

PLYMOUTH CHURCH RECORDS

VOLUME I

PART I¹

Church Records of
Plymouth
1715
Ecclesia Christi²

CHRISTIAN READER,

I haue Looked att it as a duty Incumbent on mee to Comitt to writing the first Beginnings and after progresse of the Church of Christ att Plymouth in New England; forasmuch as I can not vn-

¹ This heading, as throughout the volume, is not a part of the original records, having been inserted for convenience by the Editor. A short rule always separates the heading from the text of the records.

Volume I was originally bound in vellum and contained 84 leaves, constituting Parts i, ii, iii, and iv as indicated in the headings of the present volume, each part being separately paged. The pages measure $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height by $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width, and the watermark is the same throughout. On the front of the original vellum cover are written in ink these words in the hand of Nathaniel Morton:

A Breife Ecclesiasticall
History of the Church of
Christ Att Plymouth
Ann^o Domi
1680

Many of the leaves of the vellum-covered volume being badly worn, some years ago the volume was taken to pieces and the leaves (including the vellum cover) inserted in a new volume bound in leather. Where a leaf is written on one side only, it is sometimes pasted on a page of the new volume, but most of the leaves

² These words, in an unknown hand, are on an unnumbered page, at the top of which something is written in an unknown hand, but as the leaf is torn only the words "Children of the Church" can be made out. The words on this page are the only ones in Part i not written by Nathaniel Morton. The verso of the page is blank.

derstand That there is any thing p^rticularly extant concerning it and almost all the Members of the said Church: both Elders & others Being deceased by whom Intelligence of Matters in that behalf might be procured, I dare not charge the Reuerend Elders of that Church whoe are Gon to there Rest; with any Neglect on that behalf for when they were in holland they were Nessesitated to defend the Cause of Christ by writing against opposites of seuerall sortes; soe as such like Employes Together with the Constant and faithfull discharge of the duties of their offices probably took vpp the Greatest p^rte of thereire time; And since the Church p^rted and a considerable p^rte therof came vnto this Goeing downe of the sun; It might be Neglected p^rtly on the account¹ That diuers writings some wherof being put forth in print, did point att; and in a Great measure discriminate the affaires of the Church; forasmuch (as then) the smale comonwealth in our first begining att New Plymouth Consisted mostly of such as were members of the church which was first begun

are mounted. When this was done, Part v, which contains 17 leaves, was also included in the volume, though as its leaves are smaller and have no watermark Part v could not have been a portion of the original vellum-covered volume. Hence as now made up, Volume I contains 111 leaves in five parts, each separately paged.

Volume I, as now bound in leather, has printed on the back of the cover, which measures 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height by 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches in width, the words:

Plymouth
First Church
Records.

And on the front cover are printed these words:

Plymouth First Church
Records.
First Book

The Lord our God be with us as he was
with our Fathers.

Part i is, with the exception of a few words on p. 3 of this volume (see page 3 note 2), wholly in the hand of Nathaniel Morton. It contains 41 leaves, or 82 pages, of which six are not numbered, while the remainder are numbered from [1] to [76]. Six pages are blank — p. [3], p. [60], and four unnumbered pages, one being the verso of p. [1] and another the verso of p. [76]: see p. 3 note 2, above, and pp. 6 note 1, 8 note 3, 10 note 2, 113 note 4, 141 note 2, below.

For descriptions of Parts ii-v, see pp. 142 note 1, 190 note 1, 224 note 1, 249 note 1, below.

¹ Written above "accoun," crossed out.

and afterwards carryed on in Leyden in holland; for about the space of twelue yeers and Continewed and carryed on att Plymouth in New England; a smale p^rte wherof Remaineth vntill this day; if any thing was don on this kind; by those worthy Leaders; I suppose; the blame is Rather to be layed on those which had the first view; of their studdyes and had their bookes and writings in Custody after their decease; for I ame p^rswaded that such was their faithfulness and prudence as that they did not wholly Neglect this matter some yeers since it pleased God to putt an Impulse vpon my speritt to doe somthing in a historically way Concerning New England, more especially; with Respect to the Collonie off New Plymouth; which was Intitled New Englands Memoriall;¹ In which I occasionally I took Notice of Gods Great and Graciouss worke in erecting soe many Churches of Christ in this wildernes; But it was Judged by some that were Judicious that I was to sparing and short in that behalf; The Consideration wherof put mee on thoughts of Recollecting somthing more p^rticularly² Relateing to the Church of Plymouth but it pleased the Lord in holy wisdom soe to dispose that haueing accomplished my desires sometime after the finishing of this worke I was solliseted to lend it to a Reuerand frind att Boston where it was burned in the first fire that was soe destructiue att Boston in the yeer 1667.³) yett Notwithstanding I haue through the goodnes of God. Crowded through many difficulties to atcheiue it the second time; and for that end did once againe Repaire to the study of my much honored Vncle William Bradfo[r^d]⁴ Esquire deceased for whose care and faithfulness in such like Respects wee stand bound; as firstly and mostly to the Lord soe⁵ secondarily, to him and his whose labours in such Respect might fitly haue bin

¹ Printed at our Cambridge in 1669: see Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, xiv. 268-281, xviii. 15-26.

² Here "Related" is crossed out.

³ This date, which is twice underscored, is doubtless an error for 1676, for it was in the fire of November 27, 1676, that Increase Mather (to whom Morton here refers) lost part of his library: see Mather's Diary under that date, 2 Proceedings Massachusetts Historical Society, xiii. 373, 404.

⁴ Words or letters blotted or torn away or undecipherable are enclosed within square brackets. Such words or letters are in many cases taken from Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation (edition of 1912), and in some cases from Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers (1841).

⁵ Here the word "secondly" is crossed out.

published to the world; had they Not bin Involved in and amongst p^rticulars of other Nature;

Gentle Reader I humbly Craue thy Patience and acceptance of this smale treatice soe as to Read it ouer Consideratly wherin soe doeing thou wilt discern much of the Goodnes Mercye and power of God; whoe as att the first brought this fabrick of the world out of the womb of Nothing; hath brought soe many famous Churches of Christ out of soe smale beginings; with Many other vsefull Considera[tions] that thou mayest meet with in the serious p^rusall therof; Soe leauing thee and this smale work To the blessing of the onely wise God

I Remaine thyne in Christ Jesus

NATHANIELL MORTON;

Plymouth in New England
January 13th 1680¹

[1²]

An Introduction to the Ecclesiasticall history
of the Church of Christ att Plymouth
in New England as followeth;

It is well knowne to the Godly and Judicious how that euer since the first breakeing out of the light of the Gospell in our honorable Nation of England which was the first of Nations whom the lord Adorned therewith after that Grosse darknes of Popery which had Couered and ouerspred the Christian world, what warrs and oppositions euer since Satan hath Raised maintained and Continewed against the Saints from time to time; in one sort or other; sometimes by bloody death and Crewell torments; otherwhiles Imprisonments banishments and other hard vsages as being loth his Kingdome should Goe downe, the truth preuaile, and the Churches of God Reuert to their Ancient purity and Recouer their primatiue order libertie and bewty; But when hee Could not preuaile, by these means

¹ The date is underscored three times. This address is written on an unnumbered page, the verso of which is blank.

² The heavy face figures within square brackets indicate the pagination of the original.

³ Words written in the margin are sometimes, as in this instance, printed in the margin; sometimes printed in the text; and sometimes printed in the footnotes.

against the maine trutthes of the Gospell but that they began to take Rooting in Many places being watered with the blood of the Martires; and blessed from heauen with a Graciously Increase, hee then began to take him to his ancient Strattagemes vsed of old against the first Christians; That when by the bloody and Barbarosenes of the heathen Emperours hee Could not stop and subvert the course of the Gospell; but that It speedily ouerspred with a wonderful Celeritie to the then best known p^rts of the world hee then began to sow errors herresies and wonderfull desentions amonst the professors themselues, working vpon their prid and Ambition; with other Corrupt Passions Insident to all Mortall men: yee to the Saints themselues (in some Measure) by which woefull effects followed, as not onely bitter; Contensions and hartburnings Schismes¹ with other horrible Confusions, but Satan took occasion and advantage thereby to foist in a Number of vile Serrimonies with many vnprofitable Canons and decrees which haue since bine as snares to many peacable poor soules euen to this day; soe as in the ancient times the p^rsecutions by the heathen and their Emperours was not Greater then of the Christians one against another; The Arians and other their accomplices against the orthodox and true Christians as wittnessth Socrates in his 2cond book; saith hee) "was noe less then that of old practised towards the Christians when they were Compelled and drawne to Sacrefice to Idolls for many Indured sundry kinds of Torments oftens² Racking and dismembering of their Joynts Confiscateing of their Goods some bereaued of their Natiue soyle others departed this life vnder the hands of the tormentor and some died in banishment and Neuer saw their Country againe;"³

The like Meethod Satan hath seemed to hold in these Latter times since the truth began to springe and spred after the Great defection made by Antichrist the Man of sin; for to lett pas the Many examples in sundry Nations in seuerall places of the world and Instance of our oune; when as the old serpent Could not preuaile by those fiery fflames and other his Crewell tragedies, which hee by his

¹ Here the words "and hart burnings" are crossed out.

² This word (now obsolete) is plain, but was printed "others" by Young in his Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 8.

³ Morton's quotation marks, usually placed in the margin, can not be printed in that fashion and are here transferred to the text.

Instruments put in¹ ure euery wher in the dayes of Queen Mary and before; hee then began another kind of warr and went more Closely to worke Not onely to oppuggen but euen to Ruinate and destroy the kingdom of Christ by more Secrett and subtill meanes, by kindleing the ffames of Contention and sowing the seeds of discord and bitter enmitie amongst the professors and seeming Reformed themselues, for when hee Could not preuaile by the former meanes against the principall doctrines of faith; hee bent his force against the holy discipline and outward Regiment of the Kingdom of Christ by which those holy doctrines should be Conserued, and true Piety maintained amongst the Saints and people of God;

M^r fox Recordeth how that besides those worthy martires and Confessors which were burned in Queen Maryes dayes and otherwise tormented, many both Studients and others fled out of the land to the Number of 800: and became seuerall Congregations att Wesell frankford Bassill Emden Markpurg Strausborough & Geneua &c:

Amongst whom especially those att frankford began a bitter warr of Contention and Persecution about the Cerrimonies and seruice book and other Popish and Antichristian [stuffe t]he Plague of England to this day, which are like [the] high places [in Israell,] which the prophetts Cryed out against and were the[r] ruine;² [2] which the better p^rte sought according to the puritie of the Gospell to Root out, and vtterly [to abandon] and the other p^rt vnder vailed pretences for their owne ends and⁴ advancem[ents] sought as stiffly to Continew maintaine and defend, as appereth by the discourse thereof published [in] print Ann^o: 1575 a book⁵ that deserues better to be knowne and Considered then it is⁶ the one syde Labored to [have] the Right worshipp of God and discipline of Christ established in the Church according to the simplisitie of the Gospell without the mixture of mens Inventions, and to haue and to be Ruled by the Lawes of Gods word dispenced in those offices

¹ Here "vs" or "vse" is crossed out. The word employed by Bradford is "ure" (History, i. 6).

² This figure is uncertain.

³ The verso of p. [1] is blank.

⁴ Here "advantages" is crossed out.

⁵ A Brieff Discours off the Troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany Anno Domini 1554, compiled by William Whittingham.

⁶ Here something, perhaps "On side," is interlined and crossed out.

and by those officers of Pastours and Teachers and Elders according to the Scriptures; The other partye though vnder many Coullers and pretences Indeauored to haue the episcopall dignitie, after the¹ Popish manor, with their large power and Jurisdiction still Retained with all those Covrt Cannons, and Cerrimonies together, with all such lueings Revenewes and subordinate officers with other such means as formerly upheld their Antichristian² Greatnes, and enabled them with Lordly and tiranus power to p^rsecute the poor servants of God, This Contension was soe Great as Neither the honor of God³ the Comon p^rsecution nor the Mediation of M^r Calvin and other worthyes of the Lord, in those places, Could preuaile with those thus Episcopally minded; but they proceeded by all meanes to disturbe the peacę of this poor p^rsecuted Church soe farr as to Charge very vnjustly, and vngodlely (yett prelate Like) some of their Cheiffe opposers with Rebellion and high Treason against the Emperour and other such Crimes;

And this Contension died not with Queen Mary nor was left beyond the seas but att her death these people Returning into England vnder Gracious Queen Elizabeth many of them p^rserued aspired to Bishoppricke and other promotions according to their aimes and desires. & Now⁴ That Inveterate hatred against the holy discipline of Christ in his church hath Continewed to this day, In soemuch that for feare it should preuaile all plott and deuises haue bin vsed to keep it out Insenceing the Queen and State against it as dangerous to the Comon wealth and that it was most Needfull for the fundamenta[l] points of Religion should be preaced in⁵ in those Ignorant and superstitious t[imes] and to win the weake and Ignorant, they might Retaine diuers harmles Ceremonies and though it were to be wished that diuers things were Reformed yett this was [not] a season for it; and many the like to stopp the mouthes of the More Godly; to bring them on to yeild to one Ceremony after an other, and one corruption after an other by the[se]⁶ wyles beguilling some and Corrupting others vntill att length they began to p^rsecute all[l]

¹ Here "Popp" is crossed out.

² Here "way" is crossed out.

³ Here the words "as neither the Comon p^rsecution" are crossed out.

⁴ The words "& Now," which are interlined and perhaps crossed out, are obscure: they are not in Bradford's History (i. 9).

⁵ Here the words "in those p^rtes" are crossed out.

⁶ Here "wyl" is crossed out.

the zealous professors in the land (altho they knew Little what this discipline mente) both by word and deed if they would not submit to their Ceremonies and become Slaues to them and their popish trash which haue noe Ground in the word of God, but are Relicts of the man of sin; and the more the light of the Gospell Gre[w] the more they vrged their subscriptions to these corruptions soe as notwithstanding all their former pretences and faire Coullers they whose eyes God had not Justly blinded might esily see whereto these things tended; and to Cast Contempt the more vpon the Cencer servants of God they approbriously and Most Injuriously Gaue vnto and Imposed vpon them that Name of puritans, which is said the Nouatians out of Prid did assume and take vnto themselves, and lamentable it is to see the effects which haue followed; Religion hath bine disgraced: the Godly Greiued afflicted p^rsecuted and many excelled sundry haue lost their liues in prisons and other wayes, on the other hand sin hath bin Countenanced Ignorance prophanes and athiesme Increased the papests Incurraged to hope againe for a day;

This made that holy man m^r Perkins¹ Cry out in his exhortations vnto Repenten[ce] on Zepha 2 Religion saith hee, "hath bin amongst vs this 35 yeers But the more it is published the more it is Contemned and Reproached of many &c Thus not proph[anes] nor wickednes but Religion it selfe is a byword a mocking stock and Matter of Reproach soe that in England att this day the man or woman that begins to profess Relig[ion] and to serue G[od] must Resolue with him selfe to sustaine M[ock]s and Injvries euen [as] though hee [lived amongst] the enimies of Religion" and [this com-mone] experience [hath confirmed, and made too apparente.]" [4²]

But before I pass on I can not omitt an observation worthy to be noted which was observed by the author viz: m^r William Bradford as followeth:

Saith hee, full litle did I think that the doune fall of the Bishoppes with their Courts Cannon and Ceremonies had bin soe near when I first began this writing which about the year 1630 and soe peeced att Leasvre time afterwards, or that I should haue liued to haue seen

¹ William Perkins, Godly and learned Exposition of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, 1618.

² Page [3] is blank.

or heard of the same But it is the lords doeing and ought to be Marvelous in our eyes; euery Plant which mine heauenl[y]¹ father hath not planted saith our father shalbe Rooted vp: Mat: 15: 13: I haue Snared thee and thou art taken oh Babell (Bishops) and thou wast not aware; thou art found and alsoe caught because thou hast Striven against the Lord Jer: 50: 24: But will they needs strive against the truth against the servants of the lord; what and against the lord himselfe doe they provoake the lord to anger are they stronger than hee 1 Cor 10: 22: noe noe they haue mett with their match; Behold I Come against the oh proud man saith the lord God of hostes for thy day is coming euen the time that I will visitt thee Jer: 50: 31: May not the people of God now say; and these poor people among the Rest; The lord hath brought forth our Rightousnes come lett vs declare in Zion the work of the Lord our God Jer: 51: 10: lett all fflsh be still before the Lord for hee is Raised vp out of his holy place Zach: 2: 13:²

This poor people may say (amonge the thousands of Israell) when the Lord brought againe the Captiuity of Zion wee were like them that dreame Psalm 126: 1 The Lord hath done Great things for vs whereof wee Rejoyce verse the third; They that sow in teares shall Reape in Joy; they went weeping and Carryed precious seed but they shall Return with Joy and bringe their sheaves verse 5: 6:

Doe yee not Now see the fruits of your labours oh all yee servants of the Lord that haue suffered for his truth and haue bin faithfull witnesses of the same; and yee little handfull amongst the Rest the least amongst the thousands of Israell; you haue not had a seed time, but many of you haue seen a Joyfull haruest. should yee not then Rejoyce yee againe Rejoyce and sing hallelujah saluation and Glory and honor and power be to the Lord our God for true and Righteouse are his Judgments Reu: 19: 1: 2.

But thou wilt aske what is the matter what is done; Why art thou a stranger [in] Israell that thou shouldest not know what is done; are not those Jebusites ouercome that haue vexed the people of Israell soe longe euen holding Jerusalem euen vntil Dauids Dayes

¹ Here a word, apparently "father," is crossed out.

² Morton has here written in the margin: "this eleuation of speritt was a considerable time after the first pening of thes writings but heer entred because of the suitableness of the mater goeing before it;"

and bin as thornes in their sydes soe many ages and Now bega[n] to scorne that not any Dauid should meddle with them; they begaine to fortify their tower as that of the old babilonians; But those proud Anakims are Now throwne downe; and their Glory layed in the dust, the tiranous Bishoppes are ejected there Co[urts] desolued their Canons fforceles their service books Casheired their Ceremonies vseles [and] despised their plotts for Popery prevented, and all their superstitions dis[carded] and Returned to Roome from whence they Came; and the monuments of Idolletry [rooted] out of the land, and the proud and prophane supporters and Crewell defenders [of] these, as bloody Papists wicked Athiests and their malignant Consorts marue[lously] ouerthrowne, and are not these Great things, whoe Can deny it;

But whoe hath don it euen hee that siteth on the white horse whoe is called faithf[ul] and true and Judgeth and fighteth Righteously Reuelati 19: 11: whose Garments are dipped in blood; and his Name was Called the word of God verse 13: for hee shall Rule them with a Rod of Iron for it is hee that treadeth the winepresse of the ffeircnes of the wrath of God Almighty, and hee hath vpon his Garment and vpon his thye a name written, the Kinge of Kinges and the lord of Lords, Hallelujah;

See how this holy man his sperit was Eliuated and his hart Raised vp in praiseing of the Lord in Consideration of the downefall of the proud prelatse; as hee and many more of the Saints had Good Reason; who felt the smart of their bitter and Crewell tirany; whoe are indeed a limbe of Antichrist; and if the Generallitie of the Saints had bin those sencible of this Great and¹ Marueilous work of God, possibly that proud hirachy, had not Gott vp soe soone againe as they haue done soone, after this Good man[s] departure out of this world;² Neuertheles wee doubt not but that God wil bring them down in his Good time; for vndoubtedly all those that will not that the Lord Jesus should Raig[n] ouer them; but ensteed therof exercise a usurped lordly power over the poor saints of God sha[ll be] brought and slaine before him; (and without Repentance) shall together with the beast and ffalse prophett be thrown into the lake burning with fier and brimstone; when Babilon [cometh into] Remembrance

¹ Here "vnde" is crossed out.

² Bradford died May 9, 1657.

before God then shall the saints with the angell say thou art J[ust] and holy because [thou hast judged] these thinges for they; viz: that hord¹ of Room [an]d the prelates their ad[herents] haue shed the blood [of the saints]. Give them blood to drink; for they are worthy.² [5]

The exordium being Concluded; I shall come more Nearier my Intended purpose: viz: in Reference vnto the Church of Christ at Plymouth in New England; first begun in old England and carryed on in holland; and att Plymouth aforsaid;

Chapter I.

When by the trauell and dilligence of some Godly and Zelous ^{Imp} Preachers and Gods blessing on their labours as in other places of the Land soe in the North p'tes many became Inlightened by the word of God and had their Ignorance and sines discovered by the word³ of Gods Grace; and began by his Grace, to Reforme their liues and make Consience of their wayes, the work of God was noe sooner manifest in them but p'sently they were both scoffed and scorned by the prophane Multitude and the minnesters vrged with the yoake of Subscripion or else must be silenced; and the poor people were soe⁴ vexed with apparrators and Pursvants and the Comission courts as truly their affliction was not smale; which Notwithstanding they bare sundry yeers with much Patience vntill they were occationed by the Continewance and Increase of those troubles and other meanes which the Lord Raised vp in those dayes; to see further Into thinges by the Light of the word, of God; how not onely⁵ those base beggerly Ceremonies were vnlawfull but alsoe that the lordly tiranous power of the Prelates ought Not to be submitted to which thuse Contrary to the ffredome of the Gospell would load and burten mens Consciencs with and by their Compulsieue power make a prophaine mixtvre of p'sons and thinges in the worship of God; and that their offices and Callings Courts and

¹ Perhaps "hore."

² This paragraph is of course Morton's. The words torn away are supplied from Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 17.

³ Here the words "of truth" are interlined and crossed out.

⁴ Here two letters, apparently "xe," are crossed out.

⁵ Here the words "some of the" are crossed out.

Cannons &c: were vnlawfull and Antichristian being such as haue noe warrant in the word of God but the same that were vsed in Popery: and still Retained; of which a famous Auther thus writeth in his duch Comentaries¹

“Att² the Comeing of Kinge James out of Scotland into England, the New Kinge (saith hee) found there established the Reformed Religion; According to the Reformed Religion of Kinge Edward the sixt, Retaining or keeping still the speritvall state of the bishopes &c: after the old manor much varying and differing from the Reformed Churches of Scotland ffance and the Netherlands Emden Geneva etc whose Reformation is Cutt or shapen much Nearer the first Churches as it was vsed in the Apostles times;”

Soe many therfore of these proffessers as saw the euil of these thinges, in these p^rtes and whose harts the Lord had touched with heauenly Zeale for his truth, they shook of this yoake of Antichristian Bondage and as the Lords ffree people Joyned themselues (by a Covenant of the Lord) into a Church estate in the fellowship of the Gospell to walk in all his wayes made knowne or to be made knowne vnto them according to their best endeauors whatsoever it should Cost them³ and that it Cost them much paines trouble sorrow affliction and⁴ p^rsecution; and expence of their estates &c this ensueing history will declare

These people became two distinct bodyes or Churches; in Regard of Distance of Place and did Congregate Seuerally for they were of seuerall townes & villages some in Nottingamsheire some in Lan-kishsheire⁵ and some of Yorksheire where they bordered Nearest together; In the one of these Churches besides others of Note was m^r John Smith a man of Able Giftes and a Good preacher whoe afterwards was Chosen their Pastour but these afterwards falling

¹ Emanuel van Meteren's General History of the Netherlands was translated by Edward Grimstone.

² Against this paragraph and the next is written in the margin: “[The Reformed [Chur]ches shapen [muc]h Nearer the [pri]mitive Pateren [th]en England [f]or they Casheired [t]he Bishopps [w]ith all their [Cou]rt Canons and [Cer]emonies att [the] first and [left] them amongst [the] popish trash [to w]hich they [app]ertaine.”

³ Here a word is crossed out.

⁴ Here a word, perhaps “p^rsecution,” is apparently crossed out.

⁵ Morton's error for Bradford's “Lincollinshire” (History, i. 22).

into some errors in the low Countryes, there for the Most p^rte buried themselues and their Names

But in this other Church; which must be the subject of our discourse besides other worthy men was M^r Richard Clifton a Graue and Reuerend Preacher whoe by his paines and dilligence had don much Good and vnder God had bin a meanes of the Conversion of Many; and Alsoe that famous and worthy man M^r John Robinson whoe afterwards was their Pastour for many yeers vntill the Lord [6] The Lord took him away by death; And alsoe m^r William Brewster a Reuere[nd] man who afterwards was Chosen an Elder of the Church and liued with them [until] old age; and death

Butt after these thinges they Could not longe Continew in any peacable manor but were hunted and p^rsecuted on euery side soe as their former Afflictions; were but as molehills to Mountaines, in Comparison to these; which now Came vpon them; for some were taken and Claped vp in prisons, others had their houses besett and watched Night and day and hardly escaped their hands and the most were faine to fly and leaue their houses and habitations, and the meanes of their liuelihood yett these and many other sharper thinges which afterward befell them were Noe other then they looked for; and therefore were the better prepared to beare them by the Assistance of Gods Grace and speritt; yett seeing themselues thus Molested, and that there was noe hope of their Continuance there; by a Joynt Consent they Resolued to Goe into the low Countryes; where they heard was ffreedom of Religion for all men; as alsoe how sundry from London and other p^rtes of the land that had bine exiled and p^rsecuted for the same Cause and were Gon thither and liued att Amsterdam¹ and in other places of the land;

Soe after they had Continewed together about a yeer and kept their meetinges euery sabbath in one place or other exercising the worship of God amongst themselues, Notwithstanding all the dilligence and mallice of their aduersaries; they seeing they Could Noe Longer Continew in that Condition they resolued to Gett ouer Into holland as they Could which was in the yeer 1607 and 1608: of which more in that which followeth;

¹ This refers to the church which, originally set up at London in 1592, soon after removed to Amsterdam. Francis Johnson was the pastor and Henry Ainsworth the teacher.

1608:

of their departure Into holland And their troubles
therabout with some of the many difficulties
they found and mett withall

2 Chapt

Being thus Constrained to Leave their Natiue Country their lands & liueings and all their frinds and familiar acquaintance, It was much and thought marueilious by many; But to Goe into a Country they knew not (but by hearsay) where they must learn a New Language and Gett their Liuing they knew not how; It being a deare place and subject to the Misseryes of warr It was by many thought an adventure almost desparate, a Case Intollerable and a missery worse then death especially seing they were Not acquainted with trades nor traffick (by which the) Country doeth subsist; but had onely bin vsed to a plaine Country life and the Inocent trade of husbandry; But these thinges did not dismay them (although they did sometimes trouble them) for their desires were sett on the wayes of God and to enjoy his ordinances But they Rested on his prouidence; and knew whom they had beleiued; yett this was not all for although they Could not stay; yett were they not suffered to Goe but the ports and hauens were shutt against them; soe as they were faine to seeke secrett meanes of Conveyance and to see the Marriners and Giue extreordinary Rates for their passages and yett were they oftentimes betrayed many of them; and both they and their goods Intercepted and surprised and therby put to Great trouble; and Charge of which I will Giue an Instance or two and omitt the Rest;

There was a Great Companie of them purposed to Gett passage att Boston in Linkensheire and for that end had hiered a shipp wholly to themselues and made agreement with the Master to be Ready att a Certaine day; and take them and their goods in att a [7] Conuenient place where they accordingly would all attend in Reddines; soe after longe waiting and large expences, though hee kept not the day with them yett hee came att Length and took them in In the Night, and when hee had them and their Goods aboard, hee betrayed them haueing before hand Comploted with the serchers and others officers soe to doe, whoe took them and putt them into

open boates and there Rifelled and Ransaked them serching them to their shirts for mony, yee euen the weomen further then became Modesty; and then Carryed them backe into the Towne, and made them a spectacle and wonderment to the Multitude which came flocking on all sydes to behold them; Being thus by the Catchpole¹ officers Riffled and striped of their Mony bookes and much other goods they were p^rsented to the Majestrates and Messengers sent to Informe the Lords of the Councill of them; and soe they were comitted to ward Indeede the Majestrates vsed them Curtuovsly and shewed them what fauor they Could but Could not deliuer them vntill order Came from the Councill Table, but the Issue was that after a month Imprisonment the Greatest p^rte were dismissed and sent to the place from whence they Came; but some² of the principall were still kept in prison and bound ouer to the Assices. p. 40/1.³

The Next spring after there was another attempt made by some of these and others made to Gett ouer att another place; and it soe fell out that they lited of a duch man att hull haueing a shipp of his owne belonging to Zealand; they made agreement with him and acquainted him with their Condition; hoping to find more faithfullness in him, then in the former or of their owne Nation; hee bad them not feare for hee would doe welenough hee was by appointment to take them in between Grimsbey and hull where was a large Comon a Goodway⁴ distant from any towne; Now against the p^rfixed time the weomen and Children with the Goods were sent to the place in a smale barque which they had hiered for that end and the men were to meet them by land but it soe fell out that they were there a day before the shipp Came, and the sea being Rough and the weomen very⁵ very sick; prevailed with the seamen to put into a Creek hard by where they lay on Ground att Low water The Next morning the shipp came but they were fast and Could Not stirr vntill about noone; In the mean time the shipp Master p^rseiveing how the Mater was sent his boate to be Getting the⁶ Men aboard whome hee⁷ saw

¹ Altered from "Catchpoles."

² Here Bradford has "7" (History, i. 31).

³ The reference is to pp. [40-41] of the text, or p. 80 of this volume.

⁴ Here a word, perhaps "distinct," is crossed out.

⁵ Here "weomen" is crossed out.

⁶ Written above "them," crossed out.

⁷ Here "say" is crossed out.

walking about the shore but after the first boate full was Gott aboard and shee was Reddy to Goe for more the Master espyed a Great Companie both horse and foot with bills and Guns and other weapons for the Country was Raised to take them; The duch man seeing that, swore his Countryes Oath (Sarament) and haueing the wind faire wayed his Ancre hoysed sayles and away but the poor men which were Gott on board were in Great Distress for their wiues and Children which they saw thuse to be taken and were left destitute of their healpes and themselues alsoe, Not haueing a Cloth to shift them with more then they had on their backes; and some scarce apeny about them all they had being on board the barke; It drew tears from their eyes and any thinge they had they would haue Giuen to haue bin on shore againe but all in vaine there was Noe Remedy they must thus sadly p^rte; and afterward Indured a fearfull storme att Sea being forteen dayes or more before they ariued att their¹ port; In seauen whereof they Neither saw Sun moon Nor starrs; and were driuen to the Coast of Norway the Marrinors them selues often desparring of life; and once with shrikes and Cryes Gaue ouer all as if the shipp had bine foundered in the sea, and they sinking without Recouery; But when Mans hope and healp wholly faylleth the lords power and Mercy appeered for their Recouery for the shipp Rose againe, and Gaue the Marriners Corrage againe to Manage her; and if Modesty would suffer [8] mee I might declare with whate feruent prayers they Cryed vnto the Lord in this Gr[eat] distress especially some of them euen without any Great distraction when the water Ran in their very ears and Mouthes; and the Marrynors Cryed out wee sinke wee sink; they Cryed if not with Miraculous yett with a Great hight of diuine ffaith; yett Lord thou Canst saue yett Lord, thou Canst saue; with such other expressions as I will forbear; ² vpon which the shipp did not onely Recouer but shortly after the violence of the storme began to abate; and the Lord filled their afflicted Minds with such Comforts as euery one Can not vnderstand; and in the end brought them to their desired hauen where the people Came fflocking admireing their deliuerance, the storme haueing bin soe longe and sore; in which

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² Here the words "with such other expressions as I will forbear" are crossed out.

much hurt had bin don as the Masters frinds had Related vnto him, in their Congratulations;

But to Returne to the others where wee left; the Rest of the men that were in the Greatest danger made shift to escape away before the troope Could Surprise them those onely staying that best might; to be assistant to the weomen but pittifull it was to see the heauy case of these poor weomen; in their destress what weeping and Crying on euery syde, some for their husbands that were Carryed away in the shipp as it was before related; others not knowing what should become of them and their Little ones others melted in¹ teares seeing their poor Little ones hanging about them Crying for feare and quaking with Cold; being thus apprehended they were hurried from one place to another and from one Justice to another vntill in the end they knew not what to doe with them for to Imprison soe many weomen and Inocent Children, for noe other Cause (Many of them) but that they must Goe with their husbands, seemed to be vnreasonable² and all would Cry out of them, and to³ send them home againe was as difficult; for they alledged (as the truth was) They had noe homes to Goe to; for they had sold or otherwise disposed of their houses and lueings to be short after they had bin thus tormoyled, a good while and Conveyed from one Constable to another they were Glad to be Rid of them, in the end vpon any tearmes for all were wearie and tired with them; tho in the mean time the poor soules Indewred Misery enough and thus in the end Nessisitie forced a way for them;

But that I be not tedious in these things I will omitt the Rest; although I might Relate many other Notable passages and troubles which they Indvred, and vnderwent in these their wanderings and trauels both att⁴ Land and Sea. But I hast to other things yett I may not omitt the fruite that Came heerby; for by those soe public troubles in soe many eminent places their Cause became famous, and occationed Many to Looke into the same, and their Godly Carryage and Christian behaiour; was such as left a⁵ deep Im-

¹ Something in here crossed out.

² Here the words "vnto all" are crossed out.

³ Here "send" is crossed out.

⁴ Here "sea" is crossed out.

⁵ Here the letters "dep" are crossed out.

pression in the minds of Many; and tho, some few shrunke; att those first Conflicts and sharp begin[gs] (as it was noe Maruell) yett many more Came on with ffresh Corrage and Greatly anymated others; and in the end¹ Notwithstanding all these stormes of² opposition they all Gott ouer att³ length some att one time and some att another and mett together againe according to theire desires with noe smale Rejoycing;

Chapt: 3

of theire settleing in holland and theire manor of Liueing and entertainment there;

Being now Come into the Lowcountrys⁴ they saw many Goodly and fortified Cittyes strongly waled and Gaurded with troopes of Armed men; alsoe they heard a strange and vncouth Language and beheld the different Manors and Customes of the people with theire strange fashions and attires; all soe farr diffiring from that of theire plaine Countrye villages wherein they were bread and borne and had soe longe liued; as it seemed they were Come into a New world; but those were not the thinges they much looked on, or longe took vp theire thoughts for they had other work in hand; and another kind of warr to wage and maintain [9] ffor though they saw fair and butifull Cittyes fflowing with aboundance of all sorts of wealth and Riches, yett it was not longe before they saw the Grime and Griseled face of pouerty Comeing on them like an Armed man, with whom they must buckle & incounter, and from whom they Could not ffly But they were armed with faith and Patience against him and all his encounters and though they were sometimes foyled, yett by Gods assistance they preuailed and Gott the⁵ victory; Now when M^r Robinson M^r Brewster and other principall Members were Come ouer for they were of the last and stayed to healp the weakest ouer before them; such thinges were thought on as were Nessesary for theire settleing and best ordering of the Church affaires and when they had liued att Amsterdam about a yeer; M^r Robinson theire

¹ Here "vnder" is crossed out.

² Here some letters are crossed out.

³ Here "leg" is crossed out.

⁴ "In this history the Low Provinces mean the two provinces of Holland and Zealand" (W. C. Ford, Bradford's History, i. 36 note).

⁵ Here the letters "victo" are crossed out.

Pastovr, and some others of best discerning seeing how m^r John Smith and his Companie was alreddy fallen into Contension (with the Church) that was there before them;¹ and noe meane[s] they Could vse would doe any Good to Cure the same; and also that the flames of Contension were like to breake out in that ancient Church; it selfe as afterwards Lamentably Came to pase; which thinges they prudently foreseeing; thought itt was best to Remoue before they were any way engaged [with] the same; though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of theire outward estate both att p^rsent and in likelyhood in the future; as Indeed it proued to be; for these and some other Reasons they Remoued to *Leyden* a fayre and butifull City and of a sweet Scittuation; But made more famous by the vnivercety wherwith it is adorned in which of late ha[th] it bin, by soe many Learned men; But wanting that traffick by sea which Amsterdam Injoyed It was not soe beneficiall for theire outward means of liueing and estates; but being Now heere pitched they fell to such trades and Employments as they best Could vallueing peace and their sperituall Comfort about any other Riches whatsoever; and att length they came to Raise a Competent and Comfortable Liueing; and with hard and Continuall labour being thus settled after many difficulties they Continewed Many² yeers In a Comfortable Condidition Injoying much sweet and delightfull society; and sperituall Comfort together in the wayes of God vnder the able minnistry and Prudent Gouerment of M^r John Robinson and M^r William Brewster who was an Assistant vnto him in the place of an elder, vnto which hee was Now Called and Chosen by³ the Church soe as they Grew in knowlidge and other Gifts and Graces of the speritt of God And liued together in peace and loue and holines; and Many Came vnto them from diuers p^rtes of England; soe as they Grew a Great Congregation; and if att any time any differences did arise or offences broke out, as it Can not be but that sometimes⁴ there will euen amongst the best of men; they were eue[r] soe mett with and Nipt in the head betimes or other wise soe well Composed a[s] still loue peace and Comunion was Continewed, or else the Church purged of those that were Incurable; and Incurrig-

¹ See p. 15 note 1, above.

² Here something is crossed out.

⁴ Here "euen" is crossed out.

³ Here "in" is crossed out.

able, when after much Patience vsed noe other meanes¹ would serue which seldome comes to pass yee such was the mutvall loue and Resiprocall Respect; That this worthy man had to his flock and his flock to him, that it might be said of them² as it once was said of that famous Emperour Marcus Aurelivs and the people of Roome; That it was hard to Judge whether hee delighted more in haueing such a people; or they in haueing such a pastor his loue was Great towards them; and his Care was alwaies bent for their best Good both for soule and body for besides his singular abillities in diuine things (wherin hee excelled) hee was able alsoe to Giue direccion [10] In Civill affaires and to foresee dangers and Inconueniences, by which meanes hee was [very] healpfull to their outward estates; and soe was euery way as a Comon father vnto them, and none did more offend him; then those that were Close and Cleauing to themselues and Retired from the Comon Good; as alsoe such as would be stiffe and Ridged in Matters of outward order and⁴ Inuay against the euills of others; and yett be Remise in them selues, and not soe Carefull to express a vertuous Conversation; they in like manor had euer a Reverent Regard vnto him and had him in precious estimation as his worth and wisdome did deserue, and although they esteemed him highly whiles hee liued and laboured amongst them; yett much more after his death when they Came to feele the want of his healp and saw by woefull experience⁵ what a treasure they had lost of the Greife of their hearts and wounding of their soules, yee such a losse as they saw Could not be Regained for it was hard for them to find such another leader and feeder in all Respects, as the Taborites to find another Ziska; and although they did not Call themselues orphanes as the other did after his death yett they had Cause as much to Lament in another Regard, their p^rsent Condition and after vsage; But to Returne I know

¹ Here the words "Noe other Meanes" are crossed out.

² Here some words are interlined and crossed out.

³ The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius Emperor and Eloquent Oratour, a translation by Lord Berners of a French version of Antonio de Guevara's *Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio* (1528). In 1529 Guevara published an enlarged version entitled *Libro de Emperador Marco Aurelio cō Relox de Principes*, which was translated by Sir Thomas North. See *The Diall of Princes* (ed. K. N. Colville, 1919), pp. ix, xiii, xiv-xv, xliii-xliv.

⁴ Here a word, perhaps "Invey," is crossed out.

⁵ Here "which" is crossed out.

not but it may be spoken to the honor of¹ God and without prejudice to any That such was the humble Zeale and feruent loue of this people (whiles they thus liued together) towards God and his wayes and the single hartednes and senseer affection one towards another That they Came as Neare the primitiue Patteren of the first Churches as any other Church of these latter times haue don; according to their Ranke and qvallitie; But seeing it is not my purpose to treat of the seuerall passages that befell this people whiles they thus liued in the low Countreyes, which might worthyly Requre a large treatice of it selfe; But to manifest somthing of their begining and after progresse in New England which I principally Scope, and aime att; yett because some of their Adversaries did vpon the Rumer of their Remoucall Cast out Slanders against them; as if that State had bine weary² of them; and had Rather driuen them out as the heathen histories did faine of Moses and the Israellits when they went out of egipt; then it was their owne free Choise and motion; I will therfore mention a p^rticular or two to shew the Contrary; and that Good acceptance they had in the place and first altho it was low with many of them yett their word would be taken amongst the duches when they wanted mony, because they had found by experience how Care full they were to keep their word; and saw them soe painefull and dilligent in their Callings that they stroue to Gett their Customes, and to Employ them about others in their work for their honesty and dilligence;

Again³ the Majestrates of the Citty about the time of their Coming away or a little before in the publick place of Justice Gaue this Comendable Testimony of them in Reproffe of the Walloones (whoe were of the french Church) in the Cyttey; these English (said they) haue lived amongst vs now this 12 yeers; and yett wee Neuer had any suite or accusation Came against them; but your strifes and quarrells are Continuall &c:

In these times alsoe were the Great troubles Raised by the Arminians whoe as they Greatly molested the whole state soe this Citty in p^rticular, in which was the Cheiffe Vniversitie soe as there was dayly and hott disputes in the Scooles therabouts and as the

¹ Here "to" is crossed out.

² Written above "wery," crossed out.

³ Altered from "Against."

Students and other learned were deuided in their opinions heerin; soe were the two professors or diuinity Readers themselues, the one daely teaching for it, and the other against it; which Grew to that passe that few of the desiples of the one would heare the other teach; But M^r Robinson although hee taught thrise a weeke himself and wrott sundry bookes besides his Manifold paines otherwise; yett hee went Constantly to heare their Readings and heard as well one as the other; by which means hee was soe well Grounded in the Controversy and saw the force of all their ¹ Arguments and knew the shifts of the Adversary; and being himself very able, Non was fitter to buckle with them then hims[elfe] as appeared by sundry disputes, soe¹ as hee began to be terrible to the Arminions [11] which made epescopious² the Arminian Proffesor to put forth his best strength and sett out sundry thesies which by publick disputes hee would defend against all men; Now Poliander³ the other professor and the Cheiffe preachers of the ⁴ Citie desired M^r Robinson to dispute against him but hee was loth being a stranger yett the other did Importune him and tould him that such was the abillitie and Nimblenes of witt of the Adversary that the truth would suffer; if hee did not help them soe as hee Condecended and prepared himself against the time; and when the time came the Lord did soe heale him to defend the truth and foyle his Adversary; as hee put him to an apparent Nonplus in this Great and publick Audience; and the like hee did two or three times vpon such ⁵ like occations the which as it caused many to praise God that the truth had soe famous a victory soe it procured him much honor and Respect from those Learned men and others which loued the truth; yee soe farr were they from being weary of him and his people or desiring their absence, as that it was said by some (of noe mean Note) That were it not for Giveing offence to the State of England they would haue preferred him otherwise if hee would, and allowed them some publick fauor yee when there was speech of their Remouall into these p^rts: sundry of Note and eminensy of that Nation would haue had

¹ Here a word, perhaps "singular," is crossed out.

² Above this name, which is underscored but not crossed out, is written, in a different hand, "Episcopus."

³ This name is underscored.

⁴ Here "Cyttey" is crossed out.

⁵ Written above "a," crossed out.

them Come vnder them and for that end made them Large offers; Now although I might alledge many p^rticulars and examples of the Like kind to shew the vntruth and vnliklihood of this Slaunder yett these shall suffice seing it was beleiued of few being onely Raised by the Mallice of Some whoe labovred their disgrace;

The 4th Chapt:

shewing the Reasons and Causes of their Removall ¹

After they had liued in this Citty about eleuen or twelue yeers; (which is the more) (obseruable) being the whole time of that famous truce² between that state and the Spainiards; and sundry of them were taken away by death and many others began to be well stricken in yeers; the Graue mistris Experience haueing taught them many things; these prudent Gou^rnors with sundry of the sagest members began both deeply to apprehend their p^rsent dangers; and wisely to foresee the future and think of timly Remedy in the agitation of their thoughts and much discovrse of p^rticulars heerabout; the began to encline to this Conclusion of Removall to some other place Not out of Any New fangleednes or other such like Giddy humer by which men are many [time]s Transported to their Great hurt and danger but for sundry waighty and sollid Reasons; the Cheife of which I will heer Resight and breiffly touch; and first: they found and saw by experience the hardnes of the place and Country to be such as few in comparison³ would Come to them and fewer that would bide it out; and Continew with them; for many that cam to them and many more that desired to be with them Could not Indure the Great labour and hard fare with other Inconveniencies which they vnder went and were Contented with; But though they loued their p^rsons and approued their Cause and honored their sufferings, yett they left them as it were weeping as orpha did her mother in law Naomy; or as those ⁴ Romans did Catoe in vtica whoe desired to be excused; and borne with: though they could not all be Catoes;

¹ This heading is written in the margin.

² A truce of twelve years was concluded between Spain and the Netherlands on March 30, 1609.

³ Here the letters "wh" are crossed out.

⁴ Here "Cato" is crossed out.

1 for many though¹ they desired to Injoy the ordinances of God in their purity and the libertie of the Gospell with them yett alas they admitted of Bondage with danger, of Conscience Rather then to Indure these hardshippes; yee some preferred and Chose prisons in England Rather then this libertie in holland; with these afflictions; but it was thought that if a better and easier place of living Could be had it would draw many and take away these discouragements, yea their Pastour would oftens say that many of those that both write and preached now against them if they were in a place where they might have libertie and live Comfortably they would then practice as they did

2 They saw that although the people Generally bore all their difficult[ies] very Chearfully and with a Resolute Curriage being in the best of their strength yett old age began to Come on some of them; and their Great and Continewall labours with other Crosses and sorrowes hastened it before the time; soe as it was not onely probably thought, but apparently seen that within a few yeeres more they were in danger to scatter by Necessitie pressing them; or sink vnder their burdens, or both; and therefore according to the diuine proverb; That a wise man seeth the Plague when it Cometh and hydeth himself proverbes 22:3 soe they like skilfull and beaten souldiers were fearfull either to be Intrapped or surrounded [12] by their enimies; soe as they should neither be able to fight nor fly and therefore thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage and lesse danger if any Could be found;

3 As Necessitie was a task Master ouer them; soe they were forced to be such not onely to their servants but in a sort to their dearest Children, the which as it did a little wound the tender hearts of many a loueing father and mother soe it produced alsoe many sad and sorrowfull effects for many of their Children that were of best dispositions and Gracious Inclinations; haueing Learned to beare the yoke, in their youth and willing to beare part of their parents burden were often times, soe oppressed with their heavy Labours; that although their minds were free and willing; yett their bodies bowed vnder the waight of the same and became decipred in their early youth the vigour of Nature being Consumed in the very bud (as it were) But that which was more lamentable and of all sorrowes

¹ Apparently altered from "thought."

most heavy to be borne was that many of their Children by these occasions and the Great lysenciousnes of youth in the Country, and the manyfold temptations of the place were drawne away by euill examples vnto extrauigant and dangerouse Courses Getting the Raines on their neckes and departing from their parents some became souldiers others tooke vpon them farr voyages by sea and other some, worse Courses tending to desolutenes, and the danger of their soules to the Great Greiffe of their parents and dishonor of God soe that they saw their posteritie would be in danger to degenerate and be Corrupted;

Lastly and which was not the¹ least a Great hope and Inward Zeal they had of laying some Good foundation or att least to make some way therunto for² the propagating; and advancing the Gospell of the kingdom of Christ in those Remote p^rtes of the world, yee, though they should be but as stepping stones vnto other, for p^rforming of soe Great a worke;

These and some other like Reasons moued them to vndertake this Resolution of their Removall the which they afterward proceeded with soe Great difficulties as by the sequell will appeer;

The place they had thoughts on were some of those vnpeopled Countryes of America which are fruitfull and fitt for habitation being devoid of all Civill³ Inhabitants, where there are onely salvage and brutish people which Range vp and downe little otherwise then the wild beasts; this proposition being made publi[ck] and Coming to the scanning of all it Raised many variable oppinions amongst men, and Caused many feares and doubts amongst themselves; some from their Reasons and hopes Conceiued; laboured to stir vp and Incurrage the Rest to vndertake and procecute the same; others againe out of their feares objected against it; and sought to divert from it, alledging many things and those neither vnreasonable nor vnprobable; and that it was a Great designe and subject to many Inconceivable p^rrells and dangers as besides the causaltie[s] of the seas (which none can be freed from) the length of the voyage was such as the weake bodies of men and weomen and such other p^rsons worne out with age and travill (as many of them were) could neuer

¹ Here the letters "las" are crossed out.

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Here "habitations" is crossed out.

be able to Indure; and yett if they should; the miseryes of the land which they should be exposed vnto would be to hard to be bourn and likely some or all of them to Consume and vtterly to Ruinate them; for theire they should be ¹ lyable to famine and Naked[nes] and the want in a Manor of all thinges; the Changing of the ² aire diatt and drinking of water would Infect theire bodyes with sore sicknesses and all tho[se] which should escape or ouercome these difficulties should yett be in Contin[ua]l danger of the salvage people whoe are Crewell³ Barbarous and treach[erous] [13] being most furious in theire Rage and Mercyles where they ouercome not being Content onely to kill and take away life, but delight to torment men in most bloody Manor that may be; fflaying men alive with the shells of ffishes Cuting of the Joynts and members of others by peece meales; and broyling them on the Coles; and causing men to eate the Collopps of theire fflesh in theire sight whiles they liue; with other Creweltyes horrible to be Related; and surely It could not be thought but the hearing of these thinges: could not but moue the bowells of men to Grate within them and mak the weak to qvak and tremble It was further objected that, it would Require Greater sumes of mony to furnish such a voiage; and to fitt them with Necessaries then theire estates would amount to; and yett they must all as well look to be seconded with supplies, as p^resently to be transported; alsoe the like p^resedents of ill successe and lamentable Miseryes befallen others in the like ⁴ designs were easey to be found and not forgotten: to be alledged, besides theire owne experience in theire former troubles and hardshipp in theire Removall into holland, and how hard a thinge it was for them to liue in that strange place although it was an Naighbour Country; and a Ciuill and Rich Comon wealth;

It was Answered that all Great and honorable Actions were accompanied with Great difficulties; and must be both enterprised and ouercome with Answerable Currages, It was Granted the dangers were Great but not desparate, and the difficultie were many ⁵ but

¹ Here "like" is crossed out.

² Here "hot" is crossed out.

³ Here a word is crossed out.

⁴ Here "Case" is crossed out.

⁵ Here the words "the difficulties were" are crossed out.

Not Invincible, for although there were Many of them likely yett they were not Certaine; It might be that some of ¹ the thinges feared might Neuer befall them. Others by prouidence Care and the vse of Good meanes might in a Great Measure be prevented; and all of them through the healp of God by fortitude and patience; ² might ³ either be bourne or ouercome; true it was that such Attempts; were not to be made and vndertaken but vpon Good Ground and Reason, Not Rashly or lightly as many haue don for Curiossety or hope of Gaine &c: But theire Condition was Not ordinary theire ends were Good and honorable theire Calling lawfull and vrgent; and therefore they might expect a blessing of God in theire proceeding yee although they should loose theire liues in this⁴ action yett they might haue Comfort in the same; and theire Indeaours would be honorable.⁴

They liued heer but as men in exile and in a poor Condition; and as Great Misseryes might posibly befall them, in this place, for the 12 years of truce were now out,⁵ and there was Nothing but beating of drums and preparing for warr, the euent whereof are alwaies vncertaine; the spainiard might proue as Crewell as the saluages of America; and the famine and pestilence as sore heer as theire and theire libertie lesse to look out for Remedy After; Many other p^rticular thinges answered and alledged on both sydes It was fully Concluded by the Major part to put this designe in execution and to procecute it by the best meanes they could.

The 5th Chapt:

[s]hewing what [m]eanes they [used] for [prepa]ration to [this] [w]aithy voiage ⁶

And first after theire humble prayers vnto God for his direction and Assistance And a Generall Conference held therabouts; they

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² Here the words "and all of them through the healp of God by fortitude and patience" are crossed out.

³ An asterisk precedes this word, follows "honorable" at the end of this paragraph, and precedes "They" at the beginning of the next paragraph.

⁴ Here some words, apparently "theire Calling lawfull and vrgent; and therefore they might expect a blessing of God in their proceeding," are crossed out.

⁵ See p. 25 note 2, above.

⁶ This heading is written in the margin.

Consulted what particular place to pitch vpon; and prepare for; some and none of the meanest had [14] had thoughts and were earnest for Goyanna or some of those fertile places in hott Clymetts others were for some partes of Verginnia where the English had already made enterance and begining, those for Goyanna alledged that the Country was Rich fruitfull and blessed with a perpetvall springe; and a flourishing Greenes; wher vigorous Nature brought forth all things in abundance and plentey without any Great Labour or art of man soe as it must Needs make the Inhabitants Rich, seeing lesse prouision of Clothing and other things would serue them then in more Colder and lesse fruitfull Countryes must be h[ad] as alsoe that the spainyards haueing much more then they Could, posseesse had not yett planted there nor any where very Neare the same;

But to this it was Answared that out of qvestion the Country was both fruitfull and pleasant and might yeild Riches and maintenance to the possessors more esely then to¹ other yett other things Considered it would not be soe fitt; and first that such hott Countryes are subject to Greevius diseases and many Noysome Impediments, which other more tempera[te] places are freer from and would Not soe well agree with our English bodyes; againe if they should there liue and doe well the Jealous spaniard, would Neauer suffer them longe but would displant and ouerthrow them, as hee did the ffrench in florida whoe were settled further from his Richest Countryes; and the sooner because they should haue None to Protect them and their owne strength would be too smale to Resist soe Potent an enemie soe Neare an Naighbor,

On the other hand for Verginnia² it was objected that if they liued amongst the English which were their planted, or soe Near them as to be vnder their Gou[er]ment they should be in as Great danger to be troubled and p[er]secuted for their Cause of Religion as if they liued in England (and it might be worse and if they) liued to farr of, they should neither haue succor or defence from them;

And att length the Conclusion was to liue in a distinct body by themselues vnder the Gener[al] Gou[er]ment of Verginnia; and by their frinds to sue to his Ma^{tie} that hee would be pleased to Graunt

¹ Morton should have written "the."

² Altered from "Verginnias."

them free liberty, and freedom of Religion; and that this May be obtained they were put in Good hope; by some Great p[er]sons of Good Rank and qual[ity] that were made their frindes;

Whervpon two were Chosen and sent into England att the Charge of the Rest [to] sollissit this matter whoe¹ found the Verginnia Companie very desirous to haue them Goe thither, and willing to Graunt them a Pattent with as ample priviledges as they had or could Graint to any, and to Giue them the best furtherance they C[ould] and some of the Cheiffe of the Company doubted Not to obtaine their suite of the king for libertie in Religion and to haue it Confeirmed vnder the Kinges broad sea[l] according to their desires but it proued a harder peece of work then they tooke it for; for although many meanes was vsed to bring it aboute yett it Could not be effe[ct]ed for there were diuers of Good worth laboured with the Kinge to obtaine it among[st] whom was one of his Cheife Secretaries;² and some other wrought with the arc[h] Bishop to Giue way thervnto, but it proued all in Vaine; yet thus farr, they prevaile[d] in sounding his Ma^{ties} Mind, that hee would Conive att them, and Not molest them prouided they Carryed themselues peacably; But to allow or tollerate them by his publick authoritie vnder his seale, they found it would not bee; and this was all that the Cheefe of the verginnia Company or any other of their best frinds Could do in the Case; yett they p[er]swaded them to Goe on for they p[er]sumed they should not bee troubled and with this answare the messengers Returned and signified what dilligen[ce] had bin vsed and to what Issue things were Come;

But this made a damp in the business and Caused som destrac[tion] for many wer[e] affraid that if they should vnsettle themselues put offe their estates and Goe vpon the[se] hopes It might proue dangerous and but a sandy foundation; yee it was thou[gh]t they might better haue presumed heervpon without makeing any suite att all th[en] haueing made it to be thus Rejected; but some of the Cheifest thought othe[rwise] [15] And that they might well proceed heervpon and that the Kinges Ma^{tie} was willing enough to suffer them without molestation though for other Reasons hee

¹ Here a word is crossed out. The two chosen were Robert Cushman and John Carver: cf. letter of Sandys, p. 32, below.

² Sir Robert Naunton.

would not Conferme it by any publick acte; and furthermore if there was Noe securitie in this promise Intimated there would be noe great Certainty in A further Confeirmation of the same for if afterward there should be a purpose or desire to wronge them though they had a seal as broad as the house flore It would not serue the turne for there would be means enough found to Recall or Reverse it; and seeing therfore the Course is probable they must Rest heerin on Gods Prouidence as they had don in other things;

vpon this Resolution other Messengers¹ were dispatched to end with the virginia Companie as well as they Could and to procure a patent with as Good and ample Conditions as they might by any Good meanes Attaine as alsoe to treat and Conclude with such Marchants and other frinds as had manifested their forwardnes to provoak to and adventure in this voyage for which end they had Instructions Giuen them vpon what Conditions they should proceed with them or else to Conclude Nothing without furdre advice; and heer it wilbe Requisite to Insert a letter or two that may Giue light to these proceedings

A Coppy of a letter from Sir Edwin Sands directed to
m^r John Robinson and m^r William Brewster

After my hartly sallutations, The agents of your Congregation Robert Cushman and John Caruer haue bin in Communication with diuers Celect Gentlemen of his Ma^{ties} Councell for Verginnia, and by the writing of seuen articles² with your Names haue Giuen them that Good degree of Satisfaction; which hath Carried them on with a Resolution to sett forward your desire in the best sort that may be for your own and the publick Good diuers p^ticulars wherof wee leaue to their faithfull Report; haueing Carried themselues heer with that Good descretion as is both to their owne and their Credit from whence they Came; and whereas being to treat for a Multitude of people they haue Requested further time to Confer with them, that are to be Interested in this action about the seuerall p^ticulars which in the prosecution therof will fall out Considerable; It hath bin very willingly assented vnto, and soe they doe Now Returne vnto you; if therefore it may please God soe to direct your desires; as that on your p^tes there fall out noe Just Impediments I trust by the same direction It shall likewise appeer that on

¹ Robert Cushman and William Brewster: cf. p. 38, below.

² Morton has here omitted Bradford's "subscribed" (History, i. 72).

our p^tes all forwardnes to sett you forward¹ shalbe found In the best sort, which with Reason May be expected; and soe I betake you with this designe, which I hope verily is the worke of God to the Gracious Protection and blessing of the highest.

Your very Loueing frind
EDWIN SANDS

London Nouember 12 1617

[16]

Theire Answare was as followeth

RIGHT WOR^{SH}

Our humble duties Remembered in our owne our messengers and our Churches name, with all thankfull acknowledgement of your singular loue expressing it self as otherwise soe more especially in your Great Care and earnest Indeaour of our Good, in this waighty business about Verginnia; which the lesse able wee are to Requite wee shall thinke our selues the more bound to Comend in our prayers vnto God for Recompence, whom as for the p^sent you Rightly behould in our Indeaours soe shall wee not be wanting on our p^tes (the same God Assisting vs) to Returne all Answarable fruite and Respect vnto the labour of your loue bestowed vpon vs wee haue with the best speed and Consideration withall; that wee Could sett down our Requests in writing subscribed (as you willed) with the² Greatest p^te of our Congregation and haue sent the same vnto the Counsell by our agent³ A deacon of our Church John Caruer vnto whom wee haue alsoe Requested a Gentleman of our Companie to adjoyne himself, to the Care and descretion of which two wee doe⁴ Refer the prosecuting of the busines; Now wee p^swade our selues Right Wor^{SH} That wee need not to prouok your Godly and loueing mind to any further or more tender Care of vs, since you haue pleased soe farr to Interest vs in your self that vnder God about all p^sons and things in the world wee Relye vpon you; expecting the Care of your Loue Councell of your wisdom and the healp and Countenance of your Authoritie, Notwithstanding for your Incurragment in the work soe farr as probabilities may lead wee will not forbear to mension these Instances of Inducement;

I Wee verily beleieue and trust the Lord is with vs vnto whom and whose service wee haue Giuen our selues in Many tryalls; and that hee

¹ Altered from "forwards."

² Morton has here omitted Bradford's "hands of the" (History, i. 74).

³ Altered from "agents."

⁴ Here a word is crossed out.

will Graciously prosper our Indeaours according to the simplissey of our harts therin

2 Wee are well weaned from the dillicate milk of our mother Country and Invred to the difficulties of a strange and hard land which yett in Great p^rte wee haue by patience ouercome;

3 The people are for the body of them Industrious and frugall wee think wee may safely say as any Companie of people in the world;

4 Wee are knitt together as a body in a more strict and sacred bond and Couenant of the Lord of the violation whero[f] wee mak¹ Conscience; and by vertue wherof wee doe hold our selues straitly tyed to all Care of each others Good; and of the whole by euery and soe Mutuall;

5 And lastly it is not with vs as with other men whome smale things can discourrage or smale discontentments Cause to wish them selues att home againe wee know our entertainment in England and holland; wee shall much prejudice both our artes and meanes by Remouall whoe if wee should be driuen to Returne wee should not hope to Recouer our p^rsent healps and Comforts neither indeed² looke euer to attaine³ the like in any other place during our liues which are Now drawing towards their Periods.

These motiues wee haue ben bould to tender vnto you which you in your wisdome may alsoe Impart to any other our worshipfull frinds of the Councell with you of all whose Godly dispositions and loueing, towards our dispised p^rsons wee are most Glad and shall not faile by all Good meanes to Continew and Increase the same; wee shall not be further troublesome But doe with the Renewed Remembrance of our humble dutyes to your Worshipp and soe farr as in Modesty wee may be bold to any other of our welwillers of the Councell with you, wee tak our Leaues Comitting your p^rsons and Councells to the Guidance and Protection of the almighty

Yourers much bounden in all duty

JOHN ROBINSON¹

WILIAM BREWSTER

Leyden the 15 of december 1617

[17]

I found anexed vnto the forgoeing letters these following lines written by m^r Bradford, with speciall Reference vnto the fowrth p^rticular on the other syde written

¹ Here Morton has omitted Bradford's "great" (History, i. 77).

² Here "hope" is crossed out.

³ Here "any" is crossed out.

O Sacred bond whilest Inviolably p^rserued how sweet and precious were the frutes that flowed from the same but when this fidelitie decayed then there Ruine approached oh that these antient members had not died or bin dissipated if it had bine the will of God or else that this holy Care and Constant faithfulness had still liued and Remained with those that surviued that were in times afterwards aded vnto them; but alas that Subtile Serpent hath slyly wound in him selfe vnder faire pretences of Nessesitie and the like to vntwist¹ these Sacred bonds and tyes and as it were Insensibly by degrees to desolue or in a Great measure to weaken the same I haue bin happy in my first times to see and with much Comfort to Injoy the blessed frutes of this sweet Comunjon; But it is now a p^rte of my Misery in old age to find and feele the decay and want² therof in a Great measure, and with Greiffe and sorrow of hart to Lament and bewaile the same, and for others warning and³ admonition and my owne humilliation doe I heer Note the same,

thuse much by way of digression⁴

ffor further light in these proceedinges fornamed see some other letters and Notes as followeth

The Cobby of a letter sent to Sir John Worsingham

RIGHT WOR^{PPLE}

With due acknowledgement of our thankfulness for your singular Care and paines in the busines of Verginia for our and (wee hope,⁵ the Comon good) wee doe Remember our humble duties vnto you and haue sent as is (desired) a further explanation of our Judgments in the three points specified by some of his Ma^{ties} honorable privy Councell, and although it be Greuious vnto vs that such vnjust Insinuations are made against vs, yett wee are most Glad of the occation of making our Just purgation, vnto the soe honorable p^rsonages the declarations wee haue sent Inclosed, the one more breiffe and Generall which wee think the fitter to be presented, the other som thing⁶ more large and in which wee expresse some smale accedentall differences which if it seeme Good vnto you and other of your Worshipp's frinds you may send in steed of the former; our prayers vnto God is that your worshipp may see the fruite of your worthy Indeaours, which on our p^rte wee shall Not faile

¹ Here a word or two are crossed out.

² Here the letters "ther" are crossed out.

³ Here "my" is crossed out.

⁴ These words are written in the margin.

⁵ Altered from "hopes."

⁶ Here "more" is crossed out.

to further by all Good meanes and soe praying that you would with all Conueniency that may be;¹ Giue vs knowlidge of the successe of the busines with his Ma^{ties} Privey Councell and accordingly what your further pleasure is, either for our direction or furtherance in the same, soe wee Rest

Your worships in all dutye
JOHN ROBINSON
WILLAM BREWSTER

Leyden January 27 1617 old stile

[18]

The first ² breiffe note was this ³

Touching the Ecclesiastical minnistry Namely of Pastours for teaching Elders for Ruleing and deacons for distributing the Churches Contribution as alsoe for the two sacraments Baptisme and the Lords supper wee doe wholly and in all points agree with the french Reformed Churches, according to their publick confession of faith though some smale differences

The oath of Supremacye we shall willingly tak if it be Required of vs if ⁴ that Convenient satisfaction be not ⁵ giuen by our takeing the oath of Allegiance

JOHN ROBINSON
WILLAM BREWSTER

the second was ⁶

This touching the Ecclesiasticall Minnistry as in the former, &c wee agree in all things with the french Reformed Churches according to their publick Confession of faith though some smale differences be to be found in our practices not att all in the substance of the ⁷ things but onely in some accedentall Circumstances,

1 as first their ⁸ minnisters doe pray with their heads Couered; wee vncouered;

2 Wee Chose none for Gou^rning Elders but such as are able to teach which abillitie they doe not Require.

¹ Here "to" is crossed out.

² Here "no" is crossed out.

³ These words are written in the margin.

⁴ Here "and" is crossed out.

⁵ Here "taken" is crossed out.

⁶ These words are written in the margin.

⁷ Altered from "them."

⁸ Here "head" is crossed out.

1 Their Elders and deacons are Anuall or att the most for two or three yeers; ours p^rpetuall;

4 our Elders doe Adminnester their office in Admonitions and ex-communicatio[n] for publick scandalls publicly and before the Congregation their more privately and in their Consistories;

5 Wee doe Adminnester Baptismee onely to such Infants as wherof the one parent (att the least) is of some Church; which some of their Churches doe not obserue, although in it our practices accords with their publick Confession; and the Judgment of the most learned amongst them

other differences (worthy mentioning) wee know none

Subscribed JOHN ROBINSON
WILLAM BREWSTER

London feb 14 1617

p^rte of an other letter from him that deliuered these,

Your letter to Sir John Worsingham I deliuered allmost as soone as I had it to his owne hands (and stayed with him the opening and Reading therof) there were 2 papers Inclosed hee Read them to himself as alsoe the Letter, and in the Reading hee spake to mee and said whoe shall make them viz: the Minnisters I answered his worship; that the power of making was in the Church; to be ordained by the Imposition of hands by the fittest Instruments, they haue It must either be in the Church or from the Pope and the Pope is Antichrist; he said Sir John, what the Pope holds Good (as in the ternity) that wee doe well to Assent to, but said hee wee will not enter into dispute Now, and as for your letters hee would Not shew them att any hand lest hee should spoyle all; hee expected you should haue bin of the Archbishops mind for the Calling of minnisters, but it seemes you differed; I Could haue wished to haue known the Contents of your two enclosed, att which hee stuck soe much especially the larger; I asked his worshipp what Good Newes hee had for mee to write tomorrow; hee told mee¹ Good newes for both the Kinges Ma^{ties} and the Bishoppes haue consented; hee said hee would Goe to M^r Chanceler Sir ffolke Griuell, as this day, and Next week I should know more. I mett [19] I mett with Sir Edwin Sands on weddensday Night, hee wished mee to be att the Verginnia Court the Next weddensday, where I purpose to be thus loath to be troublesome att Present, I hope to haue something Next week of Certainty Concerning you I Comitt you to the Lord;

Yours S: B:²

¹ Here Morton has omitted Bradford's "very" (History, i. 83).

² This letter was written by Sabine Staresmore.

These things being longe in agitation and Messengers passing to and againe about them after all their hopes they were longe delayed by many obstacles that fell in the way, for att the Returne of these Messengers into England; they found things farr other wise then they expected; for the Verginia Councell was Now soe disturbed with factions and quarrells amongst themselues as Noe busines Could well Goe forward; the which may the better appeer in one of the Messengers, Letters as followeth;

To his Loueing frinds

I haue thought Long since to haue writt vnto you but Could Not effect that which I aimed att Neither Can Yett: sett things as I wished yett Notwithstanding I doubt Not but M^r Brewster hath written to m^r Robinson, but I think my selfe bound alsoe to doe somthinge least I be thought to Neglect you; The maine hinderance of our proceedinges in the verginia busines is the desentions and factions as they tearme it amongst the Councell and companie of Verginia which are such as that euer since wee Came vp noe busines Could by them be dispatched the occation of this trouble amongst them is, That a while since Sir Thomas Smith Repining att his Many offices and troubles, wished the Companie of Verginia to ease him of his office in being Treasurer, and Gou^r of the Verginia Companie; whervpon the Companie tooke occation to dismise him, and Chose Sir Edwin Sands Treasurer and Gou^r of the Companie, hee haueing 60 voyces; Sir John Worsingham 16 voyces and alderman Johnson 24 But Sir Thomas Smith when hee saw som p^rte of his honor lost was very Angry and Raised a ffaction to Cauill and Contend about the election; and sought to tax Sir Edwin with Many things that might both disgrace him and alsoe put him by his office, of Gou^r: In which Contensions they yett Stick and are not fitt Nor Reddy to entermeddle in Any busines, and what Issue things will Come to I know Not, nor are wee yett Certaine It is most like Sir Edwin will Carry it away and if hee doe things will Goe well in Verginia, if otherwise they will Goe ill enough alwaies; wee hope in 2 or 3 Court dayes things will settle, mean space I thinke to Goe downe into Kent, and come vp againe about 14 dayes or three weekes hence, except either by these aforsaid Contentions or by ill tidings from Verginia, wee be wholly discouraged of which tidings as followeth

Capt. Argoll is Come home this week; hee vpon Notice of the Intent of the Councell Came away before Sir Gorge yearldy Came there and soe there is Noe smale desention but his tidings is ill altho his p^rson be welcome; hee saith M^r Blackwells Shipp Came, not ther vntill march

but Goeing towards winter they had still Northwest winds which Carried them to the southworth beyond their Course and the M^r of the Shipp and some six of the Marriners dieing It seemed they Could not find the Bay; till after long seeking and beating about; M^r Blackwell is dead, and m^r Maggner the Capt: yee there are dead hee saith 130 p^rsons one and other in the shipp; It is said there was in all 180 p^rsons in the ship; soe as they were packed together like herrings they had amongst them a flux and alsoe want of ffresh water soe as it is heer Rather [20]¹ wondered that soe many are aliuie then that soe many are dead the² the marchants heer say it was m^r Blackwells fault to packe soe many in the shipp yee and there was Great murmuring and Repining amongst them and obraiding of m^r Blackwell for his dealing and disposing of them when they saw how hee had disposed of them and how hee Insulted ouer them; yee the streets att Grausend Rang of their extream quarrelling crying out one of another thou hast brought mee to this I may thank thee for this, heavy Newes it is and I would³ be Glad to heare how farr it will discourage: I see none heer discouraged much but Rather desire to learne to beware by other mens harmes, and to amend that wherin they haue fayled, as wee desire to serue one another in loue soe take heed of being Inthraled by other Imperious p^rsons, especially if they be descerned to haue an eye to themselues; It doth often trouble mee to think that in this busines wee are to learne and none to teach but beter soe then to depend vpon such teachers as m^r Blackwell, was such a strattagem hee made for m^r Johnson and his people att Emden much was their subversion but though hee their Clenlely yett vnonestly plucked his Neck out of the Coller yett att last his foot is caught; heer are noe letters Come; the shipp's captain Argoll came in is yett in the west p^rtes, all that wee heare is but his Report it seemeth hee came away secretly, the shipp that m^r Blackwell went in wilbe heer shortly; It is as m^r Robinson once said, hee thought wee should heare Noe good of them, m^r Brewster is not well, att this time whether hee will Goe back to you or goe into the North I yett know not, for my self I hope to see an end of this Busines ere I Come tho I am sorry to be thus from you; if things had gon⁴ Roundly forward I should haue bin with you within this fourteen dayes I pray God direct vs and Giue vs that 'speritt, which is fiting for such a busines thus haueing⁵ sumarily pointed att things, which m^r Brewster

¹ Here a word, perhaps "wondered," is crossed out.

² Here the letters "March" are crossed out.

³ Here a word is crossed out.

⁴ Written above "bin," crossed out.

⁵ Here "soe" is crossed out.

I think hath ¹ more largely write of, to m^r Robinson, I leaue you to the Lords Protection;

Youer in all Reddynes &c:

ROBERT CUSHMAN

London May the 8th 1619

A word or two by way of digression ² touching this m^r Blackwell hee was an Elder of the Church of Amsterdam a man well knowne of most of them; hee declined from the truth with m^r Johnson; and the Rest and went with him when they departed assunder in that wofull manor, which brought soe Great dishonor to God scandall to the truth and outward Ruin to themselues, in this world; but I hope Notwithstanding through the mercyes of the Lord, their soules are now att Rest with God in the heauens; and that they are ariued in the hauen of happines; though some of their bodyes were thus burie[d] in the terrible seas, and others sunck vnder the burden of bitter afflictions; hee with some others had prepared for to Goe to Verginia, and hee with sundry Godly Cittizens being att a private meeting (I take it) att a fast in london being discovered many of them were apprehended wherof m^r Blackwell was one, but hee soe Glosed with the bishop and either decembled or flatly denied the truth which formerly hee had maintained; and not onely soe but vnworthyly betrayed and accused another Godly man ³ whoe had escaped that soe hee might slipp his owne Neck out of the Collor; and to obtaine his owne freedom brought others into bonds; wher-vpon hee soe won the bishopps fauor but lost the Lords, as hee was Not onely dismissed but in open Court the Archbishopp Gaue him Great Applause, and his sollem blessing to proceed in his voyage; But if such euent follow the Bishopps blessing happy are they that mise ⁴ the same, It is much better to keep a Good Conscience ⁵ and haue the Lords blessing whether in life or death, but see how that man apprehended by m^r Blackwells meanes writes to a frind of his;

RIGHT DEARE FRIND AND CHRISTIAN BROTHER M^r CARUER

I sallute you and youers in the lord; Sir as for my owne p^rsent Condition I doubt not but you well vnderstand it by our brother Master-

¹ Here "m^r" is crossed out.

² Here two or three letters are crossed out.

³ Sabine Staresmore.

⁴ Here "thes" is crossed out.

⁵ Here some letters are crossed out.

son whoe should haue tasted of the sam cup had his place of Residence and his p^rson bin as well known as my selfe. [21] Somwhat I haue written to m^r Cushman ¹ how the matter still Continewes. I haue Petitioned twise to m^r Sheriffes and once to my lord Cook and haue vsed such Reasons to moue them to pittie; that if they were not ouer-ruled by some others I suppose I should haue soone Gained my liberty; as that I was a man lueing by ² my Credit In debt to diuers in our Sittie, lueing in more then ordinary Charges in a Close ³ and tedious prison; besides Great Rents abroad all my busines lying still my onely servant lying lame in the Countrey my wife being alsoe Great with child; and yett noe answer vntill the lords of his Ma^{ties} Councill Gaue Consent: howbeit m^r Blackwell a man as deep in this action, as I was deliuered att a Cheaper Rate with a great deale lesse adoe; yee with an addition of the archbishops blessing; I ame sorry for m^r Blackwells weaknes I wish it may proue noe worse, but yett hee and some others of them, were not sorry but thought it was for the best that I was Nominated Not because the Lord sanctifies euill to Good but that the action was Good; yea for the best; one Reason I well Remember hee vsed was because this trouble would Increase the Virginia plantation; that now people began More Generally to Incline to Goe and if hee had not Nominated some such as I; hee had not bin free being it was knowne that Many Cittizens besides them selues were their; I expect an Answere shortly what they Intend Concerning mee; I purpose to write to some other of you; by whom you shall know the Certainty, thus Not haueing further att p^rsent to acquaint you withall Comending my selfe to youer prayers I sease and Comitt you and vs all to the Lord; from my Chamber in wood street Counter Sept: 4th 1618

Youer frind and Brother in bonds

SABIN STARESMORE

But thus much by the way which may be of Good vse I haue bin the larger in these thinges that the Rising Generation may seriously take notice of the many difficultyes their poor leaders ⁴ vnderwent in the first enterprises toward coming into New England ⁵

But att last after all these thinges and their longe Attendance

¹ Here the letters "wh" are crossed out.

² Here some letters are crossed out.

³ Here the words "in and tediuous" are crossed out.

⁴ Here the letters "vnde" are crossed out.

⁵ The sentence beginning "I haue bin" and ending with "New England" is written in the margin.

they had a Patent Graunted them and Confeirmed vnder the Companies seale but these deuisions and distractions had shaken of Many of their pretended frinds and disappointed them of many of their hoped for and proffered meanes; by the advice of some frinds this Pattent was Not taken in the Name of any of their owne But in the Name of m^r John Wincobb a Religious Gentleman then belonging to the Countice of Lincolne; whoe Intended to Goe with them But God soe disposed as hee Neuer went Nor they neuer made vse of this Pattent which had Cost them soe much labour and Charge; as by the sequell will appeer This Pattent being sent ouer for them to view and Consider as alsoe the passages about the propositions between them and such Marchants and frinds as should either Goe or adventure with them, and especially with them on whome they did Cheiffly depend for shiping and meanes whose proffers had bin large they were Requested to fitt and prepare themselues with all¹ speed;

A Right Imblem It may be of the vncertaine thinges of this world that when men have toyled them selues they vanish into smoak;

vpon a Receipt of these thinges by one of their Messengers they had a sollemne meeting and a day of humilliation to seeke the lord for his direction And their Pastour took this text 1 Sam: 23: 3: 4: and dauids men said vnto him see wee be affraid heer in Judah;² how much more if wee Come to Keilah against the host of the Philistines; Then dauid asked Counsell of the Lord againe; from which text hee taught many thinges very aptly and befitting their present occation and condition to strengthen³ them against their feares and p^rplexeties and Incurrageing them in their Resolutions; [22]

In the foregoeing fise Chapters the Reader may take a view of some of the many difficulties our blessed p^rdecessors went through in their first⁴ acheiuement of this waightey Interprise of Remouall of our Church into these American p^rtes; the Imediate following Relations in m^r Bradfords book (out of which diuers of these matters are Recollected) doe more especially Concerne the Conditions of their agreement; with seuerall Marchant adventures towards

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² This word has been altered.

³ Here a word is interlined and crossed out.

⁴ Here two or three letters are crossed out.

the voyage &c: as alsoe seuerall¹ letters sent too and fro from frind to frind Relateing to the premises which are Not soe p^rtenent to the Nature of this smale history; wherfore I shall heer omitt to Insert them; Judging them Not soe suitable to my p^rsent purpose, and heer alsoe sease to follow the foregoeing meathod; by way of Capters;

After such trauell and tormoiles² and debates which they went thorow thinges were Gotten Reddy for their departure from Leyden a smale shipp³ was provided in holland of about sixty tun which was Intended as to serue⁴ to transport some of them ouer the seas; soe to stay in the Country and to tend vpon fishing; and such other affaires as might be for the Good and benifitt of the whol, when they should Come to the place Intended; another⁵ was hiered att London of burden about Nine score and all other thinges Gott in a Reddynes, soe be[ing rea]dy to depart they had a day of sollemne humilliation their Pastour takeing his te[xt fr]om Ezra the 8th 21 and their att the Riuer by.⁶ Ahaua I proclaimed a ffast, that [wee] might humble ourselues before our God and seek of him a Right way for vs and our children and for all our substance⁷ vpon which hee spent a good p^rte of the day very profitably and suitably to their p^rsent occation the Rest of the time was spent in powering out prayers to the lord with Great feueny mixed with aboundance of teares; and the time being Come that they must depart they were accompanied with the most of their bretheren out of the Cittey vnto a towne sundry miles off Called dealfes hauen; where the shipp lay Reddy to Receiue them; soe they left that Goodly and pleasant Citty which had bin their Resting place Neare 12 yeers, but they kne[w] they were pilgrimes⁸ and looked not much on those thinges, but lifted vp their eyes to heauen; their dearest Country and quieted their speritts; when they Came to the place they fou[nd] the shipp and all thinges Reddy, and such of their frinds as Could Not Come with them followed after them; and sundry alsoe Came from Amster-

much of the troubles Respecting this matter is not expressed in this booke

heb: 11

¹ Here a letter is crossed out.

² Here a word, perhaps "turmoill," is crossed out.

³ The Speedwell, which is nowhere mentioned by name in Bradford's History.

⁴ Here a word or two are crossed out.

⁵ The Mayflower.

⁶ Written above "of," crossed out.

⁷ The words from "Gott in" to "our substance" are underscored.

⁸ Cf. Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, xvii. 293-391.

dam to see them shipt, and to¹ take their leaue of them; that Night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with frindly entertainment and Christian discourse; and other Reall expressions of true Christian loue the Next day the wind being faire they went on board and frinds with them; wher truely dolfull was the sight of that sad and Mornfull p^rteing to see what sythes and sobbs and prayers did sound amongst them; what² teares did Gush from euery eye; and pithey speeches peirsed each others harte; That sundry of the duch strangers that stood on the kee as spectators³ Could Not Refraine from teares; yett Comfortabl and sweet it was to see such liuely and true expression of deare and vnfeigned loue but the tide which staves for noe man Calling them away that were thus loth to depart their Reuerend Pastour falling downe on his knees and they all with him with watery Cheekes Comended them with most feruent prayers to the lord and his blessing and then with mutuall Imbraces and many teares they took their leaues of one another which proued to be their last leaue to many of them;

Thus hoysing sayle with a prosperous wind they Came in short time to Southampton where they found the bigger shipp Come from london lying Reddy with all the Rest of their Companie after a Joyfull welcome and mutuall Congratulation, with other frindly entertainments; they fell to parley⁴ about their future proceedings;

A breife letter written by m^r John Robinson to m^r John Caruer att their p^rteing aboue said in which the tender loue and Godly Care of a true Pastour appeers;

MY DEAR BROTHER

I Receiued enclosed your last letter and Note of Information which I shall Carefully keep and mak vse of, as their shalbe occation, I haue a true feeling of your p^rplexety of mind [23] and toyle of body; but I hope that you; haueing alwayes bin able soe plentifully to adminnester Comfort vnto others, in their tryalls are soe well furnished for your self, as that farr Greater difficulties then you haue yett vndergon; though I

¹ Here the letters "th" are crossed out.

² Here the letters "de" are crossed out.

³ Here a word is crossed out.

⁴ Here a word is crossed out.

Conceiue them to be Great; enough; Can not oppresse you though¹ they presse you as the Apostle speaketh; the sperit of a man (sustained by the speritt of God) will sustaine his Infermities; I doubt not soe will youers, and the better much when you shall Injoy the p^rsence and healp of soe many Godly and wise bretheren, for the bearing of p^rte of your burden; whoe alsoe will not Admitt into their harts, the least thought of suspicion; of Any the least Negligence att least presumption to haue bin in you; whatsoever they think in others; Now what shall I say² or writt vnto you, and your Good wife my loueing sister; euen onely this; I desire (and alwaies shall) mercy and blessing vnto you from the Lord as vnto my owne soule; and Assure your self that my hart is with you; and that I will not foreslow my bodily Comeing att the first opportunetie; I haue written a large letter to the whole and am sorry I shall nott Rather speak then write to them, and the more Considering the want of a preacher which I shall alsoe mak some spurr to my hastening towards you, I doe euer Comend my best affection vnto you: which, if I thought you made any doubt of; I would expresse in more and the same more ample and full words And the lord in whom you³ trust: and whom you serue, euer in this busines; and Journey, Guid you with his hand, protect you with his winge, and shew you and vs, his saluation, in the end; and bringe vs in the mean while together in the place desired, (if such be his Good will) for his Christ⁴ his sake

Amen youers

JOHN ROBINSON

July 27th 1620

This was the last letter that m^r Caruer liued to see from him;

Att their p^rteing m^r Robinson writt a letter to the whole Companie which although it hath alreddy bin printed yett I thought Good heer likewise to Insert it;

LOUEING CHRISTIAN FRINDS.

I doe hartily and in the Lord sallute you as being those with whom I am p^rsent in my best affections and most earnest longings after you; though I be Constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you I say Constrained, God knowing⁵ how willingly much Rather then otherwise I would haue bourne my p^rte with you in this first brunt were I Not by

¹ Here a word or letter is crossed out.

² Here the words "or write" are crossed out.

³ Written above "wee," crossed out.

⁴ Altered from "Christes."

⁵ Here the letter "w" is crossed out.

strong Nessesitie held back for the p'sent, Make account of mee in the mean while as of a man deuied in my selfe with Great paine and as (Naturall bonds sett asside) haueing my better p'te with you and though I doubt not but in your¹ Godly wisdome you both² forsee & Resolue vpon that which Concerneth your p'sent state, and Condition both seuerally and Joyntly yett haue I thought it but my duty to adde some further spurr of prouocation to them that Run well alreddy, if not because you need it, yett because I owe it, in loue and duty; and first as wee are dayly to Renew our Repentance with our God especially for our sins known and Generally for our vnknowne sines, and treaspases soe doth the Lord Call vs in a singular Manor vpon occasions of such difficulty, and danger as lyeth vpon you to a both more Narrower serch and Carefull Reformation of our waies in his sight, least hee Calling to Remembrance our sines forgotton by vs or vnrepented of, tak advantage against vs and in Judgment leaue vs for the same, to be swallowed vp in one danger or other, wheras on the Contrary sin being taken away by earnest Repentance and the p'don therof from the Lord sealed vp from a mans Conscience by his speritt Great shalbe the securitie and peace in all dangers sweet his Comfort in all destresses with happ deliuerance from all euill whether in life or in death;

Now next after this heauenly peace with God, and our owne Consciences wee are Carefully to prouide for peace with all men what in vs lyeth [24] especially with our Associates and for that watchfulnes must be had that wee Neither att all in our selues doe Giue noe Nor easily take offence being Given by others woe be vnto the world for offences, for although it be Nessesary Considering the Mallice of Satan, and Mans Corruption, that offences come yett woe vnto that man or woman either, by whom the offence Cometh saith Christ Mat: 18-7: and if offences in vnseasonable vse of things in themselues Indifferent be more to be³ feared then death it selfe as the Apostle teacheth 1 Cor. 9: 15. how much more in things simply euill in which neither honor of God nor loue of man is thought worthy to be Regarded; Neither yett is it sufficient that wee keep ourselues by the Grace of God from Giueing offence except with all wee be armed against the takeing of them; when they be Given by others, for how vnperfect and lame is the worke of Grace in that p'son whoe wants Charity to Couer a multitude of offences,⁴ or wisdome

¹ Written above a word crossed out.

² Here "foresee" is crossed out.

³ Here "hated" is crossed out.

⁴ Here Morton has omitted Bradford's "as the scriptures speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the commone grounds of Chris-

duely to wey humane frailties or lastly and Grossely though Close hipocrites as Christ our lord teacheth mat: 7: 1: 2: 3: as indeed in my owne experience few or none haue bin found which sooner Giue offence; then such as easely tak it; Neither haue they euer proued sound and profittable Members in societies which haue Nurrished this touchey humer but besides these there are diuers motiues provoaking you about others to Great care and Conscience this way;

as first you are many of you strangers as to the p'sons soe to the Infirmities one of another and soe stand in Need of more watchfulnes this way least when such things fall out in men and weomen, as you suspected not you be Inordinately affected with them; which doth Require att your hands much wisdom and Charritie for the Couering and preventing of Insident offences that way And lastly your Intended Course of Ciuill Comunity will minnester Continuall occasion of offence; and wilbe as fewell for that fier except you dilligently quench it; with brotherly forbearance; and if takeing of offence Causlesly or ezely att Mens doeings; be soe Carefully to be¹ avoided how much more heed is to be taken that wee take Not offence att God himselfe which yett wee Certainly doe soe oft as wee doe murmer att his prouidence in our Crosses or beare Impatiently such afflictions as wherwith hee pleaseth to visite vs, Stor vp therefore² Patience against the euill day without which wee take offence att the Lord himself in his holy and Just workes;

A further thing there is Carefully to be prouided for towitt that with our Comon Employments you Joyne Comon affections truly bent vpon the Generall Good; avoiding as a deadly plague of your both Comon and speciall Comfort all Retirednes of mind for proper advantagee and all singularly affected any manor of way; lett euery man Represse in himselfe and the whole body in each p'son as soe many Rebels against the Comon Good all private Respect of mens selues not sorting with the Generall Conueniency; and as men are Carefull not to haue a New house shaken with any violence before it be well settled and the p'tes feirly knitt soe be you I beseech you much more Carefull; that the house of God which you are and are to be: be not shaken with vnnesary Nouelties or other oppositions att the first settleing therof lastly wheras you are to become a body Polittique vseing amongst your selues Ciuill Gou'ment; and are Not ffurnished with any p'sons of speciall eminency about the Rest to be Chosen by you into office of Gou'ment; lett your wisdom,

tianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either wante charitie, to cover offences" (History, i. 132).

¹ Here one or two letters are crossed out.

² Here "the" is crossed out.

and Godlynes appeer not onely in Chosing such p^rsons; as doe Intirely loue and will promote the Comon Good; but alsoe in yeilding vnto them all¹ due honor and obeidience in their lawfull adminestrations; Not beholding in them the ordinarines of their p^rsons; but Gods ordinarines for your Good; not being like the folish; multitude; whoe more honor a Gay Coate then either the² vertuose mind of the Man or Glorouse ordinance of God [25] But you know better things and that the Image of the Lords power And Authoritie which the Majestrate beareth is honorable in how meane p^rsons soeuer; and this duty you both may the more willingly and ought the More Consionably to p^rforme because you are att least for the p^rsent, to haue them for your ordinary Gou^rnors which your selues shall make Choise of, for that work;

Sundry other things³ of Importance I Could put you in Mind of; and of those before mensioned in More words, but I will not soe farr wrong your Godly minds as to think you heedles of these things there being alsoe diuers among you well able to Admonish both them⁴ selues and others; of what Concerneth them; These few things therfore and the same in few words; I doe earnestly Comend vnto your Care and Consience Joyning therwith my dayly Inceasent prayers vnto the Lord; that hee whoe hath made the heauens and the earth the sea and all Riuers of waters and whose prouidence is ouer all his workes especially ouer all his deare Children for Good would soe Guid and Gaurd you in your wayes, as Inwardly by his speritt soe outwardly by the hand of his power; as that you and wee alsoe for and with you may haue after matter of praising his Name all the dayes of your & our liues, fare you well in him in whom you trust and in home I Rest

An vnfeigned wellwiller of your happy succes in this hopefull voyage
JOHN ROBINSON;

This letter though large being soe fruitfull in it self and suitable to their occations I thought meet to Insert in this place;

All things being Gott Reddy And euery busines dispatched the Companie was Called together and this Letter Read Amongst them; which had Good Acceptation with all and after fruite with many then they ordered and distributed their Companie for either shipp as they Conceiued for the best; and Chose a Gou^r and two or three

¹ Here "dew" is crossed out.

² Written above "a," crossed out.

³ Here "and" is crossed out.

⁴ Here the letters "sel" are crossed out.

Assistants for each¹ shipp, to order the people by the way and to see to the disposing of their prouisions, and such like affaires, all which was Not onely with the likeing of the Masters of the shipp, but According to their desires, which being done; they sett sayle from thence about the fift of August, But what befell them further vpon the Coast of England will Appear in the² book Intitled New Englands Memoriall page 10

And likewise of the voyage and how they passed the sea and of their safe Ariuall att Cape Codd; see New Englands Memoriall page 12 [26]

Being Now passed the vast ocean and a sea of troubles before their preparation vnto further proceedings as to seeke out a place for habitation &c: They fell downe vpon their Knees and blessed the God of heauen whoe had brought them ouer the vast and furious Ocean, and deliuered them from all p^rills and Misseryes thereof againe to sett their ffeet on the feirme and stable earth their proper Ellement; and Noe Maruell if they were thus Joyfull seeing wise Seneca was soe affected with sayleing a few miles on the Coast of his owne Italy as hee affeirmed hee had Rather Remaine twenty yeers in his way by land then pas by sea to any place in a short time soe tedious and dreadfull was the same to him;

But heer I Can not but stay and make a Pause and stand half amased att these poor peoples Condition and soe I think will the Reader to, when hee well Considers the same for haueing passed through many troubles, both before and vpon the voyage as afore-said; They had now Noe frinds to welcome them Noe Inns to entertaine or Refresh them, noe houses much lesse townes to Repaire vnto to seek for succor It is recorded in Scripture as a mercye to the Apostle; and his shipwracked companie that the barbarians shewed them noe smale kindnes in Refreshing them; but these salvage Barbarians when they mett with them, as after will appeer; were Reddier to fill their sydes full of Arrowes then otherwise and, for the season; it was winter; and they that know the winters of that Countrey, know them to be sharp and violent and subject to violent stormes dangerous to trauell to knowne places much more to serch out

¹ Written above "either," crossed out.

² Here one or two words are crossed out.

vnknowne Coasts; besides what could they see¹ but a heidious and desolate² wildernes full of wild beastes and wild men and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not Neither could they (as it were) Goe vp to the topp of Pisgae to view from this wildernes a more Goodly Companie³ to feed their Hopes, for which way soe⁴ euer they turned their eyes (saue vpward to the heauens) they could haue little solace or Content in Respect of any outward objects, for somer being done all thinges stand for them to look vpon⁵ with a weatherbeaten face, and the whole Country being full of woods and thicket[s] Represented a wild and saluage hiew if they looked behind them there was the mighty ocean which they had passed; and was now as a maine barr and Gulf to separate them from all the Ciuill p'tes of the world; if it be said they had a shipp to succour them it is true but what heard they dayly from the Master and Companie but that with speed they should look out a place with their shallop where they would⁶ be att some Neare distance for the season was such as hee would not stirr from thence vntill a safe harbour was discovered by them where they would be and hee might goe without danger; and that victuales Consumed apace but hee must and would keep sufficient for him self, and Companie for their Return yee it was muttered by some that if they Gott Not a place in time they would turne them and their Goods on shore and leaue them; lett it be alsoe Considered what weak hopes of supply and succor they left behind them that might beare vp their minds in this sad Condition and tryalls they were vnder and they Could not but be very smale; It is true Indeed the affections and loue of their bretheren att Leyden was Cordiall and Intire but they had little power to heale them or themselues; and how the Case stood between them and the Marchants att their Coming away, hath alreddy bin declared what could now sustaine them but the speritt of God, and his Grace; may not and ought Not the Children of these fathers Rightly say our fathers were Englishmen which Came ouer this Great ocian and were Reddy to perish in this wildernes; But

¹ Here "but" is crossed out.

² Here "Companie" is crossed out.

³ Morton's error for Bradford's "cuntrie" (History, i. 156).

⁴ Here a letter is crossed out.

⁵ Here "them" is crossed out.

⁶ Written above "should," crossed out.

they Cryed vnto the lord; and hee heard their voyce; and looked on their aduersitie; And lett them therefore praise the lord because hee is Good and his mercyes Indure for euer yee lett them which haue bin the Redeemed of the lord shew how hee hath deliuered them from the hand of the oppressor; when they wandered in the desert wildernes out of the way, and found noe Cittey to dwell in, both hungry and thirsty their soule was ouerwhelmed in them; lett them Confesse before the lord his loueing kindnes and his wonderfull workes before the Children of Men;

dewtry 26:
5: 7:

Psa: 107
1: 2: 3: 5: 8

of the troubles that befell them after their ariual with sundry other p'ticulares Concerning their their transactings with the Marchant aduenterers and many other passages not soe p'tinent to this p'sent discourse I shall Refer the Reader to; New Englands memoriall and vnto m^r Bradfords book where they are att large pened to his plentifull satisfaction¹ and therefore I shall Gather vp some speciall p'ticulars; more properly Relateing to this history as it may² be called Ecclesiasticall; [27]

Before I pas on I may not omitt to take Notice of the sad losse the Church and this Infant Comonwealth sustained by the death of m^r John Caruer whoe was one of the deacons of the Church in leyden but Now had bine and was their first Gou^r: this worthy Gentleman was one of singular Piety and Rare for humillitie which appeered (as otherwise) soe by his Great Condesendencie when as this miser-

m^r John
Caruers death

¹ Here "and" is crossed out.

The portion thus far given is printed in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, pp. 3-108. In a footnote he said:

"Here we take leave of Morton's copy of Gov. Bradford's History. As the rest of it is lost, except the few scattered passages preserved by Prince and Hutchinson, and as we have a Journal of 'the troubles that befell them after their arrival,' written at the time, and chiefly, as I conceive, by Gov. Bradford, and much more copious and minute than the account in Morton's Memorial, the narrative will proceed in the words of that Journal" (p. 108).

Young then prints what is commonly known as "Mourt's Relation," pp. 109-251. Young was mistaken in supposing that "the rest of" Bradford's History was "lost, except the few scattered passages preserved by Prince and Hutchinson." What here follows is partly Morton's own, but is largely taken from Bradford's History, sometimes paraphrased by Morton. Indeed, Young himself recognized a few passages as taken from Bradford's History and printed them in his Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers: see pp. 52, 54, 62, 82, 115, below.

² Here "be" is crossed out.

able people were in Great sicknes hee shuned not to doe very meane¹ services for them yee the meanest of them; hee bore a share likewise of their labour in his owne p^rson; according as their Great Necessitie Required; whoe being one alsoe of a Considerable estate spent the Maine p^rte of it, in this enterprise and from first to last approued himself, not onely as their agent in the first Transacting of thinges, but alsoe all alonge to the Period of his life; to be a pious faithfull and very beneficiall Instrument; hee deceased in the Month² of Aprill in the year 1621, and Now is Reaping the fruite of his labour with the lord;³

⁴ With a letter written by M^r Sherly to M^r Bradford these following objections were sent, which were not his, but were made by Adversaries against the Church; and their proceedings; which I thought meet to Insert with their Answers; as followeth;

1 objection was diuersitie about Religion

Answer Wee know Noe such Matter for heer was neuer any Controversye or opposition either publicke or private to our knowledge since wee Came;

2 obj Neglect of family duties on the Lords day

Answer Wee allow noe such thinge but blame it in our selues and others, and they that thus Report it should haue shewed their Christian loue the more if they had in loue tould the offenders of it Rather then thuse to Reproach them behind their backes; But to say noe more; wee wish them selues had Giuen better example;

3 object Want of both the Sacraments;

Answer the more is our Greiff that our Pastour is Kept from vs by whom wee might Injoy them; for wee vsed to haue the Lords Supper euery sabbath and Baptismee as often as there was occasion of Children to Baptise;

4 object Children not Cattachised nor taught to Read;

Answer; This is Not true in Neither p^rte therof for diuers take paines with their owne as they Can; Indeed wee haue noe Comon scoole for want of a fitt p^rson or hitherto meanes to maintaine one though wee desire now to begin;

¹ Written above another word, crossed out.

² Here "of" is crossed out.

³ This paragraph is printed in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, p. 200 note.

⁴ Three or four words are crossed out before "With."

When the Answers to these objections about mentioned were sent ouer att the Returne of the shipp; the aforesaid letter came in; the objectors were soe Confounded as some of them Confessed their faults and others deneyed what they had said; and eat their words, and some others of them haue since Come ouer againe and heer liued to Convince themselues sufficiently both in their owne and other¹ Judgments seuerall other objections of other Nature were made besides those about Named which with their Answers I will not att p^rsent trouble the Reader with But these about I thought meet to Insert that the Reader may desern with what difficulties of all sorts our deare honored predessors Grappled with;

heer followeth a letter from m^r Robinson to m^r Brewster our Elder wherin the Reader may descene the sollisitous Care of a faithfull Pastour to his flock and the singular loue that mutually was expressed between those two holly men whoe were fellow Elders in the same flock; &c:

LOUEING AND DEARE FRIND AND BROTHER that which I most desired of God in Regard² of you; Namely the Continuance of your life and health and the safe Coming of these sent vnto you; That I most Gladly heare of and praise God for the same; and I hope m^{rs}³ Brewsters weak and decayed state of Body will haue some Repaireing by the coming of her daughters; and the prouisions in this and other shippes sent; which I heare is made for you; which makes vs with [28] the more Patience beare our Languishing state and the defering of the desireing of our desired transportation (which I call desired Rather then hoped for) whatsouever you are bourn in hand with by others for first there is Noe hope att all that I know nor Can Conceiue off of any New stock to be Raised for that end soe that all must depend vpon Returnes from you in which are soe may vncertaintyes; as that Nothing with any Certainty Can thence be Concluded besides howsoeuer for the p^rsent the aduenterers alledge Nothing but want of Mony; which is an Invinceable difficulty yett if that be taken away by you, others without doubt wilbe found; for the better clearing of this wee must dispose the aduenterers into three p^rtes and off them some fiue or six (as I conceiue) are absolutely bent for vs about others, other 5: or 6: are our bitter professed aduersaries,

¹ Perhaps "others."

² Here the words "for you" are crossed out.

³ Perhaps "m^{tris}."

The Rest being the body; I Conceiue to be honestly minded and loue-ingly alsoe towards vs; yett such as haue others; Namly the forward preachers nearer vnto them then vs; and whose Course soe farr as there is any difference they would advance Rather then ours; Now what a hanke these men haue ouer the professors you know and I p^rswade my selfe that for mee they of all others are vnwilling I should be transported especially such as haue an eye that way themselues as thinking if I come there their markett wilbe Mared in Many Regards; and for those adversaries,¹ if they haue but halfe their will to their Mallice. they will stopp my Course when they see it Intended; for which this delaying serueth them very opportunly; and as one Rusty Jade Can hinder by hanging backe more then two or three Can or will att least if they be not very free) draw forward, soe will it be in this case A Noteable experiment of this they Gaue in your Messengers p^rsence Constraining the Companie to promise that none of the Mony Now Gathered should be expended or Employed to the healp of any of vs towards you; Now touching the question propounded by you I judge it Not lawfull for you being a Ruleing Elder, as Rom 12: 7: 8: and first of tim: 5: 17 opposed to the Elders that teach and exhort and labour in the word and doctrin to which the Sacrament[s] are anexed: to Adminnester them Nor Convenient if it were lawfull; Be you hartily salluted and your wife with you, both from mee and mine; your God and ours and the God of all his; bring vs together if it be his will and keep vs in the mean while and alwaies to his Glory; and make vs seruiceable to his Mat^{ie} and faithful to the end Amen;

Your very Loueing Brother

JOHN ROBINSON ²

Leyden december 20 1623

By the aboue written Letter it may appeer how much the aduersary hindered the Coming of this Blessed servant of Christ from Coming into New England; although hee soe much longed to be with his fflock and his fflock for him, a worthy patern vnto all Churchs and their Minesters to be Imitated;

In the springe ariued att New Plymouth a preacher; one m^r John Lyford whoe when hee Came on shore salluted the principall men amongst vs; with that seeming humillitie as is seldom to be seen and Indeed Made them ashamed hee soe bowed and Cringed vnto

¹ Here the words "and for those adversaries" are crossed out.

² This letter is printed in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, pp. 475-477.

them and would haue kised their hands if they would haue suffered him (of which were many witnesses []) hee likewise blessed God also that had brought him to see their faces and admireing the thinges they had done in their wants &c: as if hee had bin made all of Loue and the humblest p^rson in the world his words being alsoe accompanied with teares; and all the while, if wee may Judge by his after Carriages hee was but like him Mensioned in Psa. 10: 10: that Croucheth and boweth that heapes of poor may fall by his Might, or like to decembling Ishmaell whoe when hee had slaine Gedelia went out weeping and made them which were Coming to offer In-cence in the house of the Lord, saying come to Gedelia when hee ment to slay them; they Gaue him the best entertainment they Could (in all simplisitie) and a larger allowance of ffood and of the Store then any other had; and as the Gou^r had used in all waighty affaires to Consult with their Elder m^r Brewster together with their Assistants soe Now hee Called m^r Lyford alsoe to Counsell in their waightiest businesses after some short time hee desired to Joyne himself a member of the Church heer and accordingly was Receiued hee made a large Confession of his faith and acknowledgmt of his former disorderly walkeing [29] And his being Intangled with many Corruptions which had bin a burden to his Consience and blessed God for this opportunity of ffreedome and libertie to Injoy the ordinances of God in puritie amongst his people with many more such like expressions; afterwards Joyning with one John Oldum a factious speritted man they shewed a speritt of Mallignitie drawing as many Into faction as they^r Could were they Neuer soe vild¹ or prophane they did Norish and backe them in all their doeinges soe they would but Cleaue to them and speak against the Church heer soe as there was Nothing but private meetings and whispering amongst them; they feeding themselues and others with what they should² bring to passe in England by the ffaction of their frinds there; which brought others as well as themselues into a ffoles Parradice yett they Could not Carry soe closly but much of both their doeings and³ sayings were discouered and outwardly they still sett a fare face of thinges; and they Conspired together and

¹ Perhaps "vile."

² Here a letter is crossed out.

³ Here "and" is crossed out.

sent letters for England in Complaints against vs to our adversaries which were of the Marchant adventurers; which letters were Intercepted by the Gou^r; and the said Lyford was detected for opening of letters and other mischeiffes which hee acheiued against¹ the Church and this poor Infant Comonwelth; Att length matters Grew to such height that Lyford with his Complices without euer speaking one word² either to the Gou^r: Church or Elder³ withdrew themselues and sett vp a publicke meeting apart on the Lords day with sundry such Insolent Carriages to longe heer to Relate; And the said Oldum brake forth into open Rebellion against the Gou^rment of the Collonie which p^rticulars being⁴ proued to their faces in open Court by the letters the said Lyford sent which were Intercepted as afsaid, the said Oldum Continewed in his obstinacye a while but was Curbed att last as will afterwards be Manifest and as for Lyford first they dealt with him in the Church for his disimulation att his Admition therinto; in that hee then professed to Concurr with them in All thinges; and that hee held not him self a minnester till hee had a New Calling &c. and yett hee Now Contested against them and drew a Companie apart and sequestered him self; and would Goe and adminnester the Sacrements (by his Episcopall) Calling without euer speaking a word vnto them either as Majestrates or bretheren

In Conclusion hee was fully Convicted and brak forth into teares and Confessed hee was a Reprobate his sins were soe Great that hee doubted God would Not pardon them hee was vnsauory salt &c: and that hee had soe wronged them as hee could Neuer make them amens Confessing all hee had written against them was ffalse and Nought both for matter and manor; and all this hee did with as much fulnes as words and tears Could expresse;

After their tryall and Conviction the Court Censured both hee and Oldum to⁵ depart the Gou^rment Oldum p^rsently; though his wife and family had liberty to stay all winter or Longer vntill hee Could make prouision to Remoue⁶ them Comfortably; Lyford had

¹ Here "against" is crossed out.

² Here "to" is crossed out.

³ Apparently altered from "Elders."

⁴ Here "openly" is crossed out.

⁵ Here the letters "depa" are crossed out.

⁶ Written above "Releiuie," crossed out.

liberty to stay sixe monthes It was Indeede with some eye to his Release if hee Carryed him self well in the mean time and that his Repentance proued sound Lyford acknowledged his sentance was farr lesse then hee deserued; Afterwards hee Confessed his sin publicly in the Church with tears more largely then before; I shall heer sett it downe as I find it in writing as it was taken from his mouth That hee had don very euill and Slaunderously abused them; and thinking most of the people would tak p^rte with him; hee thought to Carry all by violence and stronge hand against them; and that God migh Justly lay Inosent blood¹ to his Charge for hee knew Not what hurt might haue Come of these his writings; and blessed God they were Stayed; and that hee spared not to tak knowlidge from Any of any Euill; but shutt his eyes and eares against all the Good; and if God should make him a² vagabond in the earth as was Caine It was but Just for hee had sined in Envie and mallice against his bretheren as hee did; and hee Confessed³ three thinges to be the Ground and Causes of these his doeinges Prid Vaine Glory and selfe loue amplyfying these heads with Many other sad expressions in the p^rticulars of them soe as they began againe to Conceiue Good thoughts of him vpon this his Repentance, and admitted him to teach amongst them as before; and m^r Samuell fuller a deacon amongst them and some other tender harted men amongst them were soe taken with his [30] synes of sorrow and Repentance as they professed they would fall vpon their knees to haue his Censure Released;

But that which made them all Stand amased; In the end, and May doe all others that shall Come to heare the same (for a Rarer Presedent can Scarce be seen or shewen) was that after⁴ a month or two; Nowwithstanding all his former Confessions Convictions and former acknowledgments, both in the face of the Church and whole Companie with soe many teares and sad Censures of himself before God and man, hee should Goe againe to Justify what hee had don;

ffor Secretly hee writt a second letter to the adventurers in Eng-

¹ This word is obscure.

² Here the letters "vab" are crossed out.

³ Here the letters "thr" are crossed out.

⁴ Here "an" is crossed out.

land in which hee Justified all his former writings (saue in some things which tended to their damage) the which because it is soe large I shall heer¹ omitt with the answere heervnto² least I should treaspas too much on the patience of the Reader;

But before I draw to a Conclusion of this matter I shall Insert a few objections of many that this euill sperited man made against the people of God³ in this place which I shall faithfully enter with their Answares;

1 hee saith the Church would haue none to liue heer but them selues;

2 Neither are any willing soe to doe if they had Company to liue else where;

Answ their Answere was that this is ffalse in both p^rtes of it for they were willing and desirous of any honest men⁴ to⁵ liue with them that will Carry them selues peacably and seek the Comon Good, or att least doe them noe hurt, and againe there are many that will not liue else where soe longe as they may liue with them;

2 That if⁶ there Comes ouer any honest man; they would soon distast them &c:

Answ There answere was as before that it was a ffalse Callumnation; for they had many Amongst them that they liked well of and were Glad of their Companie, and should be of any such like as should Come amongst them;

3 That they excepted against⁷ him for these 2 doctrines Raised from 2 Samu 12 first that minnisters must some times p^rticularly apply their doctrine to speciall p^rsons secondly that Great men may be Reproued as well as meaner

Answ: their Answar was that both these were without either truth, or couller of the same as was proued to his face; and that they had taught and beleiued these things longe before they knew m^r Lyford:

¹ Here two or three letters are crossed out.

² Here "heervnto" is crossed out.

³ Here a letter is crossed out.

⁴ Here "that" is interlined and crossed out.

⁵ Written above "may," crossed out.

⁶ Here "they C" is crossed out.

⁷ Here "them" is crossed out.

And with these objections hee comes to Giue his frinds Councell one p^rticular wher[of] was that the Leyden Companie (m^r Robinson and the Rest) must still be kept Back or else all wilbe spoyled, and least any of them should be taken in priuately some where on the Coast of England (as it was feared might be done) they must Change the M^r of the shipp m^r Willam Peirse; and put another alsoe in m^r Winslowes Rome for Marchant, or otherwise it would not be prevented,

Then hee would haue such a Number prouided as would ouersway them heer; and further proposeth to them some wayes, and meanes wherby this may be effected:

Then hee shoves that if by the said meanes they Cannot be strengthened to Carry and ouer beare; things; it would be best for him and his Confeederats; to plant else where by themsel[es]

Lastly hee concludes that if some Number Comes not ouer to beare them vp viz. him and his² Confeederates heer, then there would be noe abiding for them but by Joyning with these heer Then hee adds since hee began to write, there are letters Come from your³ Companie wherin they would Giue sole Authoritie in diuers things vnto their Gou^r: heer which if it take place then Ve nobis⁴) but I hope you wilbe more Vigilent heerafter that Nothinge May passe in such a Manor,

Thus I haue breiffly touched some of the Cheiff things Contained and expressed in his Letters and otherwise; wherby his hipocresye ffalcenes and mallice appeered; But being loth to be burthensom[e] to the Reader with the more full Relation of matters Concerning this Instrument of Sathan to worke⁵ mischiffe and Inded to⁶ Indeaour the ouerthrow of this poor Church and Collonie, I⁷ shall Indeaour to Contract matters, into as Narrow a Rome as I Can if any shall haue a desire to know more of them; I shall Refer them to New Englands Memoria[ll] wherin In p^rte these p^rticulares are Related,

¹ Perhaps "were."

² Here the letters "Con" are crossed out.

³ Written above "the," crossed out.

⁴ The words "Ve nobis" are underscored twice.

⁵ Here a word is crossed out.

⁶ Here "Indeaour" is crossed out.

⁷ Here the words "might haue bin large" are crossed out.

these p^rticulares are¹ seen by him to t^raverse p^rts of the Ad-venturers

and more especially unto¹ m^r Bradfords history wherin att large hee may haue a full Relation of these matters in theire seuerall² Ceromst[ances] [31] Relateing vnto his trayterous Indeaours against vs and his abseane Carriages in Ireland which were discouered on these occations, finally after all these transactions of Matters about him and Oldum fore Named whoe was Copartenor and a Great stickeler in these things; both hee the said oldum and Lyford being banished the Collonie for theire aforsaid misdemenors they went into the Massachusetts Bay, and³ the said Oldum Goeing on a voyage in a storm⁴ like to haue bin Cast away about Cape Codd shoules in the Greatnes of his danger and extremity, being in terror of Conscience Confessed his fault in his Indeaours against this Collonie; and vowed that if God would please to⁵ bring him safe to land; hee would; Reforme in that behalfe; afterwards hee went on a voyage towards Conecticott, and Neare vnto blocke Iland was⁶ Crewelly murdered by the India[ns]

And as for John Lyford hee went to Nantaskett being Banished and from thence to Salem where after hee had liued a while hee went to Veginnia and there hee died; in⁷ all which former discourse with much More that might haue bine said Respecting the p^rmisses; It doth plainly appeer and is verified; that noe weapon that was formed against this poor fflock of Christ did prosper; and euery toungue that Rose vp in Judgment against them God did Condemne;

Before I Pase on to other matteriall Relations lett the Reader take Notice of a speciall fauor of God and expression of his Goodnes that many whoe before stood somthing off from the Church Now seeing Lyfords vnrighteousnes in his Cariages and dealings and Mallignitie against the Church; Now tendered themselues to the Church and were Joyned to the same professing that it was not out of dislike of any thinge that they had stood of soe longe but a desire to fitt them selues better for such a state; and they saw Now the

¹ Written above "and," crossed out.

² This word is obscure.

³ Here "in" is crossed out.

⁴ Here five or six words are crossed out.

⁵ Here "Restore" is crossed out.

⁶ Written above "with," crossed out.

⁷ Written above "and," crossed out.

Lord Called¹ for theire healp and soe the fornamed troubles produced a quite Contrary effect in sundry heer then these Adversaries hoped for which was looked att as a Great worke of God to draw on men by vnlikely meanes, and that in Reason which might Rather haue sett them further of;

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this yeer Robinsons death; further brought them notice of the death of theire [a]ncient frind [m]^r Cushman whom the lord tooke away [a]lsoe this yeer [a]bout this time whoe was as theire Right hand with theire frinds the Adventerours and for diuers yeers had don and agitated all their busines [wi]th them to theire Great Advantage²

About the begining of Aprill Capt: Standish whoe was sent our agent for the Collonie to the Marchant aduenterors to this Collonie in England³ Ariued in New England; Welcome hee was; but the News hee brought was sad in Many Regards but especially in Respect of the Great losse of our former worthy Pastour of whose death hee was the first that brought the sad tidings therof which struck our Church and the Godly heer with much sorrow and sadness as they had Great Cause;⁴ his and theire adversaries had bin Longe and Continewally ploting how they might hinder his Coming hither But the Lord had appointed him a better place Concerning whose death and the Manor therof; It will appeer by these few lines writt to the Gou^r and m^r Brewster;

LOUEING AND KIND FRINDS &c:

I know not whether this will euer Come to youer hands or miscarry as other my letters haue done yett in Regard of the Lords dealing with vs heer I haue had a Greatt desire to write vnto you knowing youer desire to bear a part with vs both in our Joyes and sorrowes as wee doe with you; these are therfore to Giue you to vnderstand that it hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of teares youer and our loueing and faithfull pastour and my dear and Reuerend brother m^r John Robinson; whoe was sick some eight dayes; hee began to bee sicke on saterday in the morning yett the next day being the Lords day hee taught vs

¹ Here "them" is crossed out.

² This paragraph is written in the margin.

³ Here "Came" is crossed out.

⁴ Here "and" is crossed out.

twise and soe the week after Grew weaker and weaker euery day more then other yett hee felt Noe paine but weaknes all the time of his sicknes; the Phisicke hee took wrought kindly in Mans Judgment but hee Grew weaker euery day feeling litle or Noe paine and sensible to the very last hee fell sick the 22cond of february and departed this life the first of March hee had a Continuall Inward Ague but free from Infection soe that all his frinds Came freely to him; and if either prayers teares or meanes would haue saued his life hee had not Gon hence; but hee haueing faithfully finished his Course and p^rformed his work which the lord had appointed him heer to doe hee Now Resteth with the [Lo]rd in eternall happines; wee wanting him and all our Church Gou^rnors [32]¹ yett wee still by the Mercye of God Continew and hold Close together in peace and quiet[nes] And soe hope wee shall doe although wee be very weake wishing if such were the will of God that you and wee were againe vnited together in one either there or heer, but seeing it is the will of ² the Lord thus to dispose of thinges wee must labour with Patience to Rest Contented vntill it please the Lord to dispose for vs otherwise Newes heer is Not much only as In England wee haue lost our old Kinge James whoe departed this life about a month agoe soe heer they haue lost their old Prince; Graue Mauris whoe [both] departed this life since my brother Robinson and as in England wee haue a New kinge Charles of whom there is Great hope; soe heer they haue made Prince Hendrick Generall in his brothers Place; Thus with my Loue Remembered I tak Leauē and Rest Your Assured Loueing frind

ROGER WHITE ³

Leyden 28 Aprill
Ano 1625

[Thus] these two Great [princes] and their Pastour [left] this world neare about [one] time; death makes noe [differe]nce;

[A] few poems made by a frind on the deplored death of m^r John Robinson the worthy Pastour of the Church of God att Leyden as followeth

[1] Blessed Robinson hath Run his Race
from earth to heauen is Gon
to be with Christ in heauenly place
the blessed saints amonge

¹ Here the words "yett wee shally by the Mercye of God" are crossed out.

² Here "God" is crossed out.

³ This letter is printed in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, pp. 478-480.

[2] A burning and a shining Light
was hee whiles hee was heer
a preacher of the Gospell Bright
whom wee did loue most deare

[3] What tho hee dead his workes aliuē
and liue will to all Age
The Comfort of them pleasant is
To liueing saints each day

4 Oh Blessed holy Sauour
the fountaine of all Grace
from whom such blessed Instruments
are sent and Run their Race

5 To lead vs to and Guid vs in
the way to happines
That soe oh Lord wee may alwaies
for euermore Confesse

6 That whosoeuer Gospell preacher be
or waterer of the same
Wee may alwayes most Constantly
Giue Glory to thy Name

About Ann^o: dom 1628 a Certaine young man Came ouer to be a Minnester to the peop[le] heer whether att the motion of some frinds or Noe I well know not, but am sure is with[out] any Invitation from the Church for they had smarted; by m^r Lyford soe as they desir[ed] to know the p^rson well whome they should Invite amongst them his Name was m^r Roger[s] but they p^rseiued vpon some tryall that hee was Crased in his braine soe they were fai[n] to be att further Charge to send him back againe the Next yeer and lose all the Charge that was expended in his hither bringing; which was not smale; and after hee departed hee Grew qvite distracted;

About this time Not long after m^r Rogers his departure; one m^r Ralph Smith and his wif[e] and family Came ouer into the Massachusetts Bay and sojourned att p^rsent with th[e] stragling people which liued at Nantaskett; heer being a boate off this place put in there on some occation; hee earnestly desired they would Giue him

and his pas[sage] for Plymouth and som such thinges as they Could well Carry; haueing before hear[d that] there was likelihood hee might procure housrome for some time vntill hee should [r]esolue to settle if hee might there or elsewhere as God should dispose for hee [was w]eary of being in that vncoth place and in a poor house that would Neither [keep him n]or his Goods dry soe seeing him to be [a Grave man] and [understood] hee had bin a Minnester [though they had no order for any shuch thing, yet they presumed and brought him. He was here accordingly kindly entertained and housed, and had the rest of his goods and servants sente for, and exercised his gifts amongst them, and afterwards was chosen into the ministrie, and so remained for sundrie years.] [33]

In Ann^o 1629 a Considerable Number of the bretheren of the Church which were le[ft] in holland were Transported ouer to vs that were of the Church in New England which although it was att About 500^{lb} charge yett it was bourne Chearfully by¹ the [poor bretheren heer Concerned in It; alsoe about that time seuerall Godly p^rsons; some wherof had bin of m^r Laythorps Church in England and others alsoe Came to vs out of England; soe that wee becaime through the Goodnes of God pretty² Numerous and were in the best estate Respecting the Church that wee had as yett bine in New England; Although for minnistry it was low with vs;³ for as was before Noted; they had Chosen m^r Ralph Smith fore Named to be their Pastour yett hee proued but a [poor] healp⁴ to them in that being but of very weake⁵ p^rtes in the [] of the Minnistry; onely they had a Great healp by their Reuer[ed] m^r Brewster whoe was well Accomplished with Gifts and G[] for such worke; they had alsoe some Good healp by a Godly y[] Called m^r Roger Williams of whom I would Craue libertie to [] a few words;

M^r Roger Williams A man Godly and Zealous (saith m^r Brad[ford] haueing Many p^rsious p^rtes but very vnsettled in Judgment) Came o[ver first] to the Massachusetts but vpon some discontent; left that place and Came [hither] where hee was frindly entertained

¹ Here "our" is crossed out.

² Here "New" is crossed out.

³ Written above "them," crossed out.

⁴ Here something is crossed out.

⁵ Here something is crossed out.

according to their abillitie and exer[cised] his Gifts amongst them; And after some time was Admitted a Member [of the] Church and his teaching well approued for the benifitt thereof (saith h[e] I) Still blesse God and am thankfull to him euen for his sharpest Adm[onitions] & Reproffes soe farr as they agreed with truth; hee this yeer fell [into] some strange oppinions; and from oppinion to practice, which caused some Controuersye between the Church and him; and in the end some disconten[t] on his p^rte; By occation wherof hee left them somthing abruptly; yett afterwards sued for his dismission to the Church of Salem which w[as] Graunted with some Caution to them Concerning him but hee¹ soon fell into more thinges there both to their and the Gou^rments trouble and disturbance I shall not need to Name p^rticulars they are to well knowne now to all though for a time the Church here went vnder some hard sensures by his occation from some that afterwards smarted themselves; But hee is to be pittied and prayed for; And soe I shall leaue the matter and desire the lord to shew him his errors and Reduce him into the way of truth and Giue him a settled Judgment and Constancy in the same; for I hope hee belongs to the Lord;

Wheras seuerall of those which Came from Leyden Came ouer in the shippes which Came to Salem where m^r Indicott had Cheiffe Command and by Infection which Grew amongst the passengers; It spread alsoe in them on shore; of which many died some of the Scirvey and [others of] Infectious² feauors which Continewed sometime amon[gst them] though our people through Gods Goodnes escaped vpon wh[ich occasion] hee wrote to Plymouth for some healp vnderstanding that th[ere was one] that had skill that way and had Cu[red] divers of the scurvie] and others of other deseases by lett[ing blood and other means] [vp]on which his Request [the Gouerner here sent him unto them, and also write to him, from whom he received an answere; the which, because it is breefe, and shows the begining of their acquaintance, and closing in the truth and ways of God, I thought it not unmeete, nor without use, hear to inserte it; and another showing the begining of their fellowship and church estate ther.] [34]

¹ Written above "they," crossed out.

² Here "deseaces" is crossed out.

RIGHT WORTHY SIR

It is a thinge Not vsuall that servants of one m^r: and the same household should be strangers And I assure you I desire it Not Nay to speak more plainly I cannot be soe to you; Gods people are all marked with one and the same marke and sealed with one and the same seale and haue for the maine one and the same hart Guided by one and the same speritt of truth; and where this is their Can be Noe discord Nay heer must needs be sweet harmony and the Request with you I make vnto the Lord that wee may be as Christian Bretheren; vnited by a heauenly and vnfeyned loue bending all our harts and forces in furthering a worke beyond our strength with Reuerence and fear fastening our eyes alwayes on him that onely is able to direct and prosper all our waies I acknowledge my self much bound to you for your kind loue and Care in sending m^r fuller amongst vs and Rejoyce much that I am by him satisfied touching your Judgments of the outward forme of Gods worshipp; It is as farr as I Can yett Gather; noe other then is warranted by the euidence of truth and the same which I haue professed and Maintained euer since the Lord in Mercye Reveiled himself to mee; being farr from the Comon Report that hath bin spread of you touching that p^ticular; But Gods Children must not looke for lesse heer below and it is a Great Mercye of God that hee strengthens them to Goe through with it; I shall not Need att this time to be tedious vnto you for God willing I purpose to see your face shortly; In the mean time I humbly take my leaue of you Comitting you to the Lords blessing and Protection

And Rest your Assured Loueing frind

JOHN ENDICOTT

Neamkeak May 11th Ann^o: 1629

This 2cond letter sheweth the proceedings in their Church affaires att Salem which was the second Church erected in these p^rtes and afterwards the Lord aded many more in sundry other places;

SIRE

I make bold to trouble you with a few lines for to Certify you how it pleased God to deal with vs since you heard from vs; how Notwithstanding all opposition that hath bin heer and elsewhere It hath pleased God to lay a foundation the which I hope is agreeable to his word in euery thinge; the 20th of July It pleased the Lord to moue the hart of our Gou^r: to sett it apart for a sollemne day of humilliation; for the Choise of a Pastour and Teacher the former p^rte of the day being spent in prayer and teaching the latter p^rte About the election which was after this Manor; the p^rsons thought on whoe had bin minnisters in England were

demed Concerning their Callings; they acknowledged there was a two fould Calling; the one an Inward¹ Calling when the Lord moued the hart of a man to take that Calling vpon him and fitted him with Gifts for the same the second was an outward Calling which was from the people; when a Companie of beleiuers, are Joynd together in Couenant to walk together in all the wayes of God and euery member (being men) are to haue a free voyce in Choise of their officers &c; Now wee being p^rswaded that these two men were soe quallified as the Apostle speakes to timothy when hee saith a bishop must be blamles sober apt to teach &c I think I may say as the Eunuch said vnto Phillip what should lett from being baptised seeing there was water and hee beleued; for these two servants of God Clearing all thinges by their answers and being thus fitted wee saw Noe Reason but wee might freely Giue our voyces for their election after this tryall soe m^r Skilton was Chosen Pastour and m^r higgenson to be Teacher; and they accepting the Choise m^r higgenson with three or four of the Grauest Members of the Church layed their hands on m^r Skilton vseing prayer therewith; this being done there was Imposition of hands on m^r higgenson alsoe; and since that time, thursday being as I tak if the 5th of August is appointed for another day of humilliation for the Choise of Elders and deacons and ordaining them,

And Now Good Sir I hope that you and the Rest of Gods people whoe are acquainted with the wayes of God with you will say that heer was a Right foundation layed and that these two blessed servants of the Lord Came in att the dore and Not att the window; thus I haue made bould to trouble you with these few lines desiring you to Remember vs, and soe Rest

Att your service in what I may

CHARLES GOTT

Salem July 30 1629

[35]

A few p^ticulars more Concerning the proceedings of our Reuerend frinds In the bay of the Massachusetts, whoe were lately Come ouer I thought it not amise heer to Insert then soe farr as p^rtenent to the p^rsent purpose and may be vsefull for after times;

SIR

Being att Salem the 25th of July being the sabbath after the euening exercise m^r Johnson Receiued a letter from the Gou^r m^r John Winthrop manyfesting the hand of God to be vpon them and against them att

¹ Written above "outward," crossed out.

Charlstowne in visiting them with sicknes and takeing diuers from amongst them; Not sparing the Righteous but p^rtakeing with the wicked in these bodily Judgments It was therefore by his desires taken into the Godly Consideration of the best heer what was to be don to passify the Lords wrath &c: wher it was Concluded that the lord was to be sought in Righteousness and to that end the sixt day being fryday of this p^rsent weeke is sett apart that they may humble themselues before God and seek him in his ordinances; and that then alsoe such Godly p^rsons that are amongst them and knowne each to other may publickly att the end of their exercise make knowne their desires and and practice the same viz: Sollomly to enter into Couenant with the lord to walk in his wayes; and since they are soe disposed of in their outward estates as to liue in three distinct places each haueing men of Abillities¹ amongst them there to obserue the day; and become three distinct bodies not then Intending Rashley to proceed to the Choice of officers or the admitting of any other to their societie then a few viz. such as are well knowne vnto them promising after to Receiue such by Confession of faith as shall appeer to be fitly qvallyfied for that estate; they doe earnestly Intreat that the Church of Plymouth would sett apart the same day for the same ends beseeching the Lord as to with draw his hand of Correction from them soe alsoe to establish and direct them in his wayes and tho the time be short wee pray you be prouoaked to this Godly worke seeing the causes are soe vrgent wherin God wilbe honored and they and wee vndoubtedly haue sweet Comfort be you all kindly salluted &c:

Your bretheren in Christ, &c:²

Salem July 26 1630

SIR

the sad newes heer is that many are sicke and Many are dead the lord in Mercye look vpon them some are heer entered into Church Couenant the first were four Namely the Gou^r: m^r John Winthrop m^r Johnson m^r Dudley and m^r Wilson; since that fiue more are Joyned to them and others it is lik will adde them selues to them dayly the lord Increase them both in Number and in holines for his Mercyes sake; heer is a Gentleman one m^r Cottington a boston Man whoe told mee that m^r Cottons Charge att hamton was; that they should take advise of them att Plymouth; and should doe Nothing to offend them; heer are diuers honest

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² "Signed by Samuel Fuller and Edward Winslow, but evidently written by Winslow" (W. C. Ford, Bradford's History, ii. 114 note 4).

Christians that are desirous too see vs; some out of loue which they beare to vs and the Good p^rswasion they haue of vs; others to see whether wee be soe ill as they haue heard of vs; wee haue a Name of holines and loue to God and his saints the lord Make vs more and more Answarable and that it may be More then a Name or else it will doe vs Noe Good be you loueingly salluted and all the Rest of our frinds; The Lord Iesus blesse vs and the whole Israell of God Amen

Your loueing Brother &c¹

Charlstowne Augst
the second 1630

[36]

This yeer the people of the Plantation of Plymouth began to 1632 Grow in their outward estates by Reason of the fflowing of Many people into the Country especially into the Bay of y^e Massachusetts by which meanes Corne and Cattle Rose to a Great prise by which many were Inriched and Comodities Grew plentifull; and yett in other Regards their benefitt turned to their hurt and this accession of strength to their weaknes for Now as their stockes Increased and the Increase vendable; and the feare of the Indians taken away there was Noe longer any holding of them together, But now they must of Nessesitie Goe to their Great lotts; they Could Not other wise keep their Cattle; and haueing oxen Grown they must haue Land for plowing and tillage and Noe man now thought hee could liue except hee had Cattle and a Great deale of Ground to keep them, all striueing to Increase their stockes, by which meanes they were scattered all ouer the bay quickly and the towne in which they liued Compactly vntil Now was left very thine and in a short time almost desolate; and if this had bin all it had bin lesse tho to much But the Church must alsoe be deuided; and those that had liued soe longe together in Christian and Comfortable fellowship must Now p^rte and suffer Many deuissions; first those that liued on their lotts on the other syde of the bay (Called duxburrow) they could not long bring their wiues and Children to the publick worshipp and Church meetings heer but with such burthen, as Growing to some Competent Number they sued to be dismissed and become a body of themselues; and soe they were dismissed about this time though very vnwillingly, and sometime after being vnited into one Intire body they

¹ "Signed 'your loving brother in law, Samuel Fuller'" (W. C. Ford, Bradford's History, ii. 117 note 2).

procured Reuerend m^r Ralph Partrich to be their Pastour; and m^r William Leuerich alsoe was with them att the same time and preached the word of God amongst them but hee stayed Not longe amongst them ere hee Remoued to Sandwich and was teacher of the Church there a Considerable time; and after the death of holy m^r Partrich; It pleased God to send a preciouſe Gospell preacher amongst them Namely m^r John holmes; whoe liued and died alsoe with them and since his death the lord Raised vp another precious man: viz: m^r Ichabod Wiswell of whom ¹ there is Great hopes for a Continued succession of ² healp in the minnistry to that poor flock of Christ whom God soe Greatly honored as they were Neuer long without a Minnister of Christ to preach the Gospell vnto them;

But to touch this sad matter of the Churches p^rteing as hath bin said and to handle thinges together that fell out afterward; To preuent any further scattering from this place of the Towne of Plymouth; and weakening of the same; It was thought best to Giue out some Good ffarmes to speciall p^rsons that would promise to liue att Plymouth; and likely to be healpfull to the Church or Comon wealth; and soe to tye the lands to Plymouth as ffarmes for the same; and there they might keep their Cattle and tillage by some servants and Retaine their dewllings heer; and soe some speciall Lands were Graunted; att a place vsually Called Greensharbour where noe allotments had bin in the former diuision a place very well Meddowed and fitt to keep and Rear Cattle Good store; But alsoe this Remedy proued worse then the desease for within few yeers those that had Gott footing there; Rent themselues away p^rtely by fforce and p^rtely by wearing the Rest with Importunitie and please of Nessesitie; soe as they must either suffer them to Goe or liue in Continuall opposition and Contension; and others still as they Conceiued them selues straightened or to want accommodation broak away vnder one pretence or other thinkeing their ³ owne Conceiued Nessesitie and the example of others a warrant sufficient for them; and this I feare wilbe the Ruine of New England att least of the Churches of God there ⁴ and prouoke the Lords displeasure against them;

¹ Here the words "of whom" are crossed out.

² Here "the" is crossed out.

³ Here "one" is crossed out.

⁴ Here the letters "wh" are crossed out.

This Church of Marshfeild (aboue Called Greensharbour) was began and afterwards Carryed on by the healp and Assistance (vnder God) of m^r Edward Winslow; whoe att the first procured seuerall Welsh Gentlemen of Good note thither with m^r Blinman a Godly able Minnester ² whoe vnanimously Joyned together in holy fellowship or att least were in a likely way thervnto; but some desentions fell amongst them which Caused a p^rteing; Not longe after and soe the hopes of a Godly societie, as to them was; frusterated; Not long after those that went from Plymouth (with that Godly Gentleman m^r Willam Thomas) keeping vp a Comunion; It pleased the lord to send vnto them a faithfull and able preacher of the Gospell Named M^r Edward Buckley whoe was Chosen their Pastour and; officiated in that place very profitably diuers yeers; but ³ att last hee left them and went to a place Called Concord in the ⁴ Gou^rment of the Massachusetts; and a Considera[ble] time after the lord Raised vp and sent another faithfull servant of his whoe proued able and well fitted for the worke of the Minnistry m^r Samuell Arnold by Name who Remaines amongst them for their speciall Comfort in the worke of the minnistry [37]

About that ⁵ time or a little before that the Church of duxburrow became a distinct body from the Church ⁶ of Plymouth; the Towne of Scittuate began and seuerall of the Church of Plymouth Repaired thither, and seated them selues there; ⁷ att which time M^r Timothy hatherly Came out of England with his family; and ⁸ seated him self there alsoe; and seuerall others Godly ones of other places especially diuers out ⁹ of Kent Repaired thither; these all Joyned together and became a Comfortable and exemplary Church of God; and the Lord sent vnto them that preciouſe servant of his, M^r John Laythorp whoe Came to them out of Great p^rsecution ¹⁰ and hee became their Pastour; to which office hee was Indowed with a

¹ Something in here crossed out.

² Here "wee" or "woe" is crossed out.

³ Here "the" is crossed out.

⁴ Here the words "Bay of" are crossed out.

⁵ Apparently altered from "the."

⁶ Here "at" is interlined and crossed out.

⁷ Here "and" is crossed out.

⁸ Here "diuers" is crossed out.

⁹ The words "diuers out" are written over another word crossed out.

¹⁰ Here "hee" is crossed out.

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of the Chu
of Marshf
which was
the second
Church of
God that
Issued out
from the
Church of
Plymouth

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of Plym; t
a Consider
ble p^rte of
them did;

this was
the first
Church that
sprang out
of the bowels
of the Church
of Plymouth

Competent measure of Gifts and eminently Indowed with a Great Measure of brokenes of hart and humillitie of sperritt hee was much honored of the most as hee well deserued; ¹ after some time a Considerable p^rte of the Church went from Scittuate to Barnstable and their pastour fornamed with them, where they liued diuers yeers in Gospell order and were very exemplary for the life of Grace and power of Godlynes; But which is sad to Relate soone after the death of their Godly Pastour fore Named; a sad desention fell amongst the Members of that Church soe as it Caused a Scisme and deuision amongst them, which Notwithstanding the Great Indeauors of diuers Churches both in ² the Bay and att home, in our owne Colonie; by sending their Elders and Messengers whoe took great paines in the Controuersye to settle it, yett it Could not; for a longe time be healed and settled; vntill the lord Raised vp that worthy servant of his M^r Thomas Walley whom the lord sperited for that work and [blessed his Indeauors soe therin as that soone after his Coming amongst them the Controuersyes were settled; and their Comunion Revnited, to their Generuall and Mutuall satisfaction and the Rejoyceing of the harts of the saints Round about them; and soe Remained vnto the death of the said m^r Walley whoe ³ not longe after ended his life ⁴ amongst them; and still they Remaine a Church of God in peace and loue vnto this day

But to Returne with a word or two Concerning those of the Church that were left att Scittuate whoe became a distinct body from the Rest viz: those that went to Bastable as afor said; and they had the help of seuerall preachers to teach them as M^r Charlse Chauncye whoe was their Pastour a Considerable time; and seuerall others ⁵ taught the word of God vnto them in the vacansye of Minnestry; and the last in office ouer them; ⁶ before the writing heerof was M^r Nicholas Baker whoe was a faithfull able dispencer of the word, and Pastour of their ⁷ soules, whoe after much dollorus paine, ended his life amongst them, and is Reaping the fruites of his labours and att

¹ Here "he" is crossed out.

² Here "sending" is crossed out.

³ Here "so" is crossed out.

⁴ Here "haue" is crossed out.

⁵ Here "But" is crossed out.

⁶ Here "att" is crossed out.

⁷ Here "sole" is crossed out.

the writing heerof, there is another preacher Come vnto them one m^r Lawson that exercyseth amongst them;

But to Returne againe vnto p^rticulars more Imediately Concerning the Church of Christ att Plymouth

This yeer M^r Ralph Smith layed downe his place of Minnestry ¹⁶³⁴ p^rtely by his owne willingnes as thinking it to heauy a burden and p^rtely att the desire and by the p^rswasion of others; and the Church sought out for some other haueing bine often disappointed in their hopes and desires heertofore; and it pleased the Lord to send them an able and a Godly man; and of a Meek and humble sperite sound in the truth and euery way vnreprouable in his life and Conversation whoe after some time of tryall they Chose for their Teacher, the fruites of whose labours they Injoyed many yeers with much Comfort in peace and agreement; m^r John done m^r Willam Paddy John Cooke deacons Afterwards John donham added

In the time when m^r Smith aboue named was Pastour the Church was disirous to procure another to be healfull vnto him in the Minnestry, and for that end sent by M^r Edward Winslow, bound then for England to procure them an able man for that purpose, and was prouided of one (as hee hoped) to Come ouer with him ¹ viz: one m^r Glouer a very able dispencer of the word; but hee ended his life in London before hee Came on board; and afterwards by prouidence m^r Winslow ² mett with M^r John Norton ³ whoe (it seemes) was then Intended to Come for New England and soe did in the same shipp m^r Winslow Came ouer in with whom hee ⁴ had treaty Concerning our Case; hee Came into the harbour of Plymouth and there Ariued; ⁵ it being the setting in towards winter; hee stayed vntill the March follow[ing] and ⁶ then went into the Bay and Returned noe more but entertained an Invitation to Ipswich and ⁷ after the death of M^r Cotton hee Came to Boston and was teacher of the old Church vntill his death thus this poor Church was put by

¹ Here "but" is crossed out.

² The words "m^r Winslow" are written above "hee," crossed out.

³ Here "a" is crossed out.

⁴ Here "somway" is crossed out.

⁵ Here "and" is crossed out.

⁶ Here "he" is crossed out.

⁷ Here "afterwards" is crossed out.

theire hopes, and expectations Concerning these men and¹ their healps [38]

After m^r Reyner had bin in place a Considerable time It was desired² that m^r Charles Chauncey a Reuerend man should be In- vited whoe being a very Godly and learned man they Intended vpon tryall to Choose him Pastour of the Church heer for the more Comfortable p^rformance of the minnistry with m^r John Reiner the Teacher of the same; But there fell out some difference about bap- tising hee holding it ought onely to be by dipping and puting the whole body vnder water and that sprinkleing was vnlawfull the Church yeilded that Imercion or dipping was lawfull but in this Could Country not soe Convenient; But they Could not Nor durst not yeild to him in this that sprinkleing which all the Churches of Christ doe for the most p^rte att this day practice was vnlawfull and an humane Invention as the same was prest; But they were willing to yield to him as farr as they Could and to the vtmost and were Contented to suffer him to practice as hee was p^rswaded; and when hee came to Minnester that ordinance hee might doe it to Any that did desire it in that way prouided hee Could peacably suffer m^r Reyner and such as desired it to haue theires otherwise baptised by him by sprinkleing or powering on of water vpon them; soe as there might be Noe disturbance in the Church therabouts; But hee said hee could not yeild therunto upon which the Church procured some other minnisters to dispute the point with him publickly as m^r Ralph Partrich of duxburrow whoe did it sundry times; ably and suffi- ciently; as alsoe some other minnisters within this Gou^rment But hee was Not satisfied; soe the Church sent to many other Churches to Craue their healp and advice in this matter; and with his will and Consent sent them his Arguments written vnder his owne hand; they sent them to the Church of Boston in the bay of Massachusetts to be Communicated with other Churches there alsoe they sent the same to the Churches of Conecticott and New hauen with sundry others; and Receiued very able and sufficient Answares as they Con- ceiued from them and their Learned Minnisters; who all Con- cluded against him; But himselfe was not satisfied therwith; their Answars are to large heer to Relate; They Conceiued the Church

¹ This word is uncertain.

² Here the words "by the Chu" are crossed out.

had don what was meet in the thinge; soe m^r Chauncye haueing bin att Plym: the Most p^rte of three yeers; hee Remoued himself to Scittuate where hee for sometime Remained a Minnester to the Church there; alsoe about these times Now the Cattle and other thinges began Greatly to fall from their former Rates and p^rsons began to fall into more straights and Many being alreddy Gon from vs as is Noted before both to duxburrow Marshfeild, and other places and those of the Cheife sort as m^r Winslow Capt: Standish and M^r Alden and Many other[s] and still some dropping away dayly and some att this time, and many more vnsettled It did Greatly weaken the place and by Reason of the straightnes and barrenes of the place it sett the thoughts of Many vpon Remouall; &c.:

Now followeth that which was matter of Great sadness and mourn- ing vnto this Church about the sixteenth of¹ Aprill in this yeer died their Reuerend Elder³ our dear and loueing friend m^r Willam Brewster⁴ A man that had don and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the Gospells sake, and had borne his p^rte in weale and woe with this poor p^rsecuted Church aboue thirty six yeers in Eng- land holland and in this wildernes and don the Lord and them faith- full seruice in his place and Calling; and Notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrowes hee passed throw the lord vpheld him to a Great age hee was neare fourscore yeers of age (if not all out) when hee died hee had this blessing aded by the lord to all the Rest to die in his bed in peace amongst the midst of his frinds whoe mourned and wept ouer him; and minnestered what healp and Comfort they Could vnto him and hee againe Recomforted⁵ them⁶ whiles hee Could; his sicknes was not longe, vntill the last day therof; hee did not wholly keep his bed; his speech Continued vntill som what more then half a day and then fayled him; and about 9 or 10: of the Clock that euening hee died without any pange; att all a few houres

1644²
April 18

¹ Here a word, apparently "April," is crossed out.

² Altered from "1643," or perhaps "1643" altered from "1644." In his *New England's Memorial* (ed. 1669, pp. 116-117), Morton gives "about" April 18, 1643, as the date of Brewster's death, following Bradford's *History* (ii. 342). In the so-called "Brewster Book" is the entry: "William Brewster dyed at Plym- outh in New England the 10th of April 1744" (*Mayflower Descendant*, i. 7).

³ A word is here crossed out.

⁴ Here a word or letter is crossed out.

⁵ Here the letters "hi" are crossed out.

⁶ Here a word is crossed out.

before; hee drew his breath short; and some few minutes before his last hee drew his breath long as a man fallen into a sound sleep without any panges or Gasplings, and soe sweetly departed this life vnto a better,

I would now demand of any what hee was the worse for any former sufferings what doe I say the worse Nay surely hee was the ¹ better and they now aded to his honor* ² [39]

It is ³

Christian and beloued Reader I humbly Craue Libertie heer to Interpose a few lines in this vacant place of this book Concerning ⁴ an other passage of Gods Prouidence as followeth; Not longe after the decease of our Reuerend Elder m^r William Brewster And the Reuerent M^r John Reiner left allone in the minnestrey The Church saw Cause to adde vnto him; ⁵ another Ruleing Elder and Pitched their thoughts on M^r Thomas Cushman whoe was the son of that worthy servant of Christ M^r Robert Cushman of whom honorable mention is elswher made in this Book; the said M^r Cushman Jun^r: being by Generall Consent aproued elected and ordained to that worthy office and function for which hee was Competently fited and prepared by the Lord; and ⁶ Longe after his election Itt appeered that there was Great Nessesitie of this gracious healp; for our Teacher leauing vs as is alsoe elswhere mensioned; troubles Came on apace Not to mension againe the troubles which were occasioned by some of the Church of Barnstable which was blowne vp by John Cooke and others fore Named There arose a p^rverse sect Called Quakers whose tenetts and principles (if I may soe call them) are and may ezely be demonstrated to be heretticall and abominable; and then and att seuerall other times did strike att the very being (or att least the welbeing of the Church soe as) it was much Indangered But the Lord healped vs vnanimously to withstand these

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² The sketch of Brewster is continued on p. [40] of the text, or p. 78 of this volume.

³ Here the words "a manife" are crossed out, as should also have been the words "It is."

⁴ Here a word is crossed out.

⁵ Here "an" is crossed out.

⁶ Here "Not" is crossed out.

⁷ The reference is to p. [37] of the text, or pp. 72-73 of this volume.

Incendiarys of mischiffe; soe as by the mutuall and faithfull healp of this our worthy and beloued Elder with the Concurrance of seuerall other of the bretheren; Itt plased the Lord to ¹ vphold vs in our Integrity and in a Constant withstanding and opposing of those horred and damable tenetts; although wee were att this time as sheep without a ministryall Shephard; and diuers of our ablest brethern fallen asleep in the Lord; to our Great losse and detriment; yee att such a time alsoe as this efficacy of delusion grew very preulent to the p^ruerting and turning aside of diuers outsyde professors from the wayes of God; and wee desire this specialty of Gods good prouidence and protextion; may Neuer be forgotten but that the Lord may haue all the praise and Glory thereof; for how ezely might these woulues in sheep clotheing haue Ruined this poor flock of Christ, if the Lord had not Interposed with his Almighty power and Goodnes; Improeing this our Good Elder as a speciall Instrument in this worthy worke both by teackeing the will of God euery Lords; day for a Considerable time both plainly pouerfully and profittable and seconding the same by a blamles life and Conversation; blessed be his holy Name foreuer and euer; In a word this blessed servant of Christ is a good man (as was ² said of Barnabas) ³ & full of the holy Goast; expressed by both Commication ⁴ and Conversation; ⁵ and hath bin a good healp to this poor flock of Christ and being stricken in yeers and noe doubt Reddy prepared for the Coming of his Lord; stands Redy for his Gracious Recompence of Reward which is layed vp for all those that loue his appeering;

Good Reader lett not the Reading of this digression hinder the serious Reading of what followes in the followeing pages Respecting our other beloued Elder M^r Brewster fore Named; (or what else is inserted in this booke) the blame of the misplaceing of this discours in this page I willingly owne take & ⁶ to be my ouersight and weakness of Memory; I pray you take Notice of the starrs placed the one att the foot of the foregoeing page and the other to the head of the following page; and they will bring you into youer way againe; and

¹ Here "hold" is crossed out.

² Here the words "and is" are interlined and crossed out.

³ Here the words "was & is full" are interlined and crossed out.

⁴ Perhaps "Commitation."

⁵ Here the words "being now stricken in yeers" are crossed out.

⁶ Here "take" is crossed out.

if¹ euer this book be either Transcribed or printed I hope it wilbe Remembered to be inserted in it Right place; [40]

* It² is a manifest token saith the Apostle 2 thesalonians 1: 5: 6: 7: of the Righteous Judgment of God that wee may be Counted worthy of the kingdom of God for which yee alsoe suffer seing it is a Righteous thing with God to Recompence tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you whoe are troubled Rest with vs when the Lord Jesus shalbe Reveiled from heauen with his mighty angells; and 1 peter 4th: 14 If you be Reproched for the Name of Christ happy are yee for the sperit of God and of Glory Resteth vpon you;

What tho hee wanted the Riches and pleasures of the world in his life and Pompious monuments att his funerall yett the memoriall of the Just shalbe Blessed when the Name of the wicked shall Rott; prou: 10: 7:

I should say somthing of his life; if to say a little were not worse then to be silent But I Can not wholly forbear; tho happily more may be don heerafter; after hee had Attained some learning viz: the knowlidge of the lattine tounge and some Insight in the Greeke; and spent some smale time att Cambridge; and then being first seasoned with the seeds of Grace; and vertue hee went to the Court and serued that Religious and Godly Gentleman m^r dauison diuers yeers when hee was Secretary of State whoe found him soe discreet and faithfull as hee trusted him aboue all other that were about him; and onely Employed him in matters of Greatest Trust and Secrecye; hee esteemed him Rather as a son then a servant and for his wisdom and Godlines (in private) hee would Converse with him more like a famillyar then a Master; hee Attended his master when hee was sent in Ambassage by the Queen; into the Low Countryes (in the Earle of Lecesters time) as for other waighty affaires of State; soe to Receiue possession of the Cautionary townes;³ and in token and signe therof the kees of fflushing being deliuered to him

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² The sketch of Brewster is continued from p. [38] of the text, or p. 76 of this volume.

³ "The town of Flushing, the Castle of Ramakins in Zealand, and Brill in Holland, which were held by way of caution from the United Provinces, to insure their dependency upon England, the King resolved to render them up, as being meerly cautionary" (Rushworth, Historical Collections, 1659, i. 3). They were held from 1584 to 1616, when they were surrendered by James I.

in her Ma^{tie} Name; hee kept them some time and Comitted them to his servant; whoe kept them vnder his pillow on which hee slept the first night; and att his Returne the states honored him with a Gould Chaine and his Master Comitted it to him and Comaunded him to weare it as they¹ ariued in England as they Rode through the Country vntill they Came to the Court; hee afterwards Remained with him vntill his troubles when hee was put from his place about the death of the Queen of Scots and some Good time after doeing him many offices of service in the time of his troubles; afterwards hee went and liued in the Country in Good esteeme amongst his frinds and the Good Gentlemen of those p^{tes} especially the Godly and Religious; hee² did much Good in the Country where hee liued in promoting and furthering Religion; and not onely by his practice and example and prouoking and Incurraging of others; but by procuring of Good preachers to the places therabouts and drawing on of others to Assist and healp to³ forward in such a worke; hee himself most Comonly deepest in the Charge; and somtims aboue his Abillitie, and in this State hee Continued many yeers doeing the best Good hee Could; and walking according to the light hee saw vntill the Lord Reveiled further vnto him; and in the end by the tyranny of the Bishopps against Godly preachers and people in silencing the one and p^{secuting} the other; hee and many more of those times began to looke further into p^{rticulars} and to see into the vnlawfulnes of their Callings and the burden of many Antichristian Corruptions; which both hee and they Indeaured to Cast of; as they alsoe did; as in the beginning of this treatis is to be seen;⁴ after they were Joyned together into Comunion; hee was a speciall stay and healp to them they ordinarily mett att his house on the lords day (w^h was a manor of the Bishopps) and with Great loue hee entertained them when they Came makeing prouision for them to⁵ his Great Charge and Continewed soe to doe whiles they Could stay in England; and when they were to Remoue on out of the Country hee was one of the first in all adventures and forwardest

¹ Here "Rid" is crossed out.

² Something is here crossed out.

³ Here the words "Assist and healp" are crossed out.

⁴ See p. 13, above.

⁵ Here "the" is crossed out.

p. 6: 7:1
 in any hee was the Cheife of those that were taken att Boston in lincolnesheire and suffered the Greatest lose; and of the seven that were kept longest in prison and after boun[d] [41] bound ouer to the Assises After hee Came into holland hee suffered much hardshipp after hee had spent the most of his meanes haueing a Great Charge and Many Children; and in Regard of his former breeding and Course not soe fitt for many Employments as others were, especially such as were toilsome and laboriouse yett hee euer bore his Condition with much Cheerfulnes and Contentation towards the latter p^rte of those 12 yeers spent in holland his outward Condition was mended and hee liued well and plentifully for hee fell into a way by Reason hee had the lattin tounge to teach many students whoe had a desire to Learne the English tounge to teach them English and by his Meethod they quickley Attained it with great facillitie for hee drue Rules to learne it by after the lattine manor; and many Gentlemen both danes and Germaines Resorted to him as they had time from other studdies some of them being Great mens sons hee alsoe had meanes to sett vp printing (by the healp of some frinds and soe had Employment enough and by Reason of many bookes which would not be allowed to be printed in England they might haue had more then they Could doe; But now Remoueing into this Country all these things were layed ² Aside againe and a new Course of liueing must be framed vnto In which hee was Noe way vnwilling to take his p^rte and to beare his burden with the Rest liueing Many times without bread or Corne many monthes together; haueing Many times Nothing but ffish and often wanting that alsoe; and drank Nothing but water for many yeers together yee vntill within fiew or six yeers of his death; and yett hee liued (by the blessing of God) in health vntill very old age and besides that hee would labour with his hands in the feilds as longe as hee was Able; yett when the Church had noe other Minnester hee taught twise euery sabbath and that both powerfully and profitably to the Great Contentment of the hearers and their Comfortable edification yee many were brought to God by his Minnistry; hee did more in this behalfe in a year; then many that haue their hundreds a yeer doe in all their liues; for his p^rsonall Abillities hee was quallified aboue many; hee was

¹ The reference is to pp. [6-7] of the text, or pp. 16-17 of this volume.

² Here a word is crossed out.

wise and discreet and well spoken haueing a Graue deliberate vtterance; of a very Cheerfull speritt very sociable and pleasant amongst his frinds of an humble and modest mind of a ¹ peacable disposition vnderuallueing him selfe and his owne abillities and somtimes ouervalluing others Innoferiue and Innocent in his life and Conversation which Gained him the loue of those without as well as those within; yett hee would tell them plainly of their faults and euills both publickly and privately But in such a manor as vsually was well taken from him; hee was tender harted and Compassionate of such as were in Missery but especially of such as had bin of Good estate and Ranke and were fallen into want & pouertie either for Goodnes and Religions sake or by the Injury and oppression of others; hee would say of all men these deserued to be most pittied; and none did more offend and displease him then such as would haughtely and proudly Carry and lift vp themselues being Risen from Nothing; and haueing little else in them but a few fine Clothes or a little Riches more then others; In Teaching hee was very stirring and moueing the affections alsoe very plaine and distinct in what hee taught; by which means hee became the More proffitable to the hearers hee had a singulare Good Gift in prayer both publick and private in Riping vp the hart and Consience be fore God in the humble Confession of sin and begging the mercyes of God in Christ for the p^rdon therof hee alwayes thought it ² were better for Minneters to pray oftener and deuid their prayers then to be longe and tedious in the same except vpon sollemne and speciall occations as on dayes of humilliation and the like, his Reason was that the ³ hart and speritts of all especially the weake Could hardly Continew and stand bent (as it were) for longe towards God as they ought to doe in that duty without fflaging and falling of; for the Gourment of the Church which was most proper to his office; hee was Carefull to preserue [42] preserue Good order in the same and to preserue puritie both in the doctrine and Comunion of the same and to suppress any errour or Contention that might begin to Arise amongst them and accordly God Gaue good successe to his Indeuours heerin all his dayes and hee saw the fruite of his labours in

¹ Here "pleasant" is crossed out.

² Here a word, perhaps "more," is crossed out.

³ Here "hart" is crossed out.

that behalfe but I must break off haueing thus touched a few heads¹ of thinges²

I Can not but heer take occasion not onely to mention but Greatly to Admire the marveilous prouidence of God that Notwithstanding³ the many Changes and hardshippes that this poor Church and people went through; and the many enimies they had and difficulties they mett withall that soe many of them should liue to very old age Itt was not onely this Reuerend mans Condition but many more of them did the like;⁴ some dieing about and before this time and many still liueing whoe attained to sixty yeers of age and to sixty fiue diuers to 70 and aboue; and some Neare 80 as hee did It must needs be more then ordinary and aboue Naturall Reason that it should be for it is found in experience that Change of aire famine or vnwholsome ffood much drinking of water sorrowes and troubles &c: all of them are enimies to health Causes of many deseases Consumers of Naturall vigour and the bodyes of men and shortenors of life; and yett of all these thinges they had a large p^rte and suffered deeply in the same they went from England to holland where they found both worse aire and diett when⁵ they Came from thence Induring a longe Imprisonment as it were in the shippes att sea into New England and how it hath bin with them heer hath alreddy bin shouen and what Crosses troubles feares wants and sorrowes they haue bin lyable vnto is easy to Conjecture soe as in some sort they may say with the Apostle 2 Cor: 11: 26 27 "They were in Journeyings often in p^rills of waters in p^rills of Robers in p^rill[s] of their owne Nation in p^rills amonge the heathen in p^rills in the wildernes in p^rills in the sea in p^rills amongst ffalce bretheren in wearines and painfulness in watching oftens in hunger and thirst in fasting oftens in Could and Nakednes."

What was it that vpheld them; It was Gods visitation that vpheld their speritt[s] Job the 10th and 12 Thou hast Giuen mee life and Grace and thy visitation hath preserued my speritt hee that vpheld the apostle vpheld them they were p^rsecuted but not forsaken Cast

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² This sketch of Brewster is printed in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, pp. 461-469.

³ Altered from "Notwithstanding."

⁴ Here a word is crossed out.

⁵ Altered from "then."

downe but p^rished not 2 Cor 4: 9: as vnknowne and yett knowne as dying and behold wee liue; as Chasted and yett not killed

God it seemes would haue all men to behold and obserue such mersyes and workes of his Prouidence as these are towards his people that they in like Cases might b[e] Incouraged to depend vpon God in their tryalls and alsoe to blesse his Name when "they see his Goodnes towards others; Man liues not by bread onely" dutrino: 8: 3 It is not by Good and dainty fare by peace and Rest and harts ease in Injoying the Contentments and Good thinges of this world onely that preserues health and prolonges life God in such examples would haue the world see and behold that hee Can doe it without them; and if the world will shutt their eyes and take noe Notice therof; yett hee would haue his people to see and Consider daniell Could be better likeing with pulse then others were with the kinges dainties Jacob tho hee went from one Nation to another people and passed through famine feares and¹ many afflictions yett hee liued vntill old age and died sweetly and Rested in the lord; as many others of Gods servants haue don and still shall doe; through Gods Goodnes Notwithstanding all the Mallice of their enimies when the Branch of the wicked shalbe Cutt of before his day Job 15: 32: And the bloody and² deseitfull men shall not liue half their dayes: Psa: 55: 23:

When the Church Came away out of holland they brought with them one deacon M^r Samuell fuller whoe officiated in that office amongst them vntill his death hee was a Good man and full of the holy speritt; hee died before our Reuerend Elder before Named; And the Church saw Cause to Chose two others to that office: (viz.) Richard Masterson and Thomas Blossom two holy men; whoe were experienced saints; the said Richard Masterson haueing bin officious with p^rte of his estate for publick Good; and a man of Abillitie as a second steuen to defend the truth by sound argument Grounded on the scriptures of truth; and the other alsoe³ Competently accomplished with abillities in that behalfe these two blessed saints liued not longe after they were Cosen but Changed this life for a better within a little time one after another; [43]

¹ Here "wants" is crossed out.

² Here "deceigh" is crossed out.

³ Here a word is crossed out.

about the
year 1626
if I mistake
not

Many haueing left this place (as is before noted) by Reason of the straightnes and barrenes of the same and their finding of better accomodations elsewhere more suitable to their ends and minds; and sundry others still vpon euery¹ occasion desiring their dismissions the Church began seriously to think whether it were not better Joyntly to Remoue to some other place then to be this weakened, and as it were Insensibly desolued many meetings and much Consultation was held therabouts; and diuers mens minds and opinions some were still for staying together in this place (viz: wher Plymouth was then seated) alledging men might heer liue² if they would be Content with their Condition and that it was not for want or Necessitie soe much that they Remoued as to Inrich them selues, others were Resolute vpon Remouall and soe signified that heer they Could not stay but if the Church did not Remoue they must³ In soe much as many were swayed Rather then there should be a desolution to Condecend to a Remouall, if a fitt place Could be found that might more Conveniently and Comfortably Receiue the whole with such accession of others as might Come to them for their better strength and subsistence and some such like Cautions and limitations; soe as with the aforsaid prouisoes a Greater p^rte Consented to a Remouall to a place Called Nawsett which had bin superffishly viewed; and the Good will of the purchassers (To whom it belonged) obtained with some addition therto from the Court, But now they began to see their⁴ error that they had Giuen away alreddy the best and most Comodious places to others and Now wanted them; them selues for this place was about 50 miles from hence; and att an outside of the Country Remote from all societie; alsoe that it would proue soe straight as it would not be Competent to Receiue the body much less to be Capeable of Any addition or Increase soe as att least in a short time they should be worse there then they were Now heer these with sundry other like Considerations and Inconueniencies made them Chang their Resolutions, but such as were before Resolued vpon Remouall tooke advantage of this Agreement and went on Notwithstanding Neither

¹ Here some letters are crossed out.

² Written above "find," crossed out.

³ Here a word is crossed out.

⁴ Here a word or letter is crossed out.

could the Rest hinder them they haueing made some begining; and thusse was this poor Church left like an Ancient Mother Grown old and forsaken of her Children (tho Not in their affections) yett in Regard of their bodily p^rsence and p^rsonall healpfulnes; her ancient members being most of them worn away by death; and these of latter times being like Children translated into other families; and shee like a widdow left onely to trust in God thusse shee that had made many Rich, became her selfe poor;

The Principall of the Members that then Remoued was that honorable Gentleman m^r Thomas Prence whoe went away with seuerall others of the Church who were very desirable and they became a body of themselues distinct from the Church of Plymouth, and settled att Nausett; by them Named Eastham; and in some succes of time being destitute of Minnistry¹ there being two in office of ministry att Barnstable, they obtained M^r John Mayo the Reuerend Teacher of that² Church; to Goe ouer to them, and hee became their Teacher; afterwards; which is sad to Relate) some differences and Controuersies falling out amongst them, M^r Mayo left them and went to Boston; and was in office in the Minnistry in the second Church of [Boston wherof³ Reuerend M^r Mather is Teacher but the said M^r Mayo Growing aged⁴ and vnable to Carry on his office hee Remoued into this Collonie; and liued neare Yarmouth and Not longe after, fell asleep in the lord; after these thinges m^r Barnabas Chauncye was sollisetted to Goe ouer to healep them but hee being a weake man and Insuffient for such worke, soon left them, and seuerall of the members of their Church, went away to New Garnsey; Neuer the lesse it pleased God to Raise them vp another one M^r Samuell Treatate, a Godly able man; whoe hath and doth Carry on the worke of the lord amongst them; soe as they Remaine an exemplary flock of Christ att this day; [44]

By the vnderworkings of some enimies to the Churches in New England the following Comission was procured of his Ma^{ty} Charles the first Kinge of England &c: wherby the Reader may vnderstand, enimies haue bin att worke formerly to destroy that plante which

¹ Here a word, perhaps "ther," is crossed out.

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Here "m^r" is crossed out.

⁴ Here "hee" is crossed out.

the third
Church which
Came forth as
it were out
of our bowells

was planted by the Lords Right in this Wildernes What the Reason was that it was not put in execution I Can not learne M^r Bradford is altogether silent Concerning it; surely it was the lords work in a speciall manor; and it is and ought to be Marueilous in our eyes and wee ought to Render praises to his holy Name for the same; I haue transcribed it into this book that after ages may Improue it as an experiment of Gods Goodnes to this poor Church att Plymouth whoe with the other Churches In New England was In as Great danger to share¹ in drinking as deep of this bitter Cupp as any other; if the Lord had not preuented it; in a way to mee vnknowne;

Charles By the Grace of God Kinge of England Scotland france And Ireland defender of the ffaith &c:

To the most Reuerend father in Christ our welbeloued and faithfull councillor Willam by divine Prouidence Archbishops of Canterberrie of all England primate metropolitant; Thomas Lord Couentrey keeper of our Great seale of England; The most Reuerent father in Christ our welbeloued and most faithfull Counciller Richard By divine Prouidence Archbishop of Yorge Primate and Metropolitant; our welbeloued and most ffaithfull Coussens and Councillers Richard Earle of Portland our high Treasurer of England; Henery Earle of Manchester keeper of our pryve seal; Thomas Earle of Aroundell and Surrey Earle Marshall of England; Edward Earle of dorcett Chamberline of our deare Consort the Queen; and our beloued and faithfull Councillers francis Lord Cottington Counciller² and vnder Treasurer of our Exchequer; Sir Thomas Edmonds Knight Treasurer of our houshold Sir Henery Vane Knight Controuler of the same houshold Sir John Cooke Knight one of our priue Secretaries and Sir francis Windebank Knight another of our priue Secretaries Greeting;

Whereas very many of our Subjects and of our late fathers of beloued Memory our Sou^r Lord James Late King of England by means of Lycence Royall; not onely with desire of Inlarging the Teretories of our Empire but Cheiffly out of a Pious and Religious affection and desire of propagateing the Gospell of our Lord Jesus Christ with Industry and expences haue Caused to be planted Larger Collonies of the English Nation in diuers p^tes of the³ World altogether vnmanured and void of Inhabitants or Occupied of the barborous people that haue noe knowledge of diuine Worshipp; wee being willing to prouide a Remedy for the

¹ Here several words are crossed out. ² "Chancellor" is intended.

³ Here "English" is crossed out.

tranquillitie and quietnes of those people and being very Confident of youer faith and wisdom Justice and prouident Sercomspection haue Constituted you the aforsaid Archbishop of Canterberrie Lord Keeper of the [45] of the Great seale of England the Arch Bishop of York &:¹ And any fwee or more of you our Comissioners; and to you and any fwee or more of you, wee doe Giue and Comitt power for the Gou^rment and safety of the said Collonies drawne or which out of the English Nation into these p^tes heerafter shalbe drawne To make lawes Constitutions and ordinances p^taining either to the publick State of these Collonies or the private proffitt of them; and Concerning the Lands Goods debts and succession in those p^tes and how they shall demean them selues towards fforraigne Princes or their people or how they shall beare them selues towards vs and our subjects as well in any fforraige p^tes whatsoever, or on the seas in those p^tes or in their Returne sayleing home; or which may p^taine to the Clargey Gou^rment or to the Cure of soules amongst the people there liueing and exercyseing trade In those p^tes; by designeing out Congreuent p^tions ariseing in tithes oblations and other things there according to youer sound descretions in politicall and Ciuell Causes; And by haueing the advice of two or three bishoppes for the Cettleing makeing and ordering of the busines for the designing of Nessesary Ecclesiasticall and Clargye portions which you shall Cause to be Called and taken to you; and to make prouisions against the violation of those lawes Constitutions and ordinances by Imposing penalties and mulds Imprisoment if there be Cause, and the qualitie of the offence doe Require it; by deprivation of member or life to be Inflicted, with power alsoe; (our Assent being had) to Remoue and displace the Gou^rnors or Rulers of those Collonies for Causes which to you shall seem law full; and others in their stead to Constitute; and to Require an account of their Rule & Gou^rment and whom you shall find Culpable; either by deprivation from their place or by Imposition of a mult vpon the Goods of them in those p^tes to be leuied; or Banishment from those prouinces in which they haue bin Gou^r: or otherwise to Casheir according to the quantitie of the offence and to Constitute Judges and Majestrates Polliticall and Ciull for Ciull Causes; and vnder the power and forme which to you fwee or more of you shall seeme expedient; and Judges & Majestrates and dignities to Causes ecclesiasticall; and vnder the power and forme which to you fwee or more of you with the Bishoppes: Vizgerents prouided by the bishopp of Canterberrie for the time being shall seem expedient; and to ordain Courts Pretorian and tribuniall as

¹ The ampersand is perhaps crossed out.

well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuill; [46]¹ as Ciuill, of Judgments to determine of the forme and manor of proceeding in the same and of appealing from them in matters and Causes as well Criminall as Ciuill p^rsonall Reall and mixed; and to their seates of Justice what may be equall and well ordered; and what Crimes faults or excesses of Contracts or Injuries ought to belonge to the Ecclesiasticall Court; and what to the Ciuill Court and seat of of Justice,

Provided Neuertheles that the lawes ordinances and Constitutions of this kind shall not be putt in execution before our Assent be had therunto in writing vnder our signett signed att least and this Assent being had and the same publickly proclaimed in the prouinces in which they are to be executed; Wee will and Comand that those lawes ordinances and Constitutions more fully to obtaine strength and be obserued and shalbe Inviolable of all men whom they shall Concerne;

Notwithstanding it shalbe for you or any fiew or more of you as aforesaid² altho those Lawes & Constitutions shalbe proclaimed³ with our Royall order to Change Revoak and abrogate them and other New ones in forme aforesaid from time to time frame and make as aforesaid and to New euills arising or New dangers to apply New Remedies, as is fitting soe often as to you it shall seeme expedient; furthermore you shall vnderstand that wee haue Constituted you and euery fiew or more of you the aforesaid Arch Bishop of Canterbury Thomas Lord Couentry keeper of the Great seale of England Richard Bishop of Yorke Richard Earle of Portland Henery Earle of Manchester Thomas Earle of Arundell & Surry Edward earle of dorcett, ffrancis Lord Cottington Sir Thomas Edwards Knight Sir henery Vane Knight Sir ffrancis Windebank Knight our Comissioners to heare and determine according to your sound discretions all manor of Complaints either against those Collonies or their Rulers or Gou^rs att the Instance of the p^rties greiued or att their accusation brought Concerning Injuries from hence or from thence between them and their members to be moued and to Call the p^rties before you; and to the p^rties or to their procurators from hence or from thence being heard and full Complements of Justice to bee exhibited; Giueing vnto you or any fiew or more of you power that if you shall find any of the Collonies aforesaid or any of the Cheife Rulers vpon the Jurisdictions of others by vnjust possession or vsurpation, or one against another making⁴ Greiuance or In Rebellion against vs or withdrawing from our

¹ Here "Ecclesiasticall" is crossed out.

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Here the words "shalbe proclaimed" are crossed out.

⁴ Here a word is crossed out.

alligience or our Comaundements Not obeying, Consultation first with vs in that Case had; To Cause those Collonies or the Rulers of them for the Causes aforesaid; or for other Just Causes either to Returne to England or to Comaund them to other places designed; euen as according to your sound discretions it shall seeme to stand with equitie and Justice or Nessesitie; Morouer wee doe Giue vnto you or any fiew or more of you power and especiall Comaund ouer all the Charters Letters Pattents and Rescripts Royall of the Regions Prouinces Ilands or lands in fforraign p^rtes Graunted for Raiseing Collonies to Cause them to be brought before you and the same being Receiued if any thinge; Surrupitious or vnduely haue bine obtained or that by the same priuiledges Liberties and prerogatiues hurtfull to vs or to our Crowne or to fforraigne Princes haue bine prejudicially suffered or Graunted; The same being better Made knowne vnto you fiew or more of you; To Comaund them according to the Lawes and Customes of England to be Revoked; and to doe such other thinges which to the proffitt and safe Gard of the aforesaid Collonies; and of our subjects Resedent in the same shalbe Nessesarie, And ther fore wee doe Comaund you that about the p^rmises att dayes and times which for these thinges you shall Make prouision That you be dilligent in Attendance as it becometh you Giueing in precept alsoe [47] Alsoe and fermly Injoyning wee doe Giue Comaund to all and singular Cheiff Rulers of Prouinces¹ into which the Collonies aforesaid haue bine drawne and Concerning the Collonies them selues and Concerning others that haue bin Interested therein that they Giue attendance vpon you; and be observant and obedient vnto your warrants in those affaires as often as and euen as in our Name they shalbe Required att their p^rill; In Testimony wherof wee haue Caused these our letters be made Pattent; Witnes our seale Att Westminster the 28th day of Aprill Ann^o Do^m 1634

By writt from the privy seale;

WILLIS

In Anno 1635 M^r Edward Winslow went for England; and being occationed to Answere som Complaints made against the Country att the Councell bord more Cheifley Concerning their Naighbors in the Bay then themselues heer the which hee did to Good effect and further procecuting such things² as might tend to the Good of the whole as well them selues as others, about wronges and Inroachments that the french and other Strangers had made; hee preferred

¹ The word "Prouinces" is written above another word, crossed out.

² Here some words are crossed out.

his petition respecting the premises to the Right honorable the Lords Comissioners for the Plantations in America; the Contents whereof I willingly omitt heerwith to Insert as being not soe suitable to our present purpose; but rather to take Notice of such p'ticulars as were occasioned thereby p'tenent to our p'sent worke

In order whervnto the Reader may take Notice that the Petition M^r Winslow prefered respecting the p^rmisses; was accepted with most of their lordships and hee was heard Sundry times by them; and appointed further to attend¹ for an Answere from them especially haueing vpon Conference with them; Proposed a way how the p'ticulars hee petitioned for, might be effected without any Charge or trouble to the State &c

But this Crossed both Sir fardinandoe Gorges and Capt. Masons and the Archbishop of Canterberrys ends by them aimed att:² for Sir fardinandoe Gorges by the Archbishops fauor, was to haue bin sent ouer Generall Gou^r into the Country and to haue had meanes from the State for that end and was now vpon dispatch and Conclusion of the busines; and the Archbishops Purpose by this means and some hee should Imploy for that Purpose to be furnished with ePiscopall power to disturbe the peace of the Churches heer in New England, and to ouerthrow their proceedings and further Growth which was the thing hee Aimed att; But it soe fell out by Gods Prouidence, That altho hee in the end Crosed this Petition from taking any further effect in this Kind; yett by this as a Cheiffe Meanes the plott and whole busines &c Sir fardinandoe fell to the Ground and Came to Nothing; when M^r Winslow should have had his suite Graunted (as Indeed upon the Point it was) and should have bine Confirmed the Archbisshop put a stopp vpon it; and m^r Winslow thinking to Gett it freed went to the board againe But the Bishop Sir fardinandoe and Capt. Mason had as it seems procured (Morton of whom mensioned is Made before, and his Abusiue Carriage) To Complaine To whose Complaints M^r Winslow Made answere to the Good Satisfaccion of the Auditors: viz Lords foremensioned whoe Checked the said Morton and rebuked him sharply; and alsoe³ blamed Sir fardinandoe Gorges and Mason for Countenancing

¹ Here "further" is crossed out.

² The words "aimed att" are written above another word, crossed out.

³ Here a word is crossed out.

him; But the bishop had a further end and vse of his Presence for hee Now began to question M^r Winslow of Many things¹ as of Teaching in the Church Publickely of which Morton Acused and Gave evidence that hee had seen and heard him to doe it;²

of this
Morton calle
Thomas
Morton
see more in
New England
Memoriall

To which M^r Winslow Answared That sometime wanting a minnester hee did³ exercise his Gift to heelp the edification of his bretheren when they wanted better meanes [48] which was not oftens,

Then about Marriage which hee alsoe Confessed that haueing bine Called to place of Majestracy hee had sometimes married some, and further told thire Lordships, that Marriage was a Ciuill ordinance And hee found noe wher in the word of God, that it was tyed to minnistry, againe they were Nessesitated soe to doe; haueing for a long time together att first noe minnester; besides; it was noe new thinge for hee had bin soe married himselfe in holland, by the Majistrate in their Statehouse but in the end to be short, for these and such like thinges the Bishope by vehement Importunitie procured their Lordships Consent to his Comittment; soe hee was Comitted to the fleet and lay there 17 weekes (or thereabouts) before hee Could Gett a Releasment and this is the end of this Petition and this busines; onely the other designe was alsoe frusterated heerby with other things Concurring which was noe small blessinge to the Churches and people of God in New England,

In Ann^o: 1637

There arived one Samull Gorton att Boston and Came to Plymouth and vpon his first Comeing thether gaue hopes that hee would have proued a vsefull Instrument but soon after discovered himselfe to be a proud and pestilent seducer and deeply leauened with Blasphemous and familisticall opinions, and obserueing that some of his speritt were alreddy in the Country hee takes his oppertunity to sow some such seed att Plymouth wherby some were seduced in special one John Weekes and his wife whoe in some short time became very Atheists⁴ and were Cast out of the Church for their abominable opinions; by which said damnable opinions seurall young

Concerning
Gorton
see New
Englands
Memoriall
folio 108
142/3.

¹ Written above a word crossed out.

² Here the words "to which m^r" are crossed out.

³ Here "exercise" is crossed out.

⁴ Here a word is crossed out.

folkes¹ belonging to the Church had like to have been Carried asside into the pathes of darknes, from Plymouth hee went to Rhod Island & his accomplices some of them, with him whoe were some of them Cast out for the said oppinions; wherof the Reader may haue a full Intelligence, as in the margeant you are directed

In some time (as I take it) after the aboue Named busines about Gorton; by Reason or occation of the before mensioned deuision and decention of the Church of Barnstable² one of the Church of Plymouth whoe was formerly a deacon therof; fell into the error of Anabaptistry⁴ and falling in with some of those that Carried on that Scismaticall deuision; att length was Called in qvestion by the Church; and Continewing in his obstanacye and sequestration from the Church Comunion att times of sollemne worshipp was alsoe Cast out of the Church and soe Remaineth vntill this day;

This John Cooke although a Shallow man became a Cause of trouble and decension in our Church and Gaue Just occation of there Casting of him out; soe that Sollomon words proued true in him that one Sinner destroyeth much Good⁵

Not very longe after this, one Samuell hickes a member of the Church⁶ began to be vnsetled about seuerall of the ordinances of Jesus Christ; and qvestioned seuerall of them about baptising of Infants singing of Psalmes and seuerall other p'ticulars; which occasioned the Calling of the Church together; and being destitute of any in Minnesteriall office they⁷ were Nessesitated to appoint seuerall of the ablest of the⁸ bretheren to Cleare vp the truth against the said qveryes; which Implied opposition to the truth, and although as in the prouerbe it is ezier for a Child yea a foole to Cast Stones into a well then for a wise man to Gett them out;⁹ In which Respect it had ben better to haue qvelled and stifled such qvestions Rather;

¹ The words "young folkes" are underscored.

² The words "Church of Barnstable" are perhaps underscored.

³ The reference is to p. [37] of the text, or pp. 72-73 of this volume.

⁴ Here a word, perhaps "and," is crossed out.

⁵ This sentence is written in the margin.

⁶ The words "a member of the Church" are written above a word, crossed out.

⁷ Here "Church" is crossed out.

⁸ Here a word or letter is crossed out.

⁹ Here a word is crossed out.

then to haue disputed them;¹ It being a Maxeme amonge logitians, that hee that denyes (and by like Reason) qvestions his principles is not worthy to be Reasoned with all, (as² this unsettled man did) yett this occasioned some good, for hereby the³ orthodox were put upon more strict enquiry⁴ into such grounds as the Lord in his holy word afords vs, for defence of his Sacred truthes and holy appointments, which I hope became profittable in Rooting and Grounding them therin and although Notwithstanding there may appeer some weaknes in those answarees that were made; yett the Lord was pleased to blesse them for the silenceing of such Cauills as did⁵ about those times arise from him and others; and to a more firmer establishment of⁶ many I hope in the present truth, and hoping that some future Benifitt may Redound vnto surviueing Sainsts; if Noe otherwise yett that by the weaknes which Abler Christians may deserue in the p'usall of those Answarees they may be prouoked to Contribute there healp as oppertunitie may present to more full and satisfactory Answarees and therefore as followeth [49] haueing lately Receiued a Paper from our brother Samuell hickes Containeing severall qveryes to the Number of⁷ 14 in which hee Requyireth a p'ticulare text of Scripture by vs to be produced for our practice wee haue Indeaured through the healp and Assistance of God, to Give our Grounds taken out of the Scriptures of truth Respecting the thinges by him mensioned as followeth

1 Youer first Concerning Aposteles if you meane by Apostles such Apostles as the 12 Apostles of the lambe wee affeirme that there is Noe Ground to expect any such for these Reasons following

1 Because those apostles of Christ were Called Imediately by the Lord Jesus and the name Given by him as appeers Luke the Sixt: 13; which by the way take Notice that it is presumption for any to assume that title; or for any to Call any soe but such as Christ hath soe Named; That such were Imediately Called will appeer by these Scriptures following 1 Gall: 1 mat: 10th: 2: mark 3:14:

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² Here some words are interlined and crossed out.

³ Here a word is crossed out.

⁴ Here "after" is crossed out.

⁵ Here two words are interlined and crossed out.

⁶ Here a word is crossed out.

⁷ Here "eighteen" is crossed out.

2 Reason taken from their worke which was as Respecting other particulars soe to beare witness to the Resurrection of Christ Actes 1: 22: as Christ appointed them actes 1: 8: and yee shalbe witnesses vnto mee both in Iurusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and vnto the vtmost p^tes of the earth; which agreeth with Actes 10: 39 and 40 41: 42; him God Raised vp the third day; and shewed him openly not to all the people but vnto witnesses Chosen before of God euen to vs whoe did eate and drinke with him after hee arose &c compare heer-with 1 Cor: 9: 1: and 15: 18:

3 Reason because they were Infallibly Assisted in declaring the mind of Christ soe as they Could not erre; and whatsoever they wrote or spake in the said p^ticulars were the Comaundements of the Lord Jesus Mathew 28: 20 1 Cor 11: 23 and 14 Chap: 37 and whoseuer shall bringe any other Godpell hee shall Acursed Galla: 1: 8: God alsoe bearing them witnesses both with signes and wonders and Gifts of the holy speritt heb: 2: 4: And as Concerning the 4th to the ephesians and the 12 &c though wee say that the Apostles are seased in their p^rsons yett not in their doctrines; To be short wee Conceaued of¹ That text thus that all the² Minnestryes are frutes of Christs assention; and doe still Continew for the p^rfecting of the saints Pastours and Teachers being p^rte of that Minnestrye in the Church hath and doth still Injoy all the minnestryes Christ hath appointed for it which suiteth with³ Jude the 1 the faith once delivered to the saints and Jude 17: the p^rmisses duely Considered there is Noe Necessitie to expect any such⁴ for the foundation of the Christian Church is laid already by the m^r Builders 1 Cor: 3: 10: 11: heb: 6: 1:

Qu^r 2 What forme of⁵ Couenant the people of God made when they owned the truth in the primetiuie times

Answer That the Churches in the New Testament were Constituted by Couenant appeers in that the p^rmitiuie Christians walked in holy fellowship together with Admonition and exclusion as occa-

¹ Here "those" is crossed out.

² Here "minnestryes" is crossed out.

³ Here "it" is crossed out.

⁴ Here something is crossed out.

⁵ Here "Gods" is crossed out.

tion Required which Nessesarily presuposeth a Couenant according to actes the¹ second² 42: Acts the 9: 26:

2 how can two walk together except they be Agreed Amos 3: 3:

3 The destinction of Churches soe as the Church of Corenth was not the Church of ephesus and soe of the Rest; and the members of one Church were Not the Members of another Collo: 4: 12: Rom. 16: 1: and vnto this agree that which wee haue Ps. 50: 2: 2 Cron: 15: 12:

Query 3 Whether³ singing of Psalmes in a booke be a worshiping of God in speritt and truth seeing the Apostle saith singing in the speritt praying in the speritt 1 Cor: 14: 15

Answer Wee Answer that it is a Worshiping of God in speritt and truth Rightly to singe Psalmes: viz: Scripture Psalmes;

1 Because the Matter of them is Spirituall appointed to be sunge as being Indited by the speritt of God and Named Psalmes himes and spirituall songes Ephe 5: 19 Collo: 3: 16: [50]

2 for the manor Respecting the Internall affection It is with Grace in our harts making mellodie to the Lord in our harts Ephe: 5: 19: Collos: third 16:

3 It is spirituall worshipp because it is Comaunded of God 2 Cron: 29: 30:

4 Query if I may worshipp God in sperit & truth singing out a booke why may I Not worship God in praying out of a booke

Answer: 1 by the way take Notice that wee Conceiue it to be a Great Contempt Cast upon the Scriptures of Truth to parraleel singing of Psalmes which are a p^rte of the holy Scriptures Indited by the holy Speritt of God with Invented formes of prayers printed in bookes made by wee know not⁴ whoe

2. The proportion of this youer Consequence or Inference hold not; of praying and singing Respecting the externall action; for in prayer wee speake to God but in singing wee speake⁵ to⁶ ourselues and one another by Admonishing our selues and one another Collosi 3: 16:

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Two or three words are crossed out before "whether."

⁴ Here a word is crossed out.

⁵ Here "by" is crossed out.

⁶ Here "to" is crossed out.

If to singe be to pray; then euery one that singeth prayeth which Can not be respecting the externall acte of one¹ or the other; for if one should be asked whoe cometh from a Congregation in² Sperituall exercise what are they about; if hee should Answare they are praying, when they are singing would hee³ not be Judged by all to speake falsely; wee say respecting the externall acte onely; and soe by like Reason to say⁴ they are singing when they are praying; which were not soe Rediculus if to singe were to pray as the objecters; Asertion seemeth to Infer;

3 The proportion holds not; in Respect of the externall actions of singing and praying because the Psalmes all of them are matter of Instruction; yee many of them⁵ are not in the Least deliuered prayer wise as Psalms 78:49:45: and Many others;

5 qvery about Singing wherein a Scripture is Required to proue a mixed Multitude singing doe worship God in speritt and truth seeing that it is said that the prayers of the wicked are abomination to the Lord;

Answe: Wee say that that the Churches of Christ⁶ are Intire in their worshipp, and actes of Sperituall⁷ worships may be p^rformed in A mixed Multitude Exod 15: 1: Comp with exodo 12: 38: and exodu: 14: last: 1 Cor: 14: 23: 24: 25; And wee know not that the p^rsence of any such as you Name doth or Can defile the worship of God more in singing than in saying Amen to the prayer of the faithfull; or any other p^rte of sperituall worship such as are prophane are noe more prohibited from p^rforming actes of worshipp, by that Scripture you alledge then to Give ouer their lawfull Callings because the plowing of the wicked is sin;

2 Wee find in the holy Scriptures an Insightment vnto all to singe praises to God as Psalmes 100:1: and 117, and wher God Insights wee see Noe Reason to prohibite; Besides wee doe not qvestian but that many of those that are. Not in Actuall Comunion in Church

¹ Here "and" is crossed out.

² Written above a word crossed out.

³ Written above a word crossed out.

⁴ Here a word is crossed out.

⁵ Here a word is crossed out.

⁶ Here a word is crossed out.

⁷ Here a word or two are crossed out.

order may and doe p^rforme many actes of sperituall worship, acceptable to God through Jesus Christ;

6 Query about the Churches power to ordain their owne officers;

Answe: Wee Answare the Church hath eqvall power to ordaine as well as to elect their owne officers election and ordination are Joined together acts 14:23: what the Apostles did it is plaine they did it not without the Churches but with them; the Church elected the Apostles might acte with them in election as the Church acted with them in ordination;

2 It is in the Churches power to elect their officers acts the sixt soe alsoe to ordaine being both included in that power Christ hath Giuen to his Church; otherwise election would be Rendered alto Gether fruitles and to noe purpose because election is presedent to ordination and¹ ordination noe other than a designation of the p^rson elected to his office;

7 To the Next about ordination whether ordination be a bare Impty thing yee or Noe; wee Cannot but Maruell that our brother should make such a qvery; are any of Christs Institutions empty things ordination is noe² empty thinge; yett laying on of hands in this Case noe such thinge that Confers³ Gifts to places and Callings vnto any; further then such an one being Rightly according to God Called and ordained in such a way as Christ hath appointed by prayer &c there may be expected a blessing of God vpon his owne appointment; [51]

2 wee answare that Gifts and qvallifacations suitable to minnestr⁴ of the Gospell befitting their worke Can not be Confered by ordination because they are to be known before election⁵ to haue Gifts fitt for it and ordination; 1 tim: 3: 1 titus 7:

Qvry 7 A Scripture to prove the baptising of Infants

Answe: Wee Answare that Infants of beleiueng parents are to be baptised is Cleared by the Tenure of Gods Couenant made with the faithfull and their seed as appeers Genesis 17th; which Couenant made with Abraham was the Couenant of Grace and of the

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² Here "emty" is crossed out.

³ Here "Grace" is crossed out.

⁴ This word has apparently been altered.

⁵ Here some words are crossed out.

Gospell Gall: 3: 17¹ and that this was the Couenant of the Gospell Appeers plainly because the seale of it: viz: Cercomission is expressly Called the seale of the Righteousnes that is by faith Rom: 4: 11 the promise is; that beleiuers; Now as the Infants of the Jewes were Capable subjects of Cercomission in their Infancy soe the Infants of beleiueing parents are fitt subjects for baptisme; which is the seale of the Righteousnes which is by faith the promise is to beleiuers and their seed and to as many as the lord our God shall Call Actes the 2: 39 Esai 65: 23: 1 Cor: 7th: 14: else were your Children vnclean but now are they holy Rom: 11: 16; if the Root be holy soe are the brances besides seuerall other places that proue² the Churches both of Jewes and Gentiles *³ ephesi 3: 6: ephe: 2: 16: John 10: 16: ⁴ wee demaund of those that Scruple this truth; lett them if they ⁵ Can Giue vs one hint out of the Scriptures of Gods excluding such out of his Couenant as were once Included within the same; and if not how then dare any vndertake to doe it without Comission from God; Wee are Not wholly Ignorant that much hath bin spoken and written by many about this p^rticular which Giues vs to thinke that it is not so much want of Light as of Loue to the truth that occasions this query att this time;

8 Query A text to proue an officer of a p^rticular Congration to adminnester the seale of Baptisme

Answe you might as well haue taken the other seale; for the Reason stands as well to Scruple⁶ the one as the other;

That a minnester of a Congregation is to Adminnester the seales of the Couenant p^rticularly Baptismee; wee proue because it is to be dispenced by the minnistry that Christ hath Giuen to his Church mat: 28: last Apostles and evangelists were Christs minnistry and they baptise I Cor 1: 14 :: 16: Acts 8th thirteenth and : 38: p^rticular officers as Pastours and Teachers are Christs minnistry and therefore it is their worke to baptise; Christs minnesters are to Baptise but Pastours and Teachers are Christs Minnesters Ephe 4: 11 Therefore Pastours & Teachers are to Baptise

¹ Written above a figure crossed out.

² Here some words are interlined and crossed out.

³ Here some words are interlined and crossed out.

⁴ Here some words are interlined and crossed out.

⁵ Here a word or letter is crossed out.

⁶ Here "for" is crossed out.

2 it is the worke of Pastours and Teachers Minnesterially to feed the flock is proued acts 20: 28: now feeding Consisteth Not onely in preaching the word though principally but alsoe in Adminnestring the seales of the Couenant of Grace and otherwise alsoe; it being a Reall feeding to the Soule to haue the seale of Baptisme aplied to it in such a way and by such a minnistry as Christ appoints: viz: Pastours and Teachers;

9 Query; A Scripture for a man to take a text of Scripture for Carrying on the whole exercise;

Answe Wee propose that text of our Sauour his takeing the book of the Prophett Eaiiah luke 4: 17: 18 Acts, and actes the second and actes 13: from the 16 &c 20th & acts the 7th if the question hath Reference to such as exercise Not by office; wee answare for our p^rtes that wee Can scarce Gett one to heelp att a time and it is Not likely; that two or three wilbe ordinarily prouided; but to Remove the scruple Respecting ourselues wholly out of doubt; if such as Scruple the Carrying on of an exercise by one if they be pleased to speak to edification on such a time as one or more may speak after; wee suppose, that none wilbe Greiued att it; [52]

Quri 10 Wher wee haue a Scripture to proue that the world should be compelled to maintaine the Churches officers

Ans. It is not knowne to be the Churches Judgment; and wee are sure it Neuer was their Practice; and for vs to meddle in that which doth not Concerne vs wee should heerby declare our selues to be busy in that which is Needles as from vs;

Query 11 A Scriptures that the officer of the Church should Stand vp to pronounce a blessing and whether Christ be Not the onely blesser of his People;

Wee Answare by destinckson

1 That Christ is the onely efficient and absolute blesser of his People wee willingly owne and that for that end hee was sent Actes the 3: 26 being a p^rte of the office of Christ his preisthood to blesse vs by turning euery one of vs from our Iniquities;

2 Wee owne a prophetticall pronouneation of blessing Gen 27 Gen: 49 dutrinomy 33: which wee Affirme is seased and ended; with such times as in which such prophetts and Patriarkes liued as declared such blessings by way of prediction;

3 More p^rticularly to the Case in hand wee affirme there is a

declaratiue blessing Implying and Carrying alonge with it a prayer for a blessing of God vpon the people according to 2 Cor:13:14: Compared with heb:13:20:in which places with many others the Apostles declare wish vnto and pray for a blessing to the saints vnto whom they wrote their Sacred Epistales; and vsually Closed them with the same exemplary to the Minnistry of the Gospell for the Closing and finishing; of their Religious exercises;

4 But more p^rticularly and expresse to the Case is that famous Presedent wee haue Numbers the sixt 24:25:26: where by diuine Institution; the Preists the sones of Aron Called the Minnesters of the Lord Joell the second; and 17th are Comaunded to blesse in a treble declaration therof; wherin is couched a deuine Mistery of the holy trenity suitable to what wee haue 2 Cor:13: last: the Grace of our Lord¹ Jesus Christ the loue of God and the Comunion of the holy speritt; further lett the fornamed Numb:6:23: be seriously Considered in the expressions on this wise yee shall blesse the Children of Israell saying vnto them; which vndoubtedly must be att their holy Convocations; when Congregated in the Name of the Lord; for Religious worship for how Could the Preists blesse them and say vnto them; vnlesse Congregated² together and what time more Convenient then att the Periode of Religious exercises; when God hath mett with his people and blessed them there for the minnesters of Christ to³ pronounce⁴ them blessed and they shalbe blessed;

But if objection should be made that this was Cerimoniall and tipified Christ the high Preist of his Church whoe blessed his People as aforsaid wee Answare that although the Preists of old were types of Christ and in sundry of their adminestrations Tipicall yett they were Really the minnesters of God in their times as hath bin proued; alsoe in diuers p^rticulares exemplary in their practices to the minnesters of the Gospell; there being⁵ Many thinges in Comon to be practised as Comon to them both; in Adminestrations⁶ as minnesters of God as Prayer preaching of the word and soe alsoe that manor of blessing of which wee haue bin treating

¹ Apparently altered from "Lordshippe."

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Here a word, apparently "promise," is crossed out.

⁴ Written above a word crossed out.

⁵ Here "in" is crossed out.

⁶ Here "and" is crossed out.

Lastly incase the minnesters of Christ should be prohibited to pronounce and declare and pray for a blessing on the people of God in such sort; this were to straighten the times of the Gospell; and the fulnes of the blessings¹ therof; and to make them Inferior to the times of the law in this Respect; vnder which the blessings of the Gospell were vaild² vnder darke shaddowes; [53]

Query 12 A Scripture for any to sett vp a vissible Church and ordinances without a minnistry sent from God to fitt them and Call them to that worke;

Answer that none May soe doe is a truth in A true sence viz that none may sett vp a Church worship or ordinances vnlesse seing themselves fited prepared and Called by the doctrines of the Propetts and Apostles whoe were extreordinarily Inspired from on high and Comissionated to teach the saints whatsoever Christ the Lord has appointed them Matt 28 is a manifest truth and for any to practice otherwise then by direction of those³ Master Builders were high presumption; But if wee haue Moses and the prophetts Christ and his Apostles their doctrines and directions to be our Guides in the premises which wee judge to a most sure way for vs to Attend; Rather then to expect men extreordinarily Inspired or any such as may or doe pretend to be Indowed with Apostollicall Gifts and Revelations being wee haue soe sure a word of prophesie to Guid vs in such work; whervnto if wee take heed wee shall vndoubtedly doe well; wee might add that for many ages the saints have not wanted diuers exelent Instruments of which many might be Named whoe vndoubtedly were Raised vp of God and; and directed by his word and speritt and haue bin precieuse Lights in Goeing before the saints in such worke although not pretending to and boasting of Apostollicall Gifts and Reuelations;

To the Question about the Sabbath as followeth

That wee keep it by Comaundement of men wee detest as that which is abominable and our soules hate; to keep the seauenth p^rte of time wee owne that it is according to Gods Comaund; and whether you Call it the sabbath the first day of the weeke or the Lords day wee owne them as suitable termes according to Scripture

¹ Here the words "of the Gospell" are crossed out.

² Here "vnder" is crossed out.

³ Perhaps "these."

Respecting the time in question; That the Lords day or first day of the weeke is a Rest to be observed and kept by the saints vnder the Gospell; by diuine Institution; wee shalbe able to proue by primitiue Pateren taken out of the New Testament as you desire And first for the variouse denominations of the time which is threefold; Wee find in first of Cor: 16:2: Called the first day of the weeke; and actes the 20th-7th: Called the Lords day 1 Reue 10th) Called a Sabbath Mat: 24: 20: in this Last Called a sabbath; which must Needs be the same with the Lords day and first day of the week the Churches meeting day and day of Rest and not the Jewes sabbath viz: the seauenth day; for the flight heere foretold by Christ was Longe after the Gospell¹ ordinances were established and that this was spoken to Christians Not to Jewes (as Jewes) but to his desiples verse the third for hee taught them att that time² as Coming vnto him secretly; and it was a warning vnto them to be prepared before hand; and therefore to pray that their flight might not be in the winter nor on the sabbath day; for they must expect to be put to flight³ and otherwise euilly Intreated for the Name of Christ as verse the third: 4: 9: 25: and 26 with luke the 22: 12:

2 in that our Sauour saith pray yee makes it plaine that hee speakes of Christians

3 The time of his Sermon in which this warning and exhortation was Giuen: viz: it being Neare to his suffering att which time it is altogether vnlikely that he would prouide for the establishment of the Jewish Cerrimonies * which ere longe were to be abollishment; it being one of the most waighty p'ticulars which Christ spake of which there were many that hee vttered a little before his suffering and therefore exhorts them to pray that their flight might not be in the winter nor in the sabbath day as that which would be Most sad to be soe disturbed; when⁴ and att such time as appointed for their Religious exercyses they should be Constrained to ffly;

Now to proue this first day and our Lords day: viz:⁵ our Christian Sabbath to be off⁶ Gods Institution wee must first doe it by the

¹ Here the letters "ord" are crossed out.

² Altered from "times."

³ Here the words "and otherwise" are crossed out.

⁴ Perhaps "wher."

⁵ Here the words "To be allowed" are crossed out.

⁶ Apparently altered from "after."

Great workes of Christ Concerning Mans Redemption; for as God when hee had finished his Great [54] work of Creation in six dayes Rested the seauenth and sanctified it as to be a Sabbath; soe in Allusion heervnto it is that the auther to the heb: 4: 10: saith that Christ Rested from his worke: viz: of our Redempcion as God did from his;

2 That day Christ by his Resurrection from the dead is declared to be the head of his Church yee the Cheiffe stone of the Corner; salm 118: 22: 23: It being the day the lord hath made verse 24:

3 The frequent Assemblyes of the saints for Religiouse exercises on the¹ first day of the week as actes 20th: 7: 1 Cor: 12: 2: Reuel: 1: 10: Pathmosse did noe more² denote a p'ticulare and knowne Iland and John a Certain and knowne p'son then did the lords day a Certaine and Knowne day especially vnto Christians to whom the Apostle wrote; for if it had the Name of the day from the vision then appeering to him and of the speciall manifestation of Gods mind and of Gods Coming in vnto him on that behalf; how should the seauen Churches of Asia Clearly distinguish of the time according to Johns Intension by telling them hee was Rauished in speritt on the lords day these p'ticulars Considered wee Conclude that the Lords day soe called Rev: 1: 12 is the same with the first day of the week being the day the Lord hath made and appointed to be obserued by vs Christians;

This day wee proue was kept and obserued by the Apostles of Christ and Employed in a speciall p'te of their Masters busines; Now whatsoeur they Receiued by way of Comision from the Lord they haue deliuered vnto vs and wee bound to obserue but the Apostle Paule 1 Cor: 16: 2 by Apostollycall Comaund Injoynes the Contribution for the poor saints in Siria euen as hee apointed in other Churches to be on that day therefore &c:

If this p'ticular Respecting Contribution must be obserued by Apostollicall Comaund much more the time for that and all other publicke and Religious exerises ought to be by Apostollicall Comaund obserued as³ is appointed in the fore quoted⁴ place; 1 Cor: 16: 2:

¹ Here "Lords" is crossed out.

² Here a word, perhaps "denote," is crossed out.

³ Here a word, perhaps "is," is crossed out.

⁴ Written above "goeing," crossed out.

Wee proue this day to be obserued Sabbattically by Apostolicall Comaund¹ because that it was Neuer lawfull nor in the power of any Church or people to sett apart a day to bind all² mens Consiences to the obseruation therof which; if not Graunted Respecting the Lords day wee ezely see what will follow if that day be att our Christian libertie as some say then it will follow that it being att the libertie of a Church to make Choics of the first day for their sollome Meetinges; and if any other societie will mak Choise of the fift sixt or seauenth: which they may by like libertie that the former made Choise of the first;

And hence it will follow that a societie acteing to this³ supposed libertie, that which is euery ones libertie the Generall Can not take from the p'ticulars, Therefore if one two fiae or more think it Not Good to keep such a day their Consiences are not bound they may vse another day if it suits beter with them and their occations and soe it is ezely descerned That if wee had Not a time by Gods Appointment that this pretended libertie of a day to be Arbtrary att Mens Choise for Religious worshipp will Neuer satisfye a Consien-sous Christian that is Grounded on the Scriptures of truth;

But besides this vnauoidable Confusion of Leauing such time Arbtrary to the will of man to bind Consience to the obseruance of it soe as the seauenth day of old and the first day of the weeke Now is more then God allowed to any people In keeping of the first day or any other by vertue of our owne appointment Meerly is superstition and Papisticall and Parralell: with the feast that Jeraboam in the eight month and the fifteenth day therof kept of which wee Read 1 kinges 12:32:33: which was lik that which was obserued in Judah which hee is Charged to hau deuised it of his owne hart; thus men may keep a day which is Really the Lords day but if they obserue it as Arbtrary att their owne⁴ wills it may be but a deuise of their owne harts; [55]

Wee Read of dayes in Scripture appointed to be obserued by the Comaund; of God; And wee Read of dayes on some accmpt wee ought to keep by Christian libertie as wee haue oppertunitie such a

¹ Here a word is crossed out.
² Here "mens" is crossed out.
³ Here a word is crossed out.
⁴ Here something is crossed out.

Good day Esra 9:17:18:19 soe answarable amongst Christians now when God Calles to sollem humilliation and thanksgiueing the same may and ought to be kept: euen such dayes when Called therto¹ yett those are not holy dayes It is popery for men to putt soe much vpon the day Butt that time wee Call² the Lords day or sabbath it is a holy day sett apart by God and that makes it holy Now to Cleare vp our meaning heerin take Notice of these three p'ticulars

This will shew a vast difference betwixt obserueing a day by Gods Comaund and such as are agreed on by Christians either in whole or p'te;

first wee may depute such a time or such a place to spend an houre or two to heare a Sermon and yett this time place or &c: is not made holy by it it is deputed but Not made holy Now a Creature is Not made holy meerly by being made vse of att an holy exerceyse; as suppose I Goe to Read the holy Scripture I make vse of a Candle to Read it by I doe not Make the Candle holy by it because I make vse of it; if the makeing vse of a Creature in a holy duty did make the Creature holy then it would follow Generally in all duties I make vse of the light and aire when I am Reading and speaking holy things in publick Assemblies I doe not make them holy soe I make vse of this houre to preach in though I make vse of in a holy duty I make it noe further holy then³ a man doth his spectacles hee vseth to Read the Scriptures by; Now deputation is puting a part of such a time for such a worke; and thus farr Goe they whoe obserue a day by their libertie

2condly dedication that is when I Giue a thinge out of my owne proper for a Pious vse that I can not make vse therof againe for an other end as when a man hath Giuen soe much of his estate to such or such pious vses hee hath devoted it to such an end and soe that hee Can not make vse of it (without sin) to another end;⁴ wee doe not soe by setting a part a time for preaching soe as wee can not without sin make vse of it to another end; and soe if a people sett apart a time for humilliation; it may fall out that the time may be sett apart for thanksgiueing if Gods prouidence Change⁵ and that without

¹ Altered from "theire."
² Apparently altered from "Called."
³ Here "he" is crossed out.
⁴ Here some words are crossed out.
⁵ Perhaps "Charge."

sin and soe for preaching wee may alter the time from twelue to three;¹ and soe further, if wee Attend noe² houre that day to heare a Sermon if occations Calls men³ otherwaies; but if wee haue dedicated or Giuen out of our owne power It Can not be Changed by vs; this is beyond the other yett Not sanctifying

Now Sanctification is when any Creature or time is soe sett apart for holy things as it must not be vsed in Any thing but that which is holy; and though the same holy actions be don att⁴ another time they shall not be⁵ accompted soe holy as att this time This is proper sanctification; and the setting appart of any day thus⁶ that is such a day as God Giues mee to make vse of for my occations if I shall sett it apart for such a busines and put more holines in the actions then p^rformed then the same actions p^rformed att an other time I sanctify time to my selfe; but thus wee Can not doe without sin:

Now these two things are in our Lords day of Gods appointment [56] and Indeed in all things that are accompted holy by God

1 It is a sin to make vse of that any otherwise then God hath appointed it

2 The actions done then are more acceptable then if the same things had bin done att another time yee wee shall find it soe spoken Concerning the day of Attonment which was a day appointed of God if they had fasted vpon another day it was Not soe acceptable because that day was Gods appointment;⁷ By this you may see that wee put a vast difference between a day of Gods appointment and what man appoints; and soe for the Change of the day from the seauenth to the first Changable by the law Giuer whoe was Lord of the sabbath; The Christian primitiue patterer by Comaund from Christ and his holy Apostles the Master builders of his Church whom following in this and other p^rtes of our Christian profession wee shall haue wherwith to satisfy our Consiences being p^rswaded that as it is onely in the power of God and his son Christ to appoint

¹ Here some words are crossed out.

² Here "hour" is crossed out.

³ Here "away" is crossed out.

⁴ Here "any" is crossed out.

⁵ Here the words "Called holy" are crossed out.

⁶ Here some words are crossed out.

⁷ Here some words, perhaps "and what man appoints," are crossed out.

what day hee will to be obserued as a sabbath soe it is too much boldnes in any man to say either to Christ in Comaunding or to any Christian in practiceing wherfore doest thou thus;

And soe I haue Issued Matters Relateing to these Queries and Answares; this poor vnsettled man fell yett further and further, and att last became a qvaker; and about the Indian warr time hee died.

I may not omitt to¹ Insert somthing in this place before I draw towards a Conclusion Concerning that worthy servant of Jesus Christ m^r John² Reyner somtimes Teacher of this Church haueing touched somthing Concerning him before

hee serued Christ in the office of Teacher about eighteen yeers being Assisted therin by m^r Tho: Cushman Elder in Great faithfulness and with much Industry being largely Indowed with Gifts suitable to soe worthy a worke; and might haue Continewed³ much longer therin to the Glory of Christ and Comfort of the saints had not sin and Sathans mallice hindered The vnhappy difference that fell out in the Church of Barnstable had such an ill Influence into the Church of Plymouth as that it; Together with the vnsettlednes of the Church and Going away of diuers of this Church yee of the eminentest of them was a meanes of vnsettlement to this holy man of God and althoe much blame may bee Layed to the people about his Removall yett himselfe Can not be wholly excused But the breach was soe Great by the leaueing of the Church as it is to be feared will neuer be made vp againe especially Considering the Insensible fraun⁴ att that time on those whoe were Concerned therin; both in Respect of sin that caused it, and in Respect of our losse of him which ought to haue bin more layed to hart then it⁵ was; hee left Plymouth in the month of Nouember 1654: and went to Boston where hee Continewed that winter and Came the springe following in a way of visitt and would haue bin ezely p^rswaded to Come againe if the people would haue Condecended to a proposition⁶ made by him; But they then

¹ Here the letters "spea" are crossed out.

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Here "therein" is crossed out.

⁴ This word is uncertain.

⁵ Here a word is crossed out.

⁶ Here some words are crossed out.

haueing aprise had¹ not a hart but aded to former sin by their Neglect of this tender of Mercy² being diuers of them Tainted with the then epidemically diseases of some parte of the Country about that time; viz a slight esteem of an able ministry; the Summer following hee was Invited to dower on Pascattaqua River and thither went and was Called to ministeriall office there wherin hee Continued vntill his death; hee was an able faithfull laborious preacher of the Gospell; and a wise orderer of the affaires of the Church hee was singularly Indowed with a Gift and propence vpon his spirit to traine vp children in a Cattikettical way in the Grounds of Christian Religion; soe that by losse of him Ignorance Inseued in the Towne of Plymouth amongst the; vouldare and alsoe much lysensiousnes and prophanes amongst³ the younger sort, in a word this worthy leader was Richly accomplished with such Gifts and qualifications as were befitting his place being wise faithfull Graue sober a louer of Good men Not Greedy of the matters of the world Armed with much faith patience⁴ and meeknes mixed with Currage for the cause of God; hee finished his Course att dower aforesaid and was there honorably buried in the month of Aprill in⁵ the yeer⁶ 1669: Whoe is; that faithfull and wise Steward whom his Lord when hee Cometh shall find soe doing; Mat: 24: 46: [57]

Before I passe on to Contract matters ymediatly Relateing to the Church of Christ att Plymouth, lett mee Craue leaue a little to digresse; and breifley to memorise something Concerning that worthy Church of Christ att Bridgwater whoe in a second Respect alsoe sprange out of the Church of Plymouth being first of duxburrow; and seated themselues att about 20 miles from thence att the place where they now are and doe Carry on in a way of peace holines and Good Gospell order soe as is exemplary to the saints and Churches Round about them being Garnished with Comly ornaments of able Graue and faithfull officers and liuely holy and well Improved members haueing for their Pastour M^r James Keith who Came by the

¹ Written above a word crossed out.

² Here the words "by the" are crossed out.

³ Here "amongst" is crossed out.

⁴ Here "and" is crossed out.

⁵ Written above "and," crossed out.

⁶ Here the words "of Aprill" are crossed out.

wise disposing hand of God out of Scotland¹ whom the said Church Chose to be their Pastour being accompanied² with a fellow healer in the Eldership named m^r Willam Brett a Gaue and Godly man; and haueing A goodman and one that hath approued himself faithfull in the office of a deacon; Named John Willis; whoe Notwithstanding some Interuption that befell them some smale time before the pening heerof yett goe on in peace and with Comfort; with some mixture of sadnes as fearing the effect of their beloued Pastour forenamed; his being in weaknes of body; wherby hee is disabled in his publick adminestrations for p^rsent;

But to Return where wee left on the othersyde, with the departure of Good m^r Rayner by death

Soon after whose departure to dower and noe hopes of his Returne to take place amongst; this poor forlorne flock of Christ Groning vnder the want of Gospell ordinances wee made many tryalls for a supply Improueing therein the healpe of the Reuernd Elders of the churches of Christ in the Massachusetts Bay; and by diuers sollicitations att sundry times³ seuerll Messengers were sent to them and the said Church Craueing their best healp for a supply; but Could not obtaine any healp Notwithstanding their said Indeaurs which⁴ alsoe were accompanied with fasting and prayer frequently; Continuing in this Condition for the space of about nine yeers; yett it is to be Remembered with thankfullnes vnto the lord both by vs surviveing and others of this Race that may⁵ surviue that the lord did not wholly desert his Church but vpheld them in a Constant way of⁶ publick worship euery lords day soe as to my Remembrance there did not one sabbath pas without two publick meetings in which the word of God was dispenced either by some of the Naighoring Minneters; or and that more frequently and Constantly by⁷ our beloued Elder m^r Thomas Cushman and some other brethern; the prenciple wherof were our then Surviueing and much honored Gou^r: m^r Willam Bradford and his son in law Captaine

¹ Here "and" is crossed out.

² Written above a word crossed out.

³ Here some words are crossed out.

⁴ Written above a word crossed out.

⁵ Written above "doe," crossed out.

⁶ Here the letter "w" is crossed out.

⁷ Here the words "some for" are crossed out.

Thomas Southworth a man Rarely Indowed both in Sacred and Ciuill Respects; and haueing Named him; and haueing alsoe spoken formerly Competently of the worth of that worthy servant of Christ forenamed: viz: m^r Willam Bradford¹ I shall stepp aside a little to Informe the Reader in the worth of this blessed saint whoe ended his life in the yeer 1669 after a longe time of² affliction vnder which hee Carried with much patience and Cherefullnes; hee was largely Indowed with a quicke apprehension and Good expression and of a Cherfull fram of speritt and loueing vnto all with humillitie and familiaritie as occation was towards all sorts of p^rsons but principally loued the saints; but more especially those that were most eminent in Grace; and Reuerenced and delighted in a Godly able minnistry hee had Attained to a Great Measure of vnderstanding in the Mistery of Jesus Christ of ffaith in him and liueing vp vnto him; and the Lord was pleased a little before his death to speake much peace to his soule in assurance of his loue through Christ Jesus; hee delighted in Cenceritie and was of an vnbiased Justice in all his actinges especially as to Majestraticall Respects; hee was not eger to seeke Great thinges for himself; hee was Instrumentall to both Court Church and Towne in which Respects all will dearly want him; haueing a Good abillitie to teach publickly hee was frequently Improued on that service; and the last time hee was att the publicke meeting on the lords day; hee exercised out of the 18th of Genesis 19:³ and finished his Course with much peace and Joy in beleiueng on the 8th of december 1669 [58]

1680

But to Returne;

It pleased the Lord to mix much Mercy with⁴ our affliction in the time of our vacancye of Minnistry not onely to healp vs to Carry on the worship of God but to healp vs alsoe to Conflict with some Considerable opposition; not onely from those whoe were of our owne before Named but in that time alsoe the p^rnisious sect of those Called Quakers arose whoe seuerall times Came to our Towne; and had speech with seuerall of vs and endeauored to broach there

¹ Here "fornamed" is crossed out.

² Here a letter is crossed out.

³ Here a figure is crossed out or blotted.

⁴ Here "with" is crossed out.

Cursed oppinions amongst vs; yett soe Graciously it pleased our Good God to dispose that although wee were destitute of any officially, to oppose these Gainsaiers yett of his Grace, soe to healp vs by his holy speritt to vnderstand and Improue his Good word; that none of vs were leauened with their fixions or fantacyes; noe not soe much as any of our Towne (sauē one family) which I desire may frequently be Remembred with humble thanksgiueing vnto the Lord by our selues and by others of the saints in our behalfe;

But as before expressed It pleased the Lord in that time of our soe Great and spirituall wants to hold vp our harts in an earnest desire of Minnistry and to put forth in Answarable Indeaours to procure the same; and wee had some answare and obtained some healp somtimes in preaching the word amongst vs p^rtely by one M^r James Williams; whoe was an able Gospell preacher; wee had hopes att his first Coming of his Continuance amonst vs; but hee soon left vs and went for England; In like manor m^r Willam Brinsmead a well accomplished servant of Christ Came to vs and was with vs one winter but att last saw Cause alsoe to leaue vs; and soe as yett wee Remained as sheep without a Shepard vntill att Length It pleased the Lord to send amonst vs m^r John Cotton the son of m^r John Cotton that famouth Gospell Preacher; somtimes Teacher of the first Church of Christ att Boston; the said m^r Cotton Junir was a man of stronge p^rtes and Good Abillities to preach the word of God; whoe after some time spent amongst vs was Chosen our Pastour and hath Continewed in that place amonst vs for the space of ten yeers and vpwards att the writing heerof; from whom wee haue Receiued many very proffitable truthes; and whoe ought to be the subject of our prayers that the Lord would Inspire him more and more with his holy speritt soe as hee may be an Instrument of his praise that soe by soundnes of doctrine and Cenceritie of Conversation hee may be Inabled Instrumentally to saue his owne soule and the soules of those that haue or may heare him;

And now lett the Reader take Notice. that the lord hath built this Church and preserued it¹ in Gospell order and holy proffession of his truth this threescore and twelue yeers; twelue yeers in holland and threescore yeers in New England and hath Carried it through

¹ Here "and" is crossed out.

many daingers sorrowes p^rsecutions and oppositions; soe as it Remaines althoe (much Inferiour to its first¹ begining) yett a church of Jesus Christ; haueing many Names in it whoe haue Not defiled their Garments whoe Noe doubt butt will walk with Christ in white Rayment for they are worthy Reuelati 3:4: yee the Lord In former times hath made it an Insightment and directory vnto others both in this Collonie and other Collonies in this land blessed be his holy name for the same The Consideration wherof Induceth mee to leaue a few words of exhortation first to such of the Rising Generation as are Related to the Church that they would make Good their leaders Ground by followeing their steps in the wayes of Christ in an holy and vnblamable life and Conversation and to Indeaour to walke in all the wayes and ordinances of God without Reproffe [59]

And the Rather lett this exhortation be Considered because soe many of the Rising Generation walk off from God and Neglect the Couenant which their fathers made with him² there seemes to be such a declinsion from the wayes of God appeering as wee Read of Judges 2:10: speaking of Israell; "and soe all the Generation was Gathered vnto their fathers; and another Generation arose after them which neither knew the lord; nor the workes which hee had don for Israell" &c:

2 Forasmuch as there seemes to appeer such a darke Cloud³ ouer the Christian world;⁴ which p^rtends a day of trouble and p^rsecution for the Name of Christ; that soe wee would walk in following the lord fully in an Constant holy and vnblamable profession of his Gospell; keeping the word of his Patience that soe wee may be kept from the hour of temptation which is probably Coming vpon all the world Reue:3:10: And soe Induring to the end wee may be saued:24: ⁵ mat:13:

Now vnto him that hath built and p^rserued this Church and all the Churches in this Land and through out the world; though in troublesom times whoe⁶ is the man that is Called the branch; whoe

¹ Here "beging" is crossed out.

² Here "thinges" is crossed out.

³ Here "of" is crossed out.

⁴ Here some words are crossed out.

⁵ This figure has been altered.

⁶ Here "hath" is crossed out.

bath doth and will build¹ the Temple of the Lord and hee shall beare the Glory Daniel: 9:
24 25

Now vnto him be Glory in the Church throuout all Ages world without end Amen

My earnest Request to those that shall Succeed both the Elders and Bretheren of this Church that they would be Carefull to Comitt to writing such future passages of Gods dispensations, as shall in the visisitude of his Good Prouidence Come to pas in succeeding times of and Conserving ecclesiasticall Considerations in speciall that soe their May be a succession of Renewed and various occations of praiseing God and the following Generations may haue the vse and benifitt of the; same the Good Lord be² pleased to speritt one or other of his servants for this soe Good a worke

Let the Reader take Notice that att the writing of this smale history there are fourscore Churches in Gospell order in New England Magar the Mallice of men and diuels; soe Greatly is the honor of the King of kinges our Lord Jesus advanced by the Multitude of his subjects³ in New England & wee doubt not but there are Many Blessed saints in the Land which are fitt to be layed and placed in the Lords building the Lord adde vnto his Churches from day to day such as shalbe Saued; [60⁴] [61]

GODLY AND CONSIENCIOUS READER

Itt is a Great part of the happines of heauen that the saints in Celestiall Glory are and shalbe all of one mind; and it is Not vnprobably Gathered by the Learned that when the Lord shalbe one and his Name one; there shalbe a Joynt Concurrence of the saints, in and about the matters of God; in the mean time it is Noe smale Greiffe to euery modest Moderate minded Christian; to see such discord amongst the best of saints, wheras if the Ground of the difference were somtimes well Scaned, it would appeer to be more in Cercomstance then in substance; more Nominall or Respecting Names or abusiue Names Giuen; then in substantial Reallities; Reuerend m^r Manton in his Sermon before the honorable house of Comons; Zache: 14: 9

¹ Here "Jerusalem" is crossed out.

² Here some letters are crossed out.

³ Here "and" is crossed out.

⁴ Page [60] is blank.

saith the diuill geteth Great advantages by Names amongst vs¹ Christia[ns] as Lutherans Caluenists Presbeterians Independants Inventing (saith hee) either such as may² tend to Contempt or derision as of old Christians of Late puritans; or to tumult and deuision as those Names amongst vs, vnder which the Members of Christ sadly Gather in to bodyes and p^ties Lett mee adde heervnto; That the mischiffe of this alsoe appeered when light sprange out of darknes of Popery; Then the Godly were forced to sustaine the Name of Puritanes and the Nicke Name of Brownests soe as many of the Godly in our Nation Lay in obscuritie vnder Contempt of those Names; and afterwards as Light appeered Notwithstanding became one in the profession & practice of the truth, Respecting the Kingly office of Christ wherin they seemingly differed; but a little before; both in New England and in old England But yett soe as som estrangednes Remaines amongst those although that in the maine and substance of things they are of one mind and with onenes of hart and mouth doe serue the Lord; and doe agree in and about the matters of the Kingdome of Christ on earth; yee and I doubt not but som such of them as were of³ the eminentest on both sydes whoe are now departed this life doe agree and haue sweet Comunion with each other in their more Nobleer p^te in Glory; I haue lately mett with a plaine Well Composed and vsefull dialogue; Pened by that honored Pateren of Piety Willam Bradford Esq^r: late Gou^r of the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth Collonie which occationally treats som thing of this Mater together with and In defence of such as I may without Just offence tearme martires of Jesus; and In defence of the Cause they suffered for; it being noe other in effect but what our Church and the Churches of Christ⁴ in New England doe both professe and practice I will not defend⁵ Neither doth hee all the words that might fall from those blessed soules in defence of the truth whoe suffered soe bitterly as they did from such as ere while; if I mistake Not, were forced to ffly into Germany for the Cause of God in Queen Maryes dayes and

¹ This word is perhaps crossed out.

² Here "Giue" is crossed out.

³ This word is perhaps crossed out.

⁴ Here "do" is crossed out.

⁵ Here "a" is crossed out.

these differences were partly blowne vp amongst these Christians by the Names of Brownest and Puritans

Returned againe in the happy Raigne of Queen Elizabeth and turned Prelates and bitter p^rsecutors, this thing Coñsidered,¹ and other things; alsoe if some passages that fell from them² might haue bin spared; yett in Many things wee all offend, and oppression will make a wise man madd saith Sollomon such Cercomstantiall weaknes will not vnsaint a Christian; Nor Render him noe Martire; if his Cause be Good, as you will find it to be by the Pruseing of this dialogue I doubt not; but lett it speake for it self; Gentle Reader I hope thou wilt obtaine a Cleare Resolution about diuers things whereof Posibly thou wert In doubt of formerly Respecting the p^rmisses; In the Transcribing wherof I haue taken the best Care I Could to preuent offence and to procure acceptance if any⁵ good Comes therof lett God haue all the praise [62]

m^r Henry Barrow m^r John Greenwood m^r John Penery [m^r William denis Coppin;³ and Elias⁴ and seuerall others that suffered much tho not put to death

A Dialogue⁶

or the sume of a Conference between som younge men borne in New England and sundery Ancient men that came out of holland and old England Ann^o dom̄ 1648

Gentlemen you were pleased to appoint vs this time to Confer with you and to propound such questians as might Giue vs satisfaction in some thinges wherin wee Are Ignorant or att least further light to som things that are more obscure vnto vs our first Request therefore is to know your minds Concerning the true and simple Meaning of those of the separation as they are tearmed; when they say the Church of England is noe Church or noe true Church;

Young men

ffor Answare heervnto first you must know that they speak of it as it then was vnder the hirarcicall prelacye which since haue bin put downe by the State, and not as it is Now vnsettled;

Ancient men

2 They noe where say that wee Remember that they are noe

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² Here "which" is crossed out.

³ John Coppin: see p. 123, below.

⁴ Elias Thacker: see p. 123, below.

⁵ Here "Good" is crossed out.

⁶ This Dialogue, together with Morton's preface, is printed in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, pp. 411-457.

Church; att Least they are not soe to be vnderstood; for they often say the Contrary;

3 When they say it is noe true Church of Christ they doe not att all mean as they are the elect of God or a p^rte of the Catholique Church or of the misticall body of Christ or visible Christians professing faith and holines (as most men vnderstand the Church) for which purpose hear what m^r Robinson in his Apollogye¹ page 58: if by the Church saith hee) be vnderstood the Catholique dispersed vpon the face of the whole earth; wee doe willingly acknowlidg that a singulare p^rte therof and the same visible and Conspicuous is to be found in the land; and with it doe professe and practice what in vs lyes Comunion in all things in themselues Lawfull and don in Right order;

4ly Therefore they meane it is not a true Church as it is a Nationall Church Combined together of all in the land promisiquously vnd the hirarchicall Gou^rment of archbisshopps theire Courts and Canons soe farr differing from the primetiue patteren; in the Gospell

Wherin doe they differ then from the Judgment or practice of our churches heer in New England;

Truly for matter of practice Nothing att all that is in any thinge materiall these being Rather more strict and Ridged in some proceedings about admission of Members and things of such Nature then the other; and for matter of Judgment it is more (as v^ee Conceiue in words and tearmes then matter of any Great substance; for the Churches and Cheiffe of the minnesters heer hold that the Nationall Church soe Constituted and Gou^rned as before is said, is not allowable² according to the p^rmitiue order of the Gospell; but that there are some Parrish Assemblies that are true Churches by vertue of an Implissed Couenant amongst them selues in which Regard the Church of England may be held and Called a true Church;

Answer Wher any such are euident (wee suppose the other will not disagree about an Implissed Couenant if they mean by an Implissed Couenant that which hath the substance of a Couenant in it some way discernable though it be Not soe formall or orderly as it should be But such an Implissed as is Noe way explissed i. Noe better

¹ Apologia Ivsta, et Necessaria . . . Qvovvndam Christianorum, . . . ditorum Brownistarum sive Barrowistarum, etc., 1619. Printed in English in 1625.

² Here "acknow" is crossed out.

then a popish Impliced faith (as some of vs Conceiue) and a meer fiction or as that which should be a Marriage Couenant; which is noe way explissed [63]

Wherin standeth the difference between the Ridged Brownists and Separatist and others as wee obserue our Minnesters in their writings and Sermons to distinguish them; Young men

The Name of Brownists is but a Nicke Name as Puritant and hugonite &c: and therefore; they doe Not amise to decline the odivm of it in what they may but by the Ridgednes of Separation they doe not soe much meane the difference for our Churches heer in New England doe the same thinge vnder the Name of Sessetion from the Corruptions found amongst them as the other did vnder the Name or tearme of separation from them; onely this declines the odivm the better; see Reuerend m^r Cottons Answare¹ to m^r Bayley page the 14; Ancient men

As that some which were tearmed Separatists out of some mistake and heate of Zeale forbore Comunion in lawfull thinges with² other Godly p^rsons as prayer and hearing of the word as may be seen in what that worthy man M^r Robinson hath published in dislike therof;

Wee are well satisfied in what you haue said but they differ alsoe about Sinods Younge men

It is true wee doe not know that euer they had any sollomne Sinodical Assembly and the Reason may be that those in England liueing dispersed and Could not meet in their ordinary meetings without danger much lesse in³ Synods neither in holland where they might haue more libertie were they of any Considerable Number being but those two Churches That of Amsterdam and that of Leyden; yett some of vs know that the Church sent Messengers to those of Amsterdam; att the Request of some of the Cheiffe of them both Elders and bretheren,* *When in their desentions they had deposed m^r Ainsworth and some other both of their elders & bretheren m^r P. obins: being the Cheiffe of the messengers sent which had that good effect as that they Revoaked the said deposition and Confessed their Rashnes and errour and liued together in peace some good Ancient men

¹ The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared: In two Treatises, etc., 1648.

² Written above "which," crossed out.

³ Here "Sinods" is crossed out.

Young men

Ancient men

time after¹ but when the Churches want Neither peace Nor light to exercise the power² which the Lord hath Giuen them Christ doth not direct them to Gather into Synods for Chassicall meetings for Remoueing of knowne offences either in doctrine Nor manors; but onely sendeth to the Pastours or presbiters of each Church to Reforme within themselues what is Amongst them Reuelation Chapt: 2cond and Chapi 3: a Plaine Patteren saith m^r Cotton in his Answare to m^r Bayley page 95 in Case of publick offences tollerated in Naighbour Churches; Not forth with to Gather into a Synod (for Classicall meeting for Redresse therof but by letters and messengers to Admonish one another of what is behooffull vnlesse vpon such admonishion they Refusse to harken to the wholsom Councell of theire bretheren; and of this matter m^r Robinson thus writeth in his book Justi: page 200:³ The officers of one or many Churches may meet together to discusse and Consider of matters for the Good of the Church or Churches; and soe be Called a Church Synod; or the like soe they Infringe Noe order of Christ or libertie of the bretheren; not differing heerin from m^r Dauenport and the principall of our Minnesters;

Younge men

Butt they seem to differ about the exercise of Prophesey that is that men out of office haueing Gifts may vpon occasion edify the Church publickly and oppenly and applying the Scriptures which seemes to be a New practice;

Ancient men

1 It doeth but seem soe as many things else doe that haue by vserpation growne out of vse, But that it hath bine an ancient practice of the people of God besides the Grounds of Scripture wee will Giue an Instance or two; Wee find in the Ancient Ecclesiasticall history of Eusebious libr: 6 Chap 19 how demetrius Bishop of Alexandria; being pricked with Envie against origin⁴ Complaineth in his Letters that there was Neuer such a practice heard of nor noe pre-sedent to be found that lay men in p^rsence of Bishoppes haue taught in the Church; But is thus Answared by the Bishopp of Jerusalem, [64] Jurusalem and the Bishopp of Cesaria; wee Know not say they

¹ The words beginning “*When in” and ending with “good time after” are written in the margin.

² Here “with” is crossed out.

³ A Iustification of Separation from the Church of England. Against Mr. Richard Bernard his invective, Intitvled; The Separatists schisme, etc., 1610.

⁴ Here the letters “Ch” are crossed out.

why hee Reporteth a manifest vntruth when as there may be found such as in open assemblies haue taught the people; yee when as there were p^rsent Learned men that Could profitt the people and moreouer holy bishoppes whoe att that time exhorted them¹ to preach; for example att Laranda Euelptas was Requested of Neon att Iconiam Paulinnus was Requested by Celsus of Synada theodorus was Requested by Atticus; whoe wer Godly Bretheren &c:

see doctor
fulke² alsoe
on Romans
the eleuenth
In Answare
to the Remists

2 The second Instance is out of Speeds Cloud of witnesses page 71 saith hee Rambam or Maymon Records that in the Sinnagogues 1 onely a Leuitt must offer Sacrifice 2condly but any in Israell might expound the Law, thirdly the exponder must be an eminent man and must haue leaue from the master of the Sinagoge; and soe Concluds³ that Christ Luke the 4th:16: Taught as any of Israell might haue don as well as the Leuites and the like did Paul & Barnabas Acts 13: 15:

If any out of weaknes haue abused Att any time their Libertie it is their p^rsonall fayleing⁴ as somtimes weake Minnesters may their office and yett the ordinance Good and lawfull *

*3 And the Cheife of our minnesters in New England agree therein see m^r Cottons Answare to Bayley page the 27:2 part Though Neither all (saith hee) nor most of the brethern of a Church haue ordinarly Received a Gift of publick Propheseye, or Preaching; yett in defect of publick Minnistry, It is Not an vnheard of Nouelty that God should Inlarge private men with publick Gifts and to despence them to edification for wee Read that when the Church att Jerusalem were all Scattered abroad except the Apostles; yett they that were scattered went euery where preaching the word; Actes 8: 5: & 11: 19: 20: 21⁵

M^r Robinson alsoe in his Apollogye page 50: Chap: 8: to take of the aspersion Charged on them as if all the members of a Church were to Propheseye publickly: Answares it comes within the Compas but of a few of the Multitude happily two or three in a Church soe to doe;

¹ Here a word, perhaps "Cheifly," is crossed out.

² William Fulke, The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes, etc., 1589.

³ Perhaps "Contentds."

⁴ Here the letters "fayli" are crossed out.

⁵ See p. 120 note 4, below.

and touching¹ prophesying saith hee wee think the very same that the Synod att Emden held 1571 and decreed in these words; first in all Churches whether springing vp or Growing to some Ripnes lett the order of Phrophesying be obserued according to Paules Institution²

2 Into the fellowship of this work are to be admitted Not onely the minnesters but the Teacher³ as alsoe of the deacons yee alsoe of the Multitude which are willing to Confer their Gift Receiued of God to the Comon vtillitie of the Church but soe as they first be allowed by the Judgment of the minnesters & others soe wee beleue and practice with the Belgick Churches &c: see more in the emediatte following page⁴

unge men

Wee Can not but Maruell that in soe few yeers their should be soe Great a Change That they whoe⁵ were soe hotly p^rsecuted by the prelates but alsoe opposed by the better sort of Minnesters not onely m^r Gifford m^r Barnard and and other such like but many of the most eminent both for Learning and Godlynes and yett Now Not onely these famous men and Churches in New England soe fully to Close with them in practice but all the Godly p^rtye in the Land to Stand for the same way vnder the New name of Independants put vpon them;

sient men

It is the Lords doeing and it ought to be Marueilous in our eyes and the Rather because M^r Barnard in his booke⁶ made their smale Encrease in a few yeers one and the Cheiffe Argument against the way it selfe To which M^r Robinson Answered that Religion is not alwayes sowne and Reaped in one age; and that John husse and Jerome of Prague finished their Course a hundred yeers before Luther; and Wickliff as Longe before them and yett Neither the one Nor the⁷ other with like succes as Luther; and yett saith hee

¹ Here some words are crossed out.

² See note 4, below.

³ Here a word is crossed out.

⁴ The three paragraphs beginning “*3 And the Cheife” and ending with the words “following page” are written on a small sheet of paper pasted to p. [64] of the text. The verso of the sheet is blank. The page measures 5 inches in height by 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches in width.

⁵ Here “soe” is crossed out.

⁶ Richard Bernard, Christian Advertisements and Counsels of Peace. Also Disuasions from the Separatists schisme, commonly called Brownisme, etc., 1608.

⁷ Altered from “their.”

Many are alreddy Gathered into the kingdom of Christ; and the Neernes of many more throughout the whole land for the Regions are white vnto the haruest and doe promise within lesse then an hundred yeer; if our sines and theirs make vs not vnworthy of his Mercye a very plentuous haruest¹ Justi folio (62) as if hee had Prophesied of these times yee some of vs haue oftens heard him say that euen those minesters and other Godly p^rsons that did then most sharply oppose them; if they might Come to be from vnder the Bishopps and liue in a place of Rest and peace whear they might Comfortably subsist they would practice the same thinges which they now did; and truely many of vs haue seen this abundantly verified; Not onely in these latter times but formerly doctor Amesse was estranged from and opposed M^r Robinson and yett afterwards there was loueing Compliance and Neare agreement between them; and which is more strange m^r Johnson himself whoe was afterwards Pastour of the Church of God att Amsterdam; was a preacher to the Companie of English of the Staple att Middlebery at Zealand and had Great and sertaine maintainance² allowed him by them and was highly Respected of them and soe Zealous against this way [65] way as that m^r Barrowes and m^r³ Greenwoods Refutation of Gifford⁴ was privately in Printing in this Cittey hee Not onely was a Meanes to discouer it but was made the Ambassadors Instrument to Intercept them att the presse and see them burnt, the which Charge hee did soe well p^rforme as hee lett them Goe on vntill they were wholly ffinished; and then surprised the whole Impression Not suffering any to escape; and then by the Majestrates Authoritie Caused them all to be openly burnt himselfe standing by vntill they were all Consumed to Ashes onely hee took vp two of them; one to keep in his owne Studdy that hee might see their errours and the other to bestow on a speciaall ffrind for the like vse; But Marke the Sequell; when hee had don this worke; hee went home and being sett downe in his Studdy; hee began to turne ouer some pages of this book; and Superficially to Read some

2001 p^r anuu

¹ Here “Justi” is crossed out.

² Written above a word crossed out.

³ Here “Greenoods” is crossed out.

⁴ A plaine Refutation of M. Giffard's booke, intituled A short Treatise against the Donatistes of England, etc., 1605.

things heer and there as his fancy led him; att length hee mett with something that began to work vpon his sperit which soe wrought with him as drew him to this Resolution seriously to Read¹ ouer the whole book the which hee did once and againe, In the end hee was soe taken and his Consience² was troubled soe as hee could haue Noe Rest in him self vntill hee Crossed the seas and Came to London to Confer with the Authers whoe³ were then in prison and shortly after executed; after which Conference; hee was soe satisfyed and Confeirmed in the truth as hee Neuer Returned to his place any more at Middleburrow but adjoyned himself to their societie att London and was afterwards Comitted to prison and then banished; and In Conclusion Comeing to Liue att Amsterdam hee Caused the same bookes which hee had bin an Instrument to burne to be New printed and sett out att his owne Charge; and some of vs heer p^rsent Testify this to be a⁴ true Relation which was heard from his owne Mouth before many witnesses;

ung men

Wee haue seen a book of m^r Robert Bayleys⁵ a Scotchman wherin hee seemeth to take Notice of the spreading of the truth vnder the Notion of error and Casts all the disgraces hee Can on it and Rankes it with others the foulest errors of the time and Indeuours to shew how like a small Sparke it Reviued out of the ashes and was brought from Leyden ouer the seas into New England and there Nurrished with much silence vntill it spread to other places in the Countrey⁶ and by eminent hands from thence into old England

cient men

As wee dare say m^r Bayley Intends noe honor to the p^rsons by what hee sayes either to those heer or from whence they Came soe are they farr from seekeing any to themselues but Rather are ashamed that their weake wakeing⁷ hath brought noe more Glory to God; and if in any thinge God hath made any of them Instruments for the Good of his people; in any measure they desire hee onely may haue the Glory and whereas M^r Bayley affeirmeth that howeuer it was

¹ Here "ouer" is crossed out.

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Here the letters "we" are crossed out.

⁴ Here a word, perhaps "truth," is crossed out.

⁵ A Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time; wherein the Tenets of the Principall Sects, especially of the Independents, are drawn together in a map, 1645-6.

⁶ Here the words "in the Countrey" are crossed out.

⁷ Perhaps "workeing."

in a few yeers the most whoe settled in the land did agree to modle themselues after m^r Robinsons¹ Patteren;

Wee agree with Reuerend M^r Cotton that "there was Noe agreement by any sollemne or Comon Consultation but that it is true they did, as if they had agreed by the same speritt of truth and vnity sett vp by the healp of Christ; The same modle of Churches one like another; and if they of Plymouth haue helped any of the first Comers in their Theory by hearing² and discerning their practices, therein the Scriptures, fulfilled that the Kingdom of heauen is like vnto Leauen which a woman took and hid in three measures of meale vntill all was Leauened mat: 13:3" Answare to m^r Bayley Page 17 [66]

Wee desire to know how many haue bin put to death for this Cause and what manor of p^rsons they were and what occations were taken against them by bringing them to their end

Wee know Certainly of six that were publickly executed besides such as died in prisons

M^r henery Barrow }
M^r Greenwood } These suffered at Tyburne

M^r Penery att S^t Thomas a Waterings by London

M^r Wiltam³ dennis att Thetford in Norffolke

Two others att Saint Edmonds in Suffolke whose Names were Coppin⁴ and Elias⁵ These two last mensioned were Condemned by Crewell Judge Popham Whose Countenance and Carriage was very Rough and seure toward them with many sharp menasses but God Gaue them Curriage to bear it and to make this Answare;

My Lord your face wee feare not

And for your threats wee Care not

And to Come to your Read seruice wee dare not

these two last named were put to death for dispersing of books for m^r dennis hee was a Godly man and faithfull in his place but

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² Here some words, perhaps "by hearing," are crossed out.

³ Here "denis" is crossed out.

⁴ John Coppin (Copping) was hanged in 1583. Sketches of Henry Barrow, John Coppin, John Greenwood, and John Penry will be found in the Dictionary of National Biography.

⁵ This was Elias Thacker, who was hanged in 1583: see Stow, Annales, or Generall Chronicle of England (1615), p. 696.

what occasion was taken against him wee know not more then the Comon cause;

ffor m^r Penery how vnjustly hee was Charged him self hath made manifest to the world in his bookes and that declaration which hee made a little before his suffering all which are extant in print, with some of his Godly letters

As ffor m^r Barrow and m^r Greenwood it alsoe appeers by their owne writings how those Satutes formerly made against the Papists were wrested¹ against them and they Condemned therevpon; as may be seen by their examinations

But these were Ridged Brownist and lye vnder much Aspersion and their Names much blemished and beclouded Not onely by enimies but euen by Godly and very Reuerend men;

They Can noe more Justly be Called Brownests then the desiples might haue bin Called Judasitts *

*ffor they did as much abhor Brownes Apostacye and prophane Course and his² defection as the disiples and other Christians did Judas Treachery

And for their Ridged and Roughnes of Speritt as some of them especially m^r Barrows is Taxed it may be Considered they were very Ridgedly and Roughly dealt with not onely by³ the Lords enimies and their enimies but by some Godly p^rsons of those times differing in opinions from them which makes some of vs Call to mind what one doctor Tayler hath written in a late booke in these Stirring times "such an eminent man (saith hee) hath had the Good happ to be Reputed orthodox by Posteritie and to Condemne such a man or such an oppinion; and yett him selfe to haue erred in as Considerable matters but meeting with better Naighbours in his life time and a more Charitable Posteritie after his death; hath his memory preserued in honor and the others Name suffers without Cause;" of which hee Giues Instances in his book Intitled the libertie of Propheying Page 33 & following; [67]

Wee Refer you to m^r Robinson answere⁴ to m^r Barnard where hee Charges him with Blesphemy Railing Scoffing⁵ &c

¹ Here some words, perhaps "were wrested," are crossed out.

² Written above "their," crossed out.

³ Here "Go" is crossed out.

⁴ Written above a word crossed out.

⁵ Here "and" is crossed out.

"ffor m^r Barrow saith m^r Robinson; as I say with m^r Ainsworth that I will Not Justify all the words of another man nor yett my owne soe say I alsoe with m^r Smith that because I know not by what p^rticular motion of the speritt hee¹ was Guided to write those Phraises I dare not Censure him as you doe especially Considering with what fiery Zeale the Lord hath furnished such his servants att all times as hee hath stered vp for speciall Reformation; lett the example of Luther alone suffice who into what tearmes his zeale Carried him his writings testify and yett both in him and m^r Barrow there might be with true sperituall Zeale ffleshly Indignation Intermixed" Answare to m Barnard folio 84 And further in Paged 86 hee saith that "such harsh Tearmes wherwith hee Entertaines such p^rsons & thinges in the Church as Carry with them² most appearence of holines, they are to be Interpreted according to his meaning with³ this distinction that m^r Barrow speaks not of these p^rsons and thinges simply but in Respect soe and soe Considered, and soe Noe one tearme Giuen by m^r Barrow but May att the least be tollerated;"

But diuers Reuerend men haue expressed Concerning this matter that God is not wont to make Choice of men Infamous for Grosse sinnes and vices before their Callinge to make them any Instruments of Reformation⁴ after their Calling and proceeds to declare that m^r Barrow was a Great Gamster and a dicer when hee liued in Court, and Giting much by play would bost of⁵ losse spending it with Curtezences &ci

Truely with due Respect to such Reuerend men be it spoken those things might well haue bin spared from puting in print especially soe longe after his death when not onely hee but all his frinds are taken out of the world that might vindecate his Name that hee was tainted with vices att the Court before his Conversion and Calling it is Not very strange and if hee had liued and died in that Condition; It is like hee might haue Gon out of the world without any publick brand on his Name and haue pased for a tollerable Christian and Member of the Church; hee had hurt enough don him whiles hee

¹ Here a word, perhaps "seak," is crossed out.

² Here the words "with them" are crossed out.

³ Here "this" is crossed out.

⁴ Here "soe" or "for" is crossed out.

⁵ Here "those" is crossed out.

liued by euill and Crewell enimies; why should Godly men by pre-
judicated to him after his death in his Name was not the Apostle
Paule a p^rsecuter of Gods saints vnto death and doth Not the same
Apostle ¹ speakeing of Scandulas and Laciuious p^rsons say and such
were some of you but you are washed but yee are sanctified, but
yee are Justified in the Name of the lord Jesus and by the speritt
of our God 1 Cor. 6:11:

And if histories deceiue vs not was Not Ciprian a Magition before
his Conversion and Augustine a Manachean; and when it was said
vnto him in the voyce hee heard tolle & lege hee was directed to that
place of Scripture not in Gotteny nor ² drunkenes Nor in Chamber-
ing and wantones nor in striffe and envying but put on the Lord
Jesus Christ and take noe thought of the ffllesh to fulfill the lusts of
it Rom: 13: 13: by which it may seem that if God doe not make
Choise of such men as haue bin Infamous for Grosse vices before there
Calling; yett somtimes hee is wont to doe it and is free to Chose ³
whome hee pleaseth for Notable Instruments for his owne worke;
as for other things that haue bin spoken of him and m^r Greenwood
and m^r Penery wee leaue them as they are; But some of vs haue
Reason to think there are some mistakes in the Relations of those
things; onely wee shall adde other publick Testimonies Concerning
them from witnesses of very worthy Creditt which are alsoe in
print,

from m^r Phillipps a famous and Godly Preacher haueing heard
and seen m^r Barrow his holy speeches and preparations for death
said Barrow Barrow my soule be [68] be with thyne; The same
Auther alsoe Reports that Queen Elizabeth asked Learned doctor
Reynalds what hee thought of those two men m^r Barrow and M^r
Greenwood; and hee answered her Ma^{tie} that it could Not availle
any thinge to shew his Judgment Concerning them seeing they were
put to death, and being loth to speake his mind further her Ma^{tie}
Charged him vpon his allegience to speak whervpon hee answered
that hee was p^rswaded if they had liued they would haue bin two as
worthy Instruments for the Church of God as hath bin Raised vp
in this age &c: her Ma^{tie} sighed and said no more But after that

¹ Here "an" is crossed out.

² Written above "and," crossed out.

³ Here the words "and is free to Choose" are crossed out.

Ryding to a Parke by the place where they were executed and being
willing to take further Information Concerning them) demaunded
of the Right honorable Earle of Comberland) that was p^rsent when
they suffered what end they made hee answered a very Godly end
and prayed for your Ma^{tie} and the State &c: wee may alsoe adde
what some of vs haue heard by Credible Information; that the
Queen demanded of the Archbishopp what hee thought of them in
his Consience hee Answered hee thought they were the servants of
God; But dangerous to the State; alas said shee shall wee put the
servants of God to death, and this was the true Cause why noe more
of them were put to death in her dayes;

did any of you know m^r Barrow if wee may be soe bold to aske Young men
for wee would willingly know what his life and Conversation be-
cause some wee p^rseiuue haue him in p^resious esteem; and others Can
scarce name him without some Note of oblique and dislike;

Wee haue Not seen his p^rson but some of vs haue bin well ac- Ancient men
quainted with those that knew him familiarly both before and
after his Conversion and one of vs hath had Conference with one
that was his domestick servant and tended vpon him both before and
some while after the same; hee was a Gentleman of good worth and
a fflorishing Courtier in his time and as appeers in his owne Answers
to the archbishopp and doctor Cousens that hee was sometime a
Student att Cambridge and the Inns of Court and accomplished
with strong p^rtes;

Wee haue heard his Conversation to be on this wise, walking in
London one Lords day with one of his Companions, hee heard a
preacher att his Sermon very Loud as they passed by the Church
vpon which m^r Barrow said vnto his Consort Lett vs Goe in and
heare what this man saith that is thus earnest Tush saith the other
what shall wee goe to hear a man talk &c: But in hee went and
sate downe; and the minnester was vehement ¹ in Reproueing sin
and sharply applyed the Judgments of God against the same; and it
should seem touched him to the quick in such thinges as hee was
Gilty off soe as God sett it home to his soule and began to worke his
Repentance and Conversion therby, for hee was soe stricken as hee
Could not be quiett vntill by Conference with Godly men and
further hearing of the word with dilligent Reading and meditation

¹ Here "a" is crossed out.

God brought peace to his soule and Consience after much humilliation of hart and Reformation of life; soe as hee left the Court; and Retired him selfe to a private life some time in the Country and sometime in the Cittey Giueing him selfe to studdy and Reading of the Scriptures and other Good workes very dilligently and being mist att Court by his Consorts and acquaintance it was quickly bruited abroad That Barrow was turned Puritan; what his Course was after wards his writings shew as alsoe his sufferings and Conference with men of all sorts doe declare vntill his life was taken from him;

And thus much wee Can further affeirme from those that well knew him that hee was very Comfortable to the poor and those in distresse in their sufferings, and when hee saw hee must die hee Gaue a stocke for the Relieffe of the poor of the Church; which was a Good [69] healp to them in their banished Condition afterwards; yee and that which some will hardly beleiuue hee did much p^rswade them to peace and Composed many differences that were Growne amongst them whiles hee liued, and would haue it is Like preuented more that after fell out; if hee had Continewed;

wee thanke you for your paines wee hope it will extend further then our satisfaction wee Can not but maruell that such a man should be by soe many aspersed;

It is Not much to be Maruelled att for hee was most plaine in discouring the Crewellyty fraud and hipocresy of the enimies of the truth and serching into the Corruptions of the time which made him abhored of them; and p^radventure somthinge to harsh against the haltinges of diuers of the preachers and professors that hee had to deale with in those times whoe out of feare or weaknes did not come soe Close vp to the truth in their practice as their doctrines and Grounds seemed to hold forth; which makes vs Remember; what was the Answare of Erasmus to the duke of ¹ Saxony when hee asked his opininn whether ² Luther had erred hee answered his opininions were Good but wished hee would moderate his style which stired him vp the more Enimies; noe doubt;

Wee find in the writings of some such whoe were very eminent in their times for piety and Learning; that those of the Separation

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² Written above "of," crossed out.

found more fauor in our Natiue Country then those whoe are Re-
 proched by the Name of puritans and after much discourse therabouts;
 Come to this Conclusion; That Noe Comparison will hold from the
 separatists to them in theire sufferings but a¹ Minori²) and then
 they Goe on and say; what a Compulsary Banishment haue bin put
 vpon those blessed and Glorious Lights m^r Cartwright m^r Parker
 docter Ames &c

ffarr be it from ³ any of vs to detract from or to extenuate the Ancient men
 Sufferings of any ⁴ of the servants of God; much lesse; from those
 worthyes fore Named, or any others afterwards mensioned; yett
 vnder fauor wee Craue p^don if wee Can not Consent to the Judg-
 ment of such eminent ones for pietie and Learning aboue hinted;

Wee doubt not but doe ezely Graunt that the sufferings of those
 Reproched by the Name of Puritans were Great especially some of
 them & were better knowne to those pious and Learned first aboue
 Intimated, then the sufferings of those that are Reproched by the
 Name of Brownests, and Separatists; But wee shall Giue you some
 Instances, and leaue it to you and some others to Consider off;

1 Though Noe more were publickly executed yett sundry more were
 Condemned and brought to the Galloes and Assended the Ladder
 Not knowing but they should die and haue bin Repreiued and after
 banished some of which wee haue knowne and oftens ⁵ spoken with;

2 others haue not onely bin ffocused into vouldentary Banishment
 by Great Numbers to avoid further Crewelty but diuers after Longe
 and sore Imprisoment haue bin ffocused to abjure the land by oath
 neuer to Returne without Leaue in Ann^o ⁶ 1604 four p^rsons att
 once were ffocused to doe soe att a publick sessions in London ⁷
 or else vpon Refusall they were to be hanged; this theire abjuration
 was ⁸ done on the Statute of the 35 of Queen Elizabeth, some of
 these wee haue alsoe Knowne

3 Wee find mension in a printed book of 17 or eighteen that haue

¹ Here "minnory" is crossed out.

² This word is underscored three times.

³ Here "vs" is crossed out.

⁴ Here some words are crossed out.

⁵ Written above "after," crossed out.

⁶ Here "164" is crossed out.

⁷ Here some words are crossed out.

⁸ Here "on" is crossed out.

died in seuerall prisons in London¹ in six yeers time before the year² 1592 besides what haue bin in other p^rtes of the Land and since that time perishing by Could hunger or Noisomnes of the prison; [70]

4 In the same yeer wee find a lamentable Petition now in print of sixty p^rsors Comited vnailable to seuerall p^rsons in London as New Gate the Gatehouse Clink &c: being made Close prisoners allowing them Neither Meate drink nor Lodging; nor suffering any whose harts the Lord would stir vp for their Releiffe; to haue any accesse vnto them; soe as they Complaine that Noe ffellons Traitors nor murderers in the Land; were thus dealt with, and soe after many other Greiuious Complaints Conclude with these words, "wee³ Craue for all of vs but the libertie either to die openly or to liue openly in the Land of our Natiuity if wee deserue death It beseemeth the Ma^tie of Justice not to see vs Closly murdered yee starued to death with hunger & Could and stifled in Lothsome dungeans; if wee be Guiltles wee Craue but the benefitt of our Inocensse viz: That wee may haue peace to serue our God and our Prince in the place of the sepulchers of our fathers;"

And what Numbers since those whoe haue bin Put vnto⁴ Compulsorie Banishment and other hard sufferings as losse of Goods frinds and long and hard Imprissonments vnder which many haue died It is soe well knowne that it would make vp a vollume to Reherse them and would not onely equallice but farr exceed; the Number of those Godly Called Puritans that haue suffered suppose they were but few of them Minnesters that suffered as aboue expressed yett their sorrowes might be as Great and their wants more; and their souls as much afflicted because more Contemned and Neglected of men; but some haue said they were excommunicated and that was noe Great matter; as excommunications went in those dayes; soe were these not onely while they were liueing but some of them many times after they were dead and as some of the other were Imprisoned soe were more of these; but it is further said all of them were depriued of their minnistry and soe were these of their Liuelihood and maintainance although they had noe offices to losse;

¹ Here some words are crossed out.

² Here a figure is crossed out.

³ This word has been altered.

⁴ Here a word is crossed out.

But these Remained still in the land and were succured and sheltered by Good people in a Competent wise the most of them and sundry of them liued as well as may ezely be proued if not better then as if they had Injoyed their benifices wheras the other were; a Great Number of them forced to ffly into fforraigne Lands for shelter or else might haue perished in prisons; and there poor Creatures Indured many of them such hard shippes (as is well knowne to some of vs as makes our harts still ake to Remember;

Wee some of vs knew m^r Parker doctor Ames and m^r Jacob in holland when they sojourned for a time in Leyden and all three for a time boarded together and had their victualls dressed by some of our acquaintance and then they liued Comfortable and then they were prouided for as became their p^rsons; and after m^r Jacob Returned; and m^r Parker was att Amsterdam; wher hee printed some of his bookes and m^r Ames disposed of himselfe to other places It was Not worse with him and some of vs well know how it fared then with many¹ precious Christians in diuers times and places, To speake the truth, the professors in England though many of them suffered much att the hands of the prelates yett they had a Great advantage of the Separatists for the separatists had not onely the Prelates and their faction to Incomter with and what hard² measure they mett with att their hands about the other doth sufficiently appeer by what is before declared. But alsoe they must Indure the frownes and many times the sharp Inuictiues of the forward minnesters against them, both in publicke & private and what Influences they had vpon the sperritts of the people is well enough knowne alsoe by Reason heerof the Minnesters in fforraigne Countreyes did looke awry att them when they would Giue healp and Countenance to the other;

Indeed it seemes they haue somtimes suffered much hardnes in the Low Countreyes if that be true that is Reported of such a man as m^r Ainsworth that hee should liue for some time with 9³ pence a weeke; To which is Replied by another That if people suffered him to Liue on 9 pence a weeke with Rootes boyled either the people were

¹ Here "diuers" is crossed out.

² Altered from "harder."

³ Here "lb" is interlined and crossed out.

growne extream low in estate or the Groweth of their Godlines was Come to a very low ebbe [71]

lent men

The truth is their Condition for the most p^rte (was for some time) very low and hard it was with them as if it should be Related would hardly be beleived and noe Maruell for many of them had lien Longe in prisons and then were banished into Newfoundland; where they were abused and att Last Came into the Lowcountrys and wanting mony trades frinds or acquaintances and Languages to¹ healp themselues how Could it be otherwise The Report of m^r Ainsworth² was Neare those times when hee was Newly Come out of Ireland with others poore and being a single younge man and very Studious was Content with a little and yett to take of the Aspersion from the people in that p^rticular³ The Cheiffe and true Reason therof is Mistaken for hee was a very Modest & bashfull man and Concealed his wants from others vntill some suspected how it was with him; and prest him to see how it was and after it was knowne such as were able mended his Condition and when hee was Married afterwards hee and his family were Comfortable⁴ prouided for; But wee haue said enough of these thinges; they had few frinds to Comfort them nor any Arme of flesh to support them and if in some things they were to Ridged they are Rather to be pittied Considering their times and sufferings then to be blasted with Reproach to posteritie;

ig men

Was that Browne that fell away and⁵ Made Apostacye the first Inventor and beginer of this waye

ent men

Noe verily for as one answares this question very well in a printed book almost forty yeers agoe; that the prophetts apostles and euan-gelests haue in their Authentick writings layed downe the Ground therof; and vpon that Ground is their building Reared vp and surely settled morouer many of the Martires both former and latter haue Maintained it as is to be seen in the acts and Monuments of the Church; alsoe in the dayes of Queen Elizabeth there was a Separated Church wherof m^r fitts was Pastour; and another before that in the time of Queen Mary of which m^r Rough was Pastour or

¹ Here the letters "th" are crossed out.

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Here "m^r" is crossed out.

⁴ Here "and" is crossed out.

⁵ Here something is crossed out.

Teacher and Cudbert Simson a deacon whoe exercised amongst themselves as other ordinances soe Church sensures as excommunication &c: and professed and practised that Cause before m^r Browne wrote for it; But hee being one that afterwards wrote for it They that first hatched the Name of Puritans¹ and bestowed it on the Godly professors that desired Reformation they likewise out of the same store house would Needs bestow this New Liuey vpon others that Neuer would owne it, Nor had Reason soe to doe m^r Cotton likewise in his² in his Answare to M^r Bayley page four; shewes how in the year³ 1567⁴ there were an hundred p^rsons whoe Refused the Comon littergye and the Congregations attending thervnto and vsed prayers and preaching and the⁵ Sacrements amongst them selues wherof 14 or: 15: were sent to prison of whom the Cheiffest was m^r Smith m^r Nixon James Ireland Robert hawkens Thomas Bowland⁶ and Richard Morecroft; and these pleaded their Separation before the Lord Mayor Bishop Sands and other Comissioners⁷ on June 20 1567 about 80 yeers agoe being Many yeers before Brown* [72]

* diuers other Instance might be Giuen;

Young men

But if wee mistake Not m^r Browne is accounted by some of Good Note to be the Inventor of that way which is Called Brownisme from whom the sect took it[s] Name more ouer it is said by such of Note as aforesaid; That it is not Gods vsual Man[or] of dealing to leaue any of the first publishers or Restorers of any truth of his to such fearfull Apostacye

Ancient men

Possibly this spech might arise from a Comon Receiued opinion But Reuerend m^r Cotton in his Answare to m^r Bayley, saith the Backslideing of Browne from that way of Separation is a Just Reason why the Separatists may disclaime denomination from him and Refuse to be Called Brownest after his Name, and to speake with Reason (saith hee) if any be Justly to be Called Brownes[t] it is⁸

¹ Referring to the year 1564, Fuller said: "The English Bishops . . . began . . . urging the Clergy . . . to subscribe to the Liturgie, Ceremonies, and Discipline of the Church, and such as refused . . . were branded with the odious name of Puritanes, a name which in this notion first began in this year" (Church History, ix. i. § 66).

² Here the word "book" is interlined and crossed out.

³ Here "16" is crossed out.

⁴ This date is underscored twice.

⁵ Here "Sacrem" is crossed out.

⁶ Neal (History of the Puritans, 1754, i. 164) gives this name as "Rowland."

⁷ Here the words "and other Comissioners" are crossed out.

⁸ Here "owne" is crossed out.

onely such as Revoult from separation to formallitie and from thence to Prophanes Page: 5: *¹

* To which wee may adde that it is very Injurious to Call those after his Name whos[e] p^rson they Neuer knew and whose writings (few if any of them) euer saw and whose errors and Backslideings they haue Constantly borne witnes against and what truthes they haue Receiued haue bin from the Light of Gods Sacred word Conveye[d] by other Godly Instruments vnto them though Browne may sometime haue professed some of the same thinges and Now fallen from the same as Many others haue done

Seing wee haue presumed thus farr to enquire into these ancients times (of you) and of the sufferings of the aforesaid p^rsons wee would likewise Intreat you; tho neuer soe breiffly to tell vs somthing of the p^rsons and Carriages of other emine[nt] men about those times or Imediately after as m^r Francis Johnson m^r Henry Ainsworth m^r John Smith m^r John Robinson m^r Richard Clifton;

heer are some in the Companie that knew them all familiarly whom wee shall desire to satisfy your Request;

Those answered; wee shall doe it most willingly; for wee Can not but honour the memor[y] of the men for the Good that Not onely many others but wee our selues haue Receiued by them and their Ministry for wee haue heard them all and liued vnder the ministry of diuers of them for some yeers wee shall therefore speake of them in order breiffly;

M^r Johnson of whom somthing was spoken before; was Pastour of the Church of God att Amsterdam; a very Graue man hee was and an able Teacher; and was the most sollemne in all his administrations that wee haue seen any and especially in dispenicing the seales of the Couenant both baptismee and the Lords supper; and a Good disputant hee was wee heard m^r Smith vpon occasion say that hee was p^rswaded noe men liueing were able to maintaine a Cause against those two men; meaning m^r Johnson and m^r Ainsworth if they h[ad] not the truth on their side; hee by Reason of many desertions that fell out in the Church and the subtilty of one of the Elders of the same) Came after Many yeer[s] to alter his Judgment about the Gou^rment of the Church and his practice therevpon which Caused a deuision amongst them but hee liued not

¹ Here a line and a half is crossed out.

many yeers after and died att Amsterdam after his Returne from Emden;

But hee is much spoken against for excommunicateing his brother and his owne father and maintaineing his wifes Cause whoe was by his brother and others Reproued for her pride in Aparrell;

himself hath often made his owne defence; and others for him the Church did oftens after longe patience towards them and much paines taken with them [73] them excommunicated them for their vnreasonable and endles opposition and such thinges as did accompanie the same, and such was the Justice therof as hee could not but Consent therto; In our time; his wife was a Graue Matron and very modest both in her apparell and all her demenior; Reddy to any Good worke in her place and healfull to many especially the poor; and an ornament to his calling Shee was a younge widdow when hee Married her and had bin a marchants wife by whom hee had a Good estate and was a Godly woman and because shee wore such apparell as shee had bin formerly vsed, too; which were Neither excessive nor Imodist, for their Cheiffest exceptions were against her wearing of some whalbone in the bodies & sleiues of her Gowne Corked shooes and other such like thinges as the Citizens of her Ranke then vsed to were; and although for offence sake shee and hee¹ were willing to Reforme the fashions of them soe farr as might be without spoyling of their Garments yett it would not Content them, except they Came full vp to their sise such was the strictnes or Ridgednes (as now the tearme Goes of some in those times as wee Can by experience and of our owne knowlidge shew in other Instances wee shall for breiuitie sake onely shew one;

Wee were in the Companie of a Godly man that had bin a longe time prisoner att Norwich (for this Cause) and was by Judge Cooke sett att libertie² after Goeing into the Country hee viseted his frinds; and Returning that way againe to Goe into the low Countries by shipp att yarmouth and soe desired some of vs to turne in with him to the house of an ancient woman in the Citty whoe had bin very kind and healfull to him in his sufferings shee knowing his voyce made him very welcome and those with him; but after some time of their entertainment being Reddy to depart shee Came vp

¹ Here a word is crossed out.

² Here the words "by Judge Cooke sett at" are crossed out.

to him and felt of his band for her eyes were dim with age and p^rsei-
ing it was something stiffened with starch; shee was much displeas-
and Reproued him very sharply, fearing God would not prosper his
Journey; yett the man was a plaine Country man Clad in Gray
Russed without either welt or Gaurd (as the prouerbe is) and the
band hee wore scarce worth thripence made of their owne home
spining; and hee was Godly and humble as hee was plaine what
would such professors if they were Now liueing say to the excesse
of our times;

M^r Henery Ainsworth

A man of a Thousand was Teacher of this Church of Amsterdam
att the same time when m^r Johnson was Pastour; two worthy men
they were and of exelent p^rtes; hee Continewd Constant in his
Judgment and practice vnto his end in those thinges about the
Church Gou^rment from which m^r Johnson swarued and fell; hee
euer maintained Good Correspondence with m^r Robinson att Leyden
and would Consult with him in all matters of waight both in their
differences and afterwards; A very learned man hee was and a Close
student which much Impaired his health wee haue heard some
eminent in the knowlidge of the Tounge of the vniversitie of Leyden
say that they thought hee had not his better for the hebrew tounge ¹
in the vniversitie Nor scarce in Europa hee was a man very Modest
Amiable and sociable in his ordinary Course and Carriage of an
Inocent and vnblamable life and Conversation of a meeke speritt
and a Calme temper void of Pasion and Not ezely [74] and not
ezely prouoked and yett hee would be something Smarte in his ²
style to his opposers in his publicke writings; att which wee that
haue seen his Constant Carriage both in publicke desputes; and the
Mannaging of all Church affaires and such like occurances haue
sontimes Marueled; hee had an exelent Gift of teaching and open-
ing the Scriptures and thinges did fflow from him with that ffacil-
litie plaines and sweetnes as did much affect the hearers; hee was
powerfull and profound in doctrine although his voyce was not
stronge; and had this exelencye aboue many that hee was most
Reddy and pregnant in the Scriptures as if the booke of God had

¹ Perhaps "tongves."

² Here "stil" is crossed out.

bin written in his hart; being as Reddy in his quotations; without
tosing and turning his booke as if they had lyen open before his eyes
and Celdome mising a word in the Citeing of any place; Teaching
not onely the word and doctrine of God but in the words of God;
and for the most p^rte in a Continewd Phraise and words of Scrip-
ture; hee vsed Great dexteritie and was Reddy in Comparing Scrip-
ture with Scripture with one an other; In a word the times and
place in which hee liued were not worthy of ¹ such a man;

but wee find that hee is taxed in a book writt by George Johnson Younge men
with apostacye and to be a man pleaser &c

whoe Can escape the Scorge of tongues Christ himself Could not Ancient men
doe it when hee was heer vpon earth although there was noe Guile
found in his mouth; Nor Moses although hee was the Meekest man
in the earth; for man pleasing they that taxe him because hee Con-
curred against their violent and endles deceptions about the former
matters and for his appostacye this was all the Matter when hee was
a younge Man before hee Came out of England hee att the p^rswation
of some of his Godly frinds went once or twice to heare a Godly
Minister preach and this was the Great matter of Apostacye for
which ² those violent men thought him worthy to be deposed from
his place and for which they thus Charge him; and truly heerin they
may worthily beare the Name of Ridged &c:

M^r John Smith

Was an eminent Man ³ in his time and a Good preacher and of
other good p^rtes but his Inconstancy and vnstable Judgment and
being soe suddainly Carryed away with thinges did soone ouer
throw him; yett wee haue some of vs heard him vse this speech
(truely said hee) wee being Now Come into a place of libertie are in
Great danger if wee look not ⁴ well to our wayes, for wee are like
men sett vpon the Iyce and therefore may ezely slyde and fall; But
in this example it appeers it is an ezier matter to Giue Good Councell
then to follow it; to foresee danger then to preuent it which made
the prophett to say *o Lord the way of a man is Not in himself Neither*

¹ Here "him" is crossed out.

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Here the words "was an eminent man" are crossed out.

⁴ Here the words "to it" are crossed out.

is it in man to walk; and to direct his stepps Jeremiah 10: 23: hee was sometimes Pastour to a Companie of honest & Godly men which Came with him out of England and pitched att Amsterdam hee first fell into some errours about the Scriptures, and soe into some opposition with m^r Johnson whoe had bine his tutor and the Church there; but hee was Convinced of them by the paines and faithfulness of m^r Johnson and m^r Ainsworth and Revoaked them but afterwards was drawne away by some of the¹ duch Annabaptists whoe finding him to be a good Scoller and vnsettled they ezely misled² the most of his people and other of them Scattered away hee liued Not many yeers after but died there of a Consumption to which hee was Inclined before hee Came out of England; his and his peoples Condition may be an object of pittie for after times; [75]

M^r John Robinson

Was Pastour of that famous Church of Leyden in holland a man not ezely to be parraleled for all things whose singular vertues; wee shall not take vpon vs heer to describe neither Need wee for they soe well are knowne both by frinds and enimises, as hee was a man learned and of a solled Judgment and of a quick and sharp witt; soe was hee alsoe of a tender Consience and very Cinceire in all his wayes a hater of hipocresie and desimulation and would be very plaine with his best frinds hee was very Curteous affible and sociable in his Conversation and towards his owne people especially; hee was an acute and exact disputant very quick and Reddy, and had much bickering with the Arminnians whoe stood more in feare of him then any of the vniversitie hee was Neuer satisfied in himself vntill hee had serched any Cause or argument hee had to deale in thoroughly and to the botome; and wee haue heard him somtimes say to his familiars that many times both in writing and disputation hee knew hee had sufficiently answered³ others but many times not himself and was euer desirous of any light and the more able Learned and holy the p^rsons were the more hee desired to Confer and Reason with them; hee was very⁴ profittable in his minnistry and Comfortable

¹ Here "Church" is crossed out.

² Here "him" is crossed out.

³ Here "answered" is crossed out.

⁴ Here the words "Learned in" are crossed out.

to his people hee was much beloued of them and as loueing was hee vnto them; and Intirely sought there good for soule and body; In a word hee was much esteemed and Reuerenced of all that knew him and his abillities both of frinds and strangers; but wee Resolued to be breife in this matter; leauing you to better and more Large Information heerin from others

M^r Richard Clifton

Was a Graue and fatherly old man when hee Came first into holland haueing a Great white beard and pittie it was that such a Reuerend old man should be forced to leaue his Country and att those yeers to Goe into exile but it was his Lott and hee bore it patiently much good had hee done in the Country where hee liued and Converted many to God by his faithfull and painfull minnistry both in preaching and Catechising sound and orthodox hee alwaies was and soe Continewed to his end; hee belonged to the Church att Leyden but being settled att Amsterdam and thus aged hee was loth to Remoue any more; and soe when they Remoued hee was dismissed to them there and there Remained vntill hee died; thus wee haue breifly satisfied youer desire;

Wee are very thankfull to you for youer paines wee p^rseie God ^{Young} Raiseth vp exelent Instruments in all ages to Carry on his owne worke and the best of men haue there fayleings somtimes as wee see in these our times and that there is noe new thing vnder the sun; but before wee end this mater we desire you would say something of those two Churches that were soe longe in exile of whose Guids wee haue alreddy heard;

Truly there were in them many worthy men and if you had seen ^{Ancie} them in there bewty and order as wee haue don, you would haue bin much affected therwith wee dare say; Att Amsterdam; before there deuision and breach they were about three hundred Communicants and they had for there Pastour and Teacher those two eminent men before named and in our time four Graue men for Ruleing elders and three able and Godly men for deacons, one ancient widdow for a deacones whoe did them seruice many yeers though shee was sixty yeers of age when shee was Chosen shee honored her place and was an ornament to the Congregation shee vsually sate in a Convenient place in the Congregation; with a little birchen Rode in her hand;

and kept little Children in Great awe from disturbing the Congregation shee did frequently visitt the sicke and weake especially weomen and as there was need Called out maids and younge weomen to watch and doe them other heales [76] as their Nessesitie did Require and if they were poor shee would Gather Reliefe for them of those that were able; or acquaint the deacons and shee was obeyed as a mother in Israell and an officer of Christ ¹

And for the Church of Leyden they were some times not much fewer in Number nor att all Inferior in able men though they had not soe many officers as the other for they had but one Ruling elder with their Pastour, a man well approued and of Great Integritie alsoe they had three able men for deacons; and that which was a Crowne vnto them they liued together in loue and peace all their dayes without any Considerable differences or any disturbance that Grew therby but such as was easely healed in loue; and soe they Continewed vntil with mutuall Consent they Remoued into New England; and what their Condition hath bine since some of you that are of their Children doe see and Can tell many worthy and able men there were in both places whoe liued and died in obscuritie in Respect of the world as priuate Christians yett were they precious in the eyes of the Lord and alsoe in the eyes of such as knew them whose vertues wee wish such of you as are their Children doe follow and Imitate

If wee may not be to tedious wee would Request to know one thinge More It is Comonly said that those of the separation hold none to be true Churches but their owne and Condemne all the Churches in the world besides which lyeth as a fowle blott vpon them yee euen by some heer in New England except they Can Remoue it;

It is a manifest Slaunder laid vpon them; for they hold all the Reformed Churches to be true Churches and euen the most Ridged of them haue euer don soe as appeers by their apollogyes and other writings and wee our selues some of vs know of much entercomunion that diuers haue held with them Reciprocally not onely with the duche and french but euen with the scotch whoe are not of the best mould yee and with the Lutherens alsoe; and wee beleiuue they haue Gon as farr heerin; both in Judgment and practice as any of the Churches in New England doe or Can doe to deale faithfully and

¹ Here something is crossed out.

bear witness against their Corruptions; haueing thus farr satisfied all your demands wee shall heer break of this Conference for this time desireing the Lord to make you to Grow ¹ vp in Grace and wisdom and the true feare of God that in all faithfulnes and humilitie you may serue him in your Generations

Gentlemen wee humbly thank you for your paines with vs and respect vnto vs, and doe further Craue that vpon any fitt occasions wee may haue accesse vnto you for any further Information and heerwith also humbly take our leaue;

Finis ²

¹ Here "vp" is crossed out.

² The verso of p. [76] is blank. This is the end of Morton's entries, except a few words found on a later page: see p. 247, below.

PLYMOUTH CHURCH RECORDS

VOLUME I

PART II¹

[1²] A further account of matters in & relating to the church at Plymouth from the yeare 1667: untill 1697, inclusively.

It being desired in page 59:³ in the conclusion of the Ecclesiaticall History of this church, by that Godly Brother, M^r Nathaniel Morton, that Elders & Bretheren succeeding would be carefull to commit to writing what might occurre in their day for the Glory of God & good of after times, these following Pages⁴ shall truly & faithfully upon certaine knowledge declare what was transacted in this chh⁵ for the space of about thirty yeares soe far as may be Judged meet for edification.

M^r Morton in his foregoing Narrative truly declares, that after

¹ Part ii contains 18 leaves, or 36 pages, of which two (the verso of pp. [31] and [34]) are blank. The pages measure 11¼ inches in height by 7½ inches in width. Like Parts i, iii, and iv, Part ii is a portion of the original vellum-covered volume, the leaves being the same size and the watermark identical.

Pp. [1-29] of the text, or pp. 142-184 of this volume, are wholly in the hand of the Rev. John Cotton, except three marginal entries — one on p. [8] of the text, the other two on p. [20] of the text: see pp. 152 note 3, 170 note 1, 170 note 2, of this volume. Pp. [30-34], in an unknown hand, were originally not numbered, but page-numbers have been inserted in a later hand in pencil.

Mr. Cotton's account was written about 1697 or 1698: see pp. 174, 181, below.

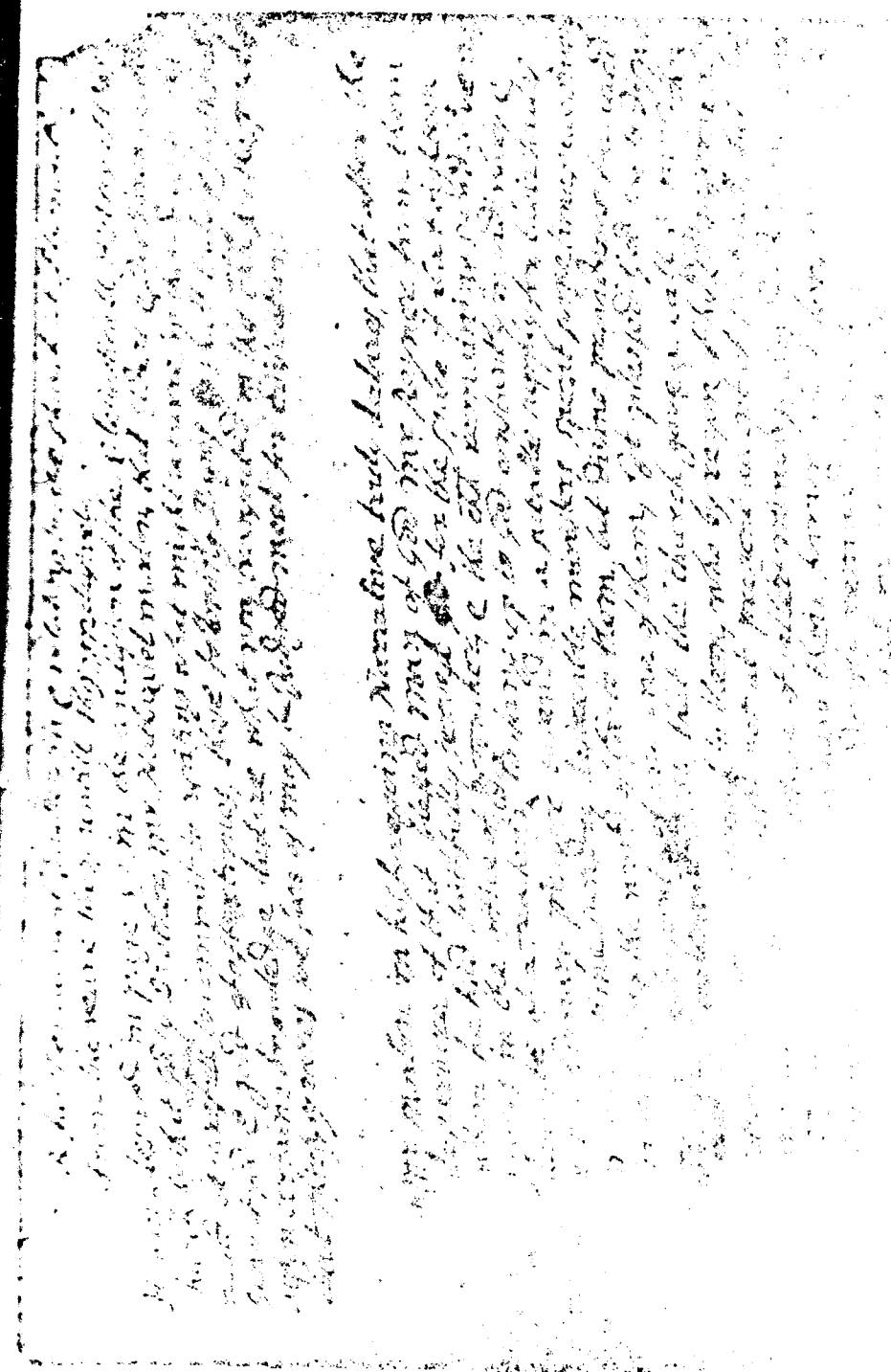
Part ii is printed in the Mayflower Descendant, iv. 212-217, v. 214-217, viii. 214-217, xii. 26-28, xiii. 72-75, 152-158, xiv. 101-106, 188-192, xv. 21-23, 223-227, xvi. 53-57.

² The upper corners of pp. [1-29] of the text are in places worn away, leaving the page-numbers in some cases obscure.

³ The reference is to p. [59] of the text of Part i, or p. 113 of this volume.

⁴ Here something is crossed out. The reference is to pp. [1-29] of the text, or pp. 142-184 of this volume.

⁵ Mr. Cotton almost invariably writes "chh" for "church," but the word is always here printed "chh."



the departure of that blessed Man of God M^r Reyner from them whom he had faithfully served¹ for the space of about eighteen yeares in the office of a Teacher, & the chh remaining sundry yeares destitute of a Teaching Elder looking up to God constantly in ordinary & extraordinary prayer to send in a sutable supply for their soules, in which time sundry desireable ministers spent some time successively in preaching the word of God to them, but divine providence favoured not the settlement of any one of them, It pleased God soe to dispose² in September³ 1666, that the church gave a call to M^r John Cotton to come & preach to them, who by reason of his then engagement to another people, could not at present accept of that call, but the chh continuing destitute of settled ministry, they did in the yeare following in July, renew their former call to him, to which He gave his consent & accordingly removed himselfe & family to Plymouth, where they arrived on November, 30: 1667:

There were then resident in the Place forty seven chh-membe[rs] 1667: in full communion, besides divers that were removed to other places, who upon the settlement of the ministry were called upon by the Elders to take their dismissions respectively to the severall ches where their settled abode was, this chh declaring it to be the duty of christians to be under the watch of those ches where they live, this motion was readily complied with by all concerned.

Now inasmuch as the death of saints is pretious in the eyes of God, & God hath said, the Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance an account shall be given of the deaths of such espetially who were of good esteem in the chh of God:

The first breach God made in the chh within the time above said was the death of Gabriel Fallowell, aged above 80 yeares, a very pretious, lively christian, one who maintained much communion with God day & night, he dyed, December, 28: 1667.⁴

In 1668: two members were admitted into the chh: & all that was 1668: transacted in the chh in this yeare was their discourse & conclusion to⁵ renew their call of M^r Cotton & to declare to him their purpose

¹ Here a word, perhaps "for," is crossed out.

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Here "September" is crossed out.

⁴ The third figure in this date has been altered.

⁵ Here a word is crossed out.

to establish him in office in the spring, the Lord disposing all our hearts to unite therein.

on the first of march dyed, John Dunham, the godly & well esteemed Deacon of the chh, one of 80 yeares old.

In this April dyed blessed M^r Reyner then Pastor of the chh at Dover¹

The chh appointed, April, 7: 1669: & kept it as a day of Fasting & Prayer, wherein to beg Gods prescence to be with them in directing to & in the choice of their Teaching officer.

Immediately after which the church voted to set apart a day to elect & ordaine M^r Cotton to be their Pastor, & agreed that June, 30: should be the day, which was attended, He being dismissed from Boston old² church & Joyned to this³ chh some weekes before;

The ches present at this ordination (by the desire of this chh) by the[ir] Elders & messengers were Barnstable, Marshfeild, Weymouth & Duxbu[ry:] Elder Thomas Cushman gave the charge & the aged m^r [2] John Howland was appointed by the chh to Joyne in imposition of hands; the Reverend m^r Walley made a soleme Prayer before ordination & the Revd M^r Torrey gave the right hand of fellowship in the Name of the ches, after.

The Ruling Elder with the Pastor made it their first spetiall worke together to passe through the whole towne from⁴ family to family to enquire into the state of soules & according as they found the frames either of the children of the chh or others, soe they applied counsells, admonitions, exhortations & encouragements, which service was attended with a blessing, for in divers with whom God had begun his work, it prevailed to stirre them up to lay hold of the covenant, & others were awakened more seriously to attend upon the meanes of grace & to minde the concernments of their soules, & practice family-prayer more constantly, the work of God seemed in those dayes to have a considerable reviving.

The chh having not then a Deacon, the Elders called upon them to choose some to that office; Accordingly, after a chh-meeting in Private some being Nominated, every brother speaking his minde

¹ This sentence is written in the margin.

² Here a word is crossed out.

³ Altered from "the."

⁴ Here "place" is crossed out.

man by man, on August, 1: Robert Finney & Ephraim Morton were chosen Deacons in the publick Assembly on the Sabbath, & then ordained by the Elders.

In January, the chh agreed to begin monethly church-meetings for conference, which were constantly attended for many yeares, & much good attended that exercise; Also in November, began the Catechizing of the children by the Pastor, (the Elder also accompanying him therein constantly) once a fortnight, the males at one time & the females at the other: the catechisme then used was M^r Perkins.

The members admitted to full Communion in this yeare were twenty & seven; the practice was for men¹ orally to make confession of faith & a declaration of their experiences of a worke of grace in the prescence of the whole congregation, having bin examined & heard before by the Elders in private & then stood propounded in publick for 2 or 3 weekes ordinarily; & the relations of the woemen being written in private from their mouths, were read in publick by the Pastor & the Elders gave Testimony that their knowledge was competent, this was the ordinary way of Admission of members at their first entrance, but if any members came from other places & had letters of Dismission they were accepted by us upon that Testimoniall & nothing further required of them.

The Lords supper was administred 4 times in this yeare, the first of which was on August, 29:

The children Baptised this yeare, 48:

It pleased God heavily to afflict this chh & people by the Death of Capt Thomas Southworth, of whom Honourable mention is made in the foregoing Narrative, & that most deservedly; He was a great Pillar in this chh, & in the dayes of blessed m^r Reyner, after the death of Elder Brewster (whose Name is here very² pretious & ever will be soe) [3] when the chh had agitations about the choice of a Ruling Elder, this M^r Southworth was Judged by many of the chh a very sutable man for that place, yet it was wisely foreseen by Govr Bradford that the necessity of the Commonwealth would doubtlesse call for the improvement of his Talent in the magistracy, & soe it proved, for immediately upon the death of that Honourable Govr,

¹ Here some words, perhaps "to make," are crossed out.

² Written above "soe," crossed out.

he was chosen a magistrate & soe continued to his death, There were other Bretheren that did exercise their gifts for ædification of the chh in the vacancy of the ministry, yet such was the desireableness & excellling of his Gifts & graces that for divers yeares together he was expetially singled out by the chh to carry on the publick worship, one part of the Sabbath, Elder Cushman ordinarily spending the forenoone & Mr Southworth¹ the afternoone; His Death was on December 8: (about 53 yeares old) after a moneths sicknesse; His death was much lamented & is to this day, he was loved & feared & of such a conversation as commanded both. The chh kept a day of prayer for his life, Dec. 1: but his time was come to dye.

In 1670 fourteen members were admitted into the chh, 39 children were baptized, & the Lords supper was 8 times.

In the spring the chh set apart & observed a day of Thanksgiving for the settlement of Gods ordinances after soe long a vacancy, & the good successe of the Gospel amongst the[m.]

A child of this chh who had bin here baptized, removing to Swanzey was rebaptized by the Pastor there, which the chh being informed of, did unanimously declare it to be matter of offence, & sent letters to those concerned in that action to signify that such a practice would be a barre to our Ecclesiasticall communion & desired they would doe soe noe more.

Some persons, a brother & 2 sisters that had formerly walked with this chh being now removed & not owning their chh-relation, the chh agreed & it was openly declared by the Elder in the name of the chh, that wee esteemed them noe longer to be members of us.

In this yeare, 70: m^r Richard Bourne of Sandwich sent to the chh for messengers to take notice of the fitnessse of sundry Indians to gather into a chh at Mashpau, the Pastor, Elder & Secretary Morton were sent thither, Elders & messengers of many other ches were there also, the Indians after confessions etc were gathered into a chh, M^r Bourne chosen & ordained their Pastor, all the ches present approveing thereof. old mr Eliot & our Pastor laid on hands.²

In 1671 seventeen members were admitted, 25 children baptized, the Lords supper was 10 times.

Some viz. a brother & sister having sold liquors to the Indians

¹ Here "in" is crossed out.

² This paragraph is written in the margin.

were Admonished, & also a child of the chh for morall scandall, this chh ever practising discipline to the chh-seed when adult.

In 1672, six members were admitted, 13 children Baptized, the 1672 Lords supper was 8 times.

on February, 24: dyed M^r John Howland in his eightieth yeare, he was a good old disciple, & had bin sometime a magistrate here, a plaine-hearted christian

In 1673; was a very awfull frowne of God upon this chh & colony 1673 in the death of m^r Thomas Prince the Governour in the 73d yeare of his Age: when this colony was in a hazardous condition upon the death of Govr Bradford, the lott was cast upon m^r Princ[e] [4] to be his successour, God made him a repairer of breaches & a meanes to settle those shakings that were then threatning, he was excellently qualified for the office of a Governour, he had a countenance full of majesty & therein as well as otherwise was a Terrour to evill doers, he was very amiable & pleasant in his whole conversation & highly esteemed of the saints & acknowledged by all; In the time of his sicknesse the chh sought God by Fasting & Prayer, but God would not be intreated any longer to spare him, but he dyed on March, 29: & was honourably interred, April, 8:

Six more chh-members dyed in this yeare.¹

The Lords supper in this yeare was seven times, but one member admitted, 14 children baptized.

In 1674: the Lords supper was 11 times, one member admitted, 1674 17 children baptized:

Discipline viz Admonition was administred to a chh-child for sin & two² in full communion upon confession of what was offensive were forgiven without any censure.

In March, 1675: the church of Eastham sent to our chh for mes- 1675 sengers to be with them at their ordination of M^r Samuel Treat to be their Pastor, the chh sent the Pastor, Elder & Deacon Finney, who attended that service, March, 17:

Lords supper was six times; 8 children were baptized.

Warr with the Indians breaking forth, the chh set apart July, 21: to be kept as a day of Humiliation, Another on January, 5: Another, February, 2: because of war & sicknesse.

¹ These words are written in the margin.

² Written above "one," crossed out.