly silent; and since that time hath manifested more respect and love to me and my master than formerly, and doth take notes of the sermons dayly, and repeateth them in his family very orderly, as I am informed.

Thus, sweet Sir, I make very bold to enforce your worship with the truth of things, though not worth the writing. I have been solicited both from the inhabitance of Stratens plantation and from those of Caikoe, to be a means to helpe each of them to a godly minister; wherefore I do make bold to intreat your worship to do your endeavour to furnish them both.

Thus, hoping ere long to see your face, I leave you in the arms of our blessed Saviour, in whom I also I rest,

Your worship to command,

Saco, 26 of the 2d, 1641.

Th. Jenner.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Endecott to Governor Winthrop, about La Tour.

Deare Sir,

I am glad that La Tour hath not ayd from us; and I could with bee might not have any from the shipps: For as long as La Tour and Daulney are opposites they will weaken one another. If La Tour should prevail against him we shall undoubtedly have an ill neighbour. His father and himselfe, as I am informed, have thed the blood of some English already, and taken away a pinnacle and goods from Mr. Allerton. It were (I think) good, that that busines were cleared before hee had either ayd or libertie to hire shipps, yea, or to depart.

Sir, it is not the manner abroad to suffer strangers to view forts or fortifications, as it seems these French have done. I must needs say, that I feare we shall have little comfort in having any thing to doe with these idolatrous French. The countrey hereabouts is much troubled that they are so enterayned and have their libertie as they have to bring their soldiers a shore, and to suffer them to trayne their men. And great jealousies there are, that it is not Daulney that is aymed at; seeing such a strength will neither fute such a poore designe, and La Tour a man of weake estate, as it is said. Wherefore, other mens hands are employed, and purses too, for some other service. But I leave all these things to your serius consideracions, desiring the Lord to guide you therein to the glorie and peace of the churches here, to whole grace I commit you and humblie rest,

Yours truelie ever,

Jo. Endecott.

19th of the 4th, 1643.
Copy of a Letter from Thomas Gorges* to Governor Winthrop.

Piscatquaquake, 28 June 1643.

Right worthy Sir,

I understand by Mr. Parker that you have written to me by Mr. Shurt, which as yet I have not received. It cannot be unknown to you the fears that we are since La Tours promise of ayd from you; for my part, I thought fitt to certifye soe much unto you. and I doubt not only these parts which are naked, but all N. E. will finde D'Aulnay a scourge. He hath long wayted (with the expence of neer 800l. per month) for the apprehending of this supply, and if all his hopes shall be frustrated through your ayd, you may conceive where he will seeke for satisfaction. If a thorough worke could be made, that he might utterly be extirpated, I should like it well; otherwise it cannot be thought but a soldier and a gentleman will seeke to revenge himself, having 500 men, 2 shipps, a galley, and 3 pinaces, well provided: Besides you may please to conceive in what manner he now besedges La Tour, his shipp s lye on the S. W. part of the island at the entrance of St. Johns river, within which side is only the entrance for shipp, on the N. E. lye his pinaces; it cannot be conceived but he will fortifye the island, which will debarr the entrance of any of your shipp and force them backe, shewing the will. having not the power, to hurt him.

I suppose I shall for England in this shipp, I am not as yet certayn, which makes me forbear to be large at this tyme, or to desire your commands thither. Thus in haste I rest,

Your honouringe friend and servant,

Tho. Gorges.

* Son to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.
Copy of a Letter from Richard Saltonstall and others to the Honourable Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants, and the Reverend Elders at or near the Bay.

Much honoured in the Lord,

Though we doe, and may truly, profess ourselves to be both unfit and unwilling to interpose in a matter of such state and weight, as we conceive this French affair to bee, yet the honour we owe to the religion we profess, the loyalty we beare to our native country, especially in its present condition and the reference wherein it stands to the kingdome of France, out of respect to the reputation of our government and governors, our tender care of the souls and lives of such as are committed to the trust thereof, the eye of care we ought to have upon our friends in the east, our regard to our christian confedrates, so lately combined with us, in confidence of our piety and wisdom, and the religious discharge of our own consciences and duties, will not permit us to be silent, so long as there is any roome left for us to speake. We have little hope to revoke resolutions soe farre transacted and ripned, but we presume it shall not be taken amisse, if we labour to wash our hands wholly of this designe, and what ill consequences foever it may produce. The reasons moving us hereto, are our deepe feares that the stated rules of undertaking warres, either by proper and direct enterprise, or by lending ayd, have not been so duly observed, as we could wish.

1. The grounds of warre ought to be just and necessary. For the justice of this warre by la Tour agaynst Daulnay, we conceive that all the light and information New England hath, or may probably receive, cannot be sufficient for us to determine it positively; we understand it hath beene variously judged in the courts of France, one while for Daulnay, another while for la Tour, and it is not impossible that la Tour hath now rather outfriended than outpleaded Daulnay; we shall therefore runne into an unchristian
Christian premonire of presumption if we resolve upon such an enterprize with an irresolved faith, *in causâ dubiâ bellum non est suscipiendum*. For the necessity of it, it must either be in point of charity towards de la Tour or upon some engageing interest of our owne. For any bond of charity, we conceive the speech of the prophet to Jehovahaphat, 2 Chron. 19. 2. and of Solomon, Proverbs 26. 17. not only discharge but strongly prohibite us. 1. For our owne interest, if it be cleare that Daulnay hath offered us such great wrong, as invites us to a warre (which we much question, for it must be *atrox injuria*) we suppose it would stand more with the honor of our religion and plantation, to proceed professedly and orderly against him, then for us English to become but margent notes upon a French text, which to us is as yet but apocripha; and to undertake him upon more certaine grounds, and at a more seasonable time when he doth less expect us, and is not so well provided for us as now he is. Warrs are extreme remedies and are not to be enterprised unless their causes will beare out all manner of effects and consequences, whether personall or nationall, which may ensue. And what may not ensue, if either of the nations to whom we belong will comment upon our action in a flate language? And how apt a time this is for misconstructions we cannot be ignorant. The spirit of warre is scholastick and jesuital, traversing the very positions and principles, which peace hath held both dogmatical and irrefragable, even to the wonderment of rational men. We are informed that Daulnay desires our friendship, and we are inclined to believe that if it did as well become him to appeal to our judgment as it ill be-seeemes us to expect it, he would not refuse to cast himself upon our compromise.

2. Warres ought not to be undertaken without the counsell and command of the supreme authority, whence expeditions issue. It is not hard to say, the present reference betweene the kingdomes of England and France considered, that the subjects of the one ought not to wage warre against the other without a publique commission of state,
state, unless it be in defence upon a sudden assault: Neither do we yet heare that La Tour himself hath any such commission for this his action; though if he had it were little to us. It is a rule observed amongst confederates, that during any league of peace betwenee them, one friend may not ayd another against any part of his province, till that part be proscribed by the authority of a generall assembly whereof it is a member, and the confederates assured thereof in a state way. The breach of this rule is a breach of league. Publick actions of hostility worke farre and wide, having their national and confederal influences and consequences. The daggers we draw here may happily prove swords in Christendome for ought we know.

But this designe, whatever the cause was, seemed fly even of our New-English Counsel to warrant and guide it: How closely it concerns the peace and safety of the whole plantation may easily be conjectured, and how farre it declined the advice thereof in a representative course we are very sorry to consider or mention.

We dare not so much impeach the honour of the ad- visours as to think they would vaile the action with this, that they only permit and give way to volunteers; for who knows not this to be a rule of state, that Not to forbid, when there is notice and power, is to bidd.

This were also to proclaime our weaknes, in prostrating our government to nothing; for who is ignorant that To permit voluntiers to issue out in ayd of a friend is never done without an act of state, where any state is?

Daulnay, nor France, are not so feeble in their intel- lectuals as to deeme it no act of state, when, upon consulation with some of our chiefe persons, our men are suffered, if not encouraged, to goe forth with our provision and munition upon the designe: We do therefore wonder that our people, having no warrant from authority, will, of their own heads, runne such a hazzard of their foules and lives, as can neither looke for any prayers or thankes for their good successe, nor any succours if it fares ill, and
as it may fall out, rather call for the curses of their friends from whom they went, and of posterity yet unborn, and yet these poor men presume that if Daulnay should say, as the King of Egypt to Josiah, what have I to do with thee, thou King of Judah? I come not out against thee this day, but against the house with whom I have warre, or if they should shed innocent blood or feel their own soules dropping suddenly into hell, they had their warrant from the Counsel and countenance of those upon whom they might and ought to confide. It were to be wished they had been taught the Germane proverb, which sayth, He that loseth his life in an unnecessary quarrel dyeth the Devill's martyr. Had they had the voices of the people with them, it had beene better than nothing; but that wind seemes to us to blow strong in the teeth of their voyage. We shall presume to propound these questions. 1. If Daulnay or France shall hereafter demand any of them from us as enemies, or murtherers, whether will our court protect or deliver them? 2. If any of the parents or wives shall require their lives at our hands, who shall answer them? 3. If any of their widdowes or children shall require sustenance, or any maimed souder in this expedi- tion call for maintenance, who shall give it them? or if taken captive and made slaves, who shall rescue or redeem them? 3. The ends of warre ought to be religious: What glory is intended hereby to God we see not, and how our peace shall hereby be settled we foresee not, but suspect it will rather be a beginning than an end of our troubles and feares, if we doe not wholly suppress Daulnay, we may be sure of it. He is already very strong, and if our ships and munition fall into his hand, it will diminish from us, and incourage, exasperate and strengthen him.

If La Tour prevale he is like to cavill with our men for some miscarriages, or we with him for non-payment. The passlage of our ships to and from England hath hither-to beene quiet and safe, in regard of the French, but we cannot so expect it hereafter, if they shall meeze with any of La Tours or Daulnayes special friends, or at least with the
the friends of such of them as we shall seeme to wrong. 

Bellum contra hoslem non est suscipiendum cum periculo rei-
publice, &c.

4. Undertakings of warrs ought to be probably seafable, 
but this seemes not soe to us. We learne out of the East, 
by an eye witnesse, that Daulnay is very strong, in artillery, 
men and munition, at land, and very well provided at sea, 
insomuch that some of the East have consulted to repayre 
to him in his ayd, leaft he should upon revenge annoy and 
ruine them; he is reported to be a valiant, prudent and 
experienced souldier and commander, and defendants have 
great advantages of affaylants, soe that, we feare, our sheepe 
have hastned to their slaughter.

5. Lastly, The manner of enterprizing warre calls for 
many rules, according to scripture and the custome of re-
ligious and ingenuous nations, as to summon and give 
warning before they strike: To heare what the defendant 
can pleade for the justice of his cause, to offer termes of 
peace with equal articles, and to give special cautionary 
commisions and commands how farre to persift in ayd, and 
when to desist; but we neither can send fitt men for such 
charges, nor can we prescribe such directions, without a 
professed imbarquing ourfelves in the action; which, it 
seems, is wholly declined on our parts.

We therefore trouble you no further, only we iterate 
our protestation that we are and desire to be held cleare 
and innocent of this undertakeing, and

Your worships in all christian affliction 
and services,

Richard Saltonstall, 
Simon Bradstreet, 
Samuel Simonds, 
Nath. Warde, 
Ez. Rogers, 
Nath. Rogers, 
John Norton.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Endecott to Governor Winthrop, about the French.

Dearest Sir,

I finde that your troubles are many, and especiallie about this French busines. The Lord in mercie support you. I am much grieved to heare what I heare; and I see more of the spirits of some men than ever I thought I should see. The Lord rebuke Satan. Sir, be of good comfort, I doubt not but our God that is in heaven will carry you above all the injuries of men; for I know you would not permit any thinge, much lesse act in any thinge that might tend to the least damage of this people, and this I am assured of, that most of Gods people here about us are of the same minde. The rumours of the countrey, you know, they rise out of ignorance principallie, and much out of fears; wherefore, I pray you, let there be satisfaction given as soone as you convenientlie can, in the way you wrote me of; for I finde the spirits of of men in this countrie are too quick and forward. I cannot excuse myselfe, yet I bleffe God, not to wronge you, but according to the information and light I received from you, I acted publiquelie so farre forth as to break downe all prejudices against yourselfe or the rest that advised with you. Our prayers here are publiqueely and privately for a good issue of it, and that continually. I hope God will looke upon your sinceritie in mercie and will heare our requests.

I see no good use of such protestations as I heare of, but they may prove more dangerous than the French busines by farre, if our God hinder not. However, it will be of use (God directing) to make a holy use of it.

Touching my coming to Boston about the Dutch busines, I cannot see how it will be of any use: For the messenger cannot have a determinate answer till the generall court, and to morrow we have appointed many of the towne for the working of the fort, which, unless I be there, there will not any thinge be done, and I received not your letter till this day after our lecture,

I conceive
I conceive, if you doe any thing about Mr. Oateleys busines, that you also will be pleased to appoint some day and grant some summons to him, that hee may bring in his witnesses, that there may not be any just ground of exceptions given: For hee speakes as if hee were much wronged in all the testimonies taken against him, and that he can disprove them, &c.

Touching the note about Bushrode, I shall bring it with mee (God willing) the next court.

The Lord our good God be with you, to uphold you, and to continue you amongst us, to do yet further service, to whose grace I committ you.

Yours ever truelie to serve,

The Governor's Answer to the Ipswich Letter about La Tour.

Gentlemen and beloved brethren,

It is not unknowne to you, that (through the Lords gracious assistance) I have thankfully imbraced and submitted unto the wise and loving advife and admonitions of any of my brethren; and truly it is still my desire so to doe: And this (I hope) may well stand (upon this present occasion) with the maintenance of what is good and righteous in our cause, about this French busines, and with that faithfulness that is againe required of me towards you all, whom I love honour and reverence in the Lord, And though I have lately written to you about this matter, yet that which I have since received from you calls upon me for some addition and answer also; which I do not with any purpose to contend, but in discharge of my conscience and duty of my place, and let the Lord do what seemes good in his eyes.

The protestation, which was directed to my selfe first, but came to me through many hands (and so it seemes it was
was intended by you, being sent unsealed) was entertained of me as proceeding from your zealous care for the publick safety: But, considered in itself, it is an act of an exorbitant nature, out of rule, out of season, and of dangerous consequence. Such protestations are publique and judicial acts, and therefore must be warranted by some authority, which appears not in this. I know no law, order, custome or &c. that can give power to 3 assistants, by any such publick instrument, to contradict the proceedings of a greater number, the Governor also being one of them; and how it will conflict with the obligation of a freeman is also considerable. Suppose now, 3 other assistants and so many elders should protest against your protestation, it would be of equal force, and as warrantable for ought I knowe. Againe, it comes not like Solomons apples of gold in plates of silver; it is consilium post factum: Whereas, if you had sent it in season, it might perchance have stopped those proceedings which you so much complain against; whereas, at present (you know and may see) you do but beate the ayre, and strive for that which (you are sure) you cannot reach. It is also of dangerous consequence in these respects. 1. It may be a president for others to attempt the like in any case; for you take upon you the sole judgment of your owne act, and if others may have the like liberty, they may countenance their opposition to authority, as well in evill causes as in good. 2. It blowes a trumpet to division and dissention amongst ourselves, magistrates protesting against magistrates, elders against elders, blameing, condemning, expoeing brethren to the peoples curses, and casting them down to hell itselfe; and all this must be indured, while we walk after the light God affords us from his owne word, and the presidential acts of former times, and of our owne generall court (as will be expressed hereafter) whereas the way of God, and of order, and of peace, had beene to have referred your grievance to the generall court, and not by such an unwarrantable protestation and outcry against your brethren, to incite the people against them; whereby, if any evill
effect should follow, your protestation of innocencie would afford you little comfort or defence. 3. This is the ready way to haften upon us the evill so much feared: For if Daulnay understand our divisions to be such, as he is like to have a party amongst ourselves, (as you declare your intelligence to be) this may imbouden him to attempt that against us which, otherwise, he dared not have done. It is also againft the rule of justice, your owne plea on Daulnay's behalfe, for you passe sentence and publish it without calling us to answer: If may be one or two of you have accidentally heard us speake somewhat about it, but did you ever enquire of us, if we had any more to say for our selves, why judgment &c. For you will find we have more to say for our selves than you formerly heard, and it is a necessary consequence, if you had power to be our judges, you had the fame to require our answer. I intreate you to call to mind that beaten rule of equity, Quia aliquld statuit parte inaudita altera, &c. We are condemned in court, in country, by private tongues and by publick edict, and never asked, Why have you done this? and all this so carried on, and unfeasonably dispensed as no man can tell (nor do yourselves propound) what you would have, or how it may tend to any publick good or prevention of that great danger which you suppose to hang over us; except it may be conceived that, either Daulnay will be pacified with a protestation, or the people will be stirred up to sacrifice some of us to make their owne peace. You say, indeed, you will hereby be innocent of all the evill that may infue, &c. Amen, say I; but surely wise men will not believe that such a protestation will acquit you, either before God or men: No more than if one of the magistrates sitting silent in the court while a man is condemned, and after he is executed shall tender a protestation of his diffent from the sentence. And truly (brethren) you might have dealt a little more tenderly with us, for such failings as you have apprehended in our counsells, being the fruit of but of a few houres consultation; seeing yourselves, (upon so many weekes deliberation) could not free
free your owne acts from such miscarriage as you see your
protestation, out of date and out of course, doth howld forth.
This I thought needfull to tender to your wife and
christian consideration, concerning your protestation in ge-
nerall: Somewhat I must say to your arguments, besides
what may concerne them in my former writings. But,
first, you may please to consider, that it cannot be denied
but that the Governor, assisted with some of the magi-
strates, may take order for such sudden affaires of the state
as either need not, or cannot, stay the assembling of the
general court; of which sort, we conceived this was (the
reasons you may see in my former writing) and when, in
such cases, we have proceeded according to our best skill
and judgment, we are to be excused, and so it was wont
to be: And the generall court seemes lately to have in-
larged this trust, when, by the order of (4) 1641, it gives
power, out of court, to any 3 magistrates to do that which
may occasion a warre, with the Indians, as likely as this
with the French: For they may give commission to any
matter to right himselfe upon the Indians, for his fugitive
servant. By like authority it was that some of us disarmed
the Indians and imprisoned some of them, upon the late
suspicion: And although it was conceived to be full of
danger, and proved troublesome and chargeable, yet wee
were not reproved for it. Other instances might be
brought, but in those times, indeed, when such protefta-
tions were not in use. Now, in this case of the French,
wherein the onely doubt was, not whether wee should in-
gage ourselves in a warre with La Toure against Daulney,
or not; for, we know that neither the magistrates nor the
generall court itselfe could determine that,* but whether
it were safer or more just and honourable for us to flop
the course of God's providence, offering us opportunity
to save a distressed neighbour, to weaken a dangerous ene-
my without our chardge or engagement, or to suffer it to
go on freely in its owne course. Of these two we judged
the last to be best, &c. And of this opinion some of us
shall still be untill we see stronger arguments against it,
than as yet we have met with.
Now

* No War could be declared without the consent of the united Colonies.
Now for your arguments, (whereof some concern the proceedings, others the consequences) I will passe by that of Jehosaphat as no parallel to our case; and see if I can free us from that of Prov. 26. And here it may be first observed, that he speaks of one that passeth by, viz. that had no calling or invitiation to deal in it. But 2, I will shew that this strife betweene La Tour and Daulnay doth nearly concern us: and first in point of duty, in that our distressed neighbour calls to us for help; a speciall providence of God and his owne good opinion of our charitablenes, brought him to us, for some ends, and no other appearing to us, it was our duty to attend his; nor were we in this case to stand upon the justice of the quarrell betweene them, no more than Abraham did when Lot and the Sodomites were in present distresse; nor than any man would doe, if he saw his neighbour under foote and in danger to be killed, he would first rescue him from danger, ere he enquire of the cause. And how we might withould such helpe from La Tour which that providence which brought him hither, might here offer him in his apparent distresse and danger of utter ruine, I professe I see no warrant.

For cleareing of this point I desire you seriouly to consider an argument or two. 1, He is either a neighbour or no neighbour. If he be not a neighbour, then is he in no relation to us by the second table, and then we may rob, beare, or kill him without breach of any commandment. But if he be a neighbour then must we do to him in his distresse, as we would have others do to us in ours. 2dly, If he be one of those all, to whom by the rule of the Apostle we must doe good (as he must needs be, if he be either of the houfhold of faith or out of it) then that is the good we must do to him, which he hath most present neede of; and that we may not withould from him, when it is in our hands to give it him, Prov. 3. 27. I pray you consider the place. 3dly, If my neighbours or mine enemies oxen be in that state as he cannot get to his place without my helpe, I must helpe him to his place, Exod.
23. 4. much rather my neighbour himselfe; and therefore La Tour and his company being now before us in that condition, we ought to helpe him hence. These are plain and general rules and will not beare distinctions of protestant and papist: For the morall law being given to man by nature was given to him as man, not as man fo and fo qualifiyed, and therefore when it requires duty from him, it requires it as from a man simply; and when it propounds man as an object of this duty, it propounds him also simply considered without distinction of good or bad, christian or heathen, &c. and our Saviour inforceth this by propounding the example of our heavenly father, who causeth the sun to shine upon the just and unjust, &c. and commands us to follow his example. And the gospell makes this difference only, that in question of priority, or necessity of neglect of one, the faithfull must be preferred. Therefore let us see something of like authority to dispence with these rules, or else we must conclude, that this (so far as we deale in it) is a thing that concerns us. 2dly, As it concerns us in point of duty, so doth it also in point of danger. I have shewed in my former writing how Daulnay hath dealt with us and our neighbours, when he was weak, what principles he is acted by, and what pretences he hath against us; and all histories teach us that the ambition and covetousnes of conquerours and spoylers, hath always increased with their power: And shall we not believe that Daulnay onely will be more calmed and moderated by acceffe of 200 soldiers, and 4 or 5000 l. yearly revenue: Let the latin proverb be attended as well as the Germaine, and that will tell us that res nostra agitur, paries cum proximus ardet. I may strengthen this concernment by a late Germaine history. When the bishop of Spiers had begun to raise a strong fortification upon his owne territories, the late Palatine of Rhine demolished it by force of armes in a time of peace, because it might be dangerous to him if warr should arise. And the Lacedemonians being in league with the Athenians (their owne city being unwalled) would not suffer the Athenians to wall
wall theirs, because it concerned them in point of advantage. And it hath beene usual for the States of Europe to interpose in quarrells of their neighbour States, when they have concerned them but in point of danger onely. Now for your discourse about our distincion between commanding and not forbidding, let the distincion be rightly stated as it concerns our practife, and not as you would put upon us, and we hope it will hould so well, as neither the advisers nor the actors shall neede to be ashamed to owne it. We disclaime to have any hand in yielding leave to any of ours to go make warr upon Daulnay, but this we owne and no more, that we gave leave to such as could be hyred, &c. to accompany La Tour and to conduct him to his owne place. And such a permission as this (though it were a commiision to this purpose) we stand still to maintaine is no undertaking of warr, nor act of hostility, but a meere liberty of commerce, and if any blood shed should follow upon it, it is accidentall and not depending uppon this as any cause of it. Nor is it any just provocation of warr, or any breach of peace, nor so accounted among civil states. I shall cleare it by an instance or two both private and public. If I have a neighbour within a few miles of me suspected to be a robber, if I send my servant to beate him and he doth so, I am a trespasser; if he kill him, I am a murderer. But if a traveller comes by and tells me that he hath a chardge about him, and he is afraid to goe alone on his journey for feare of such a man, and desires me to let my servant go with him (if he be willing) though it may be dangerous to his life, and may also prove danger to mee or mine from such robber: And if the traveller be now sett upon by this robber and my servant kills him, we may both justify it.

I will give another instance. A merchant of Spaine being in London, by leave of the King of England, hires a London ship to transport him and his goods into Spaine; upon the way, a Holland man of war meetes and fights with him, and men are slaine on both sides, yet without any breach of peace on either side, or any act of hostility in the
the King of England, as it would have beene if he had granted a commission to assault the Hollander: So that you may see there is a wide difference betweene giving commission to fight and giving leave to be hyred to guard or transport. So as you must needs have beene mistaken in the right statinge of the distinction, or else I cannot conceive what your apprehensions should be of the English and Irish and Scottish, who in so greate numbers, for these many years, have serv'd the States against the Spaniards, and the Spaniards against the States, the Swedes against the Emperor, and e contra, without any breach of the peace between those nations. But, admit such a permission were against a rule of state; yet, if that rule of state be against the rule of charity, it will not be hard to judge which must give place. I will conclude this argument with that which I touch'd in my former writing. That which is lawful for a private person to do, in the way of his calling, the magistrate (if he judge it expedient, or not hurtfull to the commonwealth) ought to further, or not to hinder him in it. But it is lawful for the owners and masters of shippes, and is in the way of their calling, to be hyred by La Tour, to convey him to his rightfull habitation, and we judge it no way hurtfull but advantagious to this commonwealth; therefore we did well, according to the duty of our office, in yielding leave to them, and in not hindering them. And it is no sufficient plea against it, to say that we know not the justice of his cause; for that will not concern us in this case (and yet we do know it in good measure) But if our shippes shall be opposed in their lawfull course, the justice of their cause will lye in that: As for example: A man travaileing in a wagggon in England, and carrying his goods with him, his creditor sets upon the wagggon to take his debtors goods from him by force, the waggoner may defend him and his goods, being now in his charge, without any respect to the former ingagement; for the justice of his cause ariseth upon another ground. Neither is there any need to send to Daulnay before they goe (no, though they went of purpose to fight with him) for besides divers examples
examples in scripture to warrant the forbearance of it, the rule in Deut. 20, 10, gives other direction: When thou comest nere to a city to fight against it, thou shalt fend to offer peace, &c. This point being thus cleared, that we have not enterprised any warre in this our proceeding, all your complaints against us, and all your arguments tending that way do fall to the ground. This is not the case, neither are we the men, and therefore I shall not need to examine your reasons and allegations against such; nor am I willing to mention these passadges wherein our power seems to be so much slighted. I dare not believe that you intended all that is held forth in them. I looke at your queries also as raised upon the same mistaken grounds, which being now cleared to you, you will easily resolve yourselves about them. And yet this I will propound to your consideration, which may be a full answer to them all in the most knotty construction, viz. If our brethren should erre in their way and thereby bring themselves into distresse, yet (if we must pardon them upon their repentance) sure we may not desert them, nor hide our eyes from their misery. If any of our confederates (through humane infirmity) should, against their covenant, bring a just warre upon themselves, yet if they call to us for helpe, and tender themselves to equall satisfaction, we must not leave them to destruction. No relation amongst men could stand or be usefull, if meere errour (which we are all continually subject to) might dissolve it, or obstruct the vitall spirit which should breathe in it.

Whereas you object that, in this permission, we make the statute but a cypher: I answer, the statute hath the same influence into this which it hath into other merchants voyages, by a general and implicit consent, which may be sufficient in so free a statute as ours is; where there is no restraint upon persons or ships (but upon speciall occasion) they goe and come at their liberty.

Now for the point of danger. I conceive, first, the rule of the Apostle Peter will hold even in this case; while we do well we are not to be frighted with any terror. Again, there is no course or voyage undertaken by us, but
it may expose the undertakers to peril, and may occasion displeasure and danger to us from abroad; but such dangers have not hitherto deterred us from any probable way of our safety or advantage; nor have we sustained any harme hitherto, by calling ourselves upon the Lord and his good providence in such cases. I will remember you of some. When we first set up reformation in our church way, did not this expose us to as great an hazard as we could run, both from abroad and at home? Did not our friends in England, many of them, forewarne us of it ere we came away? Did not others send letters after us, to deterre us from it? Did not some among ourselves (and those no meane ones) inculcate our inevitable dangers at home, from no small company left out of church fellowship, and civill offices, and freedome hitherto? Yet we trusted in God (though there appeared no means of safety) and went on our way; and the Lord hath still preserved us and frustrated all counsells and attempts against us. Againe, when upon grievous complaints against us to the Lords of thePrivy Council, of such civil innovations amongst us as we could not justify by the laws of that late, a strict order and command was sent to us to deliver up our patent, or else to expect to have it fetched by force, what greater danger could be towards us than appeared in not obeying of this command? Yet we had then courage enough to returne an answer without our patent. When we undertooke a warre against the Pequots, which no necessity put us upon, but only in point of conscience (they had done us no injury) on others behalfe, there were more objections (in point of dangerous consequnces) against that, than against this; our friends of Plymouth complained of it, and wrote to us accordingly; so did our friends of Connecticut, laying forth the dangers we had expos'd them unto by it, withing we had forborne to a fitter season; but neither of them protesting against it: Yet, in due time, the Lords hand appeared in it, to the good of the whole country, and we felt but little of those great dangers which were justly to be feared. Our intelligence was believed, which we heard long since, and hath been more certainly confirmed.
confirmed of late, that the jesuitical State* have had an evil eye upon us, and not without cause (as themselves apprehend) and though we looke at this as the head of all foreign enmity, yet the Lord hath still saved us, and that without any great impression of feare upon our spirits. In the treaty about our confederacie, the doubtful construction of it in England, the danger from a General Governor (especially in regard of our brethren of Plimouth) the necessity of our being involved in the quarrel with the Dutch, on the behalf of our brethren of Hartford, were taken notice of by the generall court and many of the elders, &c. yet neither would the court be deterred from entring into that brotherly league, nor were our elders or people troubled with feare of those dangers. And now, lately, when we received Pumham and Sawconoco into our jurifdiction, the generall court considered how offensive it would be to the Naragansets, and so likely to ingage us in a warre with them; yet, the thing being lawful and expedient for us, and giving hope of opening a doore to the conversion of some of them, they would not let flipp the opportunity of such advantages, for the feare of doubtful dangers. More I might add: All amounts to this samme, the Lord hath brought us hither, through the swelling seas, through perills of pyrates, tempests, leakes, fires, rocks, sands, diseases, starvings, and hath here preferred us these many yeares from the difpleasure of Princes, the envy and rage of Prelates, the malignant plots of Jesuits, the mutinous contentions of discontented persons, the open and secret attempts of barbarous Indians, the feditious and undermining practices of heretical false brethren; and is our confidence and courage all swallowed up in the feare of one D’aulnay? Admit we should have stepped aside out of our way, doth the favour and protection of our God wholely depend upon our perfect walking? Were we never out of our way before, under all our former mercies and deliverances? Did Abraham, Isaac,

* They were in great fear of the French when they settled, under Richlieu, at Port Royal and afterwards, when D’Aulnay came to Penobscot. See Maffa History, V. 1. p. 28.
Isaack, Jacob, David, Jehosaphat, the people of Israel, Judas, and others, never find protection and deliverance, when, by infirmity, they were found to be out of their way? If they did, why may not we still seeke and hope for the like, seeing the Lords mercies endure for ever? For my part (if there were not other sins, which God may have a controversie with us for) I should little feare any harme from this. If any breach were made in our peace, this is not the way to make it up. We may bring more displeasure and danger upon ourselves, by the divisions and breaches of rule which may be occasioned by our unreasona-ble striveings about that which is now past remedie, than would otherwise arise from any miscarriage in the business it selfe, in the worst construction that can be made thereof.

The feare of man bringeth a snare; but he that trust-eth in the Lord shall be safe. Prov. 29. 24.

J. W. G.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Simon Bradstreet to Governor Winthrop.

Right worthy Sir,

I Received, together with others, two letters from your selfe, concerning the French affaire, and had I not hoped that you should have receaved a small answer from us longe before this time, I should not have been so longe silent, nor shewed soe much seeming neglect, but being now almost out of hope of accomplishing that which was intended, I thought meete to present you with these few lines. Howe unpleasing it was to mee for to expresse my selfe by word or writing contrary to the apprehen-sion of your selfe and other friends, both godly and wise, whom I both love and honour, hee that is the searcher of hearts knoweth; and howe farr it was from my will or
or intent, when I sett my hand to that letter you receaved, to cast any dishonour upon your felfe or others, I hope in tyme you shall know and be fully perswaded of. The truth is, our aying of Latour was very grievous to many hereabouts, the designe being feared to be unwarrantable by dyvers, as the case stands with us; of which number I confesse I was, and doe still remaine one, and though the business was doe farr proceeded in before wee writ the letter, as (for my parte) I had noe hope of stayeing the shippes, yet some of us thought it might be of good use to intimate that some cautions might be given to those that went, and they be strictly required to obserue the same, that doe the undertaking myght be preferved from sinne and the common wealth from damage, doe much as the case was capable of, which cautions if refused, then to signifie under our hands, our not consenting to the proceeding, with our reasons thereof; but for any protestation against the act, condemning it, we never intended it, but frequently fully and expressly declined it, doe the sending the letter without those cautions and after the shippes were gone, concerns those to answer that did it, for my parte I was much troubled att it so soone as I heard of it. What errors may be found in our letter for matter or manner of expression (it being intended noe otherwise than I have expressed) I shall be farr from owneing or justifieing when they shall appear; this I can truly say, wee were follicitously carefull (according to the little tyme wee had) not to write any thing that might be matter of just offence, and I hope a favourable interpretation of words (our intension being rightly underflode) may free it from blame. Concerning the arguments you allege to warrant the designe, I shall forbear saying any thing att present, not haveing either of your letters by mee, but rather leave them to be answered by the elders, whom it is likely will shortly visit you upon other accounts, and for my selfe I hope to waite upon you att the court, when wee may have opportunity to speak further about the same; and for those many heavy imputations, which your laft letter chargeth
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Endecott to Governor Winthrop, about the Misdemeanors of Griffin’s Company at Gloucester.

Dearest Sir,

I heard nothing further of Gloucester busines till the 3d day of this week at even, when I received a letter from Mr. Blinman, together with a complaint of the town against Griffen’s company for several misdemeanors. And at the foot of the complaint a reference from your selfe and 3 other magistrates to me, for the redresse of them. I therefore dispatched away a messenger betimes the next morning, with a letter to Mr. Griffen, that he would send me such of his men whose names I had underwritten his letter, to answer to the misdemeanors of Sabbath-breaking, swearing and drunkennes: And withall I sent a letter with instructions to Mr. Blinman, with a warrant addressed to the constable. That if Mr. Griffen would not send his men, that the constable should attach their persons and bring them before mee: If they did resist or refuse, nor to strive with them nor to use any provoking termes, but to take witness of their carriage and to returne mee an answer; which here I have sent you inclosed. I would have proceeded against them according to your former directions (to wit) with force; but I had rather, if you see good, trye first another way, which is, to send a prohibition, under
under your and divers of the magistrates hands besides, forbidding Mr. Steephens and the rest of the ship-carpenters there, or any where within this jurisdiction, upon some penaltie, not to worke a stroke of worke more upon Mr. Griffen's ship till they had further order from the Governor, &c. I desire therefore to heare from you what you would have done. In the mean time, I have written away another letter to Mr. Griffen, wishing him to counsell his men (if he cannot command them) to submitt to authoritie, seeing they stand out to their owne loss and disadvantage. What his returne will be you shall heare as I can send it.

I pray you, good Sir, let me be excused from coming to this court, for I am not fitted for winter journeys, and for such bad wayes as we must passe.

I want much to heare of your sonnes iron and steele. If the country will not be encouraged by so usefull a designe, to enlardge themselves for the advantage of it, I know not what will.

The Lord our good God in mercy keepe you and yours, to whose grace I commit you and rest

Yours truely and unfeignedly,

Salem, 1. 10 mo. 1643. Jo. Endecott.

I am glad to heare of your sonne Mr. Steevens safe returne, together with his beloved. I desire to be kindly remembred to them both.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Endecott to Governor Winthrop.

Dearest Sir,

I must needs acknowledge I was somewhat grieved when I heard of Haddock's cariadge to yourselfe, and Mr. Paynes staying aboard that they could not be commanded ashore upon any occasion. I thought then of Castle Island that it would be of good use to controle such fellowes: But
But to be any strength to your towne or countrey I cannot see it. I verily think that the country will be verie willing that there may be a fort there, built at the chardges of the townes thereabouts: And to understand their willingness or consent to it, I think it may be done by what is propounded, viz. to send to the magistrates and deputies, or, if you see good, to the magistrates and deputies of the severall shires, who may easily come together without any chardge to the countrey. We have, here in Essex, appoint-ed a day to meet at Salem, viz. the 22d of the next month, to consider of some things for the common wealth, according to an order of court. Now then I think it will be soone enough to send in our counsell or consent therein, seeing little can be done to the work in the meane tyme.

I heare you have great fights upon the water seen be-tweene the castle and the towne; men walking on the water in the night ever since the shippe was blown up, or fire in the shape of men. There are verie few doe believe it, yet here is a great report of it brought from thence the last day of the week.

The maid* is now going along with us to Orchard,† where your sonne shall be heartilie welcome.

I am glad that the Mohawks newes is fals. The Lord continue peace unto us if it be his blessed will, to whose grace I committ you, and ever reft your assured loving friend and servant,

29 of mo. 11. 1643. Jo. Endecott,

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia, to the Governor of New-England, about Mr. Chew's Servants.

Worthy Sir,

Having received intelligence and complaint from Mr. John Chew, merchant, that certaine of his servants being run away about May 1643, and are now resident in

* Mr. Endecott's daughter, this being the language of the day.
† His farm 3 or 4 miles from Salem.
in your colony of New-England, I desire you will please to assist this Gentleman, the bearer, in the regaining of them by all possible means that may be, it being but an accustomed favour reciprocally shown upon all occasions, either to other, in which at no time we shall be defective as we expect the like from you; he hath made it appear in court they are his servants; their names are Walter Joy, William Woodhead, and Henry King, alias Eny, so not doubting of your assistance herein I rest,

Your servant,

Virginia 12th June 1644. William Berkely.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Henry Vane* to Governor Winthrop.

Honoured Sir,

I received yours by your sonne, and was unwilling to let him returne without telling you as much. The exercise and troubles which God is pleased to lay upon these kingdoms and the inhabitants in them, teaches us patience and forbearance one with another in some measure, though there be difference in our opinions, which makes me hope that, from the experience here, it may also be derived to yourselves, least while the congregationall way amongst you is in its freedom, and is backed with power, it teach its oppugners here to extirpate it and roote it out, from its owne principles and practice. I shall need say noe more knowing your sonne can acquaint you particularly with our affairs.

Sir I am

Your affectionate friend,

and servant in Christ,

June 10. 1645. H. Vane.

Pray commend me kindly to your wife,
Mr. Cotton and his wife, and the rest of my friends with you.

Copy

* Mr. Winthrop had obliged Mr. Vane to leave the Massachusetts and return to England. This letter was wrote when Mr. Vane's interest in Parliament was very great. It shews a good spirit and the reproof is decent as well as seasonable.
A Declaration of former Passages and Proceedings betwixt the English and the Narrowgansetts, with their Confederats, wherein the Grounds and Justice of the ensuing Warre are opened and cleared.

Published* by Order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies at Bollon, the 11th of the 6th Month, 1645.

THE most considerable part of the English colonies professe they came into these parts of the world with desire to advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy his precious ordinances with peace; and (to his praise they confess) he hath not failed their expectation hitherto, they have found safety, warmth and refreshing under his wings, to the satisfaction of their souls. But they know and have considered that their Lord and Master is King of righteousness and peace, that he gives answerable laws, and casts his subjects into such a mould and frame, that (in their weak measure) they may hould forth his virtues in their course and carriage, not onely with the nations of Europe, but with the barbarous natives of this wildernes. And accordingly, both in their treaties and converse, they have had an awfull respect to divine rules, endeavouring to walke uprightly and inoffensively, and in the middef of many injuries and insolencies, to exercife much patience and long suffrance towards them.

The Pequotts grew to an exceffe of violence and outrage, and proudly turned aside from all wayes of justice and peace, before the sword was drawne or any hostile attempts made against them. During those warres, and after the Pequotts were subdued, the English colonies were carefull to continue and establish peace with the rest of the Indians, both for the present and for posterity, as by severall treatyes with the Narrowganset and Mohiggin Sagamores may appeare. Which treaties, for a while, were

* Made publck. I never met with it in print.
were in some good measure duly observed by all the Indians; but, of late, the Narragansets, and especially the Nianticks their confederats, have many ways injuriously broken and violated the same, by intertaining and keeping amongst them, not only many of the Pequot nation, but such of them as have had their hands in the blood and murther of the English, seizing and possesing at least a part of the Pequot country; which, by right of conquest, appertaines to the English; by allowing or harbouring and withholding several Pequot captives fled from the English, and making proud and insolent returns when they were redeemmed. And, more lately, the English had many strong and concurrent Indian testimonies from Long Island, Uncoway, Hartford, Kinnibeeck, and other parts, of Miantonimoes ambitious designes, travelling through all the plantations of the neighbouring Indians, and, by promises and gifts, labouring to make himselfe their universal Sagamore or commander, persuading and engaging them, at once, to cut off the whole bodie of the English in those parts. Which treacherous plotts were confirmed by the Indians generall preparations in messages, insolencies and outrages against the English and such Indians as were subjects or friends to them; so that the English colonies, to their greate charge and damage, were forced to arme, to keep strong watch, day and night, and some of them to travel with convoyes from one plantation to another, and when Miantonimo, in his circular travell, was questioned at Newhaven concerning these things, instead of other and better satisfaction, he threatned to cutt off any Indians head that should lay such a charge upon him to his face.

The commissioners, by the premisses, observed Miantonimoes proud and treacherous disposition, yet thought not fitt to proceed against him in that respect, till they had collected more legall and convinceing proove.

But while these things were under deliberation, Miantonimo was brought prisoner by Uncas to Hartford, and the case being opened and cleared as followeth, he crave the commissioners advise how to proceed with him.
It appeared that in a treatie made with the English, at the Massachusetts Anno 1637, Miantonimo engaged himself not to fight with any of the Indians, and particularly not to invade Uncas without the English consent; and after in a tripartite agreement made and concluded at Hartford betwixt Miantonimo and Uncas with reference to the English, Anno 1638, in which one of the articles runns, That though either of the said Indian Sagamores should receive injury from the other, yet neither of them shall make or begin warre, untill they had appealed to the English, and till their grievances were first heard and determined, and if either of them should refuse, the English might assist against, and compel the refusing and obstinate partie.

Notwithstanding which, Miantonimo and his confederates have both forcibly and openly plotted and practised against the life of Uncas not at all acquainting the English or advising with them; but more especially of late, since the forementioned plotts and designes were in hand.

First, a Pequot Indian, one of Uncas his subjects, in the spring 1643, ayming at Uncas life, shot him with an arrow through the arme, and presently fled to the Narrow-gansetts or their confederates, boasting in the Indian plantations that he had killed Uncas. But when it was known that Uncas (though wounded) was alive, the Pequot (taught as was suppos’d) changed his note, affirming that Uncas had cut through his owne arme with a flint, and had hired him to say he had shot and killed him.

Miantonimo, being sent for by the governour of the Massachusetts upon another occasion, brought this Pequot with him and would have covered him with the former disguise, but when the English, out of his own mouth, found him guilty and would have sent him to Uncas his Sagamore, Miantonimo earnestly desired he might not be taken out of his hands, promising he would send him safe to Uncas to be examined and punished.

But seareing (as it seems) his own treachery would be discovered in a day or twoe, he stopp’d the Pequotts mouth by cutting off his head; but at parting he told the
the governour in discontent that he would come no more to Boston.

After this some attempts were made (as is reported) to take away Uncas life by poison, and by forcery; these failing, some of Sequaquions companie (an Indian Sagamore allied unto and an intimate confederate with Miantonimo) shot at Uncas, with an arrow or two, as he was going downe Connecticut river.

Uncas, according to the forementioned treatie (1638) complained, and the English, by mediation, fought to make peace, but Sequaquion expressing his dependance on Miantonimo refused, and chose warre. They fought and Uncas had the victory.

Lastly, Miantonimo, without any provocation from Uncas (unless the disappointment of former plots provoked) and suddenly, without denouncing warre, came upon the Moheggies with 900 or 1000 men, when Uncas had not halfe so many to defend himselfe. Uncas, before the battle, told Miantonimo that he had many ways fought his life, and for the sparing of bloud offered by a single combate betwixt themselves to end the quarrell. But Miantonimo presuming upon his number of men, would have nothing but a battle. The issue fell contrary to expectation, his men were routed, divers of considerable note slain, and himselfe taken prisoner.

These things being duely weighed, the commissiorners judged that Uncas could not be safe while Miantonimo lived: Wherefore, they thought he might justly put such a treacherous and blood-thirsty enemy to death; but advised him to doe it in his owne jurisdi<ion, without torture or cruelty.*

And Uncas, having hitherto shewed himselfe a friend to the English, and in this and former outrages (according to the treatie) craveng their advise, if the Narrowgansetts or their confederates should, for his just execution, unjustly assault him, the commissioners for the colonies promised to assist and protect him.

* The best that can be said of this advice is, that it was politick. Miantonimo was a man of great spirit. The English were in more fear of him than of any other Indian upon the continent.
Uncas hereupon flew an enemie, but not the enmity against him. The Narrowganfetts soon fell to new contrivements. They pretended they had payd a ransom for their Sachems life, and gave in particulars to the value of about forty pounds. This, for a while, cast an imputation of foule and unjust dealing upon Uncas: But, in September 1644, the English commissioners, meeting at Hartford, sent for the Narrowganfett Sachems, or their deputies, desiring they might be instructed to make good their charge.

Uncas came himselfe; they sent their deputies. But after due examination it appeared, though some loose discourse had passed that, for such quantities of waompum and such parcels of other goods, to a greate value, there might have been some probability of sparing his life, yet no such parcels were brought, and the Narrowganfett deputies did not alledge, much less prove, that any ransom was agreed, nor so much as any serious treatie begun to redeeme their imprisoned Sachem; and as for the waompum and goods sent, as they were but small parcells, and scarce considerable for such a purpose, so they were disposed of by Miantonimo himselfe, to sundry persons, for curtesies received during his imprisonement, and upon hope of further favour.

The Narrowganfett deputies saw their proofs fell farre short of former pretences, and were silent. The commissioners promised, that, upon better evidence hereafter, they should have due satisfaction.

Whereupon a truce was made, and both parties were engaged that all hostility should cease till planting time 1645, and after that they would give thirty dayes warning either at the Massachussetts or Hartford before the truce should cease. Yet in February last, the Narrowganfetts by messengers sent to Boston, declared that unless Uncas would render 160 fadom of waompum, or come to a new hearing within six weekes they would begin the warre.

This crossed the former agreement, and the season was such that neither the commissioners could be advisd with, nor could Uncas travel if notice had been given. After which about or before planting time Tantaqueifon a Mohegin
hiegin capaine who took Miantonimo prisoner was danger-
ously and treacherously wounded, at night, as he slept in
his wigwam, and other hostile arts were on both parts at-
ttempted in a private and underhand way, as they could take
advantage one against the other.

But since the Narrowgansetts have at several times open-
ly invaded Uncas so that Connecticut and New-Haven
were forced, according to ingagement, to send men from
those colonies for his present defence, but with express
direction not to begin any offensive warre against the Nar-
rowgansetts or their confederates till further order.

In the mean time, messengers were sent to the Narrow-
gansetts from the generall court in the Massachusetts sig-
nifyinge the commisioners meeeting, promising their griev-
vances should be fully and justly heard; and requiring
a ceffation of warre in the mean time, but they refused;
and hearing, probably, that the English from the Westerne
colonies were returned, they made a new assault upon
Uncas, and have done him much hurt.

The commisioners being met sent messengers, the second
time, both to the Narrowgansetts and Moheggin Indians,
minding them of the former treatie and truce, defiring them
to send their deputies instructed and furnished with autho-
ritie to declare and open the grounds of the warr, to give
and receive due satisfaction, and to restore and settle peace.

At first, the Narrowgansett Sachem gave a reasonable
faire answer, that he would send guides with them to the
Moheggin, and if Uncas permitted he would send his de-
puties to the commisioners, and, during eight dayes, hosti-
ility should cease; but he soone repented of his moderation,
tould the English messengers his mind was changed, sent
private instructions to the Nyanick Sachem, after the de-
ivery of which there was nothing but proud and insolent
passages; the Indian guides which the English messengers
brought with them from Pomham and Soconoco, were
by frowns and threatening speeches discouraged, and re-
turned; no other guides could be obtained, though much
pressed; they knew (as they expressed themselves) by the
course held at Hartford the last yeare, that the commissio-
ners
ners would mediate and press for peace, but they were resolved to have no peace without Uncas his head, it mattered not who began the warre, they were resolved to continue it; the English should withdrawe their garrison from Uncas, or they would take it as a breach of former covenants, and would procure as many Moquakes* as the English should affront them with; that they would lay the English cattle on heapes as high as their houses; that no English man should step out of his house to pisse, but he should be killed.

They reviled Uncas, charged him with cutting through his owne arme, and saying the Narrowgansetts had shott him; affirmed, that he would now murder the English messengers, as they went or returned, (if he had opportunity) and lay it upon the Narrowgansetts.

The English messengers, upon this rude and uncivill usage, wanting guides to proceed, and fearing danger, returned to the Narrowgansetts, acquainted Pequis with the former passages, and desired guides from him, he (in scorne, as they apprehended it) offered them an ould Pequot squawe, but would afford no other guides. There also they conceived themselves to be in danger, three Indians with hatchets standing behind the interpreter in a suspisious manner, whilst he was speaking with Pequis, and the rest frowneing and expressing much distemper in their countenance and carriage. The English messengers, not hoping for better successe at that time, departed; telling Pequis, that if he would returne any other answer, he should send it to the English trading house, where they intended to lodge that night. In the morning, he invited them to returne, and promised them a guide to Uncas, but would grant no ceffation of armes. When they came to Providence, they understood that, in their absence, a Narrowgansett Indian had been there, and faineing himselfe to be of Connecticut, spake in that dialect, but could not put off the Narrowgansett tone. He told Benedict Arnolds wife (who well understands the Indian language) that the English messengers should not passe to the Moheggin; he

* Maquas or Mohawks.
he knew they should have no guides, but should be destroyed in the woods, as they travelled towards Uncas.

Thus the English messengers returned, and the interpreter, under his hand and upon his oath, related the former passages, with others left materiall, more largely.

Mr. Williams, by the messengers, wrote to the commissioners, assuring them that the country would suddenly be all on fire, meaning by warre; that, by strong reasons and arguments, he could convince any man thereof that was of another mind; that the Narrowgansetts had been with the plantations combined with Providence and had solemnly treated and settled a neutrality with them, which fully shewed their counsells and resolutions for warre.

Thus while the commissioners, in care of the public peace, fought to quench the fire kindled amongst the Indians, these children of strife breath out threatenings, provocations and warre against the English themselves. So that unless they should dishonor and provoke God, by violating a just engagement, and expose the colonies to contempt and danger from the Barbarians, they cannot but exercise force, when no other meanes will prevale, to reduce the Narrowgansetts and their confederates to a more just and sober temper.

The eyes of other Indians, under the protection of the Massachusetts and not at all ingaged in this quarrell, are (as they have expressed themselves to the English messengers) fastned upon the English with strict observation, in what manner and measure they provide for Uncas safety. If he perish, they will charge it upon them, who might have preserved him; and no Indians will trust the English, if they now breake engagement, either in the present or succeeding generations. If Uncas be ruined in such a cause, they foresee their heads, upon the next pretence, shall be delivered to the will of the Narrowgansetts, with whom therefore they shall be forced to comply as they may, for their future safety, and the English may not trust an Indian in the whole country. The premissses being duely weighed, it clearly appeares that God calls the colonists to a warre.

L The
The Narrowgansetts and theire confederates rest on their numbers, weapons and opportunities to doe mischief, and probably as of ould, Asfur, Amalek, and the Philistines, with others, did confederate against Israel, so Satan may stirre upp and combine many of his instruments against the churches of Christ: But their Redeemer is the Lord of Hoafles, the mighty one in battaile, all the shields of the earth are in his hands, he can save by few or by weake means, as well as by many and greate. In him they trust.


DOMINUS Gubernator et reliqui Magistratus promittunt Domino Marie prædicto, quod illi et omnes Angli infra jurisdictionem Massachufetts in Nova Anglia firmam pacem colent et servabunt cum Domino D'Aulnay, Gubernatore, &c. et omnibus Gallis sub potestate ejus in Acadia, &c. Et Dominus Marie promittit pro Domino D'Aulnay, quod ille et homines ejus firmam pacem servabunt, etiam cum Gubernatore et Magistratibus prædictis, et omnibus inhabitantibus in jurisdictione Massachufetts prædicto. Et quod bene licebit omnibus hominibus, tam Gallis quam Anglis, mutua commercia exercere inter se; ita ut, si aliqua occasio offensionis acciderit, neuer eorum attentabit: aliquid hostili modo contra alterum, nisi manifestatio et querela de injuria prius facta, ac satisfactione secundum æquitatem non præscriba. Proviso semper, quod Dominus Gubernator et Magistratus prædicti non teneantur cohibere mercatores suos commercia exercere cum navibus suis cum quisquecumque hominibus, sine Gallis, alvis,
Aliis, ubicunque locorum degentibus. Proviso etiam, quod plena ratificatio et conclusio hujus conventionis ad proximum conventum Delegatorum Confœederatarum Coloniarum Novæ Angliaæ deferatur, pro continuatione vel abrogatione ejusdem, et interim firma et inviolata manebit.

CONVENTIONE et articulis suprascriptis a Delegatis Confœederatarum Coloniarum Novæ Angliaæ prædictis et matura consideratione eorum habitis, cum in animis eorum semper fuerit, ut pax firma et perpetua inter omnes Anglos et propinquos eorum universos instaurata maneret: Ira ut unusquisque communem omnium intentionem inculcat hujus regionis in usum humani generis (qua ratione universalis terrarum Deo primò Adami filiis donata fuit) subiuganda prosequatur, nec non ut barbaras has gentes, bonis moribus prius instructas, ad veri Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi cognitionem (Divino favente Numine) tandem perducamus, aequum et necessarium illis videtur, ut conventio et articuli prædicta (omnibus confœederatis Colonii prædictis in illis una comprehensis) confirmare debeat. Sed cum plurimæ quaestiones et injuriae ex utraque parte et alligatae et objecta sint, Delegati eadem, opportuno tempore et loco exaudire et secundum justitiae normam componi, et interea pace a confœederatis Novæ Angliaæ Coloniiis plene et firmiter, secundum conventionem prædictam, conservari volunt; ea lege, ut Dominus D'Aulnay eandem, chirographo suo fignarat, confirmare etiam et observare velit. In quorum sidem et testimonium, Delegati prædicti chirographa sua præsentibus apposuerunt.

Datum Boston in Novæ Anglia tertio die Septembris, Anno Domini 1645.

Jo. Winthrop, Praeses,
Geo. Fenwicke, Herbert Pelham, Tho. Prince,
Edw. Hopkins, John Browne,
Theoph. Eaton,
Stephen Goodyear.

L 2 Commission
Commission and Instructions from the Commissioners of the united Colonies to Maj. Gibbons.

The Commissioners of the united colonies of New-England being to appoint a commander in chiefe, over all such military forces as are to be sent forth and employed, not only in ayde of the Moheggin Sachem, but also against the Narrowgansett and Nianticks and other their confederates, who in making warre upon Uncas the Moheggin Sachem contrary to former treaties and agreements, are now become as well our enemies as his in regard of our engagement. The said commissioners having sufficient knowledge of the piety, courage, skill and discretion of you Major Edward Gibbons, doe hereby committ unto you the charge, conduct, command and government of all the said military forces, with all such armes, and ammunition, provisions and other appurtenances, with all officers thereto appointed, to be ordered managed and disposed of upon all occasions by yourself and your council of warre, according to the course of military discipline, and according to such instructions as you shall receive from the said commissioners from the time of your setting forth in your march untill your returne, or sufficient discharge sent you from the same authority. You have power also hereby (with advise of your council of warre) to use and execute martall discipline upon all offenders and delinquents as occasion shall be, by fynes, corporall punishment, and capittall punishments also if need shall require. And all persons whatsoever employed under you in this service, are hereby required to yeeld due obedience and subjectio to all your lawfull commands, according to the quality and power wherewith you are hereby invested. You have also power to command and order all such barkes and other vessels which are to be sent forth in the said service, with all seamen, soldiers, ammunition and provisions in them. And the said commissioners doe hereby constitute and appoint Capt. Myles Standish, Capt. John Mason, Capt. John Leverett, Lieut. Robert Seely (or such other
ether as shall have chiefe command of the forces coming from New-Haven) Lieut. Humphry Atherton, and the rest of the Lieutenants under your command, to be your councell of warre, whereof yourselfe to be president, and to have a casting voyce; and you and your said councell or the greater number thereof, shall have power from tyme to tyme, as a councell of warre, to manage all affaires concerning the same, and to joyne to you any other discreet and able officer or officers to be of your said councell, as you see meete. You have also power hereby, upon any necessary occasion, to make new officers and to give them titles sutable to their places.

Given under the hands of the said Commissioners at Boston in the Massachussetts, this 19th (6th) 1645.

Instructions for Sergeant Major Gibbones, commander in chiefe of our military forces, and for such as are joyned unto him in a councell of warre.

WHEREAS you Sergeant Major Edward Gibbones are appointed commander in chiefe of all such forces as are or shall be sent forth of the severall colonies, as by your commissiion bearinge the date of these presents doth more fully appeare, and whereas there is joyned to you by the same authority, as a councell of warre, divers of your chiefe officers, persons of approved worth and fidelity, as in the said commissiion they are more fully expressed: And whereas the cause and scope of this expedition is not onely to ayde the Moheggin, but to offend and invade the Narrowgansetts, Nyanticks, and other their confederates, who, upon making warre upon Uncas the Moheggin Sachem, contrary to theire ingagements, are become as well our enemies as his: Yet it being the earnest desire of the commissioners, if it may be obtained with justice, honour and safety, to procure peace, rather than to prosecute warre; it is first commended to your good discretions to take any fitt occasion, or (if with safety you may without any considerable delay or danger to your proceedings) to use meanes to drawe on such a peace, which
which you have hereby power to treat and conclude, wherein you are to take due consideration of the charges the colonies have expended in the warre, which you may estimate by the numbers of men sent forth at several times, by their continuance abroad, with wages and provisions appertaining. And of the damage which Uncas hath sustained since the warre began, wherein it were meete (if it may be done with conveniency) he were consulted with, that both the colonies and he may receive just satisfaction and repair; which if the Narrowganfettts cannot presently make, a considerable part may be paid in hand, and the rest by a yearely tribute; but withall, according to our engagments, you are to provide for Uncas his future safety, that his plantations be not invaded, that his men and squawes may attend their planting, fishing and other occasions, without feare or injury; and that Offwomekin, Punham, Soconoco, Cutchamekin, and other Indians, friends or subjects to the English, be not molested, which will disturb the peace and draw on further charge and inconvenience. But a peace well framed will hardly be secured, unless either some of the chiefe Sachems deliver their sones as hostages, or that some considerable part of theirre country be yeelded to the English for plantations, wherein there may be forts built by the English and maintained (at least in part) by a tribute from the Narrowganfettts, to secure the agreement. And it might probably conduce to the settling or preserving of peace, if a trade were settled betwixt the colonies and them; by which they might be supplied with necessaries, but pieces and powder kept backe, which other traders furnish them with. If you cannot conclude a peace with them, upon the termes above mentioned (to prevent greater inconvenience) you may abate somewhat of our charges, and of the damage Uncas hath sustained: But much care must be taken to secure both our and his future peace, which, if it may be done by raising forts and keeping garrisons in the Narrowganfett and Nyanick countries, at theirre charge, though we require hostages as above, they may be restored when the fortifications are finished and
their payments made; and the articles are to be agreed and confirmed by the commissioners for the united colonies at their next meeting; otherwise to be of no force. But if peace may not be obtained in such a way as is before expressed, you are then with all prudent celerity to prosecute with force of arms the said Narrowgangsetts and Nyanticks, and all such as shall assist them, until you may (through the Lords assistance) have subdued them or brought them to reason. And if the necessity of the service shall require a further ayde of men or provisions (be it one hundred, more or lesse) upon your letters of advise to the Governors of the severall colonies, supplies shall be speedily sent to you, according to the proportion agreed.

You are to make faire warres, without exercising cruelty, and not to put to death such as you shall take captive, if you can bestowe them without danger of your owne. You are to use your best endeavours to gaine the enemies canowes, or utterly to destroy them, and herein you may make good use of the Indians our confederates, as you may doe upon other occasions, having due regard to the honour of God, who is both our sword and shield, and to the distance which is to be observed betwixt Christians and Barbarians,* as well in warres as in other negociations. If you find any English stragglers, traders or others, whom you shall suspect to give intelligence or to furnish with arms and ammunition, or to give any other ayde to the enemy, you may secure them and send them to Boston. All other of our countrymen, carrying themselves peaceably and inoffensively, shall be in peace by you, and if you have occasion to make use of any of their boates or vessells, cattle, provision or other goods, you shall be very tender of endamaging them, and you shall give them a ticket whereby they may receive due satisfaction from the colonies, or some of them.

When

* It seems strange that men who professed to believe that God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, should so early and upon every occasion, take care to preserve this distinction. Perhaps nothing has more effectually defeated the endeavours for christianizing the Indians. It seems to have done more: To have sunk their spirits, led them to incontinency, and extirpated the whole race.
When you shall meete with the forces which come from the confederates of Plimouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, or any of them, yourselfe and the councell may order and dispose of them, into such bodies and under such of the commanders as you shall find to be most convenient, and most agreeable to the service, having care to give no just occasion of offence or discontent to any of the commanders or officers of any of the colonies.

We doubt not but yourselfe and your councell knowing well how precious the lives and healths of our men are among all our colonies, and how greate charge this warre is like to bring upon us, will be very careful in preserving and husbanding both to the best advantage; so as we shall not need to give you any instructions and directions about the same, but shall rest satisfied in the confidence we have of your wisdome and faithfulness to be improved, through the Lords assistance and blessing upon you, in this service, for his owne glory and his peoples safety and prosperity in this wildernes.

If the enemy flie, so that you cannot come to fight with him, it may be expedient that you build one or more fortifications in the most convenient places of the Narrowganset or Nyantick countries, into which you may by the helpe of the Indians our friends, gather and preserve the enemies corne and other goods for the advantage of the service.

Lastly, (yet above all the rest) we commend to your christian care the upholding of the worship of God in your armie, and to keepe such watch over the conversation of all those under your charge, as all prophanenens, impiery, abuse of the sacred name of God, luxury, and other disorders may be avoyded or duly punished, that the Lord may be pleased to goe forth before you, and prosper all your proceedings and returne you to us in peace, which we shall dailie pray for.

Bolton the 19th (6) 1645.

Copy
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Winslow to Governor Winthrop.

Honored Sir,

YOURS I long since received in answer of my request in behalf of my friend Mr. Sherley and thank you for your readiness herein. Sir, I had written to you long since, but the truth is I could neither have content in silence or writing, by reason of some unworthy passages in our last general court, to the great offence of our Governor Mr. Prence, myself, and sundry others. In the middle of October we had two courts successively, the first being the last session of our election court, the other our ordinary quarter court, and both general courts. Before either of these two, at a court of assistants, other things giving opportunity, the Governor, Mr. Collier, Capt. Standish, and myself being there, took into consideration a matter of great concernment, as we apprehended, and agreed mutually in the thing as necessary to propound it to the general court, which was the last session of our election court: Accordingly it was propounded, and after a whole daies agitation it was allowed and entered in the waste booke, there being but one deputy against it, and he not direct; save onely, as he thought, it did not properly concern that court. The next weeke, being in course another of our general courts, came more of our magistrates that live remote and were not with us either at the court of assistants or the foregoing general court, where this act was done; And after a tumultuous manner excepted against the entry of that order, as pernicious and destructive to the weale of the government, with very many unseemly terms concerning others, &c. which exception of his was strengthened by 3 other magistrates, one whereof had joyned with us twice before and now against his own act, but made beforehand by the first excepter as well as the other two and many of the deputies; They cried out
out to have it defaced and crossed. The Governor Mr. Prence, and myself, would not allow it, or any other act, (Mr. Collier being absent to our grieve) to be defaced; but if hereafter it should be found prejudicial, it might be repealed by another act, but not otherwise. In briefe (for I am ashamed to mention particulars, especially to write them) a promise was made that it should rest till the next generall court and nothing be done in it: And then, when court and country had duly thought of it, if they thought meet to repeal it they might. After this, the first excepter having been observed to tender the view of a scroule from man to man, it came at length to be tendered to myself, and withall, said he, it may be you will not like this. Having read it, I told him I utterly abhorr'd it as such as would make us odious to all chritian commonweales: But at length he told the Governor he had a written proposition to be propounded to the court, which he desired the court to take into consideration, and according to order, if thought meet, to be allowed: To this the deputies were most made beforehand, and the other three affitants, who applauded it as their Diana; and the sum of it was, To allow and maintain full and free tolerance of religion to all men that would preserve the civill peace and submit unto government; and there was no limitation or exception against Turke, Jew, Papist, Arian, Socinian, Nicholaytan, Familift, or any other &c. But our Governor and divers of us having expressed the sad consequences would follow, especially myselfe and Mr. Prence, yet notwithstanding it was required, according to order, to be voted: But the Governor would not suffer it to come to vote, as being that indeed would eate out the power of godlines, &c.

By this you may see that all the troubles of N. E. are not at the Massachusets. The Lord in mercy looke upon us, and allay this spirit of division that is creeping in amongst us. You would have admired to have seen how sweet this carrion reliev'd to the pallate of most of the deputies! What will be the issue of these things our all-ordering God only knows. Only we know, without him,
it shall never be; and that's our greatest comfort: But if he have such a judgment for this place, I trust, we shall finde (I speake for many of us that groane under these things) a resting place amongst you for the soales of our feet.

I had not thought to have been so long; but if you have heard of the particulars and the persons, especially the ringleader of this rout (if a rout might be in a lawfull assembly) by this generall you may gather the more insight into the particulars. Thus, saluting you and all yours, desiring my due respects may be tendered to your Governor, Mr. Endecott, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Hibbins, and Mr. Flint, desiring your prayers, take leave and remaine,

Your ever loveing friend,

24 (9th) 1645.

Edw. Winflow.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. James Parker* at Barbados, to Governor Winthrop.

Right Worshipfull,

I cannot but out of that respect I owe your selfe presente my respects to you in these few lines, and to give you to understand how things are here with us; we gott well to this island of Barbados through grace; here I found greate respect since my coming both from the government and people, only sorry I have been to heare told me by the governour off this place what our reverend Mr. Dudley should publickly say concerning him. The man seems to me to be wise, moderate in his way and temperate, orthodox in his judgment, and I hope godly, his natural temper is affable and not violente; this take from me as from one that will declare the truth, he would nourish and honour religion according to his light, only heresies (which this island abounds withall) he exposeth.

* I suppose he was afterwards one of the Ministers of Newbury.
A kind respective friend he hath beene to me, he faith he desires correspondencie with you off New-England, and many able to come hither, as by my letters may appeare; I may be mistaken, but love thinks noe ill and yet not blind.

I am here engaged to preach only for the present, the manner how I refer you to Mr. Wilson, to whom I have wrote and Mr. Cotton.

The island suites very well with my temper hitherto, through bountie, it is now and like to be very wealthy, full of sugar, cotton, indigo, and ginger, some have made this yeare off one acre off canes about 4000 weight of sugar, ordinarily 3000. Much drought now opprefleth, and I wonder, in the eye off argument, at Gods greate patience to so profaine a people for swearing and drinking as the vulgar be. It must certenly, in my apprehension, be some strong hand must reforme them.

I would not be tedious to you. There hath this yeare beene brought over 3 commissions, one from the Earle of Warwicke and commissioners with him to command this government to profess themselves for the parliament, and to lay aside their neutralitie. But this they seem not to embrace, but have answerd it thus, professing their willingness to be serviceable to the kingdome, their honour for the parliament, but their yet allegiance to the King, therefore desired to be spared a little till things be settled.

There were one other for libertie of conscience, that they have thus answerd, that they are not unwilling not to presse any mans conscience in matters of ceremonie, only in regard there are many sects that under pretence off libertie may take occasion to denye all ordinances, and so consequently the Lords day, therefore this they would require of all, to come to the publick preaching, and that shall be sufficient.

There is a 3d, and that is to call the Governor and some off the Councill into question for some pretended acts off injustice here past. And these things to be examined by inferior persons here, and that not off the best in matter of opinion, and that seems to exasperate.
For soe much, if I should be demanded how I thinke things will goe here, I would say, I am afrayde when I consider off the profaness off the place, and the divisions that are here and like to be, soe much I certainly would say, had not a man greater arguments to Carrie hither and here, for the present, to flay him than temporalls, he would faile. How oft have I thought in my hearte, oh howe happie are New England people!

Not only thus, but even in respect off temporalls, for the common people, that have but meane estates, are very meane in respect of provisions, little fleth if any, noe bread but cafader, a bread I approve not off; though its true the rich live high.

The country to my sence is not very hott, but that which I like well off; and a man with about 200 off pounds, in an ordinarie way off providence, might quickly gaine an estate by sugar, which thrives wonderfully.

Capt. Middleton, master off the Parimour, is here like to settle, as he tells me, your youngest sonne wente from New England with him into the Straits.

I cease to write any newes out off Old England, because I heare Capt. Leverate came out with these ships here. Only we heare sayd the King defended Scotland with 600 horfe and were defeated and 2 or 300 cutt off. We heare he is come to the citie, but noe certaintie off that.

I have yet sente for my wife to me, in the midst off thesee greate distractions, I shall be glad to heare from yourself. Sorry I am that I have not to express my dear engagement to your person. Whether I shall returne for New England I know not. Only this, I thinke I shall, and I pray New England may not forgett your greate la bour there and your service amongst them. The desires of my hearte, as formerly, stille be for yourselfe and familie. And if ever any off yours fall within my abilitie, I much mistake myselfe if my respect should not appeare. Thus, begging your helpe at the throne off grace for me, in the midst off this greate profaness I am amongst and greate heretic, with my service and respect to your
your beloved, with the gentlemen your fonnes, Mr. Dudley and the rest, Major Gibbins. I yet remayne, yours to my utmost services,

Barbados, 24. 4th, 46. J. Parker.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Endecott to Governor Winthrop.

Dearest Sir,

I Understand by Mr. Downing, that you have received letters from Monf. D'Aulney, and that hee will send to us about the 7th month. I could wish, if you see it good, that the commissioners were acquainted with it, I meane of the severall provinces, and moved (if they see good) to be here, because I desire they may be as throughlie ingaged in what is done or may be concluded as our selves. If you intend to call a general court now, it will be in the middeft of all our occasions, and the countrie will much suffer in it. If it be any tyme before D'Aulney's messenger comes to us, it will be well enough as farre as I can conceive, and if it were just at the tyme it would be the better, but I conceive that as uncertaine, unlesse hee hath appointed a certayne time, but I leave all to your better considerations. I humbly thank you for all the news you have sent us at severall tymes; we finde here the hand of God much upon severall mens grayne by caterpillers, which threaten a dearth. The Lord fitt us for what he shall call us unto. To whose blessing I commend you and all yours, and rest,

Yours unsenly,

Jo. Endecott.

My wife desires to have her service remembred to Mrs. Winthrop.

9th 5 mo. 1746.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Steven Painter* to Governour Winthrop.

Sumers Islands this 24th of August 1646.

Much Honoured Sir,

The Lord having clothed you with power to be ruler over his Israell, besides those gifts and graces which doe abounde in you as a maine pillar in his house, and you also doe desire that justice may be administred to all men, causeth me to present you with these few lines in the behalfe of the right honorable Earle of Warwicke, whose agent I am, that you wolde be pleased to aforde your best assisance to Major Gibbins, for the recovery of my lords right of those two ships which Captain Cromwe'll hath brought to you, unto whom I have sent a copy of my lords commissio[n and a letter of attorney to inable him thereunto. For nothing doubting of your worship's favourable assistace I humbly take leave,

Yours in all christian servis,

ever to be commanded,

Steven Painter.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Humfrey to Governour Winthrop.

Honoured Sir,

Although I have not occasion to be troublesome unto you as formerly in point of my succes:less occasions, yet can I not be wanting to the acknowledgment of anie of those favours I formerly found from you. It is true the want of that lost occasion (the loffe of all I had in the world) doth upon rubbings of that irreparable blow, some times a little trouble me, but in no respect equal to this, that I see my hopes and possibilities of ever enjoying those

I did and was readie to suffer anie thing for utterly taken away. But by what intermediate hande foever this is befallen me (whose negleets and unkindness God I hope will mind them for their good) yet I desire to looke at his hand for good (I doubt not) to me, though I doe not to fullie see which way it may work. His fatherly administrations have hitherto beene gracious, and I trust his goodnes and loving kindnes will follow me all my dayes according to his owne free covenant upon which I desire to cast myselfe. Sir I thank you againe and againe (and that in sinceritie) for any fruities of your goodnes to me or mine, and for any thing contrarie, I blesse his name I labour to forget, and desire him to pardon. For anie thing from hence, I know you will have it from those who have more abilitie and libertie to satisfie themselves and their friends in these kinds; knowing myselfe unfitt to give these advertisements which the state of things in your relations to us require. Therefore with my service and beft respects to good Mrs. Winthrop and yourselfe, Rev. Mr. Cotton, Mr. Willson with theirs, yours and all our precious friends I rest,

Your (more willing than able to serve you)
poore friend and fervant.

Jo. Humfrey.*

If now you have anie service to command me, you shall find me readie to serve you, and therein it will appeare I serve not myselfe, the occasion of that suspi-
cion being taken away, and farewell it.

Gravesend, Sept. 4th, 1646.

* This is the John Humfrey who was Deputy Governor in England and afterwards an Assistant in the Colony but, reduced by misfortunes, returned to England.
AN ABSTRACT
OF THE
LAWS OF NEW ENGLAND.

CHAPT. I. Of Magistrates.

2. Out of the free Burgesles. Deut. 17. 15.
3. Out of the ablest men and most approved among them. Deut. 1. 18.
4. Out of the rank of noblemen or gentlemen among them, the best that God fendeth into the country, if they be qualified with gifts fitt for government, Jer. 30. 21.

I. All the Magistrates are to be chosen.

II. The

This piece was printed in London in 1655 and, by William Aspinwall the publisher, allowed to have been the performance of Mr. Cotton. It should rather be intitled An Abstract of a Code or System of Laws prepared for the Commonwealth of the Massachusetts Bay; for although when they compiled their laws they made this abstract their plan, in general, yet they departed from it in many infallences, and in some which were very material.

"Considering that these plantations had libertie to mould their civil order into that forme which they should finde to be best for themselves, and that here the churches and commonwealth are complanted together in holy covenant and fellowship with God in Christ Jesus, he did at the request of the general court in the Baye drawe an abstract of the lawes of judgment delivered from God by Moses to the Commonwealth of Israel; so farre forth as they are of moral, that is of perpetual and universal, equity among all nations, especially such as these plantations are; where-in he advised that Theocracie, i.e. God's government, might be established as the best form of government wherein the people that choose civil rulers are God's people, in covenant with him, that is members of churches and the men chosen by them to be rulers, such also, and the lawes of God and the ministers of God are consulted with by the governor, magistrates and people, in all hard cases and in matters of the Lord, that is of religion, &c. and for the clearing of his judgment with the grounds thereof touching this matter I wish that some of his sermons to the general court were printed." M. S. Life of Mr. Cotton by Mr. Davenport.
II. The Governor hath joint power with the Assistants to govern the whole country, according to the laws established hereafter mentioned: He hath power of himselfe, and in his absence the deputy Governor, to moderate all publique actions of the common wealth.

1. As first, he sends out warrants for the calling of the general courts (except that of Josb. 24. 1. elections)

2. To order and transact all actions in the court where he sitteth, as to gather suffrages and votes, and to pronounce sentence according to the greater parte of them.

III. The power of the governour with the rest of the councellours is:

1. To consult and provide for the maintenance of the state and people.

2. To direct in all hard matters wherein appeale is made to them from inferior courts.

3. To preserve religion.

4. To oversee the fortes and munition of the country, and to take order for the protection of the country from forraigne invasion or intestine sedition, and as need shall require, with consent of the people, to undertake warrs.

IV. And because these great affaires of the state cannot well and sufficiently be attended, nor wisely administered, if they be often chang'd, therefore the councellors ought to be chosen for life,* unless they give just cause of removall, which if they doe, then they to be removed by the general court.

V. The power of the Governour sitting with the Councillors and Assistants, is to hear and determine all causes, whether civil or criminal, which are brought before him, through the whole commonwealth, yet reserving liberty of appeale from him to the generall courte.

VI. Every

* An attempt was made to establish what was called a standing Council for life, as a distinct body from the Assistants, but the Charter gave no authority for it, and the People would not submit to it.
VI. Every town is to have judges within themselves, whose power shall be once in the month, or in three months at the furthest, to hear and determine civil causes and pleas of lesser values, and crimes also which are not capital, yet reserving liberty of appeals to the court of Governor and Assistants.

VII. For the better expedition and execution of justice, and of all affairs incident unto every court, every court shall have certain officers, as a secretary to inrolle all the acts of the court and besides, ministers of justice to attach and fetch and set persons before the Magistrates, and also to execute the sentences of the courts upon offenders: And for the same end it shall be lawful for the Governor, or any one or two of the Councillors or Assistants, or Judges, to give warrant to an officer to fetch the delinquent before them, and to examine the cause, and if he be found culpable of crime, to take order, by sureties or safe custody, for his appearance at the court.

And further, for the same end and to prevent the offenders lying long in prison, it shall be lawful for the Governor, with one of the Councill, or any two of the Assistants, or Judges, to see execution done upon any offenders for any crime that is not capital, according to the lawes established, yet still reserving a liberty of appeals from them to the court, and from an inferior court to an higher court.

CHAPTER II.

Of free Burgessses and free Inhabitants.

I. All the free burgesses, excepting such as were admitted free men before the establishment of churches in the country, shall be received and admitted out of the members of some or other of the churches in this country.
such churches as are gathered or hereafter shall be gathered with the consent of other churches already established in the country, and such members as are admitted by their own church unto the Lord's table.

II. Those free burgesses shall have power to choose in their owne townes fitt and able men out of themselves to be the ordinary judges of inferior causes in their owne towne; and against the approach of the general court to choose two or three as their deputies and committees to joyne with the governor and assistants of the whole country to make up and constitute the general court.

III. This general court shall have power,

First, by the warrant of the governor, or deputy governor, to assemble once every quarter or halfe yeare,* or oftner, as the affairs of the country shall require, and to fit together till their affairs shall be dispatched.

Secondly, Call the governor and all the rest of the publique magistrates and officers unto place, and to call them also to account for the breach of any lawes established, or other misdemeanors and to cenfure them as the quality of their fault may require.

Thirdly, To make and repeale lawes.

Fourthly, To dispose of all the lands in the country and to assigne them to severall townes or persons as shall be thought fitt.

Fifthly, To impose a levy of moneys for the publique service of the common wealth, as shall be thought requisite for the provision and protection of the whole.

Sixthly, To heare and determine all causes whether civill or criminall wherein appeale shall be made unto them, or which they shall see cause to asume into their owne cognizance and judicature.

Seventhly, To assist the governor and counsellors in the maintenance of the purity and unity of religion, and accordingly to sett forward and uphold all such good causes as shall be thought fitt for that end, by the advice and with the consent of the churches and to represse the contrary.

IV. In

* The practice was every half year.
IV. In this generall courte nothing shall be concluded but with common consent of the greater parte of the governor and assistants, together with the greater parte of the deputies of the townes, unlefe it be in the election of officers where the liberty of the people is to be preserved, or in judging matters of offence against the law wherein both parties are to stand to the direction of the law.

V. All the householders in every town shall be accounted as the free inhabitants* of the country, and accordingly shall enjoy freedome of commerce and inheritance of such lands as the generall courte or the severall townes wherein they dwell shall allot unto them, and they shall take an oath or give other security to be true and faithfull to the state, and subject to the good and wholesome laws established in the country by the generall courte, when it shall be required of them.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Protection and Provision of the Country.

I. A law to be made, if it be not made already, for the training of all men in the country fitt to bear arms unto the exercize of military discipline, and withall another law for the maintenance of military officers and fortes.

II. Because fish is the chief staple commodity of the country, therefore all due encouragment to be given unto such hands as shall sett forward the trade of fishing, and for that end a law to be made that whosoever shall apply themselves to sett forward the trade of fishing, as fishermen, mariners and shipwrights, shall be allowed man for man, some or other of the labourers of the country to plant and reap for them in the season of the yeare at the publique charges of the common wealth, for the space of these seaven yeares next ensuing, and such labourers to be appointed and paid by the treasurer of the common wealth.

III. Because noe common wealth can maintaine either their authority at home, or their honour and power abroad without

* Free inhabitants, but not freemen or free of the corporation.
without a sufficient treasury, a law therefore to be made for the erecting and furnishing of the treasury of the common wealth, which is to be supplied and furnished,

1. By the yearly payment

1. Of a 1d. or ob. an acre of land occupied throughout the country: lands occupied in common by a towne to be paid for out of the stocke or treasury of the same towne.

2. Of a 1d. for every beast, horse or cow.

3. Of some proportionable rate upon merchants.

This rate to be great or leffe as shall be thought fitt.

2. By the payment of a barrell of gunpowder or such goods or other munitions out of every ship that bringeth forraigne commodities.

3. By fines and mulctes upon trespassers.

IV. A treasurer to be chosen by the free burgesses out of the Assistants, who shall receive and keepe the treasury, and make disbursements out of it according to the direction of the generall courte, or of the Governor and Councell, whereof they are to give an account at the generall courte. It shall pertayne also to the office of the treasurer diligently to survey and oversee all the munitions of the country, as cannons, culveringe, muskettts, powder, match, bullets, and to give account thereof to the Governor and Councell.

V. A treasury also, or magazen, or storehouse, to be erected and furnished in every towne, as Deut. 14. 28. distincte from the treasury of the church, that provisions of corne and other necessaries may be layd up at the best hands, for the reliefe of such poore as are not members of the church; and that out of it such officers may be maintained, as captaines and the like, who dee any publique service for the towne: But, chiefly, this treasury will be requisite for the preserving of the livelihood of each towne within itselme. That in case the inheritance of the lands that belonge to any towne come to be alienated from the townesmen, which may unavoidably fall out, yet a supply may be made to the livelihood of the towne by a reasonable
reasonable rent charge upon such alienations, layd by the common consent of the land owners and townesmen, and to be payd into the treasury of the towne.

This Treasury to be supplied

1. By the yearely payment of some small rate upon acres of land.
2. By fines or americiaments put upon trespassers beasts.
3. By a rent charge upon alienation of townes lands.

A towne treasurer to be appointed for the oversight and ordering of this treasury, chosen out of the free burgesses of the same town; who is to dispose of things under his charge according to the direction of the judges of the towne, and to give account at the townes courte, to the judges and free burgesses of the towne, or to some elected by them.

CHAPT. IV.

Of the Right of Inheritance.

I. Forasmuch as the right of disposall of the inheritance of all lands in the country lyeth in the generall courte; whatsoever lands are given and assigned by the generall courte to any towne, or person, shall belong and remaine as right of inheritance to such townes, and their successors, and to such persons, and to their heires and assignes, as their propriety forever.

II. Whatsoever lands, belonging to any towne, shall be given and assigned by the towne, or by such officers there-in as they shall appoint, unto any person, the same shall belong and remaine unto such person, and his heires and assignes, as his proper right forever.

III. In dividing of lands to the several persons in each towne, as regard is to be had partly to the number of persons in a family, to the more Num.26.53. assigning the greater allotment, to the fewer 54. less, and partly by the number of beasts, by the which a man is fitt to occupy the land Num. 35. 3. assigned to him and subdue it; foe eminent respect
respec in this case may be given to men of eminent quality and deserRes, in assigning unto them more large and honou-

rable accommodations in regard of their greater disbur-

sments to publique charges.

IV. Forasmuch as all civill affairs are to be administered

and ordered soe as may best conduce to the upholding and

setting forwards of the worship of God in church fellow-

ship, it is therefore ordered, that wheresoever the lands

of any man's inheritance shall fall, yet noe man shall sett

his dwelling house above the distance of half a myle, or a

myle at the farthest, from the meeting house of the con-
gregation, where the church doth usually assemble for the worship of God.*

V. Inheritances are to descend naturally
to the next of the kinne, according to the
law of nature delivered by God.

VI. If a man have more sones then one,
then a double portion to be assigned and be-
queathed to the eldest sonne, according to the
law of God, unless his owne demerit doe de-
prive him of the dignity of his birthright.
The like for personall estates.

VII. The will of the testator is to be
approved or disallowed by the court of go-

ernor and affilants, or by the court of judges
in each towne, yet not to be disallowed un-
lesse it appear either to be counterfeit or
unequall, either against the law of God,
or against the publique wealth, or against
the due right of the legatees.

VIII. As God in old time in the common wealth of
Israell forbad the alienation of lands from one tribe to
another, soe to prevent the like inconvenience in the aliena-
tion of lands from one to one to another, it were requisite
to be ordered,

* Many advantages would have attended a law of this sort Be-
sides avoiding the splitting and multiplying parishes, improve-
ments would have been made in social and civilized life by a
more compact neighbourhood. This law was never executed.
1. That noe free burgesse or free inhabitant of any towne, shall sell the land allotted to him in the towne, but to some one or other of the free burgesses, or free inhabitants of the same towne, unless the free burgesses of the towne give consent unto such sale, or refuse to give a due price answerable to what others offer without fraud.

2. That if such lands be sold to any others, the sale shall be made with reservation of such a rent charge to be paid to the towne flocke, or treasury of the towne, as other the former occupiers of the land were wont to pay towards all the publique charges thereof, whether in church or towne, or at least after the rate of 3d. an acre, or some such like proportion.

3. That if any free burgesses or free inhabitants of any towne, or the heire of any of their lands shall remove their dwelling from one town to another, none of them shall carry away the whole benefit of the lands which they possessed in the townes whence they remove; but if they still keepe the right of inheritance in their owne hands, and not sell it, as before, then they shall reserve a like proportion or rent charge out of their lands to be payd to the publique treasury of the towne, as hath been wont to be payd out of it to the publique treasury of the towne and church, or at least after the rate of 3d. or 5d. an acre, as before.

4. That if the inheritance of a free burgess or free inhabitant of any towne fall to his daughter, as it will doe for defect of heires males, that then if such daughter doe not marry to some of the inhabitants of the same towne where their inheritance lyeth, nor sell their inheritance to some of the same towne (as before) that then they reserve a like proportion of rent charge out of their lands to be payd to the publique treasury of the towne, as hath been wont to be payd out of them to the publique charges of the towne and church, or at least after the rate of 3d. or 5d. an acre. Provided allways that nothing be payd to the maintenance of the church out of the treasury of the church.
church or towne, but by the free consent and direction of the free burgeses of the towne.*

CHAP. V. Of Commerce.

I. It shall be lawful for the governor, with one or more of the council, to appoint a reasonable rate of prices of all such commodities as are out of the thipes to be bought and sould in this country.

II. In trucking, or trading with the Indians, noe man shall give them for any commodity of their silver or gold, or any weapons of warre, either gunnes or gunpowder, nor swords nor any other munition which might come to be used against ourselves.

III. To the intent that all oppression in buying and selling may be avoyded, it shall be lawful for the judges in any towne, with the consent of the free burgeses, to appoint certaine select men to sett reasonable rates upon all commodities, and proportionably to limit the wages of workmen and labourers, and the rates agreed upon by them, and ratifyed by the judges to binde all the inhabitants of the towne, the like course to be taken by the governor and affillants, for the rating of prices throughout the country, and all to be confirmed, if need be, by the generall courte.

IV. Just waights and ballances to be kept betweene buyers and sellers, and for default thereof, the profitt foe wickedly and corruptly gotten and gained, with as much more added thereto, is to be forfeited to the publique treasury of the common wealth.

V. If a man borrow ought of his neighbour upon a pledge, the lender shall not make choice of what pledge he will have, nor take such a pledge as is of daylie necess-

* The provision made by this eighth section is an unnecessary imitation of the laws of Moses, and every good end was answered by making the lands in each towne liable to the taxes and charges of such town, let the owners live where they may.
fary use unto the debtor, or if he doe take it
he shall restore it againe the same day.  
   Ex. 22. 26, 27.

VI. Noe interest to be taken of a poore 
brother or neighbour for any thing lent un-
to him.  
   Ex. 22. 25,  Lev. 25. 35,

VII. If borrowed goods be lost or hurt in 
the owners absence, the borrower is to make 
them good ; but in the owners presence,  
Ex. 24. 14, wherein he seeth his goods noe otherwise 
used then with his content, the borrower shall 
not make them good. If they were hired, the 
hire is to be payd and no more.

CHAPT. VI. Of Trespasses.

I. If a mans swine or any other beast, or a fire kindled 
by him break out into another mans field or corne, he
shall make restitution both of the dammage done by them 
and of the losse of time which others have 
had in carrying such swine or beast unto the 
Ex. 22. 5. 6. owners, or to the folde, but if a man put his 
beast or swine into another mans field, restitution is to be 
made of the best of his owne, though it were much better 
than that which was destroyed or hurtre.

II. If a man killes another mans beast, or 
digg or open a pitt, and leave it uncovered, and  
Lev. 24. 18. a beast fall into it, he that killed the beast and 
Ex. 21. 34. the owner of the pitt shall make restitution.

III. If one mans beast kill the beast of 
another, the owner of the beast shall make 
Ex. 21 35, restitution.  and 36.

IV. If a mans oxe or other beast goares or 
bite and kill a man or a woman, whether  
Ex. 21. 28, childe or of ripier age, the beast shall be killed 
29, 30, 31. and noe benefitt of the dead beast referved 
to the owner; but if the oxe or beast were wont to push 
or bite in-times past, and the owner hath been tould it,and 
hath not kept him in, then both the oxe or beast shall be 
forfeited and killed, and the owner alfo put to death, or 
else
else fined to pay what the judges and persons damnified shall lay upon him.

V. If a man deliver goods to his neighbour to keepe and they be said to be lost or stolen from him, the keeper of the goods shall be put to his oath touching his owne innocency, which if he take, and no evidence appeare to the contrary, he shall be quit. But if he be found false or unfaithfull, he shall pay double unto his neighbour: But if a man take hire for the goods committed to him, and they be stolen, the keeper shall make restitution, but if the beast so kept for hire, dye, or be hurte, or be driven away noe man seeing it, an oath shall be taken of the keeper that it was without his default, and it shall be accepted; but if the beast be torne in pieces, and a piece be brought for witnesse, it excuseth the keeper.

CHAP. VII. Of Crimes.

And first of such as deserve capital punishment or cutting off from a man's people, whether by death or banishment.

I. Blasphemy, which is a cursing of God by atheisme, or the like, to be punished with death.

II. Idolatry to be punished with death. Deu. 13.10-11.

III. Witchcraft, which is fellowship by covenant with a familiare spirit, to be punished with death. Lev. 20.6-27.

IV. Consulters with witches not to be tolerated, but either to be cut off by death or banishment, or other suitable punishment.

V. Heresy, or the maintenance of some wicked error overthrowing the foundation of christian religion, with obstinacy, if it be joyned with endeavour to seduce others thereunto, to be punished with death, because such an hereticke noe lesse than an idolater seeketh to thrust the souls of men from the Lord their God.
VI. To worship God in a molten or 

Exo. 32. 27, 

ven.image, to be punished with death. 

28. 

VII. Such members of the church as doe 

willfully reject the will (after due admonition and convic- 

tion) of the churches established, and their christian admoni- 

tion and censures, to be cut off by banishment, or pu- 

nished by discretion of the court. 

VIII. Whoever shall revile the religion and worship of 

God and the government of the church, as it is now esta- 

blished, to be cut off by banishment or punished by discre- 

tion of the court. 

IX. Willfull perjury, whether, before the judgment 

feate or in private conference, to be punished according to 

the quality of the offence; rash perjury, whether in publique 

or private, to be punished likewise. Just it is that such a 

mans name should be cut off from his people, who pro- 

faneth soe grossly the name of God before his people. 

X. Profaning the Lords day in a careleffe Num. 15. 30, 

or scornful neglect or contempt thereof, to be punished with death. 

XI. To put (or practise the betraying) the country, or 

any principal forte therein into the hand of any forraigne 

state, Spanish, French, Dutch, or the like, contrary to the 

allegiance we owe and proffe to our dread soveraigne 

lord king Charles, his heires and succesors, whilest he is 

pleased to protect us as his loyal subjects, shall be punished 

with death. 

XII. Unreverent and dishonourable car-

riage, in speech to, or concerning, our magi- 

strates, to be punished with banishment for a 

time, till they acknowledge their fault, and 

proffe reformation, according to the quality of the offence. 

XIII. Reviling of the magistrates in high-

est ranke amongst us, to wit, of the Governor 

and Councell, to be punished with death. 

XIV. Rebellion, or sedition, or insurrec- 

tion, by taking up armes against the present 

government established in the country, to be 

punished with death. 

XV. Rebellious
XV. Rebellious children, whether they continue in riott or drunkennesse, after due correction from their parents, or whether they curse or smite their parents, to be put to death.*

XVI. Murther, which is a willfull manslaughter, not in a mans necessary defence, nor casually committed, but out of hatred or cruelty, to be punished with death.

XVII. Adultery, which is the defying of the marriage bed, to be punished with death.

XVIII. Defying of a woman espoused, is a kind of adultery, and punishable by death of both parties, but if a woman be forced, then by the death of the man only.

XIX. Inceft, which is the defiling of any that are neare of kinne within the degrees prohibited in Leviticus, to be punished with death; unnatural filthinesse to be punished with death, whether sodomy, which is carnal fellowship of man with man, or of woman with woman; or buggery, which is carnall fellowship of man or woman with beasts or fowles.

XX. Pollution of a woman knowne to be in her flowers, to be punished with death.†

XXI. Whoredome of a maid in her fathers house kept secret till after her marriage with another, to be punished with death.

XXII. Manstealing to be punished with death.

XXIII. False witnes against life to be punished with death.

* There were several trials upon this law. John Porter was convicted and sentenced to death. He appealed to the Commissioners in 1665 and whilst the dispute between them and the Colony was depending he found means to escape, and there never was any person suffered death for this offence.

† This with divers others were crauf by Mr. Winthrop, and never passed into laws.
CHAPT. VIII.

Of other crimes less heinous, and such as are to be punished with some corporal punishment or fine.

I. First, rash and profane swearing and cursing to be punished,
   1. With loss of honour, or office, if he be a magistrate, or officer; meet it is their names should be dishonoured who dishonour Gods name.
   2. With loss of freedome.
   3. With disability to give testimony.
   4. With corporall punishment; either by stripes, or by branding him with an hot iron, or boring through the tongue, who hath bored and pierced Gods name, or by fine.

II. Drunkenness, as transforming Gods image into a beast is to be punished with the punishment of beasts, a whip for the horse, Prov. 26. 3. and a rod for the fools backe, is to be punished by the discretion of the court or magistrate.

III. Forcing of a maide, or a rape, is not to be punished with death by Gods laws,
   1. With fine, or penalty to the father of the maid. Deut.22,17,
   2. With marriage of the maid defiled, 18, 28, 29.

But,
   to wit, if she and her father consent.
   3. With corporall punishment of stripes, for this wrong is a real flander, and it is worse to make a whore, than to say one is a whore.

IV. Fornication to be punished,
   1. By marriage of the maid, or giving her a sufficient dowry. Exo. 22, 16.
   2. With stripes, though fewer, from the equity of the former case.

V. Maiming, or wounding of a freeman, whether free burgesse or free inhabitant, to Ex. 21. 18, 19. to be punished with a fine, and to pay, Lev. 24. 19, 20.
   1. First for his cure. 2. For his losse.
   And with losse of member for member, or some valuable recompence. But
But if it be maiming or wounding of a servant, the servant is to goe forth free from such a service, and the master further punished by discretion, &c.

VI. If a man steal a beast, and it be found in his hand, he shall make restitution two for one, if it be killed and sold, restitution to be made of Ex. 22. 1. 4. five oxen for one, of four sheepe, goats or swine, for one; if the thief be not able to Ex. 22. 3. make restitution, then he to be sold by the magistrates for a servant, till by his labour he may make due restitution.

VII. If a thiefe be found breaking up a house by night, if he be slain his smiter is guiltlesse, but in the day time the thiefe is to make full restitution Exo. 22. 2, and further punished for his attempt &c. by discretion; or if he be not able, then to be sold as before.

VIII. Slanderers are to be punished, Deu. 22. 17. 18.
1. By a publicke acknowledgment, as the slander was publicke.
2. By mulcts or fine of money, when the slander bringeth damage.
3. By stripes, if the slander be grosse, and odious, against such persons whom a man ought to honour and cherish, whether they be his superiours, or in some degrees of equality with himselfe, as his wife, &c.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the triall of causes, whether civill or criminall, and the execution of sentence.

I. In the triall of all causes, noe judgment shall passe, but either upon confession of the Deut. 19. 4. party, or upon the testimony of two witnesses. and 17. 6. Sufficient testimony.

II. Triall by jurors shall not be denied, where either the delinquent requireth it in causes criminall, or the plaintiff
plaintiff or defendant in civil causes, partly to preserve the liberty of the people, and partly to prevent suspicion of partiality of any magistrates in the court.

III. The jurors are not to be chosen by any magistrates or officers, but by the free burgesses of each town, as can give best light to the causes dependant in court, and who are least obnoxious to suspicion of partiality, and the jurors then chosen to be nominated to the court, and to attend the service of the court.

IV. The sentence of judgment, upon criminal causes and persons, shall be executed Deut. 25. 2, in the presence of the magistrates or some one of them at least.

V. Noe freeman, whether free burgess or free inhabitant, to be imprisoned, but either upon conviction, or for want of sufficient surety in case of debt, &c. or at least probable suspicion of some crime formerly mentioned, and the cause of his imprisonment to be declared and tried at the next court following, at the furthest.

VI. Stripes are not to be inflicted but when the crimes of the offenders are accompanied with childish or bruitish folly, or with lewd filthiness, or with stubborn insolency, or with beastly cruelty, or with idle vagrancy: Deut. 25. 2, 3. But when stripes are due, not above forty are to be inflicted.

CHAPT. X.

Of causes criminally betwene our people and forraigne nations.

I. In case any of our people should do wrong to men of another nation, upon complaint made to the Governor or other of the Councell, or Assistants, the fact is diligently to be enquired into, and being found to be true, full restitution is to be made out of the goods of the offender, as the case shall require, and the offender himselfe to be severely punished, according to the quality of the crime.
II. In case the people of another nation have done any important wrong to any of ours, right is first to be demanded of the Governor of that Deu.20.10,11. people, and justice upon the malefactor, 2Sam.20.18, which if it be granted and performed, then nce breach of peace to follow.

III. If right and justice be denied, and it will not stand with the honour of God and safety of the nation that the wrong be past over, then warre is to be undertaken and denounced.

IV. Some minister is to be sent forth to go Deut. 20. 1, along with the army, for their instruction and incouragement.

V. When betrothed and not married, or newly married, and such as have newly built or planted and not received the fruits of their labours, and such as are faint-hearted men are not to be pressed or forced against their wills to goe forth to warres.

VI. Captains are to be chosen by the officers. Deut.20.9.

VII. All wickednes is to be removed out of the campe by severe discipline.

VIII. And, in warre, men of a corrupt and false religion are not to be accepted, much leffe sought for.

IX. Women, especially such as have not lyen by man, little children, and cattle, are Deut.20.14. to be spared and reserved for spoyle.

X. Fruit trees, whilest they may be of use for meate to our owne soldiers, are not to be cut downe or destroyed, and confequently not corne.

XI. The spoyles gotten by warres are to be divided into two partes, between the soldiers and the commonwealth that sent them forth.

XII. A tribute from both is to be levied to the Lord and given to the treasury of the church, a 5th parte out of the commonwealths parte, and a 5th parte out of the soldiers.

XIII. If
XIII. If all the fouldiers returne backe again in peace, not one lackinge, it is acceptable to the Lord, if they offer, over and above their former tribute, a voluntary oblation unto the treasury of the church, for the memoriall of the redemption of their lives by the speciall providence and salvation of the Lord of Hofts.

*Isaiah 33. 22.* The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King, he will save us. Amen.

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**Answers of the Reverend Elders to certaine Questions propounded to them.**

**Q. 1.** Whether the magistrates are by pattent and election of the people the standing counsell of the commonwealth, in the vacancie of the general court, and have power accordingly to act in all cases subject to government according to said pattent and the laws of this jurisdiction, and when any necessary occasions call for action from authority, in cases where there is noe particular express law provided, there to be guided by the word of God till the generall courte give particular rules in such cases?

_A. 1._ The magistrates are by pattent and election of the people, the standing counsell of the commonwealth in the vacancie of the generall courte, and accordingly to act in all cases according to the pattent (pertaining to government) and laws made by the said generall courte of this jurisdiction. This answer is grounded upon sundry passages in the said pattent, as p. 10, where it is said that the Governor...

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*The Elders were made umpires in a contention between the Governor and Assistants on the one part, and the House of Deputies on the other. The patent, if the corporation had continued in England as was intended, admits of no difficulty in the construction of it. These doubts and questions arise nearly from changing a corporation in England into a common wealth in America. The questions seem not to have been proposed all at the same time, but it appears they were all answered before the year 1646.*
nor, Deputie Governor and Assistants shall apply themselves to take care of the best disposing and ordering of the general affairs and business of for and concerning the lands and premises and the plantations thereof, and the government of the people there. Alsoe p. 11. it is said that the Governor, Deputie Governor and Assistants, or any number of them as is expressed, shall be a full and sufficient court for the handling, ordering and dispatching of all such businesses and occurrences as shall from time to time happen touching and concerning the said company or plantation. And it is said p. 12. that it is in the power of the general court to make laws and ordinances for the good and welfare of the company, and they may make and establish wholesome laws, statutes and ordinances for the settling of the forms and ceremonies of government and magistracie, and for managing and settling all sorts of officers, superiour and inferiour, and for the distinguishing and setting forth the severall duties, powers and limmits in every such office and place. 2dly. We do not find that by the patent they are expressly directed to proceed according to the word of God, but we understand that by a law or libertie of the country, they may act in cases wherein as yet there is no expresse law, soe that in such acts they proceed according to the word of God.

Q. 2. Whether the Governor and Assistants have any power by patent to dispence justice in the vacancie of the general court, without some law or order of the same to declare the rule?

A. We doe not find in this commonwealth now constituted by this patent that the Governor and Assistants have any power to dispence justice in the vacancie of the general court, without some law or order of the same, as the rule of their administration, which we conceive were meete to be expressed for the regulateing of all particulars as far as may be, when such cannot be supplied by generall rules.

Q. 3. Whether anie generall court hath nor power in particular cases to choose any commissioners, either assistants or freemen, exempting all others, to give theire commiision,
mission, to set forth their power and places by any particular case, we mean in all things, and in those of all the officers the commonwealth stands in need of between election and election, not taking away the peoples liberties in election, nor turning out any officer so elected by them without shewing cause?

A. If the terms (all things) intend or imply all cases of constant judicature and counsel, we answer negatively, viz. that the general court hath not power by patent in all cases to choose anie officers, as commissioners, either assistants or freemen, exempting that is excluding all others, to give them commission, to set forth their power and places, because it would then follow, that the magistrates might be excluded from all cases of constant judicature and counsel which are their principal work, whereby also the end of the peoples election would be made frustrate. 2dly. But if these terms (all things) imply and intend cases, whether occasionall or other, belonging neither to constant judicature nor counsel, we answer affirmatively, viz. The general court hath power by patent in such particular cases to choose anie officers and commissioners, either assistants or freemen, exempting all others, to give them commission, to set forth their power and places, which yet we understand with this distinction, viz. that if the affairs committed to such officers or commissioners be of general concernment, we conceive the freemen according to the patent are to choose them, the general court to set forth their power and places; but if the affairs committed to such officers or commissioners be meerely of particular concernment, then we conceive the general court may both choose them and set forth their power and places. Whereas we give places of constant judicature and counsel to the magistrates, we thus interpret the word (counsel) Counsel consists of care and action; in respect of care they are not to be limited, in respect of action they are to be limited by the general court as the supreme counsel. Finally, it is our humble request that if anie difference grow in the general court betweene
magistrates and deputies, either in these or anie the like weighty cases which cannot be presently issued with mutual peace, then both parties will be pleased to deferre the fame to further deliberation, for the honour of God and of the courte.

Q. 1. Whether the deputies in general courte have judiciall and magistraticall authoritie?

Q. 2. Whether by pattent the generall courte, consisting of magistrates and deputies, as a generall courte, have judiciall and magistraticall authoritie?

A. 1. The pattent in expresse words giveth full power and authoritie, as to the governor and asilants foe to the freemen alfoe assembled in generall courte, p. 11. 2dly, Whereas there is a 3 fold power of magistraticall authoritie, legislative, judicative, and consultative or directive, of the publique affaires of the commonwealh, for provision and protection. The 1st of these, namely, legislative, is expressely given to the freemen jointly with the governor and asilants, p. 12. Consultative or directive power of the publique affaires of the commonwealh, for provision and protection, is also granted by the pattent unto the freemen as to the governor and asilants, p. 13. But now for the judicature, if we speake of the constant and usuall administration thereof, we doe not find that it is granted to the freemen or deputies in the generall courte, either by the pattent or by the election of the people, or by anie law of the country. But if we speake of the occational administration thereof we find the power of judicature administrable by the freemen jointly with the governor and asilants, upon a double occasion, 1. In case of defect or delinquency of a magistrate we find the whole generall courte of governor, deputy governor, asilants and freemen may proceed to remove him, p. 12. 2dly. If by the law of the countrey there lye anie appeale to the general courte or any other special causes referred to their judgement, it will necessarilly inferre that in such cases, by such laws, the freemen jointly with the governor and
and assistants have power of judicature touching the appeals and cause, the appeale and those reserved cases. What we speake of the power of freemen, the same may be said of deputies, so far forth as the power of the freemen is delegated to them by order of law.

Q. 3. Whether we may warrantably prescribe penalties to offences which may probably admitt of variable degrees of guilt?

Q. 4. Whether a judge be bound to pronounce sentence as a positive law prescribes, in case it be apparently above or beneath the merit of the offence?

A. 1. Certaine penalties may and ought to be prescribed to capitall crimes, although they may admitt variable degrees of guilt, as in case of murder upon prepensed malice and upon sudden provocation there is prescribed the same death in both, though murder upon a prepensed malice be a farre greater guilt than upon sudden provocation, Num. 35, 16, 17, 18. with ver. 20 21. also in crimes of leffe guilt, as in theift, though some theift be of greater guilt than other (as for some men to steale a sheepe that hath leffe nede is of greater guilt than for another who hath more nede) the Lord prescribed one same measure of restitution to both, Exod. 22. 1. 2dly, In case variable circumstances of an offence doe soe much varie the degrees of guilt, as that the offence is raised to a higher nature, then the penaltie must be varied to an higher answerable proportion; the strikeing of a neighbour may be punished with some pecuniary mulct, when the strikeing of a father may be punished with death; soe any sin committed with an hie hand, as the gathering sticks of the Sabbath day may be punished with death, when a leffer punishment might serve for gathering sticks privily and in some need.

3dly, In case circumstances doe soe varie a sinne as that many sinnen are complicated and wrapped up in it, the penaltie is to be varied according to the penaltie of those severall sinnen. A single lyre may be punished with a leffe mulct than if it be toould before the judgement seate, or elsewhere.
elsewhere to the damage of any person, whether in his good name by slander, or in his estate by detriment in his commerce, in which case a lyce aggravated by circumstances is to be punished with respect both to a lyce and a slander, and to the detriment which another sustainteth thereby. 4thly, In case that the circumstances, which varie the degrees of guilt, concernne only the person of the offender (as whether it were his first offence, or customary, whether he was inticed thereto or the inticer, whether he was principal or accessory, whether unadvised or wittingly and willingly, &c.) there it were meete that the penaltie should be expressed with a latitude, whereof the lowest degree to be expressed, suppose 5s. or as the case may be 5 stripes, and the highest degree 20s. or 40s. or stripes more or less, within which compass or latitude it may be free to a magistrate to aggravate or mitigate the penaltie as the circumstances doe require or alleviate the offence. Yet we would have care be taken that a magistrate attend in his sentence to a certaine rule, as much as may be in those circumstances, lest some person whose sins be alike circumstanceated with another, if his punishment be not equal the one with the other, one may thinke himselfe more unequally dealt withall than another. 5thly, In those cases wherein a judge is perswaded in conscience that a crime deserved a greater punishment than the law inflicteth, he may lawfully pronounce sentence according to the prescript penaltie of the law, because he hath noe power committed to him by law to goe higher; but where the law may seem to the conscience of the judge to inflict a greater penalty than the offence deserveth, it is his part to suspend his sentence till by conference with the lawgivers he hath liberty, either to inflict the sentence or to mitigate it. 6thly, The penalties of great crimes may be sometimes mitigated by such as are in cheife power, which in this country is the generall courte, out of respect to the publique good services which the delinquent hath done to the state in former times; so Solomon mitigated the pu-
punishment of Abiathar for his service done to his father formerly, 1 Kings 2. 26, 27.

Q. 1. Whether the distinction of power and authority in magistrates, and only libertie of counsell in the people, be according to the pattent, with respect of the magistrates and deputies in the generall court?

A. We conceive by the pattent, as the people have libertie of counsell, soe they have also other power or authority, as we have expressed in our answer to the two first questions sent unto us by our honoured magistrates.

Q. 2. Whether the generall courte, consisting of magistrates and deputies, be not the chiefe power of this commonwealth, and to describe the power of magistracy, and to prescribe laws to all, and doe all other acts which belong to such a power?

A. The generall courte, consisting of magistrates and deputies, is the chiefe civill power of this commonwealth, soe as to prescribe the power of magistracy and to prescribe in a civill way lawes unto all, not repugnant unto the lawes of God, nor to the pattent, nor to the fundamentall lawes and liberties establiflied in this commonwealth, and accordingly may doe all other acts which belong to such a power, as namely, both acts of counsell tending to the provision and protection and wealfare of the whole body, and alsoe acts of judgement, soe far as (according to our answer to the two former questions of our honoured magistrates) is by the pattent or choice of the people or lawes of the commonwealth reserved to them and seated in them.

Q. 3. Whether our government be a pure aristocracie or mixt with a democracie? If mixt, whether it should not be mixt in all the administrations of the same?

A. 1. Our government is not a meere aristocracy, but mixt of an aristocracy and democracy, in respect of the generall courte. 2dly, Notwithstanding it be mixed in the generall courte, yet it followeth not necessary thereupon, that
that it should be mixed in all other courtes and administrations thereof, because our forme (as all other formes of civil government) is the ordinance of man, therefore as it was free to make it mixed or simple, soe alsoe to make it mixed in the generall courte and united in others according to the pleasures of theordeiners thereof. Accordingly our patent, notwithstanding it hath made our government mixed in respect of the generall courte, yet it feemes to have instituted subordinate administrations of justice to be aristocratically dispensed by the courte of affistants; yet even in these courtes there is some place for a democratical dispensation in respect of the jurors.

It was voted that all the answers given in by the reverence Elders to the severall queetions, were approved just and true answers to satisfaction, except such as are not put to vote.

Prop. 1. That the affistants have noe power to act in judicature without some law of the generall courte to declare the rule.

Elders. That the affistants have noe power to act in judicature without some law, either particularly expressed, or in generall tearms, in defect thereof, enacted by the generall courte as the rule of their administrationes.

Prop. 2. That the generall court consisting of magistrates and deputies is the chiefeft power of this commonwealth, and may act in all things belonging to such a power concerning counsell and judicature, namely for making laws, receiving appeals, questioning and sentencing the highest officers, and consulting about the weightiest affairs of the common wealth and in all other cases which in their wisdome they thinke meet to take cognizance of.

Elders. That the general court consisting of magistrates and deputies is the chiefeft power of this common wealth, and may act in all things belonging to such a power, both concerning counsell in consulting about the weighty affairs
affairs of this common wealth and concerning lawes, alsoe concerning judicature in orderly impeaching, sentanceing and removing officers, even the highest according to law, likewise in receiving appeales, whether touching civill or criminall cases wherein appeales are or shall be allowed by the generall court.

Prop. 3. That the magistrate hath not power to vary from the penalties of any law either to mitigate or exceed the same.

Elders. That the magistrate hath not power to vary from the penalitie of any law either to mitigate or exceed the same without consent of the general court.

Prop. 4. That the patent in expresse words giveth full power and authority as to the governor and assistants soe to the freemen also assembled in general court.

Elders. That the patent in expresse words giveth full power and authority as to the governor and assistants soe to the freemen also assembled in general court, or thus, that the full power which is prescribed by the patent and granted by the general court is not only to the governor and assistants, but also to the freemen there assembled and acting with common consent.

Prop. 5. That certaine penalties may and ought to be prescribed in cases although the offences admit of variable degrees of guilt.

Elders. That certaine penalties may and ought to be prescribed in cases although the offences admit of variable degrees of guilt.
A Remonstrance and Petition of Robert Child, and others.

To the worshipful the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and the rest of the Assistants of the Massachusets Bay in New England, together with the Deputyes of the Generall Court now assembled at Bolton.

The Remonstrance and humble Petition of us whose names are underwritten, in behalfe of ourselves and divers others within this jurisdiction, humbly sheweth,

THAT we cannot but with all thankfulnes acknowledge your indefatigable painses, continuall care and constant vigilancy, which, by the blessing of the Almighty, hath procured unto this wilderness the much desired fruits of peace and plenty: While our native land, yea the christian world, is sharply afflicted with the devouring sword and the sad consequents of intestine wars. And further, that you whom the Lord hath placed at the helme of these plantations and endowed with eminent gifts fitt for fuch honourable callings, are best able to foresee the clouds which hang over our heads, the storms and tempests which threaten this poor handfull here planted, and timely to amend them. Notwithstanding those who are under decks, being at present unfit for higher employments, may perceive those leaks which will inevitably sink this weake and ill compacted vessell, if not by your wisdomes opportunely prevented. We who, in behalfe of ourselves and divers of our countrymen, laying our hands upon our breasts and seriously considering that the hand of our good God, who through his goodnesse hath safely brought us and ours through the great ocean and planted us here, seems not now to be with us, yea rather against us, blasting all our designes, though contrived with much deliberation, undertaken with great care, and proceeding with more than ordinary probability of successfull events, by which many of good
good estates are brought to the brink of extreame poverty, yea at this time laying his just hand upon our familyes, taking many away to himself, striking others with unwonted malignant sicknesses, and with some shameful diseases, have thought it convenient with all respectiveness to present these our sincere requests and remonstrances to this honored court, hoping we have found out those speciall leaks, which concurring with many and great sins of this place (which our conffciences know and our brethren of England are not ignorant of) are the speciall causes of the Lords turning his face from us, leaving us to ourselves, and consequently to strife, contention, unfaithfulness, idlenes, and of lamentable saylings, not blessing us in any of our endeavours, so as to give us any great hopes of flaple commodities, and consequently of comfortable subsistence, though we, to the utmost of our power, these many years, even to the exhausting of our estates and spirits, have endeavoured the same; but contrariwise, all things grow worse and worse, even to the threatening (in our apprehensions) of no less than small ruine; not doubting but you will receive them with the same candour of mind which we, not aiming at novelty or disturbance, but at the glory of God, our allegiance to the state of England, and good of these poor plantations (if our hearts deceive us not) present them unto you, though for want of skill and other necessary helpe roughly drawn up; and hope that you will be more diligent in amending than we in searching out the causes of these our present calamities, &c. Not to trouble you who are employed in the most serious affairs of these plantations with many words, we shall briefly referre them to these heads, &c.

1. Whereas this place hath been planted by the encouragement, next under God, of letters patents given and granted by his Majesty of England to the inhabitants thereof, with many privileges and immunities, viz. Incorporation into a company, liberty of choosing governors, settling government, making lawes not repugnant to the lawes of England, power of administering the oath of allegiance to all.
Notwithstanding, we cannot, according to our judgments, discern a settled forme of government according to the lawes of England, which may seeme strange to our countrymen, yea to the whole world, especially considering we are all English. Neither do we so understand and perceive our owne lawes or libertyes, or any body of lawes here so establiished, as that thereby there may be a sure and comfortable enjoyment of our lives, libertyes, and estates, according to our due and naturall rights, as free-borne subjects of the English nation. By which, many inconveniences flow into plantations, viz. jealousies of introducing arbitrary government, which many are prone to beleeve, construing the procrastination of such settled lawes to proceed from an overgreedy spirit of arbitrary power (which it may be is their weaknes) such proceedings being detestable to our English nation, and to all good men, and at present a chief cause of the intestne warre in our deare country: Further, it gives cause to many to thinke themselves hardly dealt with, others too much favored, and the scale of justice too much bowed and unequally balanced: From whence also proceedeth fears and jealousies of illegall committments, unjust imprisonmentes, taxes, rates, customes, levies of ungrounded and undoing aſſeſſiments, unjustifiable presses, undue fynes, unmeasurable expences and charges, of unconceyvable dangers through a negative or destructive vote unduly placed, and not well regulated, in a word, of a non certainty of all things we enjoy, whether lives, liberties or estates; and also of undue oaths, being subject to exposition, according to the will of him or them that gives them, and not according to a due and unbowed rule of law, which is the true interpreter of all oathes to all men, whether judge or judged.

Therefore our humble desire and request is, that you would be pleased to consider of our present condition and upon what foundation we stand, and unanimously concur to estabhsh the fundamental and wholesome lawes of our native country, and such others as are no ways repugnant
to them, unto which all of us are most accustomed; and
we suppose them best agreeable to our English tempers,
and yourselves obliged thereunto by the generall charter
and your oaths of allegiance. Neither can we tell, whe-
ther the Lord hath blest many in these parts with such
eminent politicall gifts, so as to contrive better lawes and
customes than the wisest of our nation have with great
consideration composed, and by many hundred yeares ex-
perience have found most equall and just; which have
procured to the nation much honour and renowne amongst
strangers, and long peace and tranquility amongst them-
selves. And for the more strict and due obser
vation and execution of the said lawes by all the ministers of justice,
That there may be a settled rule for them to walke by in
all cases of judicature, from which if they swerve there
may be some power settled, according to the lawes of Eng-
land, that may call them to account for their delinquences,
which may be a good meanes to prevent divers unnecessary
appeales into England.

2. Whereas there are many thousands in these planta-
tions, of the English nation, freeborne, quiett and peacea-
ble men, righteous in their dealings, forward with hand,
heart and purse, to advance the publick good, knowne
friends to the honorable and victorious Houses of Parlia-
ment, lovers of their nation, &c. who are debarred from
all civill imployments (without any just cause that we
know) not being permitted to bear the least office (though
it cannot be denied but some are well qualifyed) no not
so much as to have any vote in choosing magistrates, cap-
tains or other civill and military officers; notwithstanding
they have here expended their youth, borne the burthen
of the day, wasted much of their estates for the subsistence
of these poore plantations, paid all affeilments, taxes, rates,
at least equall, if not exceeding others, yea when the late
warre was denounced against the Narrowganset Indians,
without their consent, their goods were seized on for the
service, themselves and servants especially forced and im-
pressed to serve in that warre, to the hazarding of all
things
things most dear and near unto them, whence issue forth many great inconveniences, secret discourses, murmurs, rents in the plantations, discouragements in their callings, unsettledness in their minds, strife, contention, and the Lord only knows to what a flame in time it may kindle; also jealousies of too much unwarranted power and dominion on the one side, and of perpetual slavery and bondage on the other, and which is intolerable, even by those who ought to love and respect them as brethren.

We therefore desire that civil liberty and freedom be forthwith granted to all truly English, equal to the rest of their countrymen, as in all plantations is accustomed to be done, and as all freeborne enjoy in our native country; (we hoping here in some things to enjoy greater liberties than elsewhere, counting it no small loss of liberty to be as it were banished from our native home, and enforced to lay our bones in a strange wilderness) without imposing any oaths or covenant on them, which we suppose cannot be warranted by the letters patent, and seeme not to concur with the oath of allegiance formerly enforced on all, and later covenants lately imposed on many here present by the honorable houses of parliament, or at least to detract from our native country and laws, which by some are stiled foreign, and this place termed rather a free state, than a colonie or corporation of England; all of us being very willing to take such oaths and covenants as are expressions of our desires of advancing the glory of God and good of this place, and of our duties to the state of England, and love to our nation, being composed according to the laws and customes of other corporations of England; but all of us are exceeding unwilling by any policies whatsoever to be rent from our native country, though far distant from it, valuing our free derivations, the immunities and privileges which we and our posterity doe and we hope shall always enjoy above the greatest honors of this country, not cemented to the state of England, and glory to be accounted through but as rufhes of that land, yet that we may continue to write that we and ours
ours are English; or least we entreate that the bodyes of us and ours (English subjects posseffing here no privileges) may not be impressed, nor goods forcibly taken away, least we, not knowing the justice of this warre, may be ignorantly and unwillingly enforced upon our own destruction, and that all afferement, taxes, impositions, which are many and grievous (if civill liberty be not granted) may be taken of, that in all things we may be strangers, otherwise we suppose ourselves in a worse case here and leffe free than the natives amongst whom we live, or any aliens. Further, that none of the English nation, who at this time are too forward to be gone, and very backward to come hither, be banished, unless they break the known lawes of England in so high a meafure, as to deserve so high a punishment; and that those few that come over may settle here without having two magiftrates hands, which sometimes not being possible to obtain, hath procured a kind of banifhment to some, who might have been serviceable to this place, as they have been to the state of England, &c. And we likewise desire that no greater punishments be inflicted upon offenders than are allowed and fett by the laws of our native country.

3. Whereas there are diverse sober, righteous and godly men, eminent for knowledge and other gracious gifts of the holy spirit, no wayses scandalous in their lives and conversation, members of the church of England (in all ages famous for piety and learning) not differing from the latest and best reformation of England, Scotland, &c. yet they and their posterity are detained from the feales of the covenant of free grace, because, as it is supposed, they will not take these churches covenants, for which as yet they see no light in Gods word; neither can they clearly perceive what they are, every church having their covenant differing from anothers, at least in words: Yea some churches sometime adding, sometime detracting, calling it sometimes the covenant of grace, sometimes a branch of it, sometimes a profefion of the free covenant, &c. notwithstanding they are compelled, under a severe fine, every
Lords day to appear at the congregation, and notice is taken of such who stay not till baptism be administered to other men's children, though denied to their own; and in some places forced to contribute to the maintenance of those ministers who vouchsafe not to take them into their flock, though desirous of the ordinances of God, &c. yet they are not accounted so much as brethren, nor publicly so called, nor is Christian vigilance (commanded to all) any way exercised to them. Whence, as we conceive, doth abound an ocean of inconveniences, dishonor to God and to his ordinances, little profit by the ministry, encrease of Anabaptism, and of those that totally contemne all ordinances as vain, fading of Christian graces, decrease of brotherly love, heresies, schisms, &c. the whole body of the members of the church of England, like sheep scattered in the wildernes, without a shepherd, in a forlorn condition.

We therefore humbly intreat you, in whose hands it is to help and whose judicious eyes discern these great inconveniences, for the glory of God and the comfort of your brethren and countrymen, to give liberty to the members of the church of England, not scandalous in their lives and conversations (as members of these churches) to be taken into your congregation and to enjoy with you all those liberties and ordinances Christ hath purchased for them, and into whose name they are baptiz'd, that the Lord may be one and his name one amongst us in this place; that the seals of the covenant may be applied to them and their posterity, as we conceive they ought to be, till inconveniences hereby be found prejudicial to the churches and colony (which we hope shall never be) not doubting but the same Christian favour will be shewed to all its members of these churches, when they shall retire to our dear native country (if their conversations be righteous and holy) or otherwise to grant liberty to settle themselves here in a church way, according to the best reformations of England and Scotland, if not, we and they shall be necessitated to apply our humble desires to the honourable houses of parliament, who we hope will take our sad conditions into their
their serious considerations, to provide able ministers for us (this place not being so well provided as to spare any) or else out of their charity, many estates being wasted, to transport us to some other place, where we may live like christians and not be accounted burthens, but serviceable both to church and state.

These things being granted, by the blessing of God to us in Christ, we hope to see the now contemned ordinances of God highly prized, the gospell much darkned, break forth as the sun at noon day, christian charity and brotherly love, almost frozen, wax warm, zeal and holy emulation more fervent, jealously of arbitrary government (the bane of all common wealths) quite banished, the wicked, if any such be found, in their courses disheartned, the righteous actors in their ways encouraged, secret discontents fretting like cankers, remedied, merchandising and shipping by speciall providence waited, speedily encreased, mines undertaken with more cheerfulnes,ishing with more forwardnes, husbandry now withering forthwith flourishing, villages and plantations much deferted presently more populous, all mechanicall trades the great enriching of all common wealths heartily going on, staple commodities the life of trade presently raised, our almost lost credit regayned, our brethren of Englands just indignation and their force as a post flying from us turned to embrace us, the honourable houses of parliament patrons of piety under their wings in these dangerous times with alacrity throwding us, the privileges and immunities which we and ours enjoy in our native land more firmly settled, foreign enemies daily threatening totally discouraged, unsettled men now bounding firmly planted, that the prosperity of England may not be the ruine of this plantation but the contrary, hands, hearts and purses now strehghtened freely opened for public and honorable services, strife and contention now rife abated, taxes and sestes lightned, the burthens of the state but pleasure, &c. To conclude, all busineses in church and common wealth which for many years have seemed to go backward, beyond our desert yeare expecta-

O
tion, the good hand of our God going along with us, successully thriving.

And shall always pray the Almighty, the only wise God, to guide you with his wisdom, strengthen you with his power in all your undertakings, that all may be for the glory and good of his people, and that he would bless your wisdom with the blessing of peace, plenty, and long days, &c. Subscribed,

Robert Child, Thomas Fowle, Samuel Maverick,
Thomas Burton, David Yale, John Dand.
John Smith,

A Declaration of the General Court holden at Boston 4 (y) 1646, concerning a Remonstrance and Petition exhibited at last Session of this Court by Doctor Child, Thomas Fowle, Samuel Maverick, Thomas Burton, John Smith, David Yale, and John Dand.

IN this Petition and Remonstrance (as they call it) which is the first of the sorte that we have received, and (as we conceive) without president in any plantation or established commonwealth, as will appear by the same cause of such remonstrance, and as little reason for what is petitioned. We first observe the solemne and religious profession they make of the sincerity and singleness of their end in respect of the glory of God and the good of this colonie, which we have reason to be jealous of with a godly jealoufie, when we consider what connexion and affinity there is betweene such greare and glorious ends and the pursuit they make in their remonstrance, so far from truth and righteousness, together with the means they have propounded for attaining the same. We therefore wish them well and deeply to consider that they have herein to doe with him by whom actions are weighed, whose eyes are
are like a flame of fire, who will make all the churches knowe that he searcheth the heart and the reines, and will render to every one of them according to theire workes. It were a dreadful dareing presumption, if the blessed name of the most high God (whose honor is so oft avouched to be theire aymne in this designe) should be made to serve a corrupt project. The next thing we observe is, a divine over-ruling hand leadinge them to a cleare acknowledgment of that truth which cutts the sinewes of theire remonstrance, and justifies our government and all the administrations thereof, against all that reproach and blame they endeavour after to cast upon it. The words are these, We cannot but with all thankfulnes acknowledge your indefatigable paines, continuall care and constant vigilance, which (by the blessing of the Almighty) hath procured unto this wildernes the most desired fruities of peace and plenty; whilst our native land (yea the christian world) is sharply afflicted, &c. From which words we inferre these 4 propositions. 1. The government establisshed in this colonie (by the blessing of the Lord) hath beene dispenced and administred, from the first to laft, with a speciall and eminent measure of care and watchfullnes upon all occasions. 2dly, By the blessing of the Lord, the government establisshed and administred as aforefaid, hath beene a procuring cause of peace and plentie to this colonie. 3dly, By the blessing of the Lord, the government establisshed as aforefaid, and the good effeects thereof have beene graunted to us in this wildernes, and that at such a season, while not only our native country, but the christian world, are sharply visited and afflicted with contrary evills (we may say in this case with astonishment, Not unto us, Lord, but to thy name be the praise, we confesse it is our shame (we desire it may be also our sorrow) that we have not rendered to the Lord according to his great goodnes.) 4thly, The Petitioners (by theire owne confession) have not only no cause to blame this government, or the administration or effects thereof, but are bound with all thankfulnes to acknowledge the good fruities thereof, as wherein themselves have had their share. These
These foure propositions (allowing to the first of them that which humane frailty calls for) are (as we conceive) no leffe evident in the truth of them than in their depedance upon the petitioners owne words. Yet we observe 3dly, How they sometimes send forth sweete water and bitter. For in the following passages they speake of leakes, which (they say) will inevitable sinke this weake and ill-compacted vesseell, which they wholly impute to the evills of our government, civill and ecclesiasticall, both in the administration and effects thereof. And though in the said propositions, they make us monuments of mercie, preferring us above our native country, yea above the christian world; yet, in the conclusion they affirm the quite contrary; houling us forth as the scumme and off-scouring, such as our brethren in England, in their just indignation, avoyde as a pest, which they wholly ascribe to the evills of our government. They highly commend the administration of this government, and yet complain of an arbitrary power, detestable (as they say) to our English nation and to all good men. They commend this government in respect of care and watchfulness; and yet they speake of many sheepe in this wilddernes without shepheard, in a forborne condition. They largely acknowledge the good effects of this government; and yet cry out of intollerable slavery and bondage. They commend it in respect of peace and plenty; and yet they speake of discontentes fretting like cancers, of merchants wasteing, of husbandry withering, of villages and plantations much defoladed, and that all busines both in church and commonwealth have seemed to go backward, and that for many years. They commend it in respect of peace; and yet affirme they have no security of their lives and liberties, but are under a non certainty of all they enjoy. They commend it in respect of peace; and yet speake of contentions, readie to breake out into a fearfull flame, blaming the government as the cause thereof. They commend it in respect of plenty; yet profess they are brought to the brinke of extreame poverty, so as they beg of the parliament some help for transportation.
tion to some other place. They profess they owe acknowledgment with all thankfulness for what they here enjoy; and yet affirm that by reason of unjustifiable, ungrounded and undue taxes imposed on them, they are in worse condition than the natives themselves. They profess such acknowledgment as aforesaid; and yet affirm that they are in such a place, where they cannot live like Christians.

These petitioners fabricke being thus overthrown by their own confession and manifest contradictions, we might have throwne out their petition, as not worthie our further trouble, but lest they should pretend, that their said thankfull acknowledgment was but a complement, or a piece of their rhetoric (ad acquirendam gratiam) to gain favour (yet let them consider what we put them in mind of at first, how dangerous it is to engage the greate name of the Almighty, to advance their corrupt and uncharitable designes. (Nec tutum est ludere cum sacr.) It is not safe to dally with things sacred. We will therefore, for the petitioners more cleare conviction, and further satisfaction to all the world, examine their particular grievances, and other passages which we meete with in their remonstrance, &c. and give such account of our government and administrations both civil and ecclesiastical, as none shall be able (we hope) to contradict the truth thereof.

For our government itselfe, it is framed according to our charter, and the fundamental and common lawes of England, and carried on according to the same (takeing the words of eternal truth and righteousnes along with them, as that rule by which all kingdomes and jurisdictions must render account of every act and administration, in the last day) with as bare allowance for the disproportion between such an ancient, populous, wealthy kingdome, and so poore an infant thinne colonie, as common reason can afford. And because this will better appeare by comparing particulars, we shall drawe them into a parallel. In the one columnne we will sett downe the fundamental and common lawes and customes of England, beginning with Magna Charta,
Charta, and so goe on to such others as we had occasion to make use of, or may at present suite with our small beginnings: In the other columne we will sett downe the summe of such lawes and customes as are in force and use in this jurisdiction, shewing withall (where occasion serves) how they are warranted by our charter. As for those positive lawes or statutes of England, which have been from tyme to tyme established upon the basis of the common law, as they have been ordained upon occasions, so they have been alterable still upon like occasion, without hazarding or weakening the foundation, as the experience of many hundred yeares hath given prooffe of. Therefore there

Magna Charta.

1. T
HE Church shall enjoy all her liberties.

2. N
o man shall be condemned but by lawful tryall: Justice shall not be fouled, deferred nor denied to any man. All mens liberties and free customes shall be reserved.
there is no necessitie that our owne positive lawes (which are not fundamental) should be framed after the patterne of those of England, for there may be such different respects, as in one place may require alteration, and in the other not.

For ourselves, we must professe our insufficiencie for so greate matters (as the remonstrants also judge of us) and that in the lawes of England we have but the knowledge of novices, which is mixed with ignorance, and therefore such failings as may appeare either in our collection of those lawes, or in conforming our owne to that patterne, are to be imputed to our want of skill. If we had able lawyers amongst us, we might have beene more exact.

Fundamentalls of the Massachusetts.

1. **ALL** persons orthodoxe in judgment and not scandalous in life, may gather into a church estate according to the rules of the gospell of Jesus Christ. Liberty, 1.

Such may choose and ordaine their owne officers, and exercise all the ordinances of Christ, without any injunction in doctrine, worship or discipline. Liberty, 2 & 38.

2. No mans life, honor, liberty, wife, children, goods or estate shall be taken away, punished or endamaged, under colour of lawe, or countenance of authoritie, but by an express lawe of the generall court, or in defect of such lawe, by the word of God, &c. Liberty, 1.

Every person within this jurisdiction, &c. shall enjoy the same justice and lawe, &c. without partiality or delay. Liberty, 2.

All lands and hereditaments shall be free from all fines, forfeitures, &c. Liberty, 10.

Every man may remove himselfe and his familie, &c. if there be no legal impediment. Liberty, 17.

3. The
3. All cities and townes shall have theire liberties and free customes.

4. There shall be one measure of corne and wine throughout the kingdome.

5. Courts of judicature shall be kepte in a place certaine.

6. Difficult cases shall be determined by the justices of the bench, which was then the highest court of judicature.

7. No americiament shall be, but for reasonable cause, and according to the quantity of the offence; taweing to a freeman his freehould, and to a merchant his merchandize; and no such americiament to be assed but by the oaths of good and lawful men of the vicenage.

8. No wager of lawe shall be allowed without witnessses.

9. Merchants shall have safe conducts.


1. The supreame authoritie is in the high court of parliament.

2. In the parliament the people are present by theire deputys, the knights and burgesse of the house of commons, that nothing can passe without theire allowance.

3. These deputys are chosen for all the people, but not by all the people; but only by certaine freehoulders and free burgers, in shires and corporations.

4. Both
Fundamentalls of the Massachusetts.

3. The freemen of every towne may dispose of there towne lands, &c. and may make such orders as may be for the well ordering of their townes, &c. and may choose their constables and other officers. (1)mo 1635.

4. One measure is appointed through the country, according to the Kings standard. (3) 1631 and 1638.

5. Courts of judicature shall be kept at Bostont for Suffolk, at Cambridge for Middlesex, at Salem and Ipswich for Essex, &c. upon certaine dayes yearly. (1) 1635.

6. Difficult cases are finally determinable in the court of assistants, or in the general court by appeal or petition, or by reference from the inferior court. Liberty, 31 & 36.

7. Upon unjust suits the plaintiff shall be fined proportionable to his offence. Liberty, 37.

No mans goods shall be taken away, but by a due cours of justice. Liberty, 1. In criminal causes it shall be at the liberty of the accufed partie, to be tryed by the bench or by a jury. Liberty, 23.

We doe not fine or sentence any man, but upon sufficient testimonie upon oath, or confession. Custome.

8. Wager of lawe is not allowed, but according to this lawe, and according to Exod. 22. 8.

9. Letters testimonial are granted to merchants, when there is occasion. Custome.

Fundamentalls of the Massachusetts.

1. The highest authoritie here is in the general court, both by our charter, and by our owne positive lawes. (3) 1634, &c.

2. In our general court the people are present by their deputies, so as nothing can passe without their allowance. Charter, and (1) 1635.

3. Our deputies are chosen for all the people, but not by all the people, but only by the companie of freemen according to our charter.

4. The
4. Both parts of this court, viz. the arisocraticall and democraticall part make but one court; yet each of them sit and consult and act apart, and each hath a like negative power.

5. The acts of this court bind all the people, as well for-raigne as free borne; as well such as have no libertie in the election of the members of the court as the free-houlders, &c. who choose them.

6. The fundamentall frame of Englands politic in the subordinate exercise thereof, is either in courts of justice or out of court.

7. In courts of judicature, all causes both civill and crimi-nall are determinable either by the judges or jury, or by the judges alone in some cases, as upon demurrer in law, confession, overt act, or not tending traverse, &c. or in other cases, as appointed by speciall statute.

8. Out of court the standing councell doe order all affairs of state in the vacancie of the parliament.

9. The justices of peace have power out of court to pre-serve the peace, &c.

10. The ordinary ministeriall officers are sheriffs, consta-bles, marshall, bailiffs, clarkes, &c.

11. The ordinary processe are summons, attachments, dis-tresses, &c.

12. In all criminall cases where no certaine penalty is pre-scribed by law, the judges have power to impose arbitrary fines or penalties, according to the nature and merit of the offences.

13. Notorious and greate felonies, as treason, murther, witchcraft, sodomie, &c. are punished capitally, but simple theft and some other felonies are not punished with death, if the offender can reade in scripture.

14. Adultery is referred to the canon or spirituall lawe.
Fundamentalls of the Massachusetts.

4. The governor and assistants being the aristocraticall, and the deputies the democraticall part, yet make but one court, though they sit and act apart, and either of them hath a like negative power. Charter, and (1) 1635.

5. The acts of this generall court do bind all within this jurisdiction, as well no-freemen who have no vote in election of the members of the court, as the free men who doe choose them. By the charter.

6. This government in the subordinate exercise thereof is either in court of judicature or out of court. By the charter and many positive lawes.

7. In our court of judicature all causes civill and criminall are determinable, either by the judges and jury, or by the judges alone, &c. as in England. This is both by custome and by divers lawes established according to our charter, as Liberty, 29. &c.

8. In the vacancie of the generall court, the governor and assistants are the standing councell to take order in all such affaires. By the charter and (8) 1644.

9. The governor and assistants have power out of court to prever the peace, &c. By the charter and custome, and divers speciall lawes.

10. Our ministeriall officers are marshallls, constables, clerks, &c. By the charter.

11. Our ordinary processe are summons, attachments, distresses, &c. By charter.

12. In all criminall offences where the law hath prescribed no certaine penalie, the judges have power to inflict penalties, according to the rule of Gods word. Liberty 1. and by charter, &c.

13. Treafon, murther, witchcraft, Sodomie, and other notorious crimes, are punished with death: But theft, &c. is not so punished, because we reade otherwisse in the scripture. Capitalls, &c.

14. Adultery is punished according to the canon of the spirituall lawe, viz. the scripture. Capitalls, &c.

15. All

15. All publick charges are borne by the publick revenue or treasury.

16. Where the publick treasury will not suffice, all necessary charges are supplied by subsidies, &c. granted by parliament.

17. These subsidies are intended to be equally imposed upon all places and persons, yet in some cases they prove very unequall, yet they are collected, and such as refuse are distressd.

18. The parliament is not bound to give account to any of the improvement of these subsidies.

19. It is a fundamentall lawe that a man is not to be imprisoned if he tender sufficient bayle, &c. except in some cases capitall, and some other speciall cases.

20. The full age of man or woman for passing lands is twenty one yeares.

21. A married woman cannot dispose of any lands or other estate without her husband, nor can sue or be sued without him.

22. In civill actions a man may appeare and answer by his attorney.

1. The eldest sonne is preferred before the younger in the ancestors inheritance.

2. Daughters are coparceners in the inheritance.

3. Prescription is not allowed in cases morally and legally civill.

4. Civill authoritie hath power over any officer or member of the church in all cases civill and criminall.

5. No man is to be twice punished for the same offence.

6. No oath or covenant of a publick nature can be put upon the subject but by act of parliament.

7. Publick records are open to every subject.
Fundamentalls of the Massachusetts.

15. All publicke charges are defrayed out of the publick focke. Custome, and Liberty, 63.

16. When we have no publick stocke, we supply our necessary public charges by aseessment raised by the generall court.

17. The generall court intends an equall aseessment upon every town and person, and indoeours it, by the best meanes they can invent (yet in some cases there falls out inequality) this is levied by distressse of such as are able, and yet refuse to pay. Custome & order of court.

18. The generall court is not bound to give account of the expence of these aseSLements; yet they doe sometimes for all mens satisfaction.

19. No mans person shall be restrained or imprisoned, &c. before the lawe hath sentenced him thereto, if he can put in sufficient baile, &c. except in crimes capitall, &c. Liberty, 18.

20. The full age, for passing lands, giving votes, &c. is twenty one yeares. Liberty, 53.

21. Married women cannot dispose of any estate, &c. nor can sue or be sued, without the husband. Custome, and Liberty, 14.

22. In civill actions a man may appeare and answer by his attourney. Custome.

1. The eldest sonne is preferred before the younger in the ancestors inheritance. Liberty, 81.

2. Daughters shall inherit as coparceners. Liberty, 82.

3. No custome or prescription shall ever prevale, &c. to maintain any thing morally sinnfull. Liberty, 65.

4. Civill authority may deale with any church member or officer, in a way of civill justice. Liberty, 59.

5. No man shall be twice sentenced by civill justice, for the same offence. Liberty, 42.

6. No man shall be urged to take any oath, or subscribe any articles, covenant, or remonstrance of a publick and civill nature, but such as the generall court hath considered, allowed and required. Liberty, 3.

7. Publick records are open to all inhabitants. Liberty, 48.
By this it may appeare that our politic and fundamen-
talls are framed according to the lawes of England, and
according to the charter; so that the petitioners (if they
had not cast off all modesty) must needs be ashamed of this
complaint, as also of those which follow, viz. Arbitrarie
government. The negative vote, Illimited oathes, Unjust
taxes, Illegall commitments, &c. For the first, we use to
say, Rome was not built in a day: Nay, they could write
of it many hundred yeares after, Tanta molis erat, &c.
Let them produce any colonie or commonwealth in the
world, where more hath beene done in 16 yeares. Let
them shew where hath beene more care and strife to pre-
vent all arbitrarines, and to bring all judgements to a cer-
taine rule, so farre as may be. Let them confesse their
ignorance of the judicall proceedings in England, or their
malice which setts them on, to take up any thing to throw
at us, though it cutt their owne fingers, as the practice
of England (which they would feeme so much to adhere
unto) will most certainly doe, if they looke into any of
those courts of judicature (except it be the common pleas)
but especially the chauncery (which is the highest court
of judicature) the court of requests, the chauncery of the
exchequer and of the dutchie, in which courts they are
not tied to the common lawes or statutes of England, but
doe judge arbitrarily (secundum equum et bonum) accord-
ing to equitie. If they can give no reasonable answer
here (as we are sure they cannot) they must either harden
their hearts or confesse their guilt, and be as carefull to
reforme their arbitrary obedience, as we are to keepe off
arbitrary government. We may say the same for the
second, the Negative vote. Sure these men would
seeme to have misteries of state in their heads, and they
meane to keepe them there. They tell us of a destruc-
tive negative vote, but they neither shew where nor what
this daunger is, nor what remedie for it. It may be they have
found out a way how a mixt government may subtit with-
out a negative vote, which this court (with all the help
of all the elders, and other the wisest in the country, after
two or three years endeavour) could not attaine; nor would the farre deeper wisdome of the parliament of England ever attempt it (and that these remonstrants are not igno-
rant of) nor doe they affect a democracie. Therefore
this must needs be put in only as a fine device (ad facien-
dum populum) to please the people. For the third, viz.
Illimited oathes, and covenants not explained by lawe:
They should have done well to have told us what oathes
and covenants they meane, for (dolus versatur in univerfa-
libus) deceit lyes hid in generalls. We know no oathes we
impose upon any, other than such as are allowed by our
charter, and were in prachise by the company in London
(as occasion required) before we came into these parts.
And for covenants of a civill nature, there hath not beeene
so much as any mention of any such amongst us these
many yeares, save only, the last yeare, a motion was made
in court of complying with our native country in the na-
tionall covenant there, which was referred to further con-
ideration. As for our church covenant, that shal be
spoken to in its proper place. Besides (to prevent all such
burdens) we have established a lawe to that end, as appears
here before. 5thly, For unjust taxes, there is none that
come amongst us, or heare of our condition and affaires,
but will marvaile for what purpose such great summes
should be raised upon the country, as should occasion this
grievance; seeing we attempt nothing of chardge, but
what is necessarie, and what the freemen and members of
the court contribute unto, as largely as any other. We
spend nothing superfluously in buildings, feastings, pen-
sions, public gratuities, officers fees, or the like; nay we
are ashamed sometimes at our penuriousnes, but that we
had rather beare flame and blame, than overburden the
people. Such as are in chiefe office amongst us are con-
tent to live beneath the honour of their places that they
might eafe the common charge. All our publick expences
have beeene about some small fortifications, makeing lawes,
dispenceing justice, some expeditions against the Indians,
who by their injuries and insolencies have provoked us
thereunto.
thereunto, and some forraigne occasions of late, which accidentally fell upon us. If the remonstrants have knowne of any lavish wafting or mispence of the publick treasure, it had beene fitt they should have mentioned it, otherwise they deale unjustly and injuriously with us, to expect we should provide for theire peace and safety, and yet deny us the meanes whereby we should accomplish it. 6thly, For illegall committments, theire complaint pretends frequencie, otherwife it were not a publick grie- vance, therefore we conceive they might have produced some cleare instances in this kind. But let them bring forth one: Or let them charge any of the courts or magis- trates with corruption in theire places, or manifest injustice in theire sentences: Or the government with allowance of any thing that is morally evill. If not; they are impu- dent slanderers, and deeply guilty of the breach of the 5th commandment which (without serious repentance) God will require of them. 7thly, These remonstrants would be thought to be a representatitve part of all the non-free- men in the countrie; but when we have pulled off theire vizards, we find them no other but Robert Child, Thomas Fowle, &c. For first, although their petition was received with all gentlenes, yet we heare of no other part- ners that have appeared in it, though it be four months since it was presented. Againe, we know that divers of the non-freemen have lived some in Virginia and other plantations, where the government hath not been so easy to them as they have found it here. Others have lived in Kent, under the lawes of Gavelkind, more repugnant to the common lawes of England than any of ours. Others have had to doe in maritime affaires; others in causes tes- tamentrie and matrimonial; others in the chancery, and others in London and other corporations, and so have found by experience that Englishmen may live comforta- bly and securely under some other lawes besides the com- mon and statute lawes of England; and that all the privi-ledge of a freeborne English subject is his interest in the lawes, without right of election of publick officers, which they
they were never acquainted with there, and yet payd their equal proportions to all publick charges, &c. These non-freemen also are well satisfied (as we conceive) and doe bleffe God for the blessings and priviledges they doe enjoy under this government. They think it is well, that justice is equally administered to them with the freemen; that they have equall share with them in all towne lots, commons, &c. that they have like libertie of access to the church assemblies, and like place and respect there, according to their qualities, as also in all neighbourly meetings for mainenance of love, as also like freedome of trade and commerce. So that we have good cause to be perswaded, that there are not many of these discontented remonstrants within our jurisdiction, nor in New England. We are further confirmed herein, when we consider what hard shifts these remonstrants were put unto, to make up the number of seven. The first (and he that must (ducem agere in hujus militia) be the leader in this designe) is a Paduan Doctor (as he is reputed) lately come into the country, who hath not so much as tasted of their grievances, nor like to doe, being a batchelour and only a sojournour, who never payd penny to any publick charge, though (of his owne good-will) he hath done something for publick use. A second, is a church member, but will be no freeman; he likes better to be eased of that trouble and charge. A third, is a freeman, but no member of any church, and the reason hath beene his professed affectiuon to the hierarchie. A fourth, is a clarke of the prothonotaries office, a sojournour also, and of no visible estate in the country, one who hath never appeared formerly in such designe, however he hath beene drawne into this; it is like to be as those who were called by Absolem to accompany him to Hebron. A fifth, is a young merchant, little acquainted with commonwealth affaires. We are willing to suppose he might also be one of them, who were invited by Absolem to Hebron, but sure we are, it is no small griece to his honoured godly friends to find him there, when they prayed and waited dayly to heare of him in Jerusalem. A sixth was taken
taken up by accident, being none of this jurisdiction, but himselfe and familie inhabiting at Rhode-Island. The seventh, is an ould grocer of London, whose forgetfulness of the lawes and customes of that citie, and unmindfullnes of his dutie to the government under which he now lives and prospers, we may impute to his age and some other insinfities. And these are the champions who must represent the bodie of non-freemen. If this be their head, sure they have \textit{(infultum caput et non multo sale defecandum)} an unfavoury head, not to be feasoned with much salt. It may be thought rather that this was some daring busines at some of their merry-meetings, like that of Sir Roger Williams and the Dutch commander Skencke, who in a vyeing bravery would adventure to fetch the prince of Parma out of his tent in the middest of his army.

Thus have we traced our remonstrants through the civill state, wherein it was easie to follow them by their ill scent; they are now passing over to the church, but in their way they will needs observe some notable decay of trade and husbandry, &c. and withal some malignant and noifome diseases among us, and they are bould to deliver Gods counsell therein without consulting with his oracles, where they might have learned that all things come alike to all, and as many as I love I rebuke and chastise, and judgment must begin at the house of God (and how then must malignants speed) So as their imputeing such afflictions to the evil of our government is without rule, nor doe they deale faithfully in their discovery. For although our merchants have sustained some late losses at sea in two or three voyages, yet we have no cause to murmur at the good providence of the Lord, who hath well repaired those losses by his blessing upon us in our fishing and other tradeing abroade, and by the successe he hath given to our labours at home, so as we could spare twenty thousand bushells of corne the last yeare (so much at least being transported) and a good quantity shipped out already this present yeare. As for those diseases they speak of, it is true (and the Lord teach us to profitt thereby)
God was pleased to visit some of our townes the last spring with a more violent fever than ordinary, whereby (as we guess) some fifty or fixty persons were taken away in a few weekes; but when we consider the nature and strength of the disease, and the weakness of the means for prevention or cure, we must acknowledge it a singular testimony of fatherly love, that among so many thousands he tooke away so few, and stayed it so suddenly. And for that shamefull disease they mention, we may see how readie they are to publish any thing to our disgrace. They might have covered this blemish, being the first of this kind that we have knowne in the countrie, and no guilt thereof lying upon the government, or upon the country that we can find. There came indeed the last yeare out of England a lewd person infected with the French disease, who stayed not long with us; but since his departure some others have been infected, but by what means we cannot find; the infection spreading by a worke of charitie, in drawing the breasts of one infected, but neither knowne to them nor to herself, that we can learne. But this was more observabile (wherein the remonstrants might have seene the good hand of the Lord toward us) that a stranger coming accidentally into the country at that time, who had speciall skil in that disease, through the blessing of God, soone cured them.

These remonstrants are now come to the church doore, when one of their companie gives them the slipp, not daring (it seemes) to enter for feare of an admonition. But let us see what exceptions the other side have to our churches, &c. They tell us, " that divers sober, righteous, " and godly men, eminent for knowledge and other gra- " cious gifts of the Holy Spirit, no wayes scandalous in " their lives, are detained from the seales, because (as is " supposed) they will not take these churches covenant." The petitioners are sure mistaken or misrepresent the matter; for the true reasons why many persons in the country are not admitted to the seales are these. First, many are fraudulent in their conversation; or 2dly, noto-
riously corrupt in their opinions; or 3dly, grossly ignorant in the principles of religion; or 4thly, if any have such knowledge and gifts, yet they do not manifest the same by any publick profession before the church or before the elders, and so it is not knowne that they are thus qualified. And our churches may not receive men blindfolded, or upon other mens credit, when they shall refuse to give account of their faith or repentance, which is so expressly required, 1 Pet. 3. 15. Matt. 3. 6. Acts 8. 37. Matt. 16. 16, 17, 18. Few examples (if any) can be given of such as have manifested themselves to be so qualified and yet have beene refused meereely for scrupleing the covenant. And it is justly questionable whether such should be admitted to the seales, who will not be subject to the discipline appointed by Christ in his churches. For what is the covenant but a submitting themselves under the ordinances of Christ, as the same are exercised according to the rule of the word, in that church where such an one joynes as a member? Let a man professedly engage himselfe hereto, and (we suppose) our churches will rest satisfied therewith. Our churches are not alone, nor the first that have walked in this way. The like course is held in the French and Dutch churches, and allowed by some of the chiefe patrons of the presbyterian way: As Mr. Rutherfurd, Due Right, &c. p. 85, 86, 88. Who doe grant, that when a member is admitted, &c. there is always an implicite covenant (at leaft) which he now comes under. And if so, then what burden or danger can there be to any christians conscience, in expressing that by his words, which he must acknowledge and binds himselfe unto by his action? unless plain and open dealing be growne unlawfull. They say they see no light in Gods word for such a covenant, which may well be; for it appeares by other passages in theire remonstrance, that they have small acquaintance therewith, or else like not to come under the power of it. And it appeares also, by the offence they take, to be compelled to attend to it in the publick assemblies. They professe to
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approve of the covenant lately imposed by the honourable houses of parliament, and that they are all of them very willing to take such oaths and covenants as are expressions of their desires of advanceing the glory of God and good of this place, &c. and yet they boggle at the covenants of these churches, which are wholly framed according to the same description. So as it is clear, it is not want of light (as they pretend) but something in their own hearts, which they seek to cover. For let them stand to that profession, and they can never stick at our covenants. And whereas they say they cannot perceive what our covenants are, because they are not one and the same in every church; they might as well say, they could not understand our prayers and sermons, because they differ also one from another in form of words. For the difference of our covenants in the several churches is no other. In substance (for ought we know) they all agree. And what ever the several expressions may be, this sufficeth us (which we conceive to be intended by them all) that in this covenant we profess our engagement of relation to God, and one to another, in all the duties which belong to the publick worship of God, and edification one of another, according to the rule of the gospell.

Another matter which troubles them is, that they are compelled (under a severe fine) every Lords day to appear at the congregation. The law which they account so severe is this: Any two assistants may fine or imprison such persons inhabiting here, as shall usually absent themselves from church meetings upon the Lords day, so as the fine exceed not 5s. for one offence. We cannot conceive that such sober and godly men as these remonstrants speak of, should fear any hurt by this lawe, for sure such persons need not to be compelled to resort to church meetings. Therefore it should seeme rather, that they would pleade for libertie for loose and irreligious persons, or for such as are tainted with such corrupt opinions as doe cause them to cast off all publick ordinances of Gods worship, or else they would not have the civill authoritie to meddle with.
men, for matters of the first table; and so they would have the 4th commandment to be ceremonial, which expressly requires that all within our gates be looked unto, that they doe not violate the Lords sabbath, but sanctify it. And if they would have all men admitted to the seals of Gods covenant, they must either allowe they may be brought to the ordinary meanes of instruction, whereby they may be made fitt for the same; or else they confesse against themselves that they would have them admitted in their ignorance and profanenes.

They are offended also at our lawe against Anabaptists. The truth is, the great trouble we have beene putt unto and hazard also, by familisticall and anabaptisticall spirits, whose conscience and religion hath been only to sett forth themselves and raise contentions in the country, did provoke us to provide for our safety by a lawe, that all such should take notice, how unwelcome they should be unto us, either coming or staying. But for such as differ from us only in judgment, in point of baptism or some other points of lesse consequence, and live peaceably amongst us, without occasioning disturbance, &c. such have no cause to complains; for it hath never beene as yet putt in execution against any of them, although such are knowne to live amongst us.

Another of their grievances is, that in some places they are forced to contribute to the maintenance of those minifters who vouchsafe not to take them into their flocke. They doe well to restraine this grievance to some places; for it is well knowne, that in many of our churches no such course is used. And sure we are, that none of these remonstrants were ever compelled to such contribution. And although the scripture faith the labourour is worthy of his wages, yet there are amongst us some, who live under the ministry of the word, themselves and their families, yeare after yeare, and yet never contribute the worth of one penny to the maintenance thereof, though they have place in the assembly equall to any of their ranke, and though the wives of some of them doe commu-
nicate at the Lords table, and their children are received to baptism. And whereas they complain that they are not accounted so much as brethren, nor publickly so called. The truth is, we account all our countrymen brethren by nation, and such as in charity we may judge to be believers are accounted also brethren in Christ. If they be not publickly so called (especially in the church assemblies) it is not for want of due respect or good will towards them, but only for distinction sake, to put a difference between those that do communicate together at the Lords table, and those who do not. As for that complaint of want of exercising christian vigilance towards them, it is a most untrue and unjust charge. For it is evident in most places (and for ought we know) in all, that besides the publick prayers and instructions which is common to them with the members of the church, they are admitted (such as will) to private conference and prayers; they are visited in tymes of sicknes, &c. as occasion requires. If any failing be in particular members in this kind, it is against the mind of the churches and the intent of the civill government. If some duties of church discipline are not exercised towards them, they can blame none but themselves, in that they refuse to submit themselves thereto.

Concerning the baptism of the children of such as are not members of our churches, there is an assembly of the elders now in being, and therefore we think fit to deferr any resolution about that and some other pointes concerning the church discipline, untill we shall understand theire conclusion therein, for further light in these things.

In theire conclusion, these remonstrants prognosticate what peace and felicitie we may certainly expect both in church and common wealth, if theire petition be granted, viz. that every man be left to his owne libertie, and no distinctions or qualifications observed, &c. which they might have illustrated by some examples, which we marvel they omitted, especially haeving one so neere and fresh; we shall therefore help theire memory. They well know that some eight yeaeres since, here were a certaine
certaine companie (which were petitioners and remonstrants also though in another kind) who out of their tendernes of libertie of conscience, and civill libertie with-
all, made greate disturbance both in church and civill state, but not obtaining their desire, and fearing such a ruine to come upon us as these remonstrants foresee, they removed to Rhode-Island, where havinge given equall priviledge to all and establifhed this as their basis, &c. that no man should ever be molested for professing his judgment, &c. they thought themselves the onely happy concording people under heaven. But, alas! it was but a dreame; it was not of God and therefore could not stand. For this liberty and equalitie so fomented naturall corruption, as they presently fell at variance among themselves, and grew into three or foure opposite parts, which continue to this day; and instead of establising church and civill state have overthrown both.

Such peace, unity, prosperity, &c. is that which we may expect, if we will cast off the rules of Gods word, the civill prudence of all nations, and our owne observation of the fruite of other mens follies, and hearken to the counfell of these new statesmen. From which the Lord deliver us, and all the seed of Israell to the coming of Christ Jesus. Amen.

By the generall court,

Increase Newell, Sec.

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Copy of a Letter from Mr. Symonds to Governor Winthrop, Jan. 6. 1646.

Sir,

I Thanke you for the intelligence you sent me before the fast day. I am sorry for the trouble you were put unto. Troubles and difficulties we must looke for (if we will reere a building to the Lord) but the encouragement exceeds when we consider the worke is his.
I am informed that copies of the petition are spreading here, and divers (specially young men and women) are taken with it, and are apt to wonder why such men should be troubled that speake as they doe; not being able suddenly to discerne the poysfon in the sweet wine, nor the fire wrapt up in the straw. And albeit I do conceive this towne* affords very few malignants, yet withall I doubt not but here are some active spirits for any such project once sett on foote. I am informed of the suspicious expressions here and there of some, but I shall attend full matter, and the fittest season, before I thinke meet to meddle with them. I perceive that our people here when through the cunning of some and mistake of others, any doubts concerning the publique proceedings are in minds, they are soone satisfied when they are rightly informed. Upon these and such like considerations I do desire you would haften the sending of a copy of the courts anfwere to the petition and remonftrance, alfo of the charge of their anfwere thereunto, and alfo of a reply (if any be made unto it) if none be made, then a copy of the reply to their anfwer in the firt particular, which I propufe is with the rest in Mr. Secretaries hands. If it be not too much trouble to you I should desire now and then a few lines from you how matters proceed at the Bay. Its none of the leaft poynte of the petitioners policie to beare people in hand of multitudes to be of their mind; but its conceived that its a meere empty vant, for except a few (not affected to religion, and others erroneous in opinions) the people are firme.

Yours in him who ever watcheth over us,

6th 11th, 46. 

S. S.

I Had ended as you see what I intended at this tyme, but it being still in my hand I thought good to add a little more. The scope of what I would exprefle is, to observe Gods providences in mans motions at this tyme feeme plainly to tend to settle his people here, and to recover new English spirit for Christs kingdome againe.

* Ipswich,
The irregular departure of some causeth a deeper search of heart, wherefore God hath brought his people hither, (I will briefly mention Gods ends, as I conceive them, by end by) and the plotting of others under the alluring notion of liberty, thereby to winne the opinionists and looser fort, causes the solid christians to prize the rare and rich liberty which God hath given them, and they have dearly purchased, (viz. in respect of men in this their great adventure) at a very high rate. Is not government in church and common weale (according to Gods owne rules) that new heaven and earth promised, in the fullnes accomplished when the Jewes come in, and the first fruiites begun in this part New England, though neglected by many and opposed by some? Now to name what seemes to be Gods ende in bringing his people hether, whatever more there may be which tyme may yet discover.

1. To be an occasion to stirre up the zeale of the two nations to sett upon reformation of religion, and that with good successe.

2. To have liberty and power to sett up Gods owne ordinances in church government, and thereby to hold forth matter of conviction to the episcopacy and others that this way of church government and civill government may stand together.

3. To exercife the graces of the richer fort in a more mixt condition, they shall have the liberty of good government in their hands, yet with the abatement of their outward estates. And that the poorer fort (held under in England) should have inlargement.

4. To afford a hiding place for some of his people that stood for the truth while the nation was exercised unto blood.

5. To have an opportunity to tryne up a godly skillfull soldiery, which shortly may be imploied against that blafphemous city. And to these may be added (at least a sprinkling) of godly seamen, formerly rare in the world.

6. To make this place a rendezvous for our deare English friends when they shall make their voyages to the West Indies, to dry up that Euphrates.
7. To be hopefull instruments in Gods hand to gaine these Indians to Christs kingdome. Which mercy if attained in any considerable measure will make us goe singling to our graves.

I will also mention the text preached upon at our last fast, and the propositions raised thereupon, because it was so seasonable to New-Englands condition, and so prosecuted, that did you see a copy I thinke you would desire the sermon to be sett forth in printe for publick advantage.

Jeremy 30. 17. For I will restore health to thee, and heale thee of thy wounds, faith the Lord: because they called thee an outcast, saying, this is Zion whom noe man careth for.

1. Prop. That sick tymes doe passe over Zion.
2. That sad and bitter neglect is the portion and aggravation and affliction of Zion in the tyme of its sickness and wounds, but specially in the neglect of those that doe neglect it, and yet notwithstanding doe acknowledge it to be Zion.
3. That the season of penitent Zions passion is the season of God's compassion.

This sermon tended much to the settling of godly minds here in Gods way, and to raise their spirits, and as I conceive hath sutable effects.

I think the magistrates, &c. may justly long for a happy conclusion of the Synod, that they may attrest to the government of Christs in his church, and that they may with renewed vigor attend the mighty providences in these tymes and opportunities for the advance of Christs cause, the elders being soe zealously sett thereupon.

Sir, its conceived this place will prove either very honourable or very meene and contemptable, according as religion is attended or neglected.

If you thinke it meete, I pray send also a copy of their petition found in Dands studdy, its directed to the commisioners.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Richard Vines* to Governor Winthrop.

Right Worshipful and ever honored Sir,

Undertake not to give you a relation of this island, presuming you knowe more thereof than I can express. But my reall respects to your worthyness enjoyne me to salute you with a lyne or two, not only to shew my gratefulnes for former favours, but still desiring to keep correspomdency with you who have always respected me beyond my deserts. I shall be joyfull you had any service here to command me, to make good my poore expressions in reall actions.

This gentleman, Mr. John Mainford merchant, is coming to your porte to trade for provisions for the belly, which at present is very scarce, by reason of 5 or 6 months daythe, and not that only, but men are so intent upon planting sugar that they had rather buy foode at very deare rates than produce it by labour, toe infinite is the profit of sugar workes after once accomplished. I have by Gods assittance settled my selfe in two plantations adjoyning, containing 50 acres, the which I hope after 6 months will mayntayne me and myne comfortably, besides my practice of phisick which is worth at least 10000 lb. of tobacco per ann. declare, yet, it is hard with me by reason of my great payments for my plantations and negroes and other necessary disbursments already paid to the value of 40000 lb. of tobacco, which keepes me bare at present; I doubt not but the next crop (proving well) but to be better able to live than I have been many yeares.

Mr. Parker with his wife and family are well seated in a good plantation of 25 acres, besides a good stipend and many good guifts, well approved of in his function, opposed by none, unless by antinomians and such like. I bleffe God my family continue in good health, all liking the illand well, notwithstanding their change of dyett, which

* This Mr. Vines had been many years an agent for Sir Ferdinando Gorges in his Province of Main.
which at present is but slender, yet far from want. I feare not but within 6 months to live as plentifully as any man upon this island, according to my proportion. I have at present 16 acres of cotton planted at the least, as much corne for my provisions, bysides tobacco. The next yeare I intend for sugar, at present I cannot. Thus ceasing further to trouble you, save with my respective service to your selfe, your virtuous wife, with your sonnes and daughters, and to the reverend divines Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilfon, to my worthy friends Maj. Gibbons and Mr. Hill, leaving you all to Israel's protector, resting

Your assured friend

Barbadoes, July 19th, 1647.

and servant,


Mr. Richard Vines's Letter to Governor Winthrop, about the Sickness in Barbados.

Barbadoes, 29th April, 1648.

Right worshipfull, and my ever honored friend,

YOUR kinde letter of the 24th of August I received, which was most wellcome unto mee, esteeming it a high favour that you will vouchsafe to keepe correspon- dency with so undeserving a friend. I perceive by your letter that the Lord did shake his rod over New-England, it was his greate mercy only to put you in remembrance. We have felt his heavy hand in wrath, and yet I feare not sensible of it, for here is little amendment, or notice taken of his great punishments. The sicknes was an abso- lute plague; very infectious and destroying, in so much that in our parish there were buried 20 in a weeke, and many weeke together, 15 or 16. It first feased on the ablest men both for account andability of body. Many who had begun and almost finished greate sugar workes, who dandled themselves in their hopes, but were suddenly laid in the dust, and their estates left unto strangers. Our
New-England men here had their share, and soe had all nations especially Dutchmen, of whom died a great company, even the wisest of them. The contagion is well nigh over, the Lord make us truly thankful for it and ever mindful of his mercy. I saw your son here, he made but little stay, but went for Christophers with his cargo; he is a very hopeful gentleman. If the Lord please to send him here agayne or any other of your sons, I shall be ready to serve them in what I may. I here the Lord hath graciously recompenced your incomparable losse with another most vertuous and loving wife, many and happy be your dayes together.

Sir, I shall take it as a great blessing from God to give me a good occasion to serve you or any of your children, here or else where, that I might exercise my thankfull remembrance for all former courtesies.

No more at present but my humble service to yoursefle and vertuous wife, and to all your sons and daughters. Committing you all to the protection of almighty God.

Ever restyng your assured loving friend, and servant,


I pray Sir be pleased to present my best Service to Mr. Dudley, Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Stibbins, and the two reverend ministers Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilton.

Copy of a Letter from William Coddington to Governor Winthrop.

Right worshipfull and beloved in our Lord Jesus,

Doe rejoice in the Lords mercie, grace and favour to you, in bestoweing of you a meet helper, and now againe establishing you a governor over his people. Sir, this bearer, Capt. Partridge, hath requested me to signifie
to you what I know concernning Robt. Nash's dealeings
with him, viz. he shoulde him some fatt cattell in August
laft at an under raite, to be paid in bever, he hath defer-
red him from tyme to tyme, and the laft tyme I was in
the Bay promised him before me, if he had it not to re-
turne by that ship he would give him double the value
(which he doth not stand upon) and now is forced to feeke
his owne. I doubt not you will be pleased to afford him
that justice as the equitie of his caufe may require. Sir,
this bearer and Mr. Ballstone, and some others of this
island, are in disgrace with the people in Providence, War-
wick and Gortons adherents on the island, for that we will
not enterpofle or meddle at all in their quarrills with the
Massachusetts and the rest of the colonyes; and doe much
feare that Gorton will be a thorne in their and our sides,
if the Lord prevent not; but I hope shortly to see you,
and to speak with you, and therefore shall for the present
feafe from writeing, but not from remayneing
Newport, May 25. Yours ever,
1648. Wm. Coddington.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hopkins* to Governor
Winthrop.

Much honoured Sir,

Received yours of the 26th past, and have much caufe
to acknowledge your great love in the paynes you
tooke to anfwer my defire in the cafe propounded. I
find a generall concurrence almost, with your thoughts
therein, by all I have confulted with, foe that I dare not,
having such a fream of advice to the contrary, resolve
to returne, untill more of the mind of the Lord ap-
pears that way, though I find not my heart foe quieted
in that determination as I hoped it would. Your prayers
I nead and begg, that that the Lord would at length satisfy
me with himfelfe in this sad and great tryall which almost
overwhelmes my spirit.

* Mr. Hopkins was Governor of Connecticut. Soon after this Letter
he went to England, was promoted by Cromwell, made a Com-
missioner of the Navy and of the Admiralty, and died there in 1657.
I hoped ere this to have receaved from you Mr. Bradfords resolution concerning meeting Monf. Stuyvesant* here. You will understand by my father Eaton's former letters to yourselfe, that his thoughts incline to alter the commissioners meeting from Plymouth to this place for this year, if our friends at Plymouth be content therewith. I much desire to understand the issue of your thoughts there, that occasions may be ordered accordingly, and the Dutch governor have notice in seasonable tyme of the meeting. We are much engag'd to your love in the ready willingness you express to undergoe so great a journey upon the service of our peace. The good Lord answer the holy endeavours of his servants with answerable success, and grant us his peace in all things by all means. I have noe more tyme at present but to scribble these few lynes in much halfe and to subscribe myselfe

Yours by many engagements
ready to serve you in what I may,

Hartford, 21st June,
1648.

E. Hopkins.

Application from Rhode-Island to the Commissioners of the United Colonies and their Answer.

Mr. William Coddington and Capt. Partridge of Roade-Island presented this request to the Commissioners in writing. Our request and motion is in the behalfe of our island, that we the Islanders of Roade-Island may be received into a combination with all the united colonies of New-England, into a firme and perpetuall league of friendship and amitie, for offence and defence, mutuall advice and succour, upon all just occasions, for our mutuall safety and welfare, and for preservng of peace amongst ourselves, and preventing, as much as may be, all occasions of warre or differences, and to this our motion we have the consent of the major part of our island.

William Coddington,
Alexander Partridge,

To

* The Dutch Governor of the New-Netherlands now New-York.
To which motion the Commissioners returned this answer under their hands.

Mr. Coddington and Capt. Partridge,

The Commissioners for the united Colonies have considered what you have propounded, either by speech or writing, and find your present state and condition full of confusion and danger, having much disturbance amongst yourselves, and no security from the Indians, they desire therefore in several respects to afford both advice and help. But upon perusal of the ancient patent granted to New Plimouth, they find Roade Island (upon which your plantations are settled) to fall within their line and bounds, which the honourable Committee of Parliament think not fit to straighten or infringe, nor may we. If therefore yourselves and the inhabitants, or the most considerable parts of them, upon a due consideration of Plimouths patent and right, acknowledge yourselves within that jurisdiction, we shall consider and advise how you may be accepted upon just terms, and with tender respect to your convenience, and shall after afford you the same advice, protection and help which other plantations within the united Colonies enjoy, which we hope in sundry respects may tend to your comfort and safety.

September 8, 1748.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Symonds to Governor Winthrop, about the Synod.

Sir,

I understand it is your purpose to visit us and afford your presence this court; pray let no small matter deprive us of our desire and expectation; and we shall be glad to see Mrs. Winthrop here (if with convenience it might be) And I pray bring with you a copy of the vote of the Synod concerning the confession (not of discipline)
pline) but of doctrine and faith; which you may have, I suppose, of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Elyott, or of Mr. Allen of Dedham, if your man ask for it. Thus with our best respects presented I rest yours ever,

19th 7th, 48.

S. Symonds.

Copy of a Letter from Edward Winslow, Esq; to the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

Gentlemen,

Receiving a letter from you, notwithstanding the large letter sent by the corporation to yourselves, I cann doe no leffe than give you thanks for your respect therein to myself, and care of mee, leaft I might sink under the pressure of following the publick busines at my private charge, the time is not as yet come for me to expect any reliefe, there being very little of the collections come into the treasury, more than what hath been expended in printing, &c. and paying Mr. Jenners library, which I desire may be looked after according to the catalogue sent over. For his necessities pressed us to a present disbursment of thirty pounds, and to recover it againe would be a hard matter, yea too hard for us, he living in Norfolk; but a word is sufficient, it is better to loose some than all. I shall speedily write to Mr. Weld and acquaint him also with the readiness that is in the corporation to pay the thirty four pounds to him also (having order so to doe) for his library left with Mr. Elliott, so that I trust that gapp will be soone stopped. The collection is hopefully begun in London, and I believe will arise to a considerable some, but you would wonder to heare the severall sorts of objections that are made against it by men that after all are ashamed to neglect it, as what have we to doe to raife great sumes to promote the gospell among naked people, the gospell is going away from us, and we helpe it forward, we have more neede to support learning at home then abroad; and then our levellers will have
have nothing to doe to advance humane learning, there is too much o. it already; and yet notwithstanding it goes hopefully on, &c. Yesterday (as I am informed) Mr. Cod- dington* had something done for him at the counsell of flate, which I believe was his patent confirmed, for the truth is since I perceaved by letters from Plymouth that after another years warning nothing is likely to be done in reference to the old order of lords and commons sent over in (47) as I take it I looked upon it as a vaine thing to strive against the streame, when as indeed that was the maine matteriall objection above a twelve month since, which I could not answer, that we had such an order but never looked after the performance thereof, nor made any retourne upon it, and if I could not then answer it, how much leffe now after another yeare, if not eighteen months expiration, but the will of the Lord must be done; however I suffer in my reputation here, to make so great a buslfe forced, and then to let all fall at laft; had I not had particular instructions from Plimouth herein I had never stirred in it, but I shall be more warey heereafter how I ingage in busines of that nature, yet when I have said it, shall not dare to neglect the least service wherein any or all the united colonies are concerned. Here is a great murmuring at the great provisions of powder and shot the severall shippes gett license for, yeare after yeare, 40 bar- rells of powder and 50 barrells is an ordinary proportion to a shipp, nay sometimes 100, and lead and arms propor- tionable. Its laid to our charge, that being custom free, we inrich ourselves by furnishing Barbadoes and Virginia, though enemies, &c. with that and other commodities, and there hath been upon that very accompt a serious debate about revoking our free custome and excise. I have la- bourred in it, and satisfiyed many of the Parliament and Counsell of State, of your care not to suffer any powder more than shippes store. to be transported away, that we are faine to land all we bring hither for feare of fireing the shippes in the river, and must gett license for that also upon

* He was in England solliciting for powers of Government for Rhode Is 16
retourne, that the master is forced to take license for more than he buyes that he may beare out his passangers particular stores. I have shewed them how many shippes and their lading we have lost for their fares by the kings party, told them what profits they had by the retournes of New England, for whether they went for Spaine, Streights, Barbadoes, &c. they all pay custome and excise home; that we only had suffered with and for them and, for their fares, were hated of all the English abroade. This hath made a present flopp, but I assure you it concernes the countrie to take notice of it and be carefull that our merchants and such as trade thither abuse not the freedom we enjoy, nor know I better to whom to imparte it than to you the Commissioners that are the representatives of the united Colonies. I pray God direct you herein, amongst other the weighty occasions of the countrie, &c.

Gentlemen, your humble servant,

The Answer to the foregoing Letter followeth.

Honored Sir,

We have received yours of the 17th of Aprill past, and therein take notice of your continued respects to this countrie, and unceffant endeavours for promoting the welfare of the poore natives; we have also seene the invoysce of the goods sent,* which as we understand are taken up at Boston according to the tenor of the bills of lading, and seured by those to whose care you committed them. It is some disadvantage that the prices of the severalls are not mentioned, which for future you may please to rectifie; we shall endeavoure, through the grace of Christ, that what comes to our hands may be improved to the best advantage of the worke, as it comes under our view; and that

* For the use of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, Mr. Winflow being one of the Members in England.
that such account be kept of the disposall thereof and retourned to you, as may (if not fully answer the expectation of all who are concerned) yet evidence our faithfulness in the trust committed to us. In order whereunto we have deputed Mr. Edward Rawson of Boston as our steward or agent, to receive what is sent, dispose and keep accounts of the same, according to such order as he receiveth from us, and notice shall be taken, according to your desire, what difference there is in the prooffe of the tooles now sent; we shall enquire after the catalogue of Mr. Jenners library, and endeavour that neither your nor our ends may be frustrated. It is apprehended by some that, according to the intent of the act of Parliament, an eye may be had in the distributions to the enlarging the college at Cambridge, whereof is great neede, and furtherance of learning not so immediately respecting the Indian designe; though we fully concurre not, yett we desire to know what the apprehensions of the honnored Corporation are herein: If the one might receive some encouragement without prejudice of the other, we hope the kingdome of our Lord Jesus, the gennerally professed end of all interested in the worke, may be advanced thereby. It hath been and is the great care of the governments in the severall colonies, that the immunities graunted by the honorable Parliament* may not be abused by any of ours, and therein have had a speciall respect to the trade of powder; which we cannot but fear hath been too exorbitantly managed. by some, though the welfare of the colonies, in many respects, are deeply concerned and hazarded; we shall add what strength we may to the fences already made, that if no other considerations will prevaile, selfe-concernment may deterre. Though we have not understood that any from us hath been transported to Barbadoes or Virginia; the great inconvenience we lye under is from that mischievous trade of guns, powder, shott, &c. carried on by French, Dutch, and Swedes, with the Indians, and temptations arising to some of ours thereby, which hath occasioned many to urge a setting open that trade amongst ourselves, conceiving

conceiving that (as the case stands) the best way to put a check to that current it now runs so strongly in; but we have been slowe herein, nor dare we yett set open such a doore, yett could be willing to understand from you what interpretation you conceive would be made by the state there, if restreints, upon the aforementioned considerations, should for a time be taken off. We understand Mr. Eaton* hath written to you at large about their just title to considerable parts of land on both sides of Delaware bay and river, how they were formerly disturbed in their trade and planting, by force and other unlawfull practices both of Dutch and Swedes, yourselfe may remember; and he hath acquainted you with a late unneighbourly and injurious carriage of the Dutch Governor, when at least 50 of New-Haven jurisdiction were on their way to plant there, but were stayed, imprisoned and forced to retourne with great losse to those interrested in that designe, and hath desired your helpe in procuring a patent. These things, by a petition from these concerned in the late losse and disappointment, have been recommended to our consideration. We are justly sensible of the dishonour put upon the English nation by this unjust affront, of our duty to preserve the English title to so considerable a place as Delaware, and that a just reparie and satisfaction be made to those so wronged both in their persons and estates and, from you, desire information what esteem the old patents for that place have with the Parliament or Counsell of State, where there hath been no improvement hitherto made by the patentees; whether the Parliament hath graunted any late patents, or whether in graunting they reserve not libertie and encouragment for such as have or shall plant upon their formerly duely purchased lands; as also how any engagement by the colonies against the Dutch upon the forementioned occasion will be resented by the Parliament, of which we desire information by the first, &c. Your loving friends.

Newhaven, 11. September, 1651.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Cotton to Lord General Cromwell.

Right Honourable,

 FOR to I must acknowledge you, not only for the eminency of place and command which the God of power and honour hath called you unto; but also for that the Lord hath fat you forth as a vessel of honour to his name, in working many and great deliverances for his people, and for his truth, by you; and yet helping you to reserve all the honour to him, who is the God of salvation, and the Lord of hosts, mighty in battle. I am not ignorant that you suffer no small dishonour in the tongues of many, not only as a secretary, but as out of your calling, being fat on worke (as is pretended) by an usurped power, and yourself (with the army) exercising a power destructive in some cases to the privileges of parliament, and the liberty and safety of the kingdom. But 3 or 4 principles there be, upon which it seemeth to me your proceedings have been grounded and carried on, and wherein my judgment (reasonable it is) hath been fully satisfied: 1. That the concessions of the late king never came up to such a posture as whereon to lay a firm foundation of a safe peace, either to church or commonwealth. 2. That when the Parliament was full, and afflicted with the commissioners of Scotland (in the treaty at Uxbridge or Newport, or elsewhere) they agreed together that the king could not be restored to his former state upon such terms. And therefore (unless his concessions afterwards in the Isle of Wight were more safe and satisfactory)* if the Parliament of England voted the contrary afterwards, in a mighty consultation, it was not an act of Parliament, but a prævarication of a former just and lawful act. And therefore, when the army discerned, not only their owne safetys, but the safety of religion and state, and their cause and victories given in defence thereof, all of them given away in that prævarication, I know not how they could have approved

* This is expected very cautiously.
approved their faithfulness better to the state and cause, then by purging the Parliament of such corrupt humours, and presenting the king to publique tryall. 3. That the army, though they be inferior and subordinate to the state that giveth them commission and pay; yet neither their consciences nor services are mercenary, though they doe receive wages for their support in the service; though soldiers may take oaths of fidelity to the state, in undertaking an expedition, yet they, regarding the cause as well as the persons that set them on worke, doe perform their fidelity, if they attend to the cause for which they fight, rather than to the private ends or lusts of such as send them forth. Joab (the generall of Davids host) though he went beyond his commission in putting Absalom to death, yet not beyond his fidelity. 4. That when covenants are plighted, which consist of many articles (some principall and fundamentall, others subordinate and accesseary) if it so fall out that all the articles cannot be performed without breach of some or other, there may be just cause of repenting the undertaking of such covenants; but yet, if some articles cannot be performed without breach of others, the covenanters must chiefly attend to the performance of the principall articles, though (with griefe) they be put to it to violate the subordinate. These things are so cleare to mine owne apprehension, that I am fully satisfiied, that you have all this while fought the Lords battells, and the Lord hath owned you, and honoured himselfe in you, in all your expeditions, which maketh my poor prayers the more seruous and faithfull and affectionate (as God helpeth) in your behalfe. In like frame (as I conceive) are the spirits of our brethren (the elders and churches of these parts) carried forth, and the Lord accept us, and help you in Christ.

If you aike upon what structure I have made thus bold to address myselfe in these rude lynes to your Lordship, I must acknowledge it is abhorrent from my native bashfulness to run into the presence of great men: But I received the other day a letter from my reverend brother Mr. Hooker of Newhaven, who certifieth me that your Lordship made speciall mention of me in your late letters
to him, with tender of loving and more respectfull saluta-
tions than I could expect; withall he moved me to write
to your Lordship, as believing you would accept the same
in good part. This is my excuse, such as it is.

The Scots, whom God delivered into your hands at
Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have
been desirous (as we could) to make their yoke easy. Such
as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases have not want-
ed phisick and chirurgery. They have not been fold for
slaves to perpetuall servitude, but for 6 or 7 or 8 yeares,
as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them
(I heare) buildeth houses for them, for every 4 an house,
layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them
as their owne, requiring 3 dayes in the weeke to worke for
him (by turns) and 4 dayes for themselves, and promiseth,
affonne as they can repay him the money he layed out for
them, he will set them at liberty.

As for the asperssion of factious men, I hear, by Mr.
Defboroughs letter last night, that you have well vindicated
yourselfe therefrom by calhiering sundry corrupt spirits
out of the army. And truly, Sir, better a few and faith-
full, than many and unfound. The army on Christ's side
(which he maketh victorious) are called choson and faith-
full, Rev. 17. 14. a verse worthy your Lordships frequent
and deepe meditation. Go on therefore (good Sir) to
overcome yourselfe (Prov. 16. 32.) to overcome your army,
(Deut. 29. 9, with v. 14.) and to vindicate your orthodoxe
integrity to the world.

Pardon, I befeech you, my boldness and rudeness,
which not arrogancy but due respect and observancy to
your Lordship hath put upon me.

The Lord Jesus who is your righteousness goe before
you, and the glory of the Lord be still your rearward,
Isai. 58. 8. Thus humbly taking leave, I remain,
desirous of the accomplishmient of the Lords worke
Boston in N. E. in your hands,
Copy of a Letter from Lord General Oliver Cromwell to Mr. John Cotton.

Worthy Sir, and my christian friend,

I Received yours a few dayes sithence, it was welcome to me, because signed by you whose I love and honour in the Lord, but more to see some of the same grounds of our actings stirring in you, that does in us to quiet us to our work and support us therein, which hath greatest difficulty in our engagement in Scotland, by reason we have had to do with some, who were (I verily think) godly, but through weakness and the subtilty of Sathan, involved in interests against the Lord and his people: With what tenderness wee have proceeded with such, and that in sincerity, our papers which (I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest, and I give you some comfortable assurance of. The Lord hath marvelously appeared even against them; and now again when all the power was devolved into the Scottish Kinge and the malignant partie, they invading England, the Lord has rayned upon them such snares as the enclosed will shew, only the narrative is short in this, that of their whole armie, when the narrative was framed, not five of their whole armie were returned. Surely Sir, the Lord is greatly to be feared, as to be praised, wee need the prayers in this as much as ever. How shall wee behave ourselves after such mercy? What is the Lord a doinge? What prophesies are now fulfilling? Who is a God like ours? to know his will, to do his will are both of him. I took this liberty from business to salute you thus in a word, truly I am readie to serve you and the rest of our brethren and the churches with you. I am a poore weak creature and not worthy the name of a worme, yet accepted to serve the Lord and his people, indeed my deare friend between you and me you know not me, my weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulness, and every way unfitness to my worke, yet, yet, the Lord who will have mercye on whom he will, does
as you see. Pray for me, salute all christian friendes
though unknown, I rest Your affectionate friend
to serve you,
Ost. 2d. 1651.

This letter was copied from the original all wrote with the
Protector's own hand.*

Copy of a Letter from Mr. William Arnold to
the Governor of Massachusettts.

From Pautuxit this firste day of the 7th mo. 1651.

Much honoured,

I Thought it my dutie to give intelligence unto the
much honoured court of that which I understand is
now working here in these partes. So that if it be the
will of God, an evill may be prevented before it come to
too greate a head, viz.

Whereas Mr. Coddington have gotten a charter of
Roade Iland and Conimacuccke Iland to himselfe, he have
thereby broken the force of their charter that went
under the name of Providence, because he have gotten
away the greater parte of that colonie.

Now these company of the Gortonists that live at Sho-
wormut, and that company of Providence are gathering of
200£. to send Mr. Roger Williams unto the Parlyament
to get them a charter of these partes, they of Showomut
have given 100£. already, and there be some men of Pro-
vidence that have given 10£. and 20£. a man to helpe it
forward with speede, they say heere is a faire inletr, and I
heare they have said, that if the Parlyament doe take dis-
pleasure against Massachusitt, or the rest of the colonies,
as they have done against Barbadas and other places, then
this will serve for an inroade to lett in forces to over-runne
the whole country.

* The original Letter was in the possession of Mr. Middlecot Cocke
and delivered by him to Mr. Bollan agent for the Massachusets
in England. Its probable that Mr. Harris had a sight of it
as the Letter is printed in Cromwell's life. The Letter from
Mr. Cotton to Cromwell I never saw in print.
It is great petie and very unfitte that such a company as these are, they all stand professed enemies against all the united colonies, that they should get a charter for so small a quantity of land as lyeth in and about Providence, Showomut, Pautuxet and Coicett, all which now Roade Island is taken out from it, it is but a stripe of land lying in betwixt the colonies of Massachusets, Plymouth and Conitaquot, by which means, if they should get them a charter, off it there may come some mischiefe and trouble upon the whole country if their project be not prevented in time, for under the pretence of liberty of conscience about these partes there comes to lieve all the scumme the runne awayes of the country, which in tyme for want of better order may bring a heavy burthen upon the land, &c. This I humbly commend unto the serious consideration of the much honored court, and rest your humble servant to command.

William Arnold.

They are making haste to send Mr. Williams away.

We that lieve heere neere them and doe know the place and hear their wordes and doe take notice of their proceeding doe know more and can speake more of what evill may come to the country by their meanes, then the court do yet consider off: We humbly desire God their purpose may be frustrated for the country's peace.

I humbly desire my name may be concealed lest they hearing of what I have herein written they will be enraged against me and so will revenge themselves upon me.

Some of them of Showomut that cryeth out much against them which putteth people to death for witches; for say they there be no other witches upon earth nor devils, but your own pastors and ministers and such as they are, &c.

I understand that there liveth a man amongst them that broke prison either at Conitaquit, or New-Haven, he was apprehended for adultery, the woman I heare was
was put to death, but the man is kept here in safety in the midst of the united colonies; it is time there were some better order taken for these partes, &c.
I have hired this messenger on purpose. I humbly desire to heare if this letter come safe to your hands.

* Copy of a Letter from the Commissioners of the United Colonies to the Governor of Canada.

Most illustrious Sir and much honoured Gentlemen,

We have receaved your severall letters perused your Commissions, presented by your honoured agents, and serioulsy considered what hath been by them either in writing or conference propounded, concerning those injurious and hostile attempts made by the Mohawks upon some of your neighbouring eastern Indians, of whom (as we are informed) some are converted to the christian faith, and others are willing to be taught and may in tyme prove disciples to our saving Lord and master, and as such we pitty them, but fee not how we can protect or afford the helpe desired, without exposing the small English plantations and our owne neighbouring Indians (of which some also profess the christianity) to danger; we give due credit to your deputies, and can conceive you may have just ground for a warre, but we have yett no just cause of quarrell with the Mohawkes, nor is it safe for us to engage in a controversy which we neither doe nor have meanes satisfyingly to understand, the Mohawkes neither being in subjection to nor in any confederacion with us; we are free to hold a neighborly correipondency with you, and would have settle a free commerce betwixt the English and French colonies, but your agents thought it either unseasome till matters were composd betwixt the Mohawkes and your Indians, or else propounded such restrictions as would have taken away all conveniecie and freedome

* This Letter appears to be an answer to Proposals made by the French Governor, firft to the Massachusets afterwards to the united Colonies for a free trade, provided the English would join with the French against the Mohawks.
freedome from the trade. What hath hindred our present closing, the enclosed writing will shew, but if a fitter opportunity be offered we shall not be wanting to contribute to a more satisfying issue. In the meane time we rest.

New-Haven, Sept. 6. 51.

An Answer to the Propositions presented by the honored French Agent to the President and Commissioners for the English united Colonies.

1. UPON due consideration and respect of what the honored depu.eyes from the illustrious Governor of New-France have informed and upon experience ourselves have had of the insolvency and treachery of some of the barbarians, we can conceive and grant, that the French and those easterne Indians may have just grounds to their own satisfaction, for a warr against the Mohawks.

2. The English looke upon all such Indians as receive the yoke of Christ with another eye than upon those that worship the Divell.

3. The English desire by all just means to keep peace (if it may be) with all men, even with these barbarians.

4. The Mohawkes, living at a distance from the sea, have little intercourse in these parts, but in the warr the English had with the Indians 14 or 16 yeares since, the Mohawkes shewed a reall respect, and have not since done any knowne hostile acts against them.

5. The English engage not in any warr before they have full and satisfying evidence, that in all respects and considerations it is just, and before peace upon just termes hath been offered and refused.

6. The Mohawkes are neither in subjection nor league with the English, so that we can neither require any account of their warres, or other proceedings, nor have we means to informe ourselves what they can say for themselves.

7. If all other considerations were cleared, to make warr with the Mohawkes may endanger all our neighbour Indians
Indians (of which divers profess Christianitie) and the rest doe rather expect just protection than that we should expose them, by our voluntary invading the Mohawkes.

8. Though the English in these jurisdictions are free to performe all neighbourly offices of righteousness and peace, towards the French collonie, yet they foresee they can neither permit volunteers or auxilliary forces to be taken up against the Mohawkes, nor that the French or eastern Indians passe through the English jurisdictions, to invade them, but they shall expose both the Christian and other Indians and some of the smaller English plantations to danger.

9. The English are much unsatisfied with that mischievous trade the French and Dutch have had and still continue, felling gunns, powder and shot to all the Indians, of which we have dayly complaints, and by which the Indians are animated and apt to grow insolent not only against Indian converts and catechumens, but against the christians of Europe.

10. If the English colonies were assured of the justice of this warre, and engaged with the French to prosecute against the Mohawkes, yet we have no such short and convenient passage either by water or land to approach them, as may be had up Hudsons river, to and beyond Aurania forte, which is in the Dutch jurisdiction.

11. They hope the auncient peace and amitye betwixt England and France will be continued and confirmed, which they both desire and as far as lies in them shall by all due means readily promote.

12. They conceive that the honored deputies have power and authoritie at present to agree and settle a free commerce betweene the English and French colonies in these parts, but if the said deputyes, upon reasons knowne to themselves, see cause to limit the English colonies to such restrictions, or rather prohibitions as the unpriviledged French are under, that they may not trade till they have first procured a particular licence from the Governor and Councell of New-France, at least till they have issued the present
present differences and settled peace with the Mohawkes, a fitter season for these treaties must be attended, which the Commissioners shall readily improve when it is presented.

The English Colonies, as in the 2d article, are ready upon a fitt opportunity to shew all due respect to all truly converted and christian Indians, and much more than to others, but while they live at such a distance from the English jurisdictions they neither may promise nor afford them any protection to secure them from danger.*

Concerning the life of the famous Mr. Cotton, teacher to the church of Christ at Boston in New-England.

WHAT I have to addde concerning the life of this blessed man of God now tryumphing in glory, to what hath been already set forth by the reverend Mr. Davenport, the worthy pastor of the church of Christ at New-Haven, I shall hold forth in these particulars. 1. Concerning the place of his birth and education, till he went to the university and his abode in Cambridge. 2dly, Concerning his removall from Cambridge to Boston in Lyncolnhshire, and what he met with and did there. 3dly. Concerning his departure from thence into New-England, and what service the Lord made him an instrument of in that remote country. For the first,

The place of his birth was the towne of Derby, the most eminent place in that country; his father trained him up to such learning as the schoole afforded, for the fitting him for Cambridge, whither he went when he was very young, at 13 years of age, and was admitted into the famous society of Trinity-College, where he fell so hard to his studie, and soe profitted in the knowledge of the tongues and arts that he had undoubtedly beeene fellow there, but that at that time their great hall was then

* See Massa. Hist, V. I. p. 166.
in building, which caused such expences to them that the election was put by or at least deferred till some longer time. And this providence I cannot passe by concerning him, that his father (whose calling was to be employed in the study and practice of the law) had not many clients that made use of his advice in law matters before, it pleased God after he was gone to Cambridge, to put his father upon great practice, so that he was very able to keep him there and allow him liberall maintenance; infoemuch that the blessed man said, God kept me at the university. From Trinity college he removed to Emanuel college, the happy seminary of learning and piety, where he was honoured with a fellowship in that society, after a diligent and strict examen, according to the statutes of that house: wherein this is worth the taking notice of, that when the pofer came to examine him in the Hebrew tongue, the place where he was to be examined was that in Isai. 3. that speaks against the bravery of woemen, which hath more hard words together than any place in the Bible within soe narrow a compasse, and might have posedy a very good Hebrician, but he was very ready at it, and all those difficult words were easy to him. Afterwards he was head-lecturer and dean and catechist in the college, and was a diligent tutor to many pupils and very much beloved of them: His exercises that he performed in the college, whether in way of common-place or dispute, wanted not finnewes and strengthe, were highly commended and applauded of those that knew him. The first time that he became famous throughout the whole university, was from a funerall oration which he made in latine for Doctor Some, who was Master of Peter-house, which was soe elegantly and oratoriously performed that he was much admired for it by the greatest witts in the university. After that, being called to preach at the university church called St. Maries, he was yet more famous for that sermon, and very much applauded by all the gallant schollars for it: After that, being called to preach there againe, God helped him not to flaunt, as before, but to make a plain, honest sermon,
sermon, which was blessed of God to famous Dr. Preston's soules eternal good: His Concio ad Clerum, when he tooke his degree for Bachelor of Divinity, which was after he had beene at Boston halfe a ycare or more, was very much admired and applaued more than he desired; his text was out of Math. 5. 13. Vos estis sal terre, quod si sal infatuatus fuerit, quo sahetur? In handling of which, both the matter and the rhetorical streighnes, elegancy of phrase, and sweet and grave pronuciation rendered him yet more famous in the univerficy; and soe did his anfwering of the divinity act in the schools, though he had a very nimble opponent, Mr. William Chappel by name, who disputed with him.

2dly. Concerning his removal from Cambridge to Boston in Lynconshire, this is to be faide, that his call was good, for their desire was urgent, their need pressed, their assembly of people very great, himsels very able, and his heart inclining to come to them. At his first coming he found some obstruction from the Bishop of the Diocelfe, which was B. Barlow, who told him he was a young man and unfit to be over such a faftious people: Mr. Cotton being ingenuous and undervaluing himselfe, thought doe too, and was purpofing to returne to the collège againe; but some of Mr. Cotton's Boston friends understanding that one Simon Biby was to be spoken with, which was near the Bishop, they presently charmed him, and so the bufniff went on smooth, and Mr. Cotton was a learned man with the BisHop, and he was admitted into the place, after their manner in those dayes. Well, to Boston the good man came, and for 3 yeares he preached and lived doe amongst them, that they accounted themselves happy (as they well might) in the enjoyment of him, both the towne and country thereabout being much bettered by him: But it pleased God, after 3 or 4 yeares being there, that he could not digest the ceremonies that were doe pressed, nor conformity to them, which in some space of time after bred him trouble in the court of Lyncolne, from which
which he was advis'd to appeale to a higher court, and employing Mr. Leverit (which was afterwards one of the ruling elders of the church at Boston in N. E.) to deale in that business, and he being a p'aine man as Jacob was, yet subtile to get such a spiritual blessing, soe far insinuated himselfe into one of the proctors of the high court, that he sware *in animam Domini*, that Mr. Cotton was a conformable man, and so he was restored to Boston; as likewise by the means that a gentleman of Boston, called Mr. Ben-net, used to bring him in againe: After which he was marvelous successful in his ministry, till he had beene 20 yeares there, and in that 20 yeares space, he on Lords-day, on afternoones, went over, thrice, the whole body of divinity in a catechistical way, and gave the heads of his discourse to those that were young schollars and others in that towne, to answer to his questions in publique, in that great congregation, and after their answers he opened those heads of divinity and sweetly applied all to the edification of his people, and to such strangers as came to heare him: In the morning on the Lords day, he preach'd over the first six chapters of the gospel by John, the whole booke of Ecclesiastes, the prophesy of Zephaniah, and many other scriptures, and when the Lords supper was administred (which was usually every month) he preached upon 1 Cor. 11. and the whole 30th chapter of 2 Chron. and some other scriptures about the Lords supper: On his lecture dayes he preached through the 1st and 2d epistles of John, the whole booke of Solomon's song, the Parables of our Saviour set forth in Mattheius gospel to the end of cap. 16. comparing them with Mark and Luke. He tooke much paines in private, and read to sundry young schollars that were in his house, and some that came out of Germany, and had his house full of auditors. Afterwards, seeing some inconveniences in the peoples flocking to his house, besides his ordinary lecture on the 5:th day of the weeke, he preached thrice more on the weeke dayes, on the 4th and 6th dayes, early in the morning, and on the last day at 3 of the clock in the after.
noone; only these 3 last lectures were performed by him but some few yeares before he had another famous colleague with him, and not many yeares before he left Boston: He alwayes preached at the election of their mayors and at that time when they tooke their oath and were installed in their office; and alwayes (if he were at home) at the funerals of those of the abler fort that died: He was frequent in duties of humiliation and thanksgiving, in which I have knowne him in prayer and opening the word and applying it, 5 or 6 houres, soe indefatigable he was in the Lords worke, and soe ready to spend and be spent for his peoples soules: He was of admirable candor, of unparalleled meekness, of rare wisdom, very loving even to those that differed in judgment from him, yet one that held his owne stoutly, arété tenens accuratæque defen\-dens, what himselfe judged to be the truth. He answered many letters that were sent far and neare, wherein were handled many difficult cases of conscience, and many doubts by him cleared, to the greatest satisfaction. He was exceedingly beloved of the best, and admired and reverenced of the worst of his hearers. Nothing was wanting to make him a compleat minister, nothing lacking to make him a perfect christian, but the perfection of grace which he hath now attained to, and the glory he hath now arrived at. He was a man that was in great favour with Dr. Williams the Bishop of Lincolne, who admired him for his learning, and (as I have beeene told) when he was lord keeper of the great seale, he went to King James, and speaking of Mr. Cottons great learning and worth before him, the King was willing, notwithstanding his non-conformity, to give way that he should have his liberty, to goe on without interruption in his ministrie, which was very marvelous, considering how the Kings spirit was carried out against such men; the mystery of which Mr. Samuel Ward of Ipswich being ignorant of, spake merrily among some of his friends: Of all men in the world I envy Mr. Cotton of Boston most, for he doth nothing in way of conformity, and yet hath his liberty, and I doe every thing
thing that way and cannot enjoy mine. He had many enemies at Boston, as well as many friends, and some that rose up against him and plotted secretly to undermine him, and others that practised more openly against him; but they all of them were blasted, either in their names, or in their estates, or in their families, or in their devices, or else came to untimely deaths, which shewes how God both owned his servant in his holy labours, and that in the things wherein they dealt proudly against him, he would be above them.

One thing more, and I have done with him as he was one of Englands gloryes, and then come to him as over the Atlantique ocean, and in New-England, and it is this; concerning his hospitality, wherein he did exceed most that ever I heard of, and especially his heart and doores were open to receive (as all that feared God, soe) especially godly ministers, which he most courteously entertained, and many other strangers besides; only one minister, Mr. Hacket by name, which had got into the fellowship of famous Mr. Arthur Heilderham, with many other godly ministers, and being acquainted with their secrets, betrayed them into the prelates hands; this man coming into Boston and meeting with Mr. Cotton, the good man had not the heart to speake to him, nor invite him to his house, which he said he never did to any stranger that he knew before, much lesse to any minister.

Concerning the last thing, viz. his departure from Boston to New-England. The times growing perillous, he was envied of some at home and others abroad; and letters missive were come to convent him before the high-commision-court, and a profligate fellow and a filthy fornicator, Gowen Johnson by name (who not long after dyed of the plague) was to bring the letters to him, as he did to some others near him, which when Mr. Cotton understood, he looked for nothing from the court but scornes and prison, and therefore with advice from many able heades and gracious hearts, he kept close for a time, and fitted himselfe to goe to N. E. and God bringing him and his company
company over in safety, through his mercy, after they had beene there a while, there grew some trouble betweene those that were to settle matters in church and commonwealth, but Mr. Cotton then preaching before the general court an excellent sermon out of Hag. 2. Be strong Zerubbabel, and be strong Joshua, and be strong ye people of the land, &c. it pleased God soe to compose and calme and quiet spirits, that all apprehensions were laid aside, and they went about the worke of the Lord very comfortably and were much encouraged. After which time how usefull he was to England, to New-England, to magistrates, ministers, people, in publique, in private, by preachings, counsells, dissolving hard knots, and answering difficult questions, all knew, that knew the grace of God soe evidently manifested in him. What scriptures he went over on Lords dayes in expounding and preaching, I cannot certainly say, because I was of another church, serving there according to the grace bestowed upon me; but surely he went through very many, for on his lecture dayes he preached over the whole booke of the Revelation, Ecclesiastes and Canticles, the 2d and 3d Epistles of John, the 2 Epistles of Timothy, with divers others, all which shews the unwearied paines which he toke in the Lords worke, besides all the bookees that were written by him, and other unknowne labours that he went through. I could speake much more, but at this present want strength, but this I say, he may be a paterne to us all, and happy they that come nearest him, in those things wherein he most followed Christ. I am not like to live to see such another in N. E. though I know God is able to double the spirit of that Elias upon him that succeeds him, and upon many others in our native country and here. It is well for both the Bostons, that they had such a light, if they walke in the light, and continue in that word of Christ and light of grace and truth that he held out to them. I end all with that of our Saviour concerning John-Baptist, he was a burning and shining light, and God graunt the after words be not verified of both Englands and
and both Bostons. I speake my feares, but would be glad to entertaine better hopes. My prayers shall be that it may never be saide as of old, Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilyum, fed jam feges est ubi Troja fuit. Fuimus fideles, fuimus fideles, fuit Anglia, fuit Nov-Anglia, fuit Bofonia Europea, America; Deus Pater miserationum avertat omen per vifera Jesu Chrifti. Amen.


Copy of a Letter from Mr. Cotton to the Bishop of Lincoln.*

To the right reverend and my very honourable good Lord, John Lord Bifhop of Lincoln, at his pallace in Kurkden, present these.

My very good Lord,

It is now above twenty yeares agoe, since by the goodnes of God and (for a good part of this time) by your Lordships lawfull favour, I have enjoyed the happines to minister to the church of God at Bofton, a remote corner of your Lordships diocesse. What I have done there, all this while, and how I have spent my time and course, I mufl ere long give account to the great shepherd of the sheep, the bishop of our foules. Meane while, give me leave to make your Lordship this short account: The bent of my course hath been (according to my weake mea-

ure) to make and keep a 3 fold chriftian concord amongst the people; between God and their conscience; between true hearted loyaltie and chriftian liberty; between the fear of God and the love of one another. That wherein I have most seemed to your Lordship to fayle (to witt in not difcerning chriftian liberty to praftife some commands of authority, in some circumstances) I doe humbly thanke your Lordship, and freely acknowledge, your Lordship hath

* This Letter is not in order of time but may be considered as an appendage to the foregoing account of Mr. Cotton's life.
hath not been wanting freely and often to admonish me thereof, and that with such wisdom and gravity, and with such well tempered authority and mildness, that I profess unfeynedly noe outward respect in the world could have deteyned me from requesting your Lordships favour with ready subjection to your Lordships counsell, that I might have prolonged myne owne peace and your Lordships favo

r together, but so it is (my good Lord) though I doe unfeynedly and deservedly honour your Lordship, and highly esteem many hundreths of other reverend divines, great lights of the church (in comparison of whom what am I poore sparke?) who doubt not of their liberty in those matters; yet to this day (I speake in the simplicity of my heart) I can only follow your Lordship with obser

vance, and them with reverence, but not with that plerophory of fayth in these things which in such cases the apotle requireth, Rom. 14. 5. Your Lordship well knoweth it is both the apostles and prophets principle (and it holdeth in every righteous man from the meanest to the greatefl) *Justus ex fide suâ vivit, non alienâ*, and therefore, howsoever I doe highly prize and much preferre other mens judgment and learning, and wisdom, and piety, yet in thinges pertaining to God and his worship, still, I muft (as I ought) live by mine own fayth, not theirs. Nevertheless, where I cannot yeeld obedience of fayth, I am willing to yeeld patience of hope.

And now, my good lord, I see the Lord who began a yeare or two agoe to suspend (after a sort) my minis

try from that place by a long and soare sickness (the dregs whereof still hang about me) doth now putt a further nece

sity upon me, wholly to lay down my ministry there, and freely to resigne my place into your Lordships hands. For I see neither my bodily health, nor the peace of the church will now stand with my continuance there. I doe now therefore humbly crave this last favour at your Lord

ships hand, to accept my place as voyd, and to admitt there

to such a succesflor as your Lordship shall finde fitt, and the patron (which is the corporation of Boston) shall present to you
you therefor. The congregation is great, and the church duetyes many, and those, many times, requiring close attendance, and I would be very loth the service of God, or the helpe of the people should be in any fort neglected by my long discontinuance.

What though this resignation of my place into your Lordships hands may be defective in some forme of law; yet I trust your Lordship will never forgett the auncient moderation and equity of that honourable and high court of chauncery, whereunto your Lordship was advanced, to temper the rigour of legall justice, to the relief of many distressed. Never (I thinke) came there any cause before your Lordship more distressed, nor more justly craving christian equity.

Now the Lord of heaven and earth doe guide and keep and bleffe your Lordship on earth, that he may delight to crown your Lordship with honour in heaven, at the end of your dayes, through Jesus Christ. Thus at once commending my humble suitt and late vicarage, and the comfort of the whole congregation to your Lordships honourable favour and integrity, I humbly take leave and rest

A bounden suppliant to your Lordship and for you,

May 7. 1633.

J. C. ar-

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Arnold to the Court held at Massachusetts.

Pautuxit this 5th of September 1653.

THESE are to signify unto the much honored court that we understand how Gorton and his confedera
tes are intended to send greate matters to Generall Crom
dwell or to other state of England against the state of Massachushit about a letter that came into these parts from Massachusfit having four or five of the magistrates hands unto it, concerning the French shipe that was taken by the
the deceit of Capt. Hull, in which letter as wee heare are seven reasons nominated to shew that it was not a lawfull prize, and in one of the reasons is mentioned the dissolving of the parliament, out of which reason, especially, Gorton takes greate hold to lay a strong accusacion against the state of Massachusetts. And we further heare that they doe intend to write what construction they doe gather from it and with all they mind to send it with the said letters, having the magistrates own hands to it the which they thinke will be a sure testimony against the magistrates, &c. Now as soone as I heard of it I thought it to be my dutie with all expedition to write intelligence to the much honored court, I not knowing what mischiefe they may doe in such a case as they doe so much boast of, that the court might have notice of their evil purpose before hand that, if it may so please the Almighty, by his good providence and your wife consideration and vigilant care, the evil plot of your adveraries may be prevented, &c. I rest your humble servant to be commanded, William Arnold.

I humblie desire that I may heare whether this letter doe come safe to the court, if not I may in short time write againe, &c.


Honored Sirs,

I have received yours of the 5th of this instant, and have given a call for a generall courte, but our towns being farr distant wee cannot meeet untill the beginning of the weeke. I have sent a messenger to Major John Mason

* This and the next Letter are answers to requisitions made by Oliver for aid in recovering what is now called New-York from the Dutch.
Mason who lives at Seabrooke, but he is not yet returned. I knowe that our colony will with all thankfullnesse imbrace this favour and respect from his highness and with all readines attend the counsell and advice of his commissioners; wee shall send one commissioner to joine in counsell with yours, and I suppose by this time you understand what concurrence there is from the Bay, that you might informe us what number of men you expect from us, and what kinde of provisions you most need, wee have at present plenty of biscott, and some porke, but little butter or cheese; also which way you intend your shipping shall come, and where our men shall meete, wee are altogether ignorant in the managing of affaires of this nature, and therefore desire you would dispatch our messenger with what speed you can, to give us some information and direction herein, and you shall find our readiness to assist according to that little strength and means we are furnished withall. Also we desire to know what number of land souldiers you can spare for the designe: It is thought by some that know the strength of the Dutch, that this service will require at least 500 land souldiers. Capt. Underhill and John Younge, who are gone towards the Bay, can best informe you of the state of things there, either in regard of fortification or the number of men, various reports come thence. I am glad to heare of your safe arrivall after so long and tedious a voyage, and hope you are preserved to be instruments for the good of church and common wealth, thus with remembrance of my due respect to yourselves, I take my leave and rest ready to attend the service as I shall receive further direction and advice from you and remaine,

Your loving friend,

Thomas Welles.*

Hartford this 10th of June 1654.

* Thomas Welles was a Magistrate of Connecticut Colony, afterwards Governor, before Connecticut and New-Haven were united, and Deputy Governor after the Union.
Copy of a Letter wrote by order of the General Court at Plymouth to Major Robert Sedgwick, &c. at Boston,

Gentlemen,

YOURS bearing date the 13th of these presents wee received by our messengers Capt. Standish and Capt. Willett, and having seriously agitated and deliberated upon particulars in reference to the command sent unto us by his highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, as also unto your proposals; the result is that by the helpe of God we intend to close with you in your intended enterprise against the Dutch at the Manhatoes with such small helpe as wee are able to aford; and according to your desire wee have appointed Capt. Thomas Willett to repaire to you with all convenient speed to aford what helpe may be for the facilitating the aforefaid expedition, and it shall be our endeavour to have such means conducing to the aforefaid expedition as wee are able to aford in as good readyness as wee can with all convenient speed, we rest, Sir, Your assured friends,

Nathaniell Morton,

Clarke by order of the generall court.

Plymouth the 15th of June 1654.

Application of Sedgwick, Leverett and others to the General Court.*

Boston in New-England 20th October 1654.

May it please this honoured court,

Providence having soe disposed it as to bring the province of Accadia under the power and government of

* See Hist. Massa. V. I. p. 182 & 183, where he is supposed to have died in England. Cromwell sent him with stores after Penn to the West Indies. He was made a Commissioner after Winslow's death, and died himself at Jamaica in 1656. Thurlow's Collection, V. 5. p. 96.
of his highness Oliver lord protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, we well knowing what great respect you owe unto the state of England, and not doubting of your readiness in any thing you can to manifest the same to them, are therefore encouraged to make these few propositions in the name of his highness and the state of England.

1. That you would be pleased to declare that if the English inhabiting in the country of Accadia be at any time assaulted with an enemy, or in any occasion of needing helpe from this government, you will assist us with such men as we may stand in neede of, we paying for them according to the custome of paying fouldiers in this country in any service you employ them in.

2. That as it is well knowne that at present there is noe wayes to maintaine the vast expence of the garrifon but by trade with the salvages, as it is now a settled law in that province that not any should trade with them but such as are deputed by those in authoritie in the province, that accordingly you would affent and consent that law and order, soe far as that it may be effectuall in this government, soe as when any shall be convicted of the breach thereof they may suffer as if they had been taken in the province of Accadia.

Many reasons we might give, and shall if desired, why there might be a compliance with us in this our request, but we hope that respect and compliance with England will be argument enough to admit this favour in which we hope we attend much the good of these plantations, and be confident you shall finde us ready to our power to serve you either here or in any place God shall caste us in, and remaine your humble servants,

Robert Sedgwicke,
John Leverett,
Wm. Hathorne,
Robert Fenn,
Mark Harrison,
Robert Marinin.
Copy of a Letter from the Corporation in England for propagating the Gospel, &c. to the Commissioners of the united Colonies.

The Commissioners of the Massachusetts presented this ensuing letter from the Corporation in England.

Gentlemen,

YOUR letter wee received and returne you this answer, that wee are very glad and approve of the accompts you sent over by the last, which are or may be satisfactory to the manifold objections have of late arisen about the same, for when (through mercy) our demeanors had stopped the mouths of all men heere, then the greate quere was, whether things sent were not misapplied with you in New-England. And truly you would wonder had wee but time to relate the severall forts of objections, which for the most part turne all to obstrucions for a season; till by the elaborate paines of Mr. Winlow, wee are forced to take off and remove the same, you wrote to us not to send any more goods till you sent for them, and to tye ourselves to such and only such provisions to be sent. We are very well satisfisfied therewith, and thereupon shall deceive the expectation of divers, that have written for letters, for printing paper, &c. and indeed in so writing you seem to understand your owne power and truft, but give us leave to tell you there is such a material objection here started as wee are ashamed of and know not how to answer, viz. the manifold complaints made by Mr. Elliot to sundry his friends here, that you allow him but £.20 per ann. which doth not beare his charges, insomuch as he runnes in debt every yeare more and more, and is disabled for giving his children that education he otherwise would. Now whether it be or no wee know not, but verily believe the worke will suffer some thousands of pounds by it, for it flyeth like lightning and takes like tinder, men being extreame glad to
to meete with any thing may colour over theire covetousnes, and dull theire zeale in so good a worke: Nay Mr. Peters who, but fourteene daies before, told Mr. Winflow in plaine termes he heard the worke was but a plaine cheate, and that there was no such thing as gospell conversion amongst the Indians, prefently after, charged the fame man upon a letter he received from Mr. Weld, by information from Mr. Elliot that you the commissioners for the united colonies forbad the worke in that you would not allow competent maintenance to Mr. Elliot, and others that laboured therein; and however wee have otherwise charitable thoughts of Peters yett he hath been a very bad instrument all along towards this worke, who (though of a committee in the army for the advance of it amongst them) yett protested against contributing a penny towards it in person, and indeede some of us have been faine to intreate the rest of the gentlemen not to trouble him any further in the busines, nor know wee any cause unleffe it be that the worke is coming to such perfection and he hath not had the leaft hand or finger in it. These things wee thought good to acquaint you withall; and doe intreate that Mr. Elliott, Mr. Mayhew and such other eminent labourers as are imploied therein may have greater encouragement from you than fo; yea such according to what the Lord shall send in from time to time. Wee are farr from justifying Mr. Elliott in his turbulent and clamorous proceedings, but the best of Gods servants have their faylings, and as such so we looke upon him. The reason you send for nothing this yeare wee conceive is, because you have about 800/. in money stocke and debts with you, wee should be glad to hear that debts are received, and doe intreate you that the worke may not be retarded thereby; alasfe, what pity were it that deserving instruments should be discouraged, and what a shame will it be to us here, besides an absolute period to all future collections, whereby Gods glory and the present opportunity will be lost in doing good to those poore soules; and lett not the late difference betweene your neighbours of the Massachu-
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setts and yourselves hinder, * wee hope it is healed ere now; if not wee trust our letters (for wee are sensible of the breach and the evills may follow thereupon to the severall respective governments) will help forward the same; and lett us intreate you, since you order us to send nothing but what you give order for, to be very carefull to consider before hand what will be needfull, for we perswade ourselves you cannot buy any goods so well bought heere as what we fend, for wee buy for ready money and bare the adventure, whereas others take not only twelve months time but their creditors stand to the adventure out and home, so that if you fell at thirty per cent. yet you give fixty for what you buy at leaft; but wee doubt not of your care, only wee shall long to heare again from you and that it may be with comfort and refreshing is the earnest desire of Gentlemen,

Your faithfull friends and fellow labourers
in this worke of the Lord,
Signed by the order and appointment
of the Corporation, by
Wm. Steele, President.

To which Letter the Commissioners returned this following Answer.

Honorable Sir,

OURS of the 18th of February laft wee have received, with the contents whereof wee are diversly affected; glad that the accompts wee sent do in any measure answer objections and remove obstructions; he who observeth all our carriage and aimes in this worke of his, knowes (that laying aside all finifter respects wee desire to improve all opportunities and order all disbursements for the advancement of the end designed, that if it please the father of mercies, the gospell of his fone may have a large

* This was a dispute between the Massachusets and the other Colonies concerning the extent of the Power of the Commissioners.
and powerfull entrance into the hearts of these poore Indians, but it is an affllicting consideration that the worke should receive any discouragement or hinderance either from Mr. Elliotts pen or Mr. Peters speech. By a letter signed by Mr. Winslow in the name and by order of the honnored Corporation, dated May the 1st 1652, wee understood what inconvenieence did or might grow by the collections and disbursesments made by Mr. Butcher not put into the corporation stocke and account, which (with you) wee desired might be brought into your treasury, as the right channell, accordingly wee enquired of Mr. Elliott what somes are sent over yearely upon those more private accounts and how imploied, what part to the Indians, and what to himselfe and others who labour in the worke; he acknowledged some considerable somes of money came that way to his hands, but was slowe to give any account how much or how expended; heereupon wee did conceive that 20/. per ann. added to what he received by other meanes out of England and what he received from the church of Roxbury (which as we heare is not lesse than 60/. per ann.) might sufficiently mayntaine his family and afford due education to his children without running himself into debt. We shall now allow him forty pounds per ann. and, if there be cause, shall readily enlarge further, and so to Mr. Mayhew; all wee propound is, that as our masters acceptance is sufficient, nay rich wages, for any care or paines of ours in this worke, so there may be some due proportion (as neere as wee can judge) betwixt the imployment and encouragement of other instruments. Through the blessing of him who is love it自我 and the God of peace, the Commissoners now mett at Hartford doe comfortably close, as in the affaires of the corporation, so in the other occasions of the confederatation, and hope they shall so proccede.

Mr. Elliot and Mr. Mayhew doe each of them propound the building a new meeting house for the Indians, besides the building in hand for some schollars at the college (whereof wee wrote the last yeare) and that allowance may be
be made for interpreters, schoolmasters and others, to instruct the teachable Indians; one catechism is already printed, and Mr. Pierson is preparing another to suite these southwest parts, where the language differs, from theire who live about the Massachusetts; all which will occasion us to write for a considerable parcell of provisions, as the following invoice will shew; wee expect not so good pennyworths from any as from the Corporation, and though the ammunition were, in different proportions, this last yeare divided amongst the Colonies and by them (with the advance formerly mentioned) since returned into the flocke, yet wee purpose to drive very little or no trade but upon the account and concernment of the Indians.

Mr. Rawson hath sent his accounts for the yeare past to the Commissioners now met at Hartford, but upon perusal wee finde something defective or obscure, so that wee returned them to him to be perfected, and must desire the Commissioners for the Massachusetts to review and upon their approbation to underwrite and send them for England. Wee here inclose the coppie of a direction sent us from the Massachusetts for letters for the use of printing, which we desire may be provided and sent. Thus, with our due respects, wee commend yourselves and the worke in hand to the blessing of the only wise and gracious God, resting

Your humble servants,


Theophilus Eaton, Presidt.
Symon Bradstreet,
Daniell Dennison,
Tho. Prence,
Francis Newman,
Jno. Browne.
Instructions for Major Symon Willard, commander in chief of our forces, and such as are joined with him as a counsell of warre.*

YOU are to take under your charge and command all such forces, horse and foot as, according to the order of the Commissioners, are or shall be levied, out of three of the Colonies, with which you are to be at the appointed rendezvous at Tho. Stantons, at or before the 13th of October next, and forthwith to march into the Nianticke country to the place of Ninnigrets ordinary residence, and to demand of him (if he may be spoken with) a present and full surrender of all the Pequotts under him, or lately living upon his land, and if he doth not forthwith consent, then to take them by force from him or any that shall harbor or detaine them and to remove and settle them under the protection of the English and under such government as Mr. Winthrop, Major Mason and Capt. Dennison shall appoint, till the Commissioners shall take further order, without increasing the tribute formerly due from them.

And further, to require and take of Ninnigret the tribute due for time past, for the said Pequotts, together with the charge of this expedition, or some considerable parte of both, and to give him time for the rest, according to your discretion, as may stand with the honor of the English and the safety of the country.

And you are in the name of the Commissioners to prohibit him and the rest of the Narragansett Sachems to make any further attempts upon the Long Iland Indians, and to assure them that the Commissioners will lay the like charge upon the Long Iland Indians not to invade or disturb them, which if he refuse, and that the peace of the country can by no other means be provided for, you are to proceed as the case requires. But if Ninnigret shall not oppose the removall of the Pequotts but shall demean himselfe

* The Commissioners were of opinion that it was necessary to enter into a War with the Naraghanset Indians. The Massachusets Colony was averse to it. Willard was a Massachusets man and seems to have defeated the intent of the Commissioners.
himselfe fairly in that busines and shall submitt to our charge, and promise that he will not further disturbe the peace of the countrie, wee judge it not expedient at this season of the yeare to beginne the warre upon him barely for the non payment of the tribute and charges, supposing also, that you may use other means to drawe some part of it from him at present and the residue may be forborne for some convenient time, provided if the Pequotts cannot be prevailed with to come under the government and protection of the English, then if Ninnigret shall pay the tribute past and the charges of this expedition, and promise not to disturb the peace of the countrie for time to come by making warre upon our friends and confederates without our consent, according to his covenant made at Boston anno 1645, as also to pay the tribute for such Indians as are under him for time to come, according to the last agreement at New-Haven 1651, he may enjoy the said Pequotts still without disturbance or any further proceeding against him.

But if you shall finde the designe cannot be carried on without a great force, then you shall with all expedition send to the severall colonies for the rest of the forces in this case ordered by the Commissioners, which you are to improve according to your best skill for the speedy reducing of Ninnigret to subjection or tribute, with securitie by hostages, for his performance of the same.

And if yet a greater force shall be found necessary, you are to give notice to the severall colonies of the whole number you desire, that they may send their severall proportions according to the agreement of the Commissioners.

You shall, if you thinke fitt, send to Uncas (whom we have prepared) to assist you and may be very usefull in the service. You are to make faire warre, without exercising crueltie and not to put to death any whome you have taken captive, if you canne beflow them without danger of your owne men.

If you finde any English straglers, traders or others, whom you shall suspect to give intelligence, or to furnish with
with arms or ammunition, or to give any other aid to the enemy, you may secure them or send them to Boston.

Lastly, and above all the rest, we commend to your christian care the upholding of the worship of God in your army and to keep such watch over the conversation of all those under your charge that all prophanes and impiety, abuse of the sacred name of God, luxury and other disorders may be avoided, or duly punished, that the Lord may be pleased to goe forth before you, prosper all your proceedings and returne to us in peace, which we shall daily pray for, &c.

Theophilus Eaton, President,
Symon Bradstreet,
Daniell Dennison,
Tho. Prenc, Jn° Webster,
Francis Newman.
Jnº Browne,
Jnº Mason.

Copy of a Letter from Major Simon Willard to the Commissioners of the united Colonies.

Honoured Gentlemen,

Ourselves having beene pleased to appoint and give a commission for a general to command over all the forces, by you appointed to be raisd out of the united colonies in the expedition against Ninnigret, which you referred to the council of the Massachusetts to compleat, they having, after the refusall of Major Gibbons and Major Dennison, Capt. Atherton being absent, pitched on myselfe (though unworthy accepted thereof in hope of God's gracious assistance therein) These are therefore to informe you, that I addressed myselfe accordingly, and with the unanimous consent of my council, have with the best of our understanding of your instructions (which were not so clear as we could have wished) repaired to the place of rendezvouz, indeavoured to have had full discourse with Ninnigret, who, before we came, had swampt* himselfe and refused

* A common expression to signify the retreat or refort of the Indians into boggy Places full of Woods where the English must be under great disadvantage in an attack upon them.
refused conference with us, as appears in the narrative which I send you, therefore, considering the season, tediousness of the march of the foot, and freightsness of our instructions, contented ourselves with reducing of those Pequotts, as we have certified you. On those terms we endeavoured your full satisfaction, and wherein we have fallen short, we hope you will put a candid interpretation. I shall say no more at present but commend you to the protection, direction and blessing of the Almighty and remaine,

Dated 26th of 8th your humble servant, ma. 1654, Boston. Simon Willard.

The Narrative follows.

My selfe, whose name is underwritten, being impowered by the Commissioners of the united Colonies, bearing date the 25th Sept. 1654, doe declare the particular acts of the proceeding of the councill of warre being assembled at Thomas Stantons, according to the instructions received from the said Commissioners, as followeth.

Imprimis, our first instruction being forthwith to march into the Nyanticke countrey, the place of Ninnigrets ordinary place of residence, and to demand of him (if he may be spoke with) the Pequotts, &c. The reasons why wee did not attend to that particular was, wee knew he was removed from that place up into the woods into a swamp, some 15 miles from our quarters, and further, by a storm the boates of Conneticott and Newhaven, whereas all were to meete 13 October 54, we say, the boates and some of the fouldiers with their flocke of ammunition came not to us untill the 16th day the one, and the 17th day the other. Further, we had one clause in our instructions to act as might stand with the honour of the English and the safety of the countrey, but for us to move with our forces wee thought it would make great rumour to stirr amongst the Indians, when they should heare wee were returned to our quarters and did nothing; therefore wee thought it would expedite our worke to attend that that was presented to us, which are as followeth,
First, Ninnegret having some of his Indians present with us, who as we supposed were willing to save up things as well as they could, we agreed to send some of them to him to advise him to come and speak with us, but we having intelligence of his great fear to consent to this motion, we offered him hostages for the security of his person, and if this pleased him not, he should acquaint us what he would desire to secure him; his answer was, by 4 of his men, that one of our Indians had taken away a canoe of his and made prize of it, and upon this he was more afraid than before.

2dly, He demanded what he had done to the English that they came so against him round about, and will not let him alone, and he would desire to transact this business by messengers, and not come face to face.

3dly, He said his father was a friend to the English in former times, and he wondered they should be so against him now. Our answer to these things were as followeth. First, wee knew nothing of the canoe, and that if any of our Indians had wronged him in this kind they should restore it again; but they would not forbear this discourse, so we sent them away with these following answers. First, wee wondered that he, a wise man as he would be accounted, that he should offer to hold us in discourse about such a trifle as a canoe is, either he must be unwise himselfe, or thinke us unwise, if we should be delayed with such things at these. 2dly, That it was not the fashion of the English to transact things of such a nature by messengers from an ambassador, but to come face to face. 3dly, If this course might have beene taken, wee could have done this from the place of our habitation, without raising these forces. The 16th, there came some of the Pequotts and told us that the day before this, they went towards Ninnegretts company to perswade their kindred to come from him, fearing otherwise it would goe ill with them, but they met with three Pequotts that did adhere to Ninnegret, who asked them what they did there, they said they had something to doe; then they asked our Pequotts how
how many there were of them, they said 30, then said the 3 men there are 30 heads for us; then our Pequotts said they did attend the English to carrey letters or burthens abroad, where the English should have occasion to send them, then one of the 3 men told them they would have their 30 heads before to morrow in the afternoone, though the English men were with them, and they said they would not desert from the warr against the Long Islanders, neither would they forfake Ninegrett. This day they came into us and gave in their names to the number of 73. The 17th day there came into us more Pequotts that lived neere to Ninegrett, which, before, wee commanded to bring away their houses and goods, which things they did, and gave in their names as the rest to the number of 36. The 18th day, Ninegrett still keeping off and would no ways comply with us, wee agreed and sent two gentlemens with two to attend them, and two interpreters to make some demands of him; but there being noxe he refused to speake with above two of them, but after much debate with his scouts and some of his chiefe men, they came to speake with them, viz. Capt. Davis and Capt. Seely, and first they demanded the Pequotts under him, his answer was, why doe yee demand the Pequotts of me when you have them already? they demanded more, his answer was he had not above 3 or 4 with him, but the rest were disposed abroad a hunting and elsewhere, but in the issue he ingaged by writing to surrender all that were under him into the hands of Mr. Winthrop or Capt. Mason within seven days. 3dly, They demanded the tribute due for the Pequotts, his answer was he never engaged for them; he was told he payd it at New-Haven; he said the reason of that was he feared they would have been taken from him, therefore he payd 9 or 10 fathom of his owne peage to make up the some. 3dly, They further required not to make any more war against the Long Island Indians, to this he was silent for a time, but after said this; Shall such a prince and two such captains loose their lives and their blood not be revenged? the answer to this was, he
he must act in a right way by making the commissioners acquainted with it, but he was silent. Further he was charged not to molest them nor any other of the friends of the English left his head were set up upon an English pole. Also he was informed that none of ours should molest him. 4thly, The charges of this expedition was demanded of him, his answer was he was not the cause of it, but the Long Island Indians killed him a man at Connecticut.

A Copy of the Covenant with Ninegret.

WHEREAS the Commissioners of the united Colonies demand by their messengers that I deliver up to the English all the captive Pequotts in my countrey, I hereby ingage myselfe to surrender the said Pequotts within 7 dayes to Mr. Winthrop or Capt. Mason. Witness my hand. And so he set his marke the 18th of 8ber 54.

Witness Thomas Stanton
  Valentine Whitman Interpreters.

Witness also Thomas Blighe.

The 19th day a copie of the covenant or promise of Paukannusamon, being a Narreganset Sachem who had divers of the Pequotts under him, who had subscribed their names unto us, who promises to live peaceably and not disturbe any of the friends of the English, and desires not to be disturbed by any of them, and so sett his marke.

A copie of the Pequotts covenant whereto they subscribed the 16th and 17th of the 8th moneth 1654.

We whose names are underwritten, being captive Pequotts and tributaries to the English and having lived some time under the protection of Ninegrett, doe freely consent to the Commissioners of the united English colonies to remove to such places as the said Commissioners doe or shall appoint us, and doe hereby disowne the jurisdiction of Ninegrett over us, and that we intend really
fo to doe, wee here give in our names severally with our owne markes affixed. Further we do hereby engage ourselves hereafter not to joyne in any warre with Ninegrett or any other, without the full and free consent of the Commissioners of the united English Colonies.

This is a true account of our actions in each particular by the councill of warre. Simon Willard.
This 20th of the 8th moneth 1654.

Wee sett upon our march from Boston the 9th of the 8th moneth 1654. Wee returned againe to Boston the 24th of the same monthe.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Winflow to Secretary Thurloe.

Right Honourable,

ABOUT twelve days since I wrote to you by Capt. Collens, wherein I gave you a large account of our proceedings in this island of the Barbadoes; how that by Gods blessing we attained our passage in five weekes, made the 2500 men we landed 6000, and because our stores for the army were not as yet come up close we should lose the drie season and my lords honor suffer thereby and have scurched up so many arms as to make the 1500, we here brought, 6000 or near thereabout: that we raited two small troopes of horfe upon the island and gotten such and so many other stores as we are to sett faile this evening from the place: We thought to have gone the 24th instant but could not attaine thereunto. Since which time came Capt. Haffeffield of London and tells us of the Great Charity, that she was at sea with him; but faies that she with many others in company were forced back by the fowle weather. This gentleman was above two months, from Falmouth hither, and tells us our storeships were in the Downes with a fafe convoy and believes they will be
be here speedily; but truly, Sir, we are so weary of wayting and the season so neer spent as we are resolved to cast ourselves into the arms of Almighty God, whose providence we truft will be ever for good and will owne us as instru-
ments in his right hand to execute his determined ven-
geance upon that tyrannous and idolatrous and bloody
nation that hath inflicted so many cruelties upon the nations
of the earth in their distressed members and not the least
upon ours. We have agreed to order the Great Charity
to lay heer till our stores come up and then to convey
them to us. The general hath settled the militia of the
island and given commission to sower regiments of horse
and sower of toote and made the governor his lieutenant-
generall and Col. Collison major-generall of this island. I
hope it will conduce to the publick weale of the place.
We have made bold to refer our commissioners to make
use of their excise office whereof the governor had a 3d,
which 3d we still leave him to possesse; but whereas they
call upon their articles I tell them they have broken that
article, for whereas they were to pay the publick debts of
the island therewith they have received all those two yeares
profits past and we none at all, and now we shall reape the
cropp of this 3d yeare, but with a greate deale of indigna-
tion to many. We aske them how long his highnes shall
waite their pleaufe to receive his royalties? We have
such a body of business to goe through this day that I feare
I shall not be able to write over my letter anew. If it so
fall out I had rather fend you a blotted paper than a note,
and write amongst a crowd of people as I do here than
not to write at all: and I truft your honor will bury it
amongst the rest of my infirmities which is the earnest
defire of Right honourable your most humble
Barbados, March 30. 1655. servant
Edw. Winflow.

I humbly entreat your honor to
get a dispatch to Capt. Paris
and Capt. Turners busines.
Copy of a Letter from the Commissioners of the united Colonies to Major Willard.

Loveing friend Major Willard,

Wee have received and considered both the letter you writt and the trust committed to you, and the account thereof, the last yeare, in which (to speake candidly according to your desire) wee finde mistakes and errors, we heare you had not the unanimous consent of your counciill, and certainly your instructions (which stand upon record in each of the united colonies) are cleare enough to have guided you to a further progresse than you made in the service, nor doe wee finde any considerable difficultie in the way. Ninigrett, through the feare that then possessed him, might (in all probability) have been enforced to receive any impression the chief commandr of such forces would have putt upon him, but the not improving of a season (especially in such a service) is oft attended with mischievous consequences. Ninigrett, who whilst our smale army was there, had his mouth as in the duff, soone after grew high and insolent in his speech and carriage, refuseth to deliver the rest of his Pequotts, threatens them that have left him, hath againe invaded the Long Island Indians, our friends, tributaries and in covenant with us; some blood is already shed, how much more may be shortly shed is not yet knowne, and how farr our charge and danger may be increased by his pride and treachery ingaging forreign Indians against us, and what further inconveniences may arriue from your nonattendance to your commission is yet uncertaine, and as doubtful how they may be prevented; but what satisfaction may be from yourselfe, and those of your counciill that joyned with you, expected, wee leave to the consideration of the colonies and rest

Your loveing friends,

James Cudworth    Theophilus Eaton, President.
John Mason        Simon Bradstreete
John Cullick      Daniel Denison
Wm. Leete.        John Browne.

Copy of a Letter from the General Court of the Massachusets to Mr. Hopkins.

Much honored Sir,

I am required by our generall court to signify unto you, that they have not binn nor are without a due sense of the many singular expressions of your faithfull love to them, in your best endeavours to promote their affairs (which they have binn informed of) in your readines at all times to afford their late agent Mr. Winflow your best furtherance and assistance, as need required, though as hitherunto they have not had the opportunity to returne you theire gratefull acknowledgments, as you might before now justly have expected. But assure yourselfe, deare Sir, however they have binn wanting in this respect, yet theire best desires at the throne of grace have not binn wanting to emplore a rich recompence of reward on your head and heart as well as on many others whom the Lord hath stirred up to wish well to his exiled ones in these parts, and are not without hope the Lord will more and more encourage you according to the mercies you receive. Opportunity he puts into your hands whilst you are here to be acting for him, who is and will be a rich paymaster in the end. Sir, our court, understanding of your illnes and the many imployments that are on you, have contented themselves in desiring, as opportunity shall present and as Capt. John Leveret whom they have now commissioned as theire agent shall desire, your continued helpfullnes and assistance of him in promoting theire affairs with his Highnes the Lord Protector and his honorabole Councell, as neede shall be, whereof they hope you will have no cause to repent, not being willing further to interrupt you in your weighty imployement, the prosperity whereof is the dayly prayers of, Sir, Your obliged

Novemb. 1655.

Edw. Rawson. Secretary.

In the name and by the order of the Generall Court.

Copy

* Mr. Hopkins who had been Governor of Connecticut was at this time in England in favour with Oliver.
Copy of the General Court's Commission to Capt. John Leverett, Agent for them.

The Generall Court of the Massachusets in New England assembled at Boston the 23d of November 1655.

To our trustie and much honoured friend Captaine John Leverett.

Jo. Endecott, Gov. WHEREAS this court hath chosen and appointed you to be their agent in England during your aboade there: You are hereby commissioned and impowered according to instructions heerewith given unto you to appeare for us and act in our behalfe in all matters of concernment to us, before his Highnes the Lord Protector of the Common Wealthes of England Scotland and Ireland and his honourable Councill there. Given at Boston the day and yeare above written. In testimonie whereof the seale of this colonie is heereunto affixed.

By the Court, Edward Rawson, Secretary.

The General Court's Instructions.

Instructions for our trustie and much honoured friend Capt. John Leveret, chosent and impowered by this Court as our Agent to present our desires to his Highnes, or Counsell of State in England, and to negotiate our affairs there as opportunitie may afford or emergencie of occasions require, according to the ensuing Instructions.

1. YOU are desired to take the first convenient opportunitie to present the letter from this Court (heerewith delivered) unto his Highnes. And upon all occasions
occasions to let his Highnes understand how thankfullie we accept and at all tymes readilie acknowledge his Highnes favour and clemencie towards us, and to assure him of our reall and synecere affection towards his Highnes and readiness upon all occasions to be serviceable unto him to the utmost of our power and abilitie.

2. You are also requested to informe his Highnes of a letter sent the last yeare to Mr. Winflow to be presented unto his Highnes, and that it is our humble desire to know if his Highnes received it (a copy whereof we have herewith delivered you) and diligently to observe what sense his Highnes shall be pleased (of himselfe) to expresse concerning the same.

3. That you also humbly desire on our behalfe that seeing our former agent is dead, and we have many enemies in the world, that all complaints made against us by one or other may take no place in his princely breast, but be suspended from all believe till we may have knowledge thereof and opportunitie to answer for ourselves.

4. If peace be concluded betwixt England and France, and the French fortes in these partes included therein, and that you finde a propenstie in his Highnes to gratifie New England with the same, that you improve your best interest and opportunitie for the obtaining thereof, provided they be free from charges and other ingagements.

5. You are further hereby desired humblie to move his Highnes that this countrie may have the opportunitie to furnish his fleet at Jamaica with provisions of wheat, beef, pork, &c. to the value of ten or twelve thousand pounds per annum, for bills of exchange into England, according to his Highnes order, and to promote the setting of a magazine heere for supplying the West India fleete as occasion may require. And in this affaire, if you see cause or neede, you may improve the helpe of Mr. Peters, Mr. Hopkins, or any other friend of ours, and may ingage for the prices to our best advantage, or as they gave the last yeare.

6. If
6. If any complaint be made by Mr. Rigby concerning our claim by virtue of our patent, as intrenching upon what he calls the province of Ligoma, you may for the present make the best answer you may, for the reasons express in our answer given Mr. Cleaves agent, a copy whereof we herewith deliver you, which if it satisfy not, you may crave liberty for our further answer.

By the court,
Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Boston 23d of November 1655.

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Copy of an Address to his Highness Oliver Cromwell.

May it please your Highness,

A MIDST the thronge of important suiters and oppressing multitude of occasions of high concernment, to accept of our most humble thankful acknowledgment of your continued favours to us poor exiles in these utmost endes of the earth. We might account it no little disadvantage whilst others having nearer access to your highness, and thereby opportunity to testify their zeal for your service, that we by our distance should be disabled from giving any other demonstration than an anniversary acknowledgment of our obligation, were it not that your owne goodnes under God were the fountaine whence all these streams of bounty have been derived unto us, whereby we are encouraged to hope as we have good cause to beseech for the continuance thereof: The want whereof would be most prejudiciall if not destructive to this colonie, when the endeavours of some may be to misinforme your highnes, by presenting complaints against us, we having none to intercede for us or truely to represent unto your highnes in our behalfe: The consideration whereof, were not God our gracious father in the Lord Jesus, would overwhelm us did not the assurance
rancel of your highnes clemency patience and singular affection support us; But that we might not seem to be wanting in the defence of our owne innocencie, nor presume too far upon your highnes indulgence, we have desired our loving and honoured friend Capt. John Leveret to give your highnes a true account of all our actings wherein your highnes shall see cause to require satisfaction, not doubting but the clearing of our innocencie will be most acceptable to your highnes, being confident no impression to the contrarie will be receaved, before we have had the opportunitie to vindicate the same from any aspersions that may occasionallie be cast upon us. We dare not presume further to detain your highnes from the care of your more weightie affaires, the prosperous success whereof is the dayly prayer of

Your highnes most humbly devoted servants,

J. Endecott, Gov.
R. Bellingham, D. Gov.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Roger Williams President of Providence Plantations, to the General Court of Magistrates and Deputies assembled at Boston.

Providence, 15. 9mo. 55. (So called)

Much honoured Sir,

I T is my humble and earnest petition unto God and you, that you may so be pleased to exercise command over your own spirits that you may not mind my selfe nor the English of these parts (unworthy with myself of your eye) but only that face of equitie (English and christian) which I humbly hope may appeare in these representations following.

T 2
First, May it please you to remember, that concerning the town of Warwick (in this colonie) there lies a suite of £2000 damages against you before his highnes and the lords of his councell, I doubt not if you so please but that (as Mr. Winflow and myself had well nigh ordered it) some gentlemen from yourselves and some from Warwick deputed, may friendly and easily determine that affair betweene you.

Secondly, The Indians which pretend your name at Warwick and Pawtuxet (and yet live as barbarously if not more than any in the country) please you to remember their insolences upon ourselves and cattle (unto £2000 damages per annum) are insufferable by English spirits; and please you to give credence that to all these they pretend your name and affirm that they dare not (for offending you) agree with us, nor come to rules of righteous neighbourhood, only they know you favour us not and therefore send us for redresse unto you.

Thirdly, Concerning four English families at Pawtuxet, may it please you to remember that two controversie they have long (under your name) maintained with us, to a constant obstructing of all order and authority amongst us.

To our complaint about our lands they lately have profess'd a willingness to arbitrate, but to obey his highnes authority in this charter, they say, they dare not for your sakes, though they live not by your lawes, nor bear your common charges, nor ours, but evade both under colour of your authority.

Honoured Sirs, I cordially profess it before the most high, that I believe it, if not only they but ourselves and all the whole country, by joint consent, were subject to your government, it might be a rich mercy; but as things yet are, and since it pleased first the parliament, and then the lord admirall and committee for foraigne plantations, and since the councell of state, and lastly the lord protector and his councell, to continue us as a distinct colonie, yea and since it hath pleased yourselves by publick letters and references to us from your publick courts to owne the
the authoritie of his Highnes amongst us; be pleased to consider how unsuitable it is for yourselves (if these families at Pawtuxet plead truth) to be the obstructers of all orderly proceedings amongst us; for I humbly appeale to your owne wisedomes and experience how unlikely it is for a people to be compelled to order and common charges, when others in their bosoms are by such (seeming) partialitie exempted from both.

And therefore (lastly) be pleased to know, that there are (upon the point) but two families which are so obstructive and destructive to an equall proceeding of civil order amongst us; for one of these 4 families, Stephen Arnold, desires to be uniforme with us; a second Zacharie Rhodes, being in the way of dipping is (potentially) banished by you. Only Wm. Arnold and Wm. Carpenter (very far also in religion from you, if you knew all) they have some coulour, yet in a late conference they all plead that all the obstacle is their offending of yourselves.

Fourthly, whereas (I humbly conceave) with the people of this colonie your commerce is as great as with any in the countrey, and our dangers (being a frontier people to the Barbarians) are greater than those of other colonies, and the ill consequences to yourselves would be not a few nor small, and to the whole land, were we first massacred or mastered by them. I pray your aequall and favourable reflection upon that your law which prohibits us to buy of you all meanes of our necessary defence of our lives and families (yea in this most bloudy and massacring time.) We are informed that tickets have rarely bene denied to any English of the country; yea the barbarians (tho' notorious in lyes) if they professe subjection, they are furnished: Only ourselves, by former and later denyall, seem to be devoted to be the Indian shambles and massacres.

The barbarians all the land over are filled with artillerie and ammunition from the Dutch, openly and horridly, and from all the English over the countrey (by stealth) I know they abound so wonderfully, that their activitie and insolencie is grown so high, that they dayly consult and hope
hope and threaten to render us slaves, as they long since (and now most horribly) have made the Dutch.

For myselfe (as through Gods goodness) I have refused the gaine of thousands by such a murderous trade, and think no law yet extant amongst yourselves or us secure enough against such a villainie; so am I loath to see so many hundreds (if not some thousands) in this colony destroyed like fools and beasts without resistance: I grieve that so much blood should cry against yourselves, yea and I grieve that (at this instant by these ships) this cry and the premises should now trouble his highnes and his councell. For the seasonable preventing of which is this humble address presented to your wisedome, by him who desires to be Your unfeigned

and faithful servant,

Roger Williams,

of Providence plantations, president.

Hon. Sirs, Since my letter, it comes into my heart to pray your leave to add a word as to myselfe, viz. At my last returne from England I presented your then honoured governor, Mr. Bellingham, with an order of the lords of the councell for my free taking ship or landing at your parts, unto which it pleased Mr. Bellingham to send me his silent in writing, I humbly crave the recording of it by yourselves, lest forgetfulness hereafter againe put me upon such distress as, God knows, I suffered when I laft past through your colony to our native country.

Copy of a Letter from Providence Plantations to the General Court of the Massachusetts.

Providence, 12. 3. 56. (so called)

May it please this much honoured assembly to re-
member that, as an officer and in the name of Providence Colonic, I presented you with our humble re-
quests
quests before winter, unto which not receiving answer I addressed myselfe this spring to your much honoured Governor, who was pleased to advise our sending of some of Providence to your assembly.

Honoured Sirs, our first request (in short) was and is, for your favourable consideration of the long and lamentable condition of the town of Warwick, which hath been thus. They are so dangerously and so vexatiously intermingled with the Barbarians, that I have long admired the wonderfull power of God in restraining and preventing very great fires, of mutuall slaughters, breaking forth betwene them.

Your wisedomes know the inhumane insultations of these wild creatures, and you may be pleased also to imagine, that they have not bene sparing of your name as the patron of all their wickednes against our English men, women and children, and cattle to the yearely dammage of 60, 80 and 100.

The remedie is (under God) only your pleasure that Pumham shall come to an agreement with the towne or colonie, and that some convenient way and time be set for their removall.

And that your wisedomes may see just grounds for such your willingnes, be pleased to be informed of a realitie of a solemne covenant betwene this town of Warwick and Pumham, unto which, notwithstanding that he pleads his being drawne to it by the awe of his superiour Sachims, yet I humbly offer that what was done was according to the law and tenour of the natives (I take it) in all New England and America, viz. that the inferiour Sachims and subjects shall plant and remove at the pleasure of the highest and supreme Sachims, and I humbly conceive that it pleafeth the Most High and only Wise to make use of such a bond of authoritie over them, without which they could not long subsist in humane societies, in this wild condition wherein they are.

2. Please you not to be insensible of the slipperie and dangerous condition of this their intermingled cohabitation.
tion. I am humbly confident, that all the English towns and plantations in all New-England put together suffer not such molestation from the natives as this one towne and people. It is so great and so oppressive that I have dayly feared the tidings of some publicke fire and mischief.

3. Be pleased to review this copie from the lord admiral and that this English towne of Warwick should proceede, also that if any of yours were there planted they should by your authoritie be removed. And we humbly conceive that if the English (whose removes are difficult and chargeable) how much more these wild ones, who remove with little more trouble and dammage then the wild beasts of the wildernes.

4. Please you to be informed that this small neck (wherein they keepe and mingle fields with the English) is a very den of wickednes, where they not only practice the horrid barbarisms of all kind of whoredoms, idolatries and conjurations, but living without all exercise of actual authoritie, and getting store of liquors (to our griefe) there is a confluence and rendezvous of all the wildest and most licentious natives and practices of the whole country.

5. Beside satisfaction to Pumham and the former inhabitants of this neck, there is a competittour who must also be satisfiyed, another Sachim, one Nawwushawsuck, who (living with Ousamaquin) layes claime to this place, and are at dayly fewd with Pumham (to my knowledge) about the title and lordship of it. Hostilitie is daily threatened.

Our second request concerns 2 or 3 English families at Pawtuxet who, before our charter, subjefted themselves unto your jurisdiction. It is true, there are many grievances betweene many of the towne of Providence and them, and these I humbly conceive may best be ordered to be composd by reference.

But (2) we have formerly made our addresses and now doe for your prudent removall of this great and long obstruction to all due order and regular proceedings among us, viz. the refuifal of these families (pretending your name) to conforme with us unto his Highnes authoritie amongst us,

3. Your
3. Your wisedomes experimentally know how apt men are to stumble at such an exemption from all duties and services, from all rates and charges either with yourselves or us.

4. This obstruction is so great and constant, that (without your prudent removall of it) it is impossible that either his Highnes or yourselves can expect such satisfaction and observance from us as we desire to render.

Lastly, as before, we promised satisfaction to the natives at Warwick (and shall all possible ways endeavour their content) so we humbly offer as to these our countrymen, First, as to grievances depending, that references may settle them. 2dly, For the future, the way will be open for their enjoyment of votes and privileges, of choosing or being chosen to any office in towne or colonie.

Our third request is for your favourable leave to us to buy of your merchants fower or more barrells of powder yearly, with some convenient proportion of artillerie, considering our hazardous frontier situation to these Barbarians, who from their abundant supply of armes from the Dutch (and perfidious English all the land over) are full of our artillerie, which hath rendered them exceedingly insolent, provoking and threatening, especially the inlanders which have their supply from the fort of Aurania. We have bene esteemed by some of you as your thornie hedge on this side of you: If so, yet an hedge to be maintained: If as out sentinells, yet not to be discouraged. And if there be a jealouse of the ill use of such a favour, please you to be assured that a credible person in each towne shall have the dispose and managing of such supplies according to the true intent and purpose.

For the obtaining of these our just and necessary petitions we have no inducement or hope from ourselves; only we pray you to remember that the matters prayed are no way dishonourable to yourselves and we humbly conceive doe greatly promote the honour and pleasure of his Highnes, yea of the Most High also, and lastly, such kindnesse
kindnesses will be obligations on us to studie to declare ourselves, upon all occasions, Your most humble and 
faithfull servants.

Roger Williams, President.
In the name and by the appointment of Providence Colony.

Honoured Gentlemen,

I pray your patience to one word relating to my selfe only. Whereas, upon an order from the Lords of 
his Highnes Councell, for my future securitie in 
taking ship and landing in your ports, it pleased your 
honoured then Governor Mr. Bellingham to obey 
that order under his owne hand, I now pray the 
confirmation of it from one word of this honoured 
court assembled.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Roger Williams to 
the General Court.

Boston 17. 3. 56. (so called)

May it pleafe this much honoured Assembly,

I Do humbly hope that your owne breasts and the 
publicke shall reap the fruit of your great gentlenes and 
patience in these barbarous transactions, and I do cordially 
promise for my selfe (and all I can perfwade with) to 
studie gratitude and faithfulness to your service. I have 
debated with Pumham (and some of the natives helping 
with me) who shewed him the vexatious life he lives in, 
your great respect and care toward him, by which he may 
abundantly mend him selfe and be united in some conve-
nience unto their neighbourhood and your service: But I 
humbly conceave in his case that dies et quies sanant 
bominem, and he must have some longer breathing, for he 
tells me that the appearance of this competitour Nawwu-
shawfuck hath stabd him: May you therefore please to

grant
grant him and me some longer time of conference, either untill your next generall assembling, or longer at your pleasures.

My other requests I shall not be importune to press on your great affaires, but shall make my addresse unto your secretarie to receave by him your pleasure.

Honoured Gentlemen,
Your humble and thankfull servant,

R. W.

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Magistrates of the Massachusets to the Commissioners of the united Colonies, and the Proceedings thereon.

Honoured Gentlemen,

The remembrance of the solemne covenants and promises the united colonies (in the beginning of their combination) made one with another, not only to strengthen the hearts and hands each of other in appointing and maintaining of religion in its purity, but also to be assisting each to other where any deficiency in such respects may appear, hath putt us upon the pursuance of our endeavours to discharge our duties in desiring you to consider of some such meete way and expedient, as where any defect appeares in any colony in the right improvement of such means and ordinances as the Lord hath appointed all his to use and improve for the edification of the body whereof Christ is the head, till his second coming.

Having heard some time since, that our neighbour colony of Plymouth, our beloved brethren, in a great part, seeme to be wanting to themselves in a due acknowledgment and encouragement to the ministry of the gospell, so as many pious ministers of the gospell have (how justly we know not) deferted their stations, callings and relations: Our desire is that some such course may be taken, as that a pious
pyous orthodox ministry may be reflated amongst them, that so the flood of errors and principles of anarchy (which will not long be kept out where Satan and his instruments are so prevalent as to prevail to the crying downe of ministry and ministers) may be prevented.

Here hath arrived amongst us severall persons professing themselves Quakers, fitt instruments to propagate the kingdom of Satan; for the securing of ourselves and our neighbours from such pelts wee have imprisoned them till they be dispatched away to the place from whence they came, one of which, Richard Smith, wee have lett out of prison to returne to his family at Southampton, whom wee hope and doubt not but our neighbours of Connecticut well be carefull so to order it as he may doe the leaft prejudice. As also that some generall rules may be commended to the severall jurisdictions for the settling of government amongst the Indians; that a generall law may also be commended to the generall court to prohibit the sale of horses to Indians, or to transport any mares beyond the seas to Barbadoes or otherwaife, on a severe penaltie, and that some generall rules may be also commended to each generall court to prevent the coming in amongst us, from foraigne places such notorious heretickes as Quakers, Ranters, &c. and that strong waters to the Indians in all the jurisdictions may be forbidden, that the name of God be not dishonoured. Not else but our best respects to you and earnest desires that the blessing of the Almighty may be on all your endeavours.

Gentlemen, Your assured friends,

Edw. Rawfon, secretary.

In the name and by the order of the generall court.

Boston, 2d Sept. 1656.

THE Commissioners haveing considered the premisses, cannot but acknowledge the godly care and zeale of the gentlemen of the Massachusets to uphold and main-
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eine those professed ends of coming into these parts, and
of combination of the united colonies, which if not at-
tended in the particulars aforesaid will be rendered wholly
frustrate, our profession miserably scandalized, ourselves
become a reproach in the eyes of those that cannot with-
out admiration behold ouruddaine defection from our
first principles; wee cannot therefore but with all ear-
nestnes commend it to the wisedome and justice of the se-
veral jurisdictions to take effectuall care and make answer-
able provision, that religion and the ordinances of Christ
professed may be upheld and maintainèd, which cannot be
but by a due encouragement of an able orthodox ministry,
a discouragement of that which is heterodox and an
effectuall course to keepe out heretickes, the great engines
of Satan (in these times) to overthrow the trueth, and be-
cause this busines is of such high concernment to all, wee
shall more particularly impart our thoughts to serious
consideration.

1. First, wee cannot (without breach of charitie) but
take it for a thing granted generally by the inhabitants
of the united colonies, that an able orthodox ministry is a
precious fruite of Christ’s death, resurrection and ascen-
tion, and necessary for the spiritual good of his people,
and to be duely fought after in everie society or town-
ship within the several jurisdictions.

2. And secondly, that a competent maintenance propor-
tionable to the abilitie of the place and necessitie of the
minister is a debt of justice not charitie.

3. Hence thirdly, the minister may justly expect it from
that societie and township wherein he labours.

4. The reference or relation of a minister being to the
whole societie joyntly, whether in church order or not,
his expectation of maintenance, and the debt of justice, is
from the whole societie joyntly.

5. Although the societie may according to their dis-
cretion use divers wayes to raise this maintainance, yet if
the wayes be ineffectual (though the defect may be in some
particular persons) the societie cannot be discharged, but
is the debtor.

6. The
6. The engagement being upon the society, and that according to religion and right reason, it necessarily follows that the society be enabled with sufficient power to discharge it selfe.

7. Therefore the generall court should declare such a power to be in such societies, that there may be no pretence in them for want thereof, and if any society or township shall be wanting, either out of neglect or opinion, to procure and maintaine as abovefaid an orthodoxe ministery according to the gospell, wee conceive (by the rules of scripture and the practice not only of all christian governments but even of heathen who not only held their facra in veneration but tooke care of those that had the keeping of them and the charge of making knowne their misteries) the severall generall courts being charged with the care that the people professing christianitie owne and live according to rules and ordinances of their profession, and that the dispensers of them be encouraged as aforefaid. The maintenance of the ministry being a debt of justice from the society and the society impowered to discharge it, it any particular person shall be defective to the society they ought to be ordered by the ordinary course of justice.

These generalls wee thought meete to propose, from whence wee leave to the wisdome of the generall court to draw up such conclusions and orders as may attaine the end desired. And if any of the members of the said court should not concur (at present) with our apprehensions, wee doe earnestly desire that by all means they would labour to informe and satisfy themselves of the truth of the particulars abovefaid, whereof wee (for our parts) have noe doubt. Wee doe further propose to the severall generall courts that all Quakers, Raniers, and other notorious heretickes be prohibited coming into the united colonies and if any shall hereafter come or arriue amongst us, that they be forthwith secured or removed out of all the juridictions. That some safe provision be made against selling or giving strong lyquors to the Indians without particular and express licence from some magistrate
arate, or other officer thereunto deputed, and that upon
some weighty cause or exigent. And that noe horse or
mare, young or old, be soould to any Indian, under the
penaltie of five for one.
And as to the restrainte of sending forth or transport-
ing, that each jurisdicition be left to theire libertie.

Copy of the Case of George Giddings and others
of Ipswich, referring to Mr. Cobbet.*

June 22. 1657.
George Giddings, plaintiff,
against
Edward Browne, defendant.

In an action of trespas upon the case for entering his
houfe and severing his pewter dishes or platters and
marking of them.

I find in this case for the plaintiff,

Damage o—1—0
Costs o—5—8

And the case being of very weighty concernment
in the countrey (I conceive) I shall exprefse the
groundes of my judgment.

I understand this to be about a fundamentall law, and
that a fundamentall law properly so called. It is fuch
a law as that God and nature have given to a people. So
that it is in the fruit of their governors in highest place
and others, to preserve, but not in their power to take
away from them.

Of which sort are these, viz.

1. Election of the fupreme governours.

2. That

* Mr. Symonds the Justice who tried this cause was descended
from an ancient an hororable family in Yuldham in Essex, where
he had a good Estate. The proceedings are somewhat singular
and the arguments give us some idea of the notions of govern-
ment prevailing in that day.
2. That every subject shall and may enjoy what he hath a civell right or title unto, soe as it cannot be taken from him, by way of gift or loan, to the use or to be made the right or property of another man, without his owne free consent.

3. That such lawes (though called libertyes) yet more properly they may be called rights, and in this sense this may be added as a third fundamentall law, viz.

That no custome or precedent ought to prevayle in any morall case, that may appear to be sinnfull in respect of the breach of any law of piety against the first table, or of righteouſneffe against the second.

And for brevity sake I shall now forbear to write further, and respite what I have more to say to be expressed in another paper, what doth more clearely and fully tend to inſlighten my judgment in this case, ready to be manifeſted when occasion is.

Samuel Symonds.

June 23. 1657.

Edward Browne appealeth from the sentence in the case above unto the next county court holden at Salem, and acknowledgeth himſelfe bound to this government in the summe of three pounds to prosecute his appeale to effect, according to the law provided about appeales.

Samuel Symonds.

At a generall towne meeting the 25th of February 1655.
Voted to give 100l. toward building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbet.

This is a true copy taken out of the town booke June 20th 1657.
Per me Robert Lord.

At a meeting of the select men the 13th of June 1657.
There being a vote of the towne to give one hundred pounds toward building or buying Mr. Cobbet a house, and the last feaven men* accordingly proportioned the same upon

* The same with the Selectmen.
upon the inhabitants, and complaint being made by the deacons that divers refuse to pay:

It is therefore ordered by the now select men that the marshall, Edward Browne, shall and is hereby empowered to distraigne upon such persons (their severall sums) as refuse or delay to pay their proportion to the hundred pound by vote of the towne given to Mr. Cobbet toward building him a house.

This is a true copy out of the towne booke, taken the 15th of June 1657, by Robert Lord.

We whose names are under written doe witness that this order which is above expressed by this copy was our mind expressed by word to be entered in the towne booke. W. Hubbard, Daniel Warner, John Appleton, Robert Lord.

A copy of the summons.

To Edward Browne of Ipswich.

You are required to appeare before me upon the second day next, at two of the clocke after noone, it being the 22d day of this instant, to answer the complaint of George Giddings in an action of trespass upon the case for entering his house and severing his pewter dishes or platters and marking of them, and hereof you are not to faile at your peril. Dated the 16th day of the 4th month, anno Dom. 1657. Samuel Symonds.

These copies written on both sides this paper were examined by the originals by me Samuel Symonds.

June 22. A copy of the vote (in the case adjudged) 1657. as I have taken it, viz.

Voted to give tool. towards building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbet.

WHEREAS when I gave my sentence in the case before me, betwenee George Giddings plaintiff, and Edward Browne defendant, in an action of trespass upon the case, &c. I did express
express some grounds of my judgment to be seen in the records. Now I shall add further what doth induce me to that apprehension in the case, viz.

First, This may be given as a reason, that it is against a fundamentall law in nature to be compelled to pay that which others doe give. For then no man hath any cementy or right to what he hath, if it be in the power of others (by pretence of authority or without) to give it away (when in their prudence they conceive it to be for the benefit of the owner) without his owne consent.

Secondly, This to me is some strengthening to induce my apprehension in this case, viz. That notwithstanding in England, it cannot be denied, but that mens estates were sometymes unduly taken from them: Some by force, some by fraud, some by sinister wrestling of evidences, yea, and sometymes of lawe itselfe, as about knighthood-money, shipmoney &c. ye I dare say, if search be made into histories, lawyers bookes of reports, &c. it cannot be made to appeare that in the most exorbitant times any man hath had his estate taken from him as by the gift of others, under colour of lawe, or countenance of authority. Noe, noe, lawyers would have blush'd to have given such a construction of lawes; and suddenly their faces would have waxed pale. For the Kinge would have beene too wise to have owned the plea. And what would all wise men have said for such taking away the greatest outward right or liberty from them? For it may be understood, that benevolencies, encouraging gratuities, leaves, or privy seales, were not required by lawe, or by pretence of lawe, but desired as by favour. However they were obtained by illegal and tyrannicall meanes, as was apprehended.

This I say further, and I doe argue it from the greater to the lesse. That if noe kinge or parliament can justly enact and cause that one mans estate, in whole or in part, may be taken from him and given to another without his owne consent, then surely the major part of a town or other inferior powers cannot doe it. But shew us any man that can produce any footstep for such a way, either directly or indirectly.
But to the contrary it appeareth unto me. See Dalton page 401, where it is to this effect. That the kinge cannot releafe a man out of prifon (being in at a private mans suit) to his damage, without his owne consent. Also to the same purpose see Sir Henry Finch, recorder of London, in his first booke of lawe, page 74, having ended his rules about native or fundamentall lawes, he faith in the next page, Therefore lawes positive doe lose their force and are noe lawes at all, which are directly contrary to the former viz. native or fundamentall.

The parliament may tax (and that juftly) the whole country to give a guift or reward to one man for some service; for they are betrusted soe to doe. The reafon is, it is levied upon the whole country, with their consent, and for the immediate benefit of the whole.

But if they should doe it between persons (though they should soe doe by power, and the person wronged hath noe remedy in this world) yet it would be accounted tyrrany. Is it not to take from Peter and give it to Paul?

If one man, for such or such a turne or good end, may juftly be deprived of a fundamentall right or liberty, then an other and an other, and so every man. In England there is but one fort of men that might be deprived of their goods; which fort are usually called slaves but there they are called villeynes to the lord of the mannor.

Thus much concerning fundamentall lawe, in reference to mine and thine, not to be given or taken away without his owne consent.

But now to anfwer some objections that may be made to the cafe in hande.

Objection. Suppose it be true what is expressed, and granted that he were a strange man that should deny the fame in the generall: Yet, notwithstanding, it hindereth not but that a towne (when and as often as they thinke good, in their prudence) may doe it for good ends, and soe (in speciall cases) it may lawfully be done in the particular, upon the lawe made page the 9th, that every inhabitant

\[ {\text{shall}} \]
shall contribute to all charges in church and commonwealth (whereof he doth or may receive a benefit) else he shall be strayed.

Answer. I conceive that it is an extreme dishonour cast upon the generall court, to make such a construction of their positive laws as doth infringe the fundamental law of mine and thine; for it must needs be voyd, if it should indeed be necessarily construed against the right or liberty of the subject. But the law in its true sense is good.

Before this recited law was made, though some churches, or townes rather, did agree how much yearly maintenance the minister should have, yet it was not rated, at least in any compellable way, by the town, but men did pay their proportion in a way of voluntary contribution. But some (especially non members) some of them did grow slacke; and so the burthen grew too hevy upon church members, &c. And upon consideration it was found lawfull to make a law to compell every one to beare his owne share; forasmuch as by hearing the word and publique prayer, &c. he did or might receive a benefit and (in a way of God) be received as a member with the rest. And yet the law was framed for, as such churches as chose to goe in a voluntary way of weekly contribution or soe, might soe continue, notwithstanding this law, as some churches in this country doe to this day.

But for the right understanding of the word benefit in the law, it is worthy the consideration or attendance, that benefit and necessary duty must goe together. The law both of God and the country doth require people to goe to the meeting for publique worship.

But it is not understood that any law doth provide that every town shall buy or build a house for the minister as often as there is a removall by death or otherwise, I mean to be his in propriety.

Let us a little examine the poyn of benefit that a man doth or may receive, as a motive to such a gift. First,
First, suppose or admit the giver (compelled by the act of others against his will) should gain twenty told thereby, viz. by the use of such a smith, or person obtained into town, yet that doth nothing at all warrant the act.

And if you should onely consider matter of benefit (not at all in this consideration minding the poiint of lawfulnesse or unlawfulness in being compelled to pay) though it be not material to the case (as hath been sayd) whether it be benefit or not in this respect, yet then the other way voted by the town, viz. for the ministry, according to the law provided, (by fo generall if not univerfall consent) is to be compared with this way now strayned for, to understand which way turns the scale for matter of benefit.

He that layeth downe a summ of money in hand for worke to be done, gives just occasion for others to take into the consideration whether a mans life be soe certayne or his continuance in the place and worke is made so sure as that it is a benefit to goe in that way rather than in the other: For in any matter of this kind, rightly to understand whether soe or soe be a benefit, yea or noe, both the present and future arguments must be weighed together.

Obj. But if any should object and say there is noe comparison betweene the benefit that ariseth by the ministars function amongst people and externall temporall goods, &c.

Anf. It is fully granted in one sense, but not in the sense of our enquiry. Here externall benefit (in the comparison) is the thing considerable, as that the labourer is worthy of his hire.

For if the objecter should have men otherwise to understand the matter of benefit, he must alter his mind upon this consideration: Whoever doth but ride through the town, and the people being met at that tyme, the stranger comes in and speaks some heavenly truths amongst them: Is not this of greater value than all the lands, houses and cattle in the town? And is it therefore legall and binding, if the major part present doe give him 100 l.?
Obj. But the law urged fol. 9. expresseth civil charges as well as ecclesiasticall; therefore, though it were a mis-
chief to the commonwealth so to interpret
generall sentences in positive or court lawes; this law (to interpreted) will leave them out,
for interpretation of laws and accordingly rate and disstrayne such as
never consented to their acting, to one good ditcher for much over and above his allowance for his worke by the
road, &c. Such a smith for much, &c. For it is to the
benefitt of the towne to encourage them to stay, and so to be content to take the leffe wages.

Anfw. Amongst 200 inhabitants in a towne, whereof a
matter of six, or more, be worth 2000l. a piece, the rest doe
perceive that the six rich men within a yeare will remove
their estates out of towne. The towne having a generall
meeting doe give 300l. to the present minister, that the
proportion of the estates of such rich men may ease themselves for the future: It is in consideration of his staying
amongst us and as part of his yearly maintenance and for
advancing the lands of the towne in generall, either to lett
out or sell for such as come into towne after such a summ
layd down in hand before the worke be done. And who
can deny but the rich men doe or may receive a benefitt, or
some benefitt (at the leafl) thereby, namely, by the word
of God preached, before they doe remove their estates
out of towne.

After this there is another tax raised by the towne
(there being 20 of good estate though not neare the first)
for some good end, &c. and there are divers valuable con-
siderations held forth, them thereunto moving, at last the
few riche men begin to perceive that they being few in
number shall be levelled, and yet comfort themselves that
they cannot be made slaves in this countrey: For though
they be thus deprived of their estates, yet they have the
words of a law for them; and if all, in a manner, should
be thus wasted, yet there is such a way to ease them again.

Thus much touching the matter of benefitt construed
and urged by the law, fol. 9.
About a bargain or contract.

Obj. Suppose it should be endeavoured to be made a bargain, &c.

Ans. It is no matter to the case in question: For though it be in the power of a person or of many (each person consenting) to make a bargain never so much to his own loss, yet he or they must be holden to it: But otherwise it is with a derived power or trust, being a society; for they have not such an unlimited domination over other mens estates or persons; For, setting aside the consideration of the fundamental law (before sufficiently spoken unto) they are limited by statute law. And such bargains as bind the non consenters must be just, rational, and the terms or conditions also expressed and certaine: If any of these fayle noe law will bind them.

This is knowne, that upon motions in towne meetings and other companies, some use one argument or motive, some another. Some are moved with one argument or consideration in his mind, some with another. And is the rule to seek that (or onely soe in this case) what is the way of nations to understand the mind of the company? Must not recourse be had to the record?

In the case in question, doe the agitations end in a bargain, or in a gift? Whatever the motives were that did incline, &c. if so expressed in terms, it is hard worke to add thereunto or to alter therefrom.

If it were so, that any man were not capable to receive a gift, it might have some colour to be interpreted to be a bargain, or contract.

But if it be an equal or rational thing to have pay laid downe, or urged to be laid downe afore-hand, where a call of God is acknowledged by accepting and taking office before. And besides the knowledge of the yearely salary. knowing also that the place was willing to expend 150L. to buy or build a house for the use of the ministry, which during his abode there he was to dwell in.

And when there are noe certaine conditions that doe provide, in case he die or remove within one yeare, or
one month, his executor to return part of it to the towne, or when there is no such conditions, nor any at all express
ed, and only one party knowne to consent, and that as they
have done, whether this can be called a just and binding
contract or bargain, yea or noe, or any at all, let the world
judge.

And certayne such as plead on the now defendants party
must say it is either a gift or a bargain. If this be ende-
voured to be a bargain or contract, it is a very blind bar-
gain, as they say, which (acting upon oath) I could not
allow. If a gift (for there may be motives and high con-
siderations in the minds of the granters to give as well as
to conclude a bargain) then it doth not bind such as doe
not consent to be forced to pay what doe move other men
to give away out of their estates.

So much about the matter of contract or consideration.

Now a little about interpretation of lawes and of rules
to be attended therein.

Let us not (here in New-England) despise the rules of
the learned in the lawes of England, who have both great
helps and long experience.

1. First rule is, that where a law is such as that, by
wresting, a man may give such an interpretation as will
overthrow it, when it might be construued to be good;
this is a corrupt interpretation. So holy scripture may
be wrested.

Finch p. 33. If repugnant to fundamentall law, its voyd;
in his booke as if it gives power to take away an estate from
one man and give it to another.

Page 75. It is then consonant, if it be to compell men
to pay necessary duties in church and common
wealthe, as yearely maintenance.

2. Another rule is about equality. Hence where a com-
pany in trust doth act, if any will imply conditions (noe way
expressed) yet, to hold forth any color of binding,
they must be knowne to be equall and certaine;
though a statute law should provide or expresse mischief-
ously. See his words at large, justly applyable as is expressed,

3. Another
3. Another rule appeareth to this effect. That where a person is sued at a private man's suit, and put in prison upon execution, the king cannot pardon that imprisonment without the consent of the party plaintiff and the reason is there given; for it is in lieu of damage to the party, as hath been touched before.

4. The law construeth things with equity and moderation; and therefore restrayneth a general act, if there be any mischief or inconvenience in it.

So far touching rules for interpretation of laws.

Quest. By the way: Seeing there is so much spoken about fundimentall lawes and interpretations, what may be the difference betweene the late Earle of Straffords interpretations and actings against fundimentall lawes, and sometimes those of other men?

Answ. Although in some things materially they should be the same, yet formally they are not, or may not be so. The Earle of Straffords actings was found to be a treacherous and perfidious attempt to alter and subvert the frame of polity.

So there were these particulars in it, viz. First, his end was naughr. 2dly, He acted arbitrarily against such lawes. 3dly, It was done perficiously, it being done willingly.

But others actings against fundimentall law, charity construeth that their end they ayme at is good. Secondly, their arbitrary construction (where it is so) may be through ignorance, or through want of notice taking of such rules for interpretation of laws as are expressed in the lawyers booke.

Precedents and judgments in courts.

Although there had been noe precedent in the like case, yet I ought (I conceive) to have judged, in the case in question, according to the rules afofoeing: Notwithstanding, I grant that what I find to have beene judged already and acted, both justly and honourably, I ought to be the more confirmed thereby.
1. In Ipswich, some years since, the town greatly wanted a good chirurgeon, &c. and the inhabitants then generally being desirous of such a person to inhabit amongst us; the chiefe fort consulted how to effect it. It muft cost above 50l to bring it about.

It was concluded that it could not be juftly done by way of rate, but each mans name being drawne out (according to a rate) such as were willing did signify the fame, and the rest were left to use their liberty.

2. I am informed and doe partly remember it, that some yeares since there was a fix acre lott in Ipswich purchased for Jeffery Snelling; but some of the inhabitants consented not: It came at laft to a suite in Ipswich court, and it was found againft the towne, because by law they could not give away any mans estate against his owne consent, notwithstanding the considerations and motions inducing.

And admitt there were not such weighty considerations or benefitt as in some other case there may be. the degree is not the poynet; for majus et minus non variant speciem. Ambrofe Leach the feller of the land. Daniell Clarke was sued.

3. There is yet, I conceive, a concluding argument (in the like cafe) in the generall court, I referr to the re- cord itselfe (but till an understanding man, then an inhabi- tant of Weymouth, (as I am informed) mentioned it since the paffing of my sentence in the cafe in question) it was out of my mind.

I remember the substance of it, and I suppose so doe many more. That towne of Weymouth did generally agree to provide an house and meet accommodations for the use of the ministry, to remaine for posterity. The matter came into the ge- nerall court. Mrs. Richards stood out, and not many (if any more besides) and although the court did foe well like their ayme, or the thing (in itselfe considered) as may by and by appeare, yet it was judged in court that they could not juftly im- pose payment upone one, or more persons, not consenting. One
One Dyer was then deputy of that towne, and did prosecute in behalfe of the towne: Yet herein the court gave a testimony of their good liking in respect of the townes intent, viz. in that way to provide for the ministry. And accordingly the law was framed, and enacted for the future, that very court.

This provision was not to give away, but to remaine to posterity, and the like provision was for every towne in the country; and that which a great part, if not the greater part, of Ipswich have desired and do still stand for.

Obj. But it may yet further be objected, That the two wayes, viz. of giving a sume, 100l. more or leffe, and that of laying out 150l. for the ministry, whereby the present minister should have the benefit and use during his life (if he stayed in the place which he had formerly accepted) and after him the same to remaine to posterity for the use of the ministry, which were best is considerable, &c. Now seeing the greater part doth choose rather the latter way, by a major vote, what great matter if the other part doth not yield to it? or why should they not yet yield to it, for the first way seems to tend most to peace, and there is lesse present expence about it, &c.

Answ. The answer to this is, we are not now upon persuasive arguments, what is least expence, &c. or what may be supposed to tend most to peace, or upon a thing to be done: But I am to judge the case according to justice and right, upon what is already done; wherein, according to my oath and trust, I am not to respect persons in judgment.

Obj. But possibly some will yet further object that it was done in part of his maintenance.

Anf. This is spoken unto already. How can this be part of that contract which was some six weeks before, viz. that he should have 80l. per ann. for his maintenance, and a house was procured for him for the present, and a vote passed to pay 150l. to provide for him during his being in the place, and then to leave it for such an end, &c. especially the matter being soe variously propounded and agreed as each man thought good in the meeting house. Some
Some saying to this effect (to promote a gift) that the minister would not stay unless he had so much to buy or build a house for himself in propriety. Others did adhere to the former way agreed upon. Again, some saying it were best to procure a sum by way of subscription, viz. to put it to men to give as the arguments did move them, in a voluntary way. Others that it might be voted, &c.

All this while no deman[t] present nor noe authority to this day appearing to mention much less to conclude a bargain or contract.

But the result of all motions and arguments was to give 100l. as it is expressed in the record. From which I dare not in any wise in point of justice recede.

Obj. Lastly, if it be objected that in that there was so great a sum given or granted it may stumble the business, but had there been a matter of half of it or less it would have been held good.

Anf. However too often it falls out in the world that smaller injuries or errors are passed by, being done by the hands of such as have power in their hands and specially if acted by such as are in supreme authority, yet such actings were but a crooked or lefbian rule to justify an act thereby. Will it not be yielded that majus & minus non variant speciem? If the major part can justly give away one pound, by the same reason 100l. yea 1000l. If one acre of another man's ground, his orchard also, yea his farme as well. And that although a parliament or general court cannot doe it.

Such as promise a gift it behoves them in poyn[t] of conscience to make payment (and they only it is conceived) though not as vote of the towne, but as each particular man promise doth bind himself.

Quest. If it be demanded whether there be any difference betweene disposing mens estates by way of gift (under colour of law and countenance of authority) unto other men against or without the consent of the owners and the doctrine of levellisme.

Anf.
Anf. It may be answered (I conceive) to this effect, viz. That of the levellers, though wicked and absurd, yet it is as yet but doctrinal (I think) but this kind of transposing mens estates is both doctrinal and practicall alsoe, and soe leadeth more directly to tyranny as it seemeth.

Secondly, Levellisme (I take it) reacheth but to the estate, &c. But this (if accounted legall) men may for a debt soe obtained (as in other cases) upon execution for a debt informe the person to prifon, or expose him to be sold to make payment.

Quest. But what if there be an interpretation put upon the words of the records, and call it a contract, will not this help the matter.

Anf. This liberty to interpret acts or records against the playne words thereof (if it be a help) I suppose it is to make the matter worse in this respect (if worse can be) then the doctrine of levellisme, for by their doctrine (I think) a man may understand what they meane by their words, and their words are used (its likely) in one fence.

But this kinde of liberty of interpreting seems to countenance and strengten the opinion of the scepticks, which makes all things true, and soe indeed nothing true or cer-

tayne. Hence when an act will serve the turne let the words stand, else take liberty to interpret them for their purposes.

If this kind of liberty be good, either to construe laws (provided for necessary payments) or turning guifts into contracts (as men please) then indeed it is all one whether both parties be present when the busines is in hand or not. And though it was wont to be lawe that a bargain, whether it proveth gaynfull or loosing, yet being made bindeth both parties. But had this vote beene for 20l. (or soe) instead of 100l. would it be interpreted good, binding and disanulling of the vote for the 150l? But this was intended doubtles by some, namely by granting a new fume to change or repeale the act for the former way agreed on, according to the lawe and the townes contentment, though herein alsoe they did mistake, for there appeareth
appeareth to be noe vote to disanull the former. Soe that if there were divers more graunts or gifts in this kind, they were all additionall, and would all be gotten by suit and diffresse, and if this may, justly be obtained by lawe.

The question unto this court is annexed under the hand of the clerk of Salem court.

It being framed in one question by Salem court, it doth consist of a compound axiome.

Upon viewing whereof I finde the paper to contayne two questions distinctly taken.

1. First, Whether the vote doth binde all or any of the inhabitants of the said towne to pay any thinge towards the said 100 l.

2. Secondly, Whether such as voted not but are and were unwilling may be compelled thereunto, yea or noe?

The first of these doth not concerne such as refuse to pay or are defendants in the case originally: Save that they are bound to desire that matters may be rightly understood and judged. Not doubting but the court feeth a manifest difference betweene a mans being bound in private conscience to performe his owne promise, and being legally bound by a vote of a town. For a town or court cannot or need not distinguish of particular perions who is for the affirmative, who not. But how many, &c. Its the validity of a major part's vote is in question; not the personall vote of this man or of that.

The latter doth properly concerne the said defendants. For payment whereunto, or accordingly, they are sued and their goods distreyned. And the case is now come to this court for resolution.

The order of the town of Ipswich, its proceeding in reference to the answers in question was to this effect, viz.

At a meeting in Ipswich October 55, about the tyme of Mr. Cobbetts coming to town, there was a vote past to pay 80l. per ann. for his maintenance.
Alsoe there was another vote of the towne expressing their willingnes to disburse a sume not exceeding 150l. to provide for the miniftry.

And there was a meeting of the towne in February following (being about fix weekes after Mr. Cobbett was ordayned) upon much agitation to and fro there was a vote past in these words, viz. Voted by the towne to give 100l. to buy or build a house for Mr. Cobbett.

It is conceived that the view hereof doth afford argument for further clearing and confirming (if need were) of what is argued for in this paper.

To conclude this matter, I thank God, I am for ordinances both in church and common wealth; and consequently for due meanes for the upholding of them (and doe account it not onely a great wickednes to be contraried minded, but extreme folly and madness) and I thinke it tends to the honour of them, when, in reference there unto, provision is made either in a voluntary or else in a way of compulsion, grounded upon such principles as both here and in other nations will be owned as just and equall.

I doe sometymes remember what is said of Levy. In poyn of right and truth, he tooke noe notice of father or mother. And that is the way to establissh love and peace in this our Israel. And the holy scripture doth oblige the doctrine and practice of piety according to the first table, and of distributive justice in the second, both expressly, or by necessary consequence, at the hands of such as are called to dispence the same, though they take not oath foe to doe.

It is supposed that noe man is come to New England to have his goods given and taken from him, unto, or for what good end, or under what pretence foever.

If this should be confirmed for good law; henceforth then (I conceive) there will be noe more need, or little, to make any more propositions for voluntary contributions.

Vote
Vote of the General Court.

At a generall yearly meeting of the inhabitants of the towne of Ipswich 25 Feb. 1655, voted to give one hundred pounds towards building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbett.

The Question being put, Whether this vote doth bind all or any of the inhabitants of the said towne to pay any thing towards the said 100l. and whether such as are unwilling may be compelled thereunto or no? The deputies on a hearing of the reasons alleaged on both sides, and on serious consideration of the same, have resolved in the negative, with reference to the judgment of our honoured magistrates heerein.

20th 8th 1657. 

William Torrey, Cleric.

The magistrates consent not heereto.

Edward Rawson, Secretary.

To the honoured Generall Court now assembled.

Whereas it hath pleased God in the way of his providence to exercise the towne of Ipswich with great troubles, by removing those reverend elders which they formerly enjoyed, it pleased God in our straits by the help of our honoured Governor, Deputy Governor and severall of the reverend Elders, to provide for us an able helpe in the worke of the Lord among us, our rev. pastour Mr. Th. Cobbet, whom now at present we enjoy:

After he was come amongst us, we came in a church-meeting to consider how to provide for his maintenance, in which we conceive a house must be provided for him.

Then the case came to be propounded to the towne in a generall towne-meeting, where being some agitations about it, there passed a vote, which is here expressed.

Voted to give 100l. towards the building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbet.

Which vote was full and cleare; and afterwards there was a proportion made by the selectmen of the towne upon the severall inhabitants. But there being diverse of them that refused to pay their proportion, the deacons
came to consider with the selectmen what to do about it, and they ordered the marshall to disperse one, or two. He was sued in an action of trespass before our honoured magistrate Mr. Samuel Symonds, from whose judgment he appealed to Salem court; where the parties appearing, were desired by the court to cease prosecution and to let the question be stated by the court and presented to the general court. Which was accordingly consented unto. Which we humbly intreat this honoured court to take into their consideration.

A copy of the order of Salem court.

WHEREAS there were several actions commenced at this court by some of the inhabitants of Ipswich, which were of great and general concernment. And the court fearing the usual manner of proceedings would not put a comfortable issue to the said cases, propounded to the parties that the question in controversy might be stated and presented to the general court for resolution, which should determine the particular actions and all others that might arise upon the said question, which question was by the court stated with the consent of parties, and is as followeth.

At a general yearly meeting of the inhabitants of the town of Ipswich Feb. 25. 55. voted to give 100l. toward building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbet.

The question is, Whether this vote doth bind all or any of the inhabitants of the said town to pay any thing toward the said 100l. and that such as are or were unwilling may be compelled thereunto, yea or no? And it is agreed that either party shall have liberty to present their reasons, in writing, to the general court, pro and con. But no other pleadings by either party to be allowed.

According to which liberty we present as followeth.

The question hath two parts, 1. Whether the vote be binding. 2. Whether such as refuse may be compelled.

The first being proved, the other will easily follow.
COLLECTION OF PAPERS.

Reasons tending to prove the affirmative.

The vote is legall, therefore binding. It is legall in respect of the matter and manner. For the matter, it is necessary, publicke towne charges, viz. honourable maintenance of the ministry, which the law requires in generall, but leaves to each towne to determine and apply in particular, suitable to their owne condition; provided they are subject to be regulated by higher authority, where need shall require. This honourable maintenance, we conceive, cannot be lesse than that a minister, for his labour in preaching the gospell, (whatever estate he hath of his owne) should have such a recompence whereby he may be enabled comfortably to provide for the present necessity of his family, to be given to hospitality, and to leave some comfortable provision for his family after his decease, as other men by Gods blessing upon their ordinary labours are generally enabled to doe. This being granted which (we hope) seems but just and reasonable, that ministlers families may not be left in a worse condition than most other mens, the particular way and manner of affording this maintenance (where there are variety of apprehensions) must necessarily be determined by the major part. So it was in our case, and the towne pitched upon what is expressed in the vote, the due fullfilling of which is necessary and justifiable upon these grounds.

1. The usuall yearly allowance will not reach the former end, viz. to afford any provision for a ministlers family after his death.

2. This hath been a common practice among ourselves formerly, and in other places in the country lesse able, not only to give their first but suceeding ministers a dwelling house, or somewhat proportionable that way.

3. This we perceived would be most acceptable, and might rationally be expected, and the other way proposed, of providing a house meerely for use, would not be acceptable, as not being usuall in the country, and apprehended prejudicial to the familyes of ministlers after their decease.

4. The
4. The sume given is not so great as to exceed the end for which it is granted, or to burden the town in payment of it, and other lesse sumes being propounded, this was freely chosen and resolved on.

This for the legality of the vote in respect of the matter and substance of it.

For the manner. It was a lawful meeting, free liberty of debate being given, and at last concluded by the farre major part, very few opposing it either in debate or voting.

Thus the vote appearing legall, we conceive it binding, and being so, we conceive the town hath power to compell such as refuse to yield to it, by virtue of a law enacted and established by the generall court, p. 9. providing that all common charges to church and commonwealth may be compelled by assessment and distress.

To conclude, we hope and persuade ourselves that our brethren are one with us in their love and desire to encourage an able godly ministry among us, and will judge it saffest and suitablest both to the mind of God and the godly zeal and religious care of our honoured generall court, to be open, rather then strait-handed that way: And that we would not be justly taxed for, nor exemplary in, the least discouragement of that nature, and that we agree in the end, only differ about the means of attaining it.

This 22 of the 4th mo. 1657.

Orasmuch as there is a case in controversy concerning a sum of money, containing one hundred pounds, voted by some in a towne meeting to be given to Mr. Cobbet for his particular use to buy or build him a house; we whose names are unterwritten (promising due reverence to the person fore mentioned) conceiving ourselves not to be obliged by a major vote in an act of that nature, not being involved in that act; we here crave leave, as without offence unto any, to declare our dislike of it, we never acting in it nor gave any encouragement thereunto, seeing noe reason see to doe; yet doe we declare our-
felves freely willing to contribute as we are able to a con-
venient habitation for the use of the ministry to remain
the townes to posterity, according to the wholesome laws
established by the honoured generall court, provided it
may be excepted acknowledged and recorded to belong to
the towne for that end, according as is provided in the
said recited law, for which end there being a towne-
meeting called quickly after Mr. Cobbet came to Ipswich,
many of us know there was a vote then passed to raise a
sum of money not exceeding one hundred-and fifty pounds,
which hath not bin as yet demanded, &c.*

At the Court held at Salem t. 5. 1657.

Whereas there were several actions commenced against
several of the inhabitants of Ipswich which were of
greate concernment, and the court fearing the usuall man-
ner of proceeding would impede a comfortable issue to the
said cases, propounded to the parties that the question in
controversie might be stated and presented to the generall
court for resolution, which determine the particular actions
and all others that arise upon the said question, which
question was by the court stated with the consent of par-
ties and is also as followeth,

At a generall yearly meeting of the inhabitants of
the towne of Ipswich, 25 Feb. 1655, voted to
give one hundred pounds towards building or buy-
ing a house for Mr. Cobber.

The question is whether this vote doth bind all or any
of the inhabitants of the said towne to pay any thing to-
wards the said hundred pounds, and that such as are or
were unwilling may be compelled thereunto yea or noe.
And it is agreed that the parties shall have libertie to pre-
sent their reasons in writing to the generall court pro and
con, but noe other pleading by either partie to be allowed.

Veria copia, per Elias Stileman, Cleric.

Voted by the whole court 21st Octob. 57.

On the affirmative. E. R. Sec.

This

* Signed by a great number of the inhabitants of Ipswich.
This case thus signed by the officers of the county court at Salem, was presented to the general court sitting at Boston, 14th of October, 1657, was at the perusal of the reasons alleged by both parties taken consideration of, the question resolved in the affirmative.

This is a true copy.*

Copy of a Letter from Governor Endecott to John Leverett, Esq; Agent in England.

Sir,

I cannot write unto you by a more faithful friend than I have done, who is able at large to relate unto you how things in general stand here. And that doth save me some labour which at this time is a favour to me. For in this extremity of heat, and that after a long sickues, I am verie faint, not fitt to doe any thing, yet I cannot but, by these heartily salute you in the Lord, giving you many thanks for what you sent me. For all good news is welcome to us as you know full well. Yet I cannot for the present answer your expectation touching Road-land and Clark, and Holmes; but I have acquainted the rest of the

* The great doubt in this long case seems to have been whether an act of the supreme authority, empowering the major part of the inhabitants of a town to tax the minor part which did not consent to the tax, was not contrary to the fundamental laws in government. It must be remembered that many of this minor part were not voters in town affairs, neither in person nor by any representative of their own constituting. The arguments are as strong against taxes by the General Court as by a Town, and yet the House of Representatives (p. 304) voted that the tax made by the Town was not binding. In a day or two after they altered their mind. There was a division in the colony at this time upon the mode of maintenance of ministers, any other way except by voluntary contribution being opposed by many, of whom Mr. Justice Symonds seems to have been one.

† Clark and Holmes were Baptists. They had both been fined and one of them whipped, refusing to submit to the fine.
the magistrates with your letter who are all readie to gather up sufficient testimonie to prove what you spake to the Protector, and enough to satifie (we doubt not) your opponent, if he be a lover of the truth. Onlie we would have the generall court act with us therein, which will not meeet till September next, when I hope I shall procure a full answere to your former and last letters. What the end is of that point of stare to make the Protector king I cannot fathom it, unlefe their proffering and his deniall thereof ingrate him the more in the hearts of the people. The Lord in mercie guide all to his glorie and the good of those commonwealths over whom he hath set him. If there be an opportunitie I pray write a word or two about it, and other occurrences that may fall out. I cannot be sufficientlie thankful for what you writ unto me last. Great motions there are in the world, which the Lord direct and turne to his glorie, the overthrow of his enemies and the peace and welfare of his owne people. Which is the prayer of

Sir,

Your verie loving friend and servant,

Jo. Endecott,

Boston this 29th of the 4 mo. 1657.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Leverett to Governor Endecott.

Sir,

YOURS of the 29th, 4th, 57, by my wife, was all I received the last yeare past from your worship or the honoured court, save onely one, at the same tyne, from Mr. Secretary as a cover to a petition and some papers concerning the actings of Providence men and Cheefmans rescue from the marshall. The reason I suppose hath bee the miscarriage of Mr. Garrat,* whome hath not as yet bee heard of, so that I have not beene capable of attending any those commands that might be by you sent

fent unto me by him; and as the state of affayres hath hapened there hath not beene any prejudife; for although upon the sitting of the last parliament, at theyr meeting in January, I receyved intelligence of something preparing to be moved in the house respecting the eastern parts under your jurisdiction, whatever it was, it mett with prevention by his Highnes the Lord Protectors dissolving of that assembly, so that as yet I have not heard of any thing moved to his Highnes nor counsell, though some are soliciting to that end, but so soone as any thing is upon motion I shall heare of it, and doubt not but to give such answer as shall hinder any proceeding that might be to the prejudize of your government. Sir, There lately past an order of the counsell to be confyrmed by his Highnes, for the impowering of you, calling to your assistance such as you shall judge meet, for the examination of the accounts presented by me to his Highnes and counsell, which was kept by Mr. Tho. Lake, conceyning the forts, the which with a letter unto you will not have dispatch by this ship, by the next it may, which will be about a month or fixe weekes hence; the favour that I crave from your worship is, that you will please to give a dispatch thereunto, for that though an order is passed for my receipt of the money due upon the faide account, yet I am necessitated, upon what ground I knowe not, to give in bond for the makeing payment of what shall appeare due to be repayed upon that account to the state. When the order is compleated and your letter, I shall make bold to give you further trouble herein for newes.


Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Leverett to Governor Endecott.

Sir,

These are to accompany a letter from his Highnes and counsell to you, impowering of you to examine the accounts kept by Mr. Tho. Lake, and presented by me,
of disbursements and receipts for the carrying on his Highness service at the forts taken from the French in America, a hint whereof I gave you by my last of the 16th current; in the letter you are required to call Col. Temple or give him notice thereof, by whose occasion it is, as I suppose, that I meet with this trouble, and if he have nothing of desyrge but the gayneing of tyme, upon the state, for his payment according to his engagements (the which some of his instruments hath confessed to me was aymed at by him) I know not why he should found his owne accommodation upon my real prejudize at present, though I knowe the Lord can turne it to advantage. Sir, my desyre is that you will please to give me favour by your dispach; for though I may get an order for my money, yet not without giving good security by bond, the which I must have lye out untill returne from you. Mr. Tho. Lake kept the accounts (I have owenly had the honour in disburseing the money and am like to have the trouble in getting of it in) What I presented to his Highnes and councell I had from Mr. Lake subscrib'd by him, and is what I doubt not his ability and readiness to cleare up whatever may be objected by any. (I know not of any thing unjustly charged either debitor or creditor) he sent vouchers for what was charged, which pass'd the examination of the commissiners of the navy; the principals or coppies I suppose he hath in his hands ready to produce at your command. I shall not further enlarge, but still press for a dispatch, that returne may be made by you to the councell what you finde therein, and that you will be pleased to favour me with a coppie thereof, which is noe more than I have had from all referees to whom my busines hath been referred from tyme to tyme; and this I mention, not questioning your readiness to favour me what justly you may, but that what I doe desire is customary and allowed to all in their busynes.

Sir, I shall send another letter from his Highness and councell, as also of these by another conveyance, for that I had twoe letters of the same date signd and seale at
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Secretary Rawson to Capt. John Leverett.

Honored Sir,

THOUGH I have writt to you severall tymes by your wife, per Mr. Garrett, &c. yett have receaved no lyne from you, yett cannot but by fo fitt an opportu- nity and messenger present my beft respects to you and your wife, and acquaint you that our generall court in June laft wrote a letter to his Highnes the Lord Protektor in anfwer unto his, which however they brake up and gave me no order about it, yet have I inclofed it with a copie thereof unto you, and defire your faythfull and speedy delivery thereof, as per the contents you will perceave there is neede. I hope when our court meetes againe in October there will be a more full accompt and particular relation thereto. Here being no news with us but what the bearer, your speciall good friend and couzin, Mr. Edw. Ting, cann and will give you more ample satisfaction in than if I had specified the fame, commending you in all your weighty occasions to the Lords blessing and guidance rest

Sir,

Yours to serve you,

Boston, 13 Sept. 1658. Edward Rawson, Sec.

CollecTion of Papers.
Copy of a petition of the inhabitants of Yorke, Kittery, Wells. &c. presented 27th of October 1658, to his Highness the Lord Protector.

To his Highnes the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and dominions thereunto belonging.

The humble petition of severall the inhabitants of the townes of Yorke, Kittery, Wells, Saco and Cape Porpus, sometymes under the provinciall government of Mayne and Lygonia, now under the jurisdiction of the Massachufets in New England,

Humbly sheweth,

WHEREAS as information doth report unto us of several addresses lately made unto your Highnes, by some gentlemen of worth, for restitution of their right of jurisdiction over us, claimed by theyr patents, the determination whereof (we humbly conceive) after a legall hearing, rests upon your pleasure, wherein ourselves not being so properly concerned as others, at present, doe purposely wave, craving onely to present your Highnes with a true narrative, though implicite, of our first: and last estate, before and since we had this government which through Gods mercy we now enjoy to our good satisfaction, and for our continued setlednes under it we dayly pray, for these reafons.

First, Because of ourselves we have small power to carry on government, being a people but few in number, and those not competent persons to manage such weighty affayres, our weakenes occasioning distraction, our paucity division, our meane contempt, as our owne former experience hath fully evinced to the totall subverting all civill order amongst us.

2dly, Because changees cannot reduce things from impossibilityes to make things, of such as are not, to be, the safe is ours, the places of our residence admit but of small enlargment,
inlargement, the generality of the country from us eastward is to confusedly taken up with uninhabitable beings of sterile lands, swamps, and rocky mountaynes, as not more than a few shreds are left by the sea shore fitt for cohabitation, and those already populated by an inconsiderate number of people. How the wiseflt of such who defyer superintendancy over us can fettle a well governed commonwealth upon such basis we leave to your wisdome to judge.

3dly, Because changes in these tymes may prove dangerous, where discontented spirits wayte for such opportunityes, which have not beene the leaft part of that small number amongst us who were professed royalists, whose breathings that way. since our subje<fting to this authority, have beene so far stifled, as that the activity of such spirits cannot fynde any, or the leaft opportunity of motion.

4thly, Because we feare the hurtfulnes of our change. As our government now is, our persons and eftates stand under the security of wholesome lawes, watchfull governors, the fathers of our nourishment and peace, whose pyous care not onely tollerates but maynetaynes us the pureft institutions for the encouragement of godly persons, both ministers and others, to reside amongst us, but changing it may throw us backe into our former eftate, to live under negligent masters, the dainger of a confused anarchy, and such other inconveniencyes as may make us a fitt shelter for the worst of men, delinquents and ill affected persons to make their recourfe unto, thereby to exempt themselves from their just deserved punishments.

5thly, Changes are apt to inhibitate, unless they prove much for the better, especially in weake boddyes, where heades are far remote; touching such events our former experience hath taught us something, else we crave of those gentlemen who are now fo solicitous for government over us, what ment the deepnes of theyr fylence severall yeares, both in theyr tongues and penns, as not after our frequency of writing to them they not fo much as returne us one fylable of anfwer, or afford us the leaft assistance in government;
vernment; the want whereof let usinke into great distractions, for our recovery thence severall amongst us petitioned for government to the collony of the Massachusets, who after some debate with us and confirmation of some articles of agreement to us, tooke us under theyre authority, unto which we subscribed and subjected ourselves, and under whose protection to continue we account it not the least part of our security and happiness.

6thly. Because we conceive the confirming the Massachusets patrent in its due extent, in respect of its annuity, nuls all after patrents whatsoever, as fully in titles of lands as of government, from both which we expect equal freedome by theyr just intereets and our own subjection.

Our humble request therefore is, that your Goodness would favour our reasonable entreatyes, whose weakenes calls for support, our manners for some strictnes of rule, whose distractions for some present settlement wherein our voate is that it may be as it is under the government of the Massachusets, against which if changes should interpose our inevitable troubles would follow. Our condition as it was in part, and as it now stands, lyes really before your gracious eye, although not so methodically presentt, for which we hope our ignorance will excuse us. Touching which if your Highnes expect any further information we befeech your commands herein for a pyous and reverend friend of ours, Mr. John Wheelwright, sometymes of us, now in England, unto whome our estate is well knowne and is able fully to sattisfy any enquiries therein.

Craving pardon for our overmuch boldnes and prolixity, as our dutyes are,so pray we for the Almightys protection to secure your person, his spiritt to guide, his gracious blessing to crowne your high and memorable endeavours with continued succes for the advancement of his owne glory and kingdom, and your happiness here and eternally.
Copy of a Letter from Capt. John Leverett to Mr. Secretary Rawson.

Worthy Sir,

YOURS of 13 September received with the enclosed to his Highness the Lord Protector, dated 10th June 58. Now such was the good pleasure of the Most High, that the Protector, whose commands occasioned that letter in returne, was gathered to his fathers before that came from you, he dyed the 3d September. Upon the 4th his eldest son the Lord Richard was proclaimed Protector, to whome I made my application on the behalfe of the country that day fortnight after; agayne, upon receipt of the generall courts letter, I applyed myselfe to his Highnes and presented the said letter the 27th day of October, he was pleesed to open and read the letter in my hearing, and then gave me assurance as formerly that he had a deep sense how deare the people of N. E. were to his deare father, and that he should be ready in all things to lay forth himself for the good of that people. After my humble thankes returned on the countrys behalfe, I presented a copy of the petition from Pafcatqua and Yorke inhabitants (Mr. Godfrey being active about his complaints, the which he still prosecutes and hath procured a reference) his Highnes said he would read the fame and consider thereof at more leisurable tyme than he had at that present; so that I doubt not but whatever Mr. Godfrey may doe we shall be able to give such answer as to prevent prejudice to the courts actings as to those parts. For the letter his late Highnes sent, it was procured by a gentleman attends his Highnes; it being drawne up and made ready for signing, and so tooke his opportunity; the secretary hath promisef if any thing in future be upon motion refering to the country I shall have notice thereof while I abide here: For state of affaires at present, we are at peace and the great chaynge hath as yet little of the face of chaynge in it; his present Highnes gayneing upon
all that apply themselves to him; writs for a parliament are out; calling them according to the old manner as in anno 40; they are to sit the 27th January; the Dutch sending Lord Opdam with a fleet of nye 40 saile and 4000 men to assist the Danes, was encountered by the Sweeds and well battered; vice-admiral De Wit, the best commander the Dutch has, mortally wounded, taken his ship and all in her, six more the Dutch lost, most disabled, their admiral Opdam hardly escaping with 5 foot water in hold; since this conflict his Highnes hath sent a fleet of 20 sayle of fregates, under the command of vice admiral Gaffon, to assist the Sweed; Sir George Ascue with 300 English commanders and officers gone with him to be commanders in the Sweeds fleet; but the frost in those parts hath been so hard that neither one nor the other could seize the land, as its said. The English agent, Mr. Downing,* and French hath put in their memorandums at the Hague, in name of their masters, that the Dutch desist assaullance to continue hostilities betweene the notherne kings, and to provoke them to endeavour a mediation. Upon which the Dutch have recalled some forces intended and are upon sending to mediate a peace.

December 25, 1658.

Copy of a Letter from the Commissioners of the united Colonies to Peter Stuyvevant, the Dutch Governor at Manhattoes.†

Much honoured Sir,

We presume you have heard from the people of the fort of Aurania, that some of the English have beene lately in those parts upon discovery of some meete places for plantations within the bounds of the pattent of the Massachufetts colonie, which from the latitude of 42 or 42 and 30 minutes, and so northerly, extends itselfe from

* Sir George Downing, who a few years before went from New-England.
east to west in longitude through the maine land of America from the Atlanticke ocean to the south or west sea. And we understand that the government of the Massachus- fetts have graunted libertie to some of theire people to erect a plantation in these parts and intend to effect the same, yet without intrenchment upon the Dutch rights, and foreseeing some difficulties to beginne a plantation such a distance by land and that the passage up Hudsons river would very much accommodate them in their designe, we have thought good on their behalf to desire libertie of free passage for their said planters by your townes and forts upon the said river to the said land, they demeaning themselves peaceably and paying such moderate duties as may be expected in such cases, which being so concordant to reason and the custom of civill nations living in amitie, doth beget in us a confidence that you will be very slow (by an unreasonable denyall) to interrupt the neighbourly corresondency that hath beene betwixt the English and Dutch colonies: For the exact bounds of the Massachusetts pattent wee leave to that government to cleare, onely wee conceive the agreement at Hartford, that the English should not come within ten miles of Hudsons river doth not prejudice the right of the Massachusetts in the upland country, nor give any right to the Dutch there, that agreement intending onely the differences betwixt Conecticott and Newhaven and yourselfes on the sea coast, there being at that time no difference betwenee you and the Massachusetts, and neither Conecticott or Newhaven pretending any right to the lands up the country within the line aforesaid.

Sir, be pleased to returme your answer to Mr. Endecott, governour of the Massachusetts, from whome wee may understand your resolution. The Lord direct your thoughts to wayes of peace, that amitie and good neighbourhood may be continued with 

Sir,

Your loving friends and neighbours,

The Commissioners of the united Colonies.

Hartford, 7 Sept. 59. Signed by all the Commissioners.
Copy of a Letter from the General Court to Mr. John Leverett in London.

Sir,

We have received your letter of October 58, with the petition of Mr. George Rigby, &c. have considered the contents of both, and have herewith sent you a copy of our patent, and of the extent of our lyne taken by artells, with severall other writings and letters to friends in reference thereunto, which we desire and hope may be improved to our advantage, and judge it convenient, if there be a fitt opportunitie and friends propitious for us, that it may be a speedy issue. Some considerations we thought good to suggest, which you may make use of as there shall be occasion; as first, from the expressse words of the pattent that determines our northerly bounds, which our generall court hath always understood to meane as you know, as also one other passage in the pattent where it is said that any thing of doubtfull interpretation shall be understood in favour of the patentees. 2dly, At our first coming hither into this wilderness, and for some yeares after, multitude of occasions in the beginning of so great an undertaking did hinder our exact taking notice of our laying claim to the utmost extents of our limits, especially to the norward, nor had we for some time after our coming hither occasion to make use thereof, yet did we never sett up our bounds 3 myles east of Merimack, as the petition mentions, but as occasion was given have always aferted the same limits that now we claim, though we knew not certainly (till tryall made) where it would fall. In the meane time, severall persons procured pattents of certaine tracts of land within the limits formerly graunted us, all or most whereof were obtained surreptitiously and illegally, and afterwards ordered and governed as unduely, the patentees chiefly ayming at trade or private profit, neglecting the chiefe end intended, and declared in his Majesty's
Majesty's original grant, whence it came to pass that there were several petty governments, sometimes by patent, sometimes by combination, and sometimes the people left in distraction and confusion without any, and in great danger and hazard of shedding one another's blood, whereupon first divers of the inhabitants of Paskataqua, about the year petitioned this court that as they were conceived to be within our line, so they might be actually taken in and governed by us, which accordingly was done by commissions sent from this court, with the consent and good liking of all the inhabitants and persons interested therein, and so have continued with much satisfaction, living in peace and enjoying the fruit and benefits of good government to this day. In the year we took a more exact survey of our limits, and finding these easterly parts mentioned in the petition to fall within our patent (which is more ancient and more authentic than any other pretended to by the petitioners) we made declaration thereof to the inhabitants residing within the aforesaid precincts, being likewise petitioned so to do by divers of the inhabitants beyond Paskataqua river, now called Yorkshire, and after some agitation and conference with the rest of the people there, we came to a friendly and amicable conclusion, that as they were within our patent so they would forever be subject to this government, wherein they are well satisfied and find the benefit thereof, as their petition to his Highness doth declare; nor was it matter of profit that moved us hereunto, for we have neither received or expected any thereby, but the obligation of duty that lay upon us to see the people within our patent governed according to God, and hath been our diligent care and indevour, and so shall allways be, that all just possessions and improvements shall be preserved and confirmed to the true proprietors there, as it is amongst the rest of the inhabitants that have been under our government from the beginning. There are several other scattered inhabitants that live betwixt our line and Colonel Temple's, some whereof observing the benefit their neighbours
neighbours have reaped by good government, have offered themselves to us, which yet wee are slow to accept of, because without our limits, which we desire not to enlarge, but conceive it would much conduce to the peace and wellfaire of the English in these parts, if they were layd to Col. Temple's jurisdiction or this, if his Highness please so to order it (as we have intimated in our letter to my Lord Fienes, &c.)

Concerning those letters from persons of honour, alleged by Mr. Godfrey to have been sent to the governour and magistrates in favour of him, wee never received and so could returne no answer, and for himselfe, he was one of those that did submitt to this government, accepted of commission from hence and tooke the oath of freemen, and that without any force or compulsion at all, none being used towards him or any other, as is unduely suggested in the petition; and it is no strange thing that Mr. Winflow, Mr. Dudley, &c. should long since, before our limitts were ex.

actly knowne, seeme to owne those for distinct governments which in truth were none, but included in this of ours, as upon the running of our lyne did manifestly appeare.

Sir, the governour and magistrates ordered me to forbeare sending the copies mentioned in this letter till the next ship, the ship being nigh under saile. Accept of my service to you and good Mrs. Leverett, who am

Sir, Your truly honouring friend,
Edward Rawfon, Secretary.
By order of the Generall Court.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Leverett to Governor Endecott and the Generall Court.

London, 13 September 1660.

Sir,

It may seeme a kynde of immodest importunity in me to reitterate my scribbles to you as I have done and not have any returne, or a sylent charging of your neglect of
of your and the countryes concerns that neither myselfe nor any other for you can hear from you; the consideration whereof had almost wrought me to a resolve of neglecting this opportunity of presenting my due respects in giving you any account of others motions in England concerning you; but lest you should have cause of chargeing me with neglect I have set pen to paper, to let you understand what I heare in relation to New England. The complainants against you to the Kings majesty, as I am informed, are Mr. Godfrey and that company, Mr. Reckes and Seford and company of iron workes, some of the sometymes fyned and imprisoned petitioners, whose thought, first, to have made their complaints severally, after, resolved in joint by petition; moved to have the quakers and anabaptists joyned but they refused. I have endeavoured to have a sight of their petition but cannot procure it; but am informed that, having mentioned the articles they petition for, the distance of place does not admit of a way of hearing as being nigher it might. They move that a generall governour may be sent to give relieve to them. To this petition they get what hands they can of persons that have been in New England, though never inhabitants. The quakers I heare have been with the King concerning your putting to death those of your friends executed at Boston. The generall vogue of people is that a governour will be sent over. Other rumours there are concerning you, but I omit them, not knowing how to move and appeare at court on your behalfe, I made bold to address myself to the Lord Say and defyred his favour that in case of complaints to his majesty he would be your friend, so far as to desyre his majesty that you might be heard before any thing were determined concerning you as to judgment. His lordship professed his greate respect for the plantations and thanked God he prayed for you daily, promising to improve his interest according to my motion. I likewise addressed myselfe to the Earle of Manchester, Lord Chamberlaine, who promised the like. By the ships that are expected I perceive
that some of those that complaine doe expect that you will
impower some to appeare for you, and thereupon make
some demurr in their prosecution, but if that be not, then
they intend to have something done against the spring of
the yeare. The peace with Spayne was proclaimed in
London 11th instant, upon the same articles concluded in
his late majestyes tyme. Episcopacy, common prayer,
boweing at the name of Jesus, signe of the crofs in bap-
tistme, the altar and organs are in use and like to be more.
The Lord keepe and preserve his churches that there
may not be fainting in a day of tryall. With the present-
ment of all due respects, begging your prayers, commend
you to the greate God, and remaine
Yours in all faithfullnes to serve you,
Some quakers say that they are promised to have order for
the liberty of being with you.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Endecott to
Capt. John Leverett in London.

Sir,

By the former shippes you will receive letters to two
noble persons, by this we have sent a petition to his
Majesty, and a petition to the parliament, for the delivery
and prosecution whereof we have thought meete to desire
your helpe, and our former experience of your readiness
therein, which we cannot but with much thankfullnes ac-
knowledge, doth persuade us to rely upon your fidelitie of
improving your interest and paines so long as your owne
occasions shal detaine you there, for which we shall not
only acknowledge ourselves your debtors but be ready to
discharge ourselves by the first opportunitie when your
owne occasions shall call you thence. We have desired Mr.
Saltonstall and Mr. Ashurst to take the care of the prose-
cution of our busines according to the instructions which
we herewith send, which we desire you to attend and shall pray for your good acceptance and success therein, and remain, Sir your assured loving friend,

Jo. Endecott.

Boston 19th October 1660.

Sir, Accept of my respects and service to you and your wife. These only are copies of the former sent by Mr. Kullams vessell and Col. Crowne. I pray haften the delivery of the petitions, nothing else, but that I am,

Your assured though afflicted friend,

Edw. Rawson, Secr.

Copy of the General Courts Address to the King.

To the High and Mighty Prince Charles the second, by the Grace of God King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most gracious and dread soveraigne,

MAY it please your Majesty, in the day wherein you happily say you know you are King over your British Israel, to cast a favourable eye upon your poore Mephiboseth, now and, by reason of lameness in respect of distance, not untill now appearing in your presence, wee mean upon New England, kneeling with the rest of your subjects before your Majestie as her restored King. Wee forget not our ineptness as to these approaches; wee at present owne such impotence as renders us unable to excuse our impotency of speaking unto our Lord the King; yet contemplating such a King who hath also seen adversity, that he knoweth the hearts of exiles, who himself hath been an exile, the aspect of Majestie, extraordinarily influenced, animateth exanimated outcasts, yet outcasts as wee hope for the truth, to make this address unto their Prince, hoping to find grace in your sight. Wee present this

Y 3
script, the transcript of our loyall hearts, into your royall hands, wherein we crave leave to supplicate your Majesty for your gracious protection of us in the continuance both of our civill as of our religious liberties (according to the grantees known end of suing for the pattent) conferred upon this plantation by your royall father. This, this, viz. our libertie to walke in the faith of the gospell with all good conscience, according to the order of the gospell (unto which the former in these ends of the earth is but subser-
vient) was the cause of our transporting ourselves with our wives, little ones, and our subsitance, from that pleasant land over the Atlantick ocean into the vast wilderness, choosing rather the pure scripture worship with a good conscience in this remote wilderness among the heathen, than the plea-
tures of England with submission to the impositions of the then so disposed and so far prevailing hierarchy, which we could not doe without an evill conscience. For this cause we are this day in a land which lately was not sowne, wherein we have confficted with the sufferings thereof much longer than Jacob was in Syria. Our witness is in heaven that we left not our native country upon any disfa-
tisfaction as to the constitution of the civill state. Our lot, after the example of the good old nonconformists, hath been only to act a passive part throughout these late viciffi-
tudes and successive overturnings of states. Our sepera-
tion from our brethren in this defart hath been and is a sufficent bringing to mind the afflictions of Joseph: But providentiall exemption of us hereby from the late warres and temptations of either party we account as a favour from God; the former cloaths us with sackcloth, the latter with innocency. What reception, courtesy and equanimity, those greater, and others, adherers to the royall interest, who in their adverse changes visitid these parts, were en-
tertained with amongst us, according to the meanes of our condition, we appeal to their own reports.

Touching complaints put in against us, our humble request only is, that for the interim, while we are as dumb by reason of our absence, your Majesty would permit no-
thing
thing to make an impression on your royall heart against us, untill we have both opportunity and leave to answer for ourselves: Few will be innocent, said that impleader, if it be enough to deny: Few will be innocent, said the then Emperor, if it be enough to accuse. Concerning the quakers, open and capitall blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Jesus Christ, our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed gospell, and from the holy scriptures as the rule of life, open enemies to the government itselfe as establisshed in the hands of any but men of their owne principles, malignant and affiduous promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our church and state, after all other meanes for a long time used in vaine, we were at laft constrained for our owne safety to passe a sentence of banifhment against them, upon pain of death. Such was their dangerous and impetuous and desperate turbulence both to religion and state civil and ecclesiasfical, as that how unwillingly forever (could it have been avoyded) the magiftrate at laft, in conscience both to God and man, judged himself called for the defence of all, to keep the paffeage with the point of the fword held towards them, this could do no harm to him that would be warned thereby, their wittingly rushing themselves thereupon was their owne act, we with all humility conceive a crime bringing their blood upon their owne head. The quakers died, not because of their other crimes how capitall forever, but upon their superadded presumptuous and incorrigible contempt of authority breaking in upon us, notwithstanding their sentence of banifhment made known to them; had they not been restrained, so far as appeared, there was too much cause to fear that we ourselves must quickly have died or worse, and such was their insolency that they would not be restrained, but by death; nay, had they at laft but promised to depart the jurisdiction, and not to returne without leave from authority, we should have been glad of such an opportunity to have said they should not dye. Let not the king hear mens words, your servants are true men fearing of God and the king, not given to change, zealous
zealous of government, order, orthodox and peaceable in Israel; we are not seditious as to the interest of Caesar, nor schismaticks as to the matters of religion, we distinguish between churches and their impurity, between a living man, though not without sickness or infirmity, and no man; irregularities either in ourselves or others we desire to be amended, we could not live without the publick worship of God, nor permitted the publick worship without such a yoke of subscription and conformities we could not consent unto without sin. That we might therefore enjoy divine worship without humane mixtures, without offence to God, man, our owne consciences, with leave but not without teares departed from our country, kindred and fathers houses into this Pathmos, in relation whereunto we do not say our garments are become old by reason of the very long journey, but that ourselves, who came away in our strength, are by reason of long absence many of us become grey-headed, and some of us stooping for age. The omission of the prementioned injunctions together with the walking of our churches as to the point of order, the congregationall way is it wherein we desire our orthodox brethren would beare with us.

Sir, We lye not before your sacred Majestie. The Lord God of Gods, the Lord God of Gods knoweth, and Israel he shall know, if it were in rebellion or schism that we wittingly left our dwellings in our owne country for dwellings in this strange land, save us not this day.

Royall Sir, If according to this our humble petition and good hope, the God of the spirits of all flesh, the father of mercy, who comforteth the abjects, shall make the permission of the bereavement of that all (for which we have and do suffer the losse of all precious, so precious in our sight) as that your royall heart shall be inclined to shew unto us the kindness of the Lord in your Highnesses protection of us in those liberties for which we hitherto came, which hitherto we have here enjoyed, upon Hezekiah the King's speakring comfortably to us, as foones, this orphan shall not continue fatherles, but grow up as a revived
infant under a nursing father, these churches shall be comforted, a door of hope opened by so signall a pledge of the lengthning of their tranquility, these poor naked Gentiles, not a few of whom through grace are come and coming in, shall still see their wonted teachers (with encouragement of a more plentifull increafe of the kingdom of Christ) amongst them, and the blessing of the poor, afflicted (and yet we hope) a people trusting in God, shall come upon the head and heart of that great King who was sometimes an exile as we are. With the religious stipulation of our prayers we, prostrate at your royall feet, beg pardon for this our boldness, craving finally that our names may be enrolled amongst

Your Majesties most humble subjects and suppliants,

John Endicot, Governor.

In the name and by the order of the generall court of the Massachusets.

Copy of the General Court’s Instructions to Capt. John Leverett their Agent in England.

At a Generall Court held at Boston in New-England, 19th December 1660.

Instructions for our honoured and loving friend Captain John Leverett, or in his absence Richard Saltonstall and Henry Ashurst, Esqrs.

1. To take the first opportunity that may be, in the best and most acceptable manner, to deliver the petitions, herewith sent, to his Majestie and high court of Parliament.

2. To interest as many gentlemen of worth in parliament, or that are neere his Majestie, as possibly you may, to owne and favour our caufe, and to beget in them a good opinion of us and our proceedings.

3. By
3. By all possible means to gett speedy and true information of his Majesties sense of our petition and of the government and people here, together with the like of the parliament.

4. If the King or parliament should demand what those priviledges are which wee desire the continuance of, your answer may be, all those which are graunted us by pattent and that wee have hitherto enjoyed in church and common wealth, without any other power imposed over us, or any other infringement of them, which would be destructive to the ends of our coming hither. As also that no appeale may be permitted from hence in any case civil or criminall, which would be such an intollerable and unsupportable burthen as this poore place (at this distance) are not able to undergoe, but would render authority and government vaine and uneffectuall, and bring us into contempt with all sortes of people. And if you find the King and parliament propitious to us, to use your utmost endeavours for the renewing that ordinance that freed us from customs 10th March 42.*

5. Upon any matter of complaint, by any of his Majesties subjects or others, relating to the bounds and limitts of our pattent, our humble desire is that wee may have notice thereof and liberty to answer for ourselves (before any determination or conclusion be made against us) which being done, wee shall finally acquiesse in such issue as his Majestty, the high court of parliament, or any substituted by them, shall put thereto.

6. If any particular be alleged relating to the ironworkes, the answer is, It was first heard and judged in an inferiour court and afterwards upon a full hearing and due consideration by the generall court, who gave judgment impartially, according to the pleas and evidences then produced, and shall be ready, if desired, upon new evidences and better pleas to allow another hearing thereof, and for further and more particular answer hereunto wee must refferr you to what you know or hath binn formerly informed from hence.

Concerning our proceedings against the Quakers, our answer is contained in our printed declaration and petition to his Majestie, which wee hope will satisfy, but if there should be any designe to encourage their coming hither or his Majestie be induced to permit them their liberty here (which God forbid) wee intreate you, above all things else, to use your utmost interest to prevent, as being destructive to our being here and so contrary to our consciences to permitt, and no lesse oppression of us than the destroying both us and ours by the sword.

To give us as full intelligence as may be by the first opportunity of all matters that concerne what you conceive necessary to be done for our advantage.

If any objection be made that wee have forfeited our patent in severall particulars, you may answer that you desire to know the particulars objected and that you doubt not but a full answer will be given thereto in due season.

Finally, it is our meaning that if in publick you or either of you be called to answer to these or any other particulars, that you give them to understand that wee could not empower any agent to act for or answer in our behalf, because wee could not foresee the particulars wherewith wee should be charged, but these are only private intimations to yourselves, which wee desire you to make use of for our indemnity as you best may in a more private way and personall capacitie.

By the courte, Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Copy of the Elders Advice about the Addresses.*

Present, Mr. Willson, Mr. Mather, Mr. Syms, Mr. Norton, Mr. Elliott, Mr. Higginson, Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Shephard. Mr. Allen, Mr. Wilfon, jun.

WHEREAS it pleased the honoured court to recommend some things to the consideration and advice of the elders here present, about the addresses intended, &c.

1. We

* A great number of Addresses were drawn and laid before the Court, but all were exceptionable, which occasioned this call to the Elders for Advice.
1. We acknowledge God's singular presence with the honourable council in what hath bin already written to those honourable persons.

2. That our allegiance and subject to the king's majesty is to be acknowledged (as formerly it hath bin) and is contain'd in the patent itself, according to the true meaning thereof.

3. That an address to the king his majesty, or to the parliament, or both together (things circumstanced as they are) as seemeth good to the discretion of the court, is meet and seasonable.

4. It is doubted by the most whether we be called (at this time) to declare (or pronounce) our judgment as concerning the confusions by past however grievous.

5. That all due acknowledgement is to be made of the king's majesty in that high and soveraigne place, or most rightful throne, is meet and necessary, yet how high the congratulations should be, considering things present and the sequels thereof (to God only known) we cannot apprehend.

6. Excepting what is here hinted (and some other lesser passages) we do embrace the draught made by Mr. Norton,* whose great and good painses therein we cannot but thankfully acknowledge, conceiving also the other writings to that end, to be pertinent and thankworthy, likewise.

This paper was presented by Mr. John Wilfon, sen. to the honoured court in the name of the elders present.

as attestis,

Edward Rawson, Secr.

* This was not accepted by the Court. The Address p. 325 was.
Copy of a Letter from his Majesty King Charles II. to Governor Endecott.

CHARLES, R.

Trusty and well beloved.

Wee greet you well. It having pleased almighty God, after long triall both of us and our people, to touch their hearts, at last, with a just sense of our right, and by their assistance to restore us peaceably and without bloud to the exercise of our regall authority for the good and wellfare of the nations committed to our charge. We have made it our care to settle our lately distracted kingdoms at home, and to extend our thoughts to increase the trade and advantages of our colonies and plantations abroad. Amongst which as wee consider New-England to be one of the chiefest, having enjoyed and grown up in a long and orderly establishment, so wee shall not come behind any of our royal predecessors in a just encouragement and protection of all our loving subjects there, whose application unto us, since our late happy restoration, hath been very acceptable, and shall not want its due remembrance upon all seasonable occasions; neither shall we forget to make you and all our good people in those parts equal partakers of those promises of liberty and moderation to tender consciences expressed in our gracious declarations; which though some persons in this our kingdom of desperate, disloyal and unchristian principles, have lately abused to the publick disturbance and their owne destruction, yet wee are confident our good subjects in New-England will make a right use of it, to the glory of God, their own spiritual comfort and edification. And so wee bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 15th day of February 1660, in the thirteenth year of our reign.

Will. Morrice.
Copy of a Report made to Governor Endecott by Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirke.*

Honourable Sir,

We according to your honours order departed in search after Col. Goffe and Whaley (persons declared traytors to his Majestie) from Boston May the 7th, 1661, about fix a clock at night, and arrived at Harford the 10th day and repaired to Governour Winthrop and gave him your honours letter and his Majestie's order for the apprehending of Col. Whaley and Goffe, who gave us an accompt that they did not stay there but went directly for New Haven, but informed us that one Symon Lobden guided them to the town. The honourable Governour carried himselfe very nobly to us, and was very diligent to supply us with all manner of conveniencies for the prosecution of them, and promised all dilligent search should be made after them in that jurisdiction, which was afterwards performed. The 11th day we arrived at Guildford and repaired to the Deputy Governour, William Leete, and delivered him your honours letter and the coppie of his Majesties order for the apprehending of the aforefaid persons, with whom at that time was severall persons. After the perusal of them, he began to read them audibly, whereupon wee tould him it was convenient to be more private in such concernements as that was; upon which, withdrawing to a chamber, he tould us he had not seene the two Colonels not in nine weekes. We acquainted him of the information we had received that they were at Newhaven since that time he mentioned, and thereupon desired him to furnish us with horse, &c. which was prepared with some delays,which wee tooke notice of to him, and after our parting with him out of his house and in the way

* Two young Merchants lately from England who were employed to make search for Whaley and Goffe, and seem to have been sincere in endeavouring to apprehend them, but care was taken that it should not be in their power,
way to the ordinary, came to us one Dennis Scranton and
told us he would warrant that Col. Goffe and Whaley, at
the time of his speaking was harboured at the house
of one Mr. Davenport, a minister at New-Haven, and that
one Goodman Bithop of the town of Guildford, was able
to give us the like account, and that, without all question,
Deputy Leete knew as much, and that Mr. Davenport had
put in ten pounds worth of fresh provisions at one tyme in-
to his house, and that it was imagined it was purposely for
the entertainment of them.

And the said Scranton said further, That Goffe and
Whaley should say that if they had but two hundred
friends that would but stand by them, they would not care
for Old or New-England: Whereupon wee asked him if
he would depose to that: He replied he would, that it
was openly spoken by them in the head of a companie in
the field a training. Which words was also confirmed by
several others, as also information that Goffe and Whaley
was seene verie lately betwixt the houses of Mr. Daven-
port and one Jones, and it was imagined that one lay at
one of their houses and the other at the others. Upon
which wee went back to the Deputies and required our
horses, with aide, and a power to search and apprehend
them; horses was provided for us, but he refused to give
us any power to apprehend them, nor order any other, and
said he could doe nothing untill he had spoken with one
Mr. Gilbert and the rest of the Magistrates: Upon which
wee toold him wee should goe to New-Haven and stay till
wee heard from him, but before wee tooke horse the
aforesaid Dennis Scranton gave us information, there was
an Indian of the town wanting, which he toold us was to
give notice of our coming. But to our certaine know-
ledge one John Megges was sent a horseback before us,
and by his speedie and unexpected going in early before
day was to give them an information, and the rather be-
cause by the delayes was us’d it was breake of day before
wee got to horse, for hee got there before us; upon our
suspicion wee required the Deutie that the said John
Meggs
Meggs might bee examined what his business was that might occasion his foe early going: To which the Deputie answered that hee did not know any such thing, and refused to examine him; and being at Newhaven, which was on the 13th day, the Deputie arrived within two hours or thereabouts after us and came to us to the court chamber, where wee againe acquainted him with the information wee had received and that wee had cause to believe they were concealed in Newhaven, and thereupon wee required his assistance and aide for their apprehension: To which he answered that he did not believe they were. Whereupon wee defired him to impower us, or order others for it. To which he gave us this answer, That hee could not, nor would not make us magistrates: Wee replied, wee ourselves would personally adventure in the search and apprehension of them in two houses where wee had reason to imagine they lay hid, if they would give way to it and enable us: To which he replied, Hee neither would, nor could not doe any thing untill the freemen were met together. To which wee fet before him the danger of that delay and their inevatable escape, and how much the honour and service of his Majestie was despised and trampled on by him, and that wee supposed by his unwillingness to assist in the apprehension, hee was willing they should escape: After which hee left us and went to severall of the magistrates and were togethther five or six hours in consultation, and upon breakeing up of their counsell, they told us, they would not nor could not doe any thing untill they had called a generall court of the freemen: Whereupon wee represented to them your Honours and Governour Winthrop's warrants as presidents, who upon the receite of his Majesties pleasure and order concerning the said persons, stood not upon such niceties and formalities, but endeavoured to make all expedition in feizing on them, if to bee found in their government, and also how your honour had recommended this grand affaire to him, and how much the honour and justice of his Majestie was concerned, and how ill his sacred Majestie
jeftie would resent such horrid and detestable concealments and abetttings of such traitors and regicides as they were, and askt him whether he would honour and obey the king or noe in this affaire, and sett before him that the danger which by law is incurred by any one that conceales or abetts traytors; to which the Deutie Leete answered, wee honour his Majestie, but wee have tender consciences.

To which wee replied, that wee believed that he knew where they were, and onely pretended tenderness of conscience for a refusall: Upon which they drew into consultation againe, and after two or three houres spent, in the evening the Deutie and Magistrates came to us at the head of the staires in the ordinarie, and takes one of us by the hand and wist he had binn a plowman and had never binn in the office, since he found it soe weightie.

To which wee rould them, that for their respect to two traytors they would doe themselves injurie and possibly ruine themselves and the whole collony of Newhaven, and still continuing to pressse them to their duty and loyalty to his Majestie, and whether they would owne his Majestie or noe, it was answered, they would first knowe whether his Majestie would owne them.*

This was the substance of our proceedings, there was other circumstantiall expressions which are too tedious to trouble your honour withall, and which wee have given your honour a verball accoempt of, and conceive it needles to insist any further; and soe findeing them obstinate and pertenaceous in their contempt of his Majestie, wee came away the next day in prosecution after them, according to instructions, to the Governour of Manaddis, from whom wee received civill respects and a promise, if they were within his jurisdiction, weeshould command what ayde wee pleased, but for sending of them according to your honours request, hee could not answer it to his masters at home, but if they came there hee should give your honour timely notice: Whereupon we requested his honour the Go-

* New-Haven was a government formed by a voluntary Combination, without any Charter, or Commission, or authority whatsoever from the Crown, or other Powers in England.
vernour of Manada to lay a restraint upon all shipping from transporting of them, which hee promised should be done, and also to give order to his fiscall or chief officer to make private search in all vessels for them that were going thence.

Upon which, wee findeing any other meanes would bee ineffectuall, wee made our returne hither by sea, to give your honour an accompt, and to which (when your honour shall require it) are ready to deposite to the truth of it, and remaine

Sir,

Your honours humble servants,

Boston May 29th

1661.

Thomas Kellond,

Thomas Kirke.

30th May 1661.

Mr. Thomas Kellond and Mr. Thomas Kirke having delivered this paper to the Governour as their returne, in answer to what they were imployde, deposed before the Governour and Magistrates that what is there exprest is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Per Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Copy of a Letter from Secretary Rawson to William Leete, Esq; Governour of New-Haven Jurisdiction.

Honoured Sir,

THE council of our jurisdiction being assembled the 4th instant at Boston, ordered me to signify to you what lately they have receaved from England by Captain Leverett, his letter bearing date 12th April 1661, who tells us that however our addresse to his Majesty came seasonably and had a gracious answer, yett many complaints and claims are multiplied against us, and that wee are like to heare from his Majesty's committee what those complaints
complaints are, and what is expected from us; that an oath was produced against him for saying that rather then wee should or would admitt of appeals here, wee would or should sell the country to the Spaniards; which though he absolutely denied that ever he so said, and that if he should have so said he had wronged the country very much, some of the said committee said the words if spoken they were pardoned, but they looked at the words not so much his as the spirit of the country, and tho' againe he desired that the country might not suffer, in their minds, for what he knew was so much and so farre from them, as to thinke ought in any such respect, yet one of them proceeded to question him, whether if wee durst wee would not cast off our allegiance and subjection to his Majesty; He answer ed, he did apprehend wee were honest men and had declared in our application to his Majesty the contrary, and therefore could not have such thoughts of us without the breach of charity; that it is no lesse than necessary we had some able person to appeare for us, well furnished to carry on our busines, which will not be without money; that the councill for plantations demanded of him whether wee had proclaimed the King and whether there was not much opposition to the agreeing of our application. He answer ed he knew not, only had heard Capt. Breaden say so, but humbly submitted to their consideration, that neither wee nor any other were to be concluded by debates but by our conclusions, which were sent and presented to his Majesty in our names. They tooke notice, from enquiry, that it was only from one colony, namely, Massachusetts, and have their considerations of the other colonies neg lefts, to speake most favourably thereof. Thus far as to the letter. Further, I am required to signifie to you as from them, that the non attendance with dilligence to execute the Kings majestys warrant for the apprehending of Colonel Whaley and Goffe will much hazard the present state of these colonies and your owne particularly, if not some of your persons, which is not a little afflitive to them. And that in their understanding there remains no way to expiate
piate the offence and preserve yourselves from the danger and hazard but by apprehending the said persons, who as wee are informed are yett remaining in the colony and not above a fortnight since were seen there, all which will be against you. Sir, Your owne welfare, the welfare of your neighbours, bespeak your unwearied paines to free yourselfe and neighbours. I shall not add, having so lately by a few lines from our Governour and my selfe looking much this way communicated our fence and thoughts of your and our troubles, and have as yett received no return, but commend you to God and his rich grace, for your guidance and direction in a matter of such moment, as his Majesty may receive full and just satisfaction, the mouths of all opposers stopped and the profession of the truth that is in you and us may not in the least suffer by your actings is the prayer of Sir,

Your assured loving friend,

Boston 4th July 1661. Edward Rawson, Secretary.

In the name and by order of the councill.

Sir, Since what I wrote, news and certaine intelligence is come hither of the two colonells being at New Haven from Saturday to Monday and publickly knowne, and however it is given out that they came to surrender themselves and pretended by Mr. Gilbert that he looked when they would have come in and delivered up themselves, never setting a guard about the house nor endeavouing to secure them, but when it was too late to send to Totocut &c. Sir, How this will be taken is not difficult to imagine, to be sure not well; nay, will not all men condemn you as wanting to yourselves, and that you have something to rely on, at least that you hope will answer your ends? I am not willing to meddle with your hopes, but if it be a duty to obey such lawful warrants, as I believe it is, the neglect thereof will prove uncomfortable. Pardon me, Sir, its my des-
give mee notice when you will send the two colonells) tho' Mr. Wood Greene is bound hence within a month, yet if you shall give me assurance of theire coming I shall not only endeavour but doe hereby engage to cause his stay a fortnight, nay 3 weekes, rather than they should not be sent, expecting your answer, remaine

Sir, Your assured loving friend and servant,

Edward Rawson.

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Copy of an Address from the General Court to King Charles II.*

To the high and mighty Prince Charles the second, by the grace of God King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, defender of the faith.

Illustrious Sir,

THAT majestic and benignant both fate upon the throne whereunto your outcast made their former addresse, witnes this second eucharistical approach unto the best of kings, who to other titles of royaltie common to him with other gods amongst men, delighteth herein more peculiarly to conforme himselfe to the God of gods, in that he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted, neither hath he hid his face from him, but when he cried he heard.

Our petition was the representation of an exiles necessitives, this script gratulatory and lowly is the reflection of the gracious rayes of christian majestie. There wee belfought your favour by presenting to a compassionate eye that bottleful of teares shed by us in this Jeshimon: Here we also acknowledge the efficacie of regal influence to qualify these salt waters. The mission of ours was accompanied with these churches sitting in sackcloth, the reception of yours was as the holding forth of the scepter of life.

* This Address, though it passed the whole Court, I don't find to have been sent. I have several others which were prepared on this occasion in much the same sort of Rhetoric.
The truth is, such were the impressions upon our spirits when we received an answer of peace from a gracious, from our gracious sovereign, as transcends the faculty of an eremitical scribe. Such, as though our expressions of them neede pardon, yet the suppression of them seemeth unpardonable. A desert condition, in some sense, is an object fittest to magnifie princely radiance, inferior whereunto cannot make the wilderness rejoice. Opake bodies occasion the most exultent reflections. Affection makes a rhetorician. Cæcilieters numbe fon speaks to prevent miserie, and Zelciah's tongue breaketh loose to acknowledge mercie. It was a day wherein your people, who had forgot prosperitie, the people, the joy of whose heart was long ceas'd, was revived in the matters of their God. Life from death is so much the more sweet. Gospel libertie, truely so called, is sweeter than life, especially when rescued from its contrarie more bitter than death, and yet more edulcorated when respect'd as a signal pledge of the kindnes of the Lord in that evangelical promise kings shall be thy nurling fathers. It was a good day, and wee should not doe well to holde our tongue as concerning the heart consolation of your sad objects, the affectionate benedictions of your molt serene highnes tempered with tears of joy, when warmed with the influence of your royal favour they, by way of congratulation, comforted themselves that the breath of our nostrils the anointed of the Lord hath escaped their pits of whom wee begin to say, under his shadow wee shall live amongst the heathen.

Wee are deeply sensible of your Majesty's intimation relating to instruments of Satan, acted by impulse diabolical. Venner (not to say whence he came to us) went out from us because he was not of us. God preserve your Majesty from all emissaries agitated by an infernal spirit, under what appellation ever so disguised. Luther sometime wrote to the senate of Mulhoyfen to beware of the wolfe Muncer.
Royal Sir, Your just title to the crown enthronizeth you in our coniences, your graciousnes in our affections; that inspireth unto dutie, this naturalizeth unto loyaltie. Hence we call you Lord, hence a favour. Mephiboseth, how prejudicially foever misreprented, yet rejoyceth that the King is come in peace to his owne house. Nowe the Lord hath dealt well with our Lord the King, may New England under your royal protection be permitted still to sing the Lords song in this strange land. It shall be noe griete of heart for the blessing, of a people ready to perish, dayly to come upon your Majestie, the blessing of your owne people, who (not here to alledge the innocencie of our cause, touching which let us live no longer than wee subject ourselves to an orderly tryall thereof) though, in the particulars of subscription and conformitie, supposed to be under the hallucinatios of weak brethren, yet crave leave with all humility to say, whether the voluntarie quitting of our native and dearest country be not sufficient to expiate so innocent a mistake (if a mistake) let God, Angels, your Majestie and all good men judge.

Nowe he, in whose hand the times and tryals of all men are, who hath made your Majestie remarkably parallel to the most eminent of Kings both for the space and kind of your troubles, so as that very day cannot be excepted wherein they drove him from abyding in the inheritance of the Lord, sayling goe serue other gods, make you also (which is the crown of all) more and more like unto him in being a man after Gods owne heart, to doe whatsoever he will; yea, as the Lord was with David, so let him be with your most excellent Majestie, and make the throne of King Charles the second both greater and better than the throne of King David, or than the throne of any of your royal progeniters.

So shall allwaies pray

Great Sir,

Your Majesties most humble and loyal subjefts.

10 August 61.

Z 4
The deputyes approve of this letter to be sent to his Majestie (the third section between the lines drawne only excepted) with reference to the consent of our honoured magistrates hereunto.

William Torrey, Cleric.

Consented to by the magistrates.

Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

Copy of a Declaration of the Commissioners of the united Colonies concerning Whalley and Goffe.

WHEREAS it appeareth by his Majesties order directed to John Endecott, Esq; governor of the Massachusetts and to all other governours and magistrates in New-England, and by him communicated to the respective governours of the united colonies, for the apprehending of Edward Whalley and William Goffe, who stand convicted of high treason for the horrid murther of his royall father, as is expressed in the said order, and exempted from pardon by the act of indemnity; in obedience whereunto diligent search hath been made for the said persons in the severall colonies (as wee are informed) and whereas, notwithstanding, it is conceived probable that the said persons may remaine hide in some parts of New-England, these are therefore seriously to advice and forewarn all persons whatsoever within the said colonies, not to receive, harbour, conceal or succour the said persons so attainted, or either of them, but that as they may have any knowledge or information where the said Whalley and Goffe are, that they forthwith make knowne the same to some of the governours or magistrates next residing, and in the mean time doe their utmost endeavoure for their apprehending and securinge, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost perill. And wee doe hereby declare that all such person or persons, that since the publication
of his Majesties order have wittingly and willingly entertained or harboured the aforesaid Whalley and Goffe, or hereafter shall doe the like, have and will incurre his Majesties highest displeasure, as is intimated in the said order, and will be accoumted enemies to the publique peace and wellfaire of the united colonies, and may expect to be proceeded with accordingly.

By the commissioners of the united colonies at their meeting at Hartford, Sept. 5. 1661.

Thomas Prince,
John Mason, Symon Bradstreete,
Samuel Willis, Daniel Denison,
William Leete. Thomas Southworth,

Proceedings of the Committee of the General Court appointed for the dispatch of Agents to England.*

4 January 1661. Att a meeting of the committee at the Ancor taverne in Boston, in reference to the dispatch of the worshipful Symon Bradstreete and the reverend Mr. John Norton, messengers appointed by the general court to be sent to England.

Present, Daniel Gookin, Esq; Capt. Eliazer Lusher,
Thomas Danforth, Esq; Capt. Edw. Johnson,
Mr. Joseph Hill.

The committee sending to the Deputy Governour, de-
siring his presence and assistance at this meeting, desir'd he might be excused and came not.

T is ordered by this committee that the gentlemen chosen at the last and this seessions of the general court to raise money for the accommodating of the messengers appointed

* The colony at this time was divided upon the expediency of sending agents to England. The Governor and Deputy Governour were against it, and though appointed to be of the com-

mittee declined acting. The agents themselves seem to have been
appointed to goe for England to negotiate with his Majesty in behalfe of the country, be hereby desired and impowere to raise fower hundred pounds sterling to be payde unto Symon Bradstreete, Esq; and Mr. John Norton at London, within thirty days after their arrivall there, and also procure letters of credit for the said messengers to take up in London what money more they may have occasion to use, not exceeding the sum of three hundred pounds. And it is further desired that the said committee be secret in the management of this affaire, so far as they possibly may, especially respecting the quantity of money procured. And further, wee advise and direct that the said some or somes of money be transmitted into the hands of Mr. Henry Ashurst, in trust for the purposes aforesaid, as also the said committee are to take care that the said persons be honorably and comfortably accommodated with provisions for the sea and other necessaries in that respect and for their passages, and keepe an account of such disbursements to be delivered unto the treasuerer of the countrey, who is hereby ordered to make payment of the same together with security for the other somes according to the generall courts order.

The committee having sent for the gentlemen appointed to raise moneys and make provisions as in the order above mentioned, Capt. Thomas Savage, Mr. Hezekiah Usher, Capt. Wm. Davis, and the Secretary appearing had the said order communicated to them and promised to endeavour accordingly.

The been pressed into the service. They feared a long detention in England and were not sure that they were entirely free from danger of restraint upon their liberty. Complaints had been preferred against the colony from all quarters. Mr. Bradstreet had been a magistrate from the beginning. It was well known that the elders or clergy used to be consulted and had great influence in every affair of moment, and Mr. Norton was of that order and of great note. Besides, it was doubtful what would be the fate of the charter. If taken away they would not know where to obtain satisfaction for any extraordinary expense or trouble in England.

The proceedings of this committee contribute to a just idea of the fate of the colony at this period.
The committee spent the rest of this day and the 5th discoursing with the elders of the church of Christ in Boston and in writing a letter to them and the church to desire their concurrence with the vote of the generall court for the sending the reverend Mr. John Norton, their teacher, with the worshipful Mr. Bradstreete into England, to negociate the countreys affaires with the Kings Majesty, and also writing other letters to other churches, desiring their neighbourly assistance and helpe in their turnes as to supplying of Mr. Nortons absence, which last was not sent forth, the church of Boston otherwise ordering their supply.

7 January 1661. The committee meeting againe together, at the Ancor taverne in Bolton, according to their agreement or adjournment,

Present, Capt. Gookin, Capt. Lusher,
Mr. Danforth, Capt. Johnson, and
Mr. Joseph Hill.

The Dep. Gov. being againe desired to affoord the committee his presence and assistence, desired to be excused.

It is ordered that the Secretary doe forthwith transcribe the records of the court referring to the proceedings of the court concerning Gorton and his company, Roade Island, the Ironworkes, the Quakers, Piscataqua, Dr. Child and his company, Mr. Hieldersham, the Lords letters about appeales, Reasons politcall for these plantations, two copies of the pattent, Petition to the King, and such other as he shall see needfull to give a right understanding of the grounds of the courts proceedings about the same.

There being great reason that Mr. Bradstreet should have an opportunity to goe and visit his family and sett things in order there, that he might, as soon as may be, give up himselfe to the prosecuting of the courts desire to effect, the committee adjourned to the 18th instant, at the Ancor taverne.
18th of January 1661. The committee met together at the place.

Present,

Capt. Gookin, Capt. Lusher,
Mr. Danforth, Capt. Johnson,
Mr. Joseph Hill.

At which meeting Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton presented the propositions here under writ to the consideration of the committee.

1 Q. Whether the asserting the countrey's privileges of patent to large as the last petition expressed be convenient?

2 Q. Whether the committee have power to leave out or alter the said petition, because the courts order requires to keepe the sense and substance of what the court have agreed on?

3 Q. Whither the committee may and will engage, in the name of the court, to make good all such damages as shall befall them by means of any complaint or proceedings in England against them on behalf of the countrey, or as they are the countrey's commissioners, whilst they shall there abide on the countrey's service?

4 Q. Whether the Deputy Governour declining the assitance of the committee, and the Governour manifesting himselfe, since the court, unwilling to the present fending (as some have suggested) are not just impediments to the proceedings at present, and ground of discouragement?

The committee perusing the questions returned the answers underwrit.

In answer to the 1st and 2d questions.

Whereas the petition to the King, agreed upon by the generall court in their last seffions, was to be presented to our commissioners consideration, and therein they expressed themselves doubtfull of the conveniency of some passages therein mentioned, which at this distance cannot be resolved to satisfacon, wee judge meete to leave and doe here conclude and order that it shall be at their liberty to present the other petition agreed in the former seffion, in case they shall judge it more conducing to attaine the pre-
fervation of the countreys just liberties and privileges than
the latter, and that the names of Mr. Bradstreet and Mr.
Norton be inserted in both the first petitions; adding
these words after the words suspended lawes (as to death
and corporall punishment.)
To the 3d Question our answer is affirmative.
To the 4th Question our answer is negative.
By order of the committee,
18 January 1661. Edw. Rawfon, Secretary.

Boston, January 18th 1661.

A writing being exhibited by the honored commissioner of
the general court for negotiating of our affairs with
the king's majesty and his most honorable councill.
The tenure whereof was as followeth.

The honored general court not having leisure to
communicate, unto their messengers intended, the
mater of their mission with an opportunity to consider
thereof, and upon its communication by the honored com-
mittee there appeared these ensuing and unexpected
difficulties.

1. Two of the magistrates either not giving their placet,
or signifying their non-placet as to the mission at this time,
the governor and deputy governor being two of them, and
though members of the committee, yet declining so much
as to owne the busines with their presence.

2. The very substance of the messuage, doubted even
by the greater part of the committee (to farre as appear-
eth to us) to be inexpedient to the end, if presented at this
time, in conjunction with the courts instruction to the
committee not to recede from the substance of what hath
been agreed upon by them.

3. The seeming difficulties of preparing any messuage,
as becometh, in the freights of time remaining.

4. The hazard of the undertaking, in the judgment of
the honored committee, so sensible thereof as that they
thought meete to order the messengers (whose coming can-
not
not be hid) yet upon their arrival to abide hidden and forbear any publick management of affairs untill protection for their persons may be obtained from his majesty, a practice obnoxious to manifold inconveniences.

Wee in respect of the premisses (that wee may have, upon occasion, to answer for and satisfie ourselves in time to come) doe conceive it our part and duty not to conceal the prementioned discouragement, but thereupon to offer to the committees solemn consideration whether it be not moreelligible to improve the power committed to them, rather for the deferring then for the putting on the present mission intended, touching which question, if they incline to the negative, wee hope the best, but if after all they shall still determine for the affirmative a meete message with other requisites provided, wee hope wee shall not be wanting to the duty of patience therein, though desititue of that encouragement which was fundamentall to our acceptance, and in defect whereof our hope was that the authority of this colony would not have expected this service from us, fiat voluntas dei.


To which the Committee returned this answer.

The committee, taking the premisses into their serious consideration, cannot but look upon it as a humbling providence of God towards his poore people, that whilst they are endeavouring (and as they hope in some measure of sincere love to the Lord his truth and ordinances) to wait on God in the use of all lawfull means left unto them for the preservation of such high favours as in sundry respects he hath been pleased to bestow on us withall, that so many clouds should hover over our heads for the darkning our pathes, and stumbling blocks appearing in our way to hinder the same, yet nevertheless being persuaded that not only prudentiall arguments referring to our owne peace and safety, but also the honor of the Lords name, church and wayes, which is now principally shott at by our adversaries,
Further briefly to the several partes.

To the first, The committee doe indeed concurr with the commissioners that a more full and explicite acting of the said honored gentlemen, were very desirable, but yet not essentially necessary. The honored governor having manifested himself willing not only to give his approbation to such commission instructions and particulars as shall be orderly agreed upon, as also to sign the same according to the appointment of the generall court.

To the second, The committee conceive there is no doubt on their part as to this message, nor yet any inconsistency of what they have propounded with what the general court agreed upon, but such as may be rationally interpreted to be the true meaning of the power committed to them.

To the third, The committee doe conceive they are already agreed of the message, viz. the commissions instructions and petitions as in the former returns.

To the fourth, That as yet no act hath beene passed by them of such tendency, only some proposals, where they have rather expressed their tender respect towards our honored and deare friends, than any just reason that they have for the entertaining such fears.

Finally, the committee doe propose as a further expedient for the satisfaction of our honored commissioners, that they themselves would be pleased to consider and present unto us what themselves apprehend there yet remains to be done by us for their furtherance in this so great an undertaking, and we hope we shall not be found wanting to their encouragement in what we may.

By order, Edw. Rawson, Secr.
The committee appointed by the general court for the furtherance of the negociation with his Majesty doe order that the ship Society be stayed on the publick charge, untill such time as the commissioners nominated by the court be ready to goe aboard, and accordingly declared themselves to Mr. Hezekiah Usher.

Edw. Rawson, Secr.

21 January 1661.

Present, Mr. Gookin, Capt. Lusher,
Mr. Danforth, Capt. Johnson,
Mr. Joseph Hill.

A copy of the writing of Mr. Norton presented by himself and Mr. Bradstreet as their final propositions to us respecting their going or not going at this time on the country's service.

Wee whose names are subscribed, met togethers a committee to attend the busines concerning the sending of Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton as messengers from the general court into England, finding the state of times to be so defective as to the answering the terms upon which the undertaking was on their parts accepted as may minister unto them matter of just discouragement as to their proceedings at present, and also it not being in our power to redresse the same upon consideration thereof together with their care to avoid offence, especially in a matter of this importance, professed in such degree as that if the committee shall yet declare it their judgment that they ought to goe at this time, they purpose notwithstanding, God willing, to proceed accordingly.

Wee say, in consideration hereof and some other respects not needful here to be mentioned, we thought meete for the prevention of all grievances or dissatisfaction and fuller deliverance of them from all sufferings in the minds of any who either desired or expected their present going to attest the premisses.
The question being put, whether this paper passe as an act of the committee.

The committee on serious consideration heereof voted and concluded in the negative. By order,

Edw. Rawson, Secr.

Having further considered the reasons presented by our honored friends Symon Bradstreet, Esq; and the Rev. John Norton, gentlemen commissioners appointed for our affairs with his Majesty, wherein they expressed themselves doubtfull of their way as to any further proceeding; wee the committee impowered for that matter doe conceive that what is contained in our former answers given in writing doth declare the substance of what can be expected from us, yet neverthelesse that wee be not wanting in the trust repose in us by the honored court, doe propose to our honored friends, that whereas one part of their objection lyeth in the matter of the address agreed upon by the court (for our parts wee understand by all debates in councils and courts that the maine end of this undertaking is for the obtaining his protection and confirmation of our liberties enjoyed by pattent and present establishment) wee doe therefore offer to our honored friends as an expedient to issue this case, that they will please to drawe up our address to his Majesty as themselves think may best conduce to the aforesaid ends, and wee hope there shall be no fayling on our parts as to a meete encouragement and approbation thereof, to which purpose, as wee conceive, full power of the generall court is delegated to us; or otherwise, if the matter of labour be too great a burthen to them at such a time, then wee desire they will be pleased briefly to give us in writing what they judge convenient to be added or left out of the former addresses, and wee shall apply ourselves to give further satisfaction in the premises; and further, wee are ready in all wee may or can to comply with what they shall present, that so this great worke of the Lord be not retarded, his servants grieved, our honored friends in England offended, the Kings Majesty
incensed, our adversaries animated, and advantaged, our
All so much hazarded, especially our God dishonoured
and displeased, all which we earnestly desire and shall
endeavour may be prevented.

By order, Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

Boston, 23d January 1661.

Present, Capt. Gookin, Major Lusher,
Mr. Danforth, Capt. Johnston,
Mr. Jos. Hill.

The committee for raising moneys having reported
what they had done, i.e. raised about four hundred
pounds, the committee ordered that Mr. William Davis,
or in case of his death or absence, Mr. Symon Bradstreet
take up in London, or elsewhere, of any gentlemen or
merchants, what moneys shall be expedient, for the use
of the countrey, not exceeding the sume of three hundred
pounds; which moneys are to be delivered into the hands
of Mr. Symon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton, or either
of them, to be disposed of by them for the end aforesaid,
and whatever contract the said Mr. William Davis or Mr.
Bradstreet shall make in the premises, either in point of
exchange or advance, the said committee doe, in the name
and by the power of the court, confirm and ratify;
hereby authorising the said William Davis or Symon
Bradstreet to charge bills upon the treasurer of the coun-
trey to pay the same according to agreement, who is also
hereby ordered and required to accept and pay the same,
who is impowdered to issue forth warrants for such propor-
tion of a rate upon the people as shall be meete to satisfy
such payments.

Capt. Davis his returne was,

Gentlemen, In reference to your motion for my accept-
tance of a letter of credit for the taking up moneys as you
shall appoint for the use of the countrey, to be paid to
the honored Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton, I shall with
all readinesses endeavour the same upon the best termes I can
procure
procure it, provided I may be secured from any damage as for my owne estate, in case any unexpected change should come upon the countrey. I pray consider what may be most convenient for my security, and whether the treasurers bond to myself will be sufficient, or whether will he give the such a bond for my security, yea or no?

24 January 1661.

Present, Capt. Gookin, Maj. Luflier,
Mr. Danforth, Capt. Johnson,
Mr. Joseph Hill.

At this meeting the committee determined and concluded upon the addresse to be presented to his Majesty and the commissioners instructions, which are as followeth.

WHEREAS you Symon Bradstreet, Esq; and John Norton, Gentleman, are chosen and authorised commissioners for this colony, to petition our Lord the King and to endeavour the preservation and confirmation of our priviledges formerly granted and hitherto enjoyed; in pursuance whereof you are to attend the particulars following.

1. You shall present us to his Majesty as his loyall and obedient subjects and not be wanting to instance in the particulars which most and best render us so to be.

2. You shall endeavour to take off all scandal and objections which are or shall be made against us.

3. You shall endeavour the establishment of the rights and priviledges wee now enjoy.

4. You shall not engage us by any act of yours to any thing which may be prejudicial to our present standing, according to patent.

5. You shall give us a speedy and constant account of all your transactions and what elte may be of concernment to us. Signed

Jo. Endecott, Gov.

In the name and by the order of the generall court of the Massachusetts jurisdiction in New-England.
To the high and mighty Prince Charles the second, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

The humble Petition and Address of the General Court of the Colonie of the Massachusetts in New-England.

Most gracious and dread soveraigne,

The purport of this poore script is to supplicate the inclination of your royall care unto the persons herewith sent, Mr. Symon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton, after a journey of three thousand miles, prostrate at your highnes feete as messengers from your poore yet loyal subjets.

To implore your gracious confirmation of our pattent granted by your royal predecessor of famous memory, that encouragement wee have to support us in this wildernes (touching our quiet enjoyment both of our civil and ecclesiastical liberties) together with that further hope wherewith wee are comforted by your serene Majestys late propitious returne to our humble addresse.

To beseech your Majestys grace and favor towards us in what our commisioners shall humbly present as conducing to your Majestys just honor and our good.

Ready to give an account of what your Majestly shall require to be informed in, touching this your plantation.

And also in particular to acquaint your most excellent Majesty, that in observance of your Highnes pleasure signified, requiring us to forbeare the executing of death or inflicting corporall punishment on the people called Quakers wee have suspended the execution of our lawes in that respect; since which, by reason of their practises and principles in conjunction with the distemper of too many ill affected amongst us, (pardon us, Royal Sir, whilst necessitated thereunto wee crave leave to represent unto you that) wee, besides the present disturbance even to some degree of disaffection, doe hourly conflict with the feare of some sad events, calamitous, unsufferable, if not destructive,
rive, until your royall Majesty shall be pleased to concede unto us the security of ourveslves by some most gentle and effectual remedy suitable to our condition.

And now wee humbly pray that these our messengers may, under the shadow of your most gracious protection, have liberty to speake in our behalf, unto which persons wee most humbly desire your Majesty to give full credence as to loyall and faithfull men intrusted by the representa-
tives of your people in this place, who always shall as in duty they are bound continually pray for your Majestys temporall and eternall happines.

Your Majestys most loyall and humble subjects,

Signed Jo. Endecott, Governor,

In the name and by the order of the generall court of the Maffachusetts jurisdiction in New England.

At this time also the committee judged it meete to write to my Lord Say, and severall other letters, the copies whereof are.

Right Honourable,

T HE long experience that your poore suppiants have had of your unseigned love to the Lord and to his poore people whenever his providence hath given you an opportunitie for their reliefe, especially to these poore sheepe of his in this wildernes, doth embolden us yet fur-
ther to trouble your Lordship with these few lines.

So great is the fury of the dragon, that when the woman is fled into the wildernes yet he ceaseth not to power out a flood after her, seeking to his power her utter ruin. A taste whereof Gods poore people here doe feele in the violence and rage of these malicious adversaries the Qua-
kers risen up against us, accusing us to his Majesty and intruding themselves upon us, whose worke it is to disle-
minate their cursed principles and in a tumultuous and rude manner reproaching all established order, as well civill as ecclesiasticall, acting a part as commisionated from hell to ruine the poore churches and people of God here.

Although
Although while wee thus speake wee cannot but acknowledge our God is holy and righteous in all his dispensations towards us, our great unprofitablenes under long enjoyment of his precious ordinances and liberties that wee have beeene here betrufted with, having justly provoked his anger against us; yet wee must say with his servant David, let us fall into the hands of the Lord whose mercies are great, and not under the fury and malice of those hereticks whose tender mercies are cruelty.

For which end wee have commitionated our trufthy and well beloved friends Mr Symon Bradlreete and Mr. John Norton, to appeare before his Majesty and his most honorable councell on the behalfe of this colony, to give an account of the condition of his Majestys poore yet loyall subjects in this place and the ground of our proceedings against that wicked sect; as also humbly to implore his Highnes gracious favor for the confirmation of our present enjoyments by letters patent from his most royall predecessors, for whose furtherance, by opening a doore of accessse to his Majesty and the procuring of his favorable acceptence of our endeavours, wherein wee desire to act not only our owne interest but the interest of our Lord and our King, wee stand in neede of the helpe of our honored friends on the place, and having none on whome wee can repose greater confidence than on your Lordship, wee are therefore bold humbly to crave your honours favour herein, as a moyle terrified wee needs not be further tedious to your honour by way of argument, being well assured that the interest which our Lord Christ hath in your Lordship is most effectuall thereto. Unto whose grace and in whose armes of everlasting mercies wee commend your honour in whome wee are.

Right honorable,

Your humble servants and suppliants,

J. E. Gov.

By order of the generall court of the Massachufets.

For the Rt. Hon. Wm. Viscount Say and Seale, &c.
Att a meeting of the Committee, Boston 24. 11. 1661.

Right Honorable,

THAT respect of yours extended to poore exiles (a condition your honor have sometimes tafted) in the countenance shewed to our humble petition and address to his Majestie 1660, doeth beger in us a lively hope of your further clemency in this our present errand, which is to supplicate your honor for favour to the bearers hereof Mr. Symon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton, sent on purpose as messengers from this poore colony unto our lord the King, for obtaining his grace and protection in the confirmation of our pattent and present establishment, unto which his Majesty's gracious letter in answer to our foresaid address doeth much encourage us, also to give an account to his serene highnes in what he shall please to require concerning the state of this his plantation. Wee have appointed these our messengers to wait upon your honour (according to your wonted beneficence) to cast your eye upon them and us, in doing whereof wee shall have cause to pray for the rich blessing of heaven and earth to descend upon you and yours. So wee trust the God of all grace and glory will not fail to accept and recompence all kindnes extended to this little part of his heritage, so we remaine,

Right honorable

Your honors most humble servants,

Jo. Endecott, Gov.

By order, &c.

To the right hon. Edward Earle of Clarendon, lord high Chancellor of England and one of his Majesty's most honorable privy councill, these humbly present,
Right honorable,

These are principally to accompany our beloved friends Mr. Symon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton, the bearers hereof, who are sent on purpose from us as messengers unto his Majesty to implore his favour and protection in the confirmation of our patent and present establishment, and to give an account, in what he shall require, of the state of this plantation, and to beseech him to tender us in respect of those pestilent heretics the Quakers who have lately obtained his Majesty's letter requiring us to forbear their punishments; in observance whereof we have suspended execution of our laws against them respecting death or corporal punishment; but this indulgence they doe abuse to insolvency and seduction of our people, and unless his Majesty strengthen our hands in the application of some suitable remedy to suppress these and others ill affected to our tranquility, this hopeful plantation is likely in all probability to be destroyed, and how farre that will conduce to the King's honor or profit wee leave to your honors prudence to consider. Therefore if it may please your honour to promote this errand of your humble suppliants and vouchsafe your countenance to our messengers and procure favour and access to his Majesty and his ministers of state, you will greatly oblige your servants to bleffe God for you, and to pray that the blessing of heaven and earth may rest upon your head and heart in Christ Jesus in whom wee are,

Right honorable,

Your honors most humble servants,

Jo. Endecott, Gov.

For the Rt. Hon. Edward Earle of Manchester,

Earle of Manchester,

Lord Chamberlaine of his Majestys household

and one of his Majestys most hon. privy council,

these humbly present.
At a meeting of the committee at the place appointed, 25th January 1661, who granted commission to our messengers and wrote several letters to them and others, the copies whereof are as followeth,

**Commission.**

WHEREAS the generall court of the Massachusets jurisdiction in New England, sitting in Boston the 31st of December 1661, being assured of your wisdom and fidelity, have chosen and authorised you Symon Bradford, Esq; and Mr. John Norton, to be their messengers, wee the Governour, Deputy Governour and Company of the Massachusets doe hereby give unto you ample power to appeare before our soveraigne Lord the King, his high court of parliament, most honorable privy council or others his ministers of state, on our behalfe most humbly to intercede with him or them for the obteyning his Majestys gracious favour and protection of us his loyal subjects in the confirmation of our civil and ecclesiasticall liberties granted unto us by patent from his Majestys royall predecessors and at present enjoyed under a long and orderly establishment, and to endeavour what in you lieth to remove all obstructions that may impede the same, restiug assured that credence will be given unto you in all respects touching the premisses. In testimony whereof wee have caused the seale of our colony to be hereunto affixed the 25th January 1661.

Signed Jo. Endecott, Gov. in the name and by order, &c.

Gentlemen,

The committee advise and direct that you carefully send all your letters and writings of publick concernment by the most faithfull and secret conveyance, directed under cover to V. to be by him delivered to S. with advice to him to acquaint the Governor, Dep. Governor and nearest adjacent magistrates speedily therewith, to be by them or the greater part of them opened and communicated to the council or generall court as they shall judge necessary, and further that you by the first opportunity doe advise in what way our letters shall be directed to you.

Signed per Edw. Rawson, Secretary, per order.

This
This day the committee for raising money made their return of what money and of whom procured, and was as followeth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Money</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. Usher</td>
<td>100 L.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Ensign John Hull</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. Wm. Davis</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. Beatles</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. Boyse</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. Ruffell in English money</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Left. Sprague</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. Scottow in Eng. money</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. Sheaffe in Eng. money</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. John Paine</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. Tho. Luke</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Mr. Newgat</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More on a 2d returne.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Money</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Per Mr. Stilton Eng. money</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and flower</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Mr. Lynd money per flower</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Mr. Randall Nicholls flower &amp; cash</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Boston, 25th January 1661.

Mr. Treasurer, Sir,

Such is the necessity of our present occasions that we are againe forced to trouble you againe, and have here inclosed according to your direction particular receipts, which we pray you signe, that on the receipt of the money they may be delivered to those gentlemen who are willing to pleasure the country in this busines, which we would entreat them to dispatch forthwith back againe by this messenger that the money may be received to night, for wee now lye on great demurrage. Sir, not else but that wee are yours to serve in what wee may.

Daniel Gookin, Tho. Danforth,
Eleaz. Luther, Edw. Johnson,
Joseph Hill.

Boston
COLLECTION OF PAPERS. 363


Wee the Committee of the generall court for accomplishment of the negotiation of our messengers for England, by virtue of the authority of the generall court to us derived, doe order that the treasurer of the country shall within one week after the failing of the messengers from Nantucket issue forth one full halfe rate upon the inhabitants of this jurisdiction, payable in wheat, barley, pease or money, to be brought in before the tenth of the 1st month next, signifying that all such as shall pay in money to abate one fifth part.

By order,

Edward Rawson, Secr.

Sir,

Being confidently assured of your readiness to strengthen the hands of your poore exile brethren, whose interest is one, although in their millitant condition scattered here and there upon the face of the earth, and conflicting with many adversaries, who like Sanballat and Tobiah of old, are troubled to see temple worke prosper, the which at present is eminently the condition of God's poore people in this remote wilderness; by reason whereof the general court of this colony of the Massachusetts, in observance of their duty to God and his Majesty our sovereign lord the King, have commissioned our trusty and beloved friends Symon Bradstreet, Esq; and the Rev. Mr. John Norton to appeare before his Majesty on our behalf, whose occasions for money wee could not certainly foresee, and by reason of our great distance know no better expedient for their supply then by improoving our interest in sundry of our friends on the place. These are therefore to request your favour that in case our said commissioners or Mr. William Davis, our trusty and assured friend, shall acquaint you that they have occasions for supply, that you will be pleased to disburse to the sume of fifty pounds more or lesse, and for your security their bill of exchange signed by
by any one of them, and charged on Mr. Richard Russel
treasurer of this colony, shall be effectually for the repay-
ment thereof; and so wee remaine, Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,
Edward Rawson, Secr.

In the name and by order of the generall court.

This was directed to the much honored
Herbert Pelham, Esq; &c. The like
was directed to Maj. Heines, Mr.
Robert Thompson, Mr. Nehemiah
Bourne, Mr. Francis Willoughby,
Alderman Will. Peake, Mr. Richard
Hutchinson, Mr. Thomas Bell, Mr.
Edm. White, Mr. Henry Aldurft.

At a meeting 28th January 1661.

Honored Sir,

Whereas the generall court hath seen meete to im-
power us to dispatch their messengers Mr. Bradstreet
and Mr. Norton for the negotiation with his Majesty, all
which is now prepared, wee hope to their content, and
themselves have declared their readiness to attend that ser-
vice, there remaining now nothing wanting but your sign-
ing thereof. We understand by the secretary you have a
second time declined; now that we may not be found
wanting in our duty, wee have againe sent to your worship,
defiring your final answer concerning the perfecting there-
of according to the trust reposed in you by the generall
court, which if you shall yet refuse the whole busines will
be frustrated, and wee feare his Majesty greatly incensed,
our enemies advantaged, our friends discouraged, the chief
power of this colony disappointed, many of its eminent
servants grieved, and above all our God dishonored, which
wee pray may be avoyded. So wee rest your friends and
servants.

Signed,

Daniell Goookin, Thomas Danforth,
Eliazer Lufter, Joseph Hill.

Sir,
Sir, Wee crave your answer by the gentlemen whom wee have intreated to be the bearers hereof, that no unnecessary charge may accrue to the country by a further demurrage of the ship.

This letter was sent to the Governor by Mr. Edw. Tyng and Capt. Tho. Savage, who returned the answer that the secretary should come to the Governor on the morrow morning about 8 of the clock and he would sign all as is desired. Which was done accordingly.

Boston 29th January 1661.

To the honored Committee,

Having upon the first communicating the business of our message to England by the honored committee, formerly discerned such unexpected discouragements as that wee took ourselves in point of faithfulness to all parties concerned in so weighty a service to represent the same by writing to yourselves, after which, waiting with much patience if our way might be cleared notwithstanding, and now finding in conclusion the ship being ready to sail (besides some other discouragements not to be neglected) an uncertainty as to the convenient supply of money in England, apprehended requisite for the carrying on of this negotiation, wee crave leave by these to present the premises put together, as a reason upon the whole circumstanceing this business to the present, with such inconveniences and hazards in respect of the event thereof, as it seemeth unto us leste conflicting with Christian prudence to proceed therein at this time. Symon Bradstreet, John Norton.

The committee having considered the writing presented them by Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton dated 29. 17. 1661, return as followeth. That they are ready to attend any propositions that may be made by our honored commissioners for their furtherance, according to the power put
put into their hands by the generall court, and further they have not to reply, leaving the issue with all future consequences to the aliwise disposing hand of God in Christ Jesus.


To the end the proceeding of the messengers for England be not retarded or frustrate by any defect of ours, we by the authority of the generall court to us derived, doe order that such advance for the money raised by the committee for that designe as shall by the said committee or the secretary be engaged for, shall be repaid by the treasurer; together with the severall sums payable, according to agreement.


Upon which order the secretary, by advice of Capt. Savage, agreed and signed accordingly, that all such as paid English money, or money in England, should have twenty five per cent allowed them.

The committee going home, hoping on the first faire winde to finde and heare the honored messengers to be failed away, the Lord was pleased to visit the Rev. Mr. Norton, being the second of February, with a violent fitt of sickness and much colde, that he was forced to keepe his bed. On the third day the committee for raising money signified, by letter to the magistrates at Cambridge, the frowne of God in all endeavours and desir'd their present councill whether to stay the ship for a seafon, according to former resolution, to see what the Lord would doe in respect of Mr. Norton &c. or to suffer her to passe; advice was returned to issue out warrant for the stay of said ship, which was done.
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4th February 1661.

To the master of the ship Society.

These are to require you, by virtue of the authority of the generall court and on their occasions to make stay of your ship for these five days next coming and not depart the harbour, for which the owners may expect necessary and due demurrage. Dated at Boston this 4th of February 1661.

Per order,

Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Att a meeting 6th February 1661.

Mr. Secretary,

The master of the ship having manifested himself that any further delay will be greatly prejudicial to the owners, &c. our advise is, that in case the gentlemen appointed for the negociation with his Majesty doe not manifest, under their hands, that a further delay may have a tendency to the furtherance of the ends proposed by the generall court, that then you release the ship from her present stoppage. Signed by Daniel Gookin, Thomas Danforth, Edw. Johnson, Joseph Hill.

7th February 1661.

This directed to the Rev. Mr. John Norton.

Reverend Sir,

The master of the ship intended for England hath been with us, since lecture, desiring liberty to depart, unto whom wee have no other answer to give, but only to referr him to yourselves, on whose account, according to the trust reposed in us by the generall court, shee was stayed, and in case you shall please to advise us that a further stoppage may be a tendency to the ends proposed wee shall concur therein; if otherwise, wee are unwilling to force any unnecessary inconvenience on those especially concerned in such delay.

Sir,
Sir, Mr. Bradstreet being present with us manifesteth himself ready to attend the service of the country, in case the providence of God give liberty to yourself.


Mr. Norton returned that his answer is as at the first, he is ready to attend advise.

Mr. Secretary,

WHEREAS Mr. Norton hath signified to us that the resolution of his proceeding in his voyage for England doth as yet solely depend on God, our advise is therefore that you forthwith release the ship from her present stoppage, and that in case the gentlemen doe not proceed in their voyage, that you then require from aboard such provisions as have binn put aboard for their accommodation, excepting only what you shall see meete to gratify the seamen withall, and also wee doe advise that, in case of their non going, the bills of exchange be returned to the respective subscribers, and the treasurers bills taken in, that so the country may not be put to further unnecessary damages. 7. 12 mo. 1661. Jo. Endecott, Gov.


Warrant issued accordingly for the ships dismission.

To Mr. Christopher Clarke, master of the ship Society.

WHEREAS by authority of the generall court said ship was made stay of, on their occasions, for five days, for which the owners might expect due and necessary demurrage: These are, by advise from the like authority, to declare that the said ship is hereby discharged from her former stoppage. Dated at Boston, 7th Feb. 1661.

Per order, Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

For the honored committee.

THAT a further delay may have a tendency to the furtherance of the ends proposed by the honored generall court I think cannot be denied, but whether it will
will be effectuall unto that end or not, seemeth to be the question, and that such an one whose resolution, as to the certainty thereof, depends solely upon God. To attend his providence in the use of meanes belongs unto man, and in the present case to yourselves belongs (at least in a principal manner) the active part, to the commissioners the passive only, wherein as hath been formerly, by both, so you have hereby againe attested, by the subscriber, all readiness to resigne up ourselves to the call of God herein, any difficulties notwithstanding, on our parts.

6. 12 mo. 1661.

John Norton.

To which the committee replied.

Sir,

ON perusal of yours, wherein you are pleased to intimate as though something did yet remaine for the committee to be active in, these are only to signify to you, that in case you shall please to advise us wherein wee may further contribute to your furtherance, wee are ready to attend your advise. Sir, with prayers to the Lord for guidance in a right path, wee remaine, Sir,

Yours wherein wee may serve you,

Thomas Danforth, Joseph Hill,

Eliazer Lusher being by the committee sent to the reverend Mr. Norton, with a paper drawne in reference to a former paper sent from him to us the committee aforesaid, to understand from him whether he judged there was yet any thing remayning for us further to doe or to be active in, necessary to the promoting the negotiation intended: His answer to mee was, that he knew not of any thing either forgotten, neglected or yet further to be attended by us the committee, in reference to the case aforesaid, or to that effect. Per me Eliazer Lusher.

Mr. Secretary,

SIR, As to the disposall of the provisions provided at the countrys charge for the accommodation of our messengers in the ship Society, our advise is, that in case
they do not goe, that then you dispose of the same in manner following, i.e. that you leave with the seamen and master the strong liquors, be it more or lesse, the provisions undressed with the wine and bedding that you dispose of it for the countrys benefit, and the other provisions wee conceive it is meeete that you leave the same with the gentlemen for whom it was provided to dispose thereof at their pleasure. Thomas Danforth, Joseph Hill, Edw. Johnson, Eliaazer Usher.

The committee having took their leaves of the commissioners, it being very doubtfull and uncertaine whether Mr. Norton would be so well as to adventure to goe, though such a forwardnes appeared as the provisions for their voyage, in a great measure, was sent on board, and a little before the committee went to their homes, sent for againe, which occasioned the committee to take care to dispose thereof, and also to draw up certaine letters to the persons of honour formerly mentioned, with letters to Col. Temple and Col Croune, in case of not going, to give his Majesty a satisfactory account that the only reason thereof was that the Lord, whose wee are and in whose hands our times are, by his all wise disposition in such a juncture, had determined it so to be, to whose will wee all owe obedience and submission; and though the provisions came on shoare, which was only housed with a secret hope of Gods mercifull ordering and disposing of such a turne as for which wee should not only rejoice but be thankfull, the letters being writ and sealed; though afterwards, on the second day early in the morning, the Lord so encouraged and strengthened the heart of the reverend Mr. Norton, that he expreft himself willing and resolved to goe that day, being the 11th of February; which on notice of, the secretary delivered the commission, instructions and all writings that concerned the negociation, to the honored Mr. Bradstreet, and made with Capt. Savage and Mr. Usher such further provisions as was wanting and the time would permitt, an account whereof and of the disposing
The experience that we have had of your former labour of love and faithfulness to your remote friends, both encourage and embolden yet further to crave your favour, although accompanied with some labour on your part, as to the accomplishing of this our request.

Such is the all-wise providence of God towards us, that after no little travel for the attaining of meet persons from among ourselves, for our messengers, to appear before his Majesty and most honorable council on the behalf of this colony, together with provision according to our poor ability for such a dispatch, it hath pleased the Lord to frustrate our designe by disabling one of our said messengers by sickness, even then when there remained nothing but their going aboard, whereupon the ship hath been put upon demurrage, even to the hazard both of ship and cargo, by reason of the ice in this cold country, so that we are now forced to send away the address to his Majesty with letters to some lords of his honorable council without our messengers accompanying the same, we being wholly incapable to impower any other, not having an opportunity to convene our general court for the commissioning of some other in his stead.

Our request is therefore to yourselves, jointly or severally, as God may give you opportunity, after the perusal of the inclosed to seale up the same, and then improve

your

* This and the next Letter were prepared to be forwarded in case the Agents should not proceed.
your interest in your and our friends for the delivering of
our petition to his Majesty, together with a true representa-
tion of this our present disappointment of our real in-
tention, as also for the deliverie of our letters to the seve-
ral lords, craving their favor according to the purport
thereof, of whose favourable acceptance we shall be glad
to heare by the first opportunity.

As also our request is to yourselves that you be pleased
to further our request to his Majesty, being to us a mat-
ter of great importance, and wherein, as we conceive, the
glory of our God is not a little concerned.

What moneys you expend on this our busines charge it
to our account, and we shall readily and thankfully owne
the same; and we are confidently perswaded he whose
name and glory is so greatly interested in our quarrell
with thofe cursed hereticks, will also owne your labour
and travell herein, their mallice being not fo much against
our persons and cftates, as against his truth and ordinances,
under which we have here desired to throwd ourselves.
Unto whose guidance and bleffing we committ you and
yours, and remaine, Gentlemen,

Your assured friends and
brethren in Christ Jesus.

For Mr. Rich. Saltonffall,
Mr. Hen. Ashhurst,
Mr. John Leverett,
or any of them.
7th February 1661.

Copy of a Letter from the Committee of the
General Court to Col. Thomas Temple.

Sir,
T HE experience we have had of your cordiall affec-
tion to his Majesty's poore subjects, circumstanced
with the distance and meanes of fo remote a wildernes con-
dition, doth embolden to the troubling your honor with
these lines.
Such is the good pleasure of him who ruleth all things according to his own will, that when with no little travell and difficulty wee had attained two meet person from amongst our selves for our messengers to our lord the King, with some provisions for such an undertaking, according to our poore ability, it hath pleased the Lord to frustrate all our endeavours by his visitation of one of them (i.e.) the Rev. Mr. John Norton, whereby he is dismable to attend that service; the which, as to ourselves, the disappointment is great, and we cannot but look upon it, as an humbling and awfull providence, and that the rather, in that our adversaries thereby have occasion given them to triumph, and to boast themselves that the Lord fighteth against us.

Sir, Your selfe being not long since on the place, we neede not to trouble you with an account of our condition as now circumstanced with the malignancy of our adversaries, especially bent against the interest of the Lord and his poore people here, as yourself do well know, who while they plead with that wicked Haman, that our laws are divers from all people, and do accuse us of disobedience to the laws of our king, and that it is not for his Majesty's profit to suffer us, pretending great profit to his Majesty in case their enterprisfs may be achieved, although wee may truly say the enemy in so doing could not countervayle the king's damage.

Our request to your selfe is, that according to the opportunity God hath put into your hands, you will be pleased to further those gentlemen to whom we have committed the trouble of accompanying our addresse to his Majesty together with your presence countenancing of the same, if you shall see meete, and to be further instrumentall, wherein you truly may, for the removing of any offence that this our disappointment may occasion; assuring his Majesty (as wee hope you have charity towards us) that, however we are loaded with the calumnies of our adversaries, we shall alwayes approve ourselves to be those that feare the Lord and honour our King.

Sir,
Sir, We have not to perswade hereto with motives of our owne deserts or with future obligations. You well knowing our condition, how circumstanc'd, with so great distance and meanes, utterly incapacitating to a suitable returne of your favour; yet we hope you will not find us uncivil in not acknowledging the same. And however it tares with us, you may assure your selue that he who keepeth a register of all hearts and thoughts, Mal. 3. 16 yea even of a cup of cold water, will not be unmindfull of your labour of love, into whose armes of mercy and blessing in Christ Jesus committing you and all your weighty affaires, we remaine

Yours in wherein we may to serve you,

Copy of a Letter from the Corporation in England to the Commissioners of the united Colonies.

Honored Gentlemen,

A Letter of yours being brought hither, directed to Mr. Ashurst and Mr. Hutchinson, though the former of these two gentlemen did by the last ship, as he tells us, acknowledge the receipt of it, and intimate the reasons of our silence, yet we now thinke it meete to assure you also ourselves how acceptable it was to us to be informed, partly by that letter of yours and partly by the relation of some learned ministers that came a while since from New-England, that you continue your care and concerne for the propagation of the gospel of Christ amongst the poore Indians, and we are glad that through the goodnes of God wee are now in a condition to informe you that since the receipt of your lately mentioned letter, it hath pleased the king's majesty (in councill) to grant a charter of incorporation, wherein many of the nobility and other persons of quality, and most of those gentlemen that were formerly
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formerly employed in the like worke are authorized and appointed to endeavour the carrying on of that pious designe (for converting the heathen natives) wherein they deservedly esteeme it both an honor and advantage to be employed in this new establishment, being among other particulars enjoyned to appointe commissioners in New-England to prosecute there by our directions his Majesties pious intentions; wee judge this to be a matter of the highest concernment that belongs to the worke intrusted to us, for all our endeavours here and all the supplies wee may procure from hence, will be but ineffectuall, though not to our owne souls, yet to the worke wee would promote, unless there be a prudent and faithfull management of what wee send over, by the commissioners wee shall appoint in New-England, and those that they shall employ, and therefore since, having obtained the best information wee can and seriously considered the matter, we have pitched on the same course that have beene formerly taken in pursuance of the same ends and care, and accordingly determined at present to desire you to take upon you againe the care and management of this worke upon the place, wee hope you will descerne how great a trust wee willingly repose in you, and wee doubt not of your readiness to comply (as formerly you have done) with our directions herein. The busines wherein wee desire to engage you being such as wee thinke it truly honorable to be engaged in ourselves, and the designe being of a nature to which the greatest and most precious promises are annexed, besides that the civilizing and converting of your barbarous and unbelieving neighbours is that whose successse will be in some regards of more immediate advantage to your selves than to us, our good wishes to so christian a worke makes it much our trouble to see that the means of carrying it on are no greater then wee now at our entrance find them, which wee mention, not by way of reflection on those to whose hands the management of them was committted before the grant of the charter, but because it is necessary for us to acquainte you with the condition wee are
are brought to, partly by the great charge you and we have been at on several necessary occasions, and partly (and indeed chiefly) by the injurious dealing of some who take advantage of the letter of the law, against all justice and equity, to repose themselves of what they formerly fold, whereby the greatest part of our revenue is at present detained, which will prove, we fear, very expensive and somewhat difficult to recover, and therefore we desire as little money may be drawn on us for this year to come as will possibly conflict with the not neglecting of what is necessary to be done, we say for this next year because we cannot be so dispondent as not to hope that the providence of God will, by some means, or other, provide for the supply of a work so much tending to his own glory, and so acceptable to those that are so heartily concerned for it. The bill of £800 drawn for the use of the Indian works is for the most part paid, and should have been entirely so ere now, were it not for the want of present money. That which is from time to time laid out we desire may, according to your commendable practice, be sent us over in a particular within the year, and it may assist us in the regulating our expenses, if you be pleased to let us know, by the first convenience, what further charge you judge you shall be put to by perfecting the printing of the bible; the use of that divine booke and also a constant use of catechising, we judge most necessary for the Indians instruction in religion; and we also think it may conduce to unity and order if the same catechisme be generally taught amongst them. If our flocke do increase, which we hope it hereafter may, especially since his Majesty himselfe has been graciously pleased particularly to countenance this work, and to secure both what hath been, and what may be given towards it, by a legall settlement, which before was wanting; if (we say) our means increase we should consider of some employment in the way of trade and manufacture to employ the Indians, or if in the interim there occurs to you any thing about this or any other matter that you judge may tend to the promot-
ing of that good worke, wherein we take the happines to
be jointly engaged. your information and advice will be,
as well as your affittance, very welcome to us.

Signed in the name and by the appointment of the
 corporation for the propagation of the gospell
in America. the Robert Boyle, Gov.

London 15th May 1662.
For the worshipful the Commissioners
of the united colonies of New-
England, in New-England, these.

Copy of a Letter from King Charles the second
to the Massachusetts.

CHARLES REX.

TRUSTY and well beloved, Wee greete you well.
Whereas wee have lately received an humble ad-
dress and petition from the generall court of our colony of
the Massachusetts in New England, presented to us by
Symon Bradstreet and John Norton, Wee have thought it
agreeable to our princely grace and justice to lett you know
that the same have been very acceptable unto us, and that
wee are satisfied with your expressions of loyalty, duty
and good affection made to us in the said address, which
wee doubt not proceeds from the hearts of our good sub-
jects, and Wee are therefore willing that all our good sub-
jects of that plantation do know that Wee doe receive them
into our gracious protection, and will cherish them with
our best incouragement, and that Wee will preserve, and
doe hereby confirme the pattent and charter heretofore
graunted to them by our royall father of blessed memory,
and that they shall freely injoy all the priviledges and li-
bertyes granted to them in and by the same, and that
Wee will be ready to renew the same charter to them, un-
under our great seal of England, whenever they shall desire it. And because the licence of these late ill times have likewise had an influence upon our colony, in which they have swerved from the rules prescribed, and even from the government instituted by the charter, which we do graciously implore rather to the iniquity of the time than to the evil intents of the hearts of those who exercised the government there. And Wee do therefore publish and declare our free and gracious pardon to all our subjects of that our plantation, for all crimes and offences committed against us during the late troubles, except any such persons who stand attainted by our parliament here of high treason, if any such persons have transported themselves into those parts; the apprehending of whom and delivering them into the hands of justice Wee expect from the dutiful and affectionate obedience of those our good subjects in that colony, if they be found within the jurisdiction and limmits thereof. Provided always, and be it in our declared expectation, that upon a review of all such laws and ordinances that are now or have been during these late troubles in practice there, and which are contrary or derogative to our authority and government, the same may be annulled and repealed, and the rules and prescriptions of the said charter for administering and taking the oath of allegiance be henceforth duly observed, and that the administration of justice be in our name.* And since the principle and foundation of that charter was and is the freedom of liberty of conscience, Wee do hereby charge and require you that that freedom and liberty be duly admitted and allowed, so that they that desire to use the booke of common prayer and performe their devotion in that

* These are made the conditions of the Pardon which the King may annex as he thinks fit, on the performance whereof the validity of the Pardon will depend. What follows seems to be rather a requisition or recommendation of certain acts upon the performance whereof depends his Majesties further grace and favour. This is called a Letter and certainly was not a Pardon under the great seal. It is however often claimed as a Grant or Charter as well for the remission of all Offences as for the confirmation of all Liberties and Privileges granted by Patent.
that manner that is establifhed here be not denied the exercise thereof, or undergo any prejudice or disadvantage thereby, they using theire liberty peaceably without any disturbance to others; and that all persons of good and honest lives and conversations be admitted to the sacrament of the Lords supper, according to the saide booke of common prayer, and their children to baptism. Wee cannot be understood hereby to direct or with that any indulgence should be granted to those persons commonly called Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of government, Wee have found it necessary, with the advise of our parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well content you doe the like there. Although Wee have hereby declared our expectation to be that the charter granted by our royall father, and now confirmed by us, shall be particularly observed, yet, if the number of assistants enjoyned thereby be found by experience, and be judged by the country, to be inexpedient, as Wee are informed it is, Wee then dispence with the same, and declare our will and pleasure, for the future, to be, that the number of the said assistants shall not exceed 18, nor be les at any time than 10, Wee assuring ourselves, and obliging and commanding all persons concerned that, in the election of the governor or assistants, there be only consideration of the wisdome and integrity of the persons to be chosen, and not of any faction with reference to their opinion or profession, and that all the freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversations, orthodox in religion (though of different perswations concerning church-government) may have their vote in the election of all officers civill or military. Lastly, our will and pleasure is that at the next general court of that our colony this our letter and declaration be communicated and published, that all our loving subjects may know our grace and favour to them, and that Wee doe take them into our protection as our loving and dutifull subjects, and that Wee will be ready from time to time to receive any application or address from them, which may concern their interest and the
good of our colony, and that Wee will advance the benefit
of the trade thereof by our uttermost indeavour and coun-
tenance, presuming that they will still meritt the same by
their duty and obedience.
Given at Hampton-Court, June 28th, in the fourteenth
year of our reign. By his Majesty's command,
Ed. Nicholas.

Copy of the Petition of John Scott, Esq; to the
King, about Long Island, in N. York Govern-
ment, with his Majesty's Reference thereof.

To the Kings most excellent Majesty,
The humble petition of John Scott, Esq;

Sheweth,

THAT your Majesties petitioner's father in the year
1641 fould 2200l. per ann. and advanced 14300l.
to the use of your Majesties royall father of ever blessed
memory, besides the los of his life in the said servis, and
your petitioner for a small expression of his loyalty, by
cutting the bridles and girts of some of the then parlia-
ments horfes quartering at Turnham Green and his late
Majesties at Branford, was after many hearings before a
committee of the said parliament (by a gift of 500l. to the
said committee to prevent further mischiefe) ordered to
be sent to New England under the tuition of one Downing,
who dealt most perfidiously with your Majesties petitioner;
that your Majesties petitioner was forced to court any im-
ployment to acquire a livelihood, employing himselfe in
and about an island called Long Island, of which island,
before your Majesties happie restoration, the petitioner
purchased near one third part.
The petitioner therefore humbly prays your Majestie
of your princely grace and favour to bestow upon
him the government of the said island and islands ad-
jacent, or libertie to the inhabitants to chufe a gover-
nor and assistants yearly.

And the petitioner shall ever pray.
At the court at White-Hall, June 26th 1663.

His Majesty having received good testimony of the petitioners loyalty and great sufferings, and being fully satisfied of his particular abilities to serve him, is most graciously inclined to encourage him in his desires, and is pleased accordingly to refer his present suit to the committee of foreign plantations, who are to consider and certify* his Majesty whether there be any private pretensions upon the said island, &c. (by any former grant) that his Majesty may know what is proper to be done for gratifying the petitioner and the good of his owne subjects in those parts.

Henry Bennet.

* I observe, in general, in these Papers the orthography of the originals. This is printed from an original signed by Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington.
favor, for whose happiness and prosperity daily prayers are made to the great God (the God of all grace and mercy) both in public and private.

This summer we have been under some trouble by the pagan natives, who have had their plottings and contrivances for our disquiet, but the Lord hath prevented it, blessed be his name, and there is a better understanding now betwixt the English and them than there was in the spring of the year. Some small disturbance there hath been at a place called Packatuck, betwixt Conneticott and Rhode Island; the question betwixt them is in point of jurisdiction, and its credibly reported that Rhode Island have chosen one Mr. John Clarke* their deputy governor, and intend to send him to complain to his Majesty of Conneticott. Conneticott have offered to refer the matter to the two colonies of Massachusetts and Plimouth, to which motion diverse of Rhode Island would concur but others refuse, upon what ground is not understood. These colonies not being interested in the quarrell or reason of it (though some of the inhabitants may be in the land, or claim an interest therein, but the government do not) see that that course might have been neighbourly to have tried for an issue that way, before there had been giving a trouble to his Majesty in so small a matter as it is supposed that will prove to be when heard; however, it is a certain truth that the colony of the Massachusetts is not at all ingaged and not soe much as acquainted with it further then report. If soe be that from the complaints of Rhode Island men, or any others, any thing should be reflected upon the colony of the Massachusetts, may wee by the means of any friend or friends but obtaine the favour to be heard before wee are concluded with those complained against, or have any conclusion made of us, it will be a very high obligation unto us. Another thing desirable is, that wee may be advized what motions there may

* I suppose this to be the same Person who was sentenced to be fined or whipped for his antipredobaptistical tenets, and who afterwards removed to Rhode Island where his posterity remain in repute to this day. See p. 309.
may be concerning us, if any, whether for our advantage or disadvantage. 'Tis well knowne that many have been the attempts to give us disquiet or interruption in the worke the Lord hath set us about in this wildernesse, and wee cannot thinke that wee are yet without ill-wishers. But God that hath prevented and disapoynted all hitherto, can, and will, soe far as it may concur with his own councils and good pleasure, which hath appeared to be councils of much peace towards an unworthy people, for which let his holy name be forever praised by us in a way of believing, that wee may be able to say in truth, this God is our God who was our fathers and will be our guide unto death.

Copy of a Letter from Sir John Wolstenholme to Mr. Edward Rawson, Secretary to the New-England Plantations.

Mr. Rawson,

I have receaved the 26th of January your letter dated the 22d December, with eleven copies of bonds and a copie of an order of your court in pursuance of the act of navigation, with a letter from your governor about the same, and testifying the receipt of his Majestys and councells order and articles concerning the said navigation, and am very glad to see your governor and councell of New-England so ready to observe those good lawes tending so much to advance his Majestys service and the true English interest, wherein I conceive the English plantations are as much concerned, if wavered with judgment and discretion, as ourselves here; for if wee doe not maintaine here the honour and reputation of his Majestie and the nation, which must be by our navigation and shipping which are our walles, the plantations will be subject to be devoured by strangers. I am a great well wisher and good friend to your plantation and so was my father before me who died 24 yeares since, because wee did observe your plantation industrious,
industrious, and when some clouds were then here, about your plantation, with our best advice to those sent from thence heather endeavoured to remove and disperse them, and although different in opinion in the discipline of the church yet earnestly desired to preserve and keepe you faithfull to his Majestys crowne and subjection as true Englishmen to the civill government, which I hope will so continue, for which I shall always pray, and with my humble service to your Governor I shall remaine,

Your verye loving friend,


Since writing hereof I have receaved a second letter with intire coppies of the aforesaid bonds from you by another shipe.

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Copy of a Letter from Mr. Thomas Prence Governor of Plymouth Colony, to Secretary Rawson.

Sir,

I Have on the recept of yours by Capt. Olliver, and as the shortnes of time would admitt advised with some of our inhabitants here; and taking notice of Mr. Leet's also, wee apprehend he doth not groundlesly press the interposition of the colonys in reference to Capt.Scott,* it being a case wherein the whole may be deeply concerned, and therefore shall endeavour the next week to dispatch

* This Capt. Scott, either under colour of the order of his Majesty in Council, p. 381, or some further proceedings in consequence of it, came to Long Island and laid claim to the property or jurisdiction or both, which gave great offence to New-Haven colony which had exercised jurisdiction over the East end of the Island. Scott was taken and imprisoned as appears by Colonel Coffe's journal, but the whole island being soon after included in the grant to the Duke of York the controversy between New-Haven and Scott was settled.
dispatch away some that may be assistant to the gentlemen that you have already sent. We hope they will be there in good time. We see not how we can answer Mr. Leet's desire in a meeting of the commissioners at Hartford, but doe deeply resent the matter, and are very ready to put forth to the uttermost in such an interposition, which with my respects I intreat you to signify unto your honored council, so not willing to give you noe further trouble, remayne your assured friend and confederate,

Tho. Prence.

Plymouth April 28. 1664.

Copy of a Letter from King Charles the II. to the Inhabitants of the Province of Maine.

To our trusty and well beloved the Inhabitants upon the Province of Meyn in New-England, or whom else it may concern.

CHARLES, R.

Trusty and well beloved we greet you well; whereas our trusty and well beloved Ferdinando Gorges, Esq; hath by his humble petition informed us that his grandfather Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, deceased, being a person who laid himself forth very much for the advancing of foraine plantations, and particularly that of New-England in America, did in the fifteenth year of the reign of our late royal father of blessed memory, obtain a grant under the great seale of England, for a certain part and portion of the said country, which by the said patent was entitled the province of Meyne and (as the petitioner affirms, he hath heard from several persons of worth) he the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges did expend in planting several parts of New-England above twenty thousand pounds sterling; and when he was in hopes to receive some advantage in recompence of his great diffurbements aforesaid, the late unhappy warres breaking out in Eng-
land, he the said Ferdinando Gorges (though betwixt three and fourscore years of age) did personally engage in our royal fathers service, and particularly in the siege of Bristol, by reason whereof when it was necessary for him to appear before the council and committees for foreign plantations, he was wholly discountenanced by them, even to the encouraging of the people in the said province to disown his government, which had continued for several years uninterrupted, and a party of the inhabitants of the said province, petitioning the governors of the Massachusetts Bay, that they would also take upon them the government of the said province; in pursuance of that petition, those who had the government of the said Bay did from thenceforth take upon them the government of the said province, so as both the said Sir Ferdinando, the petitioner's father, and himself, have ever since been thereby deprived of the issues and profits of said province. Now in regard of the premises, and for as much as those agents who were lately employed to address themselves unto us, on the behalf of the governors and inhabitants of the said Bay, being on the behalf of the petitioner charged before our privy council for usurping the government of the said province, did declare that those whom they represented did not claim any title in, or interest to the said province; but did only govern the same until orders from hence were sent over for the government thereof, on the behalf of the petitioner: upon whose humble supplications, we were graciously pleased to refer the allegations aforesaid to the consideration of our counsel learned in the law, who have made report unto us, that they have considered thereof, and do find that Sir Ferdinando Gorges aforesaid, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our royal father, obtained a grant to him and his heirs under the great seal of England of a part of New-England in America, called by the name of the province of Meyne, to be held as of the manor of East Greenwich, under certain rents and conditions in the letters patents expressed, and that it appeared by several affidavits and certificates of credible persons that the said Sir
Sir Ferdinando Gorges had the possession of the said province without any disturbance, and did govern the same according to the directions of the said letters patent for some years, expended above twenty thousand pounds in the plantation thereof, that when he had made such progress in the said plantation as that he expected to reap some profit and advantage thereby, the unhappy wars breaking out in England Sir Ferdinando Gorges was in actual service in the said wars for our royal father, by reason whereof he was a great sufferer, plundered and imprisoned several times and thereby disabled from any further expenses in carrying on the said plantation, the rather for that he was so discouraged and discountenanced by the then pretended commissioners for forraine plantations, as that his commissioners were forced to come from the said plantation, and so lost the possession, and the inhabitants thereof petitioned the governours of the Massachufets or Bay of Boston, to take them under their government, which accordingly they did, and have continued under their government ever since, and the petitioners commissioners since our restauration have endeavoured to take possession of the said province for the petitioner (being heir to his grandfather) and proclaimed us, began to hold courts as formerly, and to administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, but were disturbed and hindered therein by the said governours of the Massachufets or the Bay of Boston, who required the commissioners to proceed no further on the behalf of the petitioner until they had order from the supream authority of England, until which time they commanded the inhabitants of that province to continue under their government: We have taken the whole matter into our princely consideration, and finding the petitioners allegations and report of our said counsel learned so consonant, we have thought fit to signifie our pleasure on the behalf of the said Ferdinando Gorges the petitioner, hereby requiring you that you forthwith make restitution of the said province unto him or his commissioners, and deliver him or them the quiet and peaceable possession.
Copy of a Letter from the General Court to Robert Boyle, Esq:

Honorable Sir,

The occasion of our giving you this trouble is from the confidence we have of your favour and care of these his Majesties colonies in New England, manifested by your continued endeavours as in promoting that good work of the natives conversion. Soe in taking opportunities for ingratiating us with his Majestie and the right honorable the Lord Chancellor, as wee understand by your letter to Mr. Winthrop, wherein you have given us that comfortable information of his Majesties grace towards us in expressing himself in a very favorable manner, and that the Chancellor did assure you (with giving you commission to assure our friends in the city) that the King intends not any injury to our charter or the destruction of our civil government, or the infringement of our libertie of conscience, and that the doing of those things is none of the business of the commissioners. The truth of which wee beleevve as wee ought to doe the words of soe gracious a King.

But alas, Sir, The commission empowering those commisioners to heare and determine all cases whatever, military, criminall or civil (what they have further by instruction at present wee know not) should it take place, what would become of our civil government which hath binn, under God, the heade of that libertie for our conscienties for which the first adventurers passeth thorough and
and bore all difficulties and discouragements that encountered them as in the way toe foe in their continuance in this wilderness? Sir, Wee returne you our true and hartty thankes for your former favours and crave the continuance thereof as opportunity shall offer and the great mover of harts shall inclyne you in appearing our friend still, that if possibile the commission may be recalled; for which end wee have made our humble supplication to his Majestie, in whose eyes may wee find favour, wee and our posterity shall have cause to bleffe the Lord. But if the decree be past foe that it cannot be recalled, wee shall waight the Lords issue with us; and whatever may be the conjectures of any, rendering alterations here adviseable, the issue will speake them to be the subversion of all that which makes this place or our abode therein desireable. Or if the envy of those that desire a dominion over us (not to serve his Majesties interest in advancing plantation worke with the countenance of godlines, but to serve themselves by his Majesties authority and our ruin) shall prevaile, it will to posterity be rendered a disservice, to his Majesties dishonor, and such a dammage as the procurers will not be able to repay us. Wee can sooner leave our place and all our pleasant outward enjoyments than leave that which was the first ground of wandering from our native country, nor are wee thereby made such strangers thereto but wee can rather chuse to return and take up our lott with our brethren than abide here under the deprivement of the end of our travells. Our way is with the Lord. Craving your honnors pardon, for this bouldnefs, and offering up our best desires to the Lord for you, wee remaine 

Sir, Your humble servants, 

J. E. G. 

In the name of the generall court.

To the right honorable Robt. Boyle, Esq; Gov. of the corporation for the propagatation of the gospell in New England.
Copy of a Letter from Secretary Morice to the Massachusets Colony.

Sirs,

His Majesty hath heard this petition* read to him and hath well weighed all the expressions therein, and the temper and spirit of those who framed it, and doth not impute the same to his colony of the Massachusets, amongst whom he knowes the major part consist of men well affected to his service and obedient to his government, but he hath commanded me to let you know that he is not pleased with this petition and lookes upon it as the contrivance of a few persons who have had too long authority there, and who use all the artifices they can to infuse jealousies into his good subjects there and apprehensions as if their charter were in danger, when it is not possible for his Majestie to doe more for the securing it or to give his subjects there more assurance that it shall not in any degree be infringed, than he hath already done, even by his late commission and commissioners sent thither, who are so far from having the least authority to infringe any clause in the said charter, that it is the principall end of their journey, so chargeable to his Majestie, to see that the charter be fully and punctually observed; his Majestie did expect thankes and acknowledgments, from that his colony, of his fatherly care in sending his commissioners thither, and which he doubts not he shall receive from the rest of his colonies in those parts, and not such unreasonable and groundleffe complaint as is contained in your petition, as if he had thereby intended to take away your priviledges and to drive you from your habitations, without the least mention of any misdemeanour or miscarriage in any one of the said commissioners or in any one particular; nor can his Majestie comprehend (except you believe that by granting your charter he hath parted with his soveraigne power

* See Appendix to History of Massachusets Bay, V. 1. P. 537.
over his subjects there) how he could proceed more graciously, or indeed any other way, upon so many complaints presented to him by particular persons of injustice done contrary to the constitution of that government; from the other colonies for the oppression they pretend to undergo by the power of that of the Massachusets, by extending their bounds and their jurisdiction further than they ought to doe, as they pretend; from the natives for the breach of faith and intolerable pressures layed upon them, as they allege, contrary to all kind of justice, and even to the dishonour of the English nation and christian faith, if all they allege be true; I say, his Majestie cannot comprehend how he could apply proper remedies to these evills, if they are real, or how he could satisfy himselfe whether they are real or noe by any other way or meanes than by sending commissioners thither to examine the truth and grounds of all the allegations, and for the present to compose the differences the best they can, untill upon a full and clear representation thereof to his Majestie, who cannot but expect the same from them, his Majesties owne finall judgment and determination may be had, and it hath pleased God so far already to bleffe that service that its no small benefit his Majestie and his English colonies in those partes have already received by the said commissioners in the removall of so inconvenient neighbours as the Dutch have been for these late years, and which would have been a more spreading and growing mischiefe in a short time, if it had not been removed. To conclude, I am commanded by his Majestie to assure you againe of your full and peaceable enjoyment of all the priviledges and libertys granted to you by his charter, which he hath heretofore and doth now againe offer to renew to you, if you shall desire it, and that you may further promise yourselves all the protection, countenance and encouragement that the best subjects ever received from the most gracious Prince; in returne whereof he doth only expect that duty and chearfull obedience that is due to him, and that it may not be in the power of any malicious perfon to make you miserable
miserable by entertaining any unnecessary and unreasonable jealousies that there is a purpose to make you foe; and since his Majesty hath too much reason to suspect that Mr. Endecott,* who hath during all the late revolutions continued the government there, is not a person well affected to his Majesties person or his government, his Majestie will take it very well if at the next election any other person of good reputation be chosen in the place, and that he may noe longer exercise that charge. This is all I have to signify unto you from his Majestie and remaine

Your very humble servant,

Whitehall, Feb. 25. 1664.

Will. Morice.

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Copy of a Letter from Mr. Davenport to Major General Leverett.

Honorable Sir,

LET my first salutation be my congratulation for this addition of a further expression of Gods peoples affection and confidence in your courage, wisdom and faithfulnes for the interest of our Lord Jesus and the good and wellfare of church and commonwealth, in that they have unanimously called you to be one of the assistants for governing the civill affaires in the court, as well as to be their major generall in the campe. The good Lord aflift and governe you by his spirit of wisdom, of courage, and of the fear of the Lord in both.

Sir, I received yours dated 27. 3d. 65. for which I returne humble and hearty thanks, and for the inclosed narrative, whereby I perceive that the powers of darknes which have prevailed in other parts of the world are at worke here also, to subvert the kingdom of Christ in these ends of the earth. But God hath not yet saith that this is theirire hour in reference to N. E. though our unthankfulnes for the gospel, unfruitfulness under it, disobedience

* Mr. Endecott died before the next election.
to it, declensions from the simplicity that is in Christ, and sinful compliances, &c. have deserved that our hedge should be broken down. That admonition which Christ sent unto the church at Ephesus should found in our hearts continually, Repent and doe thy first workes. For even David had his first and his latter wayes. Therefore it is noticed concerning Jehosaphat, in 2 Chron. 17. 3. that the Lord was with him, because he walked in the first wayes of his father David. If N. E. would returne to the first wayes of reformation here begun, according to gospel rules and patternes (from which the compas of the last synods conclusions seemes to be varied by some degrees towards the antartique, or is newly discovered to be other than I formerly apprehended to have been the way of these churches) I would hope that the same onely wise God who disappoind the coun cel of that archprelate in the raigne of the last king (whereby your pattent was once and againe demanded by the said king, and as often refused by your generall court, to be returned to England) would also still appeare, in this juncture, by frustrating the present designe and making it an abortion, or a mere tryall of the country, whether they will stand to their church rights and priviledges or permit them to be invaded and violated by such attempts, which when they are tried and found unsuccessful, will cease for the future. For the Lord is and will be with his people while they are with him; and if yee seeke him he will be found of you. An experiment hereof you had in the quiet proceeding of your elections, as a gracious answer to prayers. Their claiming power to sit authoritatively as a court for appeales, and that to be managed in an arbitrary way, was a manifest laying of a ground worke to undermine your whole government established by your charter. If you had consented thereunto, you had plucked downe with your owne hands that house which wisdom had built for you and your posterity. For all your courts would then have signified nothing; the sentences of them being liable to be disannulled, upon complaints to the commissioners made by delinquents, as appeareth
appeareth in the case of Mr. Tho. Deane, &c. and the execution of the justest censure might be hindered and the course of justice obstructed, as you have alreadie found in the case of John Potter. Nor can I see that your preserving that authority and jurisdiction which the last king, by his roial charter, gave you, can rationally be accounted an opposing the overaignety which this king hath over you, seeing id possunt reges quod jure possunt. There is indeed a verbal profession of preserving your liberties. But if the commission of these gentlemen be of such a latitude as they say, it is a real destruction of that which they promise to preserve. Quid verba auáiam, cum facta videam? Therefore, to me, the matter of your answer feemes to be rational, just and necessary. As for the solemnity of publishing it, in three places, by founding a trumpet, I believe you did it upon good advise, and therefore, susspending my own thoughts, I shall wait to see how it is resented at the court in England. Yet, upon serious second and third thoughts, I see not but that it was your prudent way so to do, considering that, 1. It was the anfwer of the generall court. 2. Published in the kings name. 3. For the cognifance of the whole country concerned in it. 4. For declaring the courage and resolution of the whole countrey to defend theire charter liberties and priviledges, and not to yeeld up theire right voluntarily, fo long as they can hold it, in dependance upon God in Chrift, whose interest is in it, for his protection and blessing, who will be with you while you are with him. If my advise were worth any thing, I would fay, let a collection of your grievances occasioned by the coming over of these commissioners, and by their actings, in one place and another, and of the 3 commissioners in prejudicing the Indians againft the Englifh, whereby the good worke for theire conversion is in danger to be hindered and the safety and peace of the Englifh to be bazzarded, for the future; let, I fay, all inftances of theire illegal and injurious proceedings, throughout the countrey, be fully collected and clearly proved, and speedily transmitted and represented to the king,
king, the lord chancellor, &c. by your next address, and therein let them fully and plainly understand that the whole country (for the generality of them) are much aggrieved at these doings and humbly desire to be resettled in their former state, according to their charter, and that they may be freed from those new encroachments; wherein the petition to the general court presented in the names of so many non-freemen, declaring their full satisfaction in the settled government, as it is, with their earnest desire that it may be still continued without alteration, may be signified to the higher powers, to good purpose. Sir, You see whether my zeal for preserving Christ's interest in your parts (though in N.H. C.† it is miserably lost) and my unfeigned love to your colonie and my fervent desire of the wellfare of the churches and commonwealth (so far as they may be promoted and perpetuated by your circumspection) hath carried me, through my confidence in your wisdom and faithfulness, that you will make no other use of this my scribbling then such as shall be safe both to you and me. To the honorable governor you may communicate it, if you please, presenting also to him my humble and affectionate service.

Sir, I returne your copie of the articles that concerne Commameene, having received them formerly from your selfe, and lately from Mr. Bishop, with many thanks to you for the sight and loan of them from us both. But I am and shall be discouraged from regarding such agreement made by a subject, though honourably, till I see your charter, sealed by the late King, and obliging his heirs and successors, really as well as verbally confirmed and performed, towards the purchasing whereof I paid 50l. and Mr. Eaton 100l. and sundry other merchants the same sums respectively, we being members of the London corporation for N. E. which doth ingage me to desire and endeavour, what I can and may, that the intended effects thereof may remaine, for the service of Christ and for the good of all his people, both at present and for the future. I heare well of your last address to the king. I should take it

† New-Haven Colony.
it for a favour if I might peruse it and the king's answer. I shall now cease from giving you any further trouble, but not from praying for a good issue of your and our present afflictive exercises, and not ours only but of the distressed churches of Christ, in whom I rest,

Sir, Your obliged assured,

John Davenport.

N. H. the 24 of the 4. 65.

Copy of a Petition to the King from some of the Inhabitants of the Province of Maine.

To the King's most excellent Majesty,

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Casco upon the Province of Maine in New-England, wherein according to his Majesties command is rendered there reasons why they could not submitt to Mr. Gorges.

Most dread Soveraigne,

PARDON, wee humbly beseech, if wee presume to address our most gracious and loving father, whose gracious eye and fatherlie care is towards us the meaneest of your subjects inhabiting the northern parts of your dominions in this wildernes, as wee understand by your gracious letter to us. For the which fatherlie and gracious care of us therein expressed wee beseech, though wee bee but one of ten that presume to returne thankes, pardon wee humbly beseech you our presumption, who have the royall scepter of your command for foe doeing, and accept of our bounden thankfullnes, who upon our bended knees doe returne unto your sacred Majestie most humble and heartie thankes for the same.

And whereas your Majestie was pleased to demand our submision to Mr. Gorges, or else forthwith to render our reasons, may it please your most sacred Majestie, wee have noe reasons as of ourselves, having nothing to say against Mr.
Mr. Gorges or his government, but if it shall please your Majestie soe to determine itt, wee shall willinglie and chearfullie submit to itt.

1 Reason. Butt when wee first submitted to the government of the Massachussetts wee did engage to bee under theirie government till such time as your Majestie shoulde determine us as proper to any other regulation, your Majestie being pleased to send to them demanding, as wee are informed, theire resignation of us, or else to shew theire reasons; which, they say, they have undertaken to doe, and therefore have commanded us in your Majesties name to continue under theire government till itt shall bee determined by your Majestie; against whom wee have nothing to say, but have by good experience found that expression of your Majestie verified concerning them, that whereas they have exceeded others in piety and sobrietie soe God hath blessed them above others, soe wee haveing had piety soe countenanced and justice soe well executed that wee have found Gods blessing in our lawfull callings and endeavours more in one yeare than in severall before or since our late troubles.

2 Reason. Since which, most gracious Soveraigne, itt hath pleased your Majesties most honorable commissioners to forbid our submission either to the Massachussetts or Mr. Gorges; and wee humblie beseech your Majestie nott to impute it to any disloyaltie in us, if your Majestie find not our names inserted in a petition directed to your sacred Majestie for the removall of the government both from the Massachussetts and Mr. Gorges, wee haveing noe juft cause of complaint against either, wee being likewise taught out of the word of God that obedience is better than sacrifice, especiallie of that which is none of our owne, and of which, for ought wee know, your Majestie hath long since disposed of, or if nott, wee presume your Majestie knoweth better how to dispose of your owne than wee to direct; wee heere professing to your sacred Majestie it is the onely height of our desires, without any seniffer or by respects, to be wholie and folie where God by his providence and your commands shall call us. Thus
Thus havinge, according to your Majesties commands and our weake abilities, rendered all the reasons we have or know of, wee humblie beg your Majesties determination, by reason of the sad contentions that hath been and is now amongst us, nott without some threatening of us who did nott joyne with our neighbours in petitioning against Mr. Gorges and the Massachusettes, humblie begging your gracious and fatherlie eye to be towards us, wee onely desirering as much as in us lieth to act in the uprightness of our hearts in the sight of the Almighty, your sacred Majestie and all men, desiring rather to submit to, than to contend or direct what government or governours your Majestie shall please to appoint over us.

Thus, with our prayers to the God of heaven to power upon your Majestie all the blessings heaven and earth can afford, both spirituall, temporall and eternall, beseech him in whose hands are the hearts of Kings to direct your sacred Majestie soe to dispose of us as may make most for the glorie and honor of God, your sacred Majestie, and the good of us your poore subjects, wee prostrate ourselves att your Majesties feet and subscribe as your due and our dutie is, Your Majesties ever faithfull and obedient subjects, to bee obedient where your Majestie shall please to command us to the utmost of our lives and tortunes.

August 1st, 1665.

Henry Williams
Ambrose Bounds
George Lewis
John Lewis
Thomas Skilling
Thomas Skilling
John Skilling
John Clayes
Thomas Wakly
John Rider
Nathan: Wallis.

George Cleeves
George Munioy
Francis Neeate
Phinehas Hidar
Richard Martin
Benjamin Hatewell
John Ingersoll
George Ingersoll
John Marklie
John Phillipps
Robert Corbin
Copy of a Letter from Robert Carr to Major-General Leverett and the rest of the Commissioners from Boston.

Gentlemen,

HEARINGE of your being at Strawbury banke, and being informed of your strict course you intend against those that have supplicated his Majestie for their freedome and libertie, I could not doe lesse than in his Majesties name require you to take notice of this inclosed, which is a true coppy of a letter sent to the Governour and Councell of Boston, and in his Majesties name I doe againe desire and require you would forbear troubling or molesting such persons or persons in Strawbury banke, Dover or Exon, as hath petitioned his Majestie, untill his Majesties gracious pleasaure be further knowne. This is all at present but that I am, Gentlemen,

Dated at Kittery, Your friend and servant,
10th October 1665.
Robert Carr.

Copy of a Sentence of Court against Thomas Goold and others.

At a county court held at Cambridge, on adjournment, Aprill 17. 1666.

THOMAS GOOLD, Thomas Osburne and John George* being presented by the grand jury of this county for absenting themselves from the publick worship of God on the Lords dayes for one whole yeare now past, alleged respectfully as followeth, viz.

Thomas

* These three persons scrupled Infant Baptifm, seperated from the churches of the country and, with others of the same persuasion with themselves, set up a church in Boston. Whilst Congregationalists in England were complaining of the intolerant spirit of Episcopalians there, Antipaedobaptists in New-England had equal reason to complain of the same spirit in the Congregationalists there.
Thomas Ofburne answered, that the reason of his non-attendance was, that the Lord hath discovered unto him from his word and spirit of truth that the society, where-with he is now in communion, is more agreeable to the will of God, asserted that they were a church and attended the worship of God together, and do judge themselves bound so to do, the ground whereof he said he gave in the general court.

Thomas Goold answered, that as for coming to public worship they did meet in public worship according to the rule of Christ, the grounds whereof they had given to the court of assistants, asserted that they were a public meeting, according to the order of Christ Jesus gathered together.

John George answered, that he did attend the public meetings on the Lord’s days where he was a member; asserted that they were a church according to the order of Christ in the gospell, and with them he walked and held communion in the public worship of God on the Lord’s days.

Whereas at the general court in October last, and at the court of assistants in September last endeavours were used for their conviction. The order of the general court declaring the said Goold and company to be no orderly church assembly and that they stand convicted of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appointments was openly read to them and is on file with the records of this court.

The court sentenced the said Thomas Goold, Thomas Ofburne and John George, for their absenting themselves from the public worship of God on the Lord’s days, to pay four pounds fine, each of them, to the county order. And whereas by their owne confessions they stand convicted of persisting in their schismaticall assembling themselves together, to the great dishonour of God and our profession of his holy name, contrary to the act of the general court of October last prohibiting them therein on penalty of imprisonment, this court doth order their giving bond respectively in 20l. each of them, for their appearance to answer their contempt at the next court of assistants.
The abovenamed Thomas Goold, John George, and Thomas Osburne made their appeale to the next court of assistants, and refusing to put in security according to law were committed to prison.

Vera copia, Tho. Danforth, Record.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Richard Saltonstall to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson.*

Reverend and deare friends, whom I unsaynedly love and respect,

It doth not a little grieve my spirit to heare what sad things are reported dayly of your tyranny and persecutions in New-England, as that you fyne, whip and imprison men for their consciences. First, you compell such to come into your assemblyes as you know will not joyne with you in your worship, and when they shew their dislike thereof or witnes against it, then you styrre up your magistrates to punish them for such (as you conceyve) their publicke affronts. Truely, friends this your practice of compelling any in matters of worship to doe that whereof they are not fully persuaded, is to make them sin, for soe the apostle (Rom. 14 and 23.) tells us, and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for feare of punishment. We pray for you and wish you prosperitie every way, hoped the Lord would have given you so much light and love there, that you might have been eyes to God's people here, and not to practice those courses in a wildernes, which you went so farre to prevent. These rigid wayes have layed you very lowe in the hearts of the

* This letter of Sir Richard Saltonstall was sent me by the Rev. Mr. Mather, but too late to be brought into the collection in order of time. I have not seen any other of Sir Richard's manuscripts and am very loth he should not have the credit of this: It may well enough follow the sentence against Gould. It discovers a good deal of that catholic spirit which too many of our first settlers were deftitute of, and confirms what I have said of Mr. Dudley's zeal in the first volume of the Massachusetts History.
saynts. I doe assure you I have heard them pray in the publique assemblies that the Lord would give you meke and humble spirits, not to stryve soe much for uniformity as to keepe the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

When I was in Holland about the beginning of our warres, I remember some christians there that then had serios thoughts of planning in New-England, desired me to write to the governor thereof to know if those that differ from you in opinion, yet houlding the same foundation in religion, as Anabaptists, Seekers, Antinomians, and the like, might be permitted to live among you, to which I received this short answer from your then governor Mr. Dudley, God forbid (said he) our love for the truth should be growne soe could that we should tolerate errors, and when (for satisfaction of myself and others) I desired to know your grounds, he referred me to the books written here between the Presbyterians and Independents, which if that had been sufficient, I needed not have sent soe farre to understand the reasons of your practice, I hope you doe not assume to yourselves infallibilitie of judgment, when the most learned of the Apostles confesseth he knew but in parte and sawe but darkely as through a glas, for God is light, and no further than he doth illuminate us can we fee, be our partes and learning never soe great. Oh that all those who are brethren, though yet they cannot thinke and speake the same things might be of one accord in the Lord. Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be thus mynded towards one another, after the example of Jesu Christ our blessed Saviour, in whose everlasting armes of protection hee leaves you who will never leave to be. Your truly and much affectionate friend in the nearest union,

Ric. Saltouf tall.

For my reverend and worthyly much esteemed friends Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilfon, preachers to the church which is at Boston in New-England, give this.
Honoured and deare Sir,

My brother Wilfon and selfe doe both of us acknowledge your love, as otherwise formerly, so now in the late lines wee received from you, that you grieve in spirit to heare dayly complaints against us, it springeth from your compassion of our afflictions therein, wherein wee see just cause to desire you may never suffer like injury yourselfe, but may finde others to compassionate and condole with you. For when the complaints you hear of are against our tyranny and perfections in fining, whipping and imprisoning men for their consciences, be pleased to understand wee looke at such complaints as altogether injurious in respect of our selves, who had noe hand or tongue at all to promote either the coming of the persons you ayme at into our assemblies, or their punishment for their carriage there. Righteous judgment will not take up reports, much lesse reproaches, against the innocent. The cry of the sinnes of Sodome was great and loud, and reached up to heaven; yet the righteous God (giving us an example what to doe in the like case) he would first goe downe to see whether their crime were altogether according to the cry, before he would procede to judgement, Gen. 18. 20, 21. and when he did finde the truth of the cry, he did not wrap up all alike promiscuously in the judgement, but spared such as he found innocent; wee are amongst those whom (if you knew us better) you would account of (as the matron of Abel spake of her selfe) peaceable in Israel, 2 Sam. 20. 19. Yet neither are wee so vast in our indulgence or toleration as to thinke the men you

* If this Letter should be thought, in some parts of it, not equal to what might be expected from the general character of the writer, the reader will attribute it to the prevailing bigotry of the age, and the cause which he undertook to defend.
you speake of suffered an unjust censure. For one of them (Obadiah Holmes) being an excommunicate person himselfe, out of a church in Plymouth patent, came into this jurisdiction and took upon him to baptize, which I think he himselfe will not say he was compelled here to performe. And he was not ignorant that the rebaptizing of an elder person, and that by a private person out of office and under excommunication, are all of them manifest contentions against the order and government of our churches established (wee know) by Gods law, and (he knoweth) by the laws of the country. And wee conceive wee may safely appeal to the ingenuity of your owne judgement, whether it would be tolerated in any civil state, for a stranger to come and practice contrary to the knowne principles of their church-estate? As for his whipping, it was more voluntarily chosen by him than inflicted on him. His censure by the court was to have payed (as I know) 30 pounds or else to be whipt, his fine was offered to be payed by friends for him freect; but he chose rather to be whipt; in which case, if his suffering of stripes was any worship of God at all, surely it could be accounted no better than will-worship. The other (Mr. Clarke) was wiser in that point and his offence was lesse, so was his fine lesse, and himselfe (as I heare) was contented to have it payed for him, whereupon he was released. The imprisonment of either of them was noe detriment. I believe they fared neither of them better at home, and I am sure Holmes had not been so well clad of many yeares before.

But be pleased to consider this point a little further. You thinke to compell men in matter of worshop is to make men sinne, according to Rom. 14. 23. If the worship be lawfull in itselfe, the magistrate compelling him to come to it compelleth him not to sinne, but the sinne is in his will that needs to be compellled to a christian duty. Josiah compelled all Israel, or (which is all one) made to serve the Lord their God, 2 Chron. 34. 33. yet his act herein was not blamed but recorded amongst his virtuous actions. For a governour to suffer any within his gates to prophane the
the sabbath, is a sinne against the 4th commandment, both in the private householder and in the magistrate; and if he requires them to present themselves before the Lord, the magistrate sinneth not, nor doth the subject sinne so great a sinne as if he did refraine to come. If the magistrate connive at his absenting himself from sabbath duties the sinne will be greater in the magistrate than can be in the others passive coming. Naamans passive going into the house of Rimmon did not violate the peace of his conscience, 2 Kings 5. 18, 19. Bodily presence in a stewes, forced to behold the leudnesse of whoredomes there committed, is noe whoredome at all. Noe more is it spirituall whoredome to be compelled by force to goe to masse.

But (say you) it doth but make men hypocrites, to compell men to conforme the outward man for feare of punishment. If it did so, yet better to be hypocrites than prophane persons. Hypocrites give God part of his due, the outward man, but the prophane person giveth God neither outward nor inward man.

Your prayers for us wee thankfully accept, and wee hope God hath given us so much light and love (which you think we want) that if our native country were more zealous against horrid blasphemies and heresies than wee be, wee believe the Lord would looke at it as a better improvement of all the great salvations he hath wrought for them than to fet open a wide doore to all abominations in religion. Doe you thinke the Lord hath crowned the state with so many victories that they should suffer so many miscreants to pluck the crown of soveraignety from Christs head? Some to deny his godhead, some his manhood; some to acknowledge noe Christ, nor heaven, nor hell, but what is in a mans selfe? Some to deny all churches and ordinances, and so to leave Christ noe visible kingdome upon earth? And thus Christ by easying England of the yoke of a kingdome shall forfeit his owne kingdome among the people of England. Now God forbid, God from heaven forbid, that the people and state of England should so ill requite the Lord Jesus. You know
know not, if you thinke wee came into this wilderneffe to
practise those courses here which wee fled from in Eng-
land. Wee believe there is a vait difference betweene
mens inventions and God's institutions; wee fled from
mens inventions, to which wee else should have beene
compelled; wee compell none to mens inventions.

If our wayes (rigid wayes as you call them) have layd
us low in the hearts of God's people, yea and of the
saints (as you stile them) wee doe not believe it is any
part of their saintship. Michal had a low esteeme of
David's zeal, but he was never a whit lower in the light
of God, nor the higher.

What you wrote out of Holland to our then governor
Mr Dudley, in behalfe of Anabaptists, Antinomians Seekers,
and the like, it seemeth, mett with a short answere from
him but zealous; for zeal will not beare such mixtures as
coldness or lukewarmenesse will, Revel. 2. 2. 14. 15. 20.
Nevertheless, I tell you the truth, wee have tolerated
in our church some Anabaptists, some Antinomians, and
some Seekers, and do so still at this day; though Seekers
of all others have least reason to desire toleration in church
fellowship. For they that deny all churches and church
ordinances since the apostacy of Antichrist, they cannot
continue in church fellowship but against their owne
judgment and conscience; and therefore 4 or 5 of them
who openly renounced the church fellowship which they
had long enjoyed, the church said amen to their act, and
(after serious debate with them till they had nothing to
answre) they were removed from their fellowship. Others
carry their dissent more privately and inoffensively, and so
are borne withall in much meekenesse. Wee are farr from
arrogating infallibility of judgement to ourselues or affect-
ing uniformity; uniformity God never required, infallibi-
licity he never granted us. Wee content ourselues with unity
in the foundation of religion and of church order: Super-
structures wee suffer to varie; wee have here presbyterian
churches as well as congregationall, and have learned
(through grace) to keepe the unity of the spirit in the bond
of peace; onely wee are loth to be blowne up and downe (like chaff) by every winde of new notions.

You see how desirous wee are to give you what satisfaction wee may to your loveing expostulation, which wee pray you to accept with the same spirit of love wherewith it is excited. The Lord Jesus guide and keepe your heart for ever in the wayes of his trueth and peace. So humbly commending our due respect and hearty affection to your worship, wee take leave and rest.*

Copy of a Letter from Col. Richard Nicolls to the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE lately heard that his Majesty hath authorized and required you to reduce Canada to his Majesty's obedience, therefore I thinke it my duty (for several respects) to give you advertisement of an opportunity which presents it selfe towards the facilitating (if not wholly effecting) the worke at once. For I have received letters yesterday that the French were marching (in number according to Indyans computation about 700 men) towards Albany. I presume they will not openly profess their selves enemies to us, till they have either vanquished the Mohaukes, or made peace with them; however I have strengthened my garrison in the fort to withstand their attempts; hereof I have also sent governor Winthrop an account, and cannot imagine any reason to the contrary why so faire an advantage against the French should bee let slip, since his Majesty's directions therein are so positive. And truly if from your colony a speedy force of horse and dragoones, not exceeding 150, would march and joyne with a proportionable number of Congcticott colony, in all probability few of the French could return to Canada, whose whole strength is now so farr engaged from home,

D d 4

* This and the next preceding Letter are without date. Sir Richard was never in New England after 1631. These Letters must have been wrote between 1645 and 1653.
and by consequence the rest of the French will not be able to make any considerable resistance; the necessity of your speedy determination is so evident, that I shall not make use of other arguments, only assuring you of my utmost endeavours to serve his Majesty upon this occasion in the defence of his dominions, not doubting but that the common safety is precious to you, although the danger at present more immediately threatens this colony; I remit the consideration of the premisses to your serious thoughts, and remain your very affectionate friend and servant,

Richard Nicolls.

Fort James in New-York,
July the 6th 1666.

Copy of a Letter from the King’s Commissioners to the Governor, &c. of the Massachusets.

Gentlemen,

Although wee were credibly informed before your generall court sate in September last, and by divers circumstances were jealous that the signification of his Majesties pleasure to yourselves, under his Majesties signe manuall and subscrib’d by Sir William Morice, principal secretary of state, would not meet with a full complyance in your generall court; yet wee were loth to credit reports to derogatory to your dutifull submission to his Majesties commands; and having scene the copy of an humble address to your generall court, under the hands of many considerable persons eminent for loyalty and estates within your jurisdiction, wherein the petitioners did, with a modest importunity, offer to their representatives their deep senfe of the calamities which may ensue, if his Majesties just displeasure should be kindled against the disobedient, wee were full of hopes that the generall court would have given his Majestie due satisfaction to his commands, and particular thankes to those gentlemen the petitioners: But being fully informed that your resolutions are neither to send Mr. Richard Bellingham, your present
present governor, with Major Hawthorne, who are expressly required upon their allegiance to attend his Majesty, nor to make your choice of two or three other persons, as his Majesty is pleased to direct you; and further, that you have not only discountenanced but laid heavy charges against those loyal and dutiful petitioners, we conceive ourselves, at last, highly obliged (as commissioners from his Majesty) solemnly to manifest, declare and protest, in the name and behalf of his Majesty.

1. First, That his Majesty's signification of his pleasure to his colony of the Massachusetts is an original signed by his Majesty, subscribed by Sir William Morice principal secretary of state,* which ought to be received for authentic in all his Majesty's dominions, and is so entertained in all the other his Majesty's colonies in New-England, to their joy and satisfaction, though with some blot upon record in your scutcheon.

2. Secondly, That his Majesty will be justly displeased with your resolutions against sending the persons nominated in the signification, with such others as you are positively commanded to make your own choice of, to attend his Majesty, who expects from all his subjects obedience, as much more acceptable than sacrifice.

3. Thirdly, That his Majesty cannot but approve of that humble petition presented to your general court, and by the laws of England (which must be the touchstone) those gentlemen ought not to be molested, fined, or imprisoned for any matters contained in the said petition, so full of duty to his Majesty, of respect to your general court, and tending to the peace and welfare of the whole colony.

4. Lastly, We ourselves, fully concurring with the substance and to those good ends manifested in the petition, doe earnestly solicit you to resume the whole matter into your most serious consideration, that his Majesty may be honour'd with the real obedience of his subjects, and thereby encouraged plentifully to pour forth the riches of his goodnes upon his colony of the Massachusetts, to which we are hearty well wishers and will contribute our best endeavours.

endeavours at all times and in all places, when by your submission to his Majestie, wee shall be encouraged to remaine Your very affectionate friends and servants,
His Majesties Commissioners for New-England,
Fort James at New-
Yorke, Nov. 3d, 1666.
Richard Nicolls,
Robert Carr,
Samuell Mavericke.

Copy of a Letter from Governour Bellingham to Secretary Rawlson.

Mr. Secretary,

The letter which came under a cover to yourselfe from the hon. Col. Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, and Mr. Samuel Mavericke, of the 3d instant, directed to myselfe and the assistants of this colony, I received the 10th at evening, and have perused with such of the magistrates as are adjacent, and finding the contents thereof do refer to the actings of the generall court. You may informe Mr. Mavericke that the general court being dissolv'd sundry dayes since, their returne to the honorable Sir William Morrice is dispatch'd by the ships gone for England in the last month, yet at the first opportunity for the assistants meeting this letter shall be communicated according to the direction thereof, not else at present.

I am your loving friend.

Boston, 13th 9mo. 1666. Ri. Bellingham, Gov.
with the consent of those present.

Present, Fr. Willoughby, Esq; Dep. Gov,
Capt. Daniel Gookin,
Mr. Ri. Ruffell,
Maj. Gen. Leverett,
Mr. Thomas Danforth.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Leverett to Sir Robert Carr, Knt.

Sir,

THERE being a complaint exhibited against you and your servant James Deane, of your royatous and abusive carrying to one of his Majesty's officers, Richard Bennet, one of the constables of this towne, on Saturday last in the evening, being the 19th instanat, at the house of John Vyal, vivner. These are to signifie to you that a hearing thereof is appoynted upon Wednesday the 23d, betweene nine and ten of the clocke in the morning, at my house; from some consideraiions I have chosen this way to give you notice thereof, that you, with your man, may be present to give answere to what may allledged against you, and the honour and authority of his Majestie, in his officers, may be preserved, with the greatest respect to yourselfe the case will admit of, wherefore your presence, with your man, at the time and place is desired. In the interim, your speedy answere by the bearer, Capt. William Davis, to Sir, Your servant,


Copy of a Letter from Colonel Nicolls to the Governor and Councell of the Massachusetts.

Honoured Gentlemen,

BY the hands of Mr. Samuel Mavericke, one of his Majesties commissioners for New-England, you will receive herewith the perfect copy of his Majesties commands, which came lately to my hands, wherein you will reade with how much prudence and tender care his Majestie reflects upon the safety and wellfare of his remote colonyes. When you have perused the same, I will not doubt
doubt of your readiness to comply, not only to that good
end, but with the means, ways and persons, which his
Majesty is pleased to direct in that business; as you may
more at large finde in his Majesties warrant to his com-
misioners. Upon conference with Mr. Samuell Maverick
and the countenance of your authority, the full contents of
his Majesties commands may be easily put in practice. In
sending this copy of his Majesties commands to his com-
misioners unto yourselves, I have obeyed my orders and
directions from my Lord Arlington, principal secretary
of state, and remain Your very humble servant,
Fort James in New-York, Richard Nicolls.
May the 9th, 1667.

Copy of a Narrative of the Commissioners from

THE colony of Conesticote returned their humble
thanks to his Majesty for his gracious letters and
for sending commissioners to them, and made great pro-
mises of their loyalty and obedience. And they did sub-
mit to have appeals made to his Majesties commissioners,
who did hear and determine some differences among them.
All forms of justice passe only in his Majestyes name,
they admit all that desire it to be of their corporation;
they will not hinder any from enjoying the sacraments
and using the common prayer book, provided that they
hinder not the maintenance of the publick minister; they
will amend any thing that hath been done derogatory to
his Majestyes honour, if there be any such thing, so soone
as they shall come to the knowledge of it. The bounds
betwixt the Dukes province and Conesticote were mistaken
by wrong information, for it was not intended that they
should come nearer to Hudson’s river then twenty miles,
yet the line was set downe by the commissioners to goe
from such a point N. N. W. whereas it ought to goe
just
just N. otherwise the line will goe into Hudsons river. They have nothing to say against Duke Hamiltons patent, but their writings were burnt, and that they bought the land of the Lord Say and Brook and others, and that his Majesty hath confirmed it to them, and that they never knew that the late Marquis Hamilton had a grant of it, for he never feut any to take possession of it or to inhabit upon it. Their eastern bounds are determined to be a line drawn westward from the midst of the road Pawtucket river, neere to Shaws house. Their northern bounds is the south line of the Massachusets, which, as the collony complains, is stretched much too southerly. This colony hath many good rivers and harbours, many scattering towns not worthy of their names, and a scoller to their minister in every town or village, but noe places fortified except Seabrook fort, which is much gone to decay, and here, for the most part, they are rigid presbyterians.

The colony of Road Island and Providence plantations returned their humble thankes to his Majesty for sending commissioners and made great demonstration of their loyalty and obedience. They approved, as most reasonable, that appeals should be made to his Majestyes commissioners, who having heard and determined some causes among them, referred other some, in civility, to their generall court, and some to the governor and others; some of which causes they again remitted to the commissioners to be determined. All proceedings are in his Majestyes name, they admit all to be freemen that desire it; they allow liberty of conscience and worship to all who live civilly, and if any can inform them of any thing in their lawes or practi- ses derogatory to his Majestyes honour, they will amend it. The Marquis of Hamiltons pattent takes in all Road Island colony and about half of Connecticote. The Narhiganset Sachims did in the year 1664, by writing, surrender themselves, their people and country, into the late Kings protection; two of which Sachims, now living, did actually, in their own persons, surrender themselves, people and country, into his royall Majestyes protection before his com- misioners,
missioners, and deliver'd to them that very deed made in 1664, which had been carefully kept by Mr. Gorton,&c. whereupon the commissioners, according to their instructions, entred upon the country in his Majestye's name and have named it the Kings province, have taken the natives into his Majestye's protection, and have appointed justices of the peace to govern it untill his Majestye's pleasure be farther known. For this Narhyanget country is allmost all the land belonging to the country, the which cannot subsist without it, and therefore the commissioners ordered that the magistrates for the colony shou'd be justices of the peace for the Kings province, that noe difference may arise betwixt the officers. The Sachims did thankfully receive the two coates presented to them in his Majestye's name. In acknowledgment of their subjection they are to pay yearly, upon the 26th of May, two wolf skins to his Majesty, and did now send two caps of peague and two clubs inlayed with peague for a present to the King, and a feather mantle and a porcupine bag for a present to the Queen, which were all taken by the Dutch. One of these princes, named Pafficus, defired the commissioner to pray King Charles that noe strong liquor might be brought into that country, for he had 32 men that died by drinking of it. These Indian princes gave a long petition to the commissioners, complaining of many acts of violence and injustice which the Massachusets had done to them: Among others, they first caufed them to be fined, then tooke their whole country in mortgage (according to the remonstrance sent to his Majesty) and would have juggled them out of it; but there could be noe redresse, the Massachusets refusing to let the commissioners have the hearing of appeals. Their western bounds are determined with Connecticut, their northern bounds must be the Massachusets southern line, wherever it falls (which they complain to be too southerly) their eastern bounds betwixt them and New Plymouth could not be determined by consent of both parties (Road Island claiming a shred of land 3 miles broad all the length of the maine land lying next to the
the Narhyganget island, which they of New Plymouth could not part with without great prejudice) whereupon commissioners appoynted the water (the naturall bounds of each colony) to be their present bounds, untill his Majestyes pleasure be farther known. Mr.William Brenton, deputy governor of Road Island, having bought a farm upon that fhred of land which he hoped would belong to that colony, humbly defires his Majesty that he may continue to posfeffe that farme though it falls within the line of New Plymouth, and Doctor Alcock, a phyfician, having bought Block Island for 400l. of some of Boston, who took upon them power (never graunted them) to fell it, and having been at great charges in planting of it, defires his Majesty that he may not be dispooffed of it, he humbly submitting to the government of Road Island; both these petitions to his Majesty are lost. This colony, which admits of all religions, even Quakers and Generallists, was begun by such as the Massachufets would not suffer to live among them and is generally hated by the other coloynes, who endeavoured severall wayes to suppress them; they maintained severall other Indians against the Narhyganget Indians. The commissioners of the united coloynes disposed of a great part of this country, pretending they had conquered it from the Pequod Indians, but evidence being made that the Narhyganfets had conquered it before the English began their war, and that the right was in him who had foid it to the Road Islanders, and his Majestyes commissioners not thinking it justifiable for any colony to dispose of land without their own lymits, determined it for the Road Islanders. The Massachufets did maintain Pumham (a petty Sachim in this province) twenty years against this colony and his chief Sachim, and did, by armed foldiers, besiege and take prisoners Mr. Gorton, Howden, Weeks, Green and others in this province, and carried them to Boston, put them in chains, and took eighty head of cattle from them, for all which they could never yet get satisfaction. This colony could never be acknowledged for a colony till his Majesty's charter
charter was published, though in the year 1643 they sent over some into England to procure the King's charter then, but finding that unnatural war begun, and the King gone from London, they took a charter from the lords and commons, which was more then Newhaven did pretend to, and more then Conestico: could shew, yet these two were admitted colonies in their great combination, and Road Island flighted. The Narhyganset bay is the largest and safest port in New-England nearest the sea and fittest for trade; this colony hath two scattered towns upon Road Island, two upon the maine land, and four small villages; here only yet is lime stone found, and here only the governour and magistrates serve the publick at their own charge. In this colony is the greatest number of Indians, yet they had never any thing allowed towards the civilizing and converting the Indians, and in this colony they have the greatest playnes, but noe place of strength fortified, altho' many places capable of fortification. In this province is the best English grasse and most sheep, the ground very fruitfull, ewes bringing ordinarily two lambs, corn yields eighty for one, and in some places they have had corn twenty six years together without manuring. In this province only they have not any places lett apart for the worship of God, there being soe many subdivided sects they cannot agree to meet together in one place, but according to their several judgments they sometimes associate in one house sometimes in another.

The colony of New-Plymouth did submit to have appeals made to the commissioners, who here had but one plaint to them, which was, that the governour would not let a man enjoy a farm of four miles square which he had bought of an Indian, the complaint soone submitted to the governour when he understood the unreasonablenes by it. They are here constrained to perswade men, sometimes to compel them, to be free men, see far are they from hindering any. This colony is seated on a neck of land the barrenest part of the country. They were the first planters in New-England, though the Mattachusets got the first
first charter, and since hath much streightened this colony, by stretching their line so much southerly. They shewed their charter and gave a copy of it to their commissioners, and told them they were so poore they could not renew it; whereupon the commissioners took occasion to offer to get their charter renewed and delivered to them at the commissioners own charge, if, for a further demonstration of their loyalty, they would let his Majesty choose one of three (whose names themselves should send to the King) to be their governor, and this to be done every 3 yeare, or every 5 years, which they thought best. The commissioners thought if this had succeeded in this the first colony they had visited it might have been a good example for the rest; but after the generall assembly had considered of it, with many thanks to the commissioners and great protestations of their loyalty to the King, they chose to be as they were. They have about twelve small towns, one saw mill for boards, one bloomary for iron, neither good river nor good harbour, nor any place of strenght; they are soe poore, they are not able to maintain scollers to their ministers, but are necessitated to make use of a guifted brother in some places.

The collony of the Massachusetts was the last and hardliest perswaded to use his Majestyes name in the forms of justice. In this collony, at the first coming over of the commissioners, were many untruths raised and sent into the collonyes, as that the King had sent to raise 5000 l. yearly for his Majestyes use, whereupon Major Hawthorne made a sedicious speech at the head of his company, and the late Governor another at their meeting house in Boston, but neither of them were soe much as questioned for it by any of their magistrates. The commissioners visited all other collonyes before this, hoping both that the submission and condescension of the other collonyes to his Majestyes desires would have abated the refractoriness of this collony, which they much feared, and that the assistance of Colonel Nicholls (whome they expected) would have prevailed much; But neither examples nor reasons could prevale...
with them to let the commissioners hear and determine so much as those particular cases (Mr. Deanes and the Indian Sachims) which the King had commanded them to take care of and do justice in: And though the commissioners, who never desired they should appear as delinquents but as defendants, either by themselves or by their attorneys, assured them that if they had been unjustly complained of to his Majesty, their false accusers should be severely punished, and their just dealing made known to his Majesty and all the world, yet they proclaimed by sound of trumpet that the general court was the supremest judicatory in all that province, that the commissioners pretending to hear appeals was a breach of their privileges granted them by the King's royall father and confirmed to them by his Majesty's own letter, and that they should not permit it; by which they have for the present silenced above 30 petitions which desired justice against them, and were all lost at sea. To elude his Majesty's desire of their admitting men civill and of competent estates to be freemen, they have made an act, whereby he that is 24 years old, a housekeeper, and brings a certificate of his civill life, another of his being orthodox in matters of faith, and a third of his paying ten shillings, beside head money, at a single rate, may then have liberty to make his desires known to the court, and then it shall be put to vote. The commissioners examined many townships, and found that scarce three in a hundred pay ten shillings at a single rate; yet, if this rate were generall it would be just; but he that is a church member, though he be a servant and pay not two pence, may be a freeman: They will not admit any who is not a member of their church to communion, nor their children to baptism, yet they will marry their children to those whom they will not admit to baptism, if they be rich: They did imprison and barbarously use Mr. Jordan for baptizing children, as himself complained in his petition to the commissioners. Those whom they will not admit to the communion they compel to come to their sermons, by forcing from them five shillings for every neglect;
neglect; yet these men thought their paying one shilling for not coming to prayers in England was an unsupportable tyranny: They have put many Quakers to death, of other provinces, for which also they are petitioned against; first they banished them, as Quakers, upon payn of death, and then executed them for returning: They have beaten some to jelly, and have been otherways exceeding cruel to others, and they say the king allows it in his letters to them; indeed they have misconstrued all the king's letters to their own fence. They yet pray constantly for their persecuted brethren in England. They have many things in their laws derogatory to his Majesty's honour, of which the commissioners made a breviare and desired that they might be altered, but they have yet done nothing in it; among others, whoever keeps Christmas day is to pay five pounds. They caused at length a mapp of their territoryes to be made, but it was made in a chamber by direction and gueste: in it they claim fort Albany, and beyond it all the land to the south sea. By their south sea line they intrench upon the colonys of New Plymouth, Road Island and Connecticut; and in the east they have usurped Capt. Masons and Sir Ferdinando Gorges pattens; and said that the commissioners had nothing to doe betwixt them and Mr. Gorges, because his Majesty neither commanded them to deliver possession to Mr. Gorges, or to give his Majesty reason why they did not. The commissioners being at Persecataqua when they received his Majestyes letter which commanded them to see the harbours fortified, &c. sent their warrants to four towns upon that river, requiring them to meet at such a time and place to hear his Majestyes letter read, one of these warrants was sent post to Boston, from whence two marshalls are sent from the governor and counsell with another warrant to forbid the towns either to meet or doe any thing commanded them by the commissioners, at their utmost perills; and withall sent an unbeseeming letter to the commissioners, both which letter and warrant were lost at sea. Col. Whaley and Gough were entertained by the magistrates with great solemnity and feasted in every place,
after they were told they were traytors and ought to be apprehended; they made their abode at Cambridge untill they were furnished with horses and a guide and sent away to Newhaven; for their more security, Capt. Daniell Gookin is reported to have brought over and to manage their eflates; and the commissioners being informed that he had many cattle at his farm in the Kings province which were supposed to be Whalyes or Goughs, caused them to be seazed for his Majestyes use, till further order, but Capt. Gookin, standing upon the priviledge of their charter and refusing to anfwer before the commissioners, as foe, there was noe more done in it; Capt. Peirce who transported Whaly and Gough into New England may probably fay something to their estate. They of this colony fay that King Charles the first gave them power to make laws and to execute them, and granted them a charter as a warrant against himself and his succeflors, and that so long as they pay the fifth part of all gold and silver oare which they shall gett they shall be free to use the privileges granted them, and that they are not obliged to the King but by civillity; they hope by writing to tire the King, Lord Chancellor and Secretaryes too; feaven years they can easily spin out by writing, and before that time a change may come, nay, some have dared to fay, who knows what the event of this Dutch war will be? This colony furnished Cromwell with many instruments out of their corpora- tion and their collidg, and those that have retreated thether since his Majefty's happy return are much re- pected, and many advanced to be magiftrates. They did solicit Cromwell, by one Mr. Winflow, to be declared a free flate, and many times in their lawes fliting themselves this flate, this common wealth, and now beleve themselves to be foe. They demand what taxes they pleafe, but their accounts could never yet be feen. Some few soldiers they keep at their castle; their governor hath 100l. yearly, every magiftrate 30l. They convert Indians by hiring them to come and hear fermen, by teaching them not to obey their heathen Sachims, and by appoynting rulers amongft
amongst them over tens, twentyes, fiftyes. The lives manners and actions of those whom they say are converted, cannot be distinguished from those who are not, except it be by being hired to hear sermons, which the more generous natives scorn. This colony, which hath ingrossed the whole trade of New-England and is therefore the richest, hath many townes, but not one regularly built within its just limits, which the commissioners suppose to be Seconett brook on the S. W. and Merrimack river on the N. E. and two right lines drawn from each of those two places, till they come within 20 miles of Hudson river, for that river is already planted and given to his royall highness. Bolton is the chief town in it, and seated upon a peninsula in the bottom of a bay, which is a good harbour and full of fish. It was fortified this year 1665 with two block houses, they had, before, a castle upon an island in the roade where ships must passe, about 5 or 6 miles from the town. Their houses are generally wooden, their streets crooked, with little decency and noe uniformity and, there, neither months, dayes, seafons of the year, churches nor inns are known by their English names. At Cambridg they have a wooden collidg and, in the yard, a brick pile of two bayes for the Indians, where the commissioners saw but one; they said they had 3 or more at scoll. It may be feared this collidg may afford us many feilmaticks to the church, and the corporation as many rebels to the king, as formerly they have done, if not timely prevented. In this colony too the king hath many loyall subjects, who petitioned this general court at his Majestys first coming in, for the owning of his Majesty, and now lastly for complying with his Majestys commissioners, but have had neither answer nor good look since; they are sorry that few (for there are scarce above 8 of the most factious) should carry on strong a faction, yet they are so over-awed that they can doe nothing to remedy it. They only say it is now with them as it was with the king’s party in Cromwell’s time; one of those was derided for being foe civill to accompany one of the commissioners
commissioners from the town where he lived to Boston, and others in Boston derided those of Road Island for having yielded soe much to the commissioners. In Boston lyes 10 iron guns brought from the French fort taken in Cromwell's time, which would doe well at Pescataqua to defend the mouth of that river, where the mafts are laden, if they be the king's. On the 10th of September 1664 they published by order of court a paper to deter and affrighten all from making any complaints to the commis-

sioners. The commodities of the country are fish, which is sent into France, Spain and the Streights, pipe staves, mafts, firr boards, some pitch and tarr, pork, beef, horses, and corn, which they send to Virginia, Barbados, &c. and take tobacco and sugar for payment, which they after send for England. There is good store of iron made in this province; their way of government is common wealth, their way of worship is rude and called congregational, they are zealous in it, for they persecute all other formes.

New-Hampshire is the name of a province granted to Capt. Robert Mason about the year 1635, and was to begin on the sea coast 3 miles E. of Merimack river, and reaches to Pescataqua, and 60 miles of that breadth up into the country; but now it is usurped by the Maf- sachusetts who pretend that it is within their bounds, and that the people petitioned to be within their protection; it is true that difference of opinion made a division among them, and a few who were for congregationall churches did petition for their assistance, by which occasion, partly by force and partly by composition, they have engrossed the whole and named it Norfolk. When the Massachusetts charter was first granted, the mouths only of the two rivers, Charles and Merimack, were known to them, for they durst not travill far up into the country, presently after there was a house erected three large miles from Merimack, which was for 17 years called and known to be the bounds of the Massachusetts, and in that time was this patent granted to Capt. Mason. Mr. Wheelwright was banished out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and was permitted
permitted to inhabit immediately beyond the bound house, as himself gave testimony before the commissioners. Mr. Mason had a patent for some land about Cape Ann before the Massachusetts had their first patent, whereupon Capt. Mason, and Mr. Cradock, who was the first governor of the Massachusetts and lived in London, agreed that the Massachusetts should have that land which was granted to Capt. Mason about Cape Ann, and Capt. Mason should have that land which was beyond Merimack river, and granted to the Massachusetts. This agreement was sent to Mr. Henry Jollin to get recorded at Boston, but before he could have leisure to go thither he heard that Capt. Mason was dead, and therefore went not, of this he made affidavit before the commissioners, who forbore to doe anything about the limits of this province till this might more fully be proved, though the generality of the people petitioned to be taken from under the tyranny of the Massachusetts, as themselves stiled it. The Massachusetts, since they have had the government of this land, have granted and divided the province into several townships, which are very long and thin, three of which are seated upon Pescataqua river, which is a very good harbour and very capable of fortification; here are excellent masts gotten, and here dry docks might be made, and upon the river are above twenty saw mills, and here are great store of pipe staves made, and great store of good timber spoyled.

The province of Mayne begins at the E. side of Pescataqua, and reacheth to Kennebeck river; it was named and granted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges by king Charles the first, but was usurped also by the Massachusetts under pretence that it was within the limits of their charter, and that the people petitioned to be under their government, and they named it Yorkshire. One gentleman, who refused to submitt to the Massachusetts and suffered great losse by them, shewed the commissioners a warrant the Massachusetts made to have him brought to Boston alive or dead, and now demands justice against them. This province upon petition of the inhabitants and the diffe-

E e 4
rence betwixt Mr. Gorges commissioners and the Massachusetts, his Majesty's commissioners took into his Majesty's protection and government, and appointed justices of the peace to govern them until his Majesty's pleasure be farther known. The inhabitants afterwards petitioned his Majesty that they might always continue under his Majesty's immediate government, and that Sir Rob. Carr might continue their governor under his Majesty, which petition was lost at sea: In this province also lives an Indian Sachim, who lives neer to the great lake, from whence flowes Merimack river; petitioned his Majesty to take him into his protection, which was also lost. In this province there are but few townes and those much scattered, as generally they are throughout New-England; they are rather farmes than townes: But in this province there is a bay called Casco bay, in which are very many islands, two outlets to the sea, many good harbours and great store of fish and oysters, crabs and lobsters. In this province, as in all the rest there are great store of wild ducks, geese and deer in their teasons, strawberyes, rafferyes, gooseberyes, barberyes, and severall forts of biliberryes, severall forts of oaks and pines, chestnut trees, wallnut trees, sometimes for four of five miles together; the northerly the country the better the timber is accounted: On the N. E. of Kenibeck river, which is the bounds of the province of Mayn, upon Shipscot river and upon Pemaquid, 8 or 10 miles asunder, are 3 small plantations belonging to his royall highnesse, the biggest of which hath not above 30 houses in it, and thosse very mean ones too, and spread over 8 miles at least. Those people, for the most part, are fishermen and never had any government among them, most of them are such as have fled hether from other places to avoide justice. Some here are of opinion that as many men may share in a woman as they doe in a boat, and some have done soe. The commissioners, for necessity sake, have appoynted the best whom they could find, in each place, to be a justice of peace, and have ordered 3 of those justices of the peace in the province of Mayn, who live...
next to them, to joyn with them in holding of sessions, till further order be taken. In these parts are the best white oaks for ship timber. All the lands granted to his royall highness in these north parts of New England, except these 3 plantations, are also granted to Sir Thomas Temple, in the patent of Nova Scotia.*

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts Bay to Governor Willoughby at Barbados.


Sir,

YOURS of July 1667 wee received by the hand of Capt. Henry Addy, who through the blessing of God arrived here safe the 14th of this instant. Some few dayes before whose arrivel a letter from his Excellency the Lord Willoughby, your honourable father, intimating the seasonableness of some present supply to be made from hence for the reliefe of his Majesties fleet with you, was received, and care taken speedily to provide and send such provisions as wee in our poor capacity are able, which provisions are now putting on board the good ship called the Hopewell, whereof under God Capt. John Allen is commander, and are appointed to be delivered to your honourable father, to be disposed for the ends abovefaid, as his Excellency in his widsome shall see meet. Wee do acknowledge ourselves greatly obliged to his Excellency for his great favour and respects had for this his Majesties colony, the expressions whereof, cloathed with much love and candor, wee have sundry wayes good assurance that they are real, and that his Lordship doth cordially seeke our peace, and should wee be wanting to a due acknowledgment thereof, wee hope wee should be the firft that should

* This Narrative was undoubtedly the work of the Commissioners, or some Person employed by them. The prejudice against the Massachusets Colony, where they met with the greatest opposition, appears in a strong light.
should blame ourselves for so great a neglect. In reference to your motion for provisions for the supply of Capt. Addy, wee have endeavoured to answer your proposal and expectation therein, although by reason of Gods having diminished our crops for sundry years past, by blasting, &c. especially our wheate, in conjunction with the present season of the yeare, when old store is spent, and new not being come in as yet, wee cannot in all respects accommodate him as were meete, yet according to our capacity wee have endeavoured the same, as himselfe, wee doubt not, will more particularly enforce. And wee shall be ready from time to time to encourage our merchants and traders in their exportation of provisions for your further recrute to the utmost of our power.

As to a supply of men from hence, your motion therein hath been also seriously weighed by us, and in sundry respects it doth not appeare feasible to be effecte, so as may be to the answering of your expectation, nor yet with the safety of this his Majesties colony at this juncture.

Sir, With a due acknowledgment of your honours great civility manifested in yours, and our hearty prayers to the God of heaven for his blessing to accompany all your lawfull endeavours for the suppressing of the common enemy of our King and nation, under whole guidance and protection wee leave you, and shall remayne

Sir,

Your honours wherein wee may serve you,

R. B. Gov.

F. W. Dep. Gov.

In the name and by the order of the Councill.

Voted by the Council, 1 August 1667.

E.R. S.
Copy of a Letter from Colonel Nicolls to the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts, respecting the Province of Maine.

Worthy Gentlemen,

I was for some time past very unwilling to believe that you would resume a power of government in the province of Mayne or Yorkshire, the absolute decision whereof is lodged with his Majesty; and surely it will appear an open breach of duty that any of his Majesty's inferior courts should usurp a power over towns and persons after it hath pleased his Majesty to signify his pleasure to yourselves, in these following words: "And for the better preventing of all differences and disputes upon the bounds and lymitts of the seaverall collonyes, his Majesty's pleasure is, that all determinations made by his Majesty's sayd commissioners with reference to the sayd bounds and lymitts may still continue and be observed till upon a full representation of all pretences his Majesty shall make his owne final determination," &c. Which very words you will finde in your owne letter from his Majesty, concluding thus: "And his Majesty expects that full obedience be given to this signification of his pleasure in all particulars. Given at the court at Whitehall, the 10th day of April 1666, in the 18th year of his Majesty's raigne, by his Majesty's command, Wm. Morrice." But I have now seene the order of your last generall court, in answer to the petition of some restlesse and unquiet spirits, wherein your resolution is already taken to send commissioners to keepe a court and to exercise justice, &c. as under your government. I know you have force enough to compell most of your neighbours to submit to your government; but if you thinke his Majesty's arme will never be stretched forth to defend his subjects from usurpation, you may attempt any thinge under the notion of settling peace and order. I dare not be silent in a matter so expressely contradictory to his Majesty's signification, dated 10th April 1666,* for though some of your greate people

people have spread a report that the said signification was never knowne to or owned by his Majestie, and probably for that reason the generall court was induced to issue forth the aforesaid order, yet you are to expect that his Majestie will owne his hand, and Sir William Morris will require sattisfaction for such scandalous aspretions upon him, being principall secretary of state. In short, you will finde that province allready settled by his Majesties commissioners in peace and order, except some few turbulent spirits. You may read his Majestie hath made a temporary confirmation thereof, why then are you so hasty to enter upon a thinge of this nature, or how can you say that you have heard nothing since that might discourage or weaken your title to the said government? I am necessitated to write in these playne and large termes because the shortnesse of my tyme in these parts will not permit me to give you a vifir, but will tell you my feares, that if you proceed to compell an alteration of government in the province of Mayne, by subverting there present establishment as it now stands circumftanced, in all likelyhood you may cause blood to be shed, for it is both naturall and lawfull for men to defend their fast rights against all invaders.

Gentlemen, I shall send a coppie of this my letter with an originall of his Majesties aforesaid signification to those gentlemen of the said province, and there leave the decision betwixt God and yourselves; my hearty wishes and prayers shall be to the Allmighty that you may be endued with the spirit of obedience, charity, meeknes and brotherly love, houlding yourselves within these bounds, you may be happie upon all the points of the compifs, and I am sure noe man can wish you better than your affectionate humble servant, Richard Nicolls.*

Fort James in New-Yorke, June 12th 1668.

For his much respected friends the Governor and Assistants of his Majesties colony of the Massachufetts in Bolton.

Copy

* This Col. Nicolls appears to have been a very worthy good man, true to his trust, but at the same time dircct; and he gained the efeem of the people of the Massachufetts, who loved the man when they were making opposition to his measures.
Copy of a Letter from several dissenting Ministers in and about London to the Magistrates and Ministers in Massachusets-Bay.

Right Worshipfull, Reverend and Beloved,

We received yours dated from Boston Aug. 21.1671. directed to many of us, which also we have several times considered, as the providence of God hath permitted to us opportunities of meeting together. The importance of the contents thereof, together with the honor and respect we owe you all, obligeth us to return you such answer as we are at present capable of, according to that disposall which it hath pleas’d the infinitely wise God to make of us in our stations, and also of the conditions which he hath measured out to his people amongst whom he hath placed us, from whom, as well as ourselves, you cannot expect (as things stand with us) to receive that fruit that either your need calls for or our love would produce, were we not ourselves, together with the churches of Christ in these nations, intangled in many straits, and thereby call’d to a more univerfall designment of what God hath graciously left his poor people to the supportation of the interest of his gospell and the ministers and professors thereof, whose daily relief depends, as to many counties, principally upon this city, from whom also we must promise ourselves the greatest part if not all of that little we can hope to attain to, to express the value we have for the interest of our dear Lord Jesus amongst you, and more especially the promoting of the continuance of it in our assistance to the education of such as may by the blessing of his grace and spirit be usefull in their generation for the running and glorifying of his gospell in and by your numerous growing posterity.

As to the three branches of your letter, which comprise the whole of it, we doe according to the best of our judgments represent our thoughts to you, which we hope will be acceptable to you, as you may find in it any labor of love towards you.

First,
First, We join with you in that humble thankfulness which is due to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he hath for so long a time planted and continued amongst you a school of the prophets, from whence have issued such instruments as God hath used for service to himself, even in both Englands, and heartily condole, that not only the dead stones, but also the living ones in that foundation are so much crumbled and diminished, and gladly would we contribute our helping hand to the repairing of the one and the reviving of the other, were our power suited to our wills. But upon consideration of the straits and troubles the ministers and churches of Christ are here wrestling with, and after consultation had with some wise and godly gentlemen, sincere lovers of you, we find in ourselves and them the concentring of the same thoughts, that the exhausted purses of those that are most able to contribute, cannot reach any summe considerable towards the repair of the edifice, so many of God's servants here calling for daily relief, even of necessaries to them and their impoverished families, yet have we advis'd about sending you what assistance God shall enable us unto for the maintenance of Fellows and Tutors for the instruction and education of youths, who may be bred up in good literature and fear of the Lord, for future employment in church and common-wealth, in which we can say there is a reall zeale for you and them in this great concerne. Several wayes have been proposed and debated, we cannot yet acquaint you with any fully determinate means for effecting, yet this we were willing to advise you of, that you are in our hearts, and that we are fully purposed (if the present liberty we have to meet be not interrupted by those prefaged hurryes which seeme to be in the womb of Providence coming upon us) to use all our indeavour to collect such summes of money (and so to dispose them by the best advice we can take) as may in time amount to some comfortable help towards the end which we specified before, in the service whereof we judge that which is most necessary for you (at leaft that we are capable of) may be attended.
2dly, As we desire to bless God with and for you, that so reverend and judicious a person as your president hath for so long a time been continued with you, and that so usefully, so it is a grief of heart to us that there appears none amongst yourselves to succeed him in that employment, and more that we cannot find persons whose hearts God hath touched to goe over to you, in order to a supply of that expected loss which you mention; yet, if our advice herein be worth attending to, we would sugegst, that it having pleased God to stirre up the heart of our beloved friend Dr. Hoar to intend a voyage towards you by this shipping, we do suppose a speaking providence in it, and doe judge that God hath so farr furnished him with the gifts of learning and the grace of his spirit, as that if your judgments concurre with ours and his inclinations (if God shall bring him to you) he may in some measure supply that want and help to make up this breach, and we shall hope and pray that it may be to some good fruit to you and yours.

3dly, For what concerns our promoting the sending of youths over to you for their education, wee can say no more but this, that where we find any inclined so to dispose of their children, we shall not be wanting to encourage it as farre as we hear there shall be reason for it, by the Lords provision of such help amongst you as shall be continued yet unto you or further added by him in whose hands is the residue of the spirit, to be poured out on you and on your seed, according to his covenant. So commending you to the Lord and to the word of his grace we remaine Your servants in the Lord


Ph. Nye John Owen
John Knowles Matt. Barker
Joseph Caryl Arth. Palmer
William Hook John Rowe
George Griffith Tho. Brooks
Geo. Cockayn Jo. Loder
John Collins.
Copy of a Letter to Col. Goffe, one of King Charles the first's Judges, from his Wife.*

27th April 1672.

My deare Child,

HOW greatly doe I long to fee thee, but seeing that cannot be, thy choych lettars doe much refresh my drouping heart, to heare of thy health and happynes, with thy deare friend,† is the chefe comfort I have in this world, next to sole marcife. I receved yours of the 6 of novem-ber, I cared the inclofed and did as you defired, which I parfveved was liked better then a lettar would have been from you; he hoped to send something but not yet, he told me you wantid nothing so far as he could un-derstand, I wish you find it so, but the Lord is very gra-phous to you and us in taking care, and tis a choyc marcy not to want that the Lord will not have us to inioy, tis the worke of the Lord to bring our minds to our condifhon, but I find hope defired makes the heart fick, but the Lord is pleased to be the vefhion in the applycation of som word or other, as that I will never leve thee nor forfake thee, I will be your God and the God of your fead, and three marcy I have found it in some mefhhere maid good, for Frank is, I bles the Lord, receved into the church and gave great fattisfaxon to all that ware preffent, theare was 3 eldars, 2 deakons and som other of the membars that spake with her at forst and the whole church was fattisfied in her, and I hope the Lord who hath begun the worke will finnesh it to his glory and our comfort that she may help kepe up the name of the Lord in the world when we are laid in the doft. I found the inclofed, it being of her one writing, I have sent it to thee that we may reioyce and bles the

* Col. Goffe always wrote in the name of Walter Goldifmih. His wife, Frances Goldifmih. He calls her mother, and calls his children brothers and fillers. She writes from London and he from Hadley in New-England.
† Whaley, her father.
the Lord together for so great a marcy; a porshon in himself is the best porshon for this cannot be lost, the Lord help us all to love him more and then the parting with earthly comforts will not be so grevous to us as it is, deare Mrs. Jane hath sent some goods the being perswaded that it would be best this year, if the Lord plese to send them safe and that that be well maneged for you and your freinds benefit. I trust the Lord will make it of some comfort to you, for my aunt toke great paines to send it before the war begun and we hope it is gon safe, we desire to follow it with prayers. If you be good lads and will send word what you want theare will be care taken to soply you, but tell then I forbare to send because it is your desire. I bles the Lord I want nothing but thy deare company and thy friends. Give all the glory to God he is the giver of all our marceyes. It will not be long but I must be gon to those manshones that Christ hath prepared for me and all that love the Lord; theare will be no sorrow but fulnes of joy and pleshures for ever more; but if it may stand with the pleshure of my father I shold be glad to see thee and peace upon Ilarell once more, but I feare I am not worthy of such a marcy, but the Lord Jesus Christ is, for whose fake he will appeare in the best time. I have sent you the inclosed by which you may see that the pepell of God in joy much liberty at the present but what the eflue of it may be the Lord knows. The war with the Duch is like to be very terabel; the Lord ordar all things for his one glory; Christ is the head of the church and that may comfort us in the medit of all these commotions. I bles the Lord I and your sistars and other friends are in health, only Betty is weakly, my ant takes great care of my brother as if he were her one and is very kind to all the famely and to all that feare the Lord, for she makes it her busines to help the afflicted; many have cause to bles the Lord for her; doubtles she will have a bye place in heaven; her good husband is much afflicted with the stone which makes him stratened in time that I fear he cannot write but prays dayly for you. Mrs Jane is much plesed when you write
to her and troubled when you doe not; pray thank her for her love to me and mine, we are very happy in the soliety one of another; be carfull what you write for all the letters we receive comes from the post house. Pray Child be carfull of yourself and friend and if you want a periweg to keep you warm let me know it and I will send you one; pray want for nothing that may be good for you, for my happynes is bound up in your well being. The going of the ships are very unsartain and therefore I know not whether I may write any more this yeare or not, but I shall not fefe to pray for you and all the pepell of the Lord with you, especially for those that show kindnes to you to whom I desire to be remembred and returne hearty thanks for all theare great love; I hope the Lord will requite them a thousand fould. If any thing be don by us to your prejedifh pray let me know it from yourselfe. Many friends desire to be remembred to you and prayes dayly for you, all your fiftars presents their humbell duty and greatly longs to see you, my most indeared love to thyself and humber duty to whom it belongs, I bles the Lord that theare is any hopes of his recovery, the Lord profit the marcy and sanctifie all his dealings to us and let every marcy and every afflixon that we mete with bring us nearer to himselfe and then we shall have no cause to complayn, my child this is like to be a very trobelsom sommar and therafore pray hard that the Lord wold appeare for his poore pepell and that the gospell may be uphold. Many nay allmost all that fear the Lord have apprehensions that God is bringing from great stroke uppon this nathon, the Lord devart his judgments if it be his Will or however hide his pepell while these calamities be over past, we have yet a breathing time, the Lord give hearts to improve it. The churches of Christ many of them ware in greate liklyhoods to mete in the halls, having a grant from the companyes, but at present there is a demur on it, you may ges from home, but the Lord raineth let the earth rejoice, doutles this is a great blow to the bushops, but I shall be to trobelsom thoe I know not how to leve when implied
implied in this work, but I must take my leave begging of the Lord to keep you in safety if it be the will of the Lord and that both you and I and all that fear the Lord may be presented blameless at the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, I take my leave and remain

Your most dearly loved mother,

Fra. Goldsmith.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Collins* to Governor Leverett.

Sir,

I would not let this ship go without a few lines to you, however I have little to say, saving the recommendation of the gentleman the bearer hereof, being Dr. Hoar, who is in fellowship with us, and yet more yours than ours, through his ardent desire to serve God in what work he will allot to him in your parts, where he hath had his education, which in the judgment of wiser men than myself is thought to be in your college employment, to which he is very well qualified in many things. I know whatever countenance or encouragement yourselfe can give him or the magistracy he shall not want it, for I beleive hee will deserve it and continue soe to doe, to him also I doe refer an account of the state of things amongst us, which he will be better able to doe than I can by letters have at present opportunity for, hee knowing all I can write and the conveyance being very hazardous, the ship going out when the 2 fleets, ours and the French on the one part and the Dutch, are both out and plying towards one another for an engagement, only this I would add, that the lord I spake of is upon going and in likelyhood will, before hee returne, visit you, which is to bee emproved to the best of your advantage; hee is a very civil noble

* This Mr. Collins was educated at Harvard College and was a Minister in New-England, afterwards in London. The Colony having no Agent in England he seems, for several years, to have been the person principally employed to receive and give the necessary intelligence relative to public affairs.
noble person, and if noe offence be ministred to him there, will doe you much service and, I perswade my selfe, noe hurt if it were to gain the whole country; but keep all I have wrote about him to your selfe, or as secret as may bee. Your friends and relations are all well, as I and my family through grace are. I defire you to accept the tender of my humble service to you and your lady, with my wives, and command you to the Lord, begging his presence and grace with you in your great works; and that when you are nearest God you would fervently remember mee and mine which is great and weighty. I rest, Sir, Your very affectionate friend London, May 10. 1672. and humble servant, J. C.

Copy of the Elders Advice to the General Court.

WHEREAS it hath pleased this honourable generall court assembled and setting in Boston the 15th of May 1672, to call us severall of the elders of the churches in this colonie, to confider, consult and advise concerning the present difficult emergencies before them, in order to the free, full and amicable concurrence of both houses in managing such cases of judicature as are represented unto this court, by petition or otherwise, according to law; wee thought incumbent on us as an indispensible duty, press'd under the sense of the great consequence of the question, it being to us a matter of the greatest importance, on the one hand, to say nothing that might in the leaft impair the honour, power and authority due to the honored magistrates, or, on the other, infringe, weaken or make void the liberties, privileges or power by our constitution appertaining to the freemen, both which are more deare to us than our lives; seeing that in the temperament of both standeth the firmnesse of our civil being and the happinesse of this whole people, in the preservation of the common interest; wee thought good humbly to suggest as the result of our serious thoughts on the whole conference, that it pleased this honoured generall court to admit
admit us unto the hearing of amongst themselves for our formation in the state of the case, these proposals following.

1. That our civil constitution respecting both the form and administration of civil government, it is or ought to be founded in and upon our charter by which we are incorporated into a body politique, and furnished both with legislative and executive power, and giveth life and strength both to the being and operations of our civil politic, and maketh us a people.

2. That therefore this our charter is to be kept and observed inviolably in all the fundamentalls of civil policy, therein directing to the right constitution of courts and regular distribution of differing interest of power and privilege between the magistrates and the freemen, and the distinct exercise of legislative and executive power by those who are by patent vested therewith.

3. That in any particular which doth admit a latitude of interpretation and fall under a different understanding amongst us, such a just accommodation as may consist with our patent and best provide for the publicke satisfaction and safety is most adviseable.

4. That although wee concurre fully with those our worthy predecessers in the ministry who when called to give their advice in the like, if not the same case, have placed the negative vote in the major part of both houses, as, in their understanding, most agreeable to the charter and conducible to the publick weale of this colony, as by their manuscripts yet extant more fully doth appeare:

Yet, for a present accommodation (wee humbly conceive) that our honoured magistrates bill referring to the issuings of all debates in matters of judicature (in case of the non-concurrance of both houses voting apart) unto the vote of the whole court mett together, or the major part of them, whereof the governor, deputie governor and four magistrates, or otherwise five of the magistrates at least shall always bee a part, to the making any valid act; wee say wee humbly conceive that a mutuall concession hertoo and a joymt concurrence herein may bee a fitt medium
of such an accommodation, as that which falls within a true latitude of interpretation, and for this we humbly submit our reasons to your consideration.

1. Because the patent doth expressly make and denominate two distinct estates constituting this corporation, as 1st, That of the governor, deputy governor and assistants. 2dly, That of the freemen. Therefore, either to confound these two estates of magistrates and freemen, so as that there should be no distinction in the exercise of executive power, or to divest the magistrates of the exercise of all executive power, or to invest the freemen with a power equal unto, and in case above, the magistrates in the final determination of matters of judicature; or to swallow up the whole estate of the magistracy, with all their interest of place, power and patent right together, by a major vote of the freemen in court, doth seem to us to shake and overthrow the boundaries of two distinct estates laid in the charter.

2. Because the patent doth, according to our understanding of it, constitutue a quorum of the magistrates in all general courts, with whom there is a negative vote in matters properly appertaining to that court, else what means that clause divers times indolently inserted, of which the governor, deputy governor and six of the magistrates shall be seven, which, if so, then totally to null that quorum and negative vote together, seems to us to bee a fundamental error in government, according to patent.

3. Because, to leave the final determination of judicature in any case altogether to the freemen, doth tend to evacuate our great liberty and privilege of election, as to one main end of it, unto which our honoured magistrates are solemnly sworne, viz. the administration of civil justice according to the laws of the land, which they cannot possibly doe if altogether superseded by the major vote of the freemen in general court; all which, wee humbly conceive would be prevented if the aforesaid accommodation may bee attained.

5. That
5. That for the prevention of trouble and expense of time to the honoured generall court, by hearing and determineing cases civill or criminall, it seemes expedient, by law, to provide that there may bee a more open way to an issue of such cases in inferiour courts of judicature, by the agreement of bench and jury, and that the magistrates may be, by expresse law, directed to accept the juries verdict and to grant judgment accordingly, unless they shall judge the juries verdict to be evidently contrary to law and evidence, in which case, that they may bee impowered by law to cause the jurie to answer for their default, in the same court, before a jurie of twenty four persons chosen by the freemen, or otherwise to bee liable to bee served by the party aggrieved with a writ of attainder out of the same court, or otherwise as this honoured court may see more aptly and amply to provide.

It being the great liberty of an English subject to be tryed by his peers, before whom he hath free and full libertie to plead law for his indemnity and safety.

6. That when the worthy deputies in generall court engage as judges in matters of judicature it may bee thought meet and just that they are sworne according to law, fo farre at leaft as the magistrates are sworne, which seemes necessary in reason.

1st. That acting joynly and together with the magistrates they may act under the same obligation of law and conscience. It seemes very incongruous, that of joynit judges some should bee sworne to judge according to law, and others left with a latitude to judge according to judgment and conscience only, and so that the magistrates should be only judges and the deputies judges and chancellors in the same court.

2d. That our persons, names, estates, lives, and all, may bee under the protection of law, which is the great securitie of the subject, and that it may not rest in the judgment and conscience of any of our judges to vacate our lawes and in an extrajudicial way to passe judgment in any case under a legall cognizance.

7. The
7. The premises notwithstanding, wee humbly propose, whether that such cases as are already lying before or depending in this honourable court, either by petition or otherwise, may not, for the furtherance of the accommodation above-said, be admitted unto a hearing in the wonted way of procedure in this court as heretofore.

These proposals wee doe in all humillity and faithfullness present and submit unto the serious considerations of this honourable court, and being under the awfull sense of the great necessities of the amicable agreement of both houses in such a time as this, wee doe most humbly and unfaynedly beseech him who is the wonderfull counsellor and prince of peace, of whose government and peace there shall bee no end, that hee would guide you by his counsell and fill you with the spirit of wisdome and counsell and of the feare of the Lord, to make you of quicke understanding in the feare of the Lord, that you may be able to discern and conclude upon such a way of agreement in this matter as may bee for the glory of his name, peace and welfare of his people here and your account with joy in the great day of the Lord.

Samuel Whiting, sen.
John Oxenbridge, consenting as to the substance and scope which is the accommodation.

Thomas Cobbet,
John Shearman,
John Higginson,
Thomas Thacher, sen.
William Hubbard,
John Wilfon,
James Allen, I fully agree to the accommodation propounded in this paper.

Samuel Phillips,
Samuel Torrey,
Antipas Newman.

John Hale, I concur fully with the substance of this accommodation.

Josiah Flint.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Peter Tillton to his Wife at Hadley.

**Boston 18 3mo. 1672.**

Deare Wife,

This opportunity gives occasion of these lines, wee have had a quiett and peaceable election, no alteration or addition; O what a price doth divine patience yett betruft us with, when he is drawing out the sword and arraying himself with the garments of vengeance as to other kingdomes, and when it is more than probable many garments are tumbling in blood. As to the news from England all men, both wise and others of more ordinary capassityes, looke on the effect or produce thereof will be as black a daye in the world, as the world hath knowne. The late actions in England in commisionating their fleet to seize and fall on the Hollander, of which I wrote you in my laft, breaking their league, joyning with the French, affiifting them with souldiers out of England, and with their principall harbours to receive a numerous army and shutting up the exchequer, whereby many are oued of their estates contrary to all lawe, are things that both in England and here, by men of all forts, are looked upon as strange, horrid, and ominous. There is another ship expected, one Jonas Clarke, (if not stoped by the embargo or otherwife) in which one Dr. Hoare, a minister, is expected. Remember me to mine and thine, with my love to all with you. I cannot forgett you before the father of spirits, night and daye. The goodwill of him that dwelt in the beth be with you, cause his face to shine upon you all, and give you peace. So prayeth still

Yours unfainedly to love,

Peter Tillton.

This day the generall court hath appointed the fourth daye of the weeke enuing (for themselves) a day of solemne
solemne fasting and humiliation, to fall downe upon their knees before Almighty God, for and in the behalfe of his cause, name, people and interest, that in this day are so deeply designed against by the serpent and his seede, and that by this black cloud of tumult and commotion now amongst the nations the Lord would bring forth the accomplishment of those promises of his, that his people are so earnestly looking after and waiting for; alfoe they have ordered six ministers as helps to carrye on the daye, viz. Mr. Oxenbridge, Mr. Mather, Mr. Oakes, Mr. Eliott, Mr. Whiteing, Mr. Cobbett: Further, they have ordered the 13th daye of the next month to be observed and kept as a solemn day of fast and humiliation by all the people of this jurisdiction, on the account aforesaid.

This last fifth day was the younge man that killed Mr. Daveys maid tryed for his life and condemned to dye.

I have bin ill this 2 or 3 dayes of an aguish feverish distemper, with afflicting paines in my head and teeth. My deare ones, forget not him who hath you all on his heart, and whose desire it is to leave himselfe and his all with that mercifull high priest who hath the keys of life and death. Farewell, farewell.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Collins to Governor Leverett of the Massachusetts.

Sir,

YOUR short letter with the treasurer's and your bills I received, which were very welcome, having received by them the newes of your hopeful recovery from soe great an illness, wherein God hath spared you to that country as a publique mercy I hope as well as your friends and family, which the Lord in mercy continue, and carry you on in your worke to the perfecting of that which
which God in his councell hath further to continue your use and services to accomplish. According to your orders the 100l. is payd in to Mr. Floyd upon Mr. Rawson's account, and 64l. 10s. received into my owne hands by vertue of the bill sent by Mr. Saltonstall, and the new one of 44l. 10s. charged on Capt. Peirce, which is in my hands, saving what hath bin disburfed, according to your order, to Mr. Rushworth, whom I have, as you directed, employed since 24th June last, to have an eye upon your affayres, though I neglect it not myselfe. I agreed to give him 3 guynies a quarter and have accordingly payd him 9 at the rates they goe, which is 2os. a piece, and have agreed to be at all contingent charges of fees or transcribing papers; which besides a crown or thereabout which I have layd out is all yet out of purse; unless you shall think fitt to allow any thing towards the charges of the publique papers I have formerly and now sent, which I have hitherto payd out of my owne wholly. Your letter directed to Dr. Owen, Mr. Woodbridge and myselfe, wee did not communicate to him, his abode being at Newberry and seldome in towne, and, betwixt you and I, wee judge one that is not very likely to be serviceable to you. You need not give any account of it to Mr. Symons. Through Gods goodness there is not the leaft caufe to write to you about any thing at present that concerns you, saveling that New-York being restored by the peace one Mr. Andrews is appointed governor, a man I know not; and some rumour is maliciously spread at court that you have made peace with the Dutch there, which is obviated by the readiness of some persons to shew the falshood of it. I hope nothing will for this year further disturb you, and if any thing doe arise it will be from New-Yorke and the government there, I have therefore greatly encouraged some gentlemen your friends, who would purchase it of his royall highness, as thinking it will be much for your peace, who are about it, but how it will issue I know not. Mr. Rushworth hath not had any thing to doe for you as yet, but only to attend what the council table or council of trade should passe,
passe, before the last of which Plymouth parent hath lain long, but nothing done in it. I hope you shall want no information, only I hear the King is offended that some of your ships take in their lading from Virginia and goe to France and defraud his cuistomes, as alsoe from other plantations; to which I know not what to say. The truth is, proroguing the parliament is some yeu much discontent to them, when they had doe many good things before them, and the present transactions in Europe, with the kings vaft debts, and their not having yet come to any resolve as to the future way of paying of them, takes up all their thoughts that they have little time to mind such minute things as yours, untill some old things be againe revived or new provocations given, in which I doubt not God will enable you to walke wisely. All the publique news and papers most choyce, as to manuscript or print, that have come out in the time of war or parliament, I have enclosed in a box which my brother Hammond will take up, it is shipped in Mr. Clements, whom I have ordered to deliver them to you and pray you, after you have perused them, to let my father have them for the use of friends; and were there any thing considerable that is not there I should add it, saving the prefaging of mens minds of some dangers of papists and popery, and other things not fit for papers. The 2 nations are discompos'd as to the proroguing of the parliament, especially Scotland, where hath binn sad jangling betwixt the Duke of Lauderdale and the nobility, which may issue in disquietments. I am, I blefs God, well, with my wife, who presents you and your lady with her service, and soe are all your relations. God hath binn afflicting our family here, having taken away lately my only daughter, and alsoe, as I hear, my relations there have had sore breaches, the Lord sanctifie to them and me his holy hand. Since my last it hath pleased God to remove by death Mr. Lodor, Mr. Venning and some other ministers of the presbyterian persuasion, holy men and much lamented; as alsoe lately Sir Thomas Temple, whom melancholy and griefe hath killed by his hard usage from
from Mr. Elliott, but especially the occasion given of scandal by his lodging at his old Mrs. her house, Mrs. Martin, which having heard the echo of again from New England, from the letters that some too uncharitably wrote, did sit deep upon his spirit and hastened his end: He sent for mee and I was with him severall houres, before hee dyed a week, and hee layd open his soul; it was a meer accident, yea great necessity, I judge, afterward that cast him at that wretches house; hee did declare in the presence of God, that noe temptation, noe not in a lust after her, had any had foe much aggravated the report, and that the name of God should suffer. I saw neither diseafe nor paine that would hasten his end, but his spirit broken, his inward estate darke, wherein God did enable mee to doe him some small service. I hope he had the root of the matter in him and is gone home to rest. Your concussions you have at the collège doe greatly grieve mee, and foe much the more that noe friend hath binn pleased to give me a true state of it, but all I gather, from them that I see, are wholly of one syde; it causeth a great rumour here, and is greatly aggravated to the presidents reproach, in whom I am concerned, for hee was a member with us, but it seems hath joined himselfe with the 3d church at Boston, which surprizeth me, although I doe judge his relation thereby to us is erased, all that I would say is, that it hath by our New England friends here binn layd as a reproach upon all the elders, yet I think without cause; for if our letter bee viewed you will not find that wee did recommend him to bee your president, wee judged that too much for us to undertake, nor did wee excite him to come or urge him upon such hopes; it was his own eagre desire after it and his thinking that hee might bee serviceable there; all wee sayd was, that since hee was prepared to come wee thought him one that might bee helpfull in your collège worke and left it with you to judge how; if there be any other expressions, or to the like purpose of what I mention, they are
are none of ours; I hope the letter is kept, and if you would doe mee the favour to send mee the original, or a true copy, I should returne it to you again safely, though I had rather have the original. I hope that noe recommendation of ours will cause you to continue him, if you find him unfitt; better hee suffer than the glory of the colledge bee mined, as is the expression of severall letters from the very best hands there. Just as I was writing this, came to hand yours of the 12th of February 1673, wherein I have some account of the things I am now writing about, for which I thanke you, and find your candid opinion of the Dr's actings, like to Mr. Stoughton's who gave mee much the same sentiments about the matter of fact, but did not instance in what was charged against him. I hope God will pleas to heal that breach or to direct you to what may bee most for the good of the colledge; and to add noe more of that, the kind and obliging expressions which you are pleased to use towards mee I returne you my humble thanks for, and pray I may be continued in your love and prayers as I desire to mind you in mine, though weak and sinfull. Sir, I shall only further acquaint you that Capt. Peirce required a discharge for the whole summe, and considering the tool came not into my hands, and yet I have charged mysельfe with it by a general acquaintance to him, I think for my discharge it is but necessary that I have, for soe much paid by your order, a discharge from your treasurer, which I beg you to remember. This is all at present but the tender of my most humble service to you, from him who is,

Sir your most affectionate humble servant,

London April 10. 1674.

J. C.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Knowles* to Governour Leverett.

London 16 April 1674.

Ever honored Sir,

It is noe little trouble to some here to understand that you are under some indisposition of body, that you write to few friends here, the Lord strengthen your heart and hands in that great worke which the Lord hath laid before you. It is very grievous to your friends here, not only to us ministers, but your commissioners for the colledge, to heare of the great breach that is made in it, wee wonder at the occasion of it, that they doe not either strenthen the hands of Mr. Hore that to the worke may go on, or else some other able man may be put into the place. For the wound will widen by delays, and if the colledge dye, the churches (some judge) will not live long after it. Mr. Penoyer's meanes given to it, about forty pounds per ann. I feare will goe another way when it falls, if there be noe colledge; and divers other intended gifts. Wee have some money offered to be payd for the colledge, &c. divers youths desire to come over to study there, but I doe give noe encouragement to them foe long as things are in such a broken condition in the colledge. Thus with my deare love to yourselle and good mistress Leverett, and Mr. Oxenbridge, I commend you all to God's blessing in Christ Jesus.

Sir your faithfull friend and servant,

John Knowles.

Sir, You shall doe well to send us word by your first shipp, when wee have gotten your money, what to send it over in, wee think glasse and nails.

Let me assure you that here is at present a great designe of toote for the regulation of New-England, but you have no man here to prevent your trouble or speake a word for you; your country ought to be at some charge here.

* Mr. Knowles had been a Minister in New-England, but returned and settled in England.
here, to answere for it, or elsse I clearly see you never shall be long quiet. I pray you conceal my acquainting of yourselfe with it, the thinge is true.

Sir, I should have beene ashamed to scrible thus to such a one as yourselfe, but I dare not be wanting to my duty, though my weaknes at present (as to writing) disnables mee, yet through mercy otherwise well. Oh! that I could say soe of your good friends Dr. Owen, Mr. Hooke, who are in a languishing condition. I hope shortly we shall receive neare an hundred pounds for the Colledge, though I was the first (I thinke) that first moved Mr. Doddridge to give, yet I will not take it; it may be I shall accept of tenne pounds, for I can say the getting of it now, after nine years witholding of it, has cost mee many journeys to London and some money.

Copy of a Letter from Major Thompson to Governor Leverett.

Sir,

I understand by my colin Peter Sergeant, who hath a good quantity of powder of myne in his hands, that the authority of your collony refused to let him sell it, when he had good opportunitys, for my advantage, by which means its like to prove a greate losse to me. If it be soe, I desire you will seriously consider whether the collony is not to make me reparation, by taking the powder at the rates he might have sold it. And first I must tell you, in fact, its what his Majesty doth here, for since the war our salpeter did rise considerably to transporre, his Majesty prohibited the exportation and paid us the same price to a farthing, reddy money, that we could have sold it for, and hath the peter still in his stores. And though particular persons must submit to the publique, yet where there is a damage the publique is better able, and in con-
science ought to beare it, it being but little to each particular person when the whole beares it, but heavy where one beares it; and if there be a benefit, as undoubtedly it was judged, the whole did pertain of it, which they ought to doe at theire owne charge and not at mine. Besides indeed, I thinke it good pollecy to incouredg your having store in your country of that commodity, in case of need, which the restraining the free dispose of it will hinder; though as a lover of your country I must say it were your interest to make it there. Sir, I appeale to you for justice and desire you will see me righted.

There has been much discourse and complaint about Mr. Gorges's patten; it were good if such things were taken up, least in the future they prove prejudicial. If the country would buye out their claime it may be done, or if you could propound how their title might answer the disburse of the money, I should joine with others or doe it my self, but being wholly ignorant of the thing have refused any discourse with the proprieters, though have binn often invited to it. Pray let me have your thoughts about it, which will much governe mee.

Your affectionate humble servant,
Rob. Thomfon.

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Copy of a Letter from Major Thomfon to Governor Leverett.

London, this 4th June 1674.

Sir,

Formerly wrote unto you about my suffereding in my powder, in which I hope you will see mee righted; since which, being at the corporation for the propagating the gospel amongst the Indians, I found the commissioners letter did not incouredge the sending any stocke into the country, but upon consideration amongst themselves have at last resolved to send some, remitting it into the hands of

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Mr.
Mr. John Richards and Mr. Peter Sergeant, to be improved for that worke. If you please to advise with them and others, and find a way of certain improvement by buying lands, mortgages or other security, I am confident the corporation may be inclined to goe in debt here to remitt a good some over. And indeed if you had my apprehensions of things you would enjeaver it.

And now to returne to what I began with. I am persuaded your country will afford good puer and it would be your advantage to make powder yourselves, and in the mean time to have a store by you, that you may not be in straitengs, upon any sudden breach. I wish I may not be a prophet (as I have binn twice to some amongst you) in this, that I feare another warre. Upon which account, had I had the freedom of the dispose of the commodity, or that the country would have bought it now its cheape, I should have sent a large supply this yeare, but now forbeare untel I heare from you, and may then doe it, if the doar be open. So rests

Your affectionate servant,

Rob. Thomson.

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Copy of a Letter from Robert Boyle, Esq; about New-England, July 1674.

Sir,

WHEN you see any of the principall magistrates of N. E. you will oblige me to take an occasion to let them know, that whereas, some months agoe, I received from severall of them a letter apolegeticall, concerning answers to misrepresentations that they feared had bin made of their affections and actions, I had a just sense of the honor they were pleased to do me, and used my endeavours, perhaps not altogether unsuccessfully, to have the particulars they allledge for themselves taken notice of by those two or three persons of our court in whose good opinion it
it most concerns them to stand right. Though I think that it would be much more their advantage to send or appoint some competent person here, to solicit and manage their concerns on all emergent occasions. The forementioned account of my endeavours to serve them I desire should rather be given by you than immediately by me; because, being here in a private capacity, as their friends and mine thought it unadvisable I should shew their letter to his Majesty himself, so I thought it did not become me, in such times, to presume, without express leave, to write directly to the colonyes.

R. B.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Collins to Governor Leverett.

Sir,

I hope myne with the papers I sent you are long before this time come to your hand, wherein you will see what I have to write concerning yourselves, and alfoe the general state of things amongst us, glad I am I have nothing more to add in relation to yourselves, save only that, since I wrote laft, there hath been a proposition of alienating by the proprietors the province of Mayn and what you call New-Hampshyre to the King, to make an interest of it to the Duke of Monmouth, and it is proposed that he should fend a governor to rayfe to himfelfe a revenue from it. I hope it will come to nothing. He that was all agog to goe governor thither, I had him dealt withall by a friend and such discouragements layd before him, and the ridiculousnes of hoping for such a revenue as was proposed of 5000l. a year, or more, to the Duke, that I think it is layd aside. To be sure I fhall, by the laft ships, to which I refer my larger letters to you, give you a further account of that or any thing elfe that fhall concern you, but I judge you have little reaons to expect any
great disturbance here, I suppose their owne affayres are too weighty to mind yours much, at present, and my business is too much as that if I write twice a year, more largely, to you, you must excuse me (the emergent providences that may signifye anything to you I always except, to which I shall not be wanting) to the returne therefore of the last ships I shall refer a larger letter: I hope you will see the 100l. payd according to your order, and will understand the agreement I have made with Mr. Rushworth for 3 guineys a quarter, with all contingent charges, which I shall continue, though as yet there hath bin noe service done for it, but I shall follow your order, till either you remand it or I see better reason to the contrary. I shall only add, that there may be somewhat more considerable, as to the publique, by the last returne of the ships, which I shall either by writing or prints send you; some firs are in Scotland about the late impositions, which what they will produce time will shew; somewhat I shall send you by the next; their parliament is desolved and the nation in a scurvy temper; whether ours will meet again next season appointed I know not, much depends upon it; I am now at the waters for my health, from whence I now write. I received two short ones from you since I last sent; to which there needs noe answer, you have found it in my former, only I congratulate for the peoples fake rather than your owne their renewed choyce of their governor, and am sorry they should in authority not yet have their eyes opened to see the vanity and fruitlesnes of any prosecuting quakers, or others, who are otherwise peaceable. I pray God still continue you usefull, as to making up breaches there in church and state. As to what you intimate about the removing of the Dr. in reference to the colledge, I think, neither myselfe or others are any further concerned than to be sorry such a breach hath binn under his hand, and to beg of God to direct you in a right choyce.

I am,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

July 28, 1674.

J. C.
Copy of a Letter from William Goffe, one of King Charles the first’s Judges, to his Wife.

Most dear and honored Mother,

On the 23d July I received yours of the 29th March 1674, with the inclosed that should have come last year, hoping you have also by this time received mine of the 21st May last, which informs you how it was then with myselfe and your old friend Mr. R.* and that I wrote largely to yourselfe and dear Mrs. Jaines, in October last, which I perceive you have not received, which I am very sorry for, but it hath been a great mercy that all my former letters came safely to your hands, and as for those, knowing the hazard of their miscarriage by reason of the warres, I kept the copyes of them, and for your further satisfaction I have again transcribed, that you may see I was not unmindfull of my duty in writing to you and answering your desire of my advice concerning my sister Fr.† of whose disposall in marriage you have now given me the account, so far as you conceive you could, and I believe are longing to understand my thoughts of it. Dear mother, you are pleased to say well, that you gave me an account how it hath pleased the Lord to dispose of her, &c. It is indeed the Lord, who is her heavenly father, that hath disposed of her and provided this husband for her, and therefore, tho he be unknowne to me, I do believe he is the fittest person in the world for her, and that the like wise is the most meet help for him. I remember in a former letter to yourselfe, when you desired, my thoughts in a matter concerning her, I told you I was content the Lord would take care of her and in due time provide a husband for her, and now he hath done it, the question whether he hath done it well? No, I dare not do it. It is a great satisfaction to me that you sought the Lord, and tooke advise of our dear and christian friends, and that my sister was guided in her choyse by yourself.

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* Whaley. † His daughter Frances.
and them, and desire with you to bleffe the Lord that hath
provided so well for her, and shall not cease to pray night
and day on their behalf, that the Lord will be pleased to
make them great blessings to each other, and that this new
condition may be, every way and always, comfortable to
them both, for as you very truely say, it will be as the
Lord shall be pleased to make it. I pray remember my
most tender and affectionate love to them both, and tell
them that I greatly long to see them; but since that can-
not be at present, you may assure them that whilst they
shall make it their great worke to love the Lord Jesus in
sincerity, and love one another dearly for Christ’s sake,
and to carry it with tender love and dutyfull respect to
yourselfe, I shall esteem it my duty to love and pray, and
act faith for them as if they were my own children, being
not otherwise able at this distance to be helpfull to them.

Dear mother, that yourselfe and all friends did so well ap-
prove the match gives much content to my heart, and I
beseech you not to give way to any recolylings that may
arise in your own spirit; do not say, as to the world, my
sister might have done much better, the Lord knowes
what is best for us, and ours; it may be that which wee
may think would have been better might have proved
much worse. These are dying times, wherein the Lord
hath been and is breaking down what he hath built, and
plucking up what he hath planted, and therefore it is not
a time to be seekeing great things for ourselves. Let us
read the 45th chap. of Jeremiah, and apply to ourselves
what the Lord there speakes to Baruch, and account it a
great mercy if he give us our lives for a prey, and bring
us again to see the faces one of another with comfort.
The things, that Baruch is dehorted from seekeing, were
worldly things, why then are they called great things?
Surely the Lord speakes it onely according to the esteem
that we are too apt to have of them; for the worlds great
things are indeed and in truth but poor little things, and
the faints should looke down upon them with contempt,
and shew themselves to be of high raised spirits, seeking things
things truly great, as our Lord himselle doth exhort us, Mat. 6. 33. But seeke you first the kingdom of God and his righteousnesse, as if he had faide, for they are great things, worthy your affectionate endeavours, and as for all these little things which gentiles so earnestly pursue, they shall be added unto you so far as your heavenly father knoweth that you have need of them. My poor sister begins her housekeeping at a time when trading is low, and all provisions dear, and I cannot but pitty her in that respect. I hope she will not be discouraged nor her husband neither, but for prevention I desire them to consider seriously and to act faith upon that most excellent counsell our Lord delivered with authority in his sermon on the mount, Mat. 6th from the 24th ver. to the end of the chapter. I cannot but be full of longings to heare how the Lord hath dealt with her in her lying in, but I doubt not you will take the first opportunity to inform us of it, in the mean time I shall endeavour to stay my selfe upon the promise made to childe-bearing women, 1 Tim. 2. 15,

Dear mother, I have been hetherto congratulating my newly marryed syster, but I must now turn aside to drop a few tears upon the hearfe of her that is deceased, whose losse I cannot choose but lament with tears, and so share with you in all the providences of God towards us; but my dear mother, let me not hereby be the occasion of renewing your griefe, for I doubt not but you have grieved enough, if not too much, alreadie. Let us consider how graciously the Lord deales with us (as for my dear syster, shee is got beyond our pitty, we need not lament for her fake, but rather rejoice that shee is at rest in the bosom of Christ) who whilest he is taking from us with one hand, gives double with the other. He hath added one to your family on whom I hope you may set that motherly affection as if he were your own son, and I hope hath before this time also made you to rejoice in the fruit of my systers womb; and shall not we say with Job, the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken, blessed be the name of the Lord. But oh how apt are wee to murmure, if the Lord
do in any thing displease us, but what a shame it were 
that we should be displeased at any thing which God doth? 
Who are wee, that wee should set our corrupt wills in op-
position to his most holy and blessed will. It is blessed 
countell that a reverend minister of the gospell gives, who 
had been in the schoole of affliction, that I lately met with 
in a printed booke of his, I pray you (faith he) drink in 
that notion, viz. That the will of God being pure, holy, 
perfect, yea God himselfe, should not onely be submitted 
to, or rested in, but loved and chosen above all creatures, 
yea above life itselfe, the best of creatures. Would wee 
but once learne this lesson (which the Lord is, I hope, 
teaching of us by all his dealings with us) and help us (as 
you say sweetly in your letter) to see love in all his dis-
penfations, there could nothing come amisse to us.

Dear mother, I perceive, when you wrote laft, you were 
upon a remove from those dear friends with whome you 
then sojourned, I hope the Lord guided you to that mo-
tion, and shall long to hear where you settle; in the mean 
time, it is my comfort that the Lord tells all your wan-
drings, and receives all your tears into his bottle, and will 
not faile to direct all your steps, till he hath given you a 
safe conduct through your wearyfome pilgrimage, and at 
the end thereof open unto you an abundant entrance into 
those mansions that are prepared for you in our fathers 
house, where you shall be at rest in the bosome of Chrift 
for ever.

Your old friend, Mr. R. is yet living, but continues in 
that weake condition of which I formerly have given you 
account, and have not now much to add. He is scarce 
capable of any rationall discourse, his understanding, me-
memory and speech doth so much faile him, and seems not 
to take much notice of any thing that is either done or 
said, but patientely bears all things and never complaines 
of any thing, tho' I feare it is some trouble to him that 
he hath had no letter of a long time from his cozen Rich, 
but speakes not one word concerning it, nor any thing 
you wrote of in your laft, onely, after I had read your
letters to him, being asked whether it was not a great refreshment to him to hear such a gracious spirit breathing in your letters, he said it was none of his least comforts, and indeed he scarce speakes any thing but in answer to questions when they are put to him, which are not of many kinds, because he is not capable to answer them; the common and very frequent question is to know how he doth, and his answer, for the most part, is, very well, I praise God, which he utters with a very low and weake voyce; but sometimes he faith, not very well, or very ill, and then if it be further said, do you teele any pain any where, to that he allwaies answereth, no; when he wants any thing he cannot well speake for it, because he forgets the name of it, and sometimes asks for one thing when he meanes another, so that his eye or his finger is oftentimes a better interpreter of his mind than his tongue; but his ordinary wants are so well known to us, that most of them are supplied without asking or making signes for them, and some help he stands in need of in every thing to which any motion is required, having not been able, of a long time, to dresse or undresse himselfe, nor to feed, or eafe nature either way, orderly, without help, and its a great mercy to him that he hath a friend that takes pleasure in being helpfull to him, and I bless the Lord that gives me such a good measure of health and strength, and an opportunity and a heart to use it in so good and necessary a worke; for tho' my help be but poor and weake, yet that ancient servant of Christ could not well subsist without it, and I do believe, as you are pleased to say very well, that I do enjoy the more health for his sake. I have sometimes wondered much at this dispensation of the Lord towards him, and have some expectations of more than ordinary issue; the Lord help us to profit by all, and to waite with patience upon him, till we shall see what end he will make with us. Thus farr I write of myselfe, I shall now ask him what he would have me to say to his friends concerning him. The question being asked, he faith, I am better than I was. And being asked what I should say more to his
his cozen R. or any other friends, after a long pauze, he again faide, the Lord hath visitted me in much mercy, and hath answer'd his visitation upon me. (I give it you in his own words.) Being desirous to draw more from him, I proposed severall questions and the flume of his anfwers were, that he earnestly desires the continuance of the fervent prayers of all his friends for him, and desires to be remembered to his cozen Rich and longs to receive a letter from her, and desires her to exhort her fon and daughters, his dear cozens, to fear God, and to be remembered to her aunt at Chelfey, praying that the Lord will requite all her great love, as also to be remembred to Mrs. Jaines and her good husband, to whom also he thinks himfelfe greatly obliged for their great love, and in particular for Mrs. Jaines her care of poor Nol. desiring her to continue the fame; as also to be remembred to yourselle, and with- eth Frank much comfort in her new condition, and faith he fhall not ceafe to pray for you and all yours. This is written on the 6th of Auguft, but I know not when I fhall have opportunity to fend to Boston, it may be therefore before I fend away my letter I may have something more to add concerning him.

Thus far I proceeded yesterdays, but night coming on and having something else to do, I could proceed no further, and fo laid aside my paper, intending this morning to finish (if the Lord pleafed) my anfwer to yours of the 29th March. But now my first worke must be to tell you that, thro' the great goodnefle of God, I did also laft night, after fupper, receive your welcome letter of the 8th of May (Franks birthday) wherein you let me know that you have also received mine of the 2d of October laft, at fuch a feafon, which made it the more refreshing to you, which is a great fatisfaFtion and comfort to me, for which I desire to bleffe the Lord; but it would have been the more full if you had but faid, with the inclosed to dear Mrs. Jaines, which I have lately tranfcribed, together with your owne, from the originalls, with a purpose to have fent them with this, but I fhall fend neither, for I have good hopes that
both were received, for I cannot but think when you com-
plained that the door of your house was opened, if halfe
of your goods had been taken away you would have made
mention of it; for your own letter was both the house
and inventorie of all the goods contained in it.

Dear Mother, it is also a great comfort to me to hear
that the Lord was graciously pleased to appear on my dear
sisters behalfe in the needfull hour, and desire with you to
bless the Lord for that great mercy, and I heartily thanke
you for giving me so quick a notice of it. Dear mother,
it was likewise a great mercy that the Lord was pleased
so far to satisfie your desire as to shew you the fruite of
her wombe and to make you the joyfull grandmother of
a son, and tho’ it hath pleased the Lord to soon to trans-
plant him from the militant to the triumphant church, yet
it may be a great comfort to yourselve and my dear syster,
that from your wombs hath proceeded the increase to the
millicall body of Jesus Christ, and reckon it a mercy that
the Lord being purposed to take him from you in his in-
fancy, was pleased (that it might be the more easy to you)
to do it before it had much time to take deep root in your
affections, for I do believe the longer yourselves and his
other relations had enjoyed him the harder it would have
been tous all to have parted with him: But what shall we
say more? It may be such considerations as these are too
selfish, it is enough to compose the hearts of the children of
God under every providence, to say, it is the Lord that hath
done it, our loving and tender hearted infinitely wise Father
hath declared his royall pleasure, and it is our duty to sub-
mit to it, yea to rejoyce in it (for it is most meet he should
dispose of us and ours as shall seem good in his sight) and
to apply ourselves to learn the lessons he would teach us
thereby, and among the rest that is none of the least which
you mention, to get our hearts weaned from creature
comforts and to live upon himselfe as our allsufficient soul
satisfying portion; and let my dear brother and syster re-
member what the H. G. faith, Lam. 3. 27. It is good for
a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. Dear mother,
I pray, in your next, speake a little more fully concerning his godliness, for you say nothing to that, except by the prause of a very honest man, you mean a very godly man, as I hope you do; for you give the same epethite to that good man (whose word you tooke concerning him) of whom another friend faith that he is a very godly man, aged and wife, &c. I pray, remember my dear love to syster Judeth, and tell her from me she must now be a very good child, and labour to know the God of her father and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind, 1 Chr. 18. 9. and leaving to grieve for her syster and nephew that are at rest with God, strive with all her might to be a comfort to her poor afflicted mother, who is contesling with the difficulties and temptations of an evil world. I humbly thanke you for your motherly love and care for me, in your being so desirous to supply my wants; and because you are pleased to lay your commands upon me, I shall make bould, when I need your help in that kind, to write to you for it. There is yet a little meale in the barrel and oyle in the cruife. The greatest thing I need is a heart to abide patiently in this condition untill it be expended. I cannot but account it a great mercy that in these hard times you should be able to be so helpfull to your poor children; but I beseech you let not your love to them make you to forget yourselfe, in parting with what is necessarly for your own comfort in your old age. Dear mother, you say you find nature greatly decaying in you, and therefore desyre prayers that grace may be strengthened, &c. It cannot be otherwise expected but that as age comes on nature will decay; but I beseech you preserve it what you can, and take heed of immoderate griefes, or whatsoever else may be prejudicial to your health, which you are able to avoyde, and when you have done all you can, if you still perceive the outward man perishing, yet faint not, for I do believe, through the faithfulnesse of God, your inward man shall be renewed day by day, 2 Cor. 4. 16. I bleffe the Lord, tho' I cannot deny but I feele, with you, the decayes of nature, yet
yet I have and do enjoy a competent measure of health and strength, and beg your pardon if I have been too slow in acquainting you with and giving you the comfort of it. I thank you for what you have written concerning those relations I desired to heare of; and the rather because you say you cannot write much, through the weakness of your eyes, and I heare it may hurt them to read these long letters, for I desire you first to reade and then seale and deliver the enclosed to my honored and dear friend D. G. with my best respects to him and his dear wife. My dear mother, I recommend to you the counsell and promise given to the Philippians, chap. 4. 4, 5, 6, 7. and let me intreat you to rejoyce in the Lord alway, and again I say rejoyce; and I beseech you remember that weake eyes are made weaker by too much weeping. Pray take heed you do not hurt yourselfe thereby.

But alas I see my paper is allmost done and I must yet reserve a little room for a postscript, therefore (hoping I have not forgotten any materiall thing I should write of) I am forced here to breake off abruptly, and with my most affectionate remembrances to all friends as if I named them, desiring the continuance of your and their fervent prayers, I recommend you and my dear brother and sisters to the tender watchfull care of him who hath borne us from the belly and carried us from the wombe, and will be our God and guide unto death. I am, dear mother,

Your most affectionate and dutifull son,

W. G.

Now, my dear mother, give me leave in a postscript to be a little merry with you, and yet serious too. There is one word in one of your letters that sounds so harshly, and looks so untowardly, that I cannot tell well how to read or looke upon it, and I know not how to write it, and yet I must, though I crosse it out againe. I suppose you do by this time sufficiently wonder what will follow; but the matter is this, after you had given me a loving account of a businesse wherein you have done your best, you were pleased to say, that if I should be angry
angry you had many to beare with you, &c. Rash anger, I confesse, is a burthen that needs more shoulders than one to beare it; for Solomon faith, a stone is heavy and the sand weighty, but a fools wrath is heavier than them both. But oh, my dear mother, how could you feare such a thing from me? Yourselfe knoweth I never yet spake an angry word to you, nay I hope I may say (without taking the name of God in vain) the Lord knoweth I never conceived an angry thought towards you, nor do I now, nor I hope never shall, and in so saying I do not commend myselfe, for you never gave me the leaft cause, neither have you now, and I believe never will; therefore, dear mother, the whole praiſe belongs to yourselfe, or rather to the Lord, who, bleſſed be his name, hath so united our hearts together in love that it is a thing scarce possible to be angry one with another. But I shall now conclude with a request that you will not be angry with yourselfe for writing that word I have spoken so much against, for I suppose all your meaning was, if I should not altogether approve of what was done, &c. and I am abundantly satisfied that the root from which that feare sprung was tender love, and that you speake your heart when you say you love and honour me as much as ever, which may well increase my longings after you, for the exceeding grace of God in you. Now thankes be unto God for his unspeakeable gift. 2 Cor. 9. 14, 15.*

Copy of a Letter from Major Thomson to Governor Leverett.

Sir,
Formerly wrote you concerning some diffatisfactio[n that there was in some great ministers of state as to your

* The remarkable circumstances of two persons who had made so considerable a figure in England will, I hope, excuse the publica- tion of this long letter, altho' it has no immediate relation to the affairs of the Maffachufets colony.
your country, in that some did defraud the king of his
customs in carrying tobacco, &c. to other parts, which by
law ought to be brought to England. I know this is don
by particular persons, and possibly unknowne to the go-

ermnent. Yet how to excuse it here I know not, though
as I have opportunity have not bin wanting to plead the
country's excuse, and lay it where it ought to be laid; and
withall to give you my advise, that it will be abundantly
your interest to be diligent to prevent the like for the fu-
ture, and if any doe slipp your hands to be the informer of
it yourselves. There are two of your vessels I hear gone
for Holland with tobacco.

Your affectionate servant,
3d August 74. Rob. Thomson.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Leverett to Mr. John Collins.

Sir,

YOURS of the 10th April is before me and thereby

understand as by Capt. Peirce of the money that was

in his hand is paid according to order, also of your engaging

Mr. Ruffworth in our busyness and for your disburse to

him, and those papers you send us and all other your charges

is expected that you place to account, and not to put you
to the charge; your time and endeavours for us is more
than is meet we should expect from you, and I hope we
shall be able in tyme to goe beyond, but in the mean

tyme please to accept of the acknowledgment of your true

friends, which on their behalf as my owne I hereby freely
give you. For your providentially being restrained from
communicating ours to Mr. B I am well pleased with,

and shall make use thereof according to your information.
I heartily desire you to present my service to the reve-
rend my honored friend though unknown to him D. J.O.
whome I have cause to acknowledge, having had through
the mercy of the Lord taftes of his goodnes in attending
upon him in his ordinances, by his administration, and

otherways
otherways by his prints. Your testimony of Sir Thomas Temple, a little before his exit, allays the reports by others raised, I hope falsely. For the busines of the college with us we have cause to be humbled, that through animosities we should cause discouragement to those at so great distance that with us well, that they are hindered in their freedom in the forwarding of that worke, I must freely say it to you I see not the reason, but that a perverse spirit seems to be our judgment. The Lord humble us in the fence of it; yet I hope we are groweing over it. The Doctor's* opposers loose ground, and I hope the worke will yet be carryed an end. The not effecting the disappointment of the last commencement, and the Lord's helping the Doctor in that act to pass with general acceptance gives some hopes that he may gett over the check given him in his beginning, which may make him more cautious for time to come; who is, I doubt, not so cautious in his coming off from former engagement as he ought before he enters upon new; his not concerneing you in his relateing himselfe in church fellowship here, I cannot looke at as independently congregational, I mean in a good fence, I have not had opportunity to speake to him, but intend it; he hath lately had an ague and since a flux, but in a hopeful way of recovery. Mr. Oakes † hath had a distemper hang upon him that hath much weakned him; the greatest occasion, I thinke, is some exercise in his mind, though he thinks it is the remayne of his sickness long age in England. I have been afraid leaft he may be of noe long continuance with us; but a graine of hopes that he may get over it. The Lord hath been graciously pleased to favor us in the seasons of the yeare for the fruits of the earth, blessed be his name. Our neighbours the Dutch have been very neighbourly since they had certaine intelligence of the peace. One of their captains have bin upon the French forts, taken Penobscot, with loss of men on both sides; what they have done further east we understand not. Your brother Moody hath

* Doctor Hoar the President of the College.
† Minister of Cambridge, afterwards President of the College.
hath been lately here with us, a very sorrowful widdow er
by the death of his wife your sister, so the Lord hath
been pleased to bereave your good father and mother of
their daughter, who are helped to carry it like old disciples
in the schole of Christ. I am at present in good health,
but often exercised with pains of stone in thekidnyes. I
have voided twoe in six months, and if there should be a
proportionable growth for others, as betweene the twoe
laft, my time to continue, I must need account to be short,
little sand being to run in my glass. I desire that the
numbring of my dayes may be so as that I may have my
heart applied to wifdome, and that I may waite all the
dayes of my appointed time until my change come, and I
be found in him who is unchangeable. I desire to sympa-
thize with you and Mrs. Collins in your bereavements.
Myfelfe and wife remember our due respects to you both,
beg the continuance of your prayers, commend you to
God, and remain, Sir,
Your truly affectionate humble servand,
J. L.
August 24. 74.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Leverett to
Major Thompson.

Boston, this 24 August 1674.

Sir,

By yours of the 27 April 74, you give me to under-
stand that you have information from Mr. Peter
Sergeant that the authority of the Massachufetts prohibited
him from selling of your powder in his hand, and from
thence claim justice by the taking off the powder at the
price he could have solud it; I shall not need but re-
fer you to Mr. Sergeant, by whome these come, for the
giving you a more right understanding of what he wrote,
for I assure you never any order past for the restraynning of him or any other to make sale of that or any other sort of goods, but the contrary, since upon the warre, an order past that the storekeeper should not deliver any but by order from some magistrates; nor will Mr. Sergeant say that ever he had any denial upon any desire for the delivery of powder sould by him; there was one bound for Guyny, that had bought of him twenty barrels and clandestinely, contrary to law, shipped it, so that it was seizable by a law in force when you was in these parts; which powder, upon his petition, was set at liberty, and he allowed to ship off ten barrels, the other he privately conveyed, so that he carryed all away. At the same tyme the order before mentioned was given to the storekeeper, there was an order issued for the several townes to have their stores fully supplied according to law, which quickened the demand of powder within ourselves; and the other collonyes understanding the order applied themselves for liberty to recruite their stores, which was redily granted them, so that the order past by authority was noe obstruction but a furtherance to those that had of that commodity, both for quicknes of sale and advance of price, and this I hope is sufficient to rectifie your thoughts in that matter.

Sir, For the busines of Mr. Gorges pattent, which was graunted, as by the date appeares, after the Massachufets, so that the jurifdiction lyeth within the government thereof is without question here; that there hath been several turns therein is very true; but that there hath been any just cause of complaint of the government of the Massachufets, I am perswaded that if the whole matter were prepared noe indifferent judges would blame them for what hath beene done by them; yet, could there be a way hit upon to stop clamours it would be a service to them. I am confident, and that upon good and rational grounds, had Mr. Gorges what he desires from the Massachufets he would not find the place turne to his profit, but rather an addition to former losse; and should any purchase his pretentions, in expectation of profit, they would
would miss in their expectation; yet, could the business be tooke up with him, it might be a service to this government, in preventing clamours. In order thereto, and you please to treat with them concerned, that thereby you may understand what they claime and the grounds thereof, and what proposal they will make, and give notice thereof, you should receive answer thereto; or might his pretentions be bought off for five hundred pounds, and assurance given to take off all after claims and claimers against the collony of the Massachusets or others upon the place, and you please to ingage in it for the collony, I doe hereby oblige that the money fhall be ordered to be paid there, upon such assurance given. Concerning which I may not question but that you will doe it by such advice as may be had, that it may stand good in law, and for that, possibly, you may meet with an opportunity that for present money more may be effect at by taking tyme, if you please to disburse it to the sum forementioned, I doe pass my word that you shall be imburfed your money, with consideration for the fame. I should not have made thus bould with you in this matter, but from your loveing encouragement given by yours to me, and the confidence I have of that loveing respect you have to the peace and welfare of this place, and the churches of our Lord Jesus therein; desiring that what I have wrote in this matter may be for your use and noe thing therein may be imparted to any that may seeke occasion against the government thereby.

By yours of the 4th June, which came first to hand (the other not coming to my hand until the 18th instant, Mr. Sergeant can give the reason) I perceive your mind is labouring for the publique good, your informations there- to I heartily thanke you for, and shall in any thing to my power promote, for the Indian affair with the commissio- ners or the other gentlemen. We are upon a worke for makeing powder and have erected a mill in order there unto at Neponset, about 6 miles from Boston; our difficulty will be for peter, which we must, in our beginning, have from without us, but hope, in time, may raise it amongst

H h 2
us. We have an ancient man that came out of Kent, one Walter Everden, that made powder in England, as he saith, is employed in the worke; and for your having liberty to ship off from hence, in case you have store with us, you shall not need to doubt it, or if a slay be made for the countreys use, but that they will make pay for the same. You may assure yourself that we see it for the public service to encourage trade, and I hope we shall not be left to strike in with others, that labour what in them lies to put clogs and discouragement upon the trade that the Lord hath led us into, beyond expectation in our beginnings; and you will be enformed by Mr. Sergeant that the discouragement that was laid before you was upon groundless misprision and not from any thing done by authority to occasion it; so commending you to God, I rest,

Sir, your affectionate servante.

J. L.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Leverett to Major Thomson.

Sir,

Yours of 3d August 74, came to my hand 26th 7ber. By Mr. Sargeant I wrote in answer to yours respecting powder and Mr. Gorges's business. For the dissatisfaction you mention, in reference to vessels belonging to this place that goe freighted with tobacco, I doe not understand of any but one that went from our parts this yeare, mostly as it is sayd with logwood, and by charter directly bound for England, and the owners took bond for their ships value that noe damage should accrue to them by the freighters neglect of paying the king his dutyes. His name is Mr. Dervall. a Dutchman that came from New York, he married Mr. Delevall's daughter. If any of our vessels went, they went from Virginia, touch in England and put off part of their tobacco there, as I am informed,
informed. I suppose the provision made of paying the
king's duty in Virginia will take off occasion of complaint
for time to come; for myself I am not concerned there-
in, the general court haveing left the care of that affair
with the secretary, onely shall advertise him to more cir-
cumfpeflion in his place. I acknowledge that we are
much obliged to you for your love in so friendly advising.
The continuance of which favours, as it will be a service
to God, so desired by him who commending you to the
Lord and giving you his best respects, remains, Sir,
Your humble Servant,

Boston, 29. 7. 74.

J. L.

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Copy of a Letter from Major Thomson to
Governor Leverett.

London this 16 Feb. 1674.

Sir,

By yours of the 24th of August I perceive you judge
my complaint about the powder was groundless: The reason you give me. For my applying to you, it
was upon my cozin Sergeants informing me, as I then
wrote, which he still affirms, and though he's loath to
offend the government in saying any thing now that he
thinkes may not be acceptable, I thinke your owne excuse,
if weyed, faith enough for me; for when 20 barrels ware
would there was a great trouble to git a licence for 10, and
the other ten privately carried away, which certainly hin-
dred others from endeavouring to buy any to send abroad,
and that voyage, I know, might well have carried to ad-
vantage ten times that quantity: And I assure you, let the
law be as aintient as it will, I will never (if I can help it)
have my estate under such a restraint, and had I known it
would never have had a barrel in your collony. Yet the
oldness of the law takes not off the equity against the new
law to compell all into one store-house, under your store-
keeper.
keeper, and that he should deliver none but by the mage-
strates order; which is prejudicial to its fayle; for trade is
a secret thinge, and when made publicke in the particu-
lers proves injurious to the concerned, but where such su-
ervisors will make it otherwise, and soe, upon the whole,
I am not satisfied, but my first demand is grounded upon
reason, and soe expect you should doe me justice. The
case of peter I instanced in houlds good, for it was re-
strained by a law made before ours was imported, and yet
his Majestie tooke ours off at the rate it would have yeild-
ed, which is what you ought to doe for my powder. I
am alsoe much dissatisfied with my cousin Sergeants great
charge of store-house rome, 32s. per ton a year. It was a
prudent case to have powder at a distance from the towne,
as here in the tower, but let the quantity be never soe
great that we lodge there, nothing is paid for it; soe if
you had laid it upon the countrys charge, or at least a rea-
sonable ware-house rome, it might have bin excused, but
because a private person, for a barrel or two, is willing,
therefore to inioine for quantities, I thinke is not equall
(though a factor may consent) which alsoe I leave with you
for justice.

For the business of Mr. Gorge I should willingly have
disburst the money you mention, but they are now in the
clouds and expect as much a yeare, seored here, for their
interest; the copy of his, with others their petition, I
gave Mr. Collins to send you, and is here inclosed. The
counsel of trade have don nothing, soe its remanded to
his Majesties prevy counsell. As any thing passeth (soe
far as I can learne) shall advise you, but am of opinion
that some presents might be plaste to the countrys
advantage, and yet of noe great vallue.

As to what you write of the 26th of September, I am
glad I could say soe much to some of his Majestys officers,
yet I must informe you that the paying the custome in
Virginia doth not priveledg any vessell to carry tobacco
to any place but to the English plantations, and the gover-
ner of the plantation where such tobacco is brought, if it
be againe exported, is bound to take bond to bring it for England. I should be sorry that his Majestie should have any ground of offence in this kind, for a little profit to some particular persons, to be an occasion of depriving the whole of their chiefest enjoyments. Its objected here by some that you have noe such law there, and soe will not judg by our lawes in exporting or importing of goods to or from forraine kingdoms. If it be soe, as a true friend to you, I would advise it be one of the first things you doe to prevent greater evills, which is all the trouble that at present is given you by your affectionate and faithfull servant. Rob. Thomson.

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Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Collins to Governor Leverett.

Sir,

OURS by Mr. Sprague I received and desire to bless God for the tydings it brings of your health and your familye, and to bee suitably affected with all other providential alterations the holy and wise God hath brought amongst you, wherein I humbly beg that poor country may hear the voice of the rod and who hath appointed it. I shall take things in order as I find them in your letter, that I may not omit to answer all that is needfull. For Dr. Hoares concerne as to the colledge, I am very sorry that matters are soe ill that nothing can heal that breach but his laying downe, and more that hee should put the overseers to the utmost wayting for it, which I think very little prudence in him; by comparing report with report, letter with letter, I am almost confounded in makeing a judgment of this matter; some soe severe as to lay all the blame on him and that not only of unmeetness for the place but several moral miscarriages; others again wholly in charging one Mr. Graves and others of the fellows, and adding the emulation of several...
expecting the preferment; yourselfe, with others most judicious, parting it betwixt both. I chuse the medium to judge by; onely methinks a passage in your letter, more direct against him than any thing formerly, doth a little startle mee, at least soe far as to beg, in your next, a true account of it, namely his want of truth in his words. Pray Sir, if you judge him justly culpable in that matter, let me privately know it, for hee is a member with us, if he returne. The enclosed copy of the letter is, as far as I remember, just as wee wrote it. My only concerne in this busines is to sympathize with the broken state of that once flourishing house, to beg of God a revival of the worke and all else in which his glory is concerned in the midst of the yeares, and to mourne over that disunited spirit amongst Gods people which appears in this matter and all others; and what tokens of Gods displeasure are but too evident with you; the Lord humble his people, pardon and heal the land. For the busines of Mr. Dyers petition I know nothing of that in particular but, as I hope God hath sent in Mr. Foster, you will, by my letters, understand the same thing, in effect, which now I am able to give you an account of, as far as yet the affair hath gone. The enclosed petition will shew you what they are about to put the King upon, a purchase of the propriety of the province of Main and Hampshire, and by whome transfacted; hee that the King should buy it for is the Duke of Monmouth, though nothing as yet is determined; many complaints are made against you; they have thoughts of sending a commissiner thither, and it was determined to do it with some force, but their more weighty affaires and want of money will hardly admit this, I suppose, this summer; but a letter from his Majesty you will have, to order some account of these things to bee given him, and I fear that which is ayled at is to call your patent to a strict account, upon what termes you hold it; you would doe well to be in a preparation for it, especially to make good your title to that part of your government. Here is none able to speake for you, wee want instructions, papers that
wee had formerly the late dreadful fire either consumed or removes have quite lost. My Lord Privy Seal, who was formerly wrote to and engaged on your behalfe, lately sent for mee, with whom I had discourse about an hour, who was as free as hee thought good with mee in this affair, and beyond his owne will I could not nor durft urge. I perceve hee takes it ill (my Lord Anglesea, who is Lord Privy Seal) that he hath not been addressed to,* and the matter lies before him. I begged him you might not bee prejudged beforehand, which hee promised mee. Hee told mee the King would write to you. I think, if with the first you wrote an obliging letter to him and transmit your pleas to him as well as others that may wayt upon him, you will doe well. Your moneys in my hands will not, as things goe with us, stop any gap, by way of present; if the 1ool. you drew off by Mr. Rawfon had bin left with your order in my hands to have bestowed it, with good advice, where it might have been placed, it would have entangled for a long time, and perhaps everted the busineses. Mr. Rushworth hath bin in salary ever since your order, at 3 guyneys a quarter, nor is that all paid, doe that with contingent charges, which are not much, there will bee near 2ol. gone, when hee is paid, yet is not all hee hath done worth a rush; if my owne industry, with the help of Major Thomson, had not sifted this busines, about which I have taken many a step, hee had not had the least crevife of light into this busines; all he hath and what now hee prosecutes is upon my information; hee is old and full of busines, and hath but small interest at court: I intend, upon my owne head, to pay him to lady-day and then withhold, and I think, if you would order, by the first, all the money remayneing into Major Thomsons hands, hee would make a better use of it for your advantage, his employment in the Eaft-India company gives him frequent access to court, where hee hath opportunity to give a feeling to such clerkes of the council as may serve you with true intelligence, which I cannot doe in my circum-
stances, having not bin at Whitehall but twice in many years;

years; and persecution is pretty hot, and if it goes on I may expect a prison for my living in the towne, and therefore I judge, on all accounts, hee is the fittest person, who if you oblige in it may doe you most service. I have not nor shall acquaint him with what I write to you, because I would leave you free to your own judgment, only I pray let mee have a discharge of what I have disbursed that I may receive my quietus out of the exchequer, the full and just summe of which you shall have by the next ships. As to what you write of the removal of more of Gods servants in the ministry, and especially Mr. Oxenbridge, lately, I doe bemoan it, the Lord of the harvest send forth more labourers into it. As to any private hints you give about myselfe what they will amount to I cannot judge till I see how providence workes, and then, I fear, my resolution will not be equal to what may be desired, how willing soever I may bee, which if I were free I should deeply ponder; I doubt the church here will as soon all remove to you as myselfe; but here is too much of an affair that I know not whether I shall bee any further concerned in than to tender my humble thankses to you for that undeserved love and respect you have shewed in your desires to have me so near to you. As for our affaires here, I have nothing to write, but I shall transmit in the publique prints, save only that the King, by the prevalency of the bishops over him, hath within this month or 6 weeks taken off the protection of his licences given us in March 72 and, together with a hot prosecution of the Papists, left us alfo a very troublesome persecution, wherein many are spoyled of their goods, several imprisoned, which laft cost the life of a worthy minister, Mr. Thompson of Bristol, pastor of the church there; several returned upon 20s. a month into the exchequer, to their utter undoing; this city yet scapes brest, you cannot imagine how averse the spirit of the mageltrates is to meddle with us; what importunity and opportunity may at laft produce wee are fearful. The parliament meets April 13. how they will back these things or check them wee desire
to wayt with prayer and faith; all things here threaten a sloume a coming upon us. All we desire, if God keep us faithful to himselfe, hee will deliver us from sin, the greatest evil, and we shall hope the wrath of man shall praise him and the remaynder he will refrayne. Things in the parts beyond sea look still as proceeding to further war and confusion; Hollands condition yet distracted, the protestants every where sufferers, and yet the popish swords drawne one against another. Methinks the coming of our Lord should bee near, in the faith of which wee desire to wayt. The parliament will one way or other give a great change to things and make mee have more news to send (which I shall communicate as opportunity serves) though I expect none good.

Sir, my father in his, by this conveyance, hath acquainted me how bountiful a patron you have bin to my brother Samuel, which I durst not omit my owning of to you with the returne of my humble thankes, begging of the Lord that hee would requite it 7 fold into the bosom of yourselfe and yours, and shall take my selfe oblidged to express my real thankfulness in all ways of service and affection, as far as I am capable. Your relations are all well and soe is my family, through Gods goodness. The Lord, even himselfe, bee your counsellor, your strength, your rock, your strong habitation, to whom you may continually refort and anoint you with his spirit, for the shields of the earth belong unto him, and cause your bow to abide in strength, that you may remain unmoved against all opposition and glorifie God in your place and finishe your course with joy. My wife and selfe present our humble service to you and your lady, and desire to make mention of you always in our prayers, begging the same for

Sir,

Your most affectionate oblidged
servant,

J. C.

March 19, 1674-5.
Copy of a Letter from Sir Edmund Andros to the Governor and Council of the Massachussets.

Gentlemen,

HAVING allways endeavoured not to bee wanting in all neighbourly and friendly manner to your colony, this is on occasion of a printed paper set forth in your names the 7th December last past of your Indyan warre, wherein, besides, is declared that Philip and his whole crew, in his retreat towards Connecticut river, recruiting himselfe with ammunition from Albany, hath prosecuted his first designe to ruine and destroy the English, &c. The which being a severer imputation then could have been brought from enemies, without complaint or notice, much leffe from his Majesties subjects, without any knowne cause and some in your parts convicted and fined, but no mention thereof. And having, unasked, acted as is knowne, and published through this government such severe orders concerning Indyans, as appears on record, and particularly at Albany for sale of ammunition, to the forfeiting of estate and life, I doe therefore hereby desire you'll let me know by the bearer, what persons at Albany are guilty, that they may be proceeded against accordingly, or that exemplary punishment bee inflicted on the notorious impostors, to the vindication of the magistrates and all other his Majesties good subjects under his royall highnesses government in these parts, who allways have endeavoured and duely observe all his Majesties lawes. Which expecting, I remaine, Gentlemen,

Your neighbour and friend,

Andros.

New-Yorke, Jan. 24. 1675,
Copy of a Paper endorsed Mr. E. R's. Narrative Sept. 20th and Octo. 12th 1676.

To the right honorable the Lords of his Majesties most honorable Privy Council appointed a committee for trade and plantations.

An answer to several heads of enquiry concerning the present state of New-England.

And whereas amongst the several colonies and plantations settled there that of the Massachusetts bay, commonly called the corporation of Boston, is the most flourishing and powerfull, and at the present gives laws to a great part of this country, by a pretended charter from his late Majestie, it is first in relation to this colony most humbly answered. To the first enquiry.

Where the legislative and executive powers of the government of New England are seated.

The legislative power is seated in a general court, from which there is no appeal, consisting at present of a governor, deputy governor and 10 magistrates, with the deputies of the several townes in that jurisdiction, all which are yearly elected.

This court is the supreme judicature of the colony, and only hath power to make laws, raise money, and lay taxes upon the whole colony, dispose lands, give and confirm properties, impeach, sentence and pardon, and receive appeals from all inferior courts, and cannot be adjourned or dissolvd without the consent of the major part.

The governor, deputy governor and magistrates are chosen by the majority of the votes of the freemen of the colony, who are to attend at Boston, either in person or by proxy, without any summons, the last Wednesday in Easter terme, and upon that day to consummate the election, which is done by writing the names in paper, but no person
person that hath been a magistrate the year before is to be left out* at the new election, and is to have the precedence in nomination before all others.

The deputies for the generall court are chosen by the freemen of every towne, who have all the power of the freemen transferred to them. No town can send more than two deputies, and where a town hath but 20 freemen, that town can send but one deputy, and when not 10 freemen the town sends none; no person being an attorney is to be chosen a deputy.

No person is admitted to be a freeman of the colony, or have vote in any election but church members who are in full communion and approved by the generall court.

The governor and magistrates sit apart and act all business by themselves, by drawing up bills and orders, which having agreed upon, they send to the deputies to be considered, and accordingly to give their consent or dissent thereunto.

The deputies likewise sit by themselves and consult about such matters as they shall find meet for the common good, which being agreed on they present to the magistrates to be considered, who may give their consent or dissent.

No law is made without the consent of the major part of the magistrates and the greater number of the deputies. The governor hath a casting vote in all courts and assemblies, can call a generall court, or any other court or council at his pleasure.

The executive power is in the governor and council, whereof seven men make a quorum, the governor or deputy governor to be one. But when business is urgent then the acts of so many as do assemble are accounted valid and sufficient, and can impress soldiers, seamen, ships, all manner of ammunition and provision, and all other necessaries, and give warrant to the treasurer to make payment for the same.

The council sits twice a weeke constantly, and is summoned at the pleasure of the governor, and oftner if need be.

There be two courts of assistants yearly kept at Boston by

* Left out of the nomination he intends,
by the governor, deputy governor and the rest of the magistrates, upon the first Tuesday in March and September, to hear and determine all actions of appeal from inferior courts, and all capital and criminal causes extending to life, member or banishment.

There are also county courts held in several towns of the colony upon several days by such magistrates as the general court shall appoint, for to hear and determine all causes civil and criminal, not extending to life, member or banishment. To make and constitute needful officers, and to summon juries of inquest, time of holding said courts always on Tuesdays.

The governor and deputy governor jointly agreeing, or any 3 magistrates consenting, have power to reprieve a condemned person till the next general court.

Every magistrate is a justice of the peace, and can determine any cause under 40s. can commit to prison and punish offenders for breach of laws and impose fines according to discretion.

The secretary of the council signs all warrants for the execution of persons, sitting the general court or court of assistants.

The governor and magistrates at all courts, meetings and assemblies, have a public table kept and their necessary expenses born at the charge of the country.

And for keeping all persons in perfect obedience to their authority, it is enacted, that whosoever shall revile the person of any magistrate or minister, or shall defame any court of justice or the sentence or proceedings of the same, or the judges of any such court in respect of any act or sentence therein passed, shall be punished by whipping, fine, imprisonment, disfranchisement or banishment, as the quality or measure of the offence shall deserve.

And whosoever shall conspire and attempt any invasion, insurrection, or publick rebellion against the commonwealth, or shall endeavour to surprise any town or fort, or shall treacherously and perfidiously attempt the alteration and subversion of the frame of policy or government fundamentally he shall be put to death. And
And as a marke of soveraignty they coin mony stamped with inscription Massachusetts and a tree in the center, on the one side, and New England, with the year 1652 and the value of the piece, on the reverse. Their money is of the standard of England for fineness, the shillings weigh three pennyweight troy, in value of English money nine-pence farthing, and the smaller coins proportionable. These are the current monies of the colony and not to be transported thence, except twenty shillings for necessary expences, on penalty of confiscation of the whole visible estate of the transporters.

All the money is stamped with these figures, 1652, that year being the æra of the commonwealth, wherein they erected themselves into a free state, enlarged their dominions, subjected the adjacent colonies under their obedience, and summoned deputies to sit in the generall court, which year is still commemorated on their coin.*

All commisions are made in the name of the governor, with the consent of the councell, but all passes for ships and certificates are in the name of the governor only, in these formes.

Commission.

John Leverett, Esq; Governor of the Massachusetts jurisdiction in N. E. with consent of the councill.

To A. B. Captain.

WHEREAS you are chosen and appointed to be captain to a foot company under the command of C. D. general and commander of the forces now to be sent forth in the expedition against the treacherous barbarous enemies: These are therefore to will and require you to take care and charge of the said company as their captain and diligently to attend the same charge of exercising the inferior officers and soldiers, and with your best skill and indeavour to pursue, kill and destroy the said enemy, commanding your company to obey you as their captain for the service of the countrey; and you to observe and obey

* This is a misrepresentation. The first money of this impres being stamped in 1652 they never altered the date, altho' they stamped more annually for thirty years together.
obey all such orders and directions as from time to time you shall receive from your superiour officers, the general, the councill, or generall court of the Maffachufets jurisdic- tion in New England. At Boston, 13th June 1676. Sealed with the seal of the colony.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

I John Leverett, Esq; governor of his Majesty's colony of the Maffachufets in New-England, doe testify and make known that J. W. master or commander of the Sarah frigat hath appeared before me and delared by solemn oath that the said ship or vessel of which he is at present master or commander, containing about one hundred tons, doth belong to the inhabitants of the city of London, with-in the dominions of his most serene and mighty prince the King of Englaund, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. So help him God. And in regard it will be most acceptable unto me that the said master or commander be assisted in his just and lawfull affairs, I doe request you and every of you, wheresoever the said master or commander shall arrive with his ship, and the goods laden on board and carryed in her, that you would be pleased to receive him courteously, use him kindly, and admit him upon paying the lawfull and usuall customs and other duties, to enter into, remain in, and passe from your port, river and dominions, and there to enjoy all kind of right of navigation, traffick and commerce, in all places where he shall thinke fit, which I shall most willingly and readily acknowledge upon all occasions. In testimony and con- firmation whereof I have with my hand signed these pre- fents, and caused them to be sealed with the public seal of the colony above-written. Dated in Boston, April 29, 1676, and 28th year of his Majesties reign.

Second Enquiry. What lawes and ordinances are now in force there derogatory or contrary to those of Eng- land, and what oath is prescribed by the government? The lawes and ordinances made in that colony are no longer observed than as they stand with their conve-
venience. The magistrates not so strictly minding the letter of the law when their publick interest is concerned, in all cases more regarding the quality and affection of the persons to their government than the nature of their offence. They see no evill in a church member, and therefore it is very difficult to get any sentence or verdict against him, tho' in the smallest matters.

No law is in force or esteeme there but such as are made by the generall court, and therefore it is accounted a breach of their privileges and a betraying of the liberties of their commonwealth to urge the observation of the lawes of England or his Majesties commands.

The lawes most derogatory and contradictory to those of England.

All persons of the age of 21 years, being excommunicate or condemned, have liberty to make wills and dispose of lands and estates.

In capital cases, dismembering or banishment; where no law is made by the generall court, or in case of defect of a law in any particular case, the offender to be tryed by the word of God and be judged by the generall court.

Ministers are ordained by the people, and no injunction to be put upon any church officer or member, in point of doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the institution of the Lord.

Whoever shall observe christmaffe day, or the like festivity, by forbearing to labour, feasting or other way shall pay 5s. and whosoever shall not return to their meeting upon the Lord’s day and such days of fasting and Thanksgiving as shall be appointed by authority, shall pay 5s. no days commanded by the lawes of England to be observed or regarded.

No person shall be impressed or compelled to serve in any wars but such as shall be enterprized by that commonwealth, by the consent of a generall court, or by authority derived from them.

No person whatsoever shall joine any persons in marriage but a magistrate, it being an honorable ordinance and therefore should be accordingly solemnized.
All strangers professing the true christian religion that 
shall fly to them for succour from the tyranny or oppref-
sion of their persecutors, or for any necessary or compul-
sory cause, they shall be entertained and protected amongst 
them according to that power and prudence God shall give 
them. By which law Whalley and Goffe and other tray-
tors were kindly receaved and entertained by Mr. Gookins 
and other magistrates.

Whosoever shall be in the possession of any land 5 years, 
altho' the grant of said land was to another, and the posle-
for have nothing to shew for the alienation thereof but this 
possession, the possessor shall have the land confirmed to him.

No oath shall be urged or required to be taken by any 
person but such oath as the generall court hath considered, 
allowed and required.

The oaths of allegiance and supremacy are neither 
taken by the magistrates nor required to be taken by the 
inhabitants, only an oath of fidelity to the government is 
imposed upon all persons as well strangers as inhabitants, 
upon the penalty of 5/. for every week they shall refuse 
the said oath.*

The oath of a stranger.

You A. B. doe acknowledge your selfe subject to the 
lawes of this jurisdiction during your residence under this 
government, and doe swear by the great name of the ever-
living God and engage your selfe to be true and faithfull 
to the same, and not to plot contrive or conceal any thing 
that is to the hurt or detriment thereof. So help you God,

The oath of an inhabitant.

Whereas I A. B. am an inhabitant within this jurisdic-
tion, considering how I stand obliged to the king's majef-
tie his heirs and succescors by our charter, and the govern-
ment established thereby, doe swear accordingly by the 
great and dreadful name of the ever living God, that I 
will bear faith and true allegiance to our sovereign lord 
the king his heirs and successors, and that I will be true 
and faithfull to the government and accordingly yield 

* Unless they gave security for their fidelity to the satisfaction of the court.
assistance thereunto with my person and estate as in equity I am bound; and will also truly endeavour and preserve and maintain all the liberties and privileges thereof, submit ting myselfe unto the wholesome lawes made and esta blished by the same; and further, that I will not plot or practice any evil against it, or consent to any that shall so doe, but will truly discover and reveal the same to law ful authority now here established for the speedy prevent ing thereof. So help me God in our Lord Jesus Christ.

These and all other oaths are taken by holding up the hand and not by laying the hand upon the booke.

Third Enquiry. What number of church members, freemen, inhabitants, planters, servants or slaves there are, of what profession and estates, and how many of them men able to bear arms?

The magistrates and all other officers in the civil go vernment or in any place of profit or advantage are church members, and are consequently freemen, but the number of the church members and freemen compared with the rest of the inhabitants (who are termed the dissenting party) is very inconsiderable, not being reckoned above one sixth part; the most wealthy persons of all professions being men of good principles and well affected to his Majestie. It is nothing but interest and designe that draws most of the people into their church membership and to think well of that religion and government they thrive under.

The inhabitants within this government, including Hampshire and Main, are computed to be upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand souls.

The chief professions are merchants who are principally seated at Boston, Salem, Charlestown, and Portsmouth, and wealthy shop keepers or retailers, who dwell in most towns of the colony, and get good estates. There are rich men of all callings and professions, and all mechanical arts and occupations thrive well.

The farmers are numerous and wealthy, live in good houses, are given to hospitality, and make good advantage by their corn, cattle, poultry, butter and cheese.
There are about 30 merchants that are esteemed worth from ten to twenty thousand pounds; most have considerable estates and very great trades, and are an industrious and thriving people. There are no servants but upon hired wages, except some few who serve four years for the charge of being transported thither by their masters, and not above 200 slaves in the colony, and those are brought from Guinea and Madagascar.

There are men able to bear arms between 30 and 40,000, and in the town of Boston is computed about 4000.

Fourth Enquiry. What number of horse and foot, and whether they be trained bands or standing forces, and what old and experienced officers they have amongst them?

They have no standing army, but their trained bands are twelve troops of horse and six thousand foot; each troop consisting of 60 horse besides officers, are all well mounted and compleatly armed with back, breast, headpiece, buffe coat, sword, carbine and pistols, each troop distinguished by their coats. The foot also are very well furnished with swords, muskets, and bandoliers. There are no pikemen, they being of no use in the wars with the Indians. The late wars have hardened their infantry, made them good firemen, and taught them the ready use of their arms. The pay in time of war to a captain of horse is 6l. per month, to a captain of foot 4l. to a common soldier one shilling a day besides victuals, and in time of peace the officers have an allowance for their expenses upon the days of muster. The present governor Mr. Leverett is the only old soldier in the colony, he served in the late rebellion, under the usurper Oliver Cromwell, as a captain of horse. The governor of the colony is always generall, and out of the rest of the magistrates is chosen the major-generall; they are places of good profit* and no danger, they may stay at home and share the spoyle.

† This is an extravagant computation.

* The Governor never had more than £100 per annum. I never met with any allowance to a Major-General, and suppose he had none except in actual action.
Fifth Enquiry. What castles and forts are in New-England, and how situated, and what store of provisions are they furnished withal?

Three miles from Boston, upon a small island, there is a castle of stone lately built and in good repair, with four bastions and mounted with 38 guns, 16 whole culverin, commodiously seated upon a rising ground 60 paces from the water side, under which at high water mark is a small stone battery of 6 guns, these command all the vessels falling up and down the channel of Boston. There is six fathom water by the castle, and no good going up any other way. The present commander is one Capt. Clap, an old man, his salary 50l. per ann. There belong to it six gunners, each 10l. per ann. No soldiers are there, and seldom above the captain and one gunner, who upon sight of any vessel coming up set up his Majesties flag, the only demonstration of his Majesties authority in those parts, to which all vessels are to strike, and none are to fail out from Boston but they must send their passe to the captain, which is signed by the governor, for which is paid 10d. and if it be a bill of health, 14d. There is a small brick fort lately made at the south end of Boston, with two tyre of guns, 6 in each, as it is made it is of little use, no officers or soldiers belong to it. One platforme on the north side of the town, commanding the river to Charlestown, made of loose stones and turfe, mounted with 5 demi culverin, two small guns, no officers.

There is a small fort at Marblehead, upon a neck of land going up to the bay of Boston, but of little use.

And upon the western point of Great Island, at the mouth of the river of Piscataway, is a small fort in good repair, very commodiously seated and mounted with 5 guns, formerly built by John Mason, Esq; from this river come the masts and planks for England. Every vessel above 20 tons, not belonging to the inhabitants of that colony, payes, per tun, ½ pound of powder, or 9 pence in money, which amounts to a considerable stock.
There are in the publick stores commonly 1000 barrels of powder, with other ammunition and armes proportionable, besides 6000 small armes lately come from England.

At Dorchelter, 7 miles from Boston, is a powder mill in good repair, well wrought. There is in the country great quantities of taltpeter, especially upon islands where foule frequent, and in swamps where pigeons roost. The powder is as good and strong as the best English powder; the master of the worke is one Eversden, formerly of Battles in Sussex.

Great guns have formerly been cast in the country, but none at present, the undertakers quarrelling among themselves, and so the workes fell.

There is great plenty of iron oare, and as good iron made as any in Spain. There are six forges for making of iron in that colony.

The town of Boston, the metropolis of the colony and the residence of the governor and councill is seated upon a peninsula, which with a small charge might be made very strong, being encompassed by the sea, except a small neck of land of 100 rods at low water, but not 20 at high. The town contains about 2000 houses, most built with tymber and covered with shingles of cedar, as are most of the houses in the country, some few are brick buildings and covered with tyles.

Sixth Enquiry. What are the reputed boundaries and contents of land?

The ancient bounds of the Massachusets colony was not above 20 miles upon the sea coast,* but the present limits are as large as that government please to make them, having some years since taken in the two intire provinces of Hampshire and Mayne, by them, now called after other names and divided into 4 counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, Middlesex and Yorkshire, besides several considerable townes in the other colonies of New Plymouth and Connecticut; for the Massachusets, having the preheminence in trade, strength

* The bounds of the colony upon the sea coast were never controverted nor uncertain.
strength and riches, take the liberty to clayme as farre as their convenience and interest directs, never wanting a pretext of right to any place that is commodious for them, declaring they doe not know the boundaries of their commonwealth.

And tho' his Majesties commissioners, in the year 1665, did settle the limits of severall colonies, especially the provinces of Hampshire and Main, and declared to the inhabitants that, by his Majesties commiision and authority, they were taken off from the government of the Massachusets, to the general satisfaction and rejoicing of the people, and did constitute justices of the peace and other officers (with the approbation of the proprietors) to act and govern according to the lawes of England, and by such lawes of their owne as were not repugnant thereunto, until his Majestie should take further order, whereupon his Majestie, by his declaration to the corporation of Boston* of the 1oth of April 1666, did approve of the actings and proceeding of his said commissioners, and did command that noe alteration should be made, either in the boundaries or government of those colonies, and that all determinations made by said commissioners should be observed and continue untill his Majestie should make his own finall determination, yet nevertheless, noe sooner were his Majesties commissioners returned for England, but Mr. Leve- ret, the present governor, Mr. Ting and Capt. Pike, and some others entred these provinces in an hostile manner, with horse and foot, and subverted the government there settled by the commissioners, imprisoned severall persons, and compelled the inhabitants to submit to their usurpations. And thus taking all opportunities and advantages to improve their dominions and authority, the jurisdiction of the Massachusets is swelled into a very large territory.

Seventh Enquiry. What correspondence doe they keep with their neighbours the French, and the government of New Yorke?

The French, upon the last treaty of peace concluded between the two crowns of England and France, had Nova Scotia,
Scotia, now called Acadie, delivered up to them, to the great discontent and murmuring of the government of Boston, that his Majesty, without their knowledge or consent, should part with a place so profitable to them, from whence they drew great quantities of beaver and other peltry, besides the fishing for cod. Neverthelesse, the people of Boston have continued a private trade with the French and Indians inhabiting those parts, for beaverskins and other commodities, and have openly kept on their fishing upon the said coast, tho' often* by the French Kings lieutenant in Acadie last year.

Monseur La Bourn, governor for the French King there, upon pretence of some affronts and injuries offered him by the government of Boston, did strictly inhibit the inhabitants any trade with the English, and moreover layd an imposition of 400 codfish upon every vessel that should fish upon the coasts, and such as refused had their fish and provisions seized on and taken away.

The French have held a civill correspondence with the inhabitants of Hampshire and Main and Dukes province, tho' the government of Boston, on all occasions, is imposing upon the French, and encouraging an interloping trade, which causes jealousies and feares in the inhabitants bordering upon Acadie, that the French will, some tyme or other, suddainly fall upon them, to the breach of the nationall peace. The government of the Massachusets hath a perfect hatred for the French, because of their too near neighbourhood, and losse of their trade, and looke upon them with an evill eye, believing they have had a hand in the late warre with the Indians.

As for New Yorke, there were severall things in matter of trade which occasioned a difference between the two governments, which at length rose so high that it came to a stop of trade, the governor of New Yorke not permitting any European goods to be imported into that colony from Boston, that had not certificate or other sufficient proof to have paid custom in England, which hath ever since occasioned a misunderstanding between them.

* Something is wanting to make out the sense.
In the late Indian warre, the government of Boston did greatly complain of fort Albany, that from thence the Indians were supplied with armes and ammunition, and were encouraged to begin and prosecute the warre, but this great outcry is judged by the wiser and sober sort of people to be without any just cause, but rather a report raised out of malice and envy; for the government of the Massachusets love no government that is not like their own, and therefore they were more kind and friendly to the Dutch (even in tyme of warre) when they were possesed of New Yorke, than they are to their countrymen the English. However, the governor of New Yorke hath proved very serviceable to the Massachusets in this warre, and had the magistrates of Boston either conferred with or hearkened to the advice of Colonel Androfs, the Indian warre had either been diverted or proved lesse destructive; for he offered and would have engaged the Mowhawkes and Maquot Indians to have fallied upon the Sachem Philip and his confederates, but his friendly advice and offers were flighted.* Neverthelesse, Colonel Androfs, out of his duty to his Majestie, kept the aforesaid Indians from taking any part with the Sachim Philip.

Eighth Enquiry. What hath been the originall cause of the present warre with the natives. What are the advantages or disadvantages arising thereby and will probably be the End?

Various are the reports and conjectures of the causes of the present Indian warre. Some impute it to an imprudent zeal in the magistrates of Boston to christianize those heathen before they were civilized and injoying them the strict observation of their lawes, which, to a people so rude and licentious, hath proved even intollerable, and that the more, for that while the magistrates, for their profit, put the lawes severely in execution against the Indians, the people, on the other side, for lucre and gain, intice and provoke the Indians to the breach thereof, especially to drunkennesse, to which those people are so generally addicted that they will strip themselves to their skin to have their

* I never met with any evidence of this.
their fill of rum and brandy, the Massachusets having made a law that every Indian drunke should pay 10s. or be whipped, according to the discretion of the magistrate. Many of these poor people willingly offered their backs to the lash to save their money; whereupon, the magistrates finding much trouble and no profit to arise to the government by whipping, did change that punishment into 10 days work for such as could not or would not pay the fine of 10s. which did highly incense the Indians.

Some believe there have been vagrant and jesuiticall priests, who have made it their businesse, for some yeares past, to goe from Sachim to Sachim, to exasperate the Indians against the English and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promised supplies from France and other parts to extirpate the English nation out of the continent of America. Others impute the cause to some injuries offered to the Sachim Philip; for he being possesfed of a tract of land called Mount Hope, a very fertile, pleasant and rich soyle, some English had a mind to dispossesse him thereof, who never wanting one pretence or other to attain their end, complained of injuries done by Philip and his Indians to their stock and cattle, whereupon Philip was often summoned before the magistrate, sometimes imprisoned, and never releaased but upon parting with a considerable part of his land.

But the government of the Massachusets (to give it in their own words) do declare these are the great evils for which God hath given the heathen commission to rise against them: The wofull breach of the 5th commandment, in contempt of their authority, which is a sin highly provoking to the Lord: For men wearing long hayre and perewigs made of womens hayre; for women wearing borders of hayre and for cutting, curling and laying out the hayre, and disguising themselves by following strange fashions in their apparell: For profaneesse in the people not frequenting their meetings, and others going away before the blessing be pronounced: For suffering the Quakers to live amongst them and to set up their thresh-
holds by Gods thresholds, contrary to their old lawes and resolutions.*

With many such reasons, but whatever be the cause, the English have contributed much to their misfortunes, for they first taught the Indians the use of armes, and admitted them to be present at all their musters and trainings, and shewed them how to handle, mend and fix their muskets, and have been furnished with all sorts of armes by permission of the government, so that the Indians are become excellent firemen. And at Natick there was a gathered church of praying Indians, who were exercised as trained bands, under officers of their owne; these have been the most barbarous and cruel enemies to the English of any others. Capt. Tom, their leader, being lately taken and hanged at Boston, with one other of their chiefs.

That notwithstanding the ancient law of the country, made in the year 1633, that no person should sell any armes or ammunition to any Indian upon penalty of 10l. for every gun, 5l. for a pound of powder, and 40s. for a pound of shot, yet the government of the Massachusets in the year 1657, upon designe to monopolize the whole Indian trade did publish and declare that the trade of furrs and peltry with the Indians in their jurisdiction did solely and properly belong to their commonwealth and not to every indifferent person, and did enact that no person should trade with the Indians for any sort of peltry, except such as were authorized by that court, under the penalty of 100l. for every offence, giving liberty to all such as should have licence from them to sell, unto any Indian, guns, swords, powder and shot, paying to the treasurer 3d. for each gun and for each dozen of swords; 6d. for a pound of powder and for every ten pound of shot, by which means the Indians have been abundantly furnished with great store of armes and ammunition to the utter ruin and undoing of many families in the neighbouring colonies to enrich some few of their relations and church members.

No advantage but many disadvantages have arisen to the English by the warre, for about 600 men have been slaine, and 12 captains, most of them brave and stout persons and of loyal principles, whilst the church members had liberty to stay at home and not hazard their persons in the wilderness.

The losse to the English in the severall colonies, in their habitations and stock, is reckoned to amount to 150,000. there having been about 1200 houses burned, 8000 head of cattle, great and small, killed, and many thousand bushels of wheat, pease and other grain burned (of which the Massachusets colony hath not been damnified one third part, the great losse falling upon New Plymouth and Connecticut colonies) and upward of 3000 Indians men women and children destroyed, who if well managed would have been very serviceable to the English, which makes all manner of labour dear.

The warre at present is near an end. In Plymouth colony the Indians surrender themselves to Gov. Winflow, upon mercy, and bring in all their armes, are wholly at his dispoal, except life and transportation; but for all such as have been notoriously cruell to women and children, so soon as discovered they are to be executed in the sight of their fellow Indians.

The government of Boston have concluded a peace upon these termes.

1. That there be henceforward a firme peace between the Indians and English.

2. That after publication of the articles of peace by the generall court, if any English shall willfully kill an Indian, upon due proof, he shall dye, and if an Indian kill an Englishman and escape, the Indians are to produce him, and he to passe tryall by the English lawes.

That the Indians shall not conceal any known enemies to the English, but shall discover them and bring them to the English.

That

* Randolph shews his malice against the Massachusets in this mis-representation, for Connecticut suffered but little by the war, and the Massachusets lost more of their substance as well as of their inhabitants than both the other colonies together.
That upon all occasions the Indians are to ayd and affift the English against their enemies, and to be under English command.

That all Indians have liberty to fit down at their for-mer habitations without let.

Ninth Enquiry. What are the commodities of the produc-tion, growth and manufacture of the country, and what are those imported from other places, and par-ticularly how the trade and navigation is carried on, whether directly to and from England or otherwise, what number of ships do trade thither yearly, and of what burthen they are, and where built; and lastly, what notice is taken of the act of navigation?

The commodities of the production, growth and manu-facture of New England are, all things necessary for shipping and naval furniture in great abundance, as ex-cel-lent oake, elme, beech, firre, pines for masts the best in the world, pitch, tarre, hempe, and iron not inferior to that of Bilboa, clapboards, pipe ftaues, plankes and deal-boards, so that his Majestie need not be beholding to other nations for naval stores.

It abounds with horses, beefes, sheep, hogs and goats, with mighty numbers of wild beasts, as beaver, otter, moose, deer, stags, foxes, musquash, and severall other forts, whose skins produce great profit yearly. Also great plenty of wheat, rye, barley, oats and peafe, fruits of most kinds, especially apples, whereof they make great quantities of excellent cider. Fisf of all forts, especially cod, mackarell and herring, which are very large and fat. These are the staple commodities and are exported.

To Virginia, Jamaica and Maryland, beef and porke salted, peafe, flower, bisket and mault, coddfish and salt mackarell.

To Barbados, Nevis, St. Christopher and the other islands, the above commodities, together with horses, deal-boards, pipeftaues, and houses ready framed.

To Spain, Portugall and the Straights, Maderas and Canary islands, fisf and timber, pipeftaues and dealboards.
To England, masts and yards for ships, firre and oake planke, with all sorts of peltry.

The commodities imported from the plantations are tobacco, sugar, indico, cotton wool, ginger, logwood, suetick, cacao and rume, the which are again transported to other parts.

The trade and navigation is carried on by a generall traffick to most parts of Europe, as England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, France, Portugall, Holland, Canaries, and the Hans townes, carrying to each place such commodities as are vendible, either of their own growth and manufac-ture or those of the other plantations, and doe make their returns in such goods as are necessary and vendible either in New England, or in any other of his Majesties dominions in America; as brandy, Canary, Spanish and French wines, bullion, salt, fruits, oyles, silkes, laces, linnen of all sorts, cloth, serges, bayes, kersies, stockings, and many other commodities, which they distiribute into all parts of the West-Indies; so that there is little left for the merchants residing in England to import into any of the plantations, those of New-England being able to afford their goods much cheaper than such who pay the customes and are laden in England. By which meanes this kingdom hath lost the best part of the western trade, there being very little exported hence but only such commodities as are properly the product and manufacture of England and cannot be had in other parts.

It is the great care of the merchants to keep their ships in constant employ, which makes them trye all ports to force a trade, whereby they abound with all sorts of commodities, and Boston may be esteemed the mart town of the West Indies.

There are some ships lately sent to Guinea, Madagasgar and those coasts, and some to Scanderoon, laden with masts and yards for ships.

There are severall vessels yearly built there and sold in England and other parts, which they build very cheap.

There
There are built in and belong to that jurisdiction.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Vessels from} & \text{100} & \text{250} \\
\text{200} & \text{50} & \text{100} \\
\text{300} & \text{30} & \text{50} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

There are about 30 master-builders of ships, and ship-carpenters and other workmen and artificers proportionable.

The chief places for building are Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Ipswich, Salisbury and Portsmouth. Good ships are built for foure pounds the tun.

There is no notice taken of the act of navigation, plantation, or any other lawes made in England for the regulation of trade. All nations having free liberty to come into their ports and vend their commodities, without any restraint; and in this as well as in other things, that government would make the world believe they are a free state and doe act in all matters accordingly, and doe presume to give passports to ships, not only belonging to that colony but also to England, without any regard to those rules prescribed by his Majestie.

Tenth Enquiry. What are the taxes and fines layd upon the country, what rates and duties are charged upon goods exported and imported, what publick revenue doth arise to the government, of what nature it is and how and by whom it is collected and exacted?

The taxes layd upon the country and duly collected are,

Poll-money. Every male person of 16 years of age and upwards, both inhabitant, lodger, child, servant or slave, payes yearly one shilling and eight pence per head.

Land-tax. Upon all estates real and personal there is paid yearly, one penny for every twenty shillings value, upon lands, houses, mills, ships, goods, cattle, and all other known estate, whether at home or at sea. The estates of merchants and shopkeepers, being inhabitants, are rated by the rule of common estimation, according to the will and doome of the affeilors. All handicraftsmen are rated for their returnes and gainses in their callings proportionable
to others. Every merchant stranger's estate is rated and pays according to the cargo he brings into the country.

Law-suits. All actions of the value of two pounds pay at entry 10s. of ten pounds, 15s. of twenty pounds and upwards, 20s. petitions to the court to obtain a debt or favour 10s. Magistrates and ministers and church elders pay no pollmoney or other taxes upon lands or personall estates.

Customs. Upon all goods imported either by sea or land.

All goods, wares and merchandizes, living cattle and provisions doth pay for every hundred pound value — — — — 0 10 0
Fayall wines or of the western islands, per tun, 0 10 0
Madera wine — — — — 0 13 4
Canary, Sherry and Malaga wine — — — 1 0 0
French wines — — — — 0 10 0
Brandy wine — — — — 2 0 0
Every ship of 200 tuns and upward pays 0 10 0
And small vessels, each voyage — — 0 6 8
 Stranger's vessels according to their burth. p.tun, 0 0 6
Every vessel above 20 tuns not built in the colony payes each voyage half a pound of powder per tun, or in money 0 0 9

Excise. Upon all liquors retayled in publick houses, cider, beer & ale, per hoghead 0 2 6
Mumme, the hoghead — — 0 5 0
Vintners and retailers of wine doe pay per tun 5 0 0
Brandy and all strong liquors per gallon 0 0 8

All publick houses are licensed by the magistrates and are obliged to clear their accounts of excise monthly, upon oath.

For armes and ammunition fold to the Indians.

For each gun 3s. For powder the pound 6d.
For a dozen swords 3s. For shot every ten pound 6d.

No custom upon any thing exported except horses, which pay 6d.

The
The publick revenue of the colony is computed to be upwards of 20000l.* and is disposed of as the governor and magistrates think fit, without giving any account to the country, by which means whoever comes into the magistracy hath an opportunity of growing rich and advancing his relations; it being exceeding profitable to be a magistrate of that corporation. It was generally believed there was a great bank of money in the treasury, there having been large sums collected from the year 1652, and little occasion of publick expense besides salaries to the magistrates and other officers, and maintaining a publick table: But, upon occasion of a present supply for carrying on the Indian warre, it was defired by several of the principall inhabitants that monies might be issued out of the publick treasury, but upon examination it appeared that stock had been otherwise disposed of and not one penny to be found, so that for the warre 50000l. hath been rayzed upon the colony.†

The poll money and land taxes are payd in money, and collected by the constables of each town. The customes are most commonly payd in money, or the best of the specie at price currant, and are collected by officers purposely appointed, the present collectors being the governor's son in law and the late treasurer's son.

The excise is gathered by such as the treasurer deputes and is payd in money.

There is a reasonable quantitie of silver money in the colony, but no gold.

Eleventh Enquiry. How they generally stand affected to the government of England, what persons are most popular and at present in the magistracy, or like to be at next election?

The inhabitants are generally well affected to his Majestie and his government, as well the merchants and farmers

* Randolph has put one cypher more than he should have done.

† This, I doubt not, is a most injurious insinuation.
mrs as the meaner traders and artificers, who groan un-
der the yoake of the present government, and are in day-
ly hopes and expectations of a change, by his Majesties re-
assuming the authority and settling a general government
over the whole country, without which it is feared civil
wars will in a short time breake out between the colonies,
the government of the Maffachusetts dayly imposing and
incroaching upon their neighbours, and therefore the loyal
colonies of New Plymouth, Connecticut, New Hampshir
and Main, seeing these inconveniences dayly increasing
by a divided government, are very desirous of submitting
to a general governour to be established by his Majestie.

Amongst the magistrates some are good men and well
affected to his Majestie, and would be well satisfied to have
his Majesties authority in a better manner established, but
the major part are of different principles, having been in
the government from the time they formed themselves in-
to a commonwealth. These direct and manage all affaires
as they please, of which number are Mr. Leverett, govern-
nour, Mr. Symons, deputy-governour, Mr. Danforth, Mr.
Ting, Major Clarke and Major Hathorn, still continued a
magistrate, tho' commanded by his Majestie upon his alle-
giance to come into England, yet refused, being encouraged
in his disobedience by a vote of the court, not to appear,
upon some reasons best known to themselves.† These,
with some few others of the same faction, keep the coun-
try in subjection and slavery, backed with the authority of
a pretended charter. These magistrates have continually
disobeyed his Majesties command contained in his royall
letters 1662, 64, 65, 66, and those of March laft, ever re-
serving to themselves a power to alter, evade and disanull
any law or command not agreeing with their humour, or
the absolute authority of their government, acknowledging no
superior or admitting any appeal to his Majestie,
whose armes are not set up in any of their courts, meet-
ings or publick assemblies.

K k 2

* Not one man in a hundred throughout the governments then
defired it.
The most popular and well principled men are Major Denison, Mr. Broadstreet and Mr. Dudley, in the magistracy; and of military men Major Savage, Captains Curwin, Saltonstall, Brattle, Richards, Gillam, Moseley, Major, Champernown, Shapleigh, Phillips, with many others, who only wait for an opportunity to express their duty to his Majestie.

The present magistrates are Mr. Leverett, governor, Mr. Symons, deputy governor, Major Denison, Mr. Ting, Danforth, Bradstreet, Hathorn, Pynchon, Stoughton, Clarke, Dudley, Ruffell lately dead.

Whoever are in the magistracy doe for the most part continue till death, by the help of persons of their faction and of a law commanding that at every new election the former magistrates be first put to vote, upon penalty of ten pounds.

The clergy are for the most part very civil and inclining to his Majesties government, being held in subjection by the ruling elders, who govern all affairs of the church.

Twelfth Enquiry. What is the present state of the ecclesiasticall government, how are the universities, at present, filled and by whom governed?

The ecclesiasticall government is in the hands of lay elders, these being the lawes and constitutions.

No person is permitted to gather a church without the approbation of three of the magistrates and the elders of the neighbour churches.

Every church hath liberty of election and ordination of officers and ministers to exercise all the ordinances of God, according to the rules of the scripture. To celebrate days of fasting, prayer and thanksgiving, according to the word of God. No injunction to be put upon any church, church officer, or member in point of doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the institution of the Lord. Hath liberty of admission, recommendation, dismissal and expulsion of their officers and members, with free exercise of the discipline and censures of Christ, according to the rules of the word.
The civill authority hath power to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ observed in every church and to deal with any church member, in a way of civill justice, notwithstanding any church relation, office or interest.

No church censure shall degrade or depose any man from any civill dignity, office or authority he shall have in the commonwealth.

Whosoever shall interrupt any minister in his preaching or charging him with any error he hath not taught, shall pay five pounds.

The ministry in Boston are payd by a collection weekly made in the several congregations, by the elders, who give the minister what they think fit; but in other towns they have a settled maintenance by a rate laid on every inhabitant, and houses are provided for them.

There are three colleges built in Cambridge, one with timber at the charge of Mr. Harvard and bears his name; a small brick building called the Indian college, where some few Indians did study, but now it is a printing house; new-colledge, built at the publick charge, is a fair pile of brick building covered with tiles, by reason of the late Indian warre not yet finished. It contains 20 chambers for students, two in a chamber; a large hall, which serves for a chappel; over that a convenient library, with some few bookes of the ancient fathers and school divines, but in regard divinity is the generall study, there are many English bookes of the late non-conformist writers, especially of Mr. Baxter and Dr. Owen. Here they teach Hebrew before they well understand Latin. No formalities or distinctions of habits, or other decencies, as in England, much leffe these exhibitions and supports for schollars. They take no degrees above master of arts.

Their commencement, kept yearly the 2d of August, in the meeting-house, where the governor and magistrates are present, attended with throngs of illiterate elders and church members, who are entertained with English speeches and verses. Most of the students are come for England, and at present no settled president, but one Mr.
Oakes, a rigid independent, supplies the place. The allowance of the president is 100l. per annum and a good house. There are but 4 fellowships, the two seniors have each 30l. per annum and the two juniors 15l. but no diet is allowed: These are tutors to all such as are admitted students. Mr. Thomas Graves, an ingenious and worthy person, was put by his fellowship, by the late Dr. Hoar, because he would not renounce the church of England. The government of these colleges is in the governor and magistrates of the Massachusets and the president of the college, together with the teaching elders of the six adjacent towns.

As to the colonies of New-Plymouth and Connecticut, it is humbly offered.

The lawes of England are there observed with such of their own as are not contradictory thereunto. The oath of allegiance is taken by every magistrate and officer, whether civil or military, and by all freemen. All commissions, proclamations, writs and summons are in his Majesties name.

The number of inhabitants in both colonies are computed to be 80000 souls. There are noe slaves, only hired servants. The chief professions are farmers, graziers and fishermen. Very few merchants, they being supplied with all forreign commodities from Boston.

The militia consists of 4 troops of horse and 5 regiments of foot, who are well armed and disciplined, no old soldiers among them. The number fit to bear armes 20000.

The country is very fertile and pleasant and abounds in corn and cattle, and produceth very good horses, the best in all N. E. which are sent into severall parts. There is great abundance of tarre and excellent good hemp, and there is made good quantity of whale oyle, which fish they take upon the coasts. The act of navigation is duly observed. No stranger is admitted to come into their ports. They have no ships of burthen, but only small ketches and barkes, to trade along the coasts and take fish.
They are generally very loyal and good people, and
doe upon all occasions express great love to the person
and government of his Majesty, and doe heartily with that
his Majesties authority were established over the whole
country.

The present governor of New Plymouth is Josiah
Winslow, Esq; a person eminently popular and beloved in
all the colonies of N. E. and was general of the united
forces against the Indians.

The governor of Connecticut is Wm. Leet, Esq; a very
worthy person, as are most of the magistrates of that colony.

The losses which these colonies have sustained by the
Indian warre is estimated to be near 100,000 pound.

This is (may it please your Lordships) the best account
I have been able to gather, during my short stay in
those parts, as well from my own observation as from
the information of others. And for what passed par-
ticularly between the magistrates of Boston and my-
self, upon the delivery of my letters, and with the
inhabitants of that and the other colonies, I have
presented his Majesty with a short narrative. A copy
whereof is hereunto annexed.

12 October 1676. Edward Randolph.

To the Kings most excellent Majesty.

A short narrative touching the delivery of your Majesties
letters to the magistrates of Boston in New-England,
by Edward Randolph.

May it please your Majesty,

HAVING received your Majesties letters for the go-
vernor and magistrates of your Majesties town of
Boston in N. E. dated 20th of March last, with my parti-
cular instructions from the right hon. Mr. secretary Co-
ventry, upon the 30th of the said month I sallied from
the Downes. After a tedious passage of 10 weeks arrived
at Boston on 10th June. At my landing I went immedi-
ately to the governor John Leveret, and shewed him your

K k 4

Majesties
Majesties paffe and acquainted him with the cause of my coming, and that I had brought a letter from his Majestie unto the magistrates of that colony, and did therefore desire him that, with what convenient speed might be, the magistrates might be assembled to hear your Majesties letter read. The governor answered, that the council was to meet that afternoon, upon other business, and that then I should be sent for; as I was, by the marshall of their court; where being come and admitted into the council, I delivered your Majesties letters to the governor, there being six of the magistrates and their secretary assembled with him, and there being a chaire placed purposely for me, I was desired by the governor to sit.

The governor having opened your Majesties letter sayd to the rest of the magistrates, it was a letter from your Majestie, and looking to the bottom of the letter, he read by his Majesties command Hen. Coventry. The governor asked me who that Mr. Coventry was. I told him he was your Majesties principall secretary of state.

At the beginning of the reading of your Majesties letter, the whole councell being covered, I put off my hat; whereupon three of the magistrates tooke off their hats and fate uncovered; but the governor with the rest continued to keep their hats on.

Your Majesties letters, with the inclosed petitions of Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges, being read in my hearing, the governor told the councill that the matters therein contained were very inconsiderable things and easily answered, and it did no way concern that government to take any notice thereof. I acquainted them that your Majestie had commanded me to require an answer of your sayd letters, and for which your Majestie had ordered me one month to attend. The governor answered, that they should consider of those things. Whereupon I withdrew.

Then I delivered the particular letters of Mr. Mason, which he had writ unto severall of the most eminent inhabitants of Boston, some whereof are the principall officers of the militia. These gentlemen receaved me with much
much kindneffe and expressed great loyalty to your Ma-
jestie. The letters he wrote were to give them an account
of the contents of your Majesties letters, his own com-
plaints against the proceedings of that government, with
the occlusion of my coming into these parts, desiring them
to communicate the fame to others, the which was soon
spread abroad, to the great pleasure and satisfaction of all
those who are well-willers to your Majestie.

Within a day or two after my arrivall, I met with a
report which seemed artificially rayzed to amufe and di-
stract the people about domestique troubles here in Eng-
land, the same whereof was, that the Duke of Yorke, with
diverse of the nobility, upon discontent, had left the court,
and had applied themselves to the city for assistance, and
that all was going to confusion at home. This was re-
ported with much confidence, and said to be writt from
some very good people in London, and therefore must be
true. I soon confuted this report, by many arguments,
shewing them the falsenesse of it, and so in a short tyme
it vanished.

After two days consideration it was resolved in their
councell that thankes be returned to your Majestie for
your gracious letter, and that an answer be forthwith sent
by a master of a veselle ready to faile for London.

The 15th of June I was sent for to the councell. The
governour askd me whether I intended for London by
that ship that was ready to faile, if so I should have a du-
plicate of their letter to your Majestie, the originall being
to accompany his own particular answer to a letter he had
recieved from Mr. secretary Williamson by the same master
of the ship I came with. I told them I had other matters
of concern under my charge, and should not return so
soon, and withall askd them if they had well con-
sidered of his Majesties letter and the inclosed petition in
so short a time, and concluded on their agents and the time
of their going for England, to which they gave me no
reply, but the governour askd me if I had any thing fur-
ther to offer them from your Majestie, I told them I had
nothing
nothing further to communicate to them, whereupon the
governor said that he looked upon me as Mr. Mason's
agent, and that I might withdraw.

The day after, I went to visit the governor at his house,
and among other discourse I told him I tooke notice of
severall ships that were arrived at Boston, some since my
being there, from Spain, France, Streights, Canaries and
other parts of Europe, contrary to your Majesties lawes
for encouraging navigation, and regulating the trade of the
plantations. He freely declared to me that the lawes made
by your Majestie and your parliament obligeth them in
nothing but what consists with the interest of that colony,
that the legislative power is and abides in them solely to
act and make lawes by virtue of a charter from your Ma-
jesties royall father, and that all matters in difference are
to be concluded by their finall determination, without any
appeal to your Majestie, and that your Majestie ought not
to retrench their liberties, but may enlarge them if your
Majestie please, and said, your Majestie had confirmed their
charter and all their privileges by your Majesties letter of
the 28th of June 1662, and that your Majesty could doe
no lesse in reason than let them enjoy their liberties and
trade, they having upon their own charge and without any
contribution from the crown made so large plantation in
the wildernesse, and that during the Dutch warres your
Majestie sent ammunition to New-Yorke for that place,
but sent them word they must shifit for themselves and
make the best defence they could, and that notwithstanding
the colony had many enemies, yet they did believe
your Majestie to be their very good friend, for that your
Majestie had by severall letters expressed your great kind-
nesse to them.

Within a few days after I met with one Mr. Harris, a
gentleman who arrived there from England about six
months before, who told me that at his arrival at Boston,
he was, according to their law, conducted to the governor,
which enjoins all masters of vessells to bring all passengers
so the governor upon penalty of 20l. who enquiring of
him
him if he knew Mr. Mason and whether he was coming over and what commissioners were coming with him. Mr. Harris told him there was a report that Mr. Mason was to come over. The governor then said he had received information from England that commissioners had come over last summer or the spring, but that your Majesty had not money to defray that charge and set them forth, and did therefore believe no commissioners would come.

The 23d June I gave in a memorial to the governor, the council being then assembled at his house, wherein I acquainted them that in pursuance of my instructions I did remind them of your Majesty's command of sending over agents that might be sufficiently qualified and empowered, and did desire that seeing a general court seemed much more proper for dispatch of matters of so great and weighty concerns, that a general court might on this occasion be assembled, that so I might receive their deliberate and solemn answer to your Majesty's letters, for the which I would attend. But hereunto they gave me no other answer then that when I was ready to sail for England I should have a copy of their letter which they had writ unto your Majesty.

About the beginning of July, I went into the province of New-Hampshire, belonging unto Mr. Mason, but now divided by the Bostoners into three counties, and by them called Norfolk, Suffolk and Middlesex. And travailed through several of the most considerable towns, acquainting the inhabitants with the occasion of my coming into the country, and read Mr. Mason's letter unto them, which gave them great satisfaction, the whole country complaining of the oppression and usurpation of the magistrates of Boston, imposing ministers upon them, not admitting them to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, denying baptism to their children, and liberty of choosing their own magistrates and officers because they were not members of their congregations. And as a farther mark of their power and sovereignty over them they send twice a year magistrates from Boston to keep courts for trying of causes, and that
they lay at pleasure what impositions, fines and taxes they think fit upon their estates, persons and trade, contrary to the laws of England, and that they have been for a long time earnestly expecting to be delivered from the government of the Massachusets Bay, and doe now humbly hope your Majestie will not permit them any longer to be oppressed, but will be graciously pleased to give them relief, according to the promises made them by your Majesties commissioners in 1665, who were then in that province, and declared them not to be under the government of Boston.

And being at Portsmouth, a town of very great trade, lying upon the river of Piscataway, in the northermost part of New-Hampshire, about seventy miles from Boston, severall of the principal inhabitants of the province of Main, belonging unto Mr. Gorges, and now by the Bostoneers, since the seizing thereof, called Yorkshire, came unto me making the same complaints, with those of New-Hampshire, entreating me to represent their condition to your Majestie and are passionately expecting relief, some of them having been suffered to be ruined by the Indians for having formerly expressed their duty to your Majestie when your Majesties commissioners were in that country, and for having taken commissions from them to act as justices of the peace.

At my return to Boston I receaved a message from Josiah Winflow, Esq; governor of your Majesties colony of New-Plymouth, desiring I would give him a visit before I left New-England. Whereupon I made a journey to him, whome I found a gentleman of loyal principles and hath shewed himself a person of great courage and conduct in the management of the Indian warre, those barbarous people being chiefly overcome by his conduct and troops, which makes him to be feared and not loved by his neighbours the Bostoners.

In his discourse he expressed his great dislike of the carriage of the magistrates of Boston to your Majesties royal person and your subjects under their government.
of their incroaching upon the rights, trades and possessions of the neighbouring colonies, laying what rates they please on the commodities and products of the other colonies imported into their harbours; the dayly breach of your Majesties laws concerning trade and navigation, trading with and encouraging all nations to trade with them, to the great prejudice and detrement of your Majestie and this your kingdom: And that he, finding the inconveniences of a divided government dayly arising, did say, that New-England could never be secure, flourish, nor be serviceable to your Majestie, until the several colonies and plantations were reduced under your Majesties immediate government, and that the colonies of New-Plymouth and Connecticut would readily and willingly submitt to your Majesties pleasure and commands in the dispofall and settlement of the civill government.

That during my stay at Boston I made acquaintance with severall of the chief inhabitants and some of the magistrates, and did particularly informe myself of the humour, disposition and affections of the people, and found the principal inhabitants, some whereof are the chief officers of the militia, and the generality of the people complaining of the arbitrary government and oppreffion of their magistrates and doe hope your Majestie will be pleased to free them from this bondage by establishing your own royall authority among them and govern them according to your Majesties lawes. And many of the better sort did intreat me to represent this their condition to your Majestie, not daring publickly to expresse their desires or complaint by petition, because of the severity and arbitrary proceeding of their rulers, and that many of them have been sufferers for petitioning formerly. Altho' at the general court in Octob. 1666, upon occasion of your Majesties letter and declaration of the 10th Aprill in the said year, which petition was subscribed by upwards of 100 of the principall inhabitants of that colony, wherein they did assert your Majesties right of jurisdiction and sovereignty over them, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed.
being given me by some of the chief persons that had subscribed it, desiring that your Majestie might see the same; these gentlemen for delivering this petition, did then receive a severe check, the petition voted scandalous, they stiled the betreibers of the libertyes of that colony and ill affected to that government, for which some of them have been greatly prejudiced in their estates and fortunes, and still lye under many inconveniences, and are not admitted into any offices of the government or choyce of the magistrates.

Being ready to return for England, the tyme allotted by your Majestie being expired, I went to the governor on the 20th July, for my dispatches, and was entertained by him with a sharp reproof for publishing the substance of my errand into those parts, contained in your Majesties letters, as alsoe in Mr. Masons petition and what he represented to his friends there, with that of Mr. Gorges unto the inhabitants of Boston, New-Hampshire and Main, telling me that I designed to make a mutiny and disturbance in the country and to withdraw the people from their obedience to the magistracy of that colony and the authority thereof. I told him, if I had done any thing amisse, upon complaint made to your Majestie he would certainly have justice done him.

The governor then gave me the duplicate of a letter directed unto the right honorable Mr. Secretary Coventry, which he told me was the answer which the council thought fit to give to your Majesties letters, the original being sent for England a month before.

At my departure from him, both he and some of the magistrates, severally, intreated me to give a favourable report of the country and the magistrates thereof, adding, that those that blessed them God would blesse, and those that cursed them God would curse. And withall, desired me to acquaint your Majestie that whatever reports were rayfed against them, by wicked and evil minded men, to draw away your Majesties grace and favour from them, yet they were a people truely fearing the Lord and very obedient to your Majestie.
So that altho' by your Majesties command I was sent
to the magistrates of Boston, and was named in your
royall letters as one who should sollicit a fit determi-
nation in the businesse depending, and bring back the
answer thereof, yet I must wholly refer myself to
their own answer; they not having thought fit to
acquaint me with the contents thereof.

All which I doe most humbly certify.

20 September 1676.

To the honored generall court now assembled in Boston.

May it please this honored court,

YOUR humble petitioners being informed that letters
are lately sent from his Majestie to the governor and
counciill, expressing his ill refentment of the proceedings
of this colony with his commissioners lately sent hither,
and requiring also some persons therein particularly nam-
ed, with command upon their allegiance, to attend hisMa-
jesties pleasure, in order to a final determination of such
differences and debates as have happened between his Ma-
jesties sayd commissioners and the government here; which
declaration of his Majestie your petitioners looking at as a
matter of the greatest importance and justly calling for
more serious consideration, that they might neither be
wanting to yourselves in withholding any incouragement
that their concurrence might afford in so arduous a mat-
ter, nor to themselves and the country being involved by
their silence, in the dangerous mistakes of some persons
(tho' otherwise well-minded) inclining to disloyal prin-
ciples, they desire they may have liberty, without offence,
to propofe some of their thoughts and fears about that
matter unto your most serious consideration.

Your petitioners humbly conceive that they who live
in this age of the world are not leffe than others concerned
in that advice of the wise man, to keep the kings com-
mandment, and that because of the oath of God, and not
to be hasty to goe out of his sight that doth whatsoever
pleaseth
pleaseth him. Wherefore they desire that seeing his Majesty hath already taken no little displeasure against us as if we disowned his Majesties jurisdiction over us, effectual care may be taken lest by refusing to attend his Majesties orders for clearing pretences unto right favour in that particular, we should plunge ourselves into greater disfavour and danger.

The receiving a charter from his Majesties royall predecessor for the planting of this colony, with a confirmation of the same from his royal person, by our late address sufficiently declare this place to be part of his dominions, and ourselves his subjects, in testimony of which also our first governour Mr. Mathew Cradock, as we are informed, stands recorded juratus de fide & obedientia before one of the masters of chancery, whence it is evident that if any proceedings of this colony have given occasion to his Majestie to say that we beleave he hath no jurisdiction over us, what effectual course had need be taken to free ourselves from incurring his Majesties farther displeasure, by continuing in so dangerous an offence, and to give his Majestie all due satisfaction in that point? Such an assertion would be no leffe destructive to our welfare than derogatory to his Majesties honour. The doubtful interpretation of the words of a patent, which there can be no reason to beleave can ever be construed to the divesting of a soveraign prince of his royall power over his naturall subjects and liege people, is too frail a foundation to build such a transcendent immunity and privilege upon.

Your petitioners shall ever be willing to acknowledge to the utmost how much they are bound to yourselves and others in the like capacity for your abundant care and paines in carrying on the government of this colony and endeavouring to uphold the liberties thereof, and should not be unwilling to run any hazard with you for the regular defence and security of the same, and would be most unwilling to reflect upon the persons of them they so much honour and respect, by a necessary dissenting from them in some things wherein they could not approve the reasons
reasons of their proceedings, but in matters of so great concernment as that now in agitation, wherein the honour of God, the credit of religion, as well as the interest of our own persons and estates are all concerned.

They earnestly desire, that no party will so irresistibly carry on any design of so dangerous consequence as to necessitate their brethren, equally engaged with them in the same undertaking, to make a particular address to his Majesty and declaration to the world to clear themselves from the least imputation of so scandalous an evil, as the appearance of disaffection, or disloyalty to the person and government of their lawfull prince and soveraign would be.

Wherefore your petitioners doe humbly intreat, that if any occasion hath been given unto his Majesty so to resent any of your former actions, as in his last letter is held forth, that nothing of that nature be further proceeded in, but contrawise that application be made to his Majesty by meet persons immediately to be sent for that end, to clear the transactions of them that govern this colony from any such construction, least otherwise that, which duly improved, might have been as a cloud of the latter rain, be turned into that which in the conclusion may be more terrible than the roaring of a lyon.

Thus craving a favourable interpretation of what is here humbly presented, your petitioners shall ever be obliged to thankfullness.

This petition was signed by upwards of an hundred of the principal inhabitants of the Massachusets colony, and presented by them to the generall court at their meeting in Boston in October 1666, upon occasion of his Majesties declaration of the 10th of April in the same year.*

* This I have no doubt is a true copy of a petition which appears by the records to have been presented to the general court and, if it had been presented twenty years before, the court would have made the petitioners smart for their intermeddling, as they did Child and others. See Massa. Hist. Vol I. p. 147.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Knowles to Governor Leverett.

London, this 6 July 1677.

Ever honoured Sir,

THERE comes with this another letter to yourself from mee, which Mr. Rawfon will give you, with that which your committee here for the colledge hath sent to the overseers. There is one Mr. Smith, I think his name is foe, an expert surveyor, who hath built forty of these famous houses in London, though he be a stranger to myselfe, yet hath the commendations of eminent ministers for his goodnes, besides some of the chiefest workmen in the city for his ability in his calling. If you make use of him about the colledge, you may doe well to pay his passage, or as you please; I have agreed with him for nothing, because he desired to be left free.

Sir, there is another trouble which I presume to put upon you, which is, to speak to the reverend Mr. Higginson, pastour of Salem, to move that congregation to doe something for the maintenance of Mrs. Peters,* who, since her husband suffered here, hath depended wholly upon Mr. Cockquaine and that church whereof he is pastour. I fear she will be forced to seke her living in the streets, if some course be not taken for her relief, either by Mr. Higginson or Mr. Oxenbridge, or some other sympathizing minister. Sir, I pray you, present my best respects to both of them. Little news here since my last, which was directed to yourselfe. Here is great talke of the German Emperor and the Sweeds joyning with the Hollander. The treaty of peace at Coligne is sayd to be broken up, our navy is going forth suddeainly, it is violently suspected that all our East India men are taken by the Dutch, and some of our factoryes. The blessed God strengthen your heart and hand in that great work which he hath called you

* Widow of Hugh Peters.
you to. Thus my best respects unto your selfe, and good Mrs. Leverett, I commend you to God's blessing in Christ Jesus. Sir, your faithful friend and servant,
John Knowles.

Copy of a Letter from King Charles II. to the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts Colony.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We have been given to understand that you did in the month of October last, passe a law in your assembly at Boston for the reviving and administering a certain oath of fidelity to the country; and whereas the enjoying the said oath at such time, when you had intimation by your agents here of our being displeased with the forme thereof, is highly disrespective full to Us, and seems to be intended as a snare in the way of many of our good subjects there, of whose preservation We shall ever be tender; We have thought fit hereby to signify to you, that We take the untimely renewing and enjoying of the said oath very ill, and that We look upon the same as derogatory to our honour as well as defective in point of your duty, inasmuch as the allegiance due to us, and the fidelity to the country are joyned together in the same undue decent forme, wherein such fidelity is made even to precede your allegiance to us. And though We do not, for the present, prescribe what forme may be proper amongst your selves, as to your corporation oath, yet We doe hereby strictly require and command you to give order that the oath of allegiance, as it is by law established in this Our kingdom of England, a copy of which oath attested by one of Our principal secretaries of state you will receive herewith inclosed) be administered unto and taken by all Our subjects, inhabitants within that Our colony, who are of years to take an oath, wherein We expect your entire obedience
obedience and utmost care, this being so fundamental a concern to Our dignity and government, We could not omit any longer to signify to you Our pleasure therein, though several other matters of moment relating to that Our colony are still depending before Us, in which We are not come to any small resolution. And so We bid you farewell. Given at Our court at Whitehall, the 27th day of April 1678, in the thirtieth yeare of Our Reigne.

By his Majesties command,
Williamson.

Copy of a Petition and Address of the General Court of the Massachusetts to the King.

To the King's most excellent Majestie.

The humble petition and address of the governour and company of your Majesties colony of the Massachusetts in New-England,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT whereas your sayd petitioners have since your Majesties most happy restoration, upon their several addresses in the yeares 1661, 62, &c. received many signal and gracious returns of favor (confirmation of our charter, pardon of our errors, assurance of your royal inclination to promote the trade and happines of this plantation) proceeding only from your royal goodnes, which hath highly obliged us to all due acknowledgments thereof, as wee have had opportunity; and wee shall, in future, at no time omit to manifest (according to our capacitie) our hearty and sincere affection to your Majesties service and interest, as in duty wee are bound: And therefore most humbly implore the continuance of those gracious influences, whereby your poore subjects here have been soe much refreshed in their great sufferings and diuertes, and that your Majestie, according to your innate wisdome and goodnes,
goodnes, will receive no impressions from any that, for their owne evil ends, shall endeavour (by false or mistaken reports) to represent us as affecting and aspiring to a greatnes independent on your Majesties sovereignty over us, or incompatible with the duty of good and loyal subjects to a most gracious King, in whose prosperity and happiness wee most heartily rejoice and for which we daily pray.

In humble obedience to your Majesties command in 76, wee dispatched our good friends Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. P. Buckley, to attend your Majesties pleasure concerning the bounds of our patent, in reference to Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mason, wherein, as wee have been informed, your Majestie hath declared your pleasure as to the settlement of the bounds of our patent, and our right of government therein according to our charter; which is matter of great satisfaction to all your good subjects here, it being their utmost ambition to enjoy, under your royal protection and allegiance, the knowne and declared ends of the first undertakers, which hath hitherto been carried on at their owne charge, both formerly and lately, defended by a greater expence of blood and treasure than will easily be believed; whereof they cannot but desire to reap the fruits, which they assure themselves they may, without any diminution of your Majesties greatness, dominion or glory, which, with your Majesties pardon, wee are bold to affirme will not be advanced by any innovation or alteration of our present settlement.

Wee humbly supplicate your Majestie that our messengers, having dispatched the business betrusted with them by us and commanded to attend by your Majestie, may be at liberty to returne, and not be obliged to make answer to such complaints as are made by unquiet spirits, who seek not your Majesties but their owne advantages and our distress. And what shall be incumbent on us, wee shall with all dutifullness attend, as becomes good christians and loyal English subjects, and shall glory in giving your Majestie all just satisfaction, not insinuating upon any errata that may have flipp'd us in 48 years, especially in our infancy,
or in the times of the late confusions, for which (as wee have had) wee again most humbly implore your Majesties gracious pardon, which will further oblige us for the future to be most observant of your royal pleasure, as to your establishment of us according to the charter granted by your royal father and confirmed by your royal selfe upon several occasions.

Let your Majestie be pleased to accept from our messengers abovefaied an account of our ready obedience to your Majesties command for taking the oath of allegiance in the forme preferred, and our repealing that law referring to the oath, so ill resented by your Majesty, with some orders Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor excepted against, as our messengers have intimated. Wee might recount the particulars and present our further desires, but fearing wee have been too tedious to detain your Majestie from your more important affairs, and not being in a present capacity to manifest our gratitude by a suitable acknowledgment of your constant goodnes, by reason of the great desolations, charges and debts contracted and yet remaining upon us by the late insurrections and outrages of the Indians, wee prostrate at your Majesties feete, and humbly beg the acceptance of the loyal hartes of your Majesties most humble subjects and suppliants,

The governor and company of the Massachusets colony in New-England.

The magistrates have past this address, their brethren the deputyes hereto consenting.


The deputyes consent hereto, William Torrey, Cleric.

Voted by the whole court mett together, 16. 8. 78. as now it is amended, Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

Copy
Copy of a Letter from King Charles II. to the Governor, &c. of the Massachusets.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well beloved, Wee greet you well. These our letters are to accompany our trusty and well beloved William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, Esqrs. your agents, who having manifested to us great necessity in their domestick concerns to returne back into New-England, Wee have graciously consented thereunto, and the rather because, for many months past, our counciell hath been taken up in the discovery and prosecution of a popish plot, and yet there appears little prospect of any speedy leasure for entring upon such regulation in your affaires as is certainly necessary, not only in respect of our dignity but of your owne perfect settlement. But it is very probable that if either your said agents had brought commisson to intermeddle in such regulation (which they have disfowned) or that you had sent such commision after them, when, from time to time, intimations were given them of what wee did expect, and what wee were thereupon willing to grant, neither their stay had been thus long, nor had the matter now been undetermined. Wee must therefore attend a further opportunity for this work and, in order thereunto, our will and pleasure is, that you send out such other fitt person or persons, duly instructed, and send them in six months after the receipt of these our letters, that they may here attend us in the prosecution of the same: For since the charter, by its frame and contents, was originally to be executed in this kingdome* and not in New-England, otherwise than by deputation (as is accordingly practiced in all other charters of like nature) 'tis not possible to establish that perfect settlement wee so much desire, untill these things are better understood. In the mean time, wee doubt not but the bearers hereof, who have demeaned themselves, during their attendance, with good care and discretion, will, from their owne observations, acquaint you with many important things which may be

of such use and advertisement to you that we might well hope to be prevented, by your applications, in what is expected or desired by us, so much it is your interest to propose and intercede for the same; for we are graciously inclined to have all past errors and mistakes forgotten, and that your condition might be so amended as that neither your settlement, or the minds of our good subjects there, should be liable to be shaken and disquieted upon every complaint. Wee have heard, with satisfaction, of the great readiness wherewith our good subjects there have lately offered themselves to the taking of the oath of allegiance, which is a clear manifestation to us that the unanswerable defect in that particular was but the fault of a very few in power, who for so longe a time obstructed what the charter and our express commands obliged them unto, as will appeare in our gracious letters of the 28th of June, in the fourteenth yeare of our reigne; and wee shall henceforth expect that there will be a suitable obedience in other particulars of the said letter, as namely, in respect of freedom and liberty of conscience, so as those that desire to serve God, in the way of the church of England, be not thereby made obnoxious or discountenanced from their sharing in the government, much lesse that they or any other of our good subjects (not being Papists) who do not agree in the congregational way, be by law subjected to fines or forfeitures, or other incapacities, for the same; which is a severity to be the more wondred at, whenas liberty of conscience was made one principal motive for your first transportation into those parts; nor do wee think it fitt that any other distinction be observed in the making of freemen, than that they be men of competent estates, rateable at ten shillings,* according to the rules of the place, and that such, in their turns, be also capable of the magistracy, and all lawes made void that obstruct the same. And because wee have not observed any fruits or advantage by the dispensation granted by us in our said letters of

* They seem to have held out till the last in refusing to admit any to be freemen who were not, either church members or who did not, at least, obtain a certificate from the minister of the town, that they were orthodox, of good lives, &c.
of June in the fourteenth year of our reign, whereby the number of assistans, settled by our charter to be eighteen, might be reduced unto the number of ten, our will and pleasure is, that the ancient number of eighteen be henceforth observed, according to the letter of the charter. And our further will and pleasure is, that all persons coming to any priviledge, trust, or office in that colony, be first enjoyned to take the oath of allegiance, and that all the military commissions as well as the proceedings of justice may run in our royal name. We are informed that you have lately made some good provision for observing the acts of trade and navigation, which is well pleasing unto us.* And as we doubt not and do expect that you will abolish all laws that are repugnant to and inconsistent with the lawes of trade with us, We have appointed our trusty and wellbeloved subject Edward Randolph, Esq; to be our collector, surveyor and searcher, not only for that colony, but for all other our colonies in New England, constituting him, by the broad seal of this our kingdome, to the said employments, and therefore recommending him to your help and assistance in all things that may be requisite in the discharge of his trust.

There is one thing which we cannot omit to let you know we are surprized at, which is, that during the time we had the complaints of Mr. Gorges under our consideration, you should presume, without asking our royal permission, to purchase his interest in the province of Maine, the truth whereof is but lately owned by your said agents, when almost at the same time we come to heare of some effects of a severe hand laid by you on our subjects there in consequence thereof. And whereas your agents declare you have payd to Mr. Gorges the sume of twelve hundred pounds for the said province, we do expect, that upon our reimbursment of what it shall appeare you have payd for the same, that there be a surrender of all deeds and writings thereof made into our hands, and that your future agents do bring them over, forasmuch

* This is very extraordinary, for this provision was an act of the colony declaring that the acts of trade should be in force there. Mass. Hist. Vol. 1. p. 322.
as wee were sometime in treaty for the sayd province and do disapprove what you have done therein. And as for that part of the province of New-Hampshire lying three miles northward of Merimack river, which was granted unto Mr. Mason, and whereof the government remains still vested in us, you are not to expect (according to the desire of your agents) that the same should be annexed to your government, for wee have it under our consideration to establish such method there as may be of most benefit and satisfaction to the people of that place. And therefore our will and pleasure is, that you do recall all commissions granted by you for the governing within that province, which wee do hereby declare to be void, and do require that you do in all things for the future conforme yourselves unto the regulation which wee have taken in this behalfe. And so not doubting of your duty and obedience herein, wee bid you farewell. Given at our palace of Hampton-Court the 24th day of July 1679, and in the one and thirtieth year of our reign.

By his Majesties command,

A. Coventry.

Copy of a Letter from King Charles II. to the Governour and Council of the Massachufets Colony.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well beloved, wee greet you well. When by our royall letters bearing date the 24th day of July in the one and thirtieth year of our reign, we signified unto you our gracious inclination to have all past deeds forgotten, setting before you the meanes whereby you might deserve our pardon, and commanding your ready obedience to severall particulars therein contained, requiring, withall, a speedy compliance with the intimations of your duty given to your late agents, during their attendance here, all which wee esteeme essentiall to your quiet settlement and naturall obedience due unto us; wee then little thought that those markes of our grace and favour
favour should have found no better acceptance among you, but that, before all things, you should have given preference to the execution of all our commands, when after so many months we come to understand by a letter from you to one of our principal secretaries of state dated the 21st of May last, that very few of our directions had been pursued by your general court, the further consideration of the remaining particulars having been put off upon insufficient pretences, and even wholly neglecting your appointment of other agents which were required to be sent over unto us within six months after the receipt of our said letters, with full instructions to attend our royall pleasure herein in relation to that our government. We have also received the petition of our trusty and well beloved Robert Mason, Esq; whose ancestors obtained divers grants and made large purchases of lands in New-England, humbly laying before us the state of his further pretensions to the propriety of soyle in a tract of land lying between Merrimack and Nahinkeke rivers, by virtue of a grant bearing date in the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of our royall grandfather, in the examination whereof the lords of our committee of forraín plantations had made such a progress that the right of our subjects had been thereupon settled, without the humble intreaty of your said agents, and the consent of the said Robert Mason, that in regard of their suddaine departure and want of power in that behalfe, the determination thereof might be suspended untill the arrivall of other agents to be appointed according to the limitation of our aforesaid letters, as your agents were able to informe you. And although the vindication of our authority, and the demand of justice from one of our subjects, might have well induced to the most speedy meanes of redresse, by doing us and our subjects right; Wee have nevertheless continued our royall clemency towards you and thought fit to give you further opportunity of bearing evidence of your duty towards us; so as no further occasion of complaint may be offered in respect of your behaviour. Wee doe therefore, by these our letters, Strictly command and require you, as
as you tender your allegiance unto us, and will deserve the
effects of our grace and favour (which wee are enclined
to afford you) seriously to reflect upon our commands con-
tained in our said letters, and other directions, at several
times, intimated unto your late agents, while they were
yet attending our councill; and particularly wee doe
hereby command you to send over, within three months
after the receipt hereof, such other person or persons as
you shall think fitt to choose, and that you give them suf-
ficient instructions to attend the regulation and settlement
of that our government, and to answer your proceedings
therein, and, that the matter of the complaints of the said
Robert Mason may be then determined, wee expect that
your agent or agents be not only prepared to lay before us
such evidences of right as you may have to the propriety
of foyle in that tract of land claymed by him, but wee
direct you also to make a publick signification of our plea-
ture unto all the inhabitants and tertennants thereof, that
they doe furnish at the same time your said agents, or such
others as they may depute, with the proofs of their re-
spective titles to the land possesed by them, to the end
they may be fully satisfied in our royall justice, that they
have not binn prevented in the full improvement of their
lawfull defence, which wee hereby direct them to make
before us in councill. Such is the care and tendernesse
that wee will always continue towards you and other
our subjets, by removing those difficulties and mistakes
that have arisen by the execution of the powers of your
charter at such a distance from us, which by the first in-
tendment and present constitution thereof (as by the charter
appears) has its naturall seate and immediate direction with-
in our kingdom of England, and that the due observance
of all our commands above-mentioned may not be any
longer protracted, wee require you, upon the receipt here-
of, forthwith to call a generall court, and therein to read
these our letters and provide for our speedy satisfaction;
in default whereof, wee shall take the most effectual meanes
to procure the same. And so wee bid you farewell.

Given
Given at our court at Newmarket, the 30th of September 1680, in the two and thirtieth year of our reign.

By his Majesties command,

The superscription was,

To our trusty and wellbeloved Sunderland.

the governor and magistrates of the Massachufets colony in New England, now and for the time being,

That this is a true copie taken and compared with the orignall on file, attests Edw. Rawfon, Secr.

Copy of Mr. Randolph's Representation of the Bostoneers, 1680.

To the Kings most excellent Majesty,

The humble representation of Edw. Randolph,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Majesty was graciously pleased, in March 1675-6, to intrust him with your royal letters to the governor of Boston in New-England, and also commanded him, upon severall queries, to informe your Majesty of the present state of that government.

In all humble obedience to your Majestyes royall command, he hath reduced his information to these following heads, viz.

1. That the Bostoneers have no right either to land or government in any part of New-England, but are usurpers, the inhabitants yielding obedience unto a supposition only of a royal grant from his late Majesty.

2. They have formed themselves into a commonwealth, denying any appeals to England, contrary to other plantations, do not take the oath of allegiance.

3. They have protected the murtherers of your royal father, in contempt of your Majestyes proclamation of the 6th June 1660, and your letter of 28th June 1662.

4. They
4. They coyne money of their owne impress.
5. They put your Majestyes subjects to death for religion.
6. In 1665, they did voyalantly oppofe your Majestyes commissioners in the settlement of New-Hampshire.
   In the year 1666, by armed force, turned out your Majestyes justices of peace in the province of Maine in opposition to your Majestyes authority and declaration 10th April 1666.
7. They impose an oath of fidelity upon those that inhabit within their territories to be true and faithful to their government.
8. They violate all the acts of trade and navigation, by which they have ingroffed the greatest part of the Wefl India trade, whereby your Majesty is damnified in the customes £.100000 yearly, and the kingdom much more.
   All which he is ready to prove.

Copy of Edward Randolph's Articles of high Misdemeanor exhibited againft the General Court sitting 15th February 1681.*


I. THAT the said faction, the governor not contending thereto, have refused to publish his Majesties proclamation of the 24th of November in the 23d year of his reign, sent by his Majesties special command, and received by this government in October 1680, which enforceth the act made in 25th year of his Majesties reign.

II. The
II. The said faction have refused to declare and admit of his Majesties letters patents bearing date at Westminster 15th October, in the 33d year of his reign, erecting an office of collector, &c. of his Majesties customs in New-England, and of the powers granted to his Majesties officer by the same, tho' often pressed thereunto, in the general court, by the governour, Major Dudley and several of the magistrates of the colony.

III. The said faction have refused to pay me several sums of money which I was forced to deposit in court before I could proceed to triall of causes relating to his Majestys concerns, by virtue of an order of court made October 1. 1681, no law of this colony directing the same, though by his Majestys royall letters of Octob. 21. 1681, they are particularly required thereunto.

IV. The said faction, under pretence of satisfaction of his Majesty and regulating the trade of this colony, in opposition to the said officer of collector of his Majestys customs, have confirmed the place and powers of the collector of the customs and imposts laid upon wines and strong waters imported into their colony, set up by a law made in their colony in 1645, their present navall officer, having been chiefe collector of these dutyes above a yeare before this navall office was ordered, as by their law, navall office, doth appeare.

V. The said faction continue to exercise the power of governor and court of assistants, which, through the inadvertency of former governors, the court of deputyes have assumed, to heare, repeale and determine in civill causes, which, for want of education and being under no particular oath, they are uncapable to manage: so that by their numbers outvoting the governour and court of assistants, his Majestys subjects greatly suffer in their estates, and besides, there is no such power granted them in their charter.

VI. The said faction have neglected to repeale all laws of their colony contrary to the laws of England, though required thereunto by his Majestys letters of 28th of Feb. 1662, and the observance thereof promised by their agents
at that time; and also by particular direction from the right honourable the Lords of the committee of trade and plantation to their late agents in 1678, by which means coining of money (acknowledged in their agents petition to his Majesty a great crime and misdemeanor, who then craved his Majesty's pardon to the government for the same) is continued to this day, &c. Also their laws ecclesiastical continued, &c.

VII. The said faction have refused to admit of his Majesties letters patents bearing date at Westminster 19th of May in the 32d year of his Majesty's reign, granted to William Blathwait, Esq; erecting an office of surveyor and auditor general of his Majesties revenues arising in America, and do appropriate to themselves the fines, forfeitures, &c. which appear by the said letters patents to belong to his Majesty, and they make the condition of all recognizances and penal bonds payable to the treasurer and not to the King.

Copy of a Letter from the General Court to Sir Lyonell Jenkins, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Right honorable,

His Majesties great goodnes and favour in giving us a farther opportunity to attend him in the affaires of this his colonie expressed in his gracious letter of wee with most humble thankfulness acknowledge. And that wee may not be reflected upon as those that make very unsuitable returns thereunto, wee have taken the boldnes to trouble your honour with the following account of our proceedings; whereby wee hope soe great an infelicity may be prevented, and which though it may seeme late, yet is by the first from hence, except one ready to faile, when his Majesties commands were received by us.

Upon
Upon the receipt of his Majesties said letter (though at a season, in regard of the extremity of the cold and snow, very difficult for the members, especially those remote, to assemble in) the governour forthwith summoned a general court; which being met January 4th and his Majesties letter communicated with all duty and regard, the contents thereof were taken into serious consideracion.

And, in the first place, wee applied ourselves to the choice of agents that they might have timely notice and, accordingly, so prepare themselves for that service as to be ready to imbarque upon the first opportunity.

Wee considered of instructions for them, wee carefully perused our whole booke of lawes, pursuant to the exceptions made to some of them by Mr. Atturny and Sollicitor generall when our late agents were attending his Majestie and their information given us, since their returne home, wherein wee have made a considerable progresse towards a conclusion.

But so it is, right honourable, that wee find it no easy matter to prevale with persons, in any degree qualifyed, to undertake such a voyage at this time; and though several elections have been made, wee have not as yet obtain'd the consent of any.

The present calamity of others of this country, now slaves in Algier (and one of them an agent from one of his Majesties colonies here) not yet ransomed, does greatly discourage, especially such as live in good credit and condition.

And truly, Sir, should persons under such a character be taken, wee have cause to beleive their ransome would be so high as that it would be hard for us to procure it amongst a poore people yet labouring under the burthen of the arreares of our late warre with the Indians and other extraordinary charges not yet defrayed.

Sir, Wee doe not urge this as that which hath kept us from our duty, but only as an inconvenience that meets us in the discharge of it.

Wee doe not take ourselves to be disobliged; wee have not departed from our resolutions: But hope the pre-
mises considered (without mentioning other ill circumstances which were are attended with in this affaire) that the latin of none will not be reflected upon as proceeding from the want of loyalty and allegiance in us, which wee humbly professe that wee will always beare to his most sacred Majestie: And will the rather hope for his Majesties pardon herein, for that we understand his Majesties time is yet taken up in those weighty affairs (especially relating to the horrid and execrable popish plot) which were the chiefe occasion of his dismission of our former agents. So that we have ground to feare that our attendance at present may be troublesome to his Majestie and unprofitable to ourselves.

Right honourable, Wee humbly pray that this our addressse may be accepted and taken in good part by your honour, and that you will please to favour us, his Majesties most dutifull and obedient subjects, with the representation of our present condition herein contained; that wee may not incurre his Majesties displeasure, nor be thought regardlesse of his commands, whereunto wee have been assembled in general court, endeavouring to give evidence of our obedience.

Herein you will forever oblige to pray for your happines.

Dated in Boston in New-

Right Honourable,

England, 3d June 1681. Your most humble servants.

And was directed,

To the Right Honourable Sir Lyonell Jenkins,

one of his Majestyes principal Secretaries of State.

These humbly present.

Agreed by the committee, that this letter be directed to Sir Lionel Jenkins, one of his Majesties principall secretaries of state.

The deputies doe approve of this returne desiring our honoured magistrates to consent unto it.

Richard Sprague, per order.

3 June 81. Conßented to by the magistrates,

Edw. Rawfon, Secretary.
Copy of a Letter from Edward Randolph to the Bishop of London.

My Lord,

In my attendance on your Lordship, I often express that some able ministers might be appointed to performe the offices of the church with us. The maine obstacle was, how they should be mainetayned. I did formerly, and doe now propose, that a part of that money sent over hither and pretended to bee expended amongst the Indians, may be ordered to goe towards that charge.

I am told by credible persons that there is nigh two thousand pounds of that money put out to interest in this country, I know two hundred hath bin for many yeeres in the hands of Mr. Rawfon, their secretary, who is now pressed for to pay the money, to his utter ruin. Necessity, and not duty, hath obliged this government to send over two agents to England; they are like to the two consuls of Rome, Cefar and Bibulus. Major Dudley is a great oppofer of the faction heere, against which I have now articled to his Majesty, who, if he finds things resolutely man- nigered, will cringe and bow to any thing; he hath his fortune to make in the world, and if his Majesty, upon alteration of the government, make him captain of the castle of Boston and the forts in the colloney, his Majesty will gaine a popular man and oblige the better party.

But if, whatever I have said and proved against, and even confessed by their former agents, their money raised upon the miserable inhabitants shall still prove a prevailing argument, and the agents be dismissed before every matter concluded in England bee certified to bee duly and punctually observed heere, you will render them more capable to oppose his Majestys authority.

I have reason, from such great pressing reasons to pay in this 200l. to believe that this money is a banke layd up heere upon mannaging some publick designe. There was
a great difference betwixt the old church and the members of the new church about baptism and their members joining in full communion with either church; this was so high that there was imprisoning of parties and great disturbances, but now, hearing of my proposals for ministers to be sent over, for they have very good correspontancy with some of the clarks of the council, they are now joined together, about a fortnight ago, and pray to God to confound the devices of all who disturb their peace and liberties. I have made it an article against them, for not repealing their laws ecclesiastical, and sent in my papers to Mr. Blackworth a large account of their latter transacions, to which I humbly beseech your Lordship to be referred and to be present at the committys making a party against their great friend L. P. S. who cannot withstand their weighty arguments. They have bin this 3 yeeres raising money for this expedition, their last agents expended above 4000l. in their agency, the poore people must pay all, for by their law neither magistrates, ministers or any publick officers are charged with any publick rate. These agents have certaynly one great advantage by my absence, haveing liberty to say what they pleafe; but I thinke I have so cleerly layd downe the matter of fact, sent over their lawes and orders to confirme what I have wrote, that they cannot deny them; however, if commanded, I will readily pass the seas to attend at Whitehall, especially if Danford, Goggin and Newell, magistrates, and Cooke, Hutchinson and Fisher, members of their late generall court and great opposers of the honest governor and magistrates, be sent for to appeare before his Majesty, till which time this country will always be a shame as well as inconvenient to the government at home. Your Lordship hath a great pledge for such ministers as your Lordship shall thinke convenient to send over, for their civell treatment, and I thinke no person fitter than Major Dudley, their agent, to accompany them, who will be very carefull to have them settled as ordered in England. He is one of the commissioners for the money sent over for the
the converting the Indians; I give him two or three lines
to recommend him to your Lordships favour, so far as he
may bee serviceable to the designe; as for Capt. Richards,
he is one of the faction, a man of meane extraction, com-
ing over a poore servant, as most of the faction were at
their first planting heere, but by extraordioary feats and
couinadge have gott them great estates in land, especially
Danford, so that if his Majesty doe fine them sufficiently,
and well if they escape foe, they can goe to worke for
more. As for Mr. Richards, he ought to be kept very
safe till all things tending to the quiett and regulation
of this government be perfectly settled. I give your Lord-
ship my humble thankes for the great present of excellent
bookes. I have disposed of them to advantage and, with
my wife, are cryed out upon as disturbers of the peace
of the churches, for bringing in damnable bookes. We have
in Bollon one Mr. Willard, a minister, brother to Major
Dudley, he is a moderate man and baptiseth thofe who are
refused by the other churches, for which he is hated.
My Lord, we heere the slaves in Algier are all to be re-
deemed, that I boldly write it that the settlement of this
country and putting the government into the hands of
honest gentlemen, some of which are already in the maje-
tracy, and discountenancing utterly the faction, will be
more gratefull to us, for now our conciences as well as
our bodys are in captivity to servants and illiterate plan-
ters. My Lord, your goodnes and readines to serve his
Majesty in the settlement of this great plantation, invites
me, upon all occasions, to interpofe your Lordships more
weighty affayres, but since wee are heere immediately un-
der your Lordships care, I with more freedome pref for
able and sober ministers, and wee will contribute largely to
their maintenance, but one thing will mainly helpe, when
no marriages heereafter shall be allowed lawfull but such
as are made by the ministers of the church of England. I
humbly crave your Lordships blessing and remaine

Your Lordships most obedient servant,

1682 May 29th. Ed. Randolph.
My Lord, I cannot forget that the Lords of the committee for trade moved his Majesty to add to my salary of 200l. a year, the yearly sum of one hundred more for my encouragement. I have a great family to maintain, have had great losses and expenses about his Majesty's service here, all which, I hope, will be taken into consideration; for if his Majesty be now resolute, I question not, but without any further charge to his Majesty, the whole settlement of the country will be effected.

E. R.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to the Earl of Clarendon.

Boston, June 14th, 1682.

Right honourable,

I wrote your Lordship largely by Mr. Foy, which I hope is come to your Lordships hands. Our agents are fayled from hence about a fortnight ago. We hear, Maj. Dudley, one of them, is very sick of a favor and not like to hold out the voyage, Mr. Richards, the other, one of Danforth's faction and a great opposer of the governor, will, upon Maj. Dudleys death, have an opportunity to say what he pleaseth, in defence of the several misdemeanors objected against them and their faction.

They have been these 2 years raising money upon the poor inhabitants, to make friends at court, certainly they have some there, too nigh the council chamber, otherwise they could not have copies of my petition against their government, my articles of high misdemeanors against Danforth, and now of Mr. Cranfields instructions and negotiations in the province of New-Hampshire.

I heartily congratulate the happy returne of his Royall H. my gracious master, to Whitehall, the news whereof and of his Majesties bringing quo warrants against several charters in England, and of Mr. Cranfields being constituted governor.
governor of New-Hampshire, puts the faction in a great perplexity; their generall court hath sitt above a month, and made only the inclosed law, and appointed a fast throughout the government. I am confident, if his Majesty had bene pleased, at the same time he made Mr. Cranfield governor, to bring a Q. W. against their charter and made him governor of this collonie, they would thankfully receive him, especially upon declaring liberty of conscience in matters of religion; but so long as their charter remains undisturbed, all his Majesty's faith or commands signifies nothing here. The governor is very much troubled that the faction will not hearken to reason; he endeavoured to have their navall office (sett up in opposition to my letters patents) taken away this generall court, and have all the acts of parliament relating to trade declared and published, but the faction are resolved to doe nothing to oblige the governor or answer his Majesties expectations. His Majesties quo warranto against their charter and sending for Tho. Danforth, Sam. Nowell, a late factious preacher and now a magistrate, and Dan. Fither and Elisha Cooke, deputies, to attend and answer the articles of high misdemeanures I have now exhibited against them, in my papers sent Mr. Blai{}{}thwait per Capt. Foy, will make the whole faction tremble. I was very much threatened for my protest against their navall office, but it was at a time when they heard of troubles in England; but, since, I am very easy, and they would be glad to heare no more of it. His Majesty commanded them to repay me the money they tooke from me by their arbitrary orders, which the faction would not heare of, I have therefore arrested Mr. Danforth for 10l. part of that money, and their treasurer, Mr. Russell, for 5l. due to me for a fine, and I am to have a tryall with them. I humbly beseech your Lordship that I may have coexidation for all my losses and money laid out in prosecuting seizures here, in the year 1680. If I may not have it out of his Majesties treasury in England, that the heads of this faction here may be strictly prosecuted and fined for their treasons and misdemeanures, and my
money paid out of their fines. My Lord, I am at a great
disadvantage, by reason of my distance from court, and in
no condition to sollicite his Majesties concerns and the
good and welfare of this colony, as formerly, I well re-
member, business with your Lordship, as with other Lords
of the councill, sometimes intervenes, which hath occa-
sioned not only delays but quite alters the face of things,
especially when a committee of Lords meete, who are not
acquainted with the whole series of this affaire: It is there-
fore my humble request to your Lordship, to move that
2 or 3 committyes may be appointed for this matter, when
your Lordship, my Lord Hide, and Mr. Chancellor of the
Exchequer, may be present, and the whole matter of fact
examined and stared. I know the agents, at least one of
them, will confess what is charged upon their government,
as their former agents did, in their petition to his Majestie,
which is a standing evidence against them; but if that be
not sufficient ground to avoid their charter, together with
the misdeemors charged upon them, on which your
Lordship hath the opinion of Sir Wm. Jones, if his Ma-
jestie please to direct Gov. Cranfield to examine the last
articles against the faction, there will be reason not only to
vacate their charter but to send over a prudent gentleman
to be general governor. If the party were so considera-
ble as to revolt, upon his Majesties resolution to settle this
plantation (as hath been sometime suggested) their first
worke would be to call me to account, for endeavouring,
openly, the alteration of their constitution, which by their
law is death, but they dwindle away and are very much
divided, magistrate against magistrate, the one hoping, the
other fearing a change. My Lord, I have but one thing
to reminde your Lordship, that nothing their agents can
say or doe in England can be any ground for his Majestie
to depend upon: Be pleased to remember, from the time
your Lordships honorable father, the late Lord Chancellor,
engaged with their agents, in 1662, who undertooke and
assented to every thinge his Lordship proposed for his
Majesties honour and the benefit of his subjects here in-
habiting,
habiting, nothing but open contempt, of all his Majesties commands, with small evasions and tricks, have followed, and worse may be daily expected, if it be left to them to regulate the abuses complained of. My Lord, one unhappy (if not willful) mistake hath very much promoted these mischiefs, his Majestie hath been represented to this people very low in his treasury, unable and unwilling to give them any disturbance, though never so much provoked to it, which is here believed, when to this day their contempts put upon his Majesties commission and commissioners in 1664, his Majestie not calling them to account for refusing to send over Bellingham and Hathorne, when commanded upon their allegiance to attend at Whitehall by his Majesties letter of 1666, no not so much as the least notice taken of it in any of his Majesties letters at any time since to this government, and on the other hand, by a certain deceptio viitis, these people have been represented to his Majestie as a very dutifull and loyall people, that they are a great people and can raise great forces, besides that they have been at vast charges and expences in subduing a wilderneffe and making a great country, without any charge or expence to the crown. Its true there are many loyall subjects here, but few of them in any places of trust. Their forces are very inconsiderable, more for shew than service. I will engage with 500 of his Majesties guards to drive them out of their country. And for their expences, I know very few now living, nor their children, who were at that charge. Mr. Dudley, one of the present agents, was one of the first planters and a gentleman, came over with a good estate, but the first adventurers are either all dead and their children drave out of all, by their fathers servants, or else so few and inconsiderable that no notice is taken of them; and as for all the persons joyned and concerned in the faction here, I know but one man who was not a servant or a servants son, who now governe their governor and the whole country.* I beseech your Lordship

* This is a scandalous misrepresentation, unless he intended to save himself by supposing the governor and the whole country to be governed by a few, only, of those against whom he had just before exhibited articles of high misdemeanors.
ship to pardon my long New England discourse, and be-
lieve me, in all this, to aime at his Majesties honour
and the good of this plantation, where, by his Majesties
goodness and your Lordships favour, I am now become
an inhabitant, and remaine

E. R.

My Lord, After your Lordship hath perused the inclosed,
if any thinge occurr therein which may be of service,
whilest the affaires of this colony are transacting, be
pleased to send it to Mr. Blaithwaite, that the necessaries
may be communicated, if required. In the inclosed law,
they call the money coynd in this colony, New Eng-
land coyne, engageing the whole plantation in the matter
of their mint and thereby bespeaking the influence this
small government would have over all the neighbour-
ing colonys, but their ambition will shew itself uppon all
occasions; however, if they cannot conceale what they
aime at, lying under such circumstances, they will take
a time effectually to demonstrate what they have been
for many yeares, designing, that is, the generall go-
vernment over the whole plantation, which, indeed, is
absolutely necessary on his Majesties behalfe, but not
to be managed by them.

E. Randolph.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Randolph
to the Lord Bishop of London.

Boston, July 14th 1682.

My Lord,

I Gave your Lordship the trouble of mine of 29th of
May last, which I hope is long since received. Wee
have advice by Capt. Barrett, now arrived from London,
that your lordship hath remembered us, and sent over a
minister with Mr. Cranfield, the very report hath given
great satisfaction to many hundreds whose children are
not baptized, and to as many who never, since they came
out of England, received the sacrament. I wrote your
lordship
lordship of our two agents coming over to attend and receive his Majesties commands, they have large commissions to promise as much as any of their former agents, and have credit for large sums of money to purchase (if they can) what their promises cannot obtain, but I hope nothing will be concluded upon, and they thereupon permitted to returne home, till his Majestie have full assurance from governor Cranfield that all things are here duly performed which are expected and commanded to be done in this collonie. But nothing will so effectually settle this government on a firme dependence upon the crowne as bringing a quo warranto against their charter, which will wholly disnable many, now, great sticklers and promoters of the faction among us from acting further in a publick station, especially those against whom I have exhibited the inclosed articles sent in my last to Mr. Blathwait.

My Lord, I am at a great distance and so not able personally to attend and sollicite in this affaire as formerly, but in regard the matter is more easy to be effectted, I thinke it unnecessary, yet in regard its absolutely necessary for his Majesties service and advantage to the crown to have the whole plantation settled upon the true basis of duty and allegiance, I had rather take a voyage to England, if commanded, to make out my allegations, than to have this matter passed over and hurft up upon bare pretences and promises. I confesse my particular businesse is to take care of the trade of this country, I dayly expose myselfe to many hazards and troubles, but all I have done or can project is to little purpose, so long as this government (now sufficiently divided) which the lawes of England enjoyne to my aide and assistance, are parties and chiefe obstruceters of my designs, for till this government be thoroughly regulated, all that his Majestie commands will signifie nothing. This independence in government claimed and daily practised by us is one chiefe occasion of the many mutinies and disturbances in other his Majesties forreigne plantations. If we are misinformed concerning your lordship's sending
over a minister, be pleased to commiserate our condition, and send us over a sober discreet gentleman. Your lordship hath now good security, so long as their agents are in England, for his civill treatment by the contrary partie; he will be received by all honest men with hearty christian respects and kindnes, and if his Majesties lawes (as none but fanaticks question) be of force with us, we could raise a sufficient maintenance for divers ministers out of the estates of those whose treasons have forfeited them to his Majestie. I have wrote to the Earl of Clarendon, to Mr. secretary Jenkins, to remind them of the many small evasions and tricks putt upon his Majestie and the lords of the counciell by this inconsiderable faction, whose so long delayed punishment and reformation, invites and encourageth to greater contempts. I question not but your lordships unsotted loyalty to his Majestie, and charitie to us his dutifull subjectts, will now engage your lordship timely and vigorously to assist, so to reduce this faction, as to put it absolutely out of their power to attempt the like for the future. Our ministres hope God will support them in all their extravagancies, and now wee have a sollemne fast ordered to intreate the Lord to give our agents favour in the eyes of the King, and with all they are to be concerned. Serjeant Maynard, his Majesties serjeant at law, hath made a present of eight cheests of books, now sent over to the collège at Cambridge, by Capt. Barrett, and configned them to Capt. Richards, one of the agents sent to England. They are valued at above 400l. I finde his marrying Mr. Bantries néece will oblige him to stand up for the good old cause, and to assist the agents, who amongst other matters, are to represent me as an enemie to this government, and an open disturber of their peace. I heartily beg your lordships blessing, and remayne,
Copy of the Bill for Nomination of Magistrates.

Boston, 10th April 1683.

The Bill for nomination of Magistrates for the year ensuing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Votes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simon Bradstreet, Esq;</td>
<td>1194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tho. Danforth, Esq;</td>
<td>1246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Gookin, Esq;</td>
<td>1187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Pynchon, Esq;</td>
<td>1212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will. Stoughton, Esq;</td>
<td>1172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Dudley, Esq;</td>
<td>1226</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peter Bulkely, Esq;</td>
<td>1206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nath. Saltonstall, Esq;</td>
<td>1014</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hump. Davie, Esq;</td>
<td>1183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt. Daniel Fisher</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. John Woodbridge</td>
<td>354</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capt. John Wayte</td>
<td>354</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lieut. William Johnson</td>
<td>333</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lieut. Edm. Quinsey</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Elisha Cooke</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt. Elisha Hutchinson</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capt. William Torrey</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To the Constable of

The twenty six persons above named had the most votes for magistrates or assistants for the year ensuing, who are therefore to be nominated, and they only, at the next court for elections, which you are timely to signify to the freemen of your town as the law directs. The number of votes for each person is added.

Copy
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Randolph to Mr. Joseph Dudley.

Sir,

I have yours of Sept. 10th by me and am now to give you the news of your charter being vacated, by judgment, for non-appearance. His Majesty has chosen Coll. Kerke, late governor of Tangier, to be your governor. He is a gentleman of very good resolution and, I believe, will not fail in any part of his duty to his Majesty nor be wanting to do all good offices for your distracted colony, if, at last, they will hear what is reason and be governed. Here was sent over a most scandalous paper, preached, as is said, by Mr. Moody and Mr. Mather; the Duke of York hath a copy of it, and others have copies also; twill doe your country great prejudice and put jealousies into the minde of the council here, as if the colony would not abide by the judgment against their charter, but stand up to defend their liberties. My business has been and shall be to ward off as much as I can. And if, by the iniquity and folly of your ministers and magistrates, you faile of what was expected, the whole blame will rest upon themselves. The King sent me over to Holland, to inquire after the irregular traders; 3 or 4 had been there, and they were gone before my coming. I returned back a fortnight after judgment was given and would have been glad to have seen Sir Edmund Andrews in England, who is yet in Guernsey. I question not but you will have reports, as if a great fleet of ships, with regiments of horse and foot, are coming against you, but I know of no such thing, only, I believe, a frigott or two will attend the governor, who is lieutenant of one of his Majesty's regiments of guards and one of the bed chamber. I remember what you advise, that the government be, in the first place, transposed and committed to the care of fitting persons upon the place to prepare and accommodate affairs against the arrival of the governour. I am not wanting to press for liberty of conscience and confirmation of all your rights and possessions, and have nominated, according to what was agreed.
agreed betwixt you and myself, persons for the council, and disswade all I can from raising any rates upon the people to support government, more than what has been usual with you. The King has been pleased to make me secretary and registrar of New-England. I have nominated you for the King’s receiver general of all New-England, which will be a place of profit. I had other things to propose on your behalf, but that must attend a farther opportunity. Respects to the governor and his lady, madam Taylor, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Bulkeley, Mr. Page and his lady, and all friends. It’s yet very uncertain whether process will issue out against Rhode Island and Connecticut colony to bring in both them before the governor come over, or to do that afterward in case they refuse to submit to a general governor, as yet nothing has been discovered of it. A committee of Lords but saturday next is appointed for that business. Dr. Cox is well and so is Mr. Boyl and all your friends, amongst whom I desire to be recorded, because I am Sir, Your faithfull friend, and engaged servant, &c.

9th 11. 84. W. H.

Copy of the Bill for Nomination of Magistrates.

Boston, Aprill the 13th, 1686,

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<td>Capt. John Blackwell</td>
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Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Randolph
to the Right Hon. the Lords of the Committee
for Trade and foreign Plantations.

July 28. 1686.

May it please your Lordships,

Pursuant to his Majesty's order in council of the
13th July 1685, directing Mr. Attorney General
to cause writs of Quo Warranto to be brought against the
charters of the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut in
New England, I accordingly served these writs, tho' by
a tedious passage of almost 6 months from London to this
place, the time of their return was lapsed. However, the
governor of Connecticut, upon my delivering the writ
to him at Harford, on 21st instant, has appointed a meeting
of the general court of that colony to be called together to surrender their charter to his Majesty, if not
persuaded by the factious people (who are unwilling to
depend on his Majesty's favour) to stand a trial, only to
gain time and delay his Majesty's sending over a general.
Upon my delivering the governor of R. Island the summons
of the writ, he assembled the freemen, and they have
drawn a petition and address to be forthwith humbly
presented to his Majesty.

I intended, long before this time, humbly to lay before
your Lordships a more early account of the present state
of this government, but have forbore, to wait the effect his
Majesty's gracious commission and constitution of govern-
ment, containing libertie of conscience, would have upon
the
the people of this colony, which, at my first arrivall, was received with all outward shew of satisfaction and a comple
pliment of gratitude was returned his Majesty for that favour; but since, the proceeding of the governor and councill, whatever they write or pretend in their letters to their Lordships, are managed to the encouragement of the independant faction and utter discountenancing both the minister and these gentlemen and others who dare openly profess themselves to be of the church of England, not making any allowance for our minister, more than we rayfe by contribution amongst ourselves. The frame of this government, only, is changed, for our independant ministers flourish, and expect to be adviser with in publick affaires. I need no further arguments to conforme the truth hereof to your Lordship than to say, but two of the present members of the government, viz. Mr. Mason and myselfe, are members of the church of England, that of above 60 officers in the militia of the whole government, there are not above 2 captains, or 3 inferior officers, but are either church members or such as constantly frequent those meetings, which makes nonconformists from all places resort there. About 2 months agoe Mr. Morton, an ex-communicated minister, came hither from Nuington green; he was welcomed by our president and designed to be master-head of our colledge, but not daring to proceed, at first, by such large steps, he is called to be minister at Charlestowne, a very good liveing, and is ready at hand to be president of the colledge.

Two brothers, of the name of Baylie, great and daring nonconformists at Lymbrick in Ireland, have been here 2 yeares and well provided for. In the time of Monmouths rebellion, most part of the ministers animated the people, sayeing the time of their deliverance was at hand, and not one of them prayed for his Majestie, nor would give credit to his Majesties most gracious letter, signifying the overthrow of the rebells. I humbly propose, as greatly for the quiet and wellfare of this plantation of New-England, that no minister from England be permitted to
land without the licence of the generall governour, and that he have power or licence to refrain from preaching such as are already upon the place. From all which it will appear very necessary that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to send over to us a generall governour, to unite and settle this distracted country, and also to make good what is already begun in this colony, the delay whereof may be of evil consequence and give way for the factious people here to reassume the government, which they openly declare they have not parted withal, but expect an opportunity to be restored.

And as to the discharge of that trust reposed in me, I humbly represent to your Lordships, that under his Majesty's authority the president takes great liberty to injoyne upon me in my station, and would not affift me to make a seizure of a vessel in the harbour, which my officers were not permitted to board. I am by all accounted the sole enemy of the country, having been for 11 yeares attending his Majesty's command in this affaire, and by serving the writts upon the other colonies, my life may be made very uneasy, unless his Majesty shall be pleased graciously to recommend me to the care and protection of his generall governour, for whose speedy arrivall all good men heartily pray. All which is humbly submitted,

by your Lordships most humble servant,

E. R.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Randolph to Mr. Blaithwait.

Boston, July 28th, 1686.

Sir,

I NCLOSED is a letter sent some time since from the government of Road Island, they call it a surrender of their charter. I have since the receipt of it called on them in my way to Hartford in Connecticut, the governour tells me
me they will pass a surrender in fuller tearmes under the
taile of their colony, but are willing to have this sent. I was with the governor of Connecticut and delivered to
him the quo warranto. I suppose they intend not to stand
it out, our councill have sent Major Pincheon and Capt. 
Winthrop to Hartford to perswade them to accommodate
the matter, so as they may be added to the government
here; how far that will prevale I know not; they are sen-
sible of Mr. Dudleyes encroachment on all and every side,
and are unwilling to trust him, and are strongly invited to
come under New Yorke, but it is more for the publick
advantage to have that colony continued to us. Since my
going to Hartford, the president has so contrived the
matter that Capt. George has received above two hundred
pounds mony which legally belongs to me who, as collec-
tor and informer, ought to be admitted to prosecute a ship
laden with Scotch goods, but its all as Capt. George pleaseth,
the president and he carry all as they please, to the greate
dissatisfaction of the members of the councill, that now in-
stead of meeting to do publick business, tis only to quarrell
and that in such heats that I feare it will occasion the de-
solving this government. I am forced to moderate others
passions (tho’ I have most cause to complaine) and quietly
to suffer my proffitts to be shared out amongst others till
Sir Edmund Andros come over; he is longed for by all
sober men who find themselves abused by the false president.
Mr. Wharton is coming over our agent, I have offered
Mr. Mason at least to be joined with him, but I think I
cannot gett it to pass.

There will I fear be an eruption betwixt the French of
Nova Scotia and our people in Mayne and New Hamp-
shire, occasioned by Capt. Palmer and Mr. West of New
Yorke, who being at the fort of Penmequid and having
advice of a ship of Piscattaqua which landed wine at Ponop-
scutt belonging, as they say, to Nova Scotia, they by
force went ahoar and took of the wine: I refer you to
the inclosed, a copie of Mr. Palmers letter: The gover-
nor of New-Yorke I am told has given them directions to

claim all the land as farr eastward as the River St. Croix. We have sent to all places to warne our people and to the fishermen, not to venter upon their coasts, least they be surprized, and made to answer for damages done by strangers. Just now I have received a letter from my good friend Mr. Chaplin, who acquaints me of your happy recovery from a dangerous sickness, for which I returne hearty thanks to allmighty God. Mr. Stoughton is inclined to the nonconformist ministers, yet stands right to his Majestyes interest. Mr. Uther is made a great criminally for informing against Moody and Allin, who are stirring up the people to rebellion, he is a just honest man, and will not see his Majestyes interest suffer. But we are over voted and cannot help our selves till Sir Edmund come to regulate the matter. Sir, I am under great difficulties, and were it not for my ingagement in the busines of the maifs, I would once more make a journey over, for I am treated by Mr. Dudly worse than by Mr. Danforth, yet all under the pretence of friendship, and is angry that I do not believe him. Honest Major Buckly is quite tyred out and can hardly be perswaded to come to Boston. This is our present distracted condition. Wee have only patience and our friends assistance to depend upon in England for redress.

I remaine, Sir, &c.

Sir, I am informed that the land wheron the wine was landed have been allwayes deemed to belong to the French and was the very place formerly belonging to Sir Thomas Temple, and was delivered up to the French upon the articles of Breda by Capt. Wibourne, by his Majesty's speciall command, in exchange for the English plantation on St. Christophers and that done about the yeare 1667.

Sir, Some of the members of the counciell are of opinion that since the constitution of this government is by a president and counciell, who united are all but governor, that therefore they ought to have a proportionable share of the profit as well as the charge and burthen, having not one penny coming to them as members of the counciell more then to any justice of the peace; some stay here five or
or six weeks together and neglect their own business, and have nothing to defray their ordinary charges, besides loss of time, which they have desired me to represent and pray your opinion thereupon, as also whether the president is virtute officij the ordinary to grant administrations and to allow the probate of wills, he producing no authority from his Majesties lords of the council, or from my lord of London.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1686.

May it please your Grace,

I have forborne writing to your grace till I had been some time upon the place, to see how the poore people here would demean themselves under this new government. At my first arrivall I met with outward expressions of joy and satisfaction, and many seemed well pleased at the change, having been struck with a panicke feare upon the apprehention of Colonel Kurcks coming hither to be their governor; but finding a commision directed to a gentleman borne among themselves, the then governor and companie, growing hardie by their ministers, began to perswade Mr. Dudlie not to except of his Majesties commision to be president, hoping thereby to continue the government among themselves: But that faileing them, they adjourned the meeting of their generall assembly to the second of October next, and so broke up with hopes, that either some unhappie accident in affairs of state at home, or by dissention raised by their artifices among the members in this new government, they might prevail so far as to dissolve this new constitution and then reassume the government, which to accomplish they are solisfitrouse. I take leave humbly to remind, that when your grace was present at a committee of the Lords and was therein pleased to move, that one of their meeting houses in

Boston
Boston should be ordered to be set apart for the exercise of the religion according to the church of England, it was then answered by some of those noble Lords who disconored in their favor, provided they might have libertie of conscience in matters of religion, they would voluntarilie submit to have one of their three meeting houses to be dispose of by the president and council, for that use. Since my arrivall with Mr. Ratcliffe, a sober man, recommended by my Lord of London to be our minister; who, besides his Lordships faire testimonials, brought with him a letter from the right honourable the Lords of the committe for trade and forane plantations to the president and council for their countenance and encouridgement in the discharge of his office; yet twas a long time before they tooke the least notice of him or his buines; at last, though strongly opposed, I got a little roome in their towne house, for such as were for the church of England to assemble in, but found it so straite that we are forced now to make use of the exchange for that purpose; where, to humour the people our minister preaches twice a day and baptizes all that come to him, some infants, some adults persons; we are now come to have prayers every Wednesday and Friday mornings on their exchange, and resolve not to be baffled by the great affronts; some calling our minister Baals priest, and some of their ministers, from the pulpit, calling our prayers leeks, garlick and trash. We have often moved for an honourable maintenance for oure minister; but they tell us thofe that hire him must maintaine him, as they maintaine their owne ministers, by contribution. Of a president and eighteen members of the council, there is onely myselfe, since Mr. Mafons departure for England, that is of the church of England, and twas never intended that that charge should be supported by myselfe and some few others of oure communion.

I humbly represent to your grace, that the three meeting houses in Boston might pay twenty shillings a weeke, a piece, out of their contribution, towards the defraieing our church charges; that same being les per annum than
than each of their ministers receive. We have yet necessity for another minister to come over to us; for if any illness or indisposition happen to the present incumbent, we have no man here to perform the office. I am not to forget to your grace the bank of money in the hands of the corporation for evangelizing the Indians. Your grace was very defirous that that money might be inquired after, and applied to build us a church and free school, that our youth might be no longer poisoned with the sedulous principles of this country: I am told that there is not less than two thousand pounds here, but adventure not to stir the least in it, having all ready brought upon my self so many enemise, and to all my crimes added this one as the greatest in bringing the letheredge and cerimonife of the church of England to be observed amongst us, and this day is a commencement at our collidge, which your grace was pleased to honour with a present of the learned Hamonds works, that rich man: They are all at present more taken up in putting in one Morton of Neventongreen, a rank independent, to be their president, than to shew any respect which is due to your graceous present, and I cannot expect it should be otherwise till his Majestie shall be pleased to send us a general governor from England.

Thus much relating to these affairs of our church, that of our state little differs; most part of our chief officers, as justices of the peace, &c. are congregational men, and not above three church of England men; and not above three church of England officers in the militia; so that in the maine I can only assure your grace that the persons onely and not the government is changed.

Now from all this, after so many hazards and difficulties which I have gone throw in the prosecution of his Majesties service in New England, I am, by their malicious praetifes made very uneasy; and such persons who reap particular advantages by the change of government hate me for accomplishing it, and are making parties and factions to misrepresent me to his Majestie. Amongst those
Copy of a Letter from, Mr. Randolph to the
Archbishop of Canterbury.

Boston in N. E. Octo. 27th 86.

May it please your Grace,

I have some time since humbly represented to your grace a necessity of having a church built in Boston to receive those of the church of England. Wee have at present 400 persons who are daily frequenters of our church, and as many more would come over to us, but some being tradesmen, others of mechanick professions, are threatened by the congregational men to be arrested by their creditors, or to be turned out of their work, if they offer to come to our church; under such discouragements wee lye at present, and are forced to address your grace for reliefe.

I have taken care to informe myself how the money sent over hither for the company of evangelizing Indians in New England (for soe by their patent from his late Majesty they are stiled) is disposed of here. Here are 7 persons, called commissioners or trustees, who have the sole manage of it; the chief of which are Mr. Dudley, our president, a man of a base, servile and antimonarchical principle, Mr. Stoughton, of the old leaven, Mr. Richards, a man not to be trusted in publique busines, Mr. Hinkley, governor of New Plimouth collony, a rigid independant, and others like to these. The poor Indians (those who

* This is a copy of one of Mr. Randolph's letters, and I suppose the bad orthography is owing to the transferiber, for the originals are, in that respect, not very exceptionable.
are called ministers) come and complains to Mr. Ratcliffe, our minister, that they have nothing allowed them: We have spoken to the commissioners to have some allowance for them; all we can get is the promise of a coarse coat against winter, and would not suffer Aaron, an Indian teacher, to have a bible with the common prayer in it, but took it away from him. This money is not less than 3 or 400l. which is yearly returned over hither (some say 600) with which they enrich themselves, yet charge it all as laid out among the poor Indians. I humbly presume to remind your grace of your promise to me, when in England, that a commission should be directed to some persons here, unconcerned, to audit and report their acts of this money. We want good schoolmasters, none being here allowed of but of ill principle, and, till there be provision made to rectify the youth of this country, there is no hope that this people will prove loyal. The money now converted to private, or worse uses, will set up good and publick schools and provide maintenance for our minister, who now lives upon a small contribution, and are yet forced to meet in the town-house.

I cannot omit to acquaint your grace, how tender conscience, members of our old church, for so they are distinguished from the other 2 churches in Boston, are. Not long since, I desired them to let their clerk toll their bell at 9 clock, Wednesdays and Fridays, for us to meet to go to prayers. Their men told me, in excuse for not doing it, that they had considered and found it intrenched on their liberty of conscience granted them by his Majesty's present commission, and could in no wise assent to it. The necessity of a church and publick schools and encouragement of ministers presses me to give your grace this trouble, which I humbly intreat your grace to remember to effect, lest the small beginnings of the church of England settled here with great difficulty, fall to the ground and be lost, for want of timely relief and countenance. All which is humbly submitted by
Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Mr. Povey.

Boston, May 21st 1687.

Sir,

I have with me your three letters of March the 7th, 11th and 7th April, by Mr. Mason, for all which I heartily thank you, and for your particular direction in the several stages of my employ. I have very lately had the bonds of masters of ships bound from hence to England in my custody, and those are indorsed that copies thereof are sent for England; you shall not faile of the duplicates if this ship makes not too much speed, and for the future you may expect them with my other accounts of the custom-house; however I am to take it as a favour if I be permitted to send them directly to the custom house, in regard I have been censured for suffering my papers but to look first into the plantation office, and the primier, there now, objected hard against me. Pardon my digression, you are sensible how much business I have lying upon me, to send accounts and duplicates from my custom-office. I am at 50l. a year charge to keep an able clerke. I cannot yet get any fees settled sufficient to pay that charge, Mr. Stough-\(\text{ton}, Mr. Wharton and others objecting that his Majesties salary for 100l. a year is to defray all that charge, so that I am a great loser, besides I am to have deputies in our several ports, and unless they allow fees I am not capable of doing that service at a distance without deputies, and their not allowing moderate fees is only to discourage from inspecting their irregular trade. This his excellency has endeavoured to have rectified, but is opposed by my enemies, to my very great losse, and prejudice to my deputies. Inclosed is such an account as I could get from Mr. Hooke, late treasurer in the province of Mayne. Mr. Danforth, tho' several times putt upon it for an account, wholly declines it, and sayed he never received any money but it was all payd to Mr. Hooke, treasurer.
His excellency tryed all wayes to bring the people to quite rents. There were severall who would take grantes for lands, but as it now falls out his excellency has none to dispose of; a little time will trye what our new judges Dudley and Stoughton will lay, when either Indian purchase or grantes from the generall court are questioned before them. Sir, you will much wonder to hear I have disposed of the secretaryes office, for a time, for too inconsiderable a value, wheras it was judged worth 5 or 600l. I lost mony considerable, during the time I had it, one part the president run away with, and it was not settled, tho' his excellency endeavoured it, but alwayses opposed, and whatever Mr. West can make of it, I could not get an able man to discharge it, but the whole trouble, care and charge lay upon me. I, sometime after his excellencyes arrivall, was directed to prepare commissions, civill and military for the whole territory. I made 12 in parchement for the peace, 240 military, copied and engrossed in parchement all the lawes, and dispersed copies through the whole government, yet they scrupled to allow me for writing them, these matters have so discourageed me that I thought it better to have some certainty than to leave all loose, and know no end to the charge. I hope long ere this you have received the minutes since his excellency's arrivall, since which nothing considerable has passed, only some laws about regulating cornfields and cattle, coopers and casks, they stick hard upon that of posession as of a generall concerne and, next to that, for a law for ministers maintenance, strongly opposed by the quakers. We have had but one meeting of the whole councill since passing thos laws; that of the rates of pieces of eight does not answer the end, money grows very scarce and no trade to bring it in. The members of the councill of Rhood Island and New Plimouth have enough of coming to sett in councill, 8 or 10 dayes a time, at their own charge, and I now expect but very thin appearance for the future, in regard the tables are downe, but to the great dissatisfaction of our brethren.
Twill be for his Majestyes service to putt Mr. Shrimpton in the place of Captain Champernoon, and Mr. Lufcombe in the place of Mr. Jo. Sandford of Rhoad Island, both dead. Since Colonel Dongan had notice of his excellencies letter to the governor of Connecticut, he has sent his to tempt them to submit to New Yorke government, with assurance of the injoyment of their estates and properties, and that they shall all be continued in the government, with I know not what other great advantages. If Connecticut goe to New Yorke, it will certainly evince that collony and this government cannot subfist without a free trade with Connecticut, which will be debarred if they are not annexed to us, or what's worse for us, to pay 10 per cent. for all wheat, porke, &c. brought to us, which we cannot want.

Mr. Mason is very acceptable to his excellency and to many of us. — reports abroad that he has the better of Mr. Mason. Moody is out of humour, I believe he will be oblige to leave this town. I entreat you to fend the inclofed as directed, and be assur'd that I am,  
Sir, your most humble 
obliged servant,  
E. Randolph.

Sir, You have herewith the duplicates of the laws sent by Capt. Ware.

To John Povey, Esq;

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Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Mr. Povey.

Boston, Jan. 24. 1687.

Sir,  
I Am obliged to you for yours of the 22d of Sept. last, with the newes and copy of Sir Robert Holmes commission, all which I gratefully received from Capt. Leg, who arrived here the 10th inst. and delivered your letters, and packetts to his excellency our governor, who, being in
in great sorrow for the losse of his good lady who dyed the 22d instant, desires me to present his humble service to Mr. Blathwayt and to yourselfe, and to excuse his not writing to you by this accidentall opportunity of a vessell going for Holland with logwood and must touch at some port in England.

By the severall Gazetts, filled with addresses, I find you are all at liberty at home, and I believe the court is so taken up with the weightier matters of state that there will be no room for my wife to addresse my petition for a confirmation of my office of secretary and sole regifter, &c. which I pray may be enlarged and extended to the limitts of the present government. I see no reason why I should refuse in my desires of getting an understanding gentleman to come from home to engage in the discharge of the secretary's and regifter's office, which is very beneficial to West, no fees being as yet agreed upon, and I have ground to believe designedly done to discourage any to undertake that office, whilst, in the mean time, he extorts what fees he pleases, to the great oppression of the people, and renders the present government grievous. I have wrote you of the want we have of two or three honest attournies (if any such thing in nature) we have but two, one is Mr. West's creature, came with him from New-York, and drives all before him; he also takes extravagant fees, and for want of more the country cannot avoid coming to him, so that we had better be quite without them than not to have more. I have wrote Mr. Blathwait the great necessity of judges from England. I know there are some loyall gentlemen and able lawyers, who have not practice; the judges with us, being now 3, have 390/. betwixt them all, besides their fees, which they make very considerable to them: Now, two will serve our occasions. They ought to be of the councill, and their salaries made up 400/. a yeare, a piece, they will deserve it. As for Mr. Bulkley he is stupified and drown in melancholy, and almost useleffe, being seldom with us. I formerly wrote you about a suit person to assist in my office. Besides
sides the losse I dayly receive, Mr. West is cryed out upon by all; and whom Mr. Blashwayt or you should recommend will be acceptable. Capt. Nicholton tells me Mr. Martin who was to come over with Col. Kerke, is out of busines and believes he would accept of the office: I would have an honest gentleman, who will not be drawn to ill company, but will mind his busines: There are many about court, but now out of my mind. Pray, please to assist my wife in what may be for my interest.

Several vesseLS are gone from hence to Bermodos, but are设计ed for the wreck. No news yet of Sir John Norburrow or Sir William Phips being there. We cannot yet agree upon the prizes of money: Some would have all pieces of 8, tho' of 15 pennyweight, go at 6/; New-England, others at 17; but they stand at 17 1/4. Our money goes all away and shall have little or none to supply ordinary occasions.

Since the governor's arrivall, New Plimouth colony have great profit by whale killing: I believe they will have nigh 200 tons for to fend to England, and will be one of our best returnes, now beaver and peltry fayles us. I have a desire to see England once more, but know not when I can get an opportunity, or my busines will allow of my absence, till I take leave of it, which I am not much disposed to think of till I hear all things are settled with you. I shall write you all our proceedings, as opportunity offers. Not further, but that I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,
Edward Randolph.

Just now notice is come that
Will. Harris is arrived at Piscataqua.
Copy of a Letter from Mr. William Blaithwait to Mr. Edward Randolph.

Whitehall, 10th of March, 1687-8.

Sir,

I am to thank you for yours of the 23d of November, and would not fail to answer the chief particulars. If the union of all New England under one governor be acceptable on your side the water, what will the joining and annexing to the same government be of all the English territories in America, from Delaware bay to Nova Scotia? This is already determined by his Majesty, and a commission constituting Sir Edmund Andros governor also of New-York, as united to and parcel of his Majesties dominion of New-England. And for the two Jersies, sier facias's are expediting towards their union. This, besides other advantages, will be terrible to the French and make them proceed with more caution than they have lately done.

I am obliged to you for your kind present of cranberries, acorns, chestnuts, &c. which came very well and are imparted to Mr. Robert Southwell. The little box of locust trees was broke open and they are lost, which was a pity, since they are so handy as you mention. I told the king of the black fox, who taking not much notice of it, I keep it myself, unless you think otherwise to dispose of it.

Care is already taken for the passing your patent for all New-England, and if Mr. Spragg were not in the way, it might have been for the whole new dominion.

Pray, present my humble service to Mr. Mason and let him know Mr. Povey gives him particular instructions by this ship how to proceed regularly. The governour needs not any order from hence to do justice. If Mr. Mason be aggrieved he may appeal.

My humble service likewise to Capt. Nicholison, who I hope may be the lieut. governour intended by the King for
for the New-England. Nor let my service be forgot to
my cousin Treffry, whose relations are all very well.

Since you are so mindful of my concerns, the inclosed
paper will shew you how the article for the auditors is to
be worded. But pray remember the first account of the
president and council. It was sent back with severall
queries, in order to the satisfying the lords commissioners
of the treasury, and I expect your return of it. And you
may do well to help Sir E. Andros to dispatch the first ac-
count since his arrivall, by setting forth every particular,
how expended, more minutely than the parchment sent
me does contain, that the Lords of the treasury may not
except against the method of it.

I send you the gazettes touching the pirates and Sir R.
Holmes. The King has granted him all pirates goods for
3 years and the power of pardoning for one year. He
offers fair to discoverers and such as surrender themselves,
and will certainly make good his promise. An accident
on that account may make your fortune, as you are most
in the way of that sort of people.

I must not forget my humble service to all my other
friends and acquaintance with you. Time and patience
will stand you in great stead, amidst your disappointments
and afflictions, and you will always find that I am most
truly Sir, Your faithfull friend

and humble servant,
William Blathwayt.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Povey to Mr. Randolph.

Whitehall, 13 March 1687-8.

Sir,

SINCE mine of the eighth instant, I can only let you
know that your warrant for secretary of New-Eng-
land, with Rhode-Island included, and Conecticut, had
passed the King's hand, when it came further under con-
fideration
COLLECTION OF PAPERS. 561

Consideration how that of New-York and the Jersies, which are now to be added in the general commission, might be included without wrong to the present settlement there; and I believe it will be agreed that your deputation to them shall be sufficient, so as he may receive the whole profits of it without any acknowledgment or charge, but in the mean time your warrant is flopt till the amendment or rather addition be agreed of; but you may expect to receive it at the same time the governor receives his commission, which will be sent by Foy.

On the 10th Mr. Blathwayt writ to you and sent you a memorandum touching his salary, of which I now send you a copy, and tho' I writ to you before upon this subject, the inclosed being as it is settled by himself, you will please to follow the method he prescribes.

We have no news, more than the enclosed proclamation for the recalling the Kings subjects out of the States service; and three new regiments are raising here.

I am, with much truth,
Sir, Your most faithful humble servant,
My humble service to Mr. Mason, Capt. Nichollson & Capt. Trefry.
J. Povey.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Mr. Povey.

Boston, June 21. 1688.

Sir,

I Received your two letters of the 8th and 18th March, the first at Pemmemquid, where, after a tedious passage in 5 or 6 boats and other water carriage, I overtooke his excellency, being left behind at Boston, by sickness, about the end of Aprill last. The Governor, with his servants, travelled by land to Piscataqua; Col. Mason was visiting the militia in the province of Maine, and was forced to follow the Governor to Casco bay, where the Governor's ship and barge with 10 oares attended their coming; he went
went amongst all the islands in Casco bay, visited Mr. Wharton's possessions at Pejepscot, and rowed up many leagues in Kennebec river; from thence, by easy motions, they got to Pemmquid, where he staid 3 or 4 days to refresh themselves with sheep and foules, and then, with the Rose frigott, made towards Pophamscot; his Excellency had sooner, by me before, appointed Capt. George to speake to Monseur St. Casteen, and to acquaint him with his coming; the captain roade with his frigott before Casteen's doore, sent his lieut. aheare, Casteen spooke to him and told him, but upon notice of the Governor's coming, Casteen and all the company retired, left the place to that and left his house shutt; the Governor landed, with other gentlemen with him, and went into the house and found a small altar in the common roome, which altar, and some pictures and ordinary ornaments, they did not meddle with any thing belonging thereto, but tooke away all his armes, powder, shott, iron kettles and some trucking cloath and his chaires, all which were putt aboard the Rose and laid up in order to a condemnation of tradeing, in the forte at Pemmquid; at their returne, notice being irregularly given to the Indian Sachem, neighbour to Casteen, that he should have all his goods restored if he would demand them at Pemmquid and come under obedience to the King, it is supposed he went and acquainted the Governor at Port Royall of it, and how resented we were to expect by the returne of our fishing vessells. This Casteen is a Frenchman, has lived there many yeares, has 3 or 4 Indian wives and goes a hunting with the Indians, he has a tradeing house and sold the Indians, armes and ammunition in the late Indian wars; he does not well like to be under the French government, desires to live indifferent. His Excellency carryed with him carpenters and boards, nailes and all necessary stores, intending to erect a forte at Pophamscot, the old one, as they say, being gone to ruin, formerly made up with stone and turtie, but finding none there, was resolved to spare that charge till a more proper time offered, and in his Ex-

ellency's
cellency's returne from Ponopscutt, 5 or 6 leagues off from there, I meete the Governor at sea, I being bound to Ponopscutt, but I then returned with him to Pemmaquid. The Governor sent out, every way, messengers to summon in all the Indian Sachems; such as were at Pemmaquid at his first arrivall, stayd his returne; they were well treated with shirts, rumm and trucking cloath, but his Excellency, with a short speech, by an interpreter, acquaint-ed them that they should not fear the French, that he would defend them, and ordered them to call home all their young men and they should live quietly and undis-turbed. There I went to one Shurt, town clarke of Pemmaquid, to know what leafes were made lately and by whom, and for what quitt rent; he told me that above 2 years age Capt. Palmer and Mr. West produced to them a commiffion from Col. Dongan, to dispose of all their land to whoever would take leafes at 5s. the hundred acres quitt rent; they lett there and at a place called Dartmouth, 12 or 16 miles distant from Pemmaquid, about 140 leafes, some had 800 or 1000 acres, few less than 100; some but 3 or 4 acres, and all paid 2l. 10s. 6d. for passing their grantes of 100 acres of woodland with 20 acres of marth, wherever it could be found; but this bred a great mischief amongst the people, few or none have their land measured or marked, they were in haste and gott what they could; they had their emissaries amongst the poore people and frightened them to take grantes, some came and complained to the Governor and prayed him to confirme their rights, which he refused to doe, the commiffion and whole proceeding being illegall, having notice they were to be under his government, they refented it, but it served their turne. The poor have been very much oppreffed here, the forte run all to ruin and wants a greate deale to repaire it; the Governor has ordered it to be well re-paired; it standes very well to command a very good bay and harbour about it, and will in time be a good place; being the only good porte for all vessells, eastward, to ride well and secure by the forte from danger. At this time,
Capt. Palmer and Mr. West laid out for themselves such large lots, and Mr. Graham, tho' not there, had a child's portion, I think some have 8 or 10,000 acres; I hear not of one penny rent coming in to the King from them who have their grants confirmed at Yorke, and this 5s. an hundred acres was only a sham upon the people. At our returne, we saw very good land at Winter harbour, enough to make large settlements for many people: The Governor will have it first measured and then surveyed, and then will dispose of it for settlements.

Mr. Graham and his family are settled in Boston, he is made attourny general and now the Governor is safe in his New Yorke confidents, all others being strangers to his council. My cousin Mason can make no progress in his business, he has attempted to try his title at Piscataqua, but has been delayed by the judges, and the inhabitants are far more obstinate than formerly, Mr. West haveing told some of them that his title is little worth. All Mr. West aimes at is to have the passing grantees for all Mr. Mason's lands, and neither he nor Graham will allow that he has power to make a grante to any tenant; they are for leiveing him out of all. The newes of the dissenters being indulged and taken into favour, at home, encouraged this people, and the judges will not give a cause for the King. They now dispute his Exellency's grantees and plead either possession or Indian purchase in barr of it. The addition of New Yorke to this government does very much enlarge our bounds and may be of greate service to the crowne, but they have been squeezed dry by Colonell Dongan and his agents West and Graham, that there is little good to be done. We are in greate expectation of Foyes arravall, and some preparations are makeing for a southerne expedition, but I believe Sir Edmund will not goe into New Yorke till Col. Dongan is removed off the place, there is no good understanding betwixt them, and twas not well done of Palmer and West to tear all in pieces that was settled and granted at Pennnequid by Sir Edmund, that was the scene where they placed and displaced at pleasure,
pleasure, and were as arbitrary as the great Turke; some of the first settlers of that eastern country were denied grants of their own lands, whilst these men have given the improved lands amongst themselves, of which I suppose Mr. Hutchinson has complained.

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Copy of a Letter from Mr. Danforth to Mr. Nowell.

Cambridge, 22. 8. 88.

Hon. Sir,

THese are only to returne you thanks for your kind letter dated July 3. 88. It was exceeding welcome to heare from you, and the good aspect that his Majestie hath towards his poor New-England subjects. I hope mine to your selfe, by Capt. Belcher, might come reasonably; only let me advise not to present any thing by way of complaint to his Majestie, for that I feare will do us more hurt than good; it may be of use to present to friends to shew the reason why we supplicate his Majestie for the confirmation of us in our possession, and that he will grant us the same privileges that others of his plantations are not denied, namely a generall assembly, without which our condition is little inferior to absolute slavery. And for my own part, if that cant be obtained, I do not think the change of our governour will ease any thing, for the greater interest at court will add greatly to our burthens, and emboulden him that hath the power in his hand to squease to extremity. I entreat you whollly to conceale my name from those of our own people or others that you confer with, for it may do me much harm and no good to the publick. I shall think long till I hear the issue of matters.

Concerning those matters that I wrote to you about, referring to myselfe, I have received a letter from my sister that gives mee account the time hath now palled so long...
that the matter is hopeless to find out any thing, and therefore would not have you give yourself any trouble about it.

Mr. Peter Bulkley dyed about three months since, and verely his fun did set in a cloud.

It hath pleased God again to suffer the natives to do us mischief in July last, three or more persons killed at Quackeage on Connecticott river, one man at New Haven, and sundry at the Eastward, some at Kenebeck and Cape Porpos, in all, about twenty six persons killed, so that all the out towns are driven into garrisons, and under great affrightment. Sir Edmund hath lately been at New York, and from thence to Albany, &c. thorow the country, was absent about 11 weeks, and, as I hear, will not allow it to be called a war, but murderous acts, and he will inquire the grounds; is not pleased that any soldiers were levyed, in his absence, to send eastward, and hath released from prison Indians that were sent thence, i.e. from eastward. The winter is now upon us, but whether that will occasion the succession of mischief I know not, but people are generally much affrayd what will be the issue.

In case something be not obtayned for settlement of propery and restreyning rigor in making orders, which they call lawe, and levying money, I fear what hath been done at court will exasperate and possibill may double the tale of brick. I am exceeding sensible that it is very difficult for our friends on the place to do much, unless God do in more than ordinary manner inspire the heart of his Majestie to favour us. Wee are in no capacity to do any thing, not so much as to pay what is of necessity to be done to officers, &c. in case his Majesties favour should be great, nor may wee meet in our severall towns to consider of any thing for our own good, at home or abroad, (as the inclosed copie of their order will shew you, an unheard of tyranny) so that should any disburse for us, I can’t, for my own part, see how it can possibll be gained to repay, and yet people are at present in great expectation that, so many of our friends being on the place, something will be gained.

I had
I had noe thought to have wrote now, and therefore commending all to God, with whom all things are possible, with my kind salutes. I take leave, and am Sir, Your affectionate friend and servant, T. D.

I againe befeech you to conceale my name from all men, for you well know how great an object I am of their hatred.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Thomas Danforth to the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather.

Cambridge in N. E. July 30th, 1689.

Rev. Sir,

YOUR loving lines were with much joy received and read by me, for which I humbly bless God, and return yourselfe many thanks. By reason of the great expectation of your sudden arrivall (with other of your friends) I did willingly omitt writing unto you by the last opportunity, but now, considering the times are among those things reserved by God to his own dispose, I shall adventure the riske of a few lines, committing yourselfe and my endeavours herein to the good providence of God.

Its now 14 weeks since the revolution of the government here, the manner whereof, before these can reach you, will spread farre and neare; future conseqences wee are ignorant of, yet wee know that, at present, wee are eas'd of those great oppressions that wee groaned under, by the exercise of an arbitrary and illegall commissiun, some briefe account whereof is contained in the declaration publifhed the same day, a coppie whereof I herewith send you. The busines was acted by the soldiers that came armed into Boston from all parts, to the great amazement of all beholders, being greatly animated by the Prince's declarations, which about that time came into the country, and
heightened by the oppressions of the governor, judges, and the most wicked extortion of their debauched officers. The ancient magistrates and elders, although they had strenuously advised to further waiting for orders from England, and discouraged any attempts of that nature so farr as they had opportunity, yet were they now compelled to assist with their presence and counsells for the prevention of bloodshed, which had most certainly been the issue if prudent counsells had not been given to both parties. A coppie of that paper sent Sir Edm. Androfs I have herewith sent you, upon which he forthwith came and surrendered himselfe. The same day, about 30 more of the principall persons of that knot were secured, whereof some were quickly released, and some yet remaine under restraint. Eight of whom, viz. Mr. Dudley, Sir Edmund, Mr. Randolph, Mr. West, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Graham, Mr. Sherlock, Mr. Farwell, the representatives of the people, at their last sessions, voted unbailable. Mr. Dudley in a peculiar manner is the object of the peoples displeasure, even thorow out all the colonies where he hath sat judge, they deeply resent his correspondenty with that wicked man Mr. Randolph for the overturning the government, and the manner of his procuring his presidenthip, his extream covetousnes, getting to himself so many bags of money, to the ruining of trade, and since Sir Edmund's arrivall here, hath been his great instrument in the oppression of the people, choosing rather to do that base drudgerie then to displease, and thereby endanger the losse of his honor and gaine. These and such like things have made him vile in the eyes of all generally both good and bad, so that the governor and councill, though they have done their uttermost to procure his inlargement, yet cant prevale, but the people will have him in the jaile, and when he hath been by their order turned out, by force and tumult they fetch him in againe, and both he and the rest of them there remaine till released by orders from England. I am deeply sensible that we have a Wolfe by the ears. This one thing being circumstance
with much difficulty, the people will not permit any enlargement, they having accused them of treason against their king and country; and those restrained, they, threaten at a high rate for being denied an habeas corpus. I do therefore earnestly entreat of you to procure the best advice you can in this matter that, if possible, the good intents of the people and their loyalty to the crown of England may not turn to their prejudice. The example of England, the declarations put forth by the Prince of Orange, now our King, the alteration of the government in England making the arbitrary commission of Sir Edmund null and void in the law; these considerations, in conjunction with the great oppressions they lay under, were so far prevalent in the minds of all, that although some could not advise to the enterprise, yet are hopeful that we shall not be greatly blamed, but shall have a pardon granted for any error the law will charge us with in this matter. The exercise of Sir Edmund's commission, so contrarie to the magna charta, is surely enough to call him to account by his superiors, and also Mr. Dudley that led the van in that tragedy; and for others of them, may we be quit of them, as we hope for no good from them, so we are farr from desiring to revenge our selves upon them, let what they have met with be a warning to others how they essay to oppress their Majesties good subjects any more in that kind. I crave an answer hereunto by the first opportunity.

I must also yet a little further acquaint you that sundry of those gentlemen and merchants that were very active in this matter on the day of the revolution yet, since, missing of what they expected the people universally crying up their charter privileges and urging the old governor and magistrates to reassume the former government all which they were designed to oppose but had hopes to advance their private interests of which finding themselves now disappointed, are greatly discontented and speake highly against the representatives of the people and present government and, as we are informed, sundry of them, mostly
factors and strangers, have drawn a petition to the lords of the committee for foreign plantations, pretending loyalty and advance of revenue to the crown, and highly inveighing against the government and people, whereas, in truth, they are the transgressors of those acts for trade and navigation, and those whom they complain against are generally unconcerned in either, and so incapable to do the thing they accuse them of. If any thing of this nature be presented, let me intreat you sedulously to divert the mischief intended and send me a copy thereof by the first opportunity.

Capt. George, commander of the Rose frigott, was also the same day with the rest of that knott seized, reports being spread by sundry of his men, that he intended for France, there to wait on the late King James, and before his departure to shew his spleen against Boston, so that the people were afraid of being murdered and burnt up in their beds, the lieutenant also a known papist. The sails of the frigott are brought on shore and secured till the government here receive their Majesty's order, for which deed its hoped we shall not receive blame. We do crave that the circumstances of our case and condition in all respects may be considered. Nature hath taught us self preservation: God commands it, as being the rule of charity towards our neighbour: Our great remoteness from England denies us the opportunity of direction and order from thence for the regulating ourselves in all emergencies, nor have we means to know the laws and customs of our nation: These things are our great disadvantage: We have always endeavoured to approve ourselves loyal to the crown of England, and are well assured that none of our worst enemies dare to tax us in that matter, and we have also laboured to attend the directions of our charter, under the security whereof were laid by our fathers the foundation of this his Majesty's colony, and we are not without hopes but that before you do receive these lines we shall receive from their royall Majesties the confirmation of our charter, with such addition of privileges as may advance
Committing yourself and all your pious endeavours for the felicity of this part of God's church to the protection and blessing of God Almighty. Dear Sir,

I am your friend and servant,

Tho. Danforth.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to the Governor of Barbados.

Goal in Boston, May 16. 89.

Sir,

By a heady multitude possessed with jealousyes that our Governor, Sir Edmund Andros, was a papist and intended to bring on the French and Indians to cut off the inhabitants, a generall insurrection was intended and so perfected on the 18th of Aprill last, that the Governor, hoping to secure himselfe in our fort, missed an opportunity of going aboard the Rose frigott, then at anchor in the harbour, and so, being overpowered, wee were taken prisoners of war, as the silly multitude told us. This proceeded from a dayly expectation (that one Mather, one of their ministers in Boston, had rais'd by his letters to them from court in the height of popery) of a new charter. I know he or any other (having first subscribed to repealing their penall lawes and teft) might for their money obtain fair promises of, and he had so far prevailed with Sir Thomas Powis, attorney generall, that he had obtained a report in their favour, upon many false suggestions, which, immediately on the P. of Orange his intending to visit the court of England vanished; however, he had no other engine to draw supplyes of money from the dissatisfied party here, but to feed them up with assurances of a new
new and much larger charter. They were impatient at his delay and, hearing the newes that all papists were either secured or fled out of England, and would not believe but Sir Edmund was a papist and his commissiunc arbitrary and calculated only for the suppressing all persons of a different persuasion; they caballed and accordingly executed their principal resolutions: They have not yet sent to England, expecting Mather, their Mahomet, or at least particular orders from court, which will not operate here unless consonant to their humours. We have, at this day, above 100 persons equally concerned as conservators of the peace, but their power signifies nothing, further than it pleases the people; sometymes they are for having their old magistrates reassume their former government; sometymes to form a new model of government; but their being many more ready (and of necessity disposed) to pull down than build up, they know not what to be att; Some, that have estates and shipping abroad, feare they have done more than they can answer, believing other governments will treat them as rebels from their allegiance, and give them neither protection nor lett them depart till they have orders from home how to treat them. This you may please to communicate to the other governments leeward of you, to whom I have not an opportunity to write, who, I am well assured, will also highly resent it, and so will the present constitution at home, whoever be in the throne, and not suffer so high an indignity to be put upon the most authentick authority any Prince can give his subjects for their security and protection, whilst they act by a power confirmed by the broad seal. God onely knowes how affaires stand at home. I am confident they will never part with me, unlefe demanded,by a force or their ships stoped in the plantations till I am delivered up for their liberty and licence to trade. This country is poor, the exact execution of the acts of trade hath much impoverished them; all the blame lyes upon me, who first attacked and then overthrew their charter, and was made the officer to continue their Egyp-
tian servitude, by my office of collector, &c. I intreat you

to represent my state to the Earls of Clarendon and Ro-

chester, by the first opportunity, and that the Governor

and I may be sent for home by some frigotts. I must

confesse there have been ill men from New-York, who

have too much studded the diseafe of this people, and

both in courts and councills they have not been treated

well. However, nothing done can amount to countenance

such an open rebellion, and, were I in England, I must

advise a generall pardon, many hundred of innocent per-

sons being forced to act, otherwise to be imprisoned; and

the kingdom of England cannot loose this country nor
govern it without some respect and allowance to the weak-
nes of those who are mislead and the force of education
and the byas of common prejudices: However, we are,
at present, as much distraeted and as far from cementing
into any sort of government as at the building of Babell.
God onely keeps them from destroying us.

You will have one Robert Glanvill from Salem, master
of a ketch, he was imprifoned here, for an abettor of py-
rates, and was imprifoned with 7 pyrates, he can tell you
their names; he brought into this country 3700 and odd
Spanish hides, robb'd from a Portugesse vessell, the men
thrown overboard, with other goods to the value of about
2000/. This is all proved by sufficient witneses and they
kept in goal till some particular order from Sir Robert
Holmes. About Oct. last, he sent his commiffion to the
Governor and myfelfe, dated the 26 Aug. 88. which we
receiving not till November, and the Governor and I stay-
ing to the eastward till the limite was past, could not a-
gree upon a method of proceeding against them, in regard
they stood upon their justification, but rather, wee could
not be assured of a jury that would find against them, up-
on the most evident proffe, but now they are at liberty,
have their goods, and perhaps may bring some of the
hides, or barrels of small barrs of copper to your island:
However, I think the ketch is forfeited for bringing in
the pyrates and their goods to this country, knowing the
men
men to be such, for Glanvill, in his ketch, sayled in company with the pyrates, in the vessell they tooke, as far as New England; he went to Salem, appointed to meet them at Port a Bear, in Nova Scotia, and did so and carried them supplies and provisions; when they burned the vessell and brought away the goods in this ketch and other vessells. This I heartily refer to your conduct and privacy, my life lying at stake for the least discovery. I cannot trust Mr. Rudger, father in law to Mr. West, with us, who has been a great instrument in imposing upon this people.

Sir, I wish you all happiness and remain Sir your humble servant,

Ed. Randolph.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Dr. Cook,

Common Goal, Nov. 25th,

Sir,

YOUR treating Sir Edmund Androfs like a gentleman when you were last at the Castle, shall be remembered with respect. By letters from my friends in England I hear I am (but by what means I yet know not) made their Majesties prisoner and to be sent safe to Whitehall, 'twill be a favour to me and the rest of the gentlemen with me if the poor wounded man, who has lain 16 days rotting in his own excrement, might be taken and removed into some other warm place, that we be not infected with the vehement stench; and christianity directs that he be not suffered to perish and others with him for want of speedy redresse, 'twill be an aggravating circumstance of our imprisonment. If you please to call on me as you come this way and taste a glass of cyder you shall be welcome. Be confident nothing shall render me otherwise than a hearty friend to all good men.

I am yours,

Ed. Randolph.
Copy of a Letter from the General Court to the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather in London.

Much honoured and dear Sir,

Your most worthy indefatigable and unwearied labour and service voluntarily undertaken for the good of this your country, attended with so much difficulty and hazard to your person, as it bespeaks your ready obedience to the command of Christ in denying yourself, so it calls for our hearty acknowledgments and real testimonies of gratitude, and we pray may be gloriously rewarded by the God of New-England. That you have not ere this had an account of our affairs particularly directed unto your self, proceeded neither from forgetfulness nor neglect, but solely from our daily expectations of seeing you here, we being so long time without any intelligence from England. Your providential detainure behind our friends, who arrived about two months since, we hope was in mercy, and will turn to our advantage. We understand there seem'd to be an absolute necessity of your appearance for us. We have thought it adviseable to send over our worthy friends Mr. Elisha Cooke and Mr. Thomas Oakes, (who are knowing and well acquainted with all transactions and the state of our affairs) whom we have joyned in commission with the right hon. Sir Henry Ashurst, kn. and baronet and yourself, as our agents and representatives in England, or so many of you as shall be there resident; and given them instructions. The informations and evidences we have gathered up against Sir Ed. Androfs, and the others sent home with him, they bring with them, though they fall greatly short of what might have been procured had not we been under the disadvantage of missing to finde Sir Edmunds papers at the time of the revolution, which we then supposed to be burnt, or otherwise made away with, and many of their aslings in things that would make them most obnoxious, were so subtilly carried on as not to be committed to writing that might afterwards rise up against them. We expect no less than that they will
will greatly asperse and calumniate this people, and endea-

our to load them with all the infamy imaginable. Wee
hope our friends, now sent, will be reasonably provided to

take off the most of them, unto whom wee must refer you
and to the papers. You will not wonder to see so great a

number of that society of men come over, whom wee are
glad to get rid of, they having been industriously diligent
to interrupt and disturb our publique affaires here to our
no small disadvantage. Wee have endeavoured to make
some provision by this conveyance for the discharge of our
just debts in England, and refer it to yourselfe and others
our friends joyned with you in commissiion, to make some
suitable present unto such of those honourable gentlemen
who have befriended and assisted our affaires at the court,
unto divers of whom wee have written particularly, and
sent the letters open, that so you might have the perusal
of them. Wee have been necessitated, for the quiet of the
people and preservation of the peace, to take the highest
steps in administration of government, by trying, condem-
nning and executing some notorious criminals, found guilty
of piracies and murder, without doing which wee could
not have lived, hoping for a favourable resentment and
acceptance of what wee have done therein, and doubt not
of your assistance thereto; praying the continuance of
your care, paines and labour, to endeavour the full obtain-
ing of all that good you have wished and industriously in-
tended the procureing for us, if the Lord shall please to
succeed therein; unto whose gracious guidance and pro-
tection wee heartily commend you, praying that God will
mercifully, in his good time, returne you unto us, that wee
may see your face againe with joy; and earnestly begging
your constant remembrance of us at the throne of grace,
that God may graciously guide and conduct us in all the
arducus affaires under our hand, so as may be to his glory
and our owne and this people’s everlasting good and com-
forte, with the tenders of our unfeigned respects, wee
subscribe,
Sir, Your most affectionate and
hearty friends,

29 January 1689. in the name of the gen. court.
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