

1702

## Magnalia Christi Americana

Cotton Mather

Thomas Parkhurst

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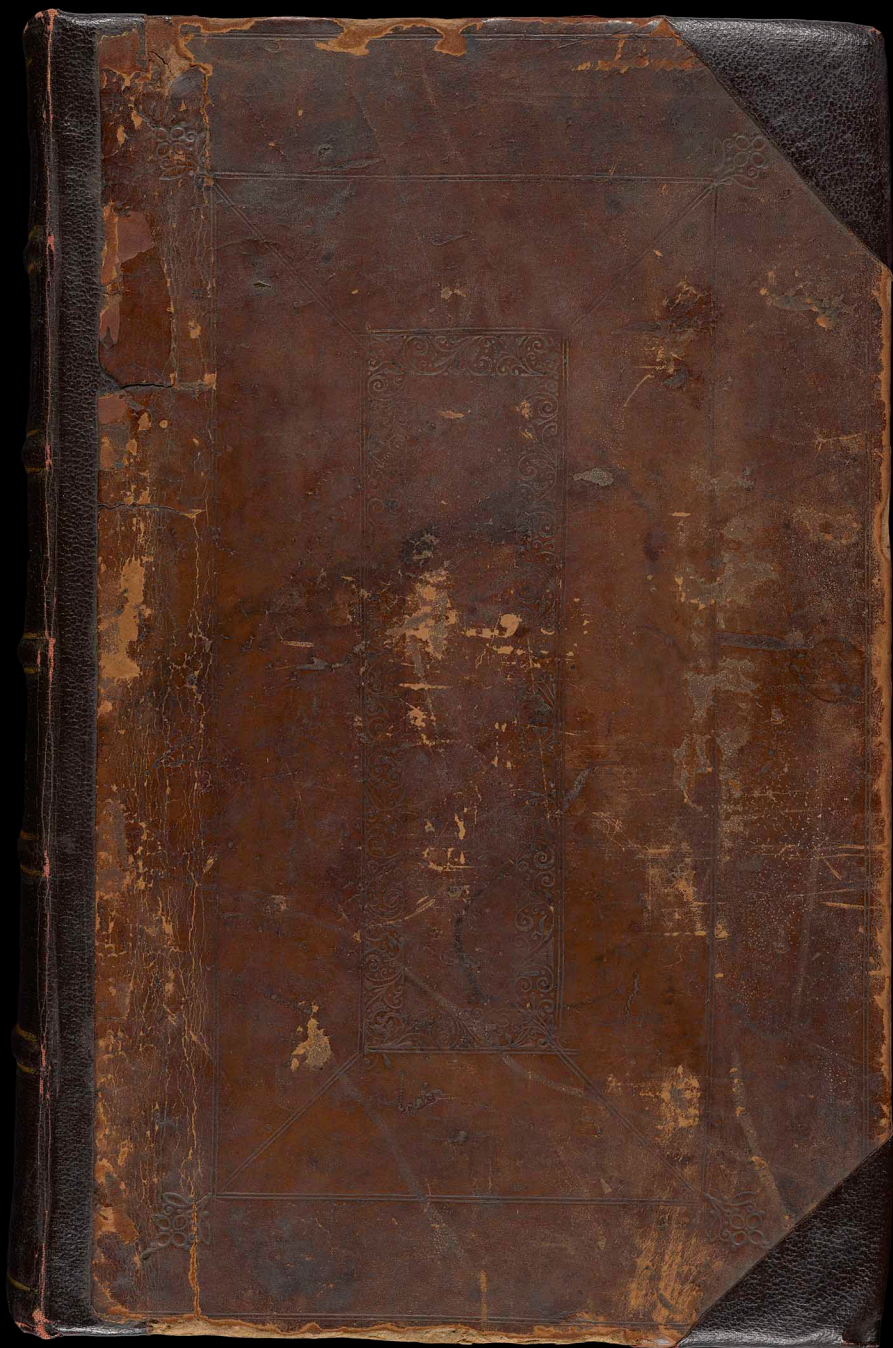
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and accomplished by the Son, thro  
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By the Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, M. A.  
 And Editor of the New-England Magazine.

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A N

# ATTESTATION

T O T H I S

## Church-History

O F

# NEW-ENGLAND.

**I**T hath been deservedly esteemed, one of the great and wonderful Works of God in this *Last Age*, that the Lord stirred up the Spirits of so many Thousands of his Servants, to leave the *Pleasant Land of England*, the Land of their *Nativity*, and to transport themselves, and Families, over the *Ocean Sea*, into a *Desert Land*, in *America*, at the Distance of a *Thousand Leagues* from their own Country; and this, merely on the Account of *Pure and Undeified Religion*, not knowing how they should have their *Daily Bread*, but trusting in God for *That*, in the way of *seeking first the Kingdom of God*, and the *Righteousness* thereof: And that the Lord was pleased to grant such a gracious Presence of his with them, and such a *Blessing* upon their Undertakings, that within a few Years a *Wilderness* was subdued before them, and so many *Colonies* Planted, *Towns* Erected, and *Churches* Settled, wherein the true and living God in Christ Jesus, is worshipped, and served, in a place where time out of mind, had been nothing before, but *Heathenism*, *Idolary*, and *Devil-worship*; and that the Lord has added to many of the Blessings of *Heaven* and *Earth* for the Comfortable Subsistence of his People in these *Ends of the Earth*. Surely of this *Work*, and of this *Time*, it shall be said, *What hath God wrought?* And, *This is the Lord's doings, it is marvellous in our Eyes!* Even so (*O Lord*) *didst thou lead thy People, to make thy self a glorious Name!* Now, *One Generation* passeth away, and another cometh. The *First Generation* of our Fathers, that began this Plantation of *New-England*, most of them in their *middle Age*, and many of them in their declining Years, who, *after they had served the Will of God*, in laying the *Foundation* (as we hope) of many *Generations*, and given an *Example* of true *Reformed Religion* in the Faith and Order of the Gospel, according to their best *Light* from the *Words* of God, they are now gathered unto their Fathers. There hath been another *Generation* succeeding the *First*, either of such as come over with their Parents very Young, or were born in the Country, and these have had the managing of the Publick Affairs for many Years, but are apparently passing away, as their Fathers before them. There is also a *Third Generation*, who are grown up, and begin to stand thick upon the Stage of *Action*, at this Day, and these were all born in the Country, and may call *New-England* their *Native Land*. Now, in respect of what the Lord hath done for these *Generations*, succeeding one another, we have abundant cause of *Thanksgiving* to the Lord our God, who hath so Increased and Blessed this People, that from a *Day of small things*, he has brought us to be, what we now are. We may set up an *EBENEZER*, and say, *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us*. Yet in respect of our *Present State*, we have need earnestly to *Pray*, as we are directed, *Let thy Work farther appear unto thy Servants, and let thy Beauty be*

## An Attestation to this Church-History, &c.

upon us, and thy Glory upon our Children; Establish thou the Works of these our hands; yea, the Works of our hands, Establish thou them.

For, if we look on the *Dark side*, the *Humane side* of this Work, there is much of *Humane Weakness and Imperfection*, hath appeared in all that hath been done by *Man*, as was acknowledged by our *Fathers* before us. Neither was *New-England* ever without some *Fatherly Chastisements* from God; shewing that He is not Fond of the *Formalities* of any People upon Earth, but expects the *Realities of Practical Godliness*, according to our Profession and Engagement unto him. Much more may we, the *Children* of such *Fathers*, lament our *Gradual Degeneracy* from that *Life and Power of Godliness* that was in them, and the many *Provoking Evils* that are amongst us; which have moved our God severely to witness against us, more than in our *first Times*, by his *lesser Judgments* going before, and his *Greater Judgments* following after; He shot off his *Warning-pieces first*, but his *Murdering-pieces* have come after them, in so much as in these *Calamitous Times*, the *Changes of Wars of Europe* have had such a malignant Influence upon *US in America*, that we are at this Day *Greatly diminished and brought low, through Oppression, Affliction, and Sorrow*.

And yet if we look on the *Light side*, the *Divine side* of this Work, we may yet see, that the *Glory of God* which was with our *Fathers*, is not wholly departed from us their *Children*; there are as yet many *Signs of his Gracious Presence* with us, both in the way of his *Providences*, and in the use of his *Ordinances*, as also in and with the *Hearts and Souls* of a considerable number of his *People in New-England*, that we may yet say as they did, *Thy Name is Upon us, and thou art in the midst of us, therefore, Lord, Leave us not!* As *Solomon* prayed, so may we, *The Lord our God be with us, as he was with our Fathers; Let him not leave nor forsake us; but incline our Hearts to keep his Commandments*. And then, *That he would maintain his own, and his Peoples Cause, at all times, as the matter may require*.

For the Lord our God hath in his infinite Wisdom, Grace and Holiness, contrived and established His *Covenant*, so as he will be the God of his *People*, and of their *Seed* with them, and after them, in their *Generations*; and in the Ministerial Dispensation of the *Covenant of Grace*, in, with, and to his visible Church, He hath promised *Covenant-Mercies* on the Condition of *Covenant-Duties*. If my *People, who are called by my Name*, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my Face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear their Prayers, forgive their Sins, and heal their Land; and mine Eyes, and mine Heart, shall be upon them perpetually for Good! That so the Faithfulness of God may appear in all Generations for ever, that if there be any *Breach* between the Lord and his *People*, it shall appear plainly to lye on his *Peoples* part. And therefore he has taken care, that his own Dealings with his *People* in the Course of his *Providence*, and their Dealings with him in the Ways of *Obedience or Disobedience*, should be Recorded, and so transmitted for the Use and Benefit of After-times, from Generation to Generation; as, (*Exodus 17. 14.*) *The Lord said unto Moses, write this for a Memorial in a Book; and, (Deut. 31. 19.) Write ye this Song for you, that it may be a Witness for me against the Children of Israel; and (Psal. 102. 18.) This and that shall be written for the Generation to come, and the People that shall be created shall praise the Lord*. Upon this Ground it was said (*in Psal. 44. 1.*) *We have heard with our Ears, O God, and our Fathers have told Us, what Work thou dost in their Days in times of Old, how thou castest out the Heathen, and plantest them; (so likewise in Psal. 78. v. 3 to the 8th.) Upon the same account it may be said, (Psal. 45. last.) I will make thy Name to be remembered to all Generations: And this is one Reason why the Lord commanded so great a part of the Holy Scriptures to be written in an Historical way, that the wonderful Works of God towards his Church and People, and their Atings towards him again, might be known unto all Generations: And after the Scripture-times, so far as the Lord in his Holy Wisdom hath seen meet, He hath stirred up some or other to write the Acts and Monuments of the Church of God in all Ages; especially since the Reformation of Religion from Antichristian Darknes, was vigorously and in a great measure successfully endeavoured in the foregoing Century, by such Learned and Pious Persons, as the Lord inclined and enabled thereunto.*

And therefore surely, it hath been a Duty incumbent upon the People of God, in this our *New-England*, that there should be extant, a true History of the Wonderful Works of

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is Bless'd.



## An Attestation to this Church-History, &c.

of God in the late Plantation of this part of *America*; which was indeed planted, not on the account of any *Worldly Interest*, but on a Design of Enjoying and Advancing the true *Reformed Religion*, in a *Practical way*: And also of the *Good Hand of God* upon it from the beginning unto this Day, in granting such a measure of *Good Success*, so far as we have attained: Such a Work as this hath been much *Desired*, and long *Expected*, both at home and abroad, and too long Delayed by Us, and sometimes it hath seemed a hopeless thing ever to be attained, till God raised up the Spirit of this Learned and Pious Person, one of the Sons of the *College*, and one of the Ministers of the *Third Generation*, to undertake this Work. His Learning and Godliness, and *Ministerial Abilities*, were so Conspicuous, that at the Age of *Seventeen Years*, he was called to be a publick Preacher in *Boston*, the *Metropolis* of the whole *English America*; and within a while after that, he was ordained *Pastor* of the same Church, whereof his own *Father* was the *Teacher*, and this at the unanimous Desire of the People, and with the Approbation of the *Magistrates, Ministers and Churches*, in the *Vicinity of Boston*. And after he had, for divers Years, approved himself in an exemplary way, and obliged his *Native Country*, by publishing many useful *Treatises*, suitable to the *Present State of Religion* amongst us, he set himself to write the *Church-History of New-England*, not at all omitting his *Ministerial Employments*; and in the midst of many Difficulties, Tears and Temptations, having made a diligent Search, Collecting of proper *Materials*, and Selecting the choicest *Memorials*, he hath, in the Issue, within a few Months, contrived, composed, and methodized the same into this Form and Frame which we here see: So that it deserves the name of, *THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND*.

But as I behold this Exemplary Son of *New-England*, while thus *Young and Tender*, at such a rare Building the *Temple of God*, and in a few Months dispatching such a piece of *Temple-work* as this is; a Work so notably adjusted and adorned, it brings to mind the Epigram upon young *Borellus*:

*Cum Juveni tantam dedit Experientia Lucem,  
Tale ut promat opus, quam Dabit illa Seni?*

As for my self, having been, by the Mercy of God, now above *Sixty eight Years* in *New-England*, and served the Lord and his People in my weak Measure, *Sixty Years* in the Ministry of the Gospel, I may now say in my Old Age, *I have seen all that the Lord hath done for his People in New-England*, and have known the Beginning and Progress of these Churches unto this Day; and having read over much of this *History*, I cannot but in the Love and Fear of God, bear witness to the *Truth of it*; viz. That this present *Church-History of New-England*, Compiled by Mr. *Cotton Mather*, for the Substance, End and Scope of it, is, as far as I have been acquainted therewithall, according to *Truth*.

The manifold *Advantage*, and *Usefulness* of this present *History*, will appear, if we consider the Great and Good *Ends* unto which it may be serviceable; As,

First, That a plain Scriptural Duty of Recording the Works of God unto *After-times*, may not any longer be omitted, but performed in the best manner we can.

Secondly, That by the Manifestation of the *Truth of things*, as they have been and are amongst us, the *Misrepresentations of New-England* may be removed and prevented; for, *Rectum est sui & obliqui Index*.

Thirdly, That the True Original and Design of this Plantation may not be lost, nor buried in *Oblivion*, but known and remembered for ever, [*Psal. lxxi. 4. He hath made his wonderful Works to be remembered. Psal. cxxv. 5. Remember ye the marvellous Works which he hath done.*]

Fourthly, That God may have the *Glory* of the Great and Good Works which he hath done for his People in these Ends of the Earth, [*As in Isaiah 63. 7. I will mention the loving Kindness of the Lord, and the Praises of the Lord, according to all the Great Goodness and Mercy he has bestowed on us.*]

Fifthly, That the Names of such Eminent Persons as the Lord made use of, as *Instruments* in his hand, for the beginning and carrying on of this Work, may be embalmed, and preserved, for the Knowledge and Imitation of Posterity; for the *Memory of the Just is Blessed*.

Sixthly,

## An Attestation to this Church-History, &c.

*Sixthly*, That the present Generation may remember the *Way* wherein the Lord hath led his People in this *Wilderness*, for so many Years past unto this Day; [according to that in *Deut. 8. 2. Thou shalt remember all the way wherein the Lord hath led thee in the Wilderness this Forty Years, to humble thee, and to prove thee, and to know what was in thy Heart, whether thou wouldest keep his Commandments or no.*] All considering Persons cannot but observe, that our *Wilderness*-condition hath been full of *humbling, trying, distressing Providences*. We have had our *Masjabs and Meribabs*; and few of our Churches but have had some remarkable *hours of Temptation* passing over them, and God's End in all has been to prove us, whether, according to our *Profession*, and his *Expectation*, we would keep his *Commandments*, or not.

*Seventhly*, That the Generations to come in *New-England*, may know the God of their *Fathers*, and may serve him with a perfect Heart and willing Mind; as especially the first Generation did before them; and that they may set their hope in God, and not forget his Works, but keep his *Commandments*. (*Psal. 78. 7.*)

*Eighthly*, And whereas it may be truly said, (as *Jer. 23. 21.*) That when this People began to follow the Lord into this *Wilderness*, they were, *Holiness to the Lord*, and he planted them as a noble Vine; Yet in process of time, when they are greatly increased and multiplied, they should so far Degenerate, as to forget the Religious Design of their *Fathers*, and forsake the Holy Ways of God, (as it was said of them in *Hosai 4. 7. As they were increased, so they sinned against the Lord*) and so that many Evils and Troubles will befall them; Then this Book may be for a *Witness* against them; and yet thro' the Mercy of God, may be also a means to Reclaim them, and cause them to Return again unto the Lord, and his Holy Ways, that He may Return again in Mercy unto them; even unto the many *Thoulands* of *New-England*.

*Ninthly*, That the Little Daughter of *New-England* in *America*, may bow down her self to her Mother *England*, in *Europe*, presenting this Memorial unto her; assuring her, that tho' by some of her *Angry Brethren*, she was forced to make a *Local Secession*, yet not a *Separation*, but hath always retained a Dutiful Respect to the Church of God in *England*; and giving some account to her, how graciously the Lord has dealt with her self in a *Remote Wilderness*, and what she has been doing all this while; giving her thanks for all the Supplies she has received from her; and because she is yet in her *Minority*, she craves her farther *Blessing and Favour* as the Case may require; being glad, if what is now presented to her, may be of any use, to help forward the *Union and Agreement* of her *Brethren*, which would be some Satisfaction to her for her undesired *Local Distance* from her Dear *England*; and Finally, promising all that *Reverence and Obedience* which is due to her Good Mother, by Virtue of the *Fifth Commandment*. And

*Lastly*, That this present History may stand as a Monument, in relation to future times, of a fuller and better Reformation of the Church of God, than it hath yet appeared in the World. For by this Essay it may be seen, that a farther Practical Reformation than that which began at the first coming out of the *Darkness of Popery*, was aimed at, and endeavoured by a great Number of *Voluntary Exiles*, that came into a *Wilderness* for that very end, that hence they might be free from humane Additions and Inventions in the Worship of God, and might practice the positive part of Divine Institutions, according to the Word of God. How far we have attained this Design, may be judged by this Book. But we beseech our Brethren, of our own and of other Nations, to believe that we are far from thinking that we have attained a perfect Reformation. Oh, No! Our Fathers did in their time acknowledge, there were many Defects and Imperfections in our Way, and yet we believe they did as much as could be expected from Learned and Godly Men in their Circumstances; and we, their Successors, are far short of them in many respects, meeting with many Difficulties which they did not; and mourning under many Rebukes from our God which they had not, and with trembling Hearts observing the Gradual Declinings that are amongst us from the Holy Ways of God; we are forced to cry out, and say, Lord, what will become of these Churches in time? And what wilt thou do for thy great Name? And yet in the Multitude of our Thoughts and Fears, the Conso-lations of God refresh our Souls, that all those that in Simplicity and Godly Sincerity do serve the Lord, and his People in their Generation (tho they should miss it in some things) they shall deliver their own Souls, they are accepted of the Lord, and their Reward is

with



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with him; and in the approaching Days of a better *Reformation*, the sincere, tho' weak Endeavours of the Servants of God, that went before them, will be also accepted of the Saints in those times of greater Light and Holiness, that are to come; and when the Lord shall make Jerusalem (or, the true Church of God, and the true Christian Religion) a Praise in the Earth, and the Joy of many Generations, then the Mistakes of these times will be rectified; and that which is of God in any of his Churches, now in any Part of the World, will be owned and improved unto an higher Degree of Practical Godliness, that shall continue for many Generations succeeding one another, which hitherto hath been so rare a thing to be found in the World.

I shall now draw to a Conclusion, with an Observation which hath visited my Thoughts: That the Lord hath blessed the Family of the MATHERS, amongst us, with a singular Blessing, in that no less than Ten of them, have been accepted of him, to serve the Lord and his People in the Ministry of the Gospel of Jesus Christ; of whom, as the Apostle said in another case, tho' some are fallen asleep, yet the greatest part remain unto this Day; I do not know the like in our New-England, and perhaps it will be found rare to parallel the same in other Countries. Truly I have thought, it hath been a Reward of Grace, with respect unto the Faithfulness they have expressed, in asserting, clearing, maintaining, and putting on for the Practice of that great Principle, of the Propagation of Religion in these Churches, viz. The Covenant-State and Church-membership of the Children born in these Churches, together with the Scripture Duties appertaining thereunto, and that by virtue of God's Covenant of Grace, established by God with his People, and their Seed with them, and after them in their Generations. And this has been done especially by Mr. Richard Mather the Father, and by Mr. Increase Mather his Son, and by Mr. Cotton Mather his Son, the Author of this present Work.

I shall give the Reader the Satisfaction to enumerate this happy Decemvirate.

1. Richard Mather, Teacher of the Church in Dorchester.
2. Samuel Mather: He was the first Fellow of Harvard-Colledge in Cambridge in New-England, and the first Preacher at North-Boston, where his Brother and his Nephew are now his Successors. He was afterwards one of the Chaplains in Magdalen-Colledge in Oxford; after that, a Senior Fellow of Trinity-Colledge in Dublin, and Pastor of a Church in that City, where he died.
3. Nathaniel Mather; which succeeded his Brother Samuel as Pastor of that Church in Dublin, and is now Pastor of a Church in London.
4. Eleazar Mather: He was Pastor of the Church at Northampton in New-England, and much esteemed in those parts of the Country: He died when he was but Thirty two years old.
5. Increase Mather; who is known in both Englands. These four were the Sons of Richard Mather.
6. Cotton Mather, the Author of this History.
7. Nathaniel Mather. He died at the Nineteenth Year of his Age; was a Master of Arts; began to preach in private. His Piety and Learning was beyond his Years. The History of his Life and Death was written by his Brother, and there have been Three Editions of it printed at London. He dyed here at Salem, and over his Grave there is written, THE ASHES OF AN HARD STUDENT, A GOOD SCHOLAR, AND A GREAT CHRISTIAN.
8. Samuel Mather; he is now a publick Preacher. These three last mentioned, are the Sons of Increase Mather.
9. Samuel Mather, the Son of Timothy, and Grandson of Richard Mather; He is the Pastor of a Church in Windsor: a Pious and a Prudent Man; who has been an happy Instrument of uniting the Church and Town, amongst whom there had been great Divisions.
10. Warham Mather, the Son of Eleazar Mather, and by his Mother Grandson to the Reverend Mr. Warham, late Pastor of the Church in Windsor: He is now also a publick Preacher. Behold, an happy Family, the Glad sight whereof, may well inspire even an Old Age past Eighty, with Poetry enough to add this,

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*An Attestation to this Church-History, &c.*

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Epigramma in *MATHEROS*.

*O Nimum Dilecte Deo, Venerande MATHERE,  
Gaudens tot Natos Christi numerare Ministros !  
Des Deus ut tales insurgant usque Matheri,  
Et Nati, Natorum, & qui Nascentur ab illis.  
Has inter stellas fulgens, Cortone Mathere,  
Patrum tu sequeris vestigia semper ad orans,  
Phosphorus ait aliis !*

Now the Lord our God, the Faithful God, that keepeth Covenant and Mercy to a thousand Generations, with his People; let him incline the Heart of this People of New-England, to keep Covenant and Duty towards their God, to walk in his Ways, and keep his Commandments, that he may bring upon them the Blessing of Abraham, the Mercy and Truth unto Jacob, the sure Mercies of David, the Grace and Peace that cometh from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ; and that the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ may be in and with these Churches, from one Generation to another, until the Second Coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! Unto him be Glory and Dominion, for Ever and Ever. Amen.

Salem, the 25th of the  
First Month 1697.

John Higginson.



# A Prefatory Poem,

On that Excellent Book, Entitled,

*Magnalia Christi Americana :*

Written by the Reverend

Mr. COTTON MATHER, Pastor of a Church at Boston, New-England.

To the Candid Reader.

**S**truck with huge Love, of what to be possest,  
I much despond, good Reader, in the quest ;  
Yet help me, if at length it may be said,  
Who first the *Chambers of the South* display'd ?  
Inform me, Whence the Tawny People came ?  
Who was their Father, *Japhet, Shem, or Cham* ?  
And how they straddled to th' *Antipodes*,  
To look another *World* beyond the Seas ?  
And when, and why, and where they last broke ground,  
What Risks they ran, where they first Anchoring found ?  
Tell me their Patriarchs, Prophets, Priests and Kings,  
Religion, Manners, Monumental things :  
What *Charters* had they ? What Immunities ?  
What Altars, Temples, Cities, Colonies,  
Did they erect ? Who were their publick Spirits ?  
Where may we find the *Records* of their Merits ?  
What Instances, what glorious Displays  
Of Heav'n's high Hand, commenced in their dayes ?  
These things in *Black Oblivion* cover'd o'er,  
(As they'd ne'er been) lye, with a thousand more.  
A vexing Thought, that makes me scarce forbear  
To stamp, and wring my Hands, and pluck my Hair,  
To think, what Blessed *Ignorance* hath done,  
What fine Threads *Learnings* Enemies have spun,  
How well Books, Schools, and Colledge may be spar'd,  
So Men with *Beasts* may fitly be compar'd !  
Yea, how *Tradition* leaves us in the lurch,  
And who, nor stay at home, nor go to Church :  
The *Light-within-Enthusiasts*, who let fly  
Against our Pen and Ink *Divinity* ;  
Who boldly do pretend (but who'll believe it ?)  
If *Genefts* were lost, they could retrieve it ;  
Yea, all the *Sacred Writ* ; Pray let them try  
On the *New World*, their Gift of *Prophecy*.  
For all them, the *New Worlds Antiquities*,  
Smother'd in everlasting Silence lies ;  
And its *First Sachins* mention'd are no more,  
Than they that *Agamemnon* liv'd before.  
The poor *Americans* are under blame,  
Like them of old, that from *Tel-melah* came,

*Conjectur'd* once to be of *Israel's* Seed,  
 But no *Record* appear'd to prove the Deed :  
 And like *Habajah's* Sons, that were put by  
 The *Priesthood*, Holy things to come not nigh,  
 For having lost their *Genealogy*.  
 Who can past things to memory command,  
 Till one with *Aaron's Breast-plate* up shall stand ?  
 Mischiefs Remediless such Sloth ensue ;  
 God and their Parents lose their Honour due,  
 And Childrens Children suffer on that Score,  
 Like Bastards cast forlorn at any Door ;  
 And they and others put to seek their Father,  
 For want of such a Scribe as *COTTON MATHER* ;  
 Whose Piety, whose Pains, and peerless Pen,  
 Revives *New-England's* nigh-lost Origin.

Heads of our Tribes, whose Corps are under ground,  
 Their Names and Fames in *Chronicles* renown'd,  
 Begemm'd on *Golden Ouches* he hath set,  
 Past Envy's Teeth, and Times corroding Fret :  
 Of Death and Malice, he has brush'd off the Dust,  
 And made a *Resurrection of the Just* :  
 And clear'd the Lands Religion of the Glofs,  
 And *Copper-Cuts* of *Alexander Ross*.  
 He hath related *Academic* things,  
 And paid their *First-Fruits* to the King of Kings ;  
 And done his *Alma Mater* that just Favour,  
 To shew *Sal Gentium* hath not lost its Savour.  
 He writes like an *Historian*, and *Divine*,  
 Of Churches, Synods, Faith, and Discipline.  
 Illustrious Providences are display'd,  
 Mercies and Judgments are in colours laid ;  
 Salvations wonderful by Sea and Land,  
 Themselves are Saved by his Pious Hand.  
 The Churches Wars, and various Enemies,  
 Wild Salvages, and wilder Sectaries,  
 Are notify'd for them that after rise.

This well-instructed Scribe brings *New and Old*,  
 And from his Mines digs richer things than Gold ;  
 Yet freely gives, as Fountains do their Streams,  
 Nor more than they, Himself, by giving, drains.  
 He's all *Design*, and by his *Crafter Wiles*  
 Locks fast his Reader, and the Time beguiles :  
 Whilst *Wit* and *Learning* move themselves aright,  
 Thro' ev'ry line, and Colour in our sight,  
 So interweaving *Profit* with *Delight* ;  
 And curiously inlaying both together,  
 That he must needs find Both, who looks for either.

His *Preaching*, *Writing*, and his Pastoral Care,  
 Are very much, to fall to one Man's share.  
 This added to the rest, is admirable,  
 And proves the Author *Indefatigable*.  
 Play is his Toyl, and *Work* his Recreation,  
 And his *Inventions* next to Inspiration.  
 His Pen was taken from some Bird of Light,  
 Addicted to a swift and lofty Flight.  
 Dearly it loves *Art*, *Air*, and *Eloquence*,  
 And hates *Confinement*, save to *Truth* and *Sense*.

Allow



Allow what's known; they who write Histories,  
Write many things they see with others Eyes;  
'Tis fair, where nought is feign'd, nor undigested,  
Nor ought, but what is credibly attested.  
The Risk is his; and seeing others do,  
Why may not I speak mine Opinion too?

The *Stuff* is true, the *Trimming* neat and spruce,  
The Workman's good, the Work of publick use;  
Most piously design'd, a publick Store,  
And well deserves the publick Thanks, and more.

*Nicholas Noyes, Teacher of the Church at Salem.*

Reverendo Domino,

## D. COTTONO MADERO,

Libri Utilissimi, cui Titulus, *Magnalia Christi Americana*,  
Authori Doctissimo, ac Dilectissimo,  
Duo Ogdoasitica, & bis duo Anagrammata, dat Idem, N. Noyes.

### Cottonus Maderus.

Anagr. { *Est duo Sanctorum.*  
*Natus es Doctorem.*

*Nomina Sanctorum, quos Scribis, clara duorum*  
*Nomine Cerno Tuo; Virtutes Lector eadem*  
*Canaisus inveniet Tecum, Charitate refertas.*  
*Doctrina Eximius Doctos, Pietate pioque*  
*Tu bene describis, describere nescit aliter.*  
*Doctorem es Natus, Domino Spirante Renatus;*  
*De bene quaesitis gaudent Tertius Haeres;*  
*Nomen praesagit, nec non Anagrammata, vates.*

### Cottonus Maderus.

Anagr. { *Unctas demortuos.*  
*Senatus Doctorem.*

*Unctas demortuos, decoratur Laude Senatus*  
*Doctorem, Merita, sit praesens praeterita etas,*  
*Hanc exempla patens, & postera Progenitores*  
*Non ignorabit, patriisque superbiat Actis;*  
*More, Fide, cultu, quoque patrisare studebit;*  
*Gratum opus est Domino, Patrie nec inutile nostrae;*  
*Orbi fructificat. Fer Fertilitatis Honorem,*  
*Scribendo Vitas alienas, propria scripta est.*

Celeberrimi

## COTTONI MATHERI,

Celebratio;

Qui Heroum Vitas, in sui-ipsius & illorum Memoriam  
sempiternam, revocavit.

*Quod Patrios Manes revocasti a Sedibus altis,  
Sylvæfres Musa grates, Matheræ, rependunt.  
Hæc nova Progenies, veterum sub Imagine, cælo  
Arte Tua Terram visitans, demissa, salutat.  
Grata Deo Pietas; Grates persequimur omnes:  
Semper Honos, Nomenque Tuum, Matheræ, manebunt.*

Is the Bless'd *MATHER* Necromancer turn'd,  
To raise his Countries Father's Ashes Urn'd?  
*Elisba's* Dust, Life to the Dead imparts;  
This Prophet, by his more *Familiar Arts*,  
Unseals our *Hero's* Tombs, and gives them Air;  
They Rise, they Walk, they Talk, Look wond'rous Fair;  
Each of them in an Orb of *Light* doth shine,  
In Liveries of *Glory* most Divine.

When ancient Names I in thy Pages met,  
Like Gems on *Aaron's* costly Breast-plate set;  
Methinks Heaven's open, while Great *Saints* descend,  
To wreathe the Brows, by which their *Ast's* were penn'd.

*B. Thompson.*

To the Reverend  
Mr. COTTON MATHER,  
ON HIS  
History of New-England.

IN this Hard Age, when Men such Slackness show,  
To pay *Loves* Debts, and what to *Truth* we owe,  
You to step forth, and such Example shew,  
In paying what's to God and Country due,  
Deserves our Thanks: *Mine* I do freely give:  
'Tis fit that with the *Rais'd Ones* you Live.  
Great your Attempt.—No doubt some Sacred Spy,  
That Leiger in your Sacred Cell did ly,  
Nurs'd your first Thoughts, with gentle Beams of Light,  
And taught your Hand Things past to bring to fight:  
Thus led by secret sweetest Influence,  
You make Returns to God's good Providence:  
Recording how that mighty Hand was nigh,  
To Trace our Paths not known to mortal Eye,  
To those brave Men, that to this Land came o'er,  
And plac'd them safe on the *Atlantic Shore*:  
And how the same Hand did them after save,  
And say, *Return*, oft on the Brink o'th' Grave;  
And gave them room to spread, and blest'd their Root,  
Whence, hung with Fruit, now many Branches shoot.

Such were these *Heroes*, and their *Labours* such,  
In their Just Praise, Sir, who can say too much?  
Let the Remotest parts of Earth behold,  
*New-England's* Crowns excelling *Spanish Gold*.  
Here be Rare Lessons set for us to Read,  
That Off-springs are of such a Goodly Breed.  
The *Dead Ones* here, so much *Alive* are made,  
We think them speaking from Blest'd *Eden's* Shade;  
Hark! How they check the Madness of this Age,  
The Growth of Pride, fierce Lust, and worldly Rage.  
They tell, we shall to *Clamp-banks* come again,  
If Heaven still dorth scourge us all in vain.

But, Sir, upon your Merits heap'd will be,  
The *Blessings* of all those that here shall see  
Vertue Embalm'd; *This Hand* seems to put on  
The *Lavrel* on your Brow, so justly won.

Timothy Woodbridge, Minister of Hartford.



Ad Politum Literaturæ, atque Sacrarum Literaturum Anfratitem,  
Anglizeque Americanæ Antiquarium Callentissimum,  
Reverendum Dominum,

**D. COTTONUM MATHERUM,**

Apud Bostonenſes V. D. M.

Epigramma.

**Cottonus Matherus.**

Anagr.

*Tu tantum Cohors es.*

Epigramma.

*Ipsè, vales Tantum, Tu, mi memorande MATHERE,  
Fortis pro Christo Miles, es ipse cohors.*

A Pindaric.

Art thou *Heavens Trumpet*? sure by the *Archangel* blown;  
Tombs Crack, Dead Start, Saints Rise, are seen and known,  
And *Shine* in Constellation;  
From ancient Flames here's a New *Phoenix* flown,  
To shew the World, when Christ Returns, he'll not Return alone.

J. Danforth, V. D. M. Dorchester.

To the Learned and Reverend

**Mr. COTTON MATHER,**

On his Excellent *Magnalia*.

S I R,

MY Muse will now by Chymist'ry draw forth  
The Spirit of your Names Immortal worth.

**Cottonius Matherus.**

Anagr.

*Tuos Tecum ornasti.*

While thus the Dead in thy rare Pages Rise,  
Thine, with thy self, thou dost immortalize.  
To view the Odds, thy Learned Lives invite,  
'Twixt Eleutherian and Edomite.  
But all succeeding Ages shall despair,  
A Fitting Monument for thee to Rear.  
Thy own Rich Pen (Peace, silly Momus, Peace!)  
Hath given them a Lasting Writ of Ease.

Grindal Rawson, Pastor of Mendon.

In Jesu Christi

MAGNALIA AMERICANA,

Digesta in Septem Libros,

Per Magaum, Doctissimumque Virum,

D. Cottonum Matherum,

J. Christi Servum, Ecclesiæque Americano Bostoniensis  
Ministrum Pium & Disertissimum.

Sunt Miracula Dei, sunt & Magnalia Christi,  
Qua patet Orbis. Erant ultra Garamantas, & Indos  
Maxima, quæ paucis licuit cognoscere. Sed, quæ  
Cernis in America, procul unus-quisque videbit.

Vivis, ubi fertur nullum vixisse. Videsque  
Mille homines, res multas, Incunabula mira.  
Strabo sile, qui Magna refers. Vespasius autem  
Primis scire Novum potuit conatibus Orbem.  
Et dum Magna docet te Grotius, Unde repletos  
Ecce per Americam, volucresque, hominesque, Deosque.  
Deumque libet, tibi scire licet Nova viscera rerum.

Nullus erat, nisi brutus homo : Sine lege, Deoque.  
Numa dat Antiquis, Solonque & Jura Lycurgus.  
Hic nihil, & nulla (modo sic sibi vivere) Leges.  
Jam decreta vide, & Regum diplomata, curque,  
Ne sibi vivat homo, nostrorum vivere Regi est.  
Dic tot habendo Deos, legisque videndo peritos,  
Centenosque viros, celebres virtute, Statumque  
Quem Novus Orbis habet; Quantum mutatus ab illo es!  
Res bona. Nec sat erit, & Rege & Lege beatum,  
Posse vehi super Astra. Deum tibi noscere, fas est.

Nil Lex, nil Solon, nil & sine Numine Numa.  
Sit Deus, ignorosque Deos fuge. Multa Poetas  
De Jove finxerunt, Neptuno & Marte, Diisque  
Innumerabilibus. Magnique Manitto pendendit  
Non conversa Deo Gens Americana, Manitto,  
Quem velut Artificem colit, & ceu Numen adorat.

E tenebris Lux est. In abyssu cernere Cælum est,  
Ignotumque Deum, notum INDIS, Biblia Sancta  
Indica, Tempia, Preces, Psalmos, multosque Ministros.  
Ut Christum discant, Indorum Idiomaticè Numen  
Utitur, & sese patefecit ubique locorum.

Plura canam. Veterem Schola sit dispersa per Orbem,  
Et tot Athenæ scatur Anglus, Belgæ, Polonus,  
Germanus, Gallusque. Sat est Academia nostra.  
Extra Orbem Novus Orbis habet, quod habetur in Orbe.

Det



Dat Cantabrigie Domus Harvardina Cathedram  
 Cuilibet, & cur non daret Indis, Profelytisque?  
 Trans Mare non opus est ad Pallada currere. *Pallas*  
 Hic habitat, confertque *Gradus*; modo *Pallada* discas,  
 Desistatque gradum. Quantum *Sapientia* confert!  
 Forte novas, pluresque artes *Novus Orbis* haberet.  
 Quotquot in *America* licet *Admiranda* superflint,  
 Singula non narro. Nec opus tibi singula narrem.  
 Multa fidem superant, multorum *Exempla* docebunt,  
 Plura quot *Orbis* habet *Novus Admiranda*, quot artes,  
 Et quot in *America* degunt ubicunque *Coloni*.

Deque *Veneficiis* quid erit tibi noscere? I usus  
 Sperne Diabólicos. Sunt hic *Magnalia Christi*.  
 Ne timeas *Umbra*. Corpus sine corpore spectrum est.  
*Pax* rara in terris. *Ætas* quasi ferrea. *Bellum*  
 ceptra gerens, gladiosque ferox ubicunque *Noverca* est.  
 Efruit omnia, destruit oppida, destruit artes.  
 Mars nulli cedit. Nihil exitialis armis.

Testis adest. *Europa* docet lacrymabile *Bellum*,  
*Hispani*, *Belgæ*, *Germani*, & quotquot in *Orbe*  
 Sunt Veteri, Rigidusque plagis vexantur & armis.

Quas *Sectas* veteris *Orbis* habet, quæ dogmata *Carnis*?  
 Primum *Roma* locum tenet, *Enthusiasta* secundum,  
*Arminius* tandem, *Menno* & *Spinosa* sequuntur.  
 Quisque incredibile poterit dignoscere *Sectas*?  
 Non tot cernuntur fidei discrimina, nec tot  
 Hæreticos *novus Orbis* habet, quod & *Enthea* res est.

Tu dilecte *Deo*, cuius *Bostonia* gaudet  
 Nostri Ministerio, seu cui tot scribere *Libros*,  
 Non opus, aut labor est, & qui *Magnalia Christi*  
*Americana* refert, scriptura plurima. Nonne  
 Dignus es, agnoscere inter *Magnalia Christi*?

Vive *Liber*, totique *Orbi* *Miracula* monstres,  
 Quæ sunt extra *Orbem*. *Cottone*, in secula vive;  
 Et dum *Mundus* erit, vivat tua *Fama* per *Orbem*.

Dabam, Neo-Eboraci  
*Americana*, 16 Oct.  
 1697.

Henricus Selijns,

*Ecclesiæ Neo-Eboracensis Minister Belgicus.*

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# A General INTRODUCTION.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ αἰσχελάῳ ἔνευα.

*Dicam hoc propter utilitatem eorum qui Lecturi sunt hoc opus. Theodorit.*

§. 1. I WRITE the *Wonders of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION*, flying from the Depravations of *Europe*, to the *American Strand*: And, assisted by the Holy Author of that Religion, I do, with all Conscience of *Truth*, required therein by Him, who is the *Truth* it self, Report the *Wonderful Displays* of His Infinite Power, Wisdom, Goodness, and Faithfulness, wherewith His Divine Providence hath Irradiated an *Indian Wilderness*.

I relate the *Considerable Matters*, that produced and attended the First Settlement of *COLONIES*, which have been Renowned for the Degree of *REFORMATION*, Professed and Attained by *Evangelical Churches*, erected in those *Ends of the Earth*: And a Field being thus prepared, I proceed unto a Relation of the *Considerable Matters* which have been acted thereupon.

I first introduce the *Actions*, that have, in a more exemplary manner served those *Colonies*; and give *Remarkable Occurrences*, in the exemplary LIVES of many *Magistrates*, and of more *Ministers*, who so Lived, as to leave unto Posterity, Examples worthy of Everlasting Remembrance.

I add hereunto, the *Notables* of the only *Protestant University*, that ever shone in that Hemisphere of the *New World*; with particular Instances of *Crisolians*, in our Biography, provoking the whole *World*, with virtuous Objects of Emulation.

I introduce then, the *Actions* of a more *Eminent Importance*, that have signalized those *Colonies*: Whether the *Establishments*, directed by their *Synods*; with a Rich Variety of *Synodical and Ecclesiastical Determinations*; or, the *Disturbances*, with which they have been from all sorts of *Temptations* and *Enemies* Tempestuated; and the *Methods* by which they have still weathered out each *Horrible Tempest*.

And into the midst of these *Actions*, I interpose an entire *Book*, wherein there is, with all possible Veracity, a Collection made, of *Memorable Occurrences*, and amazing Judgments and Mercies, befalling many particular Persons among the People of *New-England*.

Let my Readers expect all that I have promised them, in this *Bill of Fair*; and it may be they will find themselves entertained with yet many other Passages, above and beyond their Expectation, deserving likewise a room in *History*: In all which, there will be nothing, but the *Author's* too mean way of preparing to great Entertainments, to Reproach the invitation.

§. 2. The Reader will doubtless desire to know, what it was that

— tot Volvere casus  
Insignes Pietate Viros, tot adire Labores,  
Impulerit.

And our *History* shall, on many fit Occasions which will be therein offered, endeavour, with all *Historical Fidelity* and Simplicity, and with as little Offence as may be, to satisfy him. The Sum of the Matter is, That from the very Beginning of the *REFORMATION* in the *English Nation*, there hath always been a Generation of *Godly Men*, desirous to pursue the *Reformation of Religion*, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches; and answering the Character of *Good Men*, given by *Josephus*, in his Paraphrase on the words of *Samuel* to *Saul*, *μὴ δὲν ἄλλο πράχσεις καλῶς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ὅτις ἂν, τι ἐν ποιήσει τοῖς Θεοῖς κενεῖται*. They think they do nothing Right in the Service of God, but what they do according to the Command of God. And there hath been another Generation of Men, who have still employed the Power which they have generally still had in their Hands, not only to stop the Progress of the Desired *Reformation*, but also, with Innumerable Vexations, to Persecute those that most Heartily wished well unto it. There were many of the Reformers, who joined with the Reverend *JOHN FOX*, in the Complaints which he then entered in his *Martyrology*, about the *Baits of Popery* yet left in the Church; and in his Wishes, God take them away, or ease us from them, for God knows, they be the Cause of much Blindness and Strife amongst Men! They Zealously decreed the

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the Policy of complying always with the Ignorance and Vanity of the People; and cried out earnestly for Purer Administrations in the House of God, and more Conformity to the Law of Christ, and Primitive Christianity: While others would not hear of going any further than the First Essay of Reformation. 'Tis very certain, that the First Reformers never intended, that what they did, should be the Absolute Boundary of Reformation, so that it should be a Sin to proceed any further; as, by their own going beyond Wickliff, and Changing and Growing in their own Models also, and the Confessions of Cranmer, with the Scripta Anglicana of Bucer, and a thousand other things, was abundantly demonstrated. But after a Fruitless Expectation, wherein the truest Friends of the Reformation long waited, for to have that which *Hyacinth* himself owns to have been the Design of the First Reformers, followed as it should have been, a Party very unjustly arrogating to themselves, the Venerable Name of, The Church of England, by Numberless Oppressions, grievously Smote those their Fellow-Servants. Then 'twas that, as our Great OWEN hath expressed it, Multitudes of Pious, Peaceable Protestants, were driven, by their Severities, to leave their Native Country, and seek a Refuge for their Lives and Liberties, with Freedom, for the Worship of God, in a Wilderness, in the Ends of the Earth.

§. 2. It is the History of these PROTESTANTS, that is here attempted: PROTESTANTS that highly honoured and affected The Church of ENGLAND, and humbly petition to be a Part of it: But by the Mistake of a few powerful Brethren, driven to seek a place for the Exercise of the Protestant Religion, according to the Light of their Consciences, in the Desarts of America. And in this Attempt I have proposed, not only to preserve and secure the Interest of Religion in the Churches of that little Country NEW-ENGLAND, so far as the Lord Jesus Christ may please to Bless it for that End, but also to offer unto the Churches of the Reformation, abroad in the World, some small Memorials, that may be serviceable unto the Designs of Reformation, where-to, I believe, they are quickly to be awakened. I am far from any such Boast, concerning these Churches, That they have Need of Nothing, I wish their Works were more perfect before God. Indeed, that which *Austin* called *The Perfection of Christians*, is like to be, until the Term for the Antichristian Apostasy be expired, *The Perfection of Churches* too; *Ut Agnoscam se nunquam esse perfectas*. Nevertheless, I persuade my self, that so far as they have attained, they have given Great Examples of the Methods and Measures, wherein an Evangelical Reformation is to be prosecuted, and of the Qualifications requisite in the Instruments that are to prosecute it, and of the Difficulties which may be most likely to obstruct it, and the most likely Directions and Remedies for those Obstructions. It may be, 'tis not possi-

ble for me to do a greater Service unto the Churches on the Best Island of the Universe, than to give a distinct Relation of those Great Examples which have been occurring among Churches of Exiler, that were driven out of that Island, into an horrible Wilderness, merely for their being Well-willers unto the Reformation. When that Blessed Martyr *Constantine* was carried, with other Martyrs, in a Dung-Cart, unto the place of Execution, he pleasantly said, Well, yet we are a precious Odour to God in Christ. Tho' the Reformed Churches in the American Regions, have, by very Injurious Representations of their Brethren (all which they desire to Forget and Forgive!) been many times thrown into a Dung-Cart; yet, as they have been a precious Odour to God in Christ, so, I hope, they will be a precious Odour unto His People; and not only Precious, but Useful also, when the History of them shall come to be considered. A Reformation of the Church is coming on, and I cannot but thereupon say, with the dying *Cyrus* to his Children in *Xenophon*, *Ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀνδρώλει παύσασθε, διὰ τὸ γὰρ αἰὲν ἰδύσασθαι*. Learn from the things that have been done already, for this is the best way of Learning. The Reader hath here an Account of The Things that have been done already. Bernard upon that Clause in the Canticles, [O thou fairest among Women] has this ingenious Gloss, *Pulchram, non omnimode quidem, sed pulchram inter mulieres eam docet, videlicet cum Distinctione, quatenus ex hoc amplius reprimatur, & sciat quid desit sibi*. Thus I do not say, That the Churches of New-England are the most Regular that can be; yet I do say, and am sure, That they are very like unto those that were in the First Ages of Christianity. And if I assert, That in the Reformation of the Church, the State of it in those First Ages, is to be not a little considered, the Great *Peter Ramus*, among others, has emboldened me. For when the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, the *Mecenas* of that Great Man, was offended at him, for turning Protestant, he replied, *Inter Opes illas, quibus me ditasti, has etiam in aeternum recordabor, quod Beneficio, Poenitentia Responsione tue didici, de Quindecim a Christo saculis, primogenitum esse aureum, Reliqua, quo longius abscederet esse nequiora, atque deteriora: Tum igitur cum fieret optio, Aureum saculum delegi*. In short, The First Age was the Golden Age: To return unto That, will make a Man a Protestant, and I may add, a Puritan. 'Tis possible, That our Lord Jesus Christ carried some Thousands of Reformers into the Retirements of an American Desert, on purpose, that, with an opportunity granted unto many of his Faithful Servants, to enjoy the precious Liberty of their Ministry, tho' in the midst of many Temptations all their days, He might there, To them first, and then By them, give a Specimen of many Good Things, which He would have His Churches elsewhere aspire and arise unto: And This being done, He knows not whether there be not All done, that New-England was planted for; and whether the Plantation may not, soon after this, Come to Nothing.

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Upon that Expression in the Sacred Scripture, *Cast the unprofitable Servant into Outer Darknes*, it hath been imagined by some, That the *Regiones Extremae Americae*, are the *Tenebrae Exteriores*, which the Unprofitable are there condemned unto. No doubt, the Authors of those Ecclesiastical Impositions and Severities, which drove the English Christians into the Dark Regions of America, esteemed those Christians to be a very unprofitable sort of Creatures. But behold, ye European Churches, There are *Golden Candlesticks* [more than twice Seven times Seven!] in the midst of this *Outer Darknes*. Unto the upright Children of Abraham, here hath arisen *Light in Darknes*. And let us humbly speak it, it shall be Profitable for you to consider the *Light*, which from the midst of this *Outer Darknes*, is now to be Darted over unto the other side of the *Atlantic Ocean*. But we must therewithal ask your Prayers, that these *Golden Candlesticks* may not quickly be Removed out of their place!

S. 4. But whether *New-England* may Live any where else or no, it must Live in our History! HISTORY, in general, hath had so many and mighty Commendations from the Pens of those Numberless Authors, who, from *Herodotus* to *Horn*, have been the professed Writers of it, that a tenth part of them Transcribed, would be a Furniture for a *Polyanthea in Folio*. We, that have neither liberty, nor occasion, to quote those Commendations of History, will content our selves with the Opinion of one who was not much of a *professed Historian*, expressed in that passage, whereto all Mankind subscribe, *Historia est Testis temporum, Nuntia veritatis, Lux veritatis, vita memoria, magistra vita*. But of all History it must be confessed, that the *Palm* is to be given unto *Church-History*; wherein the Dignity, the *Suavity*, and the *Utility* of the Subject is transcendent. I observe, that for the Description of the whole World in the Book of *Genesis*, that First-born of all *Historians*, the great *Moses*, implies but one or two Chapters, whereas he implies, it may be seven times as many Chapters, in describing that one little *Pavilion, The Tabernacle*. And when I am thinking, what may be the Reason of this Difference, methinks it intimates unto us, That the Church wherein the Service of God is performed, is much more Precious than the World, which was indeed created for the Sake and Use of the Church. 'Tis very certain, that the greatest Entertainments must needs occur in the History of the People, whom the Son of God hath Redeemed and Purified unto himself, as a Peculiar People, and whom the Spirit of God, by Supernatural Operations upon their Minds, does cause to live like Strangers in this World, conforming themselves unto the Truths and Rules of his Holy Word, in Expectation of a Kingdom, whereto they shall be in another and a better World advanced. Such a People our Lord Jesus Christ hath procured and preserved in all Ages visible; and the Dispensations of his wonderful Providence towards this People (for, O

Lord, thou dost lift them up, and cast them down!) their Calamities, their Deliverances, the Dispositions which they have still discovered, and the considerable Persons and Actions found among them, cannot but afford Matters of Admiration and Amusement, above what any other Story can pretend unto: 'Tis nothing but Atheism in the Hearts of Men, that can perfwade them otherwise. Let any Person of good Sense peruse the History of *Herodotus*, which, like a River taking Rise, where the Sacred Records of the Old Testament leave off, runs along smoothly and sweetly, with Relations that sometimes perhaps want an Apology, down until the Grecians drive the Persians before them. Let him then peruse *Thucydides*, who from Aëgis betook himself to Writing, and carries the ancient State of the Grecians, down to the twenty first Year of the Peloponnesian Wars in a manner, which *Cassaubon* judges to be *Mirandum potius quam imitandum*. Let him next Revolve *Xenophon*, that Boe of Athens, who continues a Narrative of the Greek Affairs, from the Peloponnesian Wars, to the Battle of Mantinea, and gives us a Cyrus into the bargain, at such a rate, that *Lipsius* reckons the Character of a *Suavi, Fidus & Circumspectus* Scriptor, to belong unto him. Let him from hence proceed unto *Diodorus Siculus*, who, besides a rich Treasure of Egyptian, Assyrian, Lybian and Grecian, and other Antiquities, in a Phrase, which according to *Potius's* Judgment, is *isotia pulchra peritæ*, of all most becoming an Historian, carries on the Thread begun by his Predecessors, until the End of the Hundred and nineteenth Olympiad; and where he is defective, let it be supplied from *Arianus*, from *Justin*, and from *Curtius*, who in the relish of *Colerus* is, *Quovis melle dulcor*. Let him hereupon consult *Polybius*, and acquaint himself with the Birth and Growth of the Roman Empire, as far as 'tis described, in Five of the Forty Books composed by an Author, who with a Learned Professor of History is, *Prædens Scriptor, si quis alius*. Let him now run over the Table of the Roman Affairs, compendiously given by *Lucius Florinus*, and then let him consider the Transactions of above three hundred Years reported by *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, who, if the Censure of *Bodin* may be taken, *Græcos omnes & Latinos superasse videatur*. Let him from hence pass to *Livy*, of whom the famous Critick says, *Hæc solum ingenium (de Historicis loquor) populus Romanus per Imperio suo habuit*, and supply those of his Decads that are lost, from the best Fragments of Antiquity, in others (and especially *Dion and Salust*) that lead us on still further in our way. Let him then proceed unto the Writers of the Cæsarian times, and first revolve *Suetonius*, then *Tacitus*, then *Herodian*, then a whole Army more of *Historians*, which now crowd into our Library; and unto all the rest, let him not fail of adding the Incomparable *Plutarch*, whose Books they say, *Theodore Gaza* preferred above any in the World, next unto the Inspired Oracles of the Bible: But if the Number be still too little to satisfy an Historical Appetite, let him add



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*Polybius* into the number, and all the *Chronicles* of the following Ages. After all, he must feignably acknowledge, that the two short Books of *Ecclesiastical History*, written by the Evangelist *Luke*, hath given us more glorious Entertainments, than all those voluminous Historians if they were put all together. The *Achievements* of one *Paul* particularly, which that Evangelist hath Embellish'd, have more True Glory in them, than all the Acts of those Execrable Plunderers and Murderers, and irresistible Banditti of the World, which have been dignified with the Name of *Conquerors*. *Tacitus* counted *Ingentia bella*, *Expugnationes urbium*, *sufus captoque Rege*, the Ravages of War, and the glorious Violences, whereof great Warriors make a wretched Ofsentation, to be the Noblest Matter for an *Historian*. But there is a Nobler, I humbly conceive, in the planting and forming of *Evangelical Churches*, and the *Temptations*, the *Corruptions*, the *Afflictions*, which assault them, and their *Salvations* from those Assaults, and the Exemplary Lives of those that Heaven employs to be Patterns of Holiness and Obedience upon Earth: And unto such it is, that I now invite my Readers; Things, in comparison whereof, the Subjects of many other Histories, are as of little weight, as the Questions about Z, of the last Letter of our Alphabet, and whether H is to be pronounced with an Aspiration, where about whole Volumes have been written, and of no more Account, than the Composition of *Diogenes*. But for the manner of my treating this Matter, I must now give some account unto him.

S. 5. Reader! I have done the part of an *Impartial Historian*, albeit not without all occasion perhaps, for the Rule which a worthy Writer, in his *Historia*, gives to every Reader, *Historici Legantur cum Moderatione & venia*, & cogitetur fieri non posse ut in omnibus circumstantiis sint *Lyncei*. *Polybius* complains of those *Historians*, who always made either the *Carthaginians* brave, and the *Romans* base, or e contra, in all their Actions, as their Affection for their own Party led them. I have endeavour'd, with all good Conscience, to decline this writing merely for a Party, or doing like the Dealer in History, whom *Lucian* derides, for always calling the Captain of his own Party an *Achilles*, but of the adverse Party a *Thersites*: Nor have I added unto the just Provocations for the Compliment made by the Baron *Maurier*, That the greatest part of Histories are but so many *Panegyrics* composed by Interested Hands, which elevate Iniquity to the Heavens, like *Paterculus*, and like *Machiavel*, who propose *Tiberius Cesar*, and *Cesar Borgia*, as Examples fit for Imitation, whereas True History would have Exhibited them as Horrid Monsters, as very Devils. 'Tis true, I am not of the Opinion, that one cannot merit the Name of an *Impartial Historian*, except he write bare Matters of Fact, without all Reflection; for I can tell where to find this given as the Definition of History, *Historia est rerum gestarum, cum laude*

aut vituperatione, Narratio: And if I am not altogether a *Tacitus*, when *Virtues* or *Vices* occur to be Matters of Reflection, as well as of Relation, I will, for my Vindication, appeal to *Tacitus* himself, whom *Lipsius* calls one of the *Prudentest* (tho' *Tertullian*, long before, counts him the *Lyingsst*) of them who have Enrich'd the World with History: He says, *Præcipuum munus Annalium rer, ne virtutes flectantur, atque pravitas Diffis, Falsisque ex posteritate & Infamia metus sit*. I have not Commended any Person, but when I have really judg'd, not only That he Deserv'd it, but also that it would be a Benefit unto Posterity to know, Wherein he deserv'd it: And my Judgment of Desert, hath not been Biass'd, by Persons being of my own particular Judgment in matters of Disputation, among the Churches of God. I have been as willing to wear the Name of *Simplicius Verinus*, throughout my whole undertaking, as he that, before me, hath assumed it: Nor am I like *Pope Zachary*, impatient so much as to hear of any *Antipodes*. The Spirit of a *Schlossseiburgius*, who falls foul with Fury and Reproach on all who differ from him; The Spirit of an *Heylin*, who seems to count no Obloquy too hard for a Reformer; and the Spirit of those *Folio-writers* there are, some of them, in the English Nation (whom a Noble Historian Stigmatizes, as, *Those Hot-headed, Passionate Bigots, from whom 'tis enough, if you be of a Religion contrary unto theirs, to be defamed, condemned and pursued with a thousand Calumnies*. I thank Heaven I Hate it with all my Heart. But how can the Lives of the Commendable be written without Commending them? Or, is that Law of History given in one of the eminentest pieces of Antiquity we now have in our hands, wholly antiquated, *Maxime proprium est Historis, Laudem rerum egregie gestarum persequi*? Nor have I, on the other side, forbore to mention many Consurable things, even in the Best of my Friends, when the things, in my opinion, were not Good; or so bore away for *Placentia*, in the course of our Story, as to pass by *Verona*; but been mindful of the Direction which *Polybius* gives to the Historian, It becomes him that writes an History, sometimes to extol Enemies in his Praises, when their praise-worthy Actions bespeak it, and at the same time to reprove the best Friends, when their Deeds appear worthy of a reproof; in-as-much as History is good for nothing, if Truth (which is the very Eye of the Animal) be not in it. Indeed I have thought it my duty upon all accounts, (and if it have proceeded unto the degree of a Fault, there is, it may be, something in my Temper and Nature, that has betray'd me therein) to be more sparing and elastic, in thus mentioning of Consurable things, than in my other Liberty: A writer of Church-History, should, I know, be like the builder of the Temple, one of the Tribe of *Naphthali*; and for this I will also plead my *Polybius* in my Excuse: It is not the Work of an *Historian*, to commemorate the Vices and Villanies of Men, so much as their just, their fair, their honest Actions: And the Readers of History get more good by the Objects of their

Emulation,



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Emulation, than of their Indignation. Nor do I deny, that tho' I cannot approve the Conduct of *Josephus*, (whom *Jerom* nor unjustly nor ineptly calls, *The Greek Lively*) when he left out of his *Antiquities*, the Story of the *Golden Calf*; and I don't wonder to find *Chamier*, and *Rivet*, and others, taxing him for his Partiality towards his Country-men; yet I have left unmentioned some Censurable Occurrences in the Story of our Colonies, as things no less Unuseful than Improper to be raised out of the Grave, wherein *Oblivion* hath now buried them; lest I should have incurred the *Passion* bestowed upon *Pope Urban*, who employing a Committee to Rip up the Old Errors of his Predecessors, one clay'd a pair of Spurs upon the heels of the Statue of *St. Peter*; and a Label from the Statue of *St. Paul* opposite thereunto, upon the Bridge, ask'd him, *Whether he was bound?* *St. Peter* answered, *I apprehend some Danger in saying here; I fear they'll call me in Question for denying my Master.* And *St. Paul* replied, *Nay, then I had best be gone too, for they'll question me also, for Persecuting the Christians before my Conversion.* Briefly, My Pen shall Reproach none, that can give a Good Word unto any Good Man that is not of their own Faction, and shall Fall out with none, but those that can Agree with no body else, except those of their own Schism. If I draw any sort of Men with Charcoal, it shall be, because I remember a notable passage of the *Best Queen* that ever was in the World, our late *Queen Mary*. *Monsieur Juven*, that he might Justify the Reformation in Scotland, made a very black Representation of their old *Queen Mary*; for which, a certain *Sycophant* would have incens'd our *Queen Mary* against that Reverend Person, saying, *Is it not a Shame that this Man, without any Consideration for your Royal Person, should dare to throw such Infamous Calumnies upon a Queen, from whom your Royal Highness is descended?* But that Excellent Prince's replied, *No, not at all: Is it not enough that by false Praises great Persons be lull'd asleep all their Lives; But must Flattery accompany them to their very Graves? How should they fear the Judgment of Posterity, if Historians be not allowed to speak the Truth after their Death?* But whether I do myself Commend, or whether I give my Reader an opportunity to Censure, I am careful above all things to do it with Truth; and as I have considered the words of *Plato*, *Deum indigne & graviter ferre, cum quis ei similem hoc est, virtute praestantem, vituperet, aut laudet contrarium:* So I have had the Ninth Commandment of a greater Law-giver than *Plato*, to preserve my care of Truth from first to last. If any Mistake have been any where committed, it will be found merely Circumstantial, and wholly Involuntary; and let it be remembered, that tho' no Historian ever merited better than the Incomparable *Thucydides*, yet learned Men have said of his Work, what they never shall truly say of ours, that it contains *multas falsissimas & indignas*. I find *Erasmus* himself mistaking One Man for Two, when writing of the Ancients. And even our own

English Writers too are often mistaken, and in Matters of a very late Importance, as *Baker*, and *Heylin*, and *Fulter*, (professed Historians) tell us, that *Richard Sutton*, a single Man, founded the *Charter-House*; whereas his Name was *Thomas*, and he was a married Man. I think I can Recite the most credible Writers; yet I hope I shall commit none such. But altho' I thus challenge, as my due, the Character of an Impartial, I doubt I may not challenge That of an Elegant Historian. I cannot say, whether the Style, wherein this Church-History is written, will please the Modern Critics: But if I seem to have used *moderatiore*, a Simple, Submiss, Humble Style, 'tis the same that *Eusebius* affirms to have been used by *Hegesippus*, who, as far as we understand, was the first Author (after *Luke*) that ever composed an entire Body of Ecclesiastical History, which he divided into Five Books, and Entitled, *Εκκλησιαστική Ιστορία*. Whereas others, it may be, will reckon the Style Embellished with too much of Ornament, by the multiplied References to other and former Concerns, closely cou'd, for the Observation of the Attentive, in almost every Paragraph; but I must confess, that I am of his mind who said, *Sicuti al modice cibis aspersus Condit, & gratiam saporis addit, ita si paulum Antiquitatis admiscueris, Oratio fit venustior.* And I have seldom seen that Way of Writing faulted, but by those, who, for a certain odd Reason, sometimes find fault, That the Grapes are not ripe. These Embellishments (of which yet I only—*Veniam pro laude peto*) are not the puerile Spoils of *Polyanthes*; but I should have asserted them to be as choice Flowers as most that occur in Ancient or Modern Writings, almost unavoidably putting themselves into the Authors Hand, while about his Work, if those words of *Amirose* had not a little frightened me, as well as they did *Romanus*, *Unumquemque Fallunt sua scripta*. I observe that Learned Men have been so terrified by the Reproaches of *Pedantry*, which little Snatterers at Reading and Learning have, by their Quoting Humours brought upon themselves, that, for to avoid all Approaches towards that which those Feeble Creatures have gone to imitate, the best way of Writing has been most injuriously deferred. But what shall we say? The Best way of Writing, under Heaven, shall be the Worst, when *Erasmus* his Monosyllable Tyrant will have it so! And if I should have resign'd my self wholly to the Judgment of others, What way of Writing to have taken, the Story of the two Statues made by *Poleteus* tells me, what may have been the Issue: He contrived one of them according to the Rules that best pleased himself, and the other according to the Fancy of every one that look'd upon his Work: The former was afterwards Applauded by all, and the latter Derided by those very Persons who had given their Directions for it. As for such *Unaccusatus* as the Critical may discover, *Opera in longo*, I appeal to the Courtous, for a favourable Construction of them; and certainly they will



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will be favourably Judged of, when there is considered the *Variety* of my other *Employments*, which have kept me in continual Hurries, I had almost said, like those of the *Ninth Sphere*, for the few Months in which this Work has been *Designing*. It was a thing well thought, by the wife Designers of *Chelsey-Colledge*, wherein able *Historians* were one sort of Persons to be maintained; That the Romanists do in one Point condemn the Protestants; for among the Romanists, they don't burden their Professors with any *Parochial Incumbrances*; but among the Protestants, the very same *Individual Man* must *Preach, Catechize, Administer the Sacraments, Visit the Afflicted, and manage all the parts of Church-Discipline*; and if any *Book* for the Service of Religion, be written, Persons thus extremely incumbered must be the Writers. Now, of all the Churches under Heaven, there are none that expect so much *Variety* of Service from their Pastors, as those of *New-England*; and of all the Churches in *New-England*, there are none that require more, than those in *Boston*, the Metropolis of the English *America*; whereof one is, by the Lord Jesus Christ, committed unto the Care of the unworthy Hand, by which this *History* is compiled. Reader, Give me leave humbly to mention, with him in *Tully, Antequam de Re, Pauca de Me!* Constant Sermons, usually more than once, and perhaps three or four times, in a Week, and all the other Duties of a *Pastoral Watchfulness*, a very large *Flock* has all this while demanded of me; wherein, if I had been furnished with as many *Heads* as a *Typhus*, as many *Eyes* as an *Argos*, and as many *Hands* as a *Briareus*, I might have had Work enough to have employ'd them all; nor hath my *Station* left me free from Obligations to spend very much time in the *Evangelical Service* of others also. It would have been a great *Sin* in me, to have *Omitted, or Abated*, my just Cares, to fulfil my *Ministry* in these things, and in a manner Give my self wholly to them. All the time I have had for my *Church-History*, hath been perhaps only, or chiefly, that, which I might have taken else for less profitable Recreations; and it hath all been done by *Snatches*. My Reader will not find me the Person intended in his *Litany*, when he says, *Libera me ab homine unius Negotii*: Nor have I spent *Thirty Years* in shaping this my *History*, as *Diodorus Siculus* did for his, [and yet both *Bodinus* and *Sigenius* complain of the *zæuxia* attending it.] But I wish I could have enjoy'd entirely for this Work, one quarter of the little more than *Two Years* which have roll'd away since I began it; whereas I have been forced sometimes wholly to throw by the Work whole Months together, and then resume it, but by a stolen hour or two in a day, not without some hazard of incurring the Title which *Coryat* put upon his *History* of his Travels, *Crudities hastily gobbled up in five Months*. Protagenes being seven Years in drawing a Picture, *Apelles* upon the sight of it, said, *The Grace of the Work was much alloy'd by the length of the Time*. Whatever else there may have been to take off the *Grace* of

the Work, now in the Readers hands, (whereof the *Pictures* of Great and Good Men make a considerable part) I am sure there hath not been the length of the Time to do it. Our English Martyrologer, counted it a sufficient *Apology*, for what Meannels might be found in the first Edition of his *Acts and Monuments*, that it was *hastily rasked up in about fourteen Months*: And I may Apologize for this Collection of our *Acts and Monuments*, that I should have been glad, in the little more than *Two Years* which have ran out, since I enter'd upon it, if I could have had one half of *About fourteen Months* to have entirely devoted thereunto. But besides the Time, which the *Daily Services* of my own first, and then many other Churches, have necessarily call'd for, I have lost abundance of precious Time, thro' the feeble and broken State of my *Health*, which hath unfitted me for *Hard Study*: I can do nothing to purpose at *Lucubrations*. And yet, in this Time also of the two or three Years last past, I have not been excused from the further *Diversion* of *Publishing* (tho' not so many as they say *Mercurius Triflingus* did, yet) more than a *Score* of other Books, upon a copious Variety of other Subjects, besides the compiling of several more, that are not yet published. Nor is this neither all the Task that I have in this while had lying upon me; for (tho' I am very sensible of what *Jerom* said, *Non bene fit, quod occupato Animo fit*; and of *Quintilian's* Remark, *Non simul in multa intendere Animus totum potest*;) when I applied my mind unto this way of serving the Lord JESUS CHRIST in my Generation, I set upon another and a greater, which has had, I suppose, more of my *Thought and Hope* than this, and wherein there hath passed me, for the most part, *Nulla dies sine linea*. I considered, That all sort of *Learning* might be made gloriously Subservient unto the *Illustration* of the *Sacred Scripture*; and that no *professed Commentaries* had hitherto given a thousandth part of so much *Illustration* unto it, as might be given. I considered, that Multitudes of *particular Texts*, had, especially of later Years, been more notably *Illustrated* in the *Scattered Books* of Learned Men, than in any of the *Ordinary Commentators*. And I consider'd, That the *Treasures* of *Illustration* for the Bible, dispersed in many hundred Volumes, might be fetch'd all together by a Labour that would resolve to *Conquer all things*; and that all the *Improvements* which the *Later-ages* have made in the *Sciences*, might be also, with an inexpressible Pleasure, call'd in, to Christ the *Illustration* of the *Holy Oracles*, at a Rate that hath not been attempted in the vulgar *Annotations*; and that a common degree of *Sense*, would help a Person, who should converse much with these things, to attempt sometimes also an *Illustration* of his own, which might expect some Attention. Certainly, it will not be ungrateful unto good Men, to have innumerable *Antiquities, Jewish, Chaldee, Arabian, Grecian and Roman*, brought home unto us, with a *Sweet Light* Reflected from them on the *Word*, which is our *Light*: Or, To have all the *Typical* Men

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Men and things in our *Book of Mysteries*, accommodated with their *Antitypes*: Or, To have many Hundreds of References to our dearest *Lord Messiah*, discovered in the Writings which *Teliste of Him*, other than the most of Mankind have hitherto imagined: Or, To have the *Histories* of all Ages, coming in with punctual and surprising *Fulfillments* of the Divine *Prophecies*, as far as they have been hitherto fulfilled; and not meer *Conjectures*, but even Mathematical and Incontestable *Demonstrations*, given of *Expositions* offered upon the *Prophecies*, that yet remain to be accomplished: Or, To have in *One Heap*, Thousands of those Remarkable Discoveries of the deep things of the Spirit of God, whereof one or two, or a few, sometimes, have been, with good Success accounted Materials enough to advance a Person into *Authorism*; or to have the delicious *Curiosities* of *Grotius*, and *Bochart*, and *Mede*, and *Lightfoot*, and *Selden*, and *Spencer* (carefully selected and corrected) and many more Giants in Knowledge, all set upon one Table. Travellers tell us, That at *Florence* there is a rich Table, worth a thousand Crowns, made of Precious Stones neatly inlaid; a Table that was fifteen Years in making, with no less than thirty Men daily at work upon it; even such a Table could not afford for rich Entertainments, as one that should have the Soul-sealing Thoughts of those Learned Men together set upon it. Only 'tis pity, that instead of one poor feeble *American*, overwhelmed with a thousand other Cares, and capable of touching this Work no otherwise than in a Digression, there be not more than Thirty Men daily employ'd about it. For, when the excellent Mr. Pool had finished his Laborious and Immortal Task, it was noted by some considerable Persons, That wanting Assistance to Collect for him many miscellaneous Criticisms, occasionally scattered in other Authors, he left many better Things behind him than he found. At more than all this, our *Essay* is level'd, if it be not anticipated with that Epitaph, *agnis tamen excidit assis*. Designing accordingly, to give the Church of God such displays of his blessed Word, as may be more Entertaining for the Rarity and Novelty of them, than any that have hitherto been seen together in any *Exposition*; and yet such as may be acceptable unto the most Judicious, for the Demonstrative Truth of them, and unto the most Orthodox, for the regard had unto the *Analogy of Faith* in all, I have now, in a few Months, got ready an huge number of Golden Keys to open the *Pandets* of Heaven, and some thousands of charming and curious and singular Notes, by the New *Help* whereof, the Word of CHRIST may run and be glorified. If the God of my Life, will please to spare my Life [my yet Sinful, and Slothful, and thereby Foscited Life] as many years longer as the *Rarion Fig-tree* had in the Parable, I may make unto the Church of God, an humble Tender of our BIBLE AMERICANA, a Volume enrich'd with better things than all the Plate of the *Indies*: YET NOT, BUT THE GRACE OF CHRIST

WITH ME. My Reader sees, why I commit the Fault of a *superbia*, which appears in the mention of these Minute-passages; 'tis to excuse whatever other Fault of Inaccuracy, or Inadvertency, may be discovered in an History, which hath been a sort of Rapidity made up (like the Paper whereon 'tis written) with many little Rags, torn from an Employment, multifarious enough to overwhelm one of my small Capacities.

*Magna dabit, qui magna potest; mihi parva potenti,  
Parvaque poscenti, parva dedisse sat est.*

S. S. But shall I prognosticate thy Fate, now that,  
*Parve (sed invidio) me me, Liber, ibis in Orbem.*

Luther, who was himself owner of such an Heart, advised every Historian to get the Heart of a Lion; and the more I consider of the Provocation, which this our Church History made needs give to that Roaring Lion, who has, through all Ages hitherto, been tearing the Church to pieces, the more occasion I see to wish my self a *Cœur de Lion*. But had not my Heart been Trebly Oak'd and Brast'd for such Encounters as this our History may meet withal, I would have worn the Silk-worms Motto, *Opertum dum Operatur*, and have chosen to have written *Anonymously*; or, as *Claudius Salmastius* calls himself *Walo Messalinus*, as *Ludovicus Molinæus* calls himself *Ludomæus Colvinus*, as *Carolus Scribanus* calls himself *Clarus Bonarminus*, (and no less Men than *Peter du Moulin*, and *Dr. Henry More*, stile themselves, the one *Hippolytus Fronto*, the other *Franciscus Paleopolitanus*.) Thus I would have tried, whether I could not have Anagrammatized my Name into some Concealment; or I would have refer'd it to be found in the second Chapter of the second Syntagm of *Selden de Diis Syris*. Whereas now I freely confess, 'tis COTTON MATHER that has written all these things;

*Me me, ad sum qui scripsi; tu me converteite l'eternum.*

I hope 'tis a right Work that I have done; but we are not yet arrived unto the Day, wherein God will bring every Work into Judgment (the Day of the Kingdom that was promised unto David) and a Son of David hath as Truly as Wisely told us, that until the arrival of that Happy Day, this is one of the *Pamities* attending Humane Affairs; For a right Work a Man shall be envied of his Neighbour. It will not be so much a Surprise unto me, if I should live to see our Church History vexed with *Anie-mad-versions* of Calumnious Writers, as it would have been unto *Virgil*, to read his *Bucolics* reproached by the *Antibucolica* of a Nameless Scribbler, and his *Æneids* travell'd by the *Æneidomastix* of *Caribæus*: Or *Herennius* taking pains to make a Collection of the Faults, and *Fausinus* of the *Thefts*, in his incomparable Compofores: Yea, *Pliny*, and

Seneca



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Seneca themselves, and our Jerom, reproaching him, as a Man of no Judgment, nor Skill in Sciences; while *Pedanius* affirms of him, that he was himself, *Usque adeo invidiosus Expertus, ut si quid eruditè dictum inspiceret alterius, non minus gauderet ac si suum esset.* How should a Book, no better labour'd than this of ours, escape *Zuiliam* Outrages, when in all Ages, the most exquisite Works have been as much vilified, as *Plato's* by *Scaliger*, and *Aristotle's* by *Lactantius*? In the time of our *K. Edward VI.* there was an Order to bring in all the Teeth of *St. Apollonia*, which the People of his one Kingdom carried about them for the Cure of the Teeth ach; and they were so many, that they almost fill'd a Tun. Truly *Envy* hath as many Teeth as *Adam Apollonia* would have had, if all those pretended Reliques had been really hers. And must all these Teeth be taftened on thee, *Only Book*? It may be so! And yet the Book, when ground between these Teeth, will prove like *Ignatius* in the Teeth of the furious Tygers, *The winter Manger* for the Churches of God. The greatest and fiercest Rage of *Envy*, is that which I expect from those *IDUMÆANS*, whose Religion is all Ceremony, and whose Charity is more for them who deny the most Essential things in the Articles and Homilies of the Church of *England*, than for the most Conscientious Men in the World, who manifest their being so, by their Dissent in some little Ceremony: Or those Persons whose Hearts are notably express'd in those words used by one of them [this *Hamel* in his *Familiar Letters*, Vol. 1. Sect. 6. Lett. 22.] *I rather pity, than hate, Turk or Infidel, for they are of the same Metal, and bear the same Stamp, as I do, tho' the Inscriptions differ; If I hate any, 'tis those Schismatics that puzzle the sweet Peace of our Church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to Hell on a Brownists Back.* The Writer whom I last quoted, hath given us a Story of a young Man in *High-Holbourn*, who being after his death Dissected, there was a Serpent with divers tails, found in the left Ventricle of his Heart. I make no question, that our Church-History will find some Reader dispos'd like that Writer, with an Heart as full of Serpent and Venom as ever it can hold: Nor indeed will they be able to hold, but the Tongues and Pens of those angry Folks, will scourge me as with Scorpions, and cause me to feel (if I will feel) as many Lashes as *Cornelius Agricola* expected from their Brethren, for the Book in which he expos'd their Vanities. A Scholar of the great *JUELS*, made once about fourscore Verses, for which the Censor of *Corpus Christi* College in the beginning of *Queen Mariæ* Reign, publicly and cruelly scourged him, with one Lash for every Verse. Now in those Verses, the young Man's Prayers to the Lord *JESUS CHRIST*, have this for part of the answer given to them.

*Respondet Dominus, spectans de sedibus altis,  
Ne dubites recte credere, parve puer.  
Olim sum passus mortem, nunc occupo dextram  
Patris, nunc jammi sunt mea regna poli.*

*Sed tu, crede mihi, vires Scriptura refutent,  
Tolle turque suo tempore missa nequam.*

In English.

The Lord beholding from his Throne, reply'd, Doubt not, *O Youth*, firmly in me confide: I dy'd long since, now sit at the Right Hand Of my blest'd Father, and the World command. Believe me, *Scripture* shall regain her sway, And wicked *Maj's* in due time fall away.

Reader, I also expect nothing but *Scourges* from that Generation, to whom the *Maj's* book is dearer than the *Bible*. But I have now likewise confest another Expectation, that shall be my Consolation under all. They tell us, That on the highest of the *Caspian* Mountains in *Spain*, there is a Lake, whereinto if you throw a Stone, there presently ascends a Smoke, which forms a dense Cloud, from whence issues a Tempest of Rain, Hail, and horrid Thunder-claps, for a good quarter of an hour. Our Church-History will be like a Stone cast into that Lake, for the furious Ecclesiastical Dignities have set them, as on the top of Spanish Mountains. The Catholic Spirit of Communion wherewith 'tis written, and the Liberty which I have taken, to tax the Schismatical Impositions and Persecutions of a Party, who have always been as real Enemies to the English Nation, as to the Christian and Protestant Interest, will certainly bring upon the whole Composure, the quick Censures of that Party, at the first cast of their look upon it. In the Duke of *Alva's* Council of twelve Judges, there was one *Hessels* a *Flemming*, who slept always at the Trial of Criminals, and when they wak'd him to deliver his Opinion, he rub'd his Eyes, and cry'd, between sleeping and waking, *Ad patibulum! ad Patibulum!* To the Gallows with 'em! [And, by the way, this Blade was himself, at the last, condemned unto the Gallows, without an Hearing.] As quick Censures must this our Labour excite upon those who will not bestow waking thoughts upon the Representations of Christianity here made unto the World; but have a Sentence of Death always to pass, or at least, With, upon those Generous Principles, without which, 'tis impossible to maintain the Reformation: And I confess, I am very well content, that this our Labour takes the Fate of those Principles: Nor do I dissent from the words of the Excellent *W. B. Raker* upon *Luther*, *Felix ille, quem Dominus eo Honore dignatus est, ut Homines nequissimos suos haberet inimicos.* But if the old Epigrammatist, when he saw Guilty Folks raving Mad at his Lines, could say—

*Floc volo; nunc nobis carmina nostra placent:*

Certainly an Historian should not be displeased at it, if the Enemies of Truth discover their Madnefs at the true and free Communications of his History; and therefore the more Stones they throw

throw at this Book more Proofs, than Fruits growing up a Monument with a Inscription, that Claudius Septem?

Excerpt L.

Albeit perhaps Men below d endeavour'd to for me by the Men, who strive to have off fine as an U thus encounter fo the Children of the might perforce in their fort of Enter Meo who have a the Apollie Janus Clau'd (read it) against Envy; and be the fifth, amon which will be Li Good Men will no thus is here bet bett by, besides a conf vain salubritas rati gational Church-ell, where it be come difficult al also a number of are for a Larger w History will give it may happen to Discipline on some coveties which I Apprehensions, th summary is for it a glorious Refurre Mr. Baxter, after Study, about the pline, at last, soci cibly prov'd, Tha The farther Learned Men pro generally the Co will be pronounced There are some profits the Congre at the same time the nish of Soul, by w and Kindness too and unto those my five, because my Principles, does n Right hand of Fel vants of the Lord Church-Disciplin present Understan be thus in my own wife in That wher own. Briefly, as



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throw at this Book, there will not only be the more Proofs, that it is a Tree which hath good Fruits growing upon it; but I will build my self a Monument with them, whereon shall be inscribed, that Clause in the Epitaph of the Martyr Stephen:

*Excepit Lapidem, cui petra Christus erat:*

Albeit perhaps the Epitaph, which the old Monks bestow'd upon Wickliff, will be rather endeavour'd for me, (*If I am thought worth one*;) by the Men, who will, with all possible *Monkery*, strive to stave off the approaching Reformation.

But since an Undertaking of this Nature, must thus encounter so much Envy, from those who are under the Power of the Spirit that works in the Children of Unconformableness, methinks I might persuade my self, that it will find another sort of Entertainment from those Good Men who have a better Spirit in them: For, as the Apostle James hath noted, (so with Monsieur Claude I read it) *The Spirit that is in us, lusteth against Envy*; and yet even in us also, there will be the *Flesh*, among whose Works, one is *Envy*, which will be *Lusting* against the Spirit. All Good Men will not be satisfied with every thing that is here set before them. In my own Country, besides a considerable number of loose and vain Inhabitants risen up, to whom the Congregational Church-Discipline, which cannot Live well, where the Power of Godliness dyes, is become distastful for the Purity of it; there is also a number of eminently Godly Persons, who are for a Larger way, and unto these my Church-History will give distast, by the things which it may happen to utter, in favour of that Church-Discipline on some few occasions; and the Discoveries which I may happen to make of my Apprehensions, that *Scripture*, and *Reason*, and *Antiquity* is for it; and that it is not far from a glorious Resurrection. But that, as the Famous Mr. Baxter, after Thirty or Forty Years hard Study, about the true instituted Church-Discipline, at last, not only own'd, but also invincibly prov'd, That it is *The Congregational*; so, The further that the *Unprejudiced Studies* of Learned Men proceed in this Matter, the more generally the *Congregational Church-Discipline* will be pronounced for. On the other side, There are some among us, who very strictly profess the *Congregational Church-Discipline*, but at the same time they have an unhappy Narrowness of Soul, by which they confine their value and Kindness too much unto their own Party; and unto those my *Church History* will be offensive, because my Regard unto our own declared Principles, does not hinder me from giving the Right hand of Fellowship unto the valuable Servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, who find not our Church-Discipline as yet agreeable unto their present Understandings and Illuminations. If it be thus in my own Country, it cannot be otherwise in That whereof I send this account of my own. Briefly, as it hath been said, That if all

*Episcopal Men* were like Archbishop *Usher*, and all *Presbyterians* like Stephen *Martins*, and all *Independents* like *Jeremiah Burroughs*, the Wounds of the Church would soon be healed; my Essay to carry that Spirit through this whole Church-History, will bespeak Wounds for it, from those that are of another Spirit. And there will also be in every Country those Good Men, who yet have not had the Grace of Christ so far prevailing in them, as utterly to disvest them of that piece of Ill Nature which the Comedian reffects, *In homine Imperito, quo nil quicquam Injustius, quia nisi quod isse facit, nil recte factum putat.*

However, All these things, and an hundred more such things which I think of, are very small Discouragements for such a Service as I have here endeavour'd. I foresee a Recompence, which will abundantly swallow up all Discouragements! It may be Strabo the Philosopher counted himself well recompensed for his Labours, when *Prology* bestow'd fourscore Talents on him. It may be *Archimelus* the Poet counted himself well recompensed, when *Hero* sent him a thousand Bushels of Wheat for one little Epigram: And *Saleius* the Poet might count himself well recompensed, when *Vespasian* sent him twelve thousand and five hundred *Philippicks*; and *Oppian* the Poet might count himself well recompensed, when *Caracalla* sent him a piece of Gold for every Line that he had inscribed unto him. As I live in a Country where such Recompences never were in fashion; it hath no Preferments for me, and I shall count that I am well Rewarded in it, if I can escape without being heavily Reproached, Censured and Condemned, for what I have done: So I thank the Lord, I should exceedingly Scorn all such mean Considerations, I seek not out for Benefactors, to whom these Labours may be Dedicated: There is ONE to whom all is due! From Him I shall have a Recompence: And what Recompence? The Recompence, whereof I do, with inexpressible Joy, assure my self, is this, *That these my poor Labours will certainly serve the Churches and Interests of the Lord Jesus Christ.* And I think I may say, That I ask to live no longer, than I count a Service unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and his Churches, to be it self a glorious Recompence for the doing of it. When David was contriving to build the House of God, there was that order given from Heaven concerning him, *Go tell David, my Servant.* The adding of that more than *Royal Title* unto the Name of David, was a sufficient Recompence for all his Contrivance about the House of God. In our whole *Church-History*, we have been at work for the House of the Lord Jesus Christ, [Even that *Mam* who is the Lord God, and whose *Form* seems on that occasion repented unto His David.] And wherein this Recompence enough, that I have been a *Servant* unto that heavenly Lord. The greatest Honour, and the sweetest Pleasure, out of Heaven, is to Serve our illustrious Lord JESUS CHRIST, who hath loved us, and given himself for us; and unto whom it is infinitely reasonable that we should

## A General Introduction.

give our selves, and all that we have and are : And it may be the Angels in Heaven too, aspire not after an higher Felicity.

Unto thee, therefore, O thou Son of God, and King of Heaven, and Lord of all things, whom all the Glorious Angels of Light, unspeakably love to Glorify ; I humbly offer up a poor History of Churches, which owe thee alone for their Head, and Prince, and Law-giver ; Churches which thou hast purchas'd with thy own Blood, and with wonderful

Dispensations of thy Providence hitherto protectest and preservest ; and of a People which thou diest Form for thy self, to shew forth thy Praises. I bless thy great Name, for thy inclining of me to, and carrying of me through, the Work of this History : I pray thee to sprinkle the Book of this History with thy Blood, and make it acceptable and profitable unto thy Churches, and serve thy Truths and Ways among thy People, by that which thou hast here prepar'd, for 'tis THOU that hast prepar'd it for them. Amen.

*Quid sum ? Nil. Quis sum ? Nullus. Sed Gratia CHRISTI,  
Quod sum, quod Verbo, quodque Labore, facit.*

The

A General Introduction  
whole Catalogue

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Chap. V. *Succellors*

Chap. VI. *Se* *Se*  
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Chap. VIII. *Succellors*

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William *Se* *Se*  
Hilary *Se* *Se*



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'*Omnes Sæpe d'impugnare, live, Utiles Narrationes.*

It contains, the Life of the Renowned *John Eliot*; with an Account, concerning the Success of the Gospel among the *Indians*. A very entertaining piece of *Church-History*.

## The Fourth Part, Entituled, *Remains*.

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Chap. II. The Life of Mr. *Thomas Allen*.

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## The Fourth Book, Entituled, *SAL GENTIUM*.

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It contains, the *Faith and Order* in the Churches of *New-England*, agreed by their Synods: With Historical Remarks upon all those Venerable Assemblies. And a great Variety of other *Church-Cases*, occurring and resolved in those *American Churches*.

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THAUMATURGUS, vel, נִסְיָוֹת  
i. e. Liber Memorabilium.

It contains many Illustrious Discoveries and Demonstrations of the Divine Providence, in Remarkable Mercies and Judgements on many particular Persons among the People of *New-England*.

The Introduction. With *Proposals* made, about Recording Illustrious Discoveries of the Divine Providence.

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the Wars of the Lord.

It contains, the Afflictive Disturbances which the Churches of *New-England* have suffered, from their various Adversaries; and the wonderful Methods and Mercies, whereby the Churches have been delivered.

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Chap. IV. *Ignes Fatui*. Or, The Moleſtations given to the Churches of *New-England*, by that Odd Sect of People called *Quakers*. And some uncomfortable Occurrences, relating to a Sect of other, and better People.

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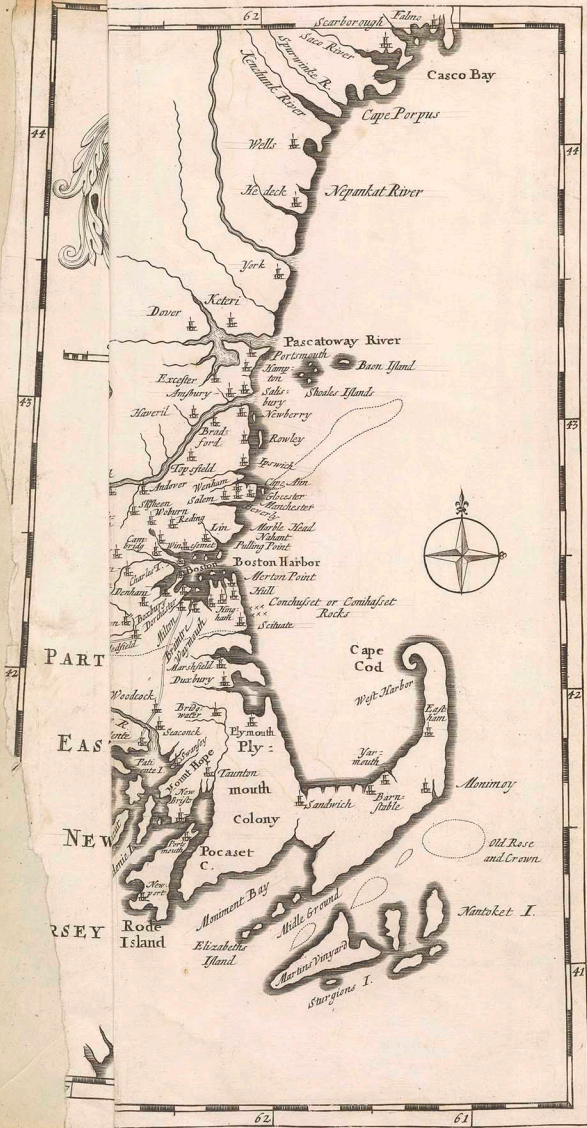
An Extract from the Diary of the famous old *Mr. John Rogers* of *Dedham*.

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### Mauriffi.

The Epitaph of *Dr. John Owen*.





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## The First B O O K.

## ANTIQUITIES:

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*A FIELD prepar'd for Considerable Things to be Acted thereupon.*

## The INTRODUCTION.

π ' N

**I**T was not long ago, as about the middle of the former Century, that under the Influences of that admirable Hero and Martyr, of the Protestant Religion, Gasper Coligni, the great Admiral of France, a Noble and Learned Knight called Villagagnon, began to attempt the Settlement of some Colonies in AMERICA, (as it was declared) for the Propagation of that Religion. He Sailed with several Ships of no small Burthen, till he arriv'd at Brasile: where he thought there were now shewn him Quiet Seats, for the retreat of a People harass'd already with deadly Persecutions, and threaten'd with yet more Calamities. Thence he wrote Home Letters unto that glorious Patron of the Reform'd Churches, to inform him, That he had now a fair Prospect of seeing those Churches erected, multiply'd and shelter'd in the Southern Regions of the New World; and requested him, That Geneva might supply them with Pastors for the planting of such Churches in these New Plantations. The Blessed Calvin, with his Colleagues, thereupon sent of their Number Two Worthy Persons, namely Richerius and Quadrigarius, to assist this Undertaking; and unto these were joined several more, especially Leriux, and, who became a Leader to the rest, Corquillerius, an eminent Man, for the Cause of Christianity, then residing at Geneva. Embark'd in three Ships, well fitted, they came to the American Country, whither they had been invited; and they soon set up an Evangelical Church Order, in those Corners of the Earth where God in our Lord Jesus Christ had never before been called upon. But it was not long before some unhappy Controversies arose among them, which drove their Principal Ministers into Europe again, besides those Three that were Murdered by their Apostate Governour, whose Martyrdom Leriux procured Crispin to Commemorate in his History, but I now omit

in this of ours, Ne me Crispini scrinia lecti, compitasse putes: And as for the People that staid behind, no other can be Learn'd, but that they are entirely lost, either in Paganism or Disaster: In this, more unhappy sure, than that Hundred Thousand of their Brethren who were soon after Butcher'd at Home, in that horrible Massacre, which then had not, but since hath, known a Parallel. So has there been utterly lost in a little time, A Country intended for a Receptracle of Protestant Churches on the American Strand. It is the most Incomparable De Thou, the Honourable President of the Parliament at Paris, an Historian whom Casaubon Pronounces, A Singular Gift of Heaven, to the last Age, for an Example of Piety and Probity, that is our Author, (besides others) for this History.

'Tis now time for me to tell my Reader, that in our Age there has been another Essay, made not by French, but by English PROTESTANTS, to fill a certain Country in America with Reform'd Churches, nothing in Doctrine, little in Discipline, different from that of Geneva. Mankind will pardon me, a Native of that Country, if smitten with a just Fear of inroaching and ill-bodied Degeneracies, I shall use my Modest Endeavours to prevent the Loss of a Country, so signaliz'd for the Profession of the purest Religion, and for the Protection of God upon it, in that Holy Profession. I shall count my Country lost, in the Loss of the Primitive Principles, and the Primitive Practices, upon which it was at first Established: But certainly one good way to save that Loss, would be to do something that the Memory of the great Things done for us by our God may not be lost, and that the Story of the Circumstances attending the Foundation and Formation of this Country, and of its Preservation hitherto, may be impartially banded unto Posterity. THIS



is the Undertaking whereto I now Address my self; and now, Grant me thy Gracious Affluences. O my God; that in this my Undertaking I may be kept from every false way: But that sincerely aiming at thy Glory in my Undertaking, I may find my Labours made Ac-

ceptable and Profitable unto thy Churches, and Serviceable unto the Interests of thy Gospel; so let my God think upon me for Good; and spare me according to the greatness of thy Mercy in the Blessed Jesus. Amen.

# CHAP. I.

## Venisti tandem? Or Discoveries of AMERICA, tending to, and ending in, Discoveries of NEW-ENGLAND.

§. 1. **I**T is the Opinion of some, though 'tis but an Opinion, and but of some Learned Men, That when the Sacred Oracles of Heaven assure us, *The Things under the Earth* are some of those, whose *Knees are to bow in the Name of Jesus*, by those Things are meant the Inhabitants of America, who are *Antipodes* to those of the other Hemisphere: I would not Quote any Words of *Lactantius*, tho' there are some to Countenance this Interpretation, because of their being so Ungeographical: Nor would I go to strengthen the Interpretation by reciting the Words of the *Indians* to the first *White Invaders* of their Territories, *We hear you are come from under the World to take our World from us*. But granting the uncertainty of such an Exposition, I shall yet give the Church of God a certain Account of those Things, which in America have been Believing and Adoring the glorious Name of Jesus; and of that Country in America, where those Things have been attended with Circumstances most remarkable. I can contentedly allow that America (which as the Learned *Nicolas Fuller* Observes, might more justly be called *Columbina*) was altogether unknown to the *Penmen* of the Holy Scriptures, and in the Ages when the Scriptures were Penned. I can allow, that those Parts of the Earth, which do not include America, are in the inspired Writings of *Luke*, and of *Paul*, stiled, *All the World*. I can allow, that the Opinion of *Tornellius*, and of *Vogius*, about the Apostles Preaching the Gospel in America, has been sufficiently refuted by *Basnage*. But I am out of the reach of *Pope Zachary's* Excommunication. I can assert the Existence of the *American Antipodes*: And I can Report unto the European Churches great Occurrences among these *Americans*. Yet I will Report every one of them with such a Christian and exact Veracity, that no Man shall have cause to use about any one of them, the Words which the great *Austin* (as great as he was) used about the Existence of *Antipodes*; it is a Fable, and, *nulla ratione credendum*.

§. 2. If the *Wicked One in whom the voluble World lyeth*, were he, who like a *Dragon*, keeping a Guard upon the spacious and mighty *Orchards of America*, could have such a *Bascination* upon the Thoughts of Mankind, that neither this *Balancing half* of the Globe should be considered in *Europe* till a little more than

two Hundred Years ago, nor the *Clue* that might lead unto it, namely, the *Leadstone*, should be known, till a *Neapolitan* stumbled upon it, about an Hundred Years before; yet the overruling Providence of the great God is to be acknowledged, as well in the Concealing of America for so long a time, as in the Discovering of it, when the fulness of Time was come for the Discovery: For we may count America to have been concealed, while Mankind in the other Hemisphere had lost all Acquaintance with it, if we may conclude it had any from the Words of *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Phœnicians* were by great Storms driven on the Coast of Africa, far Westward, *ἐν πολλὰς ἡμέραις, for many Days together*, and at last fell in with an Island of prodigious Magnitude; or from the Words of *Plato*, that beyond the Pillars of *Hercules* there was an Island in the *Atlantic Ocean*, *ἡμὰς ἰσθμὸς ἔστιν ὁρίων ἡμετέρας, larger than Africa and Asia put together*: Nor should it pass without Remark, that Three most memorable things which have born a very great Aspect upon *Humane Affairs*, did near the same time, namely at the Conclusion of the *Fifteenth*, and the beginning of the *Sixteenth Century*, arise unto the World: The First was the *Rejurisdiction of Literature*; the Second was the opening of *America*; the Third was the *Reformation of Religion*. But, as probably, the Devil seducing the first Inhabitants of America into it, therein aimed at the having of them and their Posterity out of the sound of the *Silver Trumpets of the Gospel*, then to be heard through the *Roman Empire*; if the Devil had any Expectation, that by the Peopling of America, he should utterly deprive any Europeans of the Two Benefits, *Literature and Religion*, which dawned upon the miserable World, one just before, & other just after, the first named *Navigation* hither, 'tis to be hop'd he will be disappointed of that Expectation. The Church of God must no longer be wrapp'd up in *Strabo's* Cloak: Geography must now find work for a *Christianography* in Regions far enough beyond the Bounds wherein the Church of God had thro' all former Ages been circumscribed. Renowned Churches of Christ must be gathered where the Ancients once Derided them that look'd for any Inhabitants. The Mystery of our Lord's Garments, made *Four Parts*, by the Soldiers that cast *Lots* for them, is to be accomplished in the good Sence put upon it by *Austin*, who if

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he had known *America* could not have given a better *Quadrupartita vestis Domini Jesu, quadrupartitam figuravit ejus Ecclesiam, toto scilicet, qui quatuor partibus constat, terrarum orbe diffusam.*

§. 3. Whatever Truth may be in that Assertion of one who writes; *If we may credit any Records besides the Scriptures, I know it might be said and proved well, that this New World was known, and partly inhabited by Britains, or by Saxons from England, Three or Four Hundred Years before the Spaniards coming thither*; which Assertion is Demonstrated from the Discourses between the *Mexicans* and the *Spaniards* at their first Arrival; and the *Popish Reliques*, as well as *British Terms* and Words, which the *Spaniards* then found among the *Mexicans*, as well as from undoubted Passages, not only in other Authors, but even in the *British Annals* also: Nevertheless, Mankind generally agree to give unto *Christopher Columbus*, a *Genoise*, the Honour of being the First European that opened a way into these Parts of the World. It was in the Year 1492. that this famous Man, acted by a most vehement and wonderful Impulse, was carried into the Northern Regions of this vast Hemisphere, which might more justly therefore have receiv'd its Name from *Him*, than from *Americus Vesputius* a *Florentine*, who in the Year 1497. made a further Detection of the more Southern Regions in this Continent. So a World, which has been one great Article among the *Res deperditæ* of *Pancirollus*, is now found out, and the Affairs of the whole World have been affected by the finding of it. So the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, well compar'd unto a Ship, is now victoriously sailing round the Globe after Sir Francis Drake's renowned Ship, called, *The Victory*, which could boast,

*Prima ego veltrois ambivi cursibus orbem.*

And yet the Story about *Columbus* himself must be corrected from the Information of *De la Vega*, That one *Sanchez*, a Native of *Helva* in Spain, did before him find out these Regions. He tells us, That *Sanchez* using to Trade in a small Vessel to the *Canaries*, was driven by a furious and tedious Tempest over unto these Western Countries; and at his return he gave to *Colon*, or *Columbus*, an account of what he had seen, but soon after died of a Disease he had got on his dangerous Voyage. However, I shall expect my Reader ere long to grant, that some things done since by Almighty God for the *English* in these Regions, have exceeded all that has been hitherto done for any other Nation: If this *New World* were not found out first by the *English*; yet in those regards that are of all the greatest, it seems to be found out more for them than any other.

§. 4. But indeed the two *Cabots*, Father and Son, under the Commission of our King Hen-

ry VII. entering upon their generous Undertakings in the Year 1497. made further Discoveries of *America*, than either *Columbus* or *Vesputius*; in regard of which notable Enterprises, the younger of them had very great Honours by the Crown put upon him, till at length he died in a good Old Age, in which Old Age King Edward VI. had allowed him an Honourable Pension. Yea, since the *Cabots*, employ'd by the King of England, made a Discovery of this Continent in the Year 1497: and it was the Year 1498: before *Columbus* discovered any part of the Continent; and *Vesputius* came a considerable time after both of them; I know not why the *Spaniard* should go unprovok'd in the claim of this *New World*, which from the first finding of it is pretended unto. These Discoveries of the *Cabots* were the Foundation of all the Adventures, with which the *English Nation* have since followed the *Sun*, and served themselves into an Acquaintance on the hither side of the *Atlantic Ocean*. And now I shall drown my Reader with my self in a tedious Digression, if I enumerate all the Attempts made by a *Wiltoughby*, a *Frobisher*, a *Gilbert*, and besides many others, an Incomparable Rascall, to settle *English Colonies* in the Desarts of the Western *India*. It will be enough if I entertain him with the History of that *English Settlement*, which may, upon a Thousand accounts, pretend unto more of True *English* than all the rest, and which alone therefore has been called *New-England*.

§. 5. After a discouraging Series of Disasters attending the Endeavours of the *English* to swarm into *Florida*, and the rest of the Continent unto the Northward of it, called *Virginia*, because the first *White Born* in those Regions was a Daughter, then Born to one *Ananias Dare*, in the Year 1585. The Courage of one *Bartholomew Gosnold*, and one Captain *Bartholomew Gilbert*, and several other Gentlemen, served them to make yet more Essays upon the like Designs. This Captain *Gosnold* in a small Bark, on May 11. 1602. Made Land on this Coast in the Latitude of Forty-Three; where, tho' he liked the *Welcome* he had from the Salvages that came aboard him, yet he disliked the *Weather*, so that he thought it necessary to stand more Southward into the Sea. Next Morning he found himself Embay'd within a mighty Head of Land; which Promontory, in remembrance of the *Cod-Fish* in great quantity by him taken there, he called *Cape-Cod*, a Name which I suppose it will never lose, till Shoals of *Cod-Fish* be seen swimming upon the top of its highest Hills. On this Cape, and on the Islands to the Southward of it, he found such a comfortable Entertainment from the *Summer-Fruits* of the Earth, as well as from the *Wild Creatures* then ranging the Woods, and from the *wilder People* now surprized into Courtesy, that he carried back to England a Report of the Country, better than what the *Spies* once gave of the



*Land flowing with Milk and Honey.* Not only did the Merchants of Bristol now raise a considerable Stock to Prosecute these Discoveries, but many other Persons of several Ranks Embarked in such Undertakings; and many *Sallies* into America were made: the exacter Narrative whereof I had rather my Reader should purchase at the expence of consulting *Purchas's Pilgrims*, than endure any stop in our hastening Voyage unto the *Offspring of a New-English Israel*.

§. 6. Perhaps my Reader would gladly be informed how America came to be first Peopled; and if *Hornius's Discourses, De origine Gentium Americanarum*, do not satisfy him, I hope shortly the most Ingenious Dr. Woodward, in his *Natural History of the Earth*, will do it. In the mean time, to stay thy Stomach, Reader, accept the Account which a very sensible *Ruffian*, who had been an Officer of Prime Note in *Siberia*, gave unto Father *Artil*. Said he, 'There is beyond the Obi a great River called *Kawowina*, at the Mouth whereof, discharging it self into the Frozen Sea, there stands a spacious Island very well Peopled, and no less considerable for Hunting an Animal, whose Teeth are in great esteem. The Inhabitants go frequently upon the side of the Frozen Sea to Hunt this Monster; and because it requires great Labour with Assiduity, they carry their Families usually along with them. Now it many times happens that being surprized with a Thaw, they are carried away, I know not whither, upon huge peices of Ice that break off one from another. For my part, I am perswaded that several of those Hunters have been carried upon these floating peices of Ice to the most Northern Parts of America, which is not far from that Part of Asia that juts out into the Sea of Tartary. And that which confirms me in this Opinion, is this, That the Americans who Inhabit that Country, which advances farthest towards that Sea, have the same Physognomy as those Islanders. Thus the *Voyage de Smotensko*. But all the concern of this our History, is to tell how English People first came into America; and what English People first came into that Part of America, where this History is composed. Wherefore, instead of reciting the many Adventures of the English, to visit these Parts of the World, I shall but repeat the Words of one Captain Weymouth, an Historian, as well as an Undertaker of those Adventures; who Reports, That one main End of all these Undertakings, was to plant the Gospel in these dark Regions of America. How well the most of the English Plantations have answered this main End, it mainly becomes them to consider: However, I am now to tell Mankind, that as for One of these English Plantations, this was not only a main End, but the sole End upon which it was erected. If they that are solicitous about the Interests of the Gospel, would know what and where that Plantation is; be

it noted, That all the vast Country from Florida to Nova-Brancia, was at first called Virginia; but this Virginia was distinguished into North Virginia and South Virginia, till that Famous Traveller Captain John Smith, in the Year 1614, presenting unto the Court of England a Draught of North Virginia, got it called by the Name of NEW-ENGLAND; which Name has been ever since allowed unto my Country, as unto the most Resembling Daughter, to the chief Lady of the European World. Thus the Discoveries of the Country proceeded so far, that *Ki James* had by his Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England, in the 18th Year of his Reign, give and grant unto a certain Honourable Council Established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the Planting, Ruling, and Ordering, and Governing of New-England in America, and to their Successors and Assigns, all that Part of America, lying and being in Breadth, from Forty Degrees of Northerly Latitude, from the Equinoctial Line, to the Forty-Eighth Degree of the said Northerly Latitude Inclusively; and the Length of, and within all the Breadth aforesaid, throughout all the firm Lands from Sea to Sea. This at last is the Spot of Earth, which the God of Heaven Spied out for the Seat of such Evangelical, and Ecclesiastical, and very remarkable Transactions, as require to be made an History; were 'twas that our Blessed Jesus intended a Resting-place, must I say? Or only an Hiding-place for those Reformed CHURCHES, which have given him a little Accomplishment of his Eternal Father's Promise unto him; to be, we hope, yet further accomplished, of having the utmost Parts of the Earth for his Possession?

§. 7. The Learned *Joseph Mede* conjectures that the American Hemisphere will escape the Conflagration of the Earth, which we expect at the descent of our Lord JESUS CHRIST from Heaven: And that the People here will not have a share in the Blesseds which the Renovated World shall enjoy, during the Thousand Years of Holy Rest promised unto the Church of God: And that the Inhabitants of these Regions, who were Originally Scythians, and therein a notable fulfillment of the Prophecy, about the Enlargement of Japhet, will be the Gog and Magog whom the Devil will seduce to invade the New-Jerusalem, with an Envious Hope to gain the Angelical Circumstances of the People there. All this is but Conjecture; and it may be 'twill appear unto some as little probable, as that of the later *Pierre Poiret* in his *L'Océanomy Divine*, that by Gog and Magog are meant the Devils and the Damned, which he thinks will be let loose at the end of the Thousand Years, to make a furious, but a fruitless Attempt on the glorified Saints of the New-Jerusalem. However, I am going to give unto the Christian Reader an History of some feeble Attempts made in the American Hemisphere to anticipate the State of the New-Jerusalem,

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*rusalem*, as far as the unavoidable *Vanity* of *Humane Affairs*, and *Influence* of *Satan* upon them would allow of it; and of many worthy *Persons*, whose *Posterity*, if they make a *Squadron* in the *Fleets* of *Gog* and *Magog*, will be

*Apostates* deserving a *Room*, and a *Doom* with the *Legions* of the *Grand Apostate*, that will deceive the *Nations* to that *Mysterious Enterprise*.

## CHAPTER II.

**Primordia: Or, The Voyage to NEW-ENGLAND, which produced the First Settlement of NEW-PLYMOUTH; with an Account of many Remarkable and Memorable Providences relating to that Voyage.**

§. 1. A Number of devout and serious *Christians* in the *English Nation*, finding the *Reformation* of the *Church* in that Nation, according to the *WORD OF GOD*, and the *Design* of many among the *First Reformers*, to labour under a sort of *hopeless Retardation*, they did, *Anno* 1602. in the *North of England*, enter into a *COVENANT*, wherein expressing themselves desirous, not only to attend the *Worship* of our *Lord Jesus Christ*, with a freedom from *humane Inventions* and *Additions*, but also to enjoy all the *Evangelical Institutions* of that *Worship*, they did like those *Macedonians*, that are therefore by the *Apostle Paul* commended, *give themselves up, first unto God, and then unto another*. These *Pious People* finding that their *Brethren* and *Neighbours* in the *Church of England*, as then established by *Law*, took offence at these their *Endeavours* after a *Scriptural Reformation*; and being loth to live in the continual *Vexations*, which they felt arising from their *Non-Conformity* to things which their *Consciences* accounted *Superstitious* and *Unwarrantable*, they peaceably and willingly embraced a *Banishment* into the *Netherlands*, where they settled at the *City of Leyden*, about *Seven or Eight Years* after their *First Combination*. And now in that *City* this *People* sojourn'd, an *Holy CHURCH* of the *Blessed JESUS*, for several *Years* under the *Pastoral Care* of *Mr. John Robinson*, who had for his *Help* in the *Government* of the *Church*, a most *Wife*, *Grave*, good *Man*, *Mr. William Brewster*, the *ruling Elder*. Indeed *Mr. John Robinson* had been in his *younger time*, (as very good *Fruit* hath sometimes been, before *Age* hath *Ripened* it) *Sworn* with the *Principles* of the most *Rigid Separation*, in the maintaining whereof he composed and published some *little Treatises*, and in the *Management* of the *Controversie* made no *Scruple* to call the *incomparable Dr. Ames* himself, *Dr. Ames*, for opposing such a *Degree of Separation*. But this worthy *Man* suffered himself at length to be so far convinced by his *Learned Antagonist*, that with a most *Ingenuous Retraction*, he afterwards writ a *little Book* to prove the *Lawfulness* of one thing, which his mistaken *Zeal* had formerly impugned several *Years*, even till 1625. and about the *Fiftieth Year* of his own *Age*, continued he a *Blessing* unto the whole *Church* of *God*, and at last, when he dy'd, he left behind him in his *immortal Writings*, a *Name*

very much embalm'd among the *People* that are best able to judge of *Merit*; and even among such, as about the *Matters of Church-Discipline*, were not of his *Persuasion*. Of such an eminent *Character* was he, while he lived, that when *Arminianism* so much prevailed, as it then did in the *low Countries*, those famous *Divines*, *Polyander*, and *Jesius Hommius*, employ'd this our *Learned Robinson* to dispute publicly in the *University of Leyden* against *Episcopacy*, and the other *Champions* of that *Grand Book-weed of true Christianity*: And when he Died, not only the *University*, and *Ministers* of the *City*, accompanied him to his *Grave*, with all their accustomed *Solemnities*, but some of the *Chief* among them with *forrowful Repentments* and *Exprellions* affirmed, *That all the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ had sustain'd a great Loss by the Death of this worthy Man*.

§. 2. The *English Church* had not been very long at *Leyden*, before they found themselves encountered with many *Inconveniencies*. They felt that they were neither for *Health*, nor *Purse*, nor *Language* well accommodated; but the concern which they most of all had, was for their *Posterity*. They saw, that whatever *Banks* the *Dutch* had against the *Inroads of the Sea*, they had not sufficient Ones against a *Flood* of manifold *Profanenesses*. They could not with *Ten Years Endeavour* bring their *Neighbours*, particularly to any suitable *Observation* of the *LORD'S DAY*; without which they knew, that all *practical Religion* must wither *Miserably*. They beheld some of their *Children*, by the *Temptations* of the *Place*, which were especially given in the *licentious Ways* of many *Young People*, drawn into dangerous *Extravagancies*. Moreover, they were very loth to lose their *Interest* in the *English Nation*; but were desirous rather to enlarge their *King's Dominions*. They found themselves also under a very strong disposition of *Zeal*, to attempt the *Establishment of Congregational Churches* in the remote *Parts* of the *World*; where they hoped they should be reached by the *Royal Influence* of their *Prince*, in whose *Allegiance* they chose to live and die; at the same time likewise hoping that the *Ecclesiasticks*, who had thus driven them out of the *Kingdom* into a *New World*, for nothing in the *World* but their *Non-Conformity* to certain *Rites*, by the *Imposers* confelld *Indifferent*, would be ashamed ever to persecute them with



with any further Molestations, at the distance of a Thousand Leagues. These Reasons were deeply considered by the Church; and after many Deliberations, accompanied with the most solemn Humiliations and Supplications before the God of Heaven, they took up a Resolution, under the conduct of Heaven, to REMOVE into AMERICA: the opened Regions whereof had now filled all Europe with Reports. It was resolved, that part of the Church should go before their Brethren, to prepare a place for the Rest; and whereas the Minor part of younger and stronger Men were to go first, the Pastor was to stay with the Major, till they should see cause to follow. Nor was there any occasion for this Resolve, in any weariness which the States of Holland had of their Company, as was basely whisper'd by their Adversaries; therein like those who of old assign'd the same cause for the Departure of the Israelites out of Egypt: For the Magistrates of Leyden in their Court, reproving the Wallons, gave this Testimony for our English: *These English have lived now Ten Years among us, and yet we never had any Accusation against any one of them; whereas your Quarrels are continual.*

§. 2. These good People were now satisfy'd, they had as plain a command of Heaven to attempt a Removal, as ever their Father Abraham had for his leaving the Caldean Territories; and it was nothing but such a Satisfaction that could have carried them thro' such, otherwise insuperable Difficulties, as they met withal. But in this Removal the *Terminus ad Quem* was not yet resolved upon. The Country of Guiana flattered them with the Promises of a perpetual Spring, and a Thousand other comfortable Entertainments. But the probable disagreement of so Torrid a Climate unto English Bodies; and the more dangerous Vicinity of the Spaniards to that Climate; were Considerations which made them fear that Country would be too Hot for them. They rather propounded some Country bordering upon Virginia; and unto this purpose, they sent over Agents into England, who so far treated not only with the Virginia Company, but with several great Persons about the Court; unto whom they made Evident their Agreement with the French reformed Churches in all things whatsoever, except in a few small accidental Points; that at last, after many tedious Delays, and after the loss of many Friends and Hopes in those delays, they obtained a Patent for a quiet Settlement in those Territories; and the Archbishop of Canterbury himself gave them some Expectations that they should never be disturbed in that Exercise of Religion, at which they aimed in their Settlement; yea, when Sir Robert Nanton, then Principal Secretary of State unto King James, moved his Majesty to give way, that such a People might enjoy their Liberty of Conscience under his gracious Protection in America, where they would endeavour the Advancement of his Majesty's Dominions, and the Enlargement of the Interests of the Gospel;

the King said, *it was a good and honest Motion.* All this notwithstanding, they never made use of that Patent: But being inform'd of NEW ENGLAND, thither they diverted their Design, thereto induced by sundry Reasons; but particularly by this, that the Coast being extremely well circumstanced for Fishing, they might therein have some immediate Assistance against the hardships of their First Encounters. Their Agents then again sent over to England, concluded Articles between them and such Adventurers, as would be concerned with them in their present Undertakings. Articles, that were indeed sufficiently hard for those poor Men, that were now to transplant themselves into an horrid Wilderness. The Description of their Enterprize from the First State and Way of it, caus'd an unhappy Division among those that should have Encourag'd it; and many of them hereupon fell off. But the Removers having already sold their Estates, to put the Money into a Common Stock, for the welfare of the Whole; and their Stock as well as their Time, spending so fast as to threaten them with an Army of Straits, if they delayed any longer; they nimbly dispatch the best Agreements they could, and came away furnished with a Resolution for a large Tract of Land in the South-West Parts of New-England.

§. 4. All things now being in some Readiness, and a couple of Ships, one called, *The Speed-well*, tother, *The May-flower*, being hired for their Transportation, they solemnly set apart a Day for Fasting and Prayer; wherein their Pastor preached unto them upon Ecce 8. 21. *I proclaimed a Fast there, at the River Abana, that we might afflict our selves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.*

After the fervent Supplications of this Day, accompanied by their affectionate Friends, they took their leave of the pleasant City, where they had been Pilgrims and Strangers now for Eleven Years. Betsy-Haven was the Town, where they went on Board one of their Ships, and there they had such a mournful parting from their Brethren, as even drowned the Dutch Spectators themselves, then standing on the Shore, in Tears. Their excellent Pastor, on his Knees, by the Sea-side, poured out their mutual Petitions unto God; and having wept in one another's Arms, as long as the Wind and the Tide would permit them, they had Adieu. So sailing to Southampton in England, they there found the other of their Ships come from London, with the rest of their Friends that were to be the Companions of the Voyage. Let my Reader place the Chronology of this Business on July 2. 1620. And know, that the faithful Pastor of this People immediately sent after them a Pastoral Letter; a Letter filled with Holy Counsels unto them, to settle their Peace with God in their own Consciences, by an exact Repentance of all Sin whatsoever, that so they might more easily bear all the Difficulties that were now before them; and then to maintain a good

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Peace with one another, and beware of giving or taking Offences, and avoid all Discoveries of a Touchy Humour; but use much Brotherly Forbearance, [whereby the way he had this remarkable Observation, *In my own experience few or none have been found that sooner give Offence, than those that easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable Members of Societies, who have nourished this Touchy Humour.*] as also to take heed of a private Spirit, and all reticings of Mind in each Man, for his own proper Advantage; and likewise to be careful, that the *House of God*, which they were, might not be shaken with unnecessary Novelities or Oppositions: Which LETTER afterwards produced most happy Fruits among them.

§ 5. On August 5th, 1620. they set Sail from Southampton, but if it shall, as I believe it will, afflict my Reader to be told what Heart-breaking Disasters befel them, in the very beginning of their Undertaking, let him glorifie God, who carried them so well through their greater Affliction.

They were by bad Weather twice beaten back, before they came to the Land's End: But it was judged, that the Badness of the Weather did not retard them so much as the deceit of a Master, who grown Sick of the Voyage, made such Pretences about the Leakiness of his Vessel, that they were forced at last wholly to dismiss that lesser Ship from the Service. Being now all flowed into one Ship, on the Sixth of September they put to Sea; but they met with such terrible Storms, that the principal Persons on Board had serious Deliberations upon returning Home again; however, after long beating upon the Atlantick Ocean, they fell in with the Land at Cape-Cod, about the Ninth of November following, where going on Shore they fell upon their Knees, with many and hearty Praises unto God, who had been their Assurance, when they were afar off upon the Sea, and was to be further so, now that they were come to the Ends of the Earth.

But why at this Cape? Here was not the Port which they intended; this was not the Land for which they had provided. There was indeed a most wonderful Providence of God, over a Pious and a Praying People, in this Disappointment! The most crooked Way that ever was gone, even that of Israel's Peregrination thro' the Wilderness, may be called a right Way, such was the way of this little Israel, now going into a Wilderness.

§ 6. Their design was to have sat down somewhere about Hudson's River; but some of their Neighbours in Holland having a Mind themselves to settle a Plantation there, secretly and finisly contracted with the Master of the Ship, employed for the Transportation of these our English Exiles, by a more Northerly Course, to put a Trick upon them. 'Twas in the pursuance of this Plot, that not only the Goods, but also the Lives of all on Board were now hazarded, by the Ships falling among the Shoals of Cape-Cod: Where they were to en-

tangled among dangerous Breakers, thus late in the Year, that the Company got at last into the Cape-Harbour, Broke off their Intentions of going any further. And yet behold the watchful Providence of God over them that seek him! This False-dealing proved a Safe-dealing for the good People against whom it was used. Had they been carried according to their desire unto Hudson's River, the Indians in those Parts were at this time so Many, and so Mighty, and so Sturdy, that in probability all this little feeble Number of Christians had been Massacred by these bloody Salvages, as not long after some others were: Whereas the good Hand of God now brought them to a Country wonderfully prepared for their Entertainment, by a sweeping Mortality that had lately been among the Natives. We have heard with our Ears, O God, our Fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their Days, in the times of Old; how thou dravest out the Heathen with thy Hand, and plantedst them; how thou didst afflict the People, and cost them out! The Indians in these Parts had newly, even about a Year or Two before, been visited with such a prodigious Pestilence; as carried away not a Tenth, but Nine Parts of Ten, (yea, 'tis said, Nineteen of Twenty) among them: So that the Woods were almost cleared of those pernicious Creatures, to make Room for a better Growth. It is Remarkable, that a Frenchman who not long before these Transactions, had by a Shipwreck been made a Captive among the Indians of this Country, did, as the Survivors reported, just before he dy'd in their Hands, tell those Tawny Pagans, that God being angry with them for their Wickedness, would not only destroy them all, but also People the place with another Nation, which would not live after their Brutish Manners. Those Infidels then Blasphemously reply'd, God could not kill them, which Blasphemous mistake was confuted by an horrible and unusual Plague, whereby they were consumed in such vast Multitudes, that our first Planters found the Land almost covered with their unburied Carcases; and they that were left alive, were smitten into awful and humble Regards of the English, by the Terrors which the Remembrance of the Frenchman's Prophecie had Imprinted on them.

§ 7. Inexpressible the Hardships to which this chosen Generation was now exposed! Our Saviour once directed his Disciples to deprecate a fight in the Winter, but these Disciples of our Lord were now arrived at a very Cold Country, in the beginning of a Rough and Bleak Winter; the Sun was withdrawn into Sagittarius, whence he shot the penetrating Arrows of Cold; feathered with nothing but Snow, and pointed with Hail; and the Days left them to behold the Frost-bitten and Weather-beaten face of the Earth, were grown shorter than the Nights, wherein they had yet more trouble to get shelter from the increasing Injuries of the Frost and Weather. It was a relief to those Primitive Believers, who were cast on Shore at

Milta,



Malta, That the Barbarous People show'd them no little Kindness, because of the present Rain, and because of the Cold. But these Believers in our Primitive Times, were more afraid of the Barbarous People among whom they were now call'd, than they were of the Rain, or Cold: These Barbarians were at the first so far from accommodating them with Bundles of Sticks to Warm them, that they let Fly other sorts of Sticks (that is to say, Arrows) to Wound them: And the very Looks and Shouts of those Grim Salvages, had not much less of Terror in them, than if they had been so many Devils. It is not long since I compar'd this remove of our Fathers, to that of Abraham, whereas I must now add, that if our Father Abraham, called out of Ur, had been directed unto the Deserts of Arabia, instead of the Land flowing with Milk and Honey, the Trial of his Faith had been greater than it was; but such was the Trial of the Faith in these holy Men, who followed the Call of God into Deserts full of dismal Circumstances. All this they cheerfully underwent, in hope, that they should settle the Worship and Order of the Gospel, and the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in these Regions, and that thus enlarging the Dominion, they should thereby to Merit the Protection of the Crown of England, as to be never abandoned unto any further Persecutions, from any Party of their Fellow Subjects, for their Conscientious Regards unto the Reformation. Their Proposal was, *Exiguam sedem Sacris, Littusque rogamus, Innocuum, & cunctis undam; auramq. Patentem.*

§. 8. Finding at their Arrival, that what other Powers they had, were made useless by the undesigned Place of their Arrival; they did, as the Light of Nature it self directed them, immediately in the Harbour, sign an Instrument, as a Foundation of their future and needful Government; wherein Declaring themselves the Loyal Subjects of the Crown of England, they did combine into a Body Politick, and solemnly engage Submission and Obedience to the Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Officers; that from time to time should be thought most convenient for the general Good of the Colony. This was done on Nov. 11th, 1620. and they chose one Mr. John Carver, a Pious and Prudent Man, their Governour.

Hereupon they sent Ashore to look a convenient Seat for their intended Habitation: And while the Carpenter was fitting of their Shallop, Sixteen Men tender'd themselves, to go, by Land, on the Discovery. Accordingly on Nov. 16th, 1620. they made a dangerous Adventure, following five Indians, whom they spied Flying before them, into the Woods for many Miles; from whence, after two or three Days Ramble, they returned with some Ears of Indian Corn, which were an Eshool for their Company, but with a poor and small Encouragement, as unto any Situation. When the Shallop was fitted, about thirty more went in it upon a further Discovery; who prospered little more, than only to find a little Indian Corn, and

bring to the Company some Occasions of doubtful Debate, whether they should here fix their Stakes. Yet these Expeditions on Discovery had this one Remarkable Smile of Heaven upon them; that being made before the Snow covered the Ground, they met with some Indian Corn; for which, 'twas their purpose honestly to pay the Natives on demand; and this Corn served them for Seed in the Spring following, which else they had not been seasonably furnished withal. So that it proved, in Effect, their Deliverance from the Terrible Famine.

§. 9. The Month of November being spent in many Supplications to Almighty God, and Consultations one with another, about the Direction of their Course, at last, on Dec. 6. 1620. they mann'd the Shallop with about eighteen or twenty Hands, and went out upon a third Discovery. So bitterly Cold was the Season, that the Spray of the Sea lighting on their Cloaths, glazed them with an immediate Congelation; yet they kept Cruising about the Bay of Cape-Cod, and that Night they got safe down the Bottom of the Bay. There they Landed, and there they tarried that Night; and unsuccessfully Ranging about all the next Day, at Night they made a little Barricado of Boughs and Logs, wherein the most weary slept. The next Morning after Prayers, they suddenly were surrounded with a Crue of Indians, who let Fly a Show'r of Arrows among them; whereat our distressed bandful of English happily recovering their Arms, which they had laid by from the Moisture of the Weather, they vigorously discharged their Muskets upon the Salvages, who astonish'd at the strange Effects of such Dead-doing Things, as Powder and Shot, fled apace into the Woods; but not one of ours was wounded by the Indian Arrows that flew like Hail about their Ears, and pierced through sundry of their Coats: For which they returned their solemn Thanks unto God their Saviour; and they call'd the place by the Name of, *The First Encounter*. From hence they coasted along, till an horrible Storm arose, which tore their Vessel at such a rate, and threw them into the midst of such dangerous Breakers, it was reckoned little short of Miracle that they escaped alive. In the End they got under the Lee of a small Island, where going Ashore, they kindled Fires for their succour against the Wet and Cold; it was the Morning before they found it was an Island, whereupon they rendred their Praises to him, that *hiberto had helped them*; and the Day following, which was, *The Lord's Day*, the difficulties now upon them, did not hinder them from spending it in the devout and pious Exercises of a Sacred Rest. On the next Day they founded the Harbour, and found it fit for Shipping; they visited the Main Land also, and found it accommodated with pleasant Fields and Brooks; whereof they carried an encouraging Report unto their Friends on Board. So they resolv'd that they would here pitch their Tents, and Sailing up to the Town of Plymouth (as with an hopeful Pro-

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lepps, my Reader shall now call it; for otherwise, by the *Indians* 'twas called, *Patuxet*.] on the Twenty-fifth Day of December they began to erect the *First House* that ever was in that memorable Town; an House for the general Entertainment of their Persons and Estates: And yet it was not long before an unhappy Accident burnt unto the Ground their House, wherein some of their principal Persons then lay Sick; who were forced nimbly to Fly out of the fired House, or else they had been blown up with the Powder then Lodged there. After this, they soon went upon the Building of more little *Cottages*; and upon the settling of good *Labor*, for the better Governing of such as were to Inhabit those *Cottages*. They then resolved, that until they could be further strengthened in their Settlement, by the Authority of *England*, they would be governed by *Rulers* chosen from among themselves, who were to proceed according to the Laws of *England*, as near as they could, in the Administration of their Government; and such other *By Laws*, as by Common Consent should be judged necessary for the Circumstances of the Plantation.

§. 10. If the Reader would know, how these good People faced the rest of the Melancholy *Winter*; let him know, That besides the Exercises of Religion, with other Work enough, there was the care of the Sick to take up no little part of their Time. 'Twas a most heavy Trial of their Patience, whereto they were called the first *Winter* of this their *Pilgrimage*, and enough to convince them, and remind them, that they were but *Pilgrims*. The *Hardships* which they encountered, were attended with, and productive of deadly *Sicknesses*; which in two or three Months carried off more than *Half* their Company. They were but meanly provided against these unhappy *Sicknesses*; but there died sometimes *Two*, sometimes *Three* in a Day; till scarce *Fifty* of them were left alive; and of those *Fifty*, sometimes there were scarce *Five* well at a time to look after the Sick. Yet their profound Submission to the Will of God, their Christian Readiness to help one another, accompanied with a joyful Assurance of another and better World, carried them cheerfully thro' the Sorrows of this *Mortality*: Nor was there heard among them a continual *Murmur* against those who had by unreasonable *Impositions* driven them into all these Distresses. And there was this Remarkable Providence further in the Circumstances of this *Mortality*, that if a *Disease* had not more easily fetcht so many of this Number away to Heaven, a *Famine* would probably have destroy'd them all, before their expected Supplies from *England* were Arrived. But what a wonder was it that all the Bloody Salvages far and near did not cut off this little Remnant! If he that once muzzled the *Lions* ready to devour the Man of Desires, had not Admirably, I had almost said, Miraculously restrained them, These had been all devoured! But this People of God were come into a Wilderness to Worship Him; and so He kept their Enemies from such Attempts, as would otherwise

have soon annihilated this Poor Handful of Men, thus far already diminished. They saw no *Indians* all the *Winter* long, but such as at the first Sight always ran away; yea, they quickly found, that God had so turned the Hearts of these *Babarians*, as more to Fear, than to Hate his People thus cast among them. This blessed People was as a little Flock of Kide; while there were many Nations of *Indians* left still as Kennels of Wolves in every Corner of the Country. And yet the little Flock suffered no damage by those Rapid Wolves! We may and should say, This is the Lord's Doing, 'tis marvellous in our Eyes.

But among the many Causes to be assigned for it, one was This. It was afterwards by Them confessed, that upon the Arrival of the *English* in these Parts, the *Indians* employ'd their Sorcerers, whom they call *Powaws*, like *Balaam*, to Curse them, and let loose their Demons upon them, to Shipwreck them, to Distract them, to Poison them, or any way to Ruin them. All the noted *Powaws* in the Country spent three Days together in Diabolical Conjurings, to obtain the Affiliances of the Devils against the Settlement of these our *English*; but the Devils at length acknowledged unto them, that they could not hinder those People from their becoming the Owners and Masters of the Country; whereupon the *Indians* resolved upon a good Correspondence with our *New-Comers*; and God convinced them, that there was no Enchantment or Divination against such a People.

§. 11. The doleful *Winter* broke up sooner than was usual. But our crippled Planters were not more comforted with the early advance of the *Spring*, than they were surpriz'd with the appearance of two *Indians*, who in broken *English* bade them, Welcome *Englishmen*! It seems that one of these *Indians* had been in the Eastern Parts of *New-England*, acquainted with some of the *English* Vessels that had been formerly *Fishing* there; but the other of the *Indians*, and he from whom they had most of Service, was a Person provided by the very singular Providence of God for that Service. A most wicked Ship-master being on this Coast a few Years before, had wickedly Spirited away more than Twenty *Indians*; whom having enticed them aboard, he presently stowed them under Hatches, and carried them away to the *Sirreights*, where he sold as many of them as he could for Slaves. This avaritious and pernicious Felony laid the Foundation of grievous Annoyances to all the *English* Endeavours of Settlements, especially in the Northern Parts of the Land, for several Years ensuing. The *Indians* would never forget or forgive this Injury; but when the *English* afterwards came upon this Coast, in their *Fishing-Voyages*, they were still assaulted in an Hostile manner, to the Killing and Wounding of many poor Men by the angry *Natives*, in revenge of the wrong that had been done them; and some intended Plantations were here by utterly nipt in the Bud. But our good God so order'd it, that one of the stou *Indians*; cal-



led *Squanto*, had escaped out of *Spain* into *England*; where he lived with one *Mr. Slany*, from whom he had found a way to return into his own Country, being brought back by one *Mr. Dermer*, about half a Year before our honest *Plymouthans* were cast upon this Continent. This *Indian* (with the other) having received much Kindness from the *English*, who he saw generally condemned the Man that first betrayed him, now made unto the *English* a return of that Kindness: And being by his Acquaintance with the *English Language*, fitted for a Conversation with them, he very kindly informed them what was the present Condition of the other *Indians*; instructed them in the way of ordering their *Corn*; and acquainted them with many other things, which it was necessary for them to understand. But *Squanto* did for them a yet greater benefit than all this: For he brought *Massasoit*, the chief *Sachim*, or Prince of the *Indians* within many Miles, with some Scores of his Attenders, to make our People a kind Visit; the Issue of which Visit was, that *Massasoit* not only entered into a firm Agreement of Peace with the *English*, but also they declared and submitted themselves to be Subjects of

the King of *England*; into which *Peace* and *Subjection* many other *Sachims* quickly after came, in the most voluntary manner that could be expressed. It seems this unlucky *Squanto* having told his Countrymen how easie it was for so great a Monarch as *K. James* to destroy them all, if they should hurt any of his People, he went on to terrify them with a ridiculous *Rhodomantado*, which they Believed, that this People kept the *Plague* in a Cellar (where they kept their *Powder*) and could at their pleasure let it loose to make such Havock among them, as the Distemper had already made among them a few Years before. Thus was the *Tongue of a Dog* made useful to a feeble and sickly *Lazarus*! Moreover, our *English Guns*, especially the great ones, made a formidable Report among these Ignorant *Indians*; and the hopes of enjoying some Defence by the *English*, against the Potent Nation of *Narraganset-Indians*, now at War with these, made them yet more to Court our Friendship. This very strange Disposition of things, was extremely advantageous to our distressed Planters: And who sees not herein the special Providence of the God who disposeth all?

### CHAP. III.

Conamur Tenues Grandia : Or, A Brief Account of the Difficulties, the Deliverances, and other Occurrences, thro' which the Plantation of New-Plymouth arrived unto the Consistency of a Colony.

§. 1. Setting aside the just and great Grief of our new Planters for the immature Death of their Excellent Governour, succeeded by the Worthy *Mr. Bradford*, early in the Spring after their first Arrival, they spent their Summer somewhat comfortably, Trading with the *Indians* to the Northward of their Plantation; in which Trade they were not a little assisted by *Squanto*, who within a Year or two dy'd among the *English*; but before his Death, desired them to Pray for him, That he might go to the *Englishman's God in Heaven*. And besides the assistance of *Squanto*, they had also the help of another *Indian*, called *Hobbanok*, who continued faithful unto the *English Interests* as long as he liv'd, tho' he sometimes went in Danger of his Life among his Countrymen for that Fidelity. So they jogg'd on till the Day Twelvemonth after their first Arrival; when there now arrived unto them a good Number more of their old Friends from *Holland*, for the strengthening of their new Plantation: But inasmuch as they brought not a sufficient stock of Provisions with them, they rather weakened it, than strengthened it.

If *Peter Martyr* could magnifie the Spaniards, of whom he reports, They led a miserable Life for three days together with parched Grain of Maize only, and that not unto satiety; what shall I say of our *Englishmen*, who would have thought a little parched *Indian Corn* a mighty Feast? But they wanted it, not

only three Days together; no, for two or three Months together, they had no Kind of *Corn* among them: Such was the scarcity, accompanied with the disproportion of the Inhabitants to the Provisions. However, *Peter Martyr's* Conclusion may be ours, With their Miseries this People opened a way to those new Lands, and afterwards other Men came to inhabit them with ease, in respect of the Calamities which these Men have suffered. They were indeed very often upon the very point of Starving; but in their extremity the God of Heaven always furnished them with some sudden Reliefs; either by causing some Vessels of Strangers occasionally to look in upon them, or by putting them into a way to catch Fish in some convenient Quantities, or by some other surprizing Accidents, for which they rendered unto Heaven the Solemn Thanks of their Souls. They kept in such good Working case, that besides their Progress in Building, and Planting, and Fishing, they formed a sort of a Fort, wherein they kept a Nightly Watch for their security against any Treachery of the *Indians*; being thereto awakened by an horrible Massacre, which the *Indians* lately made upon several Hundreds of the *English* in *Virginia*.

§. 2. In one of the first Summers after their sitting down at *Plymouth*, a terrible Drought threatened the Ruin of all their Summers Husbandry. From about the middle of May to the middle of July, an extream hot Sun beat upon

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their Fields, without any Rain, so that all their Corn began to Wither and Languish, and some of it was irrecoverably parched up. In this Distress they set apart a Day for Fasting and Prayer, to deprecate the Calamity that might bring them to Eating thro' Famine; in the Morning of which Day there was no sign of any Rain; but before the Evening the Sky was overcast with Clouds, which went not away without such easie, gentle, and yet plentiful Showers, as reviv'd a great part of their decay'd Corn, for a comfortable Harvest. The Indians themselves took notice of this Answer given from Heaven to the Supplications of this Devout People; and one of them said, *Now I see that the Englishman's God is a good God; for he hath heard you, and sent you Rain, and that without such Tempest and Thunder as we use to have with our Rain; which after our Powawing for it, breaks down the Corn; whereas your Corn stands whole and good still; surely, your God is a good God.* The Harvest which God thus gave to this pious People, caus'd them to set apart another Day for Solemn Thanksgiving to the glorious Hearer of Prayers!

§. 3. There was another most wonderful Preservation, vouchsafed by God unto this little Knot of Christians. One Mr. Weston, a Merchant of good Note, interred at first in the Plymouth Design, afterwards deserted it; and in the Year 1622, sent over two Ships with about Sixty Men, to begin a Plantation in the Massachusetts-Bay. These Beginners being well refreshed at Plymouth, travelled more Northward unto a place known since by the Name of Weymouth; where these Westonsians, who were Church of England-men, did not approve themselves like the Plymouths, a pious, honest, industrious People, but followed such bad Courses, as had like to have brought a Ruin upon their Neighbours, as well as themselves. Having by their Idleness brought themselves to Poverty, they stole Corn from the Indians, and many other ways provoked them; although the Governour of Plymouth Writ them his very sharp disapprobation of their Proceedings. To satisfy the exasperated Salvages, divers of the Thieves were Stocked and Whipt, and one of them at last put to Death by this miserable Company; which did no other Service than to afford an occasion for a Fable to the Roguish Indians, for all Accommodation was now too late. The Indians far and near entred into a Conspiracy to cut off these abusive English; and least the Inhabitants of Plymouth should revenge that Execution of their Countrymen, they resolv'd upon the Murder of them also. In pursuance of this Plot, Captain Standish, the Commander of the Militia of Plymouth, Lodging on a Night, with Two or Three Men in an Indian House, the Indians propos'd that they might begin the Execution of their Malice by the Assassination of the Captain, as soon as ever he should be fallen asleep. However, the watchful Providence of God so order'd it, that the Captain could not Sleep all that Night; and so they durst not

meddle with him. Thus was the beginning of the Plot put by: But the whole Plot came another way to be discovered and prevented. Massasoit, the Southern Sachim, falling Sick, the Governour of Plymouth desired a couple of Gentlemen, whereof one was that good Man, Mr. Winslow, to visit this poor Sachim: Whom, after their long Journey, they found lying at the point of Death with a Crue of Hellish Poisons, using their ineffectual Spells and Powaws about him to Recover him. Upon the taking of some English Physick, he presently revived; and thus regaining his lost Health, the Fees he Paid his English Doctor were, A Confession of the Plot among several Nations of the Indians, to destroy the English. He said, that they had in vain solicited him to enter into that bloody Combination; but his Advice was, that the Governour of Plymouth should immediately take off the principal Actors in this Business, whereupon the rest being terrify'd, would soon desist. There was a Concurrence of many things to confirm the Truth of this Information; wherefore Captain Standish took Eight resolute Men with him to the Westonian Plantation; where pretending to Trade with the Indians, divers of the Conspirators began to Treat him in a manner very insolent. The Captain, and his little Army of Eight Men, (Reader, allow them for their Courage to be called so) with a prodigious Resolution, presently killed some of the Chief among these Indians, while the rest, after a short Combat, ran before him as fast as their Legs could carry them; nevertheless, in the midst of the Skirmishes, an Indian Youth ran to the English, desiring to be with them; and declaring that the Indians waited but for their smiting Two Canoes, to have surprized the Ship in the Harbour, and have Massacred all the People; which had been finished, if the Captain had not arrived among them just in the nick of Time when he did: And an Indian Spy detained at Plymouth, when he saw the Captain return from this Expedition, with the Head of a famous Indian in his Hand, then with a calm and frighted Countenance, acknowledged the whole Mischief intended by the Indians against the English. Releasing this Fellow, they sent him to the Sachim of the Massachusetts, with Advice of what he must look for, in Case he committed any Hostility upon the Subjects of the King of England; whereof there was this Effect, that not only that Sachim hereby terrified, most humbly begg'd for Peace, and pleaded his Ignorance of his Mens Intentions; but the rest of the Indians, under the same Terror, withdrew themselves to Live in the unhealthy Swamps, which prov'd Mortal to many of them. One of the Westonsians was endeavouring to carry unto Plymouth a Report of the Straits and Fears which were come upon them, and this Man losing his Way, saved his Life: taking a wrong Track, he escaped the Hands of the Two Indians, who went on hunting after him; however ere he reached Plymouth, care had been already taken for these



wretched *Westonians* by the earlier and fuller Communications of *Massasoit*. So was the Peace of *Plymouth* preferred, and so the *Westonian* Plantation broke up, went off, and came to nothing: Altho' 'twas much wished by the Holy *Robinson*, that some of the poor Heathen had been converted before any of them had been slaughtered.

§. 4. A certain Gentleman [if nothing in the following Story contradict that Name] was employed in obtaining from the Grand Council of *Plymouth* and *England*, a Patent in the Name of these Planters for a convenient quantity of the Country, where the Providence of God had now disposed them. This Man speaking one Word for them, spake two for himself: And surreptitiously procured the Patent in his own Name, reserving for himself and his Heirs an huge Tract of the Land; and intending the *Phyothicans* to hold the rest as *Tenants* under him. Hereupon he took on Board many *Passengers* with their Goods, but having Sailed no further than the *Downs*, the Ship sprang a Leak; and besides this Disaster, which alone was enough to have stopt the Voyage, one Strand of their Cable was accidentally cut; by which means it broke in a stress of Wind; and they were in extreme danger of being wrack'd upon the *Sands*. Having with much Cost recruited their *Loss*, and encreased the Number of their *Passengers*, they put out again to Sea; but after they had got half Way, one of the saddest and longest Storms that had been known since the Days of the Apostle *Paul*, drove them home to *England* again, with a Vessel well nigh torn to pieces, tho' the Lives of the People, which were above an Hundred, mercifully preserved. This Man, by all his tumbling backward and forward, was by this time grown so Sick of his Patent, that he vomited it up; he assigned it over to the Company, but they afterwards obtained another, under the Umbrage whereof they could now more effectually carry on the Affairs of their New Colony. The *Passengers* went over afterwards in another Vessel; and quickly after that another Vessel of *Passengers* also arrived in the Country: Namely, in the Year 1623. Among these *Passengers* were divers Worthy and Useful Men, who were come to seek the Welfare of this little Israel; tho' at their coming they were as diversly affected, as the Rebuilders of the Temple at *Jerusalem*: Some were grieved when they saw how bad the Circumstances of their Friends were, and others were glad that they were no worse.

§. 5. The Immature Death of Mr. *Robinson* in *Holland*, with many ensuing Disasters, hindered a great part of the *English* Congregation at *Leyden*, from coming over to the Remnant here separated from their Brethren. Hence it was, that altho' this Remnant of that Church were blessed with an Elder so apt to Teach, that he attended all the other Works of a Minister; yet they had not a Pastor to dispense the Sacraments among them, till the

Year 1629. when one Mr. *Ralph Smith* undertook the Pastoral Charge of this Holy *Factor*. But long before that, namely, in the Year 1624. the *Adventurers* in *England*, with whom this Company held a Correspondence, did send over unto them a Minister, who did them no manner of good; but by his Treacherous and Mischievous Tricks at last utterly destroyed that Correspondence. The first *Neat-Cattel*, namely, Three *Heifers* and a *Bull*, that ever were brought into this Land, now coming with him, did the Land certainly better Service than was ever done by him, who sufficiently forgot that Scriptural Emblem of a Minister, *The Ox Treading out the Corn*. This Minister at his first arrival did caress them with such extreme Showers of Affection and Humility, that they were very much taken with him; nevertheless, within a little while, he used most malignant Endeavours to make *Factions* among them, and confound all their Civil and Sacred Order. At last there fell into the Hands of the Governour his Letters home to *England*, filled with wicked and lying Accusations against the People; of which things being shamefully convicted, the Authority Sentenced him to be expelled'd the Plantation, only they allowed him to stay Six Months, with secret Reservations and Expectations to release him from that Sentence, if he approved himself found in the Repentance which he now expressed. Repentance, I say; for he did now publicly in the Church confess with Tears, that the Censure of the Church was less than he deserved; he acknowledged, That he had slanderously abused the good People, and that God might justly lay Innocent Blood to his Charge; for he knew not what hurt might have come thro' his Writings; for the Interception whereof he now blessed God; and that it had been his manner to pick up all the Evil that was ever spoken against the People; but he shut his Ears and Eyes against all the Good; and that if God should make him a Vagabond in the Earth, he were just in doing so; and that those Three things, Pride, Vain-glory, and Self-love, had been the Causes of his Miscalriages. These things he uttered so Pathetically, that they again permitted him to Preach among them; and some were so persuaded of his Repentance, that they profess'd they would fall down on their Knees, that the Censure paid on him should be remitted. But, Oh the deceitful Heart of Man! After Two Months time, he so notoriously renewed the Miscalriages which he had thus bewailed, that his own Wife, through her Affliction of Mind at his Hypocritie, could not forbear declaring her Fears, that God would bring some heavy Judgment upon their Family, not only for these, but some former Wickednesses by him committed, especially as to fearful Breaches of the Seventh Commandment, which he had with an Oath denied, tho' they were afterwards evinced. Wherefore upon the whole, being banished from hence, because his Residence here was utterly Inconsistent with the

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Life of this Infant-Plantation; he went into Virginia, where he shortly after ended his own Life. Quickly after these Difficulties, the Company of *Adventurers* for the support of this Plantation, became rather *Adversaries* to it; or at least, a, *Be you warned and filed*; a few good Words were all the help they afforded it; they broke to pieces, but the God of Heaven still supported it.

§. 6. After these many Difficulties were thus a little surmounted, the Inhabitants of this Colony Prosecuted their Affairs at so vigorous and successful a rate, that they not only fell into a comfortable way, both of *Planting* and of *Trading*; but also in a few Years there was a notable number of *Towns* to be seen settled among them, and very considerable Churches walking, so far as they had attained, in the Faith and Order of the Gospel. Their Churches, flourished so considerably, that in the Year 1642. there were above a dozen Ministers, and some of those Ministers were *Stars of the first Magnitude*, shining in their several Orbs among them. And as they proceeded in the Evangelical Service and Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, to they prospered in their Secular Concernments. When they first began to divide their *Lands*, they wisely contrived the Division so, that they might keep close together for their mutual Defence; and then their Condition was very like that of the *Romans* in the time of *Romulus*, when every Man contented himself with *Two Acres* of Land; and as *Pliny* tells us, *It was thought a great Reward for one to receive a Pint of Corn from the People of Rome, which Corn they also pounded in Mortars*. But since then their Condition is marvellously altered and amended: *Great Farms* are now seen among the Effects of this good Peoples Planting; and in their Fishing, from the catching of *Cod*, and other Fish of less Dimensions, they are since passed on to the catching of *Whales*, whose Oil is become a *Staple-Commodity* of the Country: *Whales*, I say, which living and moving Islands, do now find a way to this Coast, where, notwithstanding the desperate hazards run by the *Whale-Catchers* in their thin *Whale-Boats*, often torn to pieces by the frooks of those enraged Monsters; yet it has been rarely known that any of them have miscarried. And within a few Days of my Writing this Paragraph, a *Cow* and a *Calf* were caught at *Narrmouth* in this Colony; the *Cow* was Fifty Five Foot long, the *Bone* was Nine or Ten Foot wide; a Cart upon Wheels might have gone in at the Mouth of it; the *Calf* was Twenty Foot long, for unto such vast Calves, the *Sea-Monsters* draw forth their Breasts. But to does the good God here give his People to suck the abundance of the Seas!

§. 7. If my Reader would have the Religion of these Planters more exactly described unto him; after I have told him that many Hundreds of Holy Souls, having been ripened for Heaven under the Ordinances of God in

this Colony; and having left an Example of wonderful Prayerfulness, Watchfulness, Thankfulness, Usefulness, exact Conscientiousness, Piety, Charity, Weanedness from the things of this World, and Affection to the things that are above, are now at rest with the Blessed Jesus, whose Names, tho' not Recorded in this Book, are yet entred in the *Book of Life*, and I hope there are still many Hundreds of their Children, even of the Third and Fourth Generation, resolving to follow them as they followed Christ. I must refer him to an account given thereof by the Right Worshipful *Edward Winslow*, Esq; who was for some time the Governour of the Colony. He gives us to understand, that they are entirely of the same Faith with the Reformed Churches in Europe, only in their Church-Government they are Endeavourous after a Reformation more thorough than what is in many of them; yet without any uncharitable Separation from them. He gives Instances of their admitting to Communion among them the Communicants of the French, the Dutch, the Scotch Churches, merely by Virtue of their being so; and says, *We ever placed a large difference between those that grounded their Practice on the Word of God, tho' differing from us in the Exposition and Understanding of it, and those that hated such Reformers and Reformation, and went on in Antichristian Opposition to it, and Persecution of it*: After which, he adds, *This is true, we profess and desire to practice a Separation from the World, and the Works of the World; and as the Churches of Christ are all Saints by Calling, so we desire to see the Grace of God shining forth (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into Church-Fellowship with us, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their Sins, that neither the Holy things of God, nor the Communion of Saints, may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if any joining to us formerly, either when we lived at Leyden in Holland, or since we came to New-England, have with the Manifestation of their Faith, and Profession of Holiness, held forth therewith Separation from the Church of England; I have divers times, both in the one place, and in the other, heard either Mr. Robinson our Pastor, or Mr. Brewster our Elder, stop them forthwith, swearing them that we required no such thing at their Hands; but only to hold forth Faith in Christ Jesus, Holiness in the Fear of God, and Submission to every Ordinance and Appointment of God. Thus he. It is true there have been some Varieties among this People, but still I suppose the Body of them do with Integrity espouse and maintain the Principles upon which they were first Established: However, I must without Fear of offending express my Fear, that the Leaven of that rigid Thing, they call *Brownism*, has prevailed sometimes a little of the furthest in the Administrations of this Pious People. Yea, there was an Hour of Temptation, wherein the fondness*



fondness of the People for the Prophecies of the *Brethren*, as they called those Exerctises; that is to say, the *Proachments* of those whom they call'd *Gifted Brethren*, produced those Discouragements unto their *Minist'rs*, that almost all the *Minist'rs* left the Colony; apprehending themselves driven away by the Insupportable Neglect and Contempt, with which the People on this occasion treated them. And this dark Hour of Eclipse, upon the Light of the Gospel, in the Churches of the Colony, continued until their Humiliation and Reformation before the Great Shepherd of the Sheep, who hath since then blessed them with a Succession of as Worthy *Minist'rs* as most in the Land. Moreover, there has been among them one Church, that have *Questioned and Omitted* the Use of *Infant-Baptism*; nevertheless, there being many good Men among those that have been of this Persuasion, I do not know that they have been *Persecuted* with any harder Means, than those of kind *Conferences* to reclaim them. There have been also some unhappy *Sectaries*, namely, *Quakers and Seekers*, and other such *Enargements*, [pardon me, Reader, that I have thought them so] which have given ugly Disturbances to these Good-Spirited Men in their *Temple-Work*; but they have not prevailed unto the Subversion of the *First Intere*].

Some little *Controversies* likewise have now and then arisen among them in the Administration of their *Discipline*; but *Synods* then regularly called, have usually and presently put into joint all that was apprehended out. Their chief Hazard and Symptom of Degeneracy, is in the Verification of that Old Observation, *Religio peperit Divitias, & Filia devoravit Matrem*: Religion brought forth Prosperity, and the Daughter destroy'd the Mother. The one would expect, that as they grew in their *Estates*, they would grow in the Payment of their *Quit-rents* unto the God who gives them Power to get Wealth, by more liberally supporting their *Minist'rs* and *Ordinances* among them; the most likely way to save them from the most miserable *Apostacy*; the neglect whereof in some former Years, began for a while to be punished with a sore Famine of the Word; nevertheless, there is danger lest the *Enchantments* of this World make them to forget their Errand into the Wilderness: And some woful Villages in the Skirts of the Colony, beginning to live without the Means of Grace among them, are still more Ominous Intimations of the danger. May the God of New-England preserve them from so great a Death!

§. 8. Going now to take my leave of this little Colony, that I may Convert for a while with her Younger Sisters, which yet have outstript her in growth exceedingly, and so will now draw all the Streams of her Affairs into their Channels, I shall repeat the Counsel which their Faithful Robinson gave the first Planters of the Colony, at their parting from him in Holland. Said he, [to this purpose.]

'Brethren, We are now quickly to part from one another; and whether I may ever live to see your Faces on Earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows. But whether the Lord have appointed that or no, I charge you before God, and before his Blessed Angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

If God reveal any thing to you by any other Instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any Truth by my Ministry; for I am verily perswaded, I am very confident the Lord hath more Truth yet to break forth out of his Holy Word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the Condition of the Reformed Churches, who are come to a Period in Religion; and will go at present no further than the Instruments of their first Reformation. The Lutherans can't be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw: Whatever part of his Will our good God has imparted and revealed unto Calvin, they will rather Die than Embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great Man of God, who yet saw not all things.

This is a Misery much to be lamented; for tho' they were Burning and Shining Lights in their Times, yet they penetrated not into the whole Counsel of God; but were they now living, they would be as willing to embrace further Light, as that which they first received. I beseech you to remember it, it is an Article of your Church-Covenant, That you will be ready to receive whatever Truth shall be made known unto you from the Written Word of God. Remember that, and every other Article of your most Sacred Covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as Truth; examine it, consider it, compare it with the other Scriptures of Truth, before you do receive it. For it is not possible the Christian World should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian Darkness, and that Perfection of Knowledge should break forth at once. I must also advise you to abandon, avoid and shake off the Name of Brownist: It is a meer Nick-Name, and a Brand for the making of Religion, and the Professors of Religion, odious unto the Christian World. Unto this End, I should be extremely glad, if some Godly Minister would go with you, or come to you, before you can have any Company. For there will be no difference between the Unconformable Ministers of England and you, when you come to the practice of Evangelical Ordinances out of the Kingdom. And I would wish you by all Means to close with the Godly People of England; study Union with them in all things, wherein you can have it without Sin, rather than in the least measure to affect a Division or Separation from them. Neither would I have you loth to take another Pastor besides my self; in as much

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## Book I. Or, The History of New-England.

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much as a Flock that hath Two *Shepherds* is not thereby endangered, but secured.

So adding some other things of great Consequence, he concluded most affectionately,

commending his departing *Flock* unto the Grace of God, which now I also do the Offspring of that Holy *Flock*.

## CHAP. IV.

Paulo Majora! Or, The Essays and Causes which produced the Second, but largest Colony of NEW-ENGLAND; and the manner wherein the First Church of this New-Colony was gathered.

§. 1. WORDS full of *Emphasis*, are those which my Reader may find Written by a Learned and Pious Minister of the Church of England; and I hope I may with- out offence tender to the Reader the Words of such an Author.

Some among us (*writes he*) are angry with *Calvin* for calling Humane Kites, *Tolerables*; *Ineptias*; they will not at the great Day be such unto the rigorous Imposters, who made them the *Terms of Communion*. How will you at that Day lift up your Faces before your Master and your Judge, when he shall demand of you, *what is become of those his Lambs which you drove into the Wilderness by needless Impostions?*

The Story of the Flocks thus driven into the Wilderness has begun to be related: And we would relate it without all Intemperate Expressions of our anger against our Drivers, before whom the People must needs go, as they did: It becomes not an *Historian*, and it less becomes a *Christian*, to be *Passionate*. Nevertheless, Poetry may dare to do something at the Description of that which drove those Drivers; and with a few Lines fetch'd from the most famous *Epic Poem* of Dr. Blackmore, we will describe the Fury.

— A Fury crawl'd from out her Cell,  
The Bloodiest Minister of Death and Hell.  
A monstrous Shape, a foul and hideous Sight,  
Which did all Hell with her dire Looks affright.  
Huge full-gorg'd Snakes on her lean Shoulders hung,  
And Death's dark Courts with their loud hissing rung.

Her Teeth and Claws were Iron, and her Breath  
Like Subterranean Damps, gave present Death.  
Flames worse than Hell's, shot from her Bloody Eyes,

And Fire! and Sword! Eternally she cries.  
No certain Shape, no Feature regular,  
No Limbs distinct in th' odious Fiend appear.  
Her Squalid, Bloat'd Belly did arise,  
Swoll'n with black Gore to a prodigious Size:  
Distended vastly by a mighty Flood  
Of slaughter'd Saints, and constant Martyr's Blood.

A Monster so deform'd, so fierce as this,  
It self a Hell, ne'er saw the dark Abyss!  
Horror till now, the ugliest Shape esteem'd,  
So much out-done, an harmless Figure seem'd.

Envy, and Hate, and Malice blasphem'd to see  
Themselves Eclips'd by such Deformity.  
Her Fearful Heart drinks down a Sea of Blood;  
Nor of the Impious, but the Just and Good:  
Gainst whom she burns with unextinguish'd Rage,  
Nor can th' Exhausted World her Wrath assuage.

It was PERSECUTION: a Fury which we consider not as possessing the Church of England, but as inspiring a Party which have unjustly Challenged the Name of the Church of England, and which, whenever the Church of England shall any more encourage her Fall, will become like that of the House which our Saviour saw Built upon the Sand.

§. 2. There were more than a few attempts of the English, to People and Improve the Parts of New-England, which were to the Northward of New-Plymouth; but the Designs of those Attempts being aim'd no higher than the Advancement of some *Worldly Interests*, a constant Series of Disasters has confounded them, until there was a Plantation erected upon the nobler Designs of Christianity; and that Plantation, tho' it has had more Adversaries than perhaps any one upon Earth; yet, having obtained help from God, it continues to this Day. There have been very fine Settlements in the North-East Regions; but what is become of them? I have heard that one of our Ministers once Preaching to a Congregation there, urged them to approve themselves a Religious People from this Consideration, That otherwise they would contradict the main end of Planting this Wilderness; whereupon a well-known Person, then in the Assembly, cry'd out, Sir, You are mistaken, you think you are Preaching to the People at the Bay, our main End was to catch Fish. Truly 'twere to have been wished, that something more excellent had been the main End of the Settlements in that brave Country, which we have, even long since the arrival of that more Pious Colony at the Bay, now seen dreadfully unsettled, no less than twice at least, by the Sword of the Heathen, after they had been replenish'd with many Hundreds of People, who had thriven to many Thousands of Pounds; and had all the force of the Bay too, to assist them in the maintaining of their Settlements. But the same or the like inauspicious



cious things attended many other Endeavours, to make Plantations upon such a *Main End*, in several other Parts of our Country, before the Arrival of those by whom the *Massachusetts Colony* was at last formed upon more glorious *Aims*: All proving like the Habitations of the *foulisb*, *curfed* before they had taken root. Of all which *Catastrophes*, I suppose none was more sudden than that of *Monfieur Finch*, whom in a Ship from *France*, trucking with the *Massachusetts-Natives*; those Bloody Salvages, coming on Board without any other *Arms*, but *Knives* concealed under *Flaps*, immediately Butchered with all his Men, and set the Ship on Fire. Yea, so many Fatalities attended the *Adventurers* in their *Essays*, that they began to suspect that the *Indian Sorcerers* had laid the place under some *Fascination*; and that the *English* could not prosper upon such *enchancted Ground*, so that they were almost afraid of *Adventuring* any more.

§ 3. Several Persons in the West of *England*, having by *Fishing-Voyages* to *Cape Ann*, the Northern Promontory of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, obtained some Acquaintance with those Parts; the News of the good Progress made in the New Plantation of *Plymouth*, inspired the renowned Mr. *White*, Minister of *Dorchester*, to prosecute the Settlement of such another Plantation here for the Propagation of Religion. This good Man engaged several Gentlemen about the Year 1624. in this Noble Design; and they employ'd a most Religious, Prudent, Worthy Gentleman, one Mr. *Roger Conant*, in the Government of the Place, and of their Affairs upon the Place; but thro' many Difficulties, the Design for a while almost fell unto the Ground. That great Man greatly grieved hereat, wrote over to this Mr. *Roger Conant*, that if he and three Honest Men more would yet stay upon the Spot, he would procure a *Patent* for them, and send them over *Friends*, *Goods*, *Provisions*; and what was necessary to assist their Undertakings. Mr. *Conant*, then looking out a Situation more Commodious for a *Town*, gave his Three disheartened Companions to understand, that he did believe God would make this Land a *Receptacle* for his People; and that if they should leave him, yet he would not stir; for he was confident he should not long want Company; which Confidence of his caus'd them to abandon the thoughts of leaving him. Well, it was not long before the Council of *Plymouth* in *England*, had by a Deed bearing Date, *March 19. 1627*. Sold unto some Knights and Gentlemen about *Dorchester*, viz. Sir *Henry Roswel*, Sir *John Young*, *Thomas Southcott*, *John Humphrey*, *John Endicot*, and *Simon Whetcomb*, and their Heirs and Assigns, and their Associates for ever, that Part of *New-England* which lyes between a great River call'd *Merrimack*, and a certain other River there call'd *Charles River*, in the bottom of the *Massachusetts-Bay*. But shortly after this, Mr. *White* brought the aforesaid Honourable Persons into an Acquaintance with several

other Persons of Quality about *London*; as, namely, Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Juan Johnson*, *Samuel Alderly*, *John Ven*, *Matthew Cradock*, *George Harwood*, *Increase Nowel*, *Richard Perry*, *Richard Bellingham*, *Nathaniel Wright*, *Samuel Vassal*, *Theophilus Eaton*, *Thomas Goff*, *Thomas Adams*, *John Brown*, *Samuel Broxon*, *Thomas Hutchings*, *William Vassal*, *William Pincheon*, and *George Foxcroft*. These Persons being associated unto the former, and having bought of them all their Interest in *New-England* aforesaid, now consulted about settling a Plantation in that Country, whither such as were then called *Non-Conformists*, might with the Grace and Leave of the King make a peaceable *secession*, and enjoy the Liberty and the Exercise of their own Perswasions, about the Worship of the Lord *Jesus Christ*. Whereupon Petitioning the King to confirm what they had thus purchased with a New *Patent*, he granted them one, bearing Date from the Year 1628, which gave them a Right unto the Soil, holding their Titles of Lands, as of the Manor of *East Greenwich* in *Kent*, and in common *Socage*. By this *Charter* they were empowered yearly to Elect their own Governor, Deputy-Governor and Magistrates; as also to make such *Laws* they should think suitable for the Plantation: But as an acknowledgment of their dependance upon *England*, they might not make any *Laws* Repugnant unto those of the Kingdom; and the Fifth part of all the *Our of Gold or Silver* found in the Territory, belong'd unto the Crown. So, soon after Mr. *Cradock* being by the Company chosen Governor, they sent over Mr. *Endicot* in the Year 1628. to carry on the Plantation, which the *Dorchester*-Agents had lookt out for them, which was at a Place call'd *Nabumkeick*. Of which place I have somewhere met with an odd Observation, that the Name of it was rather *Hebrew* than *Indian*; for *נָבִימְכִיק* *Nabum*, signifies Comfort, and *כִּיק* *Keik*, signifies an *Haven*; and our *English* not only found it an *Haven of Comfort*, but happened also to put an *Hebrew Name* upon it; for they call'd it *Salem*, for the Peace which they had and hoped in it; and so it is called unto this Day.

§ 4. An Entrance being thus made upon the Design of Planting a Country of *English* and *Reformed Churches*; they that were concerned for the Plantation, made their Application to Two *Non-Conformist* Ministers, that they would go over to serve the Cause of God and of Religion in the beginning of those Churches. The one of these was Mr. *Higginson*, a Minister in *Leicestershire*, silenced for his *Non-Conformity*; the other was Mr. *Skelton*, a Minister of *Lincolnshire*, suffering also for his *Non-Conformity*: Both of which were Men eminent for Learning and Virtue, and who thus driven out of their Native Country, fought their Graves on the *American-Sirand*, whereon the Epitaph might be inscribed that was on *Scipio's*, *Ingrata Patria, ne mortui*

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*Mortui quidem habebis Ossu.* These Ministers came over to Salem, in the Summer of the Year 1629. and with these there came over a considerable number of Excellent Christians, who no sooner arrived, but they set themselves about the Church-Work, which was their Errand thither.

This true, there were two other *Clergy-Men*, who came over about the same time: nevertheless, there has been very little Account given of their Circumstances; except what a certain little *Narrative-Writer* has offered us, by saying, *There were Two that began to hew Stones in the Mountains, for the Building of the Temple here; but when they saw all sorts of Stones would not fit in the Building, the one betook himself to the Seas again, and the other to Till the Land;* for which cause, burying all further mention of them among the Rubbish, in the Foundation of the Colony, we will proceed with our Story; which is now to tell us, That the Passage of these our *Pilgrims* was attended with many Smiles of Heaven upon them. They were blessed with a Company of honest *Seamen*; with whom the Ministers and Passengers constantly served God, Morning and Evening; *Reading, Expounding and Applying the Word of God, singing of His Praise, and seeking of His Peace;* to which Exercises they added on the *Lord's Day* two Sermons, and a *Catechising*: And sometimes they set apart an whole Day for *Fasting and Prayer*, to obtain from Heaven a good success in their Voyage, especially when the Weather was much against them, whereto they had very Remarkable Answers; but the *Seamen* said, *That they believed these were the First Sea-Fasts that ever were kept in the World.* At length, *Per varios Casus, per Tot Discrimina Rerum,* they Landed at the *Haven of Rest* provided for them.

§. 5. The persecuted Servants of God, under the *English Hierarchy*, had been in a *Sea of Ice mingled with Fire*; tho' the Fire scalded them, yet such Cakes of Ice were over their Heads, that there was no getting out: But the Ice was now broken, by the *American Officers* of a Retreat for the pure Worshippers of the Lord into a Wilderness.

The Report of the *Charter* granted unto the Governour and Company of the *Majachusetts-Bay*, and the Entertainment and Encouragement, which Planters began to find in that Bay, came with a, — *Varias, age, desere Sedes*, and caused many very deserving Persons to transplant themselves and their Families into *New-England.* *Gentlemen of Ancient and Worshipful Families, and Ministers of the Gospel,* then of great Fame at Home, and *Merchants, Husbandmen, Artificers,* to the Number of some Thousands, did for Twelve Years together carry on this Transplantation. It was indeed a *Banishment*, rather than a *Removal*, which was undergone by this glorious Generation, and you may be sure sufficiently *Afflictive* to Men of Estate, Breeding and Conversation. As the *Hazard* which they ran in this Undertaking was of such Extraordi-

nariness, that nothing less than a strange and strong Impression from Heaven could have thereunto moved the Hearts of such as were in it; so the *Expense* with which they carried on the Undertaking was truly *Extraordinary.* By Computation, the *Passage of the Persons* that peopled *New-England*, cost at least Ninety Five Thousand Pound: The Transportation of their first small Stock of *Cattel* great and small, cost no less than Twelve Thousand Pound, besides the Price of the *Cattel* themselves: The *Provisions* laid in for Subsistence, till *Tillage* might produce more; cost Forty Five Thousand Pounds; the *Materials* for their first Cottages cost Eighteen Thousand Pounds; their Arms, Ammunition and Great Artillery, cost Twenty Two Thousand Pounds; besides which Hundred and Ninety Two Thousand Pounds, the *Adventurers* laid out in *England*, what was not Inconsiderable. About an Hundred and Ninety Eight Ships were employed in passing the *Perils of the Seas*, in the Accomplishment of this Renowned Settlement; whereof, by the way, but one miscarried in those *Perils.*

Briefly, The God of Heaven served as it were, a *Summons* upon the *Spirits* of His People in the English Nation; stirring up the *Spirits* of Thousands which never saw the *Faces* of each other, with a most Unanimous Inclination to leave all the Pleasant Accommodations of their Native Country, and go over a Terrible Ocean, into a more Terrible Desert, for the pure Enjoyment of all his Ordinances. It is now Reasonable that before we pass any further, the *Reasons* of this Undertaking should be more exactly made known unto *Posterity*, especially unto the *Posterity* of those that were the *Undertakers*, lest they come at length to Forget and Neglect the true Interest of *New-England.* Wherefore I shall now Transcribe some of them from a Manuscript, wherein they were then tendred unto Consideration.

#### General Considerations for the Plantation of New-England.

'First, It will be a Service unto the Church of great Consequence, to carry the Gospel into those Parts of the World, and Raise a Bulwark against the Kingdom of Antichrist, which the Jesuites labour to Rear up in all Parts of the World.

'Secondly, All other Churches of Europe have been brought under Desolations; and it may be feared that the like Judgments are coming upon Us; and who knows but God hath provided this place to be a Refuge for many, whom he means to save out of the General Destruction.

'Thirdly, The Land grows weary of her Inhabitants, inasmuch that Man, which is the most precious of all Creatures, is here more vile and base than the Earth he treads upon: Children, Neighbours and Friends, especially the Poor, are counted the greatest Burdens, which if things were right, would be the chiefest Earthly Blessings.



Fourthly, We are grown to that Intemperance in all *Excesses of Riot*, as no mean Estate almost will suffice a Man to keep Sail with his Equals, and he that fills in it, must live in Scorn and Contempt: Hence it comes to pass, that all *Arts and Trades* are carried in that Deceitful Manner, and Unrighteous Course, as it is almost impossible for a good upright Man to maintain his constant Charge, and live comfortably in them.

Fifthly, The *Schools of Learning and Religion* are so corrupted, as (besides the unportable Charge of Education) most Children, even the Best, Wittiest, and of the Fairest Hopes, are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrowed, by the multitude of evil Examples and Licentious Behaviours in these *Seminaries*.

Sixthly, The *whole Earth* is the Lord's Garden, and he hath given it to the Sons of Adam, to be Tilled and Improved by them: Why then should we stand Starving here for Places of Habitation, and in the mean time suffer whole Countries, as profitable for the use of Man, to lye waste without any Improvement?

Seventhly, What can be a better or nobler Work, and more worthy of a Christian, than to erect and support a reformed particular Church in its Infancy, and unite our Forces with such a Company of Faithful People, as by a timely Assistance may grow Stronger and Prosper; but for want of it, may be put to great Hazards, if not be wholly Ruined.

Eighthly, If any such as are known to be Godly, and live in Wealth and Prosperity here, shall forsake all this to join with this Reformed Church, and with it run the Hazard of an hard and mean Condition, it will be an Example of great Use, both for the removing of Scandal, and to give more Life unto the Faith of God's People in their Prayers for the Plantation, and also to encourage others to join the more willingly in it.

§. 6. Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Skelton, and other good People that arrived at Salem, in the Year 1629. resolved, like their Father Abraham, to begin their Plantation with calling on the Name of the Lord. The great Mr. Hildersham had advised our first Planters to agree fully upon their Form of Church Government, before their coming into New-England; but they had indeed agreed little further than in this general Principle, That the Reformation of the Church was to be endeavoured according to the written Word of God. Accordingly ours, now arrived at Salem, consulted with their Brethren at Plymouth, what Steps to take for the more exact Acquainting of themselves with, and Conforming themselves to, that written Word: And the Plymouthans, to their great Satisfaction, laid before them what Warrant, they judged, that they had in the *Laws of our Lord Jesus Christ*, for every Particular in their Church Order.

Whereupon having the Concurrence and Countenance of their Deputy Governour, the Worshipful John Endicot, Esq; and the ap-

proving Presence of Messengers from the Church of Plymouth, they set apart the Sixth Day of August, after their Arrival, for Fasting and Prayer, for the settling of a Church-State among them; and for their making a Confession of their Faith, and entering into an Holy Covenant, whereby that Church-State was formed.

Mr. Higginson then became the Teacher, and Mr. Skelton the Pastor, of the Church thus constituted at Salem; and they lived very peaceably in Salem together, till the Death of Mr. Higginson, which was about a Twelvemonth after, and then of Mr. Skelton, who did not long survive him. Now the Covenant whereto these Christians engaged themselves, which was about Seven Years after solemnly renewed among them, I shall here lay before all the Churches of God, as it was then expressed and informed.

We Covenant with our Lord, and one with another; and we do bind our selves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his Ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed Word of Truth; and do explicitly, in the Name and Fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, thro' the Power and Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

We Avouch the Lord to be our God, and our selves to be his People, in the truth and simplicity of our Spirits.

We Give our selves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Word of his Grace for the Teaching, Ruling and Sanctifying of us in Matters of Worship and Conversation, resolving to cleave unto him alone for Life and Glory, and to reject all contrary Ways, Canons, and Constitutions of Men in his Worship.

We Promise to walk with our Brethren, with all Watchfulness and Tenderneſs, avoiding Jealousies and Suspicions, Back-Bittings, Censurings, Provokings, secret Risings of Spirit against them; but in all Offences to follow the Rule of our Lord Jesus, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as be hath taught us.

In Publick or Private, we will willingly do nothing to the Offence of the Church; but will be willing to take Advice for our selves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

We will not in the Congregation be forward either to show our own Gifts and Parts in Speaking or Scrupling, or there discover the Weakness or Failings of our Brethren; but attend an orderly Call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and his Gospel, and the Profession of it, slighted by our Distempers and Weaknesses in Publick.

We Bind our selves to study the Advancement of the Gospel in all Truth and Peace; both in Regard of those that are within or without; no way slighting our Sister Churches, but using their Counsel, as need shall be; not laying a Strumbling-block before any, no, nor the Indians, whose good we desire to promote; and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of Evil.

We do hereby promise to carry our selves in all lawful Obedience to those that are over us, in Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing



sing it will be to the Lord, that they should have Encouragement in their Places, by our not grieving their Spirits thro' our Irregularities.

We Resolve to approve our selves to the Lord in our particular Callings; shunning Idleness, as the Bane of any State; nor will we deal hardly or oppressively with any, wherein we are the Lord's Stewards.

Promising also unto our best Ability to Teach our Children and Servants the Knowledge of God, and of His Will, that they may serve Him also; and all this not by any strength of our own, but by the Lord Christ; whose Blood we desire may sprinkle this our Covenant made in His Name.

By this Instrument was the Covenant of Grace Explained, Received, and Recognized, by the First Church in this Colony, and applied unto the Evangelical Designs of a Church-Estate before the Lord: This Instrument they afterwards often read over, and renewed the Consent of their Souls unto every Article in it, especially when their Days of Humiliation invited them to lay hold on particular Opportunities for doing so.

So you have seen the *Nativity of the First Church in the Massachusetts-Colony.*

§. 7. As for the Circumstances of Admission into this Church, they left it very much unto the Discretion and Faithfulness of their Elders, together with the Condition of the Persons to be admitted. Some were admitted by expressing their Consent unto their Confession and Covenant; some were admitted after their first Answering to Questions about Religion, propounded unto them; some were admitted, when they had presented in Writing such things, as might give Satisfaction unto the People of God concerning them; and some that were admitted, Orally addressed the People of God in such Terms, as they thought proper to ask their Communion with; which Diversity was perhaps more Beautiful, than would have been a more Punctilious Uniformity: But none were admitted without regard unto a Blameless and Holy Conversation. They did all agree with their Brethren of Plymouth in this Point, That the Children of the Faithful were Church-Members, with their Parents; and that their Baptism was a Seal of their being so; only before their admission to Fellowship in a Particular Church, it was judged Necessary, that being free from Scandal, they should be examined by the Elders of the Church, upon whose Approbation of their Fittness, they should Publickly and Personally own the Covenant; so they were to be received unto the Table of the Lord: And accordingly the Eldest Son of Mr. Higginson, being about Fif-

teen Years of Age, and laudably Answering all the Characters expected in a Communicant, was then so Received.

§. 8. It is to be Remembered, that some of the Passengers, who came over with those of our first *Sailmates*, observing that the Ministers did not use the Book of Common-Prayer in their Ad ministrations; that they Admitted the *Baptism* and the Supper of the Lord, without any unscriptural Ceremonies; that they resolved upon using Discipline in the Congregation against Scandalous Offenders, according to the Word of God; and that some Scandalous Persons had been denied Admission into the Communion of the Church; they began (*Frankford-Fashion*) to raise a deal of Trouble hereupon. *Herodiana Maltitia, nascentem persequi Religionem!* Of these there were especially Two Brothers; the one a Lawyer, the other a Merchant, both Men of Parts, Estate and Figure in the Place. These gather'd a Company together, separate from the publick Assembly; and there the *Common-Prayer-Worship* was after a sort upheld among such as would resort unto them. The Governour perceiving a Disturbance to arise among the People on this Occasion, sent for the Brothers; who accused the Ministers, as departing from the Orders of the Church of England; adding, That they were Separatists, and would be shortly Anabaptists; but for themselves, They would hold unto the Orders of the Church of England. The Answer of the Ministers to these Accusations, was, That they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists; that they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the Ordinances of God there, but only from the Corruptions and Disorders of that Church: That they came away from the Common-Prayer and Ceremonies, and had suffered much for their Non-conformity in their Native Land; and therefore being in a place where they might have their Liberty, they neither could nor would use them; inasmuch as they judged the Imposition of these things to be a sinful Violation of the Worship of God. The Governour, the Council, the People, generally approved of the Answer thus given by the Ministers, but these Persons returned into England with very furious Threatnings against the Church thus Established; however the threatened Folks have lived so long, that the Church has out-lived the grand Climacterical Year of Humane Age; it now Flourishing more than Sixty-three Years after its first Gathering under the Pastoral Care of a most Reverend and Ancient Person, even Mr. John Higginson, the Son of that excellent Man who laid the Foundations of that Society.



## CHAP. V.

Peregrini Deo Cura : Or, *The Progress of the New-Colony ; with some Account of the Persons, the Methods, and the Troubles, by which it came to Something.*

§. 1. **T**HE Governour and Company of the Massachusetts-Bay then in London, did in the Year 1629. after exact and mature Debates, Conclude, that it was most Convenient for the Government, with the Charter of the Plantation, to be transferred into the Plantation itself ; and an Order of Court being drawn up for that End, there was then Chosen a New Governour, and a New Deputy-Governour, that were willing to remove themselves with their Families thither on the first Occasion. The Governour was John Winthrop, Esq; a Gentleman of that Wisdom and Virtue, and those manifold Accomplishments, that After-Generations must reckon him no less a Glory, than he was a Patriot of the Country. The Deputy-Governour was Thomas Dudley, Esq; a Gentleman, whose Natural and acquired Abilities, joined with his excellent Moral Qualities, Entitled him to all the great Respects with which his Country on all Opportunities treated him. Several most Worthy Assistants were at the same time chosen to be in this Transportation ; moreover, several other Gentlemen of prime Note, and several famous Ministers of the Gospel, now likewise embarked themselves with these Honourable Adventurers : Who Equipped a Fleet, consisting of Ten or Eleven Ships, whereof the Admiral was, *The Arabelle* (so called in Honour of the Right Honourable the Lady *Arabella Johnson*, at this time on Board) a Ship of Three Hundred and Fifty Tuns, and in some of the said Ships there were Two Hundred Passengers ; all of which Arrived before the middle of July, in the Year 1630. safe in the Harbours of New-England. There was a time when the *British Sea* was by Clements, and the other Ancients, called, *mare incognitum*, The unpassable Ocean. What then was to be thought of the vast *Atlantic Sea* on the Westward of Britain ? But this Ocean must now be passed ! An Heart of Stone might have dissolved into Tears at the Affectionate Farewell, which the Governour and other Eminent Persons took of their Friends, at a Feast which the Governour made for them, a Feast before their going off, however they were acted by Principles that could carry them thro' Tears and Oceans ; yea, thro' Oceans of Tears : Principles that enabled them to leave, *Dulcia Limina, atq; amabilem Larem, quem & parentum memoria, atq; ipsius* (to use *stupidus* words) *Infamia Rudimenta Confirmant.* Some very late Geographers do assure us, that the Breadth of the *Atlantic Sea* is commonly over-reckoned by Six, by Eight, by Ten Degrees. But let that Sea be as narrow as they please, I can assure the Reader the passing of it was no little Trial unto those worthy People that were now to pass it.

§. 2. But the most notable Circumstance in their Farewell, was their Composing and Publishing of what they called, *The humble request of His Majesties Loyal Subjects, the Governour and Company lately gone for New-England, to the rest of their Brethren in and of the Church of England ; for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of Suspicions and Misconstructions of their Intentions.* In this Address of theirs, notwithstanding the trouble they had undergone for desiring to see the Church of England Reformed of several things, which they thought its Deformities, yet they now called the Church of England their Dear Mother ; acknowledging that such Hope and Parr as they had obtained in the Common Salvation they had sucked from her Breasts, therewithal entreating their many Reverend Fathers and Brethren to recommend them unto the Mercies of God, in their constant Prayers, as a Church now springing out of their own Bowels. *You are not Ignorant* (said they) *that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle Paul, to make a continual mention of the Church at Philippi, which was a Colony from Rome ; let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in Mind, that are the Lords Remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing, who are the weak Colony from your fetters.* And after such Prayers, they Concluded, *What Goodness you shall extend unto us, in this or any other Christian Kindness, we your Brethren in Christ shall Labour to Repay, in what Duty we are or shall be able to perform ; promising so far as God shall enable us, to give him no rest on your Behalfs ; wishing our Heads and Hearts may be Fountains of Tears for your everlasting Welfare, when we shall be in our Poor Cottages in the Wilderness, overshadowed with the Spirit of Supplication, thro' the manifold Needsities and Tribulations, which may not altogether unexpelledly, nor we hope unprofitably, befall us.*

§. 3. Reader, If ever the Charity of a Right Christian, and Enlarged Soul, were exemplarily seen in its proper Expansions, 'twas in the Address which thou hast now been Reading : But if it now puzzle the Reader to Reconcile these Passages with the Principles declared, the Practices followed, and the Persecutions undergone, by these American Reformers, let him know, that there was more than one Distinction, whereof these excellent Persons were most ignorant. First, They were able to Distinguish between the Church of England, as it contained the whole Body of the Faithful, scattered throughout the Kingdoms, tho' of different Persuasions about some Rites and Modes in Religion ; many Thousands of whom our Nor-Angles knew could comply with many things, to which our Consciences otherwise enlightened

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and perswaded could not yeild such a Compliance: And the Church of England, as it was confined unto a certain Constitution by *Canons*, which pronounced *Ipsa Fædo*, Excommunicate all those who should affirm that the *Worship* contained in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and *Administrations of Sacraments*, is unlawful, or that any of the *Thirty Nine Articles* are Erroneous, or that any of the *Ceremonies* commanded by the Authority of the Church might not be Approved, Used and Subscribed; and which will have to be *Acurfed* all those, who maintain that there are in the Realm any other Meetings, Assemblies or Congregations of the King's Born Subjects, than such as by the Laws of the Land are allowed, which may rightly Challenge to themselves the Name of *True and Lawful Churches*: And by which, all those that refuse to *Kneel*, at the Reception of the Sacrament, and to be present at *Publick Prayers*, according to the *Orders* of the Church, about which there are prescribed many Formalities of *Responses*, with Bowing at the Name of *Jesus*, are to be denied the *Communion*; and all who dare not submit their Children to be Baptized by the Undertaking of *God-Fathers*, and receive the *Cross* as a dedicating Badge of *Christianity*, must not have *Baptism* for their Children: Besides an *Et-Cætera* of how many more *Impositions*! Again, they were able to distinguish between the Church of England, as it kept the true *Doctrine of the Protestant Religion*, with a Disposition to pursue the *Reformation* begun in the former Century, among whom we may Reckon such Men, as the famous *Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, who all but Eight or Nine, and the *Scots*, had before then lived in *Conformity*; and the Church of England, as limiting that Name unto a certain Faction, who together with a *Discipline* very much *Unscriptural*, vigorously prosecuted the *Tripartite Plot of Arminianism* and Conciliation with Rome, in the Church, and unbounded *Prerogative* in the State; who set themselves to Cripple as fast as they could the more Learned, Godly, Painful *Ministers* of the Land, and Silence and Ruin such as could not Read a *Book for Sports* on the Lord's Days; or did but use a *Prayer* of their own Conceiving, before or after Sermon; or did but Preach in an *Afternoon*, as well as in a Morning, or on a *Lecture*, or on a *Market*, or in anywise discountenance *Old Superstitions*, or *New Extravagancies*; and who at last threw the Nation into the lamentable Confusions of a *Civil War*. By the Light of this *Distinction*, we may easily perceive what Church of England it was, that our *New England* Exiles called. Their *Mother*, though their *Mother* had been so harsh to them, as to turn them out of Doors, yet they highly honoured Her; believing that it was not so much their *Mother*, but some of their angry *Brethren*, abusing the Name of their *Mother*, who so harshly treated them; and all the harm they wished her, was to see her put off those *Ill Trimmings*, which at her first coming out of the *Popish Babylon*, she had not so fully

laid aside. If any of those *envious Brethren* do now call these *Dissenters*, as not very long since a great Prelate in a Sermon did, *The Bards of the Church of England*, I will not make the Return which was made upon it by a Person of Quality then present; but instead thereof of humbly Demand, who are the *Truer Sons* to the Church of England; they that hold all the *Fundamentals of Christianity* embraced by that Church, only Questioning and Forbearing a few *Disciplinary Points*, which are confessed *Indifferent* by the greatest Zealots for them; or they that have made *Britain* more inhabitable than the *Torrid Zone*? For the poor *Non-Conformists*, by their *bo* pressing of those *Indiferencies*, as if they had been the only *Necessaries*, in the mean time utterly subverting the Faith in the important Points of *Predetermination*, *Free-will*, *Justification*, *Perseverance*, and some other things, which that Church requires all her Children to give their *Assent and Consent* unto? If the *Former*; then, say I, the First Planters of *New England* were *Truer Sons* to the Church of England, than that part of the Church, which, by their misemploying their heavy *Church-keys*, banished them into this Plantation. And indeed, the more Genuine among the most Conformable *Sons of the Church*, did then accordingly with all Prosperity to their *New-English* Brethren; in the Number of whom I would particularly Reckon that faithful Man, Mr. *Edward Symons*, Minister of *Rayn in Essex*; who in a Discourse printed Anno 1637, does thus Express himself, *Many now promise to themselves nothing but successful Happiness at New-England; which for a time, thro' God's Mercy, they may enjoy; and I pray God, they may a long time, but in this World there is no Happiness perpetual*. Nor would I on this Occasion leave unquoted some notable Words of the Learned, Witty, and Famous Dr. *Fuller*, in his Comment on *Ruth*, Page 16. Concerning our Brethren which of late left this Kingdom, to advance a Plantation in New-England, I think the Counsel best, that King *Joah* prescribed unto *Amaziah*, Tarry at Home: Tet as for those that are already gone, far be it from us to conceive them to be such, to whom we may not say, God speed: But let us Pray them, and Pray for them. I conclude of the two Englands, what our Saviour saith of the two *Wines*, No Man having tasted of the Old, presently desireth the New; for he saith, The old is better.

§. 4. Being happily arrived at *New-England*, our new Planters found the difficulties of a rough and hard *Wilderness* presently assaulting them: Of which the worst was the *Sicknesses* which many of them had contracted by their other difficulties. Of those who soon dy'd after their first Arrival, not the least considerable was the Lady *Arabella*, who left an Earthly *Paradise* in the Family of an *Earldom*, to Encounter the Sorrows of a *Wilderness*, for the Entertainments of a pure *Worship* in the House of God; and then immediately left that *Wilderness*



ness for the Heavenly *Paradise*, whereto the Compassionate *Jesus*, of whom he was a *Follower*, called her. We have Read concerning a Noble Woman of *Bohemia*, who forsook her Friends, her Plate, her House and All; and because the Gates of the City were Guarded, crept through the Common-Sewer, that the might enjoy the *Institutions* of our Lord at another Place where they might be had. The Spirit which acted that Noble Woman, we may suppose carried this Blessed Lady thus to and thro' the Hardships of an *American* Desart. But as for her Virtuous Husband, *Isaac Johnson*, Esq;

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To Live without her, lik'd it not, and Dy'd.

His Mourning for the Death of his Honourable Consort was too bitter to be extended a Year; about a Month after her Death, his enfeebled, unto the extrem loss of the whole Plantation. But at the End of this perfect and upright Man, there was not only Peace, but Joy; and his Joy particularly expressed it self, That God had kept his Eyes open so long as to see One Church of the Lord *Jesus* Christ gathered in these Ends of the Earth, before his own going away to Heaven. The Mortality thus threatening of this New Plantation, to enervate the Devotions of this good People, that they set themselves by Fasting and Prayer, to obtain from God the removal of it; and their Brethren at *Plymouth* also attended the like Duties on their Behalf: The Illue whereof was, that in a little time they not only had Health restored, but they likewise enjoyed the special Direction and Assistance of God in the further Prosecution of their Undertakings.

§. 5. But there were Two terrible Distresses more, besides that of Sickness, whereto this People were exposed in the beginning of their Settlement: Tho' a most seasonable and almost unexpected Mercy from Heaven still rescued them out of those Distresses. One thing that sometimes excessively exercised them, was a Scarcity of Provisions; in which 'twas wonderful to see their Dependence upon God, and God's Mindfulness of them. When the parching Droughts of the Summer divers times threatened them with an utter and a total Consumption to the Fruits of the Earth, it was their manner, with Heart-melting, and I may say, Heaven-melting Devotions, to Fast and Pray before God; and on the very Days, when they poured out the Water of their Tears before him, he would shower down the Water of his Rain upon their Fields; while they were yet speaking, he would hear them; insomuch that the Salvages themselves would on that Occasion admire the Englishman's God! But the Englishmen themselves would Celebrate their Days of Thanksgiving to him. When their Stock was likewise wasted so far, which divers times it was, that they were come to the last Meal in the Barrel, just then, unlook'd for, arrived fresh Ships from other Parts of the World laden with Supplies; among which, One was

by the Lord Deputy of Ireland sent hither; altho' he did not know the Necessities of this Country, to which he sent her; and if he had known them, would have been thought as unlikely as any Man living to have helped them! In these Extremities, 'twas marvellous to see how Helpful these good People were to one another, following the Example of their most liberal Governour *Winthrop*, who made an equal Distribution of what he had in his own Stores among the Poor, taking no thought for to Morrow! And how Content they were; when an Honest Man, as I have heard, inviting his Friends to a Dish of Clams, at the Table gave Thanks to Heaven, who had given them to suck the abundance of the Seas, and of the Treasures hid in the Sands!

Another thing that gave them no little Exercise, was the Fear of the Indians, by whom they were sometimes Alarm'd. But this Fear was wonderfully prevented, not only by latefine Wars happening then to fall out among those Barbarians, but chiefly by the Small-Pox, which prov'd a great Plague unto them, and particularly to one of the Princes in the *Massachusetts-Bay*, who yet seem'd hopefully to be Christeniz'd before he Dy'd. This Distemper getting in, I know not how, among them, swept them away with a most prodigious Desolation, insomuch that altho' the English gave them all the assistances of Humanity in their Calamities, yet there was, it may be, not One in Ten among them left alive, of those few that liv'd; many also fled from the Infection, leaving the Country a meer *Golgotha* of unburied Carcases; and as for the rest, the English treated them with all the Civility imaginable; among the Instances of which Civility, let this be reckoned for One, that notwithstanding the Patient which they had for the Country, they fairly purchased of the Natives the several Tracts of Land which they afterwards possessed.

§. 6. The People in the Fleet that arriv'd at New-England, in the Year 1630, left the Fleet almost, as the Family of *Noah* did the Ark, having a whole World before them to be peopled. Salem was already supplied with a competent Number of Inhabitants; and therefore the Governour, with most of the Gentlemen that Accompanied him in his Voyage, took their first Opportunity to prosecute further Settlements about the bottom of the *Massachusetts-Bay*: But where-ever they set down, they were so mindful of their Errand into the Wilderness, that still one of their first Works was to gather a Church into the Covenant and Order of the Gospel. First, There was a Church thus gathered at *Charles-Town*, on the North side of *Charles's* River; where keeping a Solemn Fast on August 27. 1630, to Implore the Conduct and Blessing of Heaven on their Ecclesiastical Proceedings, they chose Mr. *Wilson*, a most Holy and Zealous Man, formerly a Minister of *Sudbury*, in the County of *Suffolk*, to be their Teacher; and altho' he now submitted unto an Ordination, with an imposition of such Hands

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as were by the Church invited so to pronounce the Benediction of Heaven upon him; yet it was done with a *Protestation* by all, that it should be only as a sign of his *Election* to the Charge of his *New Flock*, without any Intention that he should thereby Renounce the Ministry he had received in *England*. After the gathering of the Church at *Charles-Town*, there quickly followed another at the Town of *Dorchester*.

And after *Dorchester* there followed another at the Town of *Boston*, which issued out of *Charles-Town*; one Mr. *James* took the Care of the Church at *Charles-Town*, and Mr. *Wilson* went over to *Boston*, where they that formerly belonged unto *Charles-Town*, with Universal Approbation became a distinct Church of themselves. To *Boston* soon succeeded a Church at *Roxbury*; to *Roxbury*, one at *Lyn*; to *Lyn*, one at *Watertown*; so that in one or two Years time there were to be seen *Seven Churches* in this Neighbourhood, all of them attending to what the *Spirit* in the *Scripture* said unto them; all of them *Golden Candlesticks*, illustrated with a very sensible Presence of our Lord *Jesus Christ* among them.

§. 7. It was for a matter of *Twelve Years* together, that Persons of all Ranks, well affected unto Church-Reformation, kept sometimes *Dropping*, and sometimes *Flocking* into *New-England*, tho' some that were coming into *New-England* were not suffered so to do. The Persecutors of those *Puritans*, as they were called, who were now *Retiring* into that *Cold Country* from the Heat of their Persecution, did all that was possible to hinder as many as was possible from enjoying of that Retirement. There were many *Countermands* given to the Passage of People that were now steering of this *Western Course*; and there was a sort of *Uproar* made among no small part of the Nation, that this People should not be let go. Among those bound for *New-England*, that were to stop, there were especially Three Famous Persons, whom I suppose their Adversaries would not have so studiously detained at Home, if they had foreseen Events; those were *Oliver Cromwell*, and Mr. *Hambden*, and Sir *Arthur Haselrig*: Nevertheless, this is not the only Instance of *Persecuting Church-mens* not having the *Spirit* of Prophecy. But many others were diverted from an intended Voyage hither by the pure *Providence* of God, which had provided other Improvements for them;

and of this take one Instance instead of many. Before the woful Wars which broke forth in the *Three Kingdoms*, there were divers Gentlemen in *Scotland*, who being uneasy under the Ecclesiastical Burdens of the Times, wrote unto *New-England* their Enquiries, Whether they might be there suffered freely to Exercise their *Presbyterian Church-Government*? And it was freely answered, That they might. Hereupon they sent over an Agent, who pitched upon a Tract of Land near the Mouth of *Merrimack River*, whither they intended then to Transplant themselves: But altho' they had so far proceeded in their Voyage, as to be *Half-Seas* thorough; the manifold Crosses they met withal, made them give over their Intentions; and the Providence of God so ordered it, that some of those very Gentlemen were afterwards the Reviewers of that well-known *Solemn League and Covenant*, which had to great an Influence upon the following Circumstances of the Nations. However, the number of those who did actually arrive at *New-England* before the Year 1640. have been computed about *Four Thousand*; since which time far more have gone out of the Country than have come to it; and yet the God of Heaven to smiled upon the Plantation, while under an *easy and equal Government*, the Designs of Christianity in well-formed Churches have been carried on, that no History can parallel it. That saying of *Eutropius* about *Rome*, which hath been sometimes applied unto the Church, is capable of some Application to this little part of the Church: *Nec Minor ab Exordio, nec major Incrementis ulla*. Never was any Plantation brought unto such a Considerableness, in a space of time so Inconsiderable! An *Howling Wilderness* in a few Years became a *Pleasant Land*, accommodated with the *Necessaries*, yea, and the *Conveniences of Humane Life*; the Gospel has carried with it a *fulnes* of all other Blessings; and (albeit, that Mankind generally, as far as we have any Means of enquiry, have increased, in one and the same given Proportion, and so no more than doubled themselves in about Three-Hundred and Sixty Years, in all the past Ages of the World, since the fixing of the present Period of Humane Life) the *Four-Thousand First Planters*, in less than Fifty Years, notwithstanding all *Transportations* and *Mortalities*, increased into, they say, more than an *Hundred Thousand*.

## CHAP. VI.

--- Qui Transmarre Currunt--- Or, The Addition of several other Colonies to the former; with some other Considerables in the Condition of these later Colonies.

§. 1. IT was not long before the *Massachusetts Colony* was become like an *Hive*, overstock'd with *Bees*; and many of the new Inhabitants entertained thoughts of

swarming into Plantations extended further into the Country. The Colony might fetch its own Description from the Dispensations of the Great God, unto his Ancient *Israel*, and say



God of *Heav'n*, *Thou* hast brought a *Vine* out of *England*; *Thou* hast cast out the *Heathen* and planted it; *Thou* preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the *Land*; the *Hills* were covered with the shadow of it, and the *Boughs* thereof were like the goodly *Cedars*; *she* sent out her *Boughs* unto the *Sea*. But still there was one stroak wanting for the compleat Accommodations of the Description; to wit, *she* sent forth her *Branches* unto the *River*; and this therefore is to be next attended. The Fame of *Connecticut* River, a Long, Freth, Rich River (as indeed the Name *Connecticut* is Indian for a long River) had made a little *Nilus* of it, in the Expectations of the good People about the *Masachusetts-Bay*: Whereupon many of the Planters belonging especially to the Towns of *Cambridge*, *Dorchester*, *Watertown* and *Roxbury*, took up Resolutions to Travel an Hundred Miles Westward from those Towns, for a further Settlement upon this Famous River. When the Learned *Fernandius* had been in the *Indies*, he did in his Preface to his Commentaries afterwards published, give this Account of it; *Deo sic volante, produi in remotissimas usq. Indos, tam non avidas lucis & glorie, ut eam vere dixerim, altro elegit mei ipsius audire viventes veriissimam Sepulturam*. Reader, come with me now to behold some Worthy, and Learned, and Gentle Persons going to be Buried Alive on the Banks of *Connecticut*, having been first Slain by the Ecclesiastical Impositions and Persecutions of *Europe*.

§. 2. It was in the Year 1635. that this Design was first formed; and the Disposition of the Celebrated Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, with his People now in *Cambridge*, to engage in the Design, was that which gave moft Life unto it. They then fent their Agents to view the Country, who returned with fo Advantageous a Report, that the next Year there was a great Remove of good People thither: On this Remove, they that went from *Cambridge* became a Church upon a Spot of Ground now called *Hartford*; they that went from *Dorchester* became a Church at *Windfor*; they that went from *Watertown* far down at *Weathersfield*; and they that left *Roxbury* were In-Churched higher up the River at *Springfield*, a place which was afterwards found within the Line of the *Majachusetts*-Charter. Indeed the first Winter after their going thither proved an hard one; and the grievous Diffappointments which befel them thro' the unfeafonable Freezing of the River, whereby their Veffel of *Providence* was detained at the Mouth of the River, Threefcore Miles below them, caufed them to Encounter with very Diffatrous Difficulties. Divers of them were hereby obliged in the Depth of Winter to Travel back into the Bay; and fome of them were frozen to Death in the Journey.

However, such was their Courage, that they Prosecuted their *Plantation-Work* with speedy and blessed Successes; and when Bloody Sal-

vages in their Neighbourhood, known by the Name of *Pequots*, had like to have nipr the Plantation in the Bud by a cruel War, within a Year or two after their Settlement, the marvellous Providence of God immediately extinguished that War, by prospering the *New-English* Arms, unto the utter subduing of the Quarrelsome Nation, and affrightning of all the other Natives.

§. 2. It was with the Countenance and Affliction of their Brethren in the *Massachusetts-Bay*, that the First Planters of *Connecticut* made their Efflays thus to Discover and Cultivate the remoter Parts of this mighty Wildernes; and accordingly several Gentlemen went furnished with some kind of *Commission* from the Government of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, for to maintain some kind of Government among the Inhabitants, till there could be a more orderly Settlement. But the Inhabitants quickly perceiving themselves to be without the *Line* of the *Massachusetts-Charter*, entered into a Combination among themselves, whereby with mutual Consent they became a *Body-Politic*, and framed a *Body* of necessary *Laws and Orders*, to the Execution whereof they chose all necessity *Officers*, very much, tho' not altogether after the form of the Colony from whence they Issued. So they jogg'd on for many Years; and whereas before the Year 1644, that Worthy Gentleman, *George Fenwick*, Esq. did on the behalf of several Persons of Quality begin a Plantation about the Mouth of the River, which was called *Say-Brook*, in Remembrance of those Right Honourable Persons, the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook*, who laid a Claim to the Land thereabouts, by Virtue of a Patent granted by the Earl of *Warwick*; the Inhabitants of *Connecticut* that Year purchased of Mr. *Fenwick* this Tract of Land. But the Confusions then Embarrassing the Affairs of the *English* Nation, hindered our *Connecticutions* from seeking of any further Settlement, until the Restoration of *K. Charles II.* when they made their Application to the King for a *Charter*, by the Agency of their Honourable Governour, *John Winthrop*, Esq. the most accomplished Son of that Excellent Person, who had been to Considerable in the Foundations of the *Massachusetts-Colony*. This Renowned *Virtuoso* had justly been the Darling of *New-England*, if they had only considered his Eminent Qualities, as he was a *Christian, a Gentleman, and a Philosopher*, well worthy to be, as he was, a Member of the *Royal-Society*; but it must needs further endear his Memory to his Country, that God made him the Instrument of obtaining for them, as he did from the King of *England*, as amply privileged a *Charter* as was ever enjoy'd perhaps by any People under the Cope of Heaven. Under the Protection and Encouragement of this *Charter* they flourished many Years; and many Towns being successively erected among them, their Churches had Rell, and walk'd in the Fear of God, and in the Comfort of the Holy Spirit.

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§. 4. The Church-Order observed in the Churches of Connecticut, has been the same that is observed by their Sisters in the Massachusetts-Bay, and in this Order they lived exceeding peaceably all the Eleven Years that Mr. Hooker lived among them. Nevertheless there arose at length some unhappy Contentions in one Town of the Colony, which grew into an Alienation that could not be cured without such a Parting, and yet, indeed, hardly so kind a Parting, as that whereto once Abraham and Lot were driven. However, these Little, Idle, Angry Controversies, proved Occasions of Enlargements to the Church of God; for such of the Inhabitants as chose a Cottage in a Wilderness, before the most beautiful and furnished Edifice, overheated with the Fire of Contention, removed peaceably higher up the River, where a whole County of Holy Churches has been added unto the number of our Congregations.

§. 5. But there was one thing that made this Colony to become very considerable; which thing remains now to be considered. The well-known Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Eaton, and several Eminent Persons that came over to the Massachusetts-Bay, among some of the First Planters, were strongly urged, that they would have settled in this Bay; but hearing of another Bay to the South-West of Connecticut, which might be more capable to entertain those that were to follow them, they desired that their Friends at Connecticut would purchase of the Native Proprietors for them, all the Land that lay between themselves and Hudson's River, which was in part effected. Accordingly removing thither in the Year 1637, they feared themselves in a pleasant Bay, where they spread themselves along the Sea-Coasts; and one might have been suddenly, as it were, surprized with the sight of such notable Towns, as first New-Haven; then Guilford; then Milford; then Stamford; and then Brainford; where our Lord Jesus Christ is worshipped in Churches of an Evangelical Constitution; and from thence, if the Enquirer make a Sally over to Long Island, he might there also have seen the Churches of our Lord beginning to take root in the Eastern Parts of that Island. All this while this Fourth Colony wanted the legal Basis of a Charter to build upon; but they did, by mutual Agreement form themselves into a Body-Political, as like as they judg'd fit unto the other Colonies in their Neighbourhood; and as for their Church-Order, it was generally, *Secundum Usum Massachusettsensem*.

§. 6. Behold, a Fourth Colony of New-English Christians, in a manner flung into the World, and a Colony, indeed, constellation with many Stars of the First Magnitude. The Colony was under the Conduct of as Holy, and as Prudent, and as Gentle Persons as most that ever visited these Nooks of America; and yet these too were Try'd with very humbling Circumstances.

Being Londoners, or Merchants, and Men of Traffick and Business, their Design was in a manner wholly to apply themselves unto Trade; but the Design failing, they found their great Estates to sink so fast, that they must quickly do something. Whereupon in the Year 1646, gathering together almost all the Strength which was left 'em, they Built one Ship more, which they freighted for England with the best part of their Tradable Estates; and sundry of their Eminent Persons Embarked themselves in her for the Voyage. But, alas, the Ship was never after heard of! She foundered in the Sea; and in her were lost, not only the Hopes of their future Trade, but also the Lives of several Excellent Persons, as well as divers Manuscripts of some great Men in the Country, sent over for the Service of the Church, which were now buried in the Ocean. The fuller Story of that grievous Matter, let the Reader with a just Afflictionment accept from the Pen of the Reverend Person, who is now the Pastor of New-Haven. I wrote unto him for it, and was thus Answered.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I N Compliance with your Desires, I now give you the Relation of that Apparition of a Ship in the Air, which I have received from the most Credible, Judicious and Curious Surviving Observers of it.

In the Year 1647, besides much other Lading, a far more Rich Treasure of Passengers, (Five or Six of which were Persons of chief Note and Worth in New-Haven) put themselves on Board a New Ship, built at Rhode-Island, of about 150 Tuns; but so waltzy, that the Master, (Lamberton) often said he would prove their Grave. In the Month of January, cutting their way thro' much Ice, on which they were accompanied with the Reverend Mr. Davenport, besides many other Friends, with many Fears, as well as Prayers and Tears, they set Sail. Mr. Davenport in Prayer with an observable Emphasis, used these Words, Lord, if it be thy pleasure to hury these our Friends in the bottom of the Sea, they are mine; save them! The Spring following no Tidings of these Friends arrived with the Ships from England; New-Haven's Heart began to fail her. This put the Godly People on much Prayer; both Publick and Private, That the Lord would (if it was his pleasure) let them hear what he had done with their dear Friends; and prepare them with a suitable Submission to his Holy Will. In June next ensuing, a great Thunder-Born, arose out of the North-West; after which, (the Hemisphere being serene) about an Hour before Sun-set a SHIP of like Dimensions with the aforesaid, with her Canvas and Colours abroad (tho' the Wind Northerly) appeared in the Air coming up from our Harbour's Mouth, which lies Southward from the Town, seemingly with her Sails filled under a fresh Gale, holding her Course North,

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and



and continuing under Observation, Sailing against the Wind for the space of half an Hour. Many were drawn to behold this great Work of God ; yea, the very Children cry'd out, *There's a Brave Ship!* At length, crowding up as far as there is usually Water sufficient for such a Vessel, and so near some of the Spectators, as that they imagined a Man might hurl a Stone on Board her, her *Main-top* seem'd to be blown off, but left hanging in the Shrouds ; then her *Mizen-top* ; then all her *Masting* seem'd blown away by the Board : Quickly alter the *Hulk* brought unto a Ca-reen, the overboard, and so vanished into a smoky Cloud, which in some time dissipated, leaving, as everywhere else, a clear Air. The admiring Spectators could distinguish the several Colours of each Part, the Principal Rigging, and such Proportions, as caused not only the generality of Persons to say, *This was the Mould of their Ship, and thus was her Tragick End* : But Mr. Davenport also in publick declared to this Effect, That God had condescended, for the quieting of their afflicted Spirits, this Extraordinary Account of his Sovereign Disposal of those for whom so many fervent Prayers were made continually. Thus I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

James Pierpont.

Reader, There being yet living so many Credible Gentlemen, that were Eye-Witnesses of this wonderful Thing, I venture to Publish it for a thing as undoubted, as 'tis wonderful.

But let us now proceed with our Story. Our Colony of *New Haven* apprehended themselves Disadvantageously seated for the Affairs of *Husbandry* ; and therefore upon these Disasters they made many Attempts of removing into some other Parts of the World. One while they were invited unto *Delaware Bay*, another while they were invited unto *Jamaica* ; they had offers made them from *Ireland* also, after the Wars there were over ; and they entered into some Treaties about the City of *Galloway*, which they were to have had as a small Province to themselves. But the God of Heaven still strangely disappointed all these Attempts ; and whereas they were concerned how their Posterity should be able to live, if they must make *Husbandry* their main shift for their Living, that Posterity of theirs by the good Providence of God, instead of coming to Beggary and Misery, have thriven wonderfully : The Colony is improved with many Wealthy *Husbandmen*, and is become no small part of the best *Granary* for all *New-England*. And the same good Providence has all along preferred them from annoyance by the *Indians*, that altho' at their first setting down there were few Towns but what wisely periwaded a Body of *Indians* to dwell near them ; whereby such Kindnesses passed between them, that

they always dwelt peaceably together ; nevertheless there are few of those Towns, but what have seen their Body of *Indians* utterly extirpated by nothing, but Mortality waiting them.

§. 7. But what is now become of *New-Haven Colony* : I must Answer, it is not. And yet it has been growing ever since it first was. But when *Connecticut-Colony* Petitioned the Restored King for a Charter, they procured *New-Haven Colony* to be annexed unto them in the same Charter ; and this, not without having first the private Concurrence of some Leading Men in the Colony ; tho' the Minds of others were so uneasy about the Coalition, that it cost some time after the Arrival of the Charter for the Colony, like *Jephthah's Daughter*, to bewail her Condition before it could be quietly complied withal. Nevertheless they have lived ever since, *One Colony*, very happily together, and the God of Love and Peace has remarkably dwelt among them : However, these Children of God, have not been without their Chastisements, especially in the Malignant Fevers and *Agues*, which have often proved very Mortal in most or all of their Plantations.

§. 8. While the *South-West Parts* of *New-England* were thus filled with New Colonies, the *North-East Parts* of the Country were not forgotten. There were ample Regions beyond the Line of the *Massachusetts-Patent*, where new Settlements were attempted, not only by such as designed a *Fishing-Trade* at Sea, or a *Beaver-Trade* on Shore ; nor only by some that were uneasy under the *Massachusetts-Government* in a Day of Temptation, which came upon the First Planters ; but also by some very serious Christians, who propounded the Enlargement and Enjoyment of our Lord's Evangelical Interests in those Territories. The Effect of these Excursions were, That several well-constituted Churches were gathered in the Province of *East-Hampshire*, besides one or two in the Province of *Maine*, where'to were added a large number of other Congregations, wherein weekly Prayers and Sermons were made, altho' the Inhabitants belonging to those Congregations, proceeded not so far as to all the Ordinances of a more compleat Church State among them. That which contributed more than a little to the growth of Christianity in those Parts of *New-England*, was the Application, which the People being tired with many Quarrellsome Circumstances about their Government, made unto the General Court of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, to be taken under their Protection ; which Petition of theirs being answered by that General Court, surely after a more Charitable and Accountable manner, than such Authors as *Ogilby* in his *America* have represented it, [For my'ss Historica, Lellors, Credité veris!] there followed many Successful Endeavours to spread the good Effects and Orders of the Gospel along that Coast.

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Barnstable, Mr.  
Eastham, Mr. S  
Falmouth, Harw  
Stone, H. C.  
Rochester, Mr.  
Sandwich, Mr.  
Yarmouth, Mr.

Bristol

Bristol, Mr. Joh  
Dorchester, Per  
Freetown,  
Little Compton,



But thus was the Settlement of *New-England* brought about; these were the *Beginnings*, these the *Foundations* of those *Colonies*, which have not only enlarged the *English Empire* in some Regards more than any other Out-

goings of our Nation, but also afforded a Singular Prospect of Churches erected in an *American* Corner of the World, on purpose to express and pursue the Protestant Reformation.

## CHAPTER VII.

Hecatompolis: Or, A Field which the Lord hath Blessed.

## A MAP of the Country.

IT is proper that I should now give the Reader an *Ecclesiastical Map* of the Country, thus Undertaken. Know then, that although for more than Twenty Years, the *Blasting Strokes* of Heaven upon the Secular Affairs of this Country have been such, as rather to *Abate* than *Enlarge* the growth of it; yet there are to be seen in it at this present Year 1696, these *Colonies, Counties, and Congregations*.

¶ The Numbers and Places of the Christian Congregations, now Worshipping our Lord Jesus Christ, in the several Colonies of New-England, and the Names of the Ministers at this time employed in the Service of those Congregations.

Notandum, Where the Name of any Minister hath H. C. added unto it in our Catalogue, it is to be understood that *Harvard-Colledge* was the *Mother*, in whose Arms that Minister was Educated.

I. IN Plymouth Colony there are Three Counties, and the several Congregations therein are thus Accommodated.

## Plymouth County Ministers.

Bridgewater, Mr. James Keith.  
Duxbury, Mr. Ichabod Wiswold, H. C.  
Marblehead, Mr. Edward Thompson, H. C.  
Middlebury, Mr.  
Plymouth, Mr. John Cotton, H. C.  
Scituate, which hath two Churches, Mr. Jeremiah Cushing, H. C. Mr. Deodate Lawson.

## Barnstable County Ministers.

Barnstable, Mr. Jonathan Russel, H. C.  
Eastham, Mr. Samuel Treat, H. C.  
Falmouth, Harwich, Manamoyet, Mr. Nathanael Stone, H. C.  
Rochester, Mr. Arnold.  
Sandwich, Mr. Rowland Cotton, H. C.  
Tarmouth, Mr. John Cotton, H. C.

## Bristol County Ministers.

Bristol, Mr. John Sparhawk, H. C.  
Dartmouth, Perishing without Vision.  
Freetown,  
Little-Compton, Mr. Eliphelet Adams, H. C.

Swansy,  
Tanton, Mr. Samuel Danforth, H. C.

Hereto an Ecclesiastical Reckoning may annex the Islands of

Martha's Vineyard, Mr. Ralph Thacher, Mr. Denbam, besides Indian Churches and Pastors.  
Nantucket, Indian Pastors.  
Newport in Rhode Island, Mr. Nathanael Clap, H. C.

II. IN Massachusetts Colony are Four Counties, and the several Congregations in them are so supplied.

## The County of Suffolk Ministers.

Boston, Of the Old Church, Mr. James Allen, Mr. Benj. Wadsworth, H. C.  
Of the North Church, Mr. Increase Mather, President of the Colledge, and his Son Cotton Mather, H. C.  
Of the South Church, Mr. Samuel Willard, H. C.

Besides these, there is in the Town a small Congregation that Worship God with the Ceremonies of the Church of England; served generally by a Change of Persons, occasionally visiting these Parts of the World.

And another small Congregation of Antipedit-Baptists, wherein Mr. Emblin is the settled Minister.

And a French Congregation of Protestant Refugees, under the Pastoral Cares of Monsieur Daulte.

Braintree, Mr. Moses Fisk, H. C.  
Dedham, Mr. Joseph Belcher, H. C.  
Dorchester, Mr. John Danforth, H. C.  
Hingham, Mr. John Norton, H. C.  
Hull, Mr. Zecbariah Whitman, H. C.  
Medfield, Mr. Joseph Baxter, H. C.  
Mendon, Mr. Grindal Rawson, H. C.  
Milton, Mr. Peter Thacher, H. C.  
Roxbury, Mr. Nehemiah Walter, H. C.  
Weymouth, Mr. Samuel Torrey, H. C.  
Woodstock, Mr. Josiah Dwight, H. C.  
Wrentham, Mr. Samuel Man, H. C.

## The County of Middlesex Ministers.

Billerica, Mr. Samuel Whiting, H. C.  
Cambridge, Mr. William Brattle, H. C.

Charles-Town, Mr. Charles Morton.  
 Chelmsford, Mr. Thomas Clark, H. C.  
 Concord, Mr. Joseph Eastabrook, H. C.  
 Dunstable, Mr. Thomas Weld, H. C.  
 Groton, Mr. Gersthor Hobart, H. C.  
 Lancaster, Mr. John Whiteing, H. C.  
 Marlborough, Mr. William Brinsmead, H. C.  
 Malden, Mr. Michael Wiggleworth, H. C.  
 Medford, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, H. C.  
 Newtown, Mr. Nehemiah Hobart, H. C.  
 Oxford,  
 Reading, Mr. Jonathan Pierpont, H. C.  
 Sherborn, Mr. Daniel Gookin, H. C.  
 Stow, Mr.  
 Sudbury, Mr. James Sherman.  
 Watertown Falls, Mr. Henry Gibb, H. C.  
 West, Mr. Samuel Angier, H. C.  
 Woburn, Mr. Jabez Fox, H. C.  
 Worcester,

#### The County of Essex Ministers.

Amesbury,  
 Andover, Mr. Francis Dean, and Mr. Thomas  
 Barnard, H. C.  
 Beverly, Mr. John Hale, H. C.  
 Boxford,  
 Bradford, Mr. Zachariah Symmes, H. C.  
 Gloucester, Mr. John Emerson, H. C.  
 Haveril, Mr. Benjamin Rolfe, H. C.  
 Ipswich, Mr. William Hubbard, H. C. and Mr.  
 John Rogers, H. C.  
 And Village, Mr. John Wise, H. C.  
 Lyn, Mr. Jeremiah Shepard, H. C.  
 Manchester, Mr. John Emerson, H. C.  
 Marblehead, Mr. Samuel Cheever, H. C.  
 Newbury, East, Mr. Tappin, H. C.  
 West, Mr. Samuel Belcher, H. C.  
 Rowley, Mr. Edward Payson, H. C.  
 Salem, Mr. John Higginson, and Mr. Nicholas  
 Noyse, H. C.  
 And Village, Mr. Samuel Paris, H. C.  
 Salisbury, Mr. Caleb Culbick, H. C.  
 Topsfield, Mr. Joseph Capen, H. C.  
 Wenham, Mr. Joseph Gerish, H. C.

#### The County of Hampshire Ministers.

Deerfield, Mr. John Williams, H. C.  
 Endfield, Mr.  
 Hatfield, Mr. William Williams, H. C.  
 Hadley, Mr.  
 Northampton, Mr. Solomon Stoddard, H. C.  
 Springfield, Mr. Daniel Brewer, H. C.  
 Southfield, Mr. Benjamin Ruggles, H. C.  
 Westfield, Mr. Edward Taylor, H. C.

To which, if we add the Congregations in Pif-  
 catagua.

Dover, Mr. John Pike, H. C.  
 Exeter, Mr. John Clark, H. C.  
 Hampton, Mr. John Cotton, H. C.

Newcastle, Mr. Samuel Moody, H. C.  
 Portsmouth, Mr. Joshua Moody, H. C.

#### And in the Province of Maine.

Isle of Shoals,  
 Kittery,  
 Wells, York, Mr. Hancock, H. C.

III. **I**N Connecticut-Colony there are Four  
 Counties, and the several Congregations  
 therein are illuminated by these Preachers of the  
 Gospel.

#### Hartford County Ministers.

Farmington, Mr. Samuel Hocker, H. C.  
 Glastenbury, Mr. Timothy Stevens, H. C.  
 Hadham, Mr. Jeremiah Hobart, H. C.  
 Hartford, Old Church, Mr. Timothy Woodbridge,  
 H. C.  
 New Church, Mr. Thomas Buckingham, H. C.  
 Middletown, Mr. Noadiah Rusjel, H. C.  
 Simsbury, Mr. Dudley Woodbridge, H. C.  
 Waterbury, Mr. Jeremiah Peck, H. C.  
 Wethersfield, Mr. Steven Mix, H. C.  
 Windsor, Mr. Samuel Mather, H. C.  
 And Farme, Mr. Timothy Edwards, H. C.  
 Windham, Mr. Samuel Whiting.

#### New-London County Ministers.

Killingworth, Mr. Abraham Pierfon, H. C.  
 Lebanon,  
 Linne, Mr. Moses Noyse, H. C.  
 New-London, Mr. Gordon Saltonstall, H. C.  
 Norwich, Mr. James Fitch.  
 Peesamfik, Mr. Joseph Mors, H. C.  
 Preston, Mr. Samuel Tread, H. C.  
 Saybrook, Mr. Thomas Buckingham.  
 Stonington, Mr. James Noyse, H. C.

#### New-Haven County Ministers.

Brainford, Mr. Samuel Russell, H. C.  
 Derby, Mr. John James, H. C.  
 Guilford, Mr. Thomas Ruggles, H. C.  
 Milford, Mr. Samuel Andrews, H. C.  
 New-Haven, Mr. James Pierpont, H. C.  
 Wallingford, Mr. Samuel Street, H. C.

#### Fairfield County Ministers.

Danbury, Mr. Seth Shove, H. C.  
 Fairfield, Mr. Joseph Webb, H. C.  
 Fairfield Village, Mr. Charles Chauncey, H. C.  
 Greenwich, Mr. Joseph Morgan.  
 Norwalk, Mr. Steven Buckingham, H. C.  
 Rye, Mr. Bowers, H. C.  
 Stamford, Mr. John Davenport, H. C.  
 Stratford, Mr. Israel Chauncey, H. C.  
 Woodbury, Mr. Zachariah Walker, H. C.



## REMARKS upon the Catalogue of Plantations.

§. 1. **T**HERE are few Towns to be now seen in our List, but what were existing in this Land before the dreadful Indian War, which befel us Twenty Years ago; and there are few Towns broken up within the then Massachusetts-Line by that War, but what have revived out of their *Albes*. Nevertheless the many Calamities, which have ever since been wasting of the Country, have so nipt the growth of it, that its later Progress hath held no Proportion with what was from the Beginning; but yet with such variety, that while the Trained Companies of some Towns are no bigger than they were Thirty or Forty Years ago, others are as big again.

§. 2. The Calamities that have carried off the Inhabitants of our several Towns have not been all of one sort; nor have all our Towns had an equal share in any sort. Peftilential Sickneses have made fearful Havock in divers Places, where the Sound perhaps have not been enough to tend the Sick; while others have not had one touch from that Angel of Death. And the Sword hath cut off Scores in sundry Places, when others, it may be, have not lost a Man by that *Avenger*.

§. 3. 'Tis no unusual, though no universal Experiment among us, that while an excellent, laborious, illuminating Ministry has been continued in a Town, the place has thriven to admiration; but ever since that Man's time, they have gone down the Wind in all their Interests. The Gospel has evidently been the making of

our Towns, and the Blessings of the Upper have been accompanied with the Blessings of the Nether-springs. Memorable also is the Remark of *Slingby Beibet*, Esq. in his most judicious Book of *The Interest of Europe*. Were not the cold Climate of New-England supplied by good Laws and Discipline, the Barrenness of that Country would never have brought People to it, nor have advanced it in Consideration and Formidableness above the other English Plantations, exceeding it much in Fertility, and other Inviting Qualities.

§. 4. Well may New-England lay claim to the Name it wears, and to a Room in the tenderest Affections of its Mother, the Happy Island! For as there are few of our Towns but what have their Namesakes in England, so the Reason why most of our Towns are called what they are, is because the Chief of the First Inhabitants would thus bear up the Names of the particular Places there from whence they came.

§. 5. I have heard an Aged Saint near his Death cheerfully thus Express himself; 'Well, I am going to Heaven, and I will there tell the Faithful, who are gone long since from New-England, thither, that though they who gathered our Churches are all Dead and gone, yet the Churches are still Alive, with as numerous Flocks of Christians as ever were among them. Concerning the most of the Churches in our Catalogue, the Report thus carried unto Heaven, I must now also send through the Earth, but if with, As Numerous, we could in every Respect say, As Gracious, what Joy unto all the Saints, both in Heaven and on Earth, might be from thence occasioned!

# The BOSTONIAN EBENEZER.

SOME

## Historical Remarks

On the State of

# B O S T O N,

The Chief Town of New-England, and of the English  
A M E R I C A.

With Some

## Agreeable Methods

FOR

Preferving and Promoting the Good State of THAT, as  
well as any other Town in the like Circumstances.

Humbly Offered by a Native of BOSTON.

Ezek. 48. 35. *The Name of the City from that Day shall be, THE  
LORD IS THERE.*

*Urbs Metropolis, ut sit maxime Authoritatis, constitutur præcipuum pietatis Exemplum  
& Sacram. Aphor. Polit.*

The History of BOSTON, Related and Improved.

At Boston Lecture, 7. d. 2. m. 1698.

**R**emarkable and Memorable was the Time, when an Army of Terrible Destroyers was coming against one of the Chief Towns in the Land of Israel. God rescued the Town from the Irresistible Fury and Approach of those Destroyers, by an immediate Hand of Heaven upon them. Upon that Miraculous Rescue of the Town, and of the whole Country, whose Fate was much enwrapped in it. there follow'd that Action of the Prophet SAMUEL, which is this Day to be, with some Imitation, Repeated in the midst of thee, O BOSTON, Thou Helped of the Lord.

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## Book I. Or, The History of New-England.

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I S A M. VII. 12.

Then SAMUEL took a Stone, and set it up, --- and called the Name of it, Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto the Lord hath Helped us.

THE thankful Servants of God have used sometimes to Erect Monuments of Stone, as durable Tokens of their *Thankfulness* to God for *Mercies* received in the places thus distinguished. *Jacob* did so; *Joshua* did so; and *Samuel* did so; but they do did it, as to keep clear of the Transgression forbidden in *Lev. 26. 1. I shall not set up an Image of Stone in your Land, for to Bow down unto it.*

The Stone Erected by Samuel, with the Name of Ebenezer, which is as much as to say, *A Stone of Help*; I know not whether any thing might be *Writ* upon it, but I am sure there is one thing to be now *Read* upon it, by our selves, in the Text where we find it: Namely, thus much,

That a People whom the God of Heaven hath remarkably helped in their Distresses, ought greatly and gratefully to acknowledge what *Help* of Heaven they have received.

Now 'tis not my Design to lay the Scene of my Discourse as far off as *Bethsai*, the place where Samuel set up his Ebenezer. I am immediately to transfer it into the Heart of *Boston*, a place where the Remarkable Help received from Heaven by the People, does loudly call for an Ebenezer. And I do not ask you to change the Name of the Town into that of *Help-Stone*, as there is a Town in England of that Name, which may seem the English of Ebenezer; but my Sermon shall be this Day, your Ebenezer, if you will with a Favourable and a Profitable Attention Entertain it. May the Lord Jesus Christ accept me, and assist me now to *Glorifie* him in the Town where I drew my first sinful Breath; a Town where I am under great Obligations for the precious Opportunities to *glorifie* him, which I have quietly and publickly enjoyed therein for near Eighteen Years together. O my Lord God, remember me, I pray thee, and strengthen me this once, to speak from thee unto thy People!

And now, Sirs, That I may set up an *EBENEZER* among you, there are these things to be inculcated.

I. Let us *Thankfully*, and *Agreeably*, and *Particularly* acknowledge what *Help* we have received from the God of Heaven, in the Years that have rolled over us. While the Blessed Apostle *Paul*, was, as it should seem, yet short of being *Threescore* Years Old, how affectionately did he set up an Ebenezer, with an acknowledgment in *Acts 26. 22. Having obtained help of God, I continue to this Day!* Our Town is now *Threescore* and *Eight* Years Old; and certainly 'tis time for us, with all possible Affection, to set up our Ebenezer, saying, *Having obtained help from God, the*

Town is continued until almost the Age of *Alan* is passed over it! The Town hath indeed *Three Elder Sisters* in this Colony, but it hath wonderfully outgrown them all; and her Mother, *Old Boston*, in England also; yea, within a few Years after the first Settlement it grew to be. The *Petropolis* of the whole English America. Little was this expected by them that first settled the Town, when for a while *Boston* was proverbially called, *Lost Town*, for the mean and sad Circumstances of it. But, O *Boston*, it is because thou hast obtained help from God, even from the Lord Jesus Christ, who for the sake of his Gospel, Preached and once prized here, undertook thy Patronage. When the World and the Church of God had seen *Twenty-Six* Generations, a Psalm was Composed, wherein that Note occurs with *Twenty-Six* Repetitions; *His Mercy endureth for ever*. Truly there has not one Year passed over this Town, *Ab Urbe Cordis*, upon the Story whereof we might not make that Note, our Ebenezer; *His Mercy endureth for ever*. It has been a Town of great Experiences. There have been several Years wherein the Terrible Famine hath terribly feared the Town in the Face: We have been brought sometimes unto the *last Meal* in the Barrel; we have cry'd out with the Disciples, *We have not Loaves enough to feed a Tenth Part of us!* But the fear'd Famine has always been kept off; always we have had Seasonable and Sufficient Supplies after a surprizing manner sent in unto us: Let the *Three last Years* in this thing most eminently Proclaim the Goodness of our Heavenly Shepherd and Feeder. This has been the help of our God; *Because his Mercy endureth for ever!* The Angels of Death have often Shot the Arrows of Death into the midst of the Town; the *Small-Pox* has especially *four Times* been a great Plague upon us: How often have there been Bills desiring Prayers, for more than an Hundred Sick on one Day in one of our Assemblies? In one *Twelve-months*, about one Thousand of our Neighbours have one way or other been carried unto their long Home: And yet we are after all, many more than *Seven Thousand* Souls of us at this Hour living on the Spot. Why is not, a Lord, have Mercy upon us, written on the Doors of our abandon'd Habitations? This hath been the help of our God, because his Mercy endureth for ever. Never was any Town under the Cope of Heaven more liable to be laid in *ashes*, either through the *Carelessness*, or through the *Wickedness* of them that Sleep in it. That such a *Consumable* heap of Contiguous Houses yet stands, it may be called, a *Standing Miracle*; it is not because the Watchman keeps



keeps the City: Perhaps there may be too much cause of Reflection in that thing, and of Inspection too; no, it is from thy watchful Protection, O thou Keeper of Boston, who neither Slumbers nor Sleeps. Ten Times has the Fire made notable Ruins among us, and our good Servant been almost our Master: But the Ruins have mostly and quickly been Rebuilt. I suppose, that many more than a Thousand Houses are to be seen on this little piece of Ground, all fill'd with the undeserved Favours of God. Whence this Preservation? This hath been the help of our God; because his Mercy endureth for ever! But if ever this Town saw a Year of Salvations, transcendently such was the Last Year unto us. A Formidable French Squadron hath not Shot one Bomb into the midst of thee, O thou Munition of Rocks; our Streets have not run with Blood and Gore, and horrible devouring Flames have not rag'd upon our Substance: These are Ignorant, and Unthinking, and Unbankful Men, who do not own that we have narrowly escap'd as dreadful things, as Carthage, or Newfoundland, have suffered. I am sure our more considerate Friends Beyond-Sea were very Suspicious, and well nigh Despairing, that Victorious Enemies had swallowed up the Town. But thy Soul is escap'd, O Boston, as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers. Or if you will be Insensible of this, ye vain Men, yet be sensible, That an English Squadron hath not brought among us the tremendous Pestilence, under which a Neighbouring Plantation hath undergone prodigious Desolations: Boston 'tis a marvellous thing a Plague has not laid thee Desolate! Our Deliverance from our Friends has been as full of astonishing Mercy, as our Deliverance from our Enemies. We read of a certain City in Isa. 19. 18. called, The City of Destruction. Why so? some say, Because delivered from Destruction. If that be so, then hast thou been a City of Destruction: Or I will rather say, A City of Salvation: And this by the help of God; because his Mercy endureth for ever. Shall I go on? I will. We have not had the Bread of Adversity and the Water of Affliction, like many other places. But yet all this while Our Eyes have seen our Teachers. Here are several Golden Candlesticks in the Town. Shining and Burning Lights have illuminated them. There are gone to shine in an higher Orb Seven Divines that were once the Stars of this Town, in the Pastoral Charge of it, besides many others, that for some Years gave us transient Influences. Churches flourishing with much Love, and Peace, and many Comforts of the Holy Spirit, have hitherto been our greatest Glory. I wish that some sad Eclipse do not come ere long upon this Glory! The Dispensations of the Gospel were never enjoy'd by any Town with more Liberty and Parity for so long a while together. Our Opportunities to draw near unto the Lord Jesus Christ in his Ordinances, cannot be parallel'd. Boston, thou hast been lifted up to Heaven; there is not a Town upon Earth, which,

on some Accounts, has more to answer for. Such, O such has been our help from our God, because his Mercy endureth for ever.

II. Let us acknowledge whose Help it is that we have received, and not Give the Glory of our God unto another. Poorly Helped had we been, I may tell you, if we had none but Humane Help all this while to depend upon. The Favours of our Superiors we deny not; we forget not the Instruments of our Help. Nevertheless, this little outcast Zion, shall, with my Consent, Engrave the Name of no MAN upon her Ebenezer! It was well confess'd in Psal. 108. 12. Vain is the help of Man! It was well counsel'd in Psal. 146. 3. Put not your trust in Princes, nor in the Son of man, in whom there is no Help.

Wherefore, First, Let God in our Lord Jesus Christ, have the Glory of bestowing on us all the help that we have had. When the Spirit of God came upon a Servant of his, he cried out unto David, in 1 Chron. 12. 18. Thy God helpeth thee. This is the voice of God from Heaven to Boston this Day, Thy God hath help'd thee: Thou hast by thy Sin destroyed thyself, but in thy God hath been thy help. A Great Man once building an Edifice, caus'd an Inscription of this Importance to be written on the Gates of it, Such a place Planted me, such a place Watered me, and Castar gave the Increase. One that pass'd by with a witty Sacarism, wrote under it, *Hic Deus nihil fecit; i. e. God, it seems, did nothing for this Man.* But the Inscription upon our Ebenezer, owning what help this Town hath had, shall say, Our God hath done all that is done! Say then, O helped Boston, say as in Psal. 121. 20. My help is from the Lord which made Heaven and Earth. Say as in Psal. 94. 17. Unless the Lord had been my help, my Soul had quickly dwelt in silence. And boldly say, 'Tis only because the Lord has been my helper, that Earth and Hell have never done all that they would unto me.

Let our Lord JESUS CHRIST be praised as our Blessed Helper: That Stone which the Foolish Builders have refused, Oh! Set up that Stone, even that high Rock, set him on high in our Praises, and say, That That is our Ebenezer. 'Tis our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who in his Infinite Compassions for the Town hath said, as in Isa. 63. 15. I looked, and there was none to help; therefore my own Arm hath brought Salvation unto it. It is foretold concerning the Idolatrous Roman Catholics, That together with the Lord Jesus Christ, they shall Worship other Monuments; that is to say, other Protectors. Accordingly, their Towns ordinarily have singled out their Protectors among the Saints of Heaven; such a Town is Entitled unto the Patronage of such a Saint among them, and such a Saint for another. Old Boston, by Name, was but Saint Botolph's Town. Whereas, Thou, O Boston, shalt have but one Protector in Heaven, and that is our Lord JESUS CHRIST. Oh! Rejoice in him alone, and say, The Lord is my Fortress, and

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my Deliverer! There was a Song once made for a Town, which in its Distresses had been helped wondrously; and the First Clause in that Song, [You have it in *Isa. 26. 1.*] may be rendered, *We have a strong Town; Salvation for JESUS the Lord, whose Name hath Salvation in it* will appoint Walls and Bulwarks. Truly what help we have had we will Sing, *'Tis our JESUS that hath appointed them.* The Old Pagan Towns were sometimes mightily Solicitous to conceal the Name of the particular God that they counted their Protector, *Ne ab hostibus Evocatus, alio commigraret.* But I shall be far from doing my Town any damage, by Publishing the Name of its Protector; no, let all Mankind know, that the Name of our Protector is JESUS CHRIST: For, Among the Gods there is none like unto thee, O LORD: Nor is any help like unto thine: And there is no Rock like to our God.

Yea, when we ascribe the Name of Helper unto our Lord JESUS CHRIST, let us also acknowledge that the Name is not sufficient Expressive, Emphatical and Significant. *Lactantius* of old blamed the Heathen for giving the highest of their Gods no higher a Title than that of *Jupiter*, or *Jovans Pater*, i. e. *An helping Father*; and he says, *Non intelligit Divina Beneficia, qui se a Deo tantummodo Juvare putat*: The Kindnesses of God are not understood by that Man, who makes no more than an Helper of him. Such indeed is the penury of our Language, that we cannot Coin a more Expressive Name. Nevertheless, when we say, The Lord JESUS CHRIST hath been our Helper, let us intend more than we express; Lord, thou hast been All unto us.

Secondly, Let the Sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ most Explicitly have the Glory of Purchasing for us all our Help. What was it that procured an Ebenezer for the People of God? We read in *2 Sam. 7. 9.* *Samuel took a Sucking Lamb, and offered it a Burnt-Offering wholly unto the Lord; and Samuel cried unto the Lord for Israel, and the Lord heard him.* Shall I tell you? Our Lord Jesus Christ is that Lamb of God; and he has been a Lamb slain as a Sacrifice; and he is a Sacrifice pleasurable not only for Persons, but also for Peoples that belong unto him. To teach us this Evangelical and Comfortable Mystery, there was a Sacrifice for the whole Congregation prescribed in the Musical Pedagogy. 'Tis notorious that the Sins of this Town have been many Sins, and mighty Sins; the Cry thereof hath gone up to Heaven. If the Almighty God should from Heaven Rain down upon the Town an horrible Tempest of Thunderbolts, as he did upon the Cities which he overthrew in his Anger, and repented not, it would be no more than our unrepented Sins deserve. How comes it then to pass that we have had so much help from Heaven after all? Truly the Sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ has been pleaded for

Boston, and therefore say. Therefore it is that the Town is not made a Sacrifice to the Vengeance of God. God sent help to the Town that was the very Heart and Life of the Land that he had a pity for: But why so? He said in *Isa. 37. 35.* *I will defend this Town, to save it for my Servant David's sake.* Has this Town been Defended? It has been for the sake of the Beloved JESUS; therefore has the Daughter of Boston shaken her Head at you, O ye Calamities that have been Impending over her Head. O helped and happy Town! Thou hast had those Believers in the midst of thee, that have pleaded this with the great God; Ah! Lord, Thou hast been more Honoured by the Sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ, than thou couldst be Honoured by overwhelming this Town with all the Plagues of thy Just Indignation. If thou wilt Spare, and Feed, and Keep, and Help this poor Town, the Sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ shall be crow'd as the Prize of all our help. 'Tis this that hath procured us all our Help: 'Tis this that must have all our Praise.

Thirdly, Let the Lord be in a special manner Glorified for the Ministry of his good Angels, in that help that has been Ministr'd unto us. A Jacob lying on a Stone, saw the Angels of God helping him. We are setting up an Ebenezer; but when we lay our Heads and our Thoughts upon the Stone, let us then see, The Angels of God have helped us. When Macedonia was to have some help from God, an Angel, whom the Apostle in *Acts 16. 9.* saw Habited like a Man of Macedonia, was a Mean of its being brought unto them. There is abundant Cause to think, That every Town in which the Lord Jesus Christ is Worshipped, hath an Angel to watch over it. The Primitive Christians were perswaded from the Scriptures of Truth to make no doubt of this, *Quod per Civitates distributa sunt Angelorum prestantia.* When the Capital Town of Judea was rescued from an Invasion, we read in *2 Kings 19. 35.* *The Angel of the Lord WENT OUT, and smote the Camp of the Assyrians.* It should seem there was an Angel which did Reside in, and Preside over the Town, who went out for that amazing Exploit. And is it not likely, that the Angel of the Lord WENT OUT for to smite the Fleet of the Assyrians with a Sickness, which the last Summer hindered their Invading of this Town? The Angel of BOSTON was concerned for it! Why have not the Destroyers broke in upon us, to Prey upon us with sore Destruction? 'Tis because we have had a Wall of Fire about us; that is to say, a Guard or Angels, those Flames of Fire have been as a Wall unto us. It was an Angel that help'd a Daniel when the Lions would else have swallowed him up. It was an Angel that help'd a Lot out of the Fires that were coming to consume his Habitation. It was an Angel that help'd an Elias to Meat when he wanted it. They were Angels that help'd the whole People of God in



the Wilderness to their *Daily Bread* : Their *Manna* was *Angel's Food* : And is it nothing that such *Angels* have done for this Town, think you ? Oh ! Think not so. Indeed if we should go to thank the *Angels* for doing these things, they would zealously say, *See thou do it not !* But if we thank their Lord and ours for his employing them to do these things, it will exceedingly gratifie them. Wherefore, *Bless ye the Lord, ye his Angels ; and Bless the Lord, O my Town, for those his Angels.*

III. Let the *help* which we have hitherto had from our God, encourage us to hope in him for *More Help* hereafter, as the *Matter may require*. The *help* that God had given to his People of Old was Commemorated, as with *Monumental Pillars*, conveying down the Remembrance of it unto their Children. And what for ? We are told in *Psal. 78. 7. That they might set their hope in God, and not forget the Works of God.* I am not willing to say how much this Town may be threatened, even with an *Utter Extirpation*. But this I will say, The *Motto* upon all our *Ebenezers*, is, *Hope in God ! Hope in God !* The *Use* of the former *help* that we have had from God, should be an *hope* for *future help* from him, that is a *present help* in the time of *Trouble*. As in the Three First Verses of the Eighty-fifth Psalm Six times over there occurs, *Thou hast, Thou hast : All to ulther in this ; Therefore thou WILT still do so.* O let our Faith proceed in that way of Arguing in 2 Cor. 1. 10. *The Lord hath delivered, and he doth deliver, and in him we trust that he will still deliver.* We are to Day Writing, *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us ; let us Write under it, And we hope the Lord has more help for us in the time of need !* It may be some are purposing suddenly and hastily to leave the Town through their Fears of the Straits that may come upon it. But I would not have you be too sudden and hasty in your Purposes, as too many have been unto their *After-Sorrow*. There was a time when People were so Discouraged about a *Subsistence* in the Principal Town of the *Jews*, that they talk'd of plucking up Stakes and flying away ; but the Minister of God came to them, [and so do I to you this Day !] Saying, in *Isa. 30. 7. I cried concerning this, their strength is to sit still !* Boston was no sooner come to some *Confidence* Three-score Years ago, but the People found themselves plunged into a sad *Non plus* what way to take for a *Subsistence*. God then immediately put them into a way, and *hitherto the Lord has helped us !* The Town is at this Day full of *Widows and Orphans*, and a multitude of them are very *helpless* Creatures. I am astonish'd how they live ! In that Church whereof I am the Servant, I have counted the *Widows* make about a *Sixth Part* of our Communicants, and no doubt in the whole Town the proportion dif-

fers not very much. Now stand still, my Friends, and behold the *help* of God ! Were any of these ever *starved* yet ? No, these *Widows* are every one in some sort provided for. And let me tell you, ye Handmaids of the Lord, you shall be *still* provided for ! The Lord, whose *Family* you belong unto, will conveniently and wonderfully provide for you ; if you say, and Oh ! Say of him, *The Lord is my Helper. I will not fear !*

What shall I say ? When *Moses* was ready to faint in his *Prayers* for his People, we read in *Exod. 17. 12. They took a Stone, and put it under him.* Christians, there are some of you who abound in *Prayers*, that the *help* of God may be granted unto the Town ; the Town is much upheld by those *Prayers* of yours. Now that you may not faint in your *Prayers*, I bring you a *Stone* : The *Stone*, 'tis our *Ebenezer* ; or, The Relation of the *help* that hitherto the Lord hath given us.

IV. Let all that bear *Publick Office* in the Town contribute all the *help* they can, that may continue the *help* of God unto us. *Austin* in his *Confessions* gives thanks to God, that when he was an *helpless Infant*, he had a *Nurse* to help him, and one that was both able and willing to help him. *Infant-Boston*, thou hast those whom the Bible calls *Nursing-Fathers*. Oh be not *froward*, as thou art in thy Treating of thy *Nurses* ; but give thanks to God for them. I forget my self ; 'tis with the *Fathers* themselves that I am concerned.

When it was demanded of *Demosthenes*, what it was that so long preserved *Athens* in a flourishing State, he made this Answer, *The Orators are Men of Learning and Wisdom, the Magistrates do Justice, the Citizens love Quiet, and the Lanes are kept among them all.* May *Boston* flourish in such happy Order !

And first, You may assure your selves that the *Ministers* of the Lord Jesus Christ among you will be *joyful* to approve themselves, as the Book of God has called them, *The Helpers of your Joy.* O our dear *Flocks*, we owe you our *All* ; all our *Love*, all our *Strength*, all our *Time* ; we watch for you as *those* that must give an account : And I am very much mistaken if we are not willing to Die for you too, if called unto it. If our Lord Jesus Christ should say to us, *My Servant, if you'll Die to Night, you shall have this Reward ; The People that you Preach to shall be all Converted unto me !* I think we should with *Triumphing Souls* reply, *Ah ! Lord, Then I'd Die with all my Heart.* Sirs, we should go away *Rejoycing* with *joy unspeakable and full of Glory.* I am satisfied, that the most *Furious* and *Foul-mouth'd* Reviler that God may give any of us to be *buffeted* withal, if he will but come to sober Thoughts, he will say, That there is not any *One Man* in the Town, but the *Ministers* with that Man as well as they do their own Souls, and would gladly serve that Man by Day or by Night,

in any thing him. Whereof each you leave at your *Eleazar* ; and *strive* in to God for Christ ; we'll provide to observe, needful to be in the Town, to serve the Town, as we are incumbent, to commend our selves to be call for our more will Address to in *Prayer* for the *Praying*, and the LORD for you that *help* the *Conventions* are the *Prophets* that, let the re- an *helping* Hand things wherein ped up ! When ling thing was *John 21. 28. The Truly there is of Boston, help needs, and But the World, are break And now will Town set them help to *supper* as ? Will the CO set themselves to prevent all El There are some Town to much up of TOWNS are distinguished. how to help the that all things me Moreover, do much to infir Gravity, as well cation into the Ch the Town well School-Masters. There are some ing all, there are fired. First, if Officers as are C ten in the Year and *Prudent* Men be chosen to set often come toget the seats by them together to cons the Town in the into our *Charge* thing will it be*



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in any thing that it were possible to do for him. Wherefore, O our beloved People, I beseech you leave off, leave off to throw Stones at your Ebenezers. Instead of that pray for us, and *serve together with us in your Prayers to God for us.* Then with the help of Christ well promise you, we will set our selves to observe what *Special Truths* may be most needful to be inculcated upon you, and we will inculcate them. We will set our selves to observe the Temptations that beset you, the Afflictions that assault you, and the Duties that are incumbent on you; and we will accommodate our selves unto them. We will set our selves to observe what Souls among you do call for our more particular Addresses, and we will Address them faithfully, and even Travel in Birth for them. Nor will we give over Praying, and Kissing, and Crying to our great LORD for you until we Die. Whatever other Helpers the Town enjoys, they shall have that Convenience in Ezra 5. 2. *With them were the Prophets of God, helping them.* Well then, let the rest of our Worthy Helpers lend an helping Hand for the promoting of those things wherein the Weal of the Town is wrapped up! When the Jews thought that a Desisting thing was breaking in among them, in Acts 21. 28. *They cried out, Men of Israel, help.* Truly there is Cause to make that Cry, *Men of Boston, help!* For Ignorance, and Prophane-ness, and Bad Living, and the worst things in World, are breaking in upon us.

And now will the JUSTICES of the Town set themselves to consider, *How they may help to suppress all growing Vices among us?*

Will the CONSTABLES of the Town set themselves to consider, *How they may help to prevent all Evil Orders among us?*

There are some who have the Eye of the Town so much upon them, that the very Name of TOWNSMEN is that by which they are distinguished. Sirs, Will you also consider *how to help the Affairs of the Town, so as that all things may go well among us?*

Moreover, may not SCHOOL-MASTERS do much to infill Principles of Religion and Grinuity, as well as other Points of good Education into the Children of the Town? Only let the Town well Encourage its well deserving School-Masters.

There are some other Officers; but concerning all, there are these Two things to be desired. First, It is to be desired, That such Officers as are Chosen among us, may be chosen in the Fear of God. May none but Pious and Prudent Men, and such as Love the Town, be chosen to serve it. And, Secondly, It is to be desired, That Officers of several sorts would often come together for Consultation. Each of the sorts by themselves, may they often come together to consult; *What shall we do to serve the Town in those Interests which are committed unto our Charge?* Oh! What a Deploable thing will it be for Persons to be entrusted with

Talents, [your Opportunities to serve the Town are so many Talents!] and they never fearfully consider, *What good shall I do with my Talents in the place where God hath Stationed me?*

And will the REPRESENTATIVES of the Town be considered among the rest, as entrusted with some singular Advantages for our help! The Lord give you Understanding in all things.

V. God help the Town to manifest all that Piety, which a Town to helped of him is obliged unto! When the People of God had been carried by his help through their Difficulties, they set up Stones to keep in mind how he had helped them: And something was Written on the Stones: But what was Written! See Job. 8. 32. *Jobua wrote upon the Stones a Copy of the Law.* Truly upon those Ebenezers which we set up, we should Write the Law of our God, and Recognize the Obligations which the help of our God has laid upon us to keep it.

We are a very Unpardonable Town, if after all the help which our God has given us, we do not ingeniously enquire, *What shall we render to the Lord for all his Benefits?* Render! Oh! Let us our selves thus answer the Enquiry, Lord, we will render all Praise and Filial Obedience unto thee, because hitherto thou hast helped us: Only do thou also help us to render that Obedience! Mark what I say; if there be so much as one Prayerless House in such a Town as this, 'tis Inexcusable! how Inexcusable then will be all Flagitious Outrages? There was a Town, [twas the Town of Sodom!] that had been wonderfully saved out of the Hands of their Enemies. But after the help that God sent unto them, the Town went on to Sin against God in very prodigious Instances. At last a provoked God sent a Fire upon the Town that made it an Eternal Desolation. Ah, Boston, beware; beware, lest the Sins of Sodom get footing in thee! And what were the Sins of Sodom? We find in Ezek. 16. 49. Behold, this was the Iniquity of Sodom; Pride, Faintness of Bread, and Abundance of Idleness was in her, neither did she strengthen the Hand of the Poor and the Needy; there was much Oppression there. If you know of any Scandalous Disorders in the Town, do all you can to suppress them, and redress them: And let not those that send their Sons hither from other Parts of the World, for to be improved in Virtue, have cause to complain, *That after they came to Boston they lost what little Virtue was before budding in them:* That in Boston they grew more Debauched and more Malignant than ever they were before! It was noted concerning the Famous Town of Port-Royal in Jamaica, which you know was rather Day swallowed up in a Stupendous Earthquake, that just before the Earthquake the People were violently and scandalously set upon going to Fortune-Tellers upon all



Occasions: much notice was taken of this *Impiety* generally prevailing among the People: But none of those wretched *Fortune-Tellers* could foresee, or foretell the direful *Catastrophe*. I have heard that there are *Fortune-Tellers* in this Town sometimes consulted by some of the sinful Inhabitants. I with the Town could be made too Hot for these *Dangerous Transgressors*. I am sure the preservation of the Town from horridous *Earthquakes*, is one thing that bespeaks our *Ebenezers*; 'tis from the Merciful help of our God unto us. But beware, I beseech you, of those *provoking Evils* that may expose us to a Plague, exceeding all that are in the Catalogue of the *Twenty-eighth of Deuteronomy*. Let me go on to say, What, I shall there be any *Bawdy-Houses* in such a Town as this! It may be the Neighbours, that could Smoke 'em, and Rout 'em, if they would, are loth to Stir, for fear of being reported *ill Neighbours*. But I say unto you, that you are *ill Neighbours* because you do it not: All the Neighbours are like to have their Children and Servants Poisoned, and their Dwellings laid in Ashes, because you do it not. And Oh! That the *Drinking-Houses* in the Town might once come under a laudable Regulation. The Town has an *Enormous* Number of them; will the *Haunters* of those Houses hear the Counsels of Heaven? For *Lo* that are the *Town-Dwellers*, to be off, or long in your *Visits of the Ordinary*, 'twill certainly expose you to *Mischiefs* more than ordinary. I have seen certain *Taverns*, where the Pictures of horrible *Devourers* were hang'd out for the *Signs*; and, thought I, 'twere well if such *Signs* were not sometimes too *Significant*: Alas, Men have their *Ettates devoured*, their Names devoured, they Hours devoured, and their very Souls devoured, when they are so besotted, that they are not in their Element, except they be Tipling at such Houses. When once a Man is bewitched with the *Ordinary*, what usually becomes of him? He is a *gone Man*, and when he comes to Die, he'll cry out as many have done, *Alas Houses are Hell-Houses! Alas Houses are Hell Houses!* But let the *Owners* of those Houses also now hear our Counsels. Oh! Hearken to me, that God may hearken to you, another Day! It is an *Honest*, and a *Lovely*, tho' it be not a very *Desirable* Employment, that you have undertaken: You may *Glorify* the Lord Jesus Christ in your Employment if you will, and benefit the Town considerably. There was a very godly Man that was an *Inkeeper*, and a great Minister of God, could say to that Man, in *3 John 2*, *Thy Soul prospereth*. O let it not be said of you, since you are fallen into this Employment, *Thy Soul withereth!* It is thus with too many. Especially when they that get a *License* perhaps, to Sell Drinks out of Doors, do stretch their *License* to Sell within Doors. Those *Private Houses*, when once a Professor of the Gospel comes to Steal a Living out of them, it commonly precipitates them into abundance of

wretchedness and confusion. But I pray God afflict you that keep *Ordinaries*, to keep the *Commandments* of God in them. There was an Inn at *Bethlehem* where the Lord JESUS CHRIST was to be met withal. Can *Boston* boast of many such: Alas, too ordinarily it may be said, *There is no Room for him in the Inn!* My Friends, let me beg it of you, banish the *unfruitful works of Darkness* from your Houses, and then the *Sun of Righteousness* will shine upon them. Don't countenance *Drunkenness*, *Reveling*, and *Mis-spending* of precious Time in your Houses: Let none have the *Snares of Death* laid for them in your Houses. You'll say, *I shall Starve then!* I say, *better Starve than Sin*: But you shall not. It is the Word of the Most High, *Trust in the Lord, and do Good, and verily thou shalt be Fed*. And is not *Peace of Conscience*, with a *Little*, better than those *Riches*, that will shortly melt away, and then run like Scalding Metal down the very Bowels of thy Soul?

What shall I say more: There is one Article of *Piety* more to be Recommended unto us all; and it is an Article which all *Piety* does exceedingly turn upon, that is, *The Sanctification of the Lord's Day*. Some very judicious Persons have observed, that as they sanctified the Lord's Day, *Remit* or *Carefully*, just so their Affairs usually prospered all the ensuing Week. Sirs, you cannot consult the Prosperity of the Town, in all its Affairs, than by Endeavouring that the Lord's Day may be exemplarily Sanctified. When People about *Jerusalem* took too much Liberty on the Sabbath, the Ruler of the Town Contended with them, and said, *Ye bring wrath upon Israel, by prophaneing the Sabbath*. I fear, I fear there are many among us, to whom it may be said, *Ye bring wrath upon Boston, by prophaneing the Sabbath*. And what Wrath? Ah, Lord, prevent it! But there is an awful Sentence in *Jer. 17, 27*. *If ye will not hearken unto me, to sanctify the Sabbath Day, then will I kindle a Fire on the Town, and it shall Devour, and shall not be Quenched*.

Finally, Let the *Piety* of the Town manifest itself in a due Regard unto the *Institutions* of him whose *Pill* has *hitherto* been a *Shield* unto us. Let the *Ark* be in the Town, and God will *Bless* the Town! I believe it may be found, that in the *Mortal Scourges* of Heaven, which this Town has felt, there has been a *discernable Distinction* of those that have come up to attend all the *Ordinances* of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Communion of his Churches. Though these have had, as 'tis fit they should: a Share in the *Common Deaths*, yet the *Destruction* of Angels has not had so great a proportion of them in his Commission, as he has had of others. Whether this be so, or no, to uphold, and support, and attend the *Ordinances* of the Lord Jesus Christ in *Reforming Churches*, this will Entitle the Town to the help of Heaven; for, *Upon the Glory there shall be a defence!* There were the Victorious Forces

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of Alexander, that in going backward and forward, pass'd by Jerusalem without Hurting it. Why so? Said the Lord in Zech. 9. 8. *I will encamp about my House, because of the Army.* If our God have an House here, he'll Encamp about it. Nazarenen, a famous Minister of the Gospel, taking his farewell of Constantinople, an old Man that had sat under his Ministry, cried out, *Oh! My Father, Don't you dare to go away, you'll carry the whole Trinity with you!* How much more may it be cried out, *If we lose or slight the Ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ, we forego the help of all the Trinity with them!*

VI. Extraordinary Equity and Charity, as well as Piety, well becomes a Town that hath been by the help of God so Extraordinarily signalized. A Town marvellously helped by God, has this foretold concerning it, in Isa. 1. 26. *Afterward thou shalt be called, the City of Righteousness, the faithful City.* May the Ebenezer of this Town render it a Town of Equity, and a Town of Charity! Oh! There should be none but *fair Dealings* in a Town wherewith Heaven has dealt so favourably. Let us *Deal fairly* in Bargains; *Deal fairly* in Taxes; *Deal fairly* in paying Respects to such as have been Benefactors unto the Town. 'Tis but *Equity*, that they who have been old Standers in the Town, and both with Person and Estate served the Town unto the utmost for many Years together, should on all proper Occasions be considered. For *Charity*, I may indeed speak it without Flattery, this Town has not many Equals on the Face of the Earth. Our Lord Jesus Christ from Heaven wrote unto the good People of a Town in the lesser Asia, [Rev. 2. 19.] *I know thy Works and Charity.* From that Blessed Lord I may venture to bring that Message unto the good People of this Town; the glorious Lord of Heaven knitteth thy works, O Boston, and all thy Charity. This is a poor Town, and yet it may be said of the Bostonians, as it was of the Macedonians, *their deep Poverty hath abounded unto the Riches of their Liberality.* O ye bountiful People of God, all your daily Bounties to the Needy, all your Subscriptions to send the Bread of Life abroad unto places that are perishing in Wickedness, all your Collections in your Assemblies as often as they are called for; all these Alms are come up for a Memorial before God! The Lord Jesus Christ in Heaven hath beheld your helpfulness, and readiness to every good Work; and he hath required it with his helpful Ebenezer. It was said, in Isa. 32. 8. *The Liberal deviseth Liberal things, and by Liberal things he shall stand.* There are some in this Town that are always devising Liberal things, and our Lord Jesus Christ lets the Town stand for the sake of those! Instead of exhorting you to Augment your Charity, I will rather utter an Exhortation, or at least a Supplication, that you may not abuse your Charity by misapplying of it. I remember I have Read, that an Inhabitant of the City Pisa

being asked why their Town so went, as it then did, unto decay? He fetched a deep sigh, and said, *Our young Men are too Prodigal, our old Men are too Affectionate, and we have no Punishment for those that spend their Tears in Idleness.* Ah! the last stroke of that complaint I must here sigh it over again. *Idleness*, alas! Idleness increases in the Town exceedingly: Idleness, of which there never came any Goodness; Idleness, which is a reproach to any People. We work hard all Summer, and the Drones count themselves wrong'd if they have it not in the Winter divided among them. The Poor that can't Work, are Objects for your Liberality. But the Poor that can Work and won't, the best Liberality to them is to make them. I beseech you, Sirs, find out a Method quickly, that the Idle Persons in the Town may earn their Bread; it were the best piece of Charity that could be shewn unto them, and Equity unto us all. Our Beggars do shamefully grow upon us, and such Beggars too as our Lord Jesus Christ himself hath expressly forbidden us to Countenance. I have Read a Printed Sermon which was Preached before Both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and the Assembly of Divines; the greatest Audience then in the World; And in that Sermon the Preacher had this passage, *I have lived in a Country where in Seven Years I never saw a Beggar, nor heard an Oath, nor looked upon a Drunkard.* Shall I tell you where that Utopia was? 'Twas NEW-ENGLAND! But they that go from hence must now tell another Story.

VII. May the Changes, and especially the Judgments that have come upon the Town, direct us what help to petition from the God of our Salvation. The Israelites had formerly seen Vernal Things, where they now sit up their Ebenezer: The Philistines had no less than Twice beaten them there, and there taken from them the Ark of God. Now we are setting up our Ebenezer, let us a little call to mind former Vernal Things that we have seen; the Ebenezer will go up the better for it.

We read in 1 Sam. 6. 18. concerning the Great Stone of Abel. Some say, that Adam erected that Stone, as a Grave-stone for his Abel, and wrote that Epitaph upon it, *Here was poured out the Blood of the Righteous ABEL.* I know nothing of This; the Names, I know, differ in the Original, but as we may erect many a Stone for an Ebenezer, so we may erect many a Great Stone of ABEL, that is to say, we may write MOURNING and SORROW, upon the Condition of the Town in various Examples. Now from the Stones of Abel, we will a little gather what we should wish to write upon the Stones of our Ebenezer.

What Changes have we seen in point of Religion? It was noted by Luther, He could never see good Order in the Church last more than Fifteen Years together in the Purity of it. Blessed be God, Religion hath here flourished in the Purity of it for more than Fifteen Years together.



together. But certainly the Power of Godliness is now grievously decay'd among us. As the Prophet of old Exclaimed in Joel 1. 2. *Hear this, ye old Men, and give Ear, ye Inhabitants; has this been in your Days?* Thus may I say, *Hear this, ye old Men, that are the Inhabitants of the Town:* Can't you Remember that in your Days, a Prayerful, a Watchful, a Fruitful Christian, and a well Governed Family, was a more common Sight, than it is now in our Days? Can't you Remember that in your Days those abominable Things did not show their Heads, that are now Bare-faced among us? Here then is a Petition to be made unto our God: *Lord, help us to Remember whence we are fallen, and to Repent, and to do the first Works.*

Again, What Changes have we seen in Point of Mortality? By Mortality almost all the Old Race of our First Planters here are carried off; the Old Stock is in a manner expired. We see the fulfilment of that Word in Eccl. 1. 4. *One Generation passeth away, and another Generation cometh.* It would be no unprofitable thing for you to pass over the several Streets, and call to mind, *Who lived here so many Years ago?* Why? In that place lived such an one; and in that place lived such an one. But, *Where are they Now?* Oh! They are Gone; they are Gone into that Eternal World, whither we must quickly follow them. Here is another Petition to be made unto our God: *Lord, help us to Number our Days, and apply our Hearts unto Wisdom, that when the place that now know us, do know us no more, we may be gone into the City of God.*

Furthermore, What Changes have we seen in point of Possessions? If some that are now Rich, were once Low in the World, 'tis possible, more that were once Rich, are now brought very Low. Ah! Boston, Thou hast seen the Vanity of all Worldly Possessions. One fatal Morning, which laid Fourcore of thy Dwelling-houses, and Seventy of thy Ware-houses, in a Ruinous Heap, not Nineteen Years ago, gave thee to Read it in Fiery Characters. And an huge Fleet of thy Vessels, which they would make if they were all together, that have miscarried in the late War, has given thee to Read more of it. Here is one Petition more to be

made unto our God: *Lord, help us to ensure a better and a lasting Substance in Heaven, and the good part that cannot be taken away.*

In fine, How dreadfully have the Young People of Boston perished under the Judgments of God! A renowned Writer among the Pagans could make this Remark: There was a Town so Irreligious and Atheistical, that they did not pay their First-fruits unto God: (which the Light of Nature taught the Pagans to do!) and, says he, they were by a sudden Desolation so strangely destroy'd, that there were no Remainers either of the Persons, or of the Houses, to be seen any more. Ah, my Young Folks, there are few First-fruits paid unto the Lord Jesus Christ among you. From hence it comes to pass, that the consuming Wrath of God is every Day upon you. New-England has been like a *Tattering House*, the very Foundations of it have been shaking: But the House thus over-throwing by the Whirlwinds of the Wrath of God, hath been like Job's Houle; It falls upon the Young Men, and they are Dead! The Disasters on our Young Folks have been so multiplied, that there are few Parents among us, but what will go with Wounded Hearts down unto their Graves: Their daily Moans are, *Ah, my Son cut off in his Youth! My Son, my Son!* Behold then the help that we are to ask of our God; and why do we, with no more Days of Prayer with fasting, ask it? *Lord, help the young People of Boston to Remember thee in the Days of their Youth, and sanctify unto the Survivors the terrible things that have come upon so many of that Generation.*

And now as Joshua having reasoned with his People, a little before he Died, in Josh. 24. 26, 27. Took a Great STONE, and set it up, and said unto all the People, Behold, this Stone shall be a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God. Thus we have been this Day setting up a STONE, even an *Ebeneszer* among you; and I conclude, earnestly testifying unto you, Behold this Stone shall be a witness unto you, that the Lord JESUS CHRIST has been a good Lord unto you; and if you seek him, he will be still found of you; and if you forsake him, he will cast you off for ever.

*The End of the First Book.*

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The Second BOOK  
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New English History :  
CONTAINING THE  
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GISTRATES, that have been SHIELDS  
unto the CHURCHES of NEW-ENGLAND,  
(until the Year 1686.)

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*Perpetuated by the Essay of* COTTON MATHER.

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*Priscaq; ne Veteris vaneſcat Gloria Sæſi,  
Fivida deſenſant, quæ Monumenta damur.*

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*Qui Aliis præſunt, tanto privatis Homini-  
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Quanto Honoribus & Lignitate antecellunt.* Panorinitan.

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*Nondum hæc, quæ nunc tenet Sæculum, Negligentia  
Dei Venerat.* Liv. l. 3.

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*Optimus quiſq; Nobiliſſimus.* Plato.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for *Thomas Parkbuſt*, at the Bible and Three  
Crowns in Cheapſide. 1702.

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## INTRODUCTION.

**T**WERE to be wiss'd that there might never be any English Translation of that Wicked Position in Machiavel, Non requiri in Principe veram pietatem, sed sufficere illius quendam umbram, & simulationem Externam. It may be there never was any Region under Heaven happier than poor New-England hath been in Magistrates, whose True Piety was worthy to be made the Example of After-Ages.

Happy halt thou been, O Land! in Magistrates, whose Disposition to serve the Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom they still considered themselves accountable, answered the good Rule of Agapetus, Quo quis in Republica Majorem Dignitatis gradum adeptus est, eo Deum Colat Submissius: Magistrates, whose Disposition to serve the People that chose them to Rule over them, argued them sensible of that great Stroak in Cicero, Nulla Re propius Homines ad Deum Accedunt, quam salute Hominibus danda: Magistrates, acted in their Administrations by the Spirit of a Joshua. When the Wife Man observes unto us, That Oppressions makes a Wife Man Mad, it may be worth considering, whether the Oppressor is not intended rather than the Oppressed in the Observation. 'Tis very certain that a Disposition to Oppress other Men, does often make those that are otherwise very Wife Men, to forget the Rules of Reason, and commit most Unreasonable Exorbitancies. Rehoboam in some things acted wisely; but this Admonition of his Inspired Father could not restrain him from acting madly, when the Spirit of Oppression was upon him. The Rulers of New-England have been Wife Men, whom that Spirit of Oppression betray'd not into this Madness.

The Father of Themistocles dissuading him from Government, shew'd him the Old Oars which the Mariners had now thrown

away upon the Sea-shores with Neglect and Contempt; and said, That People would certainly treat their Old Rulers with the same Contempt. But, Reader, let us now take up our Old Oars with all possible Respect, and see whether we can't still make use of them to serve our little Vessel. But this the rather, because we may with an ease turn change the Name into that of Pilots.

The Word GOVERNMENT, properly signifies the Guidance of a Ship: Tully uses it for that purpose; and in Plutarch, the Art of Steering a Ship, *ix, Τῆς κυβερνήσεως*. New-England is a little Ship, which hath Weathered many a Terrible Storm; and it is but reasonable that they who have sat at the Helm of the Ship, should be remembered in the History of its Deliverances.

Prudentius calls Judges, The Great Lights of the Sphere; Symmachus calls Judges, The better part of Mankind. Reader, Thou art now to be entertained with the Lives of Judges which have deserved that Character. And the Lives of those who have been called, Speaking Laws, will excuse our History from coming under the Observation made about the Work of Homer, That the Word, LAW, is never so much as once occurring in them. They are not written like the Cyrus of Xenophon, like the Alexander of Curtius, like Virgil's Aeneas, and like Pliny's Trajan: But the Reader hath in every one of them a Real and a Faithful History. And I please my self with hopes, that there will yet be found among the Sons of New-England, those Young Gentlemen by whom the Copies given in this History will be written after; and that saying of Old Chaucer be remembered, To do the Genteel Deeds, that makes the Gentleman.

## Ecclesiarum Clypei.

# The Second BOOK

## OF THE

# New English History.

## CHAP. I.

Galeacius Secundus. *The LIFE of WILLIAM BRADFORD, Esq;*  
Governour of PLYMOUTH COLONY.

*Omnium Somnos, illius vigilantia defendit, omnium otium illius Labor, omnium Delitias  
illius Industria, omnium vacationem illius occupatio.*

§. 1. **I**T has been a Matter of some Observation, that although *Torkshire* be one of the largest Shires in England, yet, for all the *Fires* of Martyrdom which were kindled in the Days of Queen *Mary*, it afforded no more *Fuel* than one poor *Leaf*; namely, *John Leaf*, an Apprentice, who suffered for the Doctrine of the Reformation at the same Time and Stake with the Famous *John Bradford*. But when the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* would not admit the Reformation of *Worship* to proceed unto those Degrees, which were proposed and pursued by no small number of the Faithful in those Days, *Torkshire* was not the least of the Shires in England that afforded Suffering Witnesses thereunto. The Churches there gathered were quickly molested with such a raging Persecution, that if the Spirit of Separation in them did carry them unto a further Extremum than it should have done, one blameable Cause thereof will be found in the Extremity of that Persecution. Their Troubles made that Cold Country too Hot for them, so that they were under a necessity to seek a Retreat in the Low Countries; and yet the watchful Malice and Fury of their Adversaries rendered it almost impossible for them to find what they sought. For them to leave their Native Soil, their Lands and their Friends, and go into a Strange Place, where they must hear Foreign Language, and live meanly and hardly, and in other Employments than that of Husbandry, wherein they had been Educated,

these must needs have been such Discouragements as could have been Conquered by none, save those who sought first the Kingdom of God, and the Righteousness thereof. But that which would have made these Discouragements the more Unconquerable unto an ordinary Faith, was the terrible Zeal of their Enemies to Guard all Ports, and Search all Ships, that none of them should be carried off. I will not relate the sad things of this kind, then seen and felt by this People of God; but only exemplify those Trials with one short Story. Divers of this People having Hired a Dutchman then lying at Hull, to carry them over to Holland, he promised faithfully to take them in between Grimfily and Hull; but they coming to the Place a Day or Two too soon, the appearance of such a Multitude alarmed the Officers of the Town adjoining, who came with a great Body of Soldiers to seize upon them. Now it happened that one Boat full of Men had been carried Aboard, while the Women were yet in a Bark that lay Aground in a Creek at Low-Water. The Dutchman perceiving the Storm that was thus beginning Ashore, swore by the Sacrament that he would stay no longer for any of them; and so taking the Advantage of a Fair Wind then Blowing, he put out to Sea for Zealand. The Women thus left near Grimfily-Common, bereaved of their Husbands, who had been hurried from them, and forsaken of their Neighbours, of whom none durst in this Fright stay with

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with them, were a very rueful Spectacle; some crying for Fear, some shaking for Cold, all dragg'd by Troops of Armed and Angry Men from one Justice to another, till not knowing what to do with them, they e'en dismiss'd them to shift as well as they could for themselves. But by their singular Afflictions, and by their Christian Behaviours, the Cause for which they expos'd themselves did gain considerably. In the mean time, the Men at Sea found Reason to be glad that their Families were not with them, for they were surprized with an horrible Tempest, which held them for fourteen Days together, in Seven whereof they saw not Sun, Moon or Star, but were driven upon the Coast of Norway. The Mariners often despair'd of Life, and once with doleful shrieks gave over all, as thinking the Vessel was Foundred: But the Vessel rose again, and when the Mariners with sunk Hearts often cried out, *We Sink! We Sink!* The Passengers without such Distraction of Mind, even while the Water was running into their Mouths and Ears, would cheerfully Shout, *Tet, Lord, thou canst save!* Yet Lord, thou canst save! And the Lord accordingly brought them at last safe unto their Desired Haven: And not long after helped their Distressed Relations thither after them, where indeed they found upon almost all Accounts a new World, but a World in which they found that they must live like Strangers and Pilgrims.

§. 2. Among those Devout People was our William Bradford, who was Born Anno 1588. in an obscure Village call'd Amsterfield, where the People were as unacquainted with the Bible, as the Jews do seem to have been with part of it in the Days of *Jehoiachin*; a most Ignorant and Licentious People, and like unto their Priests. Here, and in some other Places, he had a Comfortable Inheritance left him of his Honest Parents, who died while he was yet a Child, and cast him on the Education, first of his Grand Parents, and then of his Uncles, who devoted him, like his Ancestors, unto the Affairs of Husbandry. Soon and long Sicknes kept him, as he would afterwards thankfully say, from the Vanities of Youth, and made him the fitter for what he was afterwards to undergo. When he was about a Dozen Years Old, the Reading of the Scriptures began to cause great Impressions upon him; and those Impressions were much assisted, and improved, when he came to enjoy Mr. Richard Clifton's Illuminating Ministry, not far from his Abode; he was then also further befriended, by being brought into the Company and Fellowship of such as were then called Professors; though the Young Man that brought him into it, did after become a Profane and Wicked Apostate. Nor could the Wrath of his Uncles, nor the Scoff of his Neighbours now turn'd upon him, as one of the Puritans, divert him from his Pious Inclinations.

§. 3. At last beholding how fearfully the Evangelical and Apostolical Church-Eorm, where-

into the Churches of the Primitive Times were cast by the good Spirit of God, had been Deformed by the Apostacy of the Succeeding Times; and what little Progress the Reformation had yet made in many Parts of Christendom towards its Recovery, he set himself by Reading, by Discourse, by Prayer, to learn whether it was not his Duty to withdraw from the Communion of the Parish-Assemblies, and engage with some Society of the Faithful, that should keep close unto the Written Word of God, as the Rule of their Worship. And after many Distresses of Mind concerning it, he took up a very Deliberate and Understanding Resolution of doing so; which Resolution he cheerfully Prosecuted, although the provoked Rage of his Friends tried all the ways imaginable to reclaim him from it, unto all whom his Answer was, *Were I like to endanger my Life, or consume my Estate by any ungodly Counsel, your Counsels to me were very seasonable: But you know that I have been Diligent and Provident in my Calling, and not only desirous to augment what I have, but also to enjoy it in your Company; to part from which will be as great a Cross as can befall me. Nevertheless, to keep a good Conscience, and walk in such a Way as God has prescribed in his Word, is a thing which I must prefer before you all, and above Life it self. Wherefore, since 'tis for a good Cause that I am like to suffer the Disasters which you lay before me, you have no Cause to be either angry with me, or sorry for me; yea, I am not only willing to part with every thing that is dear to me in this World for this Cause, but I am also thankful that God has given me an Heart so to do, and will accept me so to suffer for him.* Some lamented him, some derided him, all dissuaded him: Nevertheless the more they did it, the more fixed he was in his Purpose to seek the Ordinances of the Gospel, where they should be dispensed with most of the Commanded Purity; and the sudden Deaths of the chief Relations which thus lay at him, quickly after convinced him what a Folly it had been to have quitted his Profession, in Expectation of any Satisfaction from them. So to Holland he attempted a removal.

§. 4. Having with a great Company of Christians Hired a Ship to Transport them for Holland, the Master perfidiously betrayed them into the Hands of those Persecutors, who Rised and Ranack'd their Goods, and clapp'd their Persons into Prison at Boston, where they lay for a Month together. But Mr. Bradford being a Young Man of about Eighteen, was dismissed sooner than the rest, so that within a while he had Opportunity with some others to get over to Zealand, through Perils both by Land and Sea not inconsiderable; where he was not long Ashore ere a Viper seized on his Hand, that is, an Officer, who carried him unto the Magistrates, unto whom an envious Passenger had accused him as having fled out of England. When the Magistrates un-



derstood the True Cause of his coming thither, they were well satisfied with him; and so he repaired joyfully unto his Brethren at *Amsterdam*, where the Difficulties to which he afterwards stooped in Learning and Serving of a *Frenchman* at the Working of *Silks*, were abundantly Compensated by the *Delight* wherewith he sat under the *Shadow* of our Lord in his purely dispensed Ordinances. At the end of Two Years, he did, being of Age to do it, convert his Estate in *England* into Money; but Setting up for himself, he found some of his Designs by the *Providence* of God frowned upon, which he judged a *Correption* bestowed by God upon him for certain Decays of *Internal Piety*, whereinto he had fallen; the *Consumption* of his Estate he thought came to prevent a *Consumption* in his *Virtue*. But after he had resided in *Holland* about half a Score Years, he was one of those who bore a part in that Hazardous and Generous Enterprize of removing into *New-England*, with part of the *English Church* at *Leyden*, where at their first Landing, his dearest Comfort accidentally falling Overboard, was drowned in the *Harbour*; and the rest of his Days were spent in the Services, and the Temptations, of that *American Wilderness*.

§ 5. Here was Mr. *Bradford* in the Year 1621. Unanimously chosen the *Governour* of the Plantation: The Difficulties whereof were such, that if he had not been a Person of more than Ordinary Piety, Wisdom and Courage, he must have sunk under them. He had with a Lovable Industry been laying up a Treasure of *Experiences*, and he had now occasion to use it: Indeed nothing but an Experienced Man could have been suitable to the Necessities of the People. The Potent Nations of the *Indians*, into whose Country they were come, would have cut them off, if the Blessing of God upon his Conduct had not quell'd them; and if his Prudence, Justice and Moderation had not over-ruled them, they had been ruined by their own *Distempers*. One Specimen of his Demeanour is to this Day particularly spoken of. A Company of Young Fellows that were newly arrived, were very unwilling to comply with the *Governour's* Order for Working abroad on the Publick Account; and therefore on *Christmas's Day*, when he had called upon them, they excused themselves, with a pretence that it was against their Conscience to Work such a Day. The *Governour* gave them no Answer, only that he would spare them till they were better informed; but by and by he found them all at Play in the Street, sporting themselves with various Diversions; whereupon Commanding the Instruments of their Games to be taken from them, he effectually gave them to understand, That it was against his Conscience that they should play whilst others were at Work; and that if they had any Devotion to the Day, they should show it at Home in the Exercises of Religion, and not in the Streets

with *Pastime* and *Frolicks*; and this gentle Reproof put a final Stop to all such Disorders for the future.

§ 6. For Two Years together after the beginning of the Colony, whereof he was now *Governour*, the poor People had a great Experiment of *Man's not living by Bread alone*; for when they were left all together without one Morfel of Bread for many Months one after another, still the good *Providence* of God relieved them, and supplied them, and this for the most part out of the *Sea*. In this low Condition of Affairs, there was no little Exercise for the *Prudence* and *Patience* of the *Governour*, who cheerfully bore his part in all: And that *Industry* might not flag, he quickly set himself to settle *Propriety* among the *New-Planters*; foreseeing that while the whole Country labour'd upon a *Common Stock*, the *Husbandry* and *Business* of the Plantation could not flourish, as *Plato* and others long since dream'd that it would, if a *Community* were established. Certainly, if the Spirit which dwelt in the *Old Puritans*, had not inspired these *New-Planters*, they had sunk under the Burden of these Difficulties; but our *Bradford* had a double Portion of that Spirit.

§ 7. The Plantation was quickly thrown into a Storm that almost overwhelmed it, by the unhappy Actions of a Minister sent over from *England* by the *Adventurers* concerned for the Plantation; but by the Blessing of Heaven on the Conduct of the *Governour*, they Weathered out that Storm. Only the *Adventurers* hereupon breaking to pieces, threw up all their Concernments with the *Infant Colony*; whereof they gave this as one Reason, That the *Planters* dissembled with His Majesty, and their Friends in their Petition, wherein they declared for a Church-Discipline, agreeing with the French and others of the *Reforming Churches* in *Europe*. Whereas 'twas now urged, that they had admitted into their Communion a Person, who at his Admission utterly renounced the Churches of *England*, (which Person by the way, was that very Man who had made the Complaints against them) and therefore though they denied the Name of *Brownists*, yet they were the Thing. In Answer hereunto, the very Words written by the *Governour* were these; Whereas you Tax us with dissembling about the French Discipline, you do us wrong, for we both hold and practice the Discipline of the French and other Reformed Churches (as they have published the same in the Harmony of Confessions) according to our Means, in Effect and Substance. But whereas you would tie us up to the French Discipline in every Circumstance, you derogate from the Liberty we have in Christ Jesus. The Apostle Paul would have none to follow him in any thing, but wherein he follows Christ; much less ought any Christian or Church in the World to do it. The French may err, we may err, and other Churches may err, and doubtless do in many Circumstances. That Honour therefore belongs

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only to the Infallible Word of God, and pure Testament of Christ, to be propounded and followed as the only Rule and Pattern for Direction herein to all Churches and Christians. And it is too great Arrogancy for any Men or Church to think, that he or they have so founded the Word of God unto the bottom, as precisely to set down the Churches Discipline without Error in Substance or Circumstance, that no other without blame may digress or differ in any thing from the same. And it is not difficult to shew that the Reformed Churches differ in many Circumstances among themselves. By which Words it appears how far he was free from that Rigid Spirit of Separation, which broke to pieces the Separatists themselves in the Low Countries, unto the great Scandal of the Reforming Churches. He was indeed a Person of a well-temper'd Spirit, or else it had been scarce possible for him to have kept the Affairs of Plymouth in so good a Temper for Thirty Seven Years together; in every one of which he was chosen their Governour, except the Three Years, wherein Mr. Winslow, and the Two Years, wherein Mr. Prince, at the choice of the People, took a turn with him.

§. 8. The Leader of a People in a Wilderness had need be a Moses; and if a Moses had not led the People of Plymouth Colony, when this Worthy Person was their Governour, the People had never with so much Unanimity and Importunity still called him to lead them. Among many Instances thereof, let this one piece of Self-denial be told for a Memorial of him, wheresoever this History shall be considered. The Patent of the Colony was taken in his Name, running in these Terms, To William Bradford, his Heirs, Associates and Assigns: But when the number of the Freemen was much Increased, and many New Townships Erected, the General Court there desired of Mr. Bradford, that he would make a Surrender of the same into their Hands, which he willingly and presently assented unto, and confirmed it according to their Desire by his Hand and Seal, reserving no more for himself than was his Proportion, with others, by Agreement. But as he found the Providence of Heaven many ways Recompensing his many Acts of Self-denial, so he gave this Testimony to the Faithfulness of the Divine Promises; That he had forsaken Friends, Houses and Lands for the sake of the Gospel, and the Lord gave them him again. Here he prospered in his Estate; and besides a Worthy Son which he had by a former Wife, he had also Two Sons and a

Daughter by another, whom he Married in this Land.

§. 9. He was a Person for Study as well as Action; and hence, notwithstanding the Difficulties through which he passed in his Youth, he attained unto a notable Skill in Languages; the Dutch Tongue was become almost as Vernacular to him as the English; the French Tongue he could also manage; the Latin and the Greek he had Mastered; but the Hebrew he most of all studied, Because, he said, he would see with his own Eyes the Ancient Oracles of God in their Native Beauty. He was also well skill'd in History, in Antiquity, and in Philosophy; and for Theology he became so versed in it, that he was an Irrefragable Disputant against the Errors, especially those of Anabaptism, which with Trouble he saw rising in his Colony; wherefore he wrote some Significant things for the Confutation of those Errors. But the Crown of all was his Holy, Prayerful, Watchful and Fruitful Walk with God, wherein he was very Exemplary.

§. 10. At length he fell into an Indisposition of Body, which rendered him unhealthily for a whole Winter; and as the Spring advanced, his Health yet more declined; yet he felt himself not what he counted Sick, till one Day; in the Night after which, the God of Heaven so fill'd his Mind with Ineffable Consolations, that he seemed little short of Paul, rapt up unto the Unutterable Entertainments of Paradise. The next Morning he told his Friends, That the good Spirit of God had given him a Pledge of his Happiness in another World, and the First-fruits of his Eternal Glory: And on the Day following he died, May 9. 1657. in the 69th Year of his Age. Lamented by all the Colonies of New-England, as a Common Blessing and Father to them all.

O mihi si Similis Contingat Clausula Vite!

Plato's brief Description of a Governour, is all that I will now leave as his Character, in an

#### EPITAPH.

Ναυαδς Τεσςης ἀλάνης ἀνθρακίνης.

MEN are but FLOCKS: BRADFORD beheld their Need, And long did them at once both Rule and Feed.



## CHAP. II.

## SUCCESSORS.

*Inter Omnia quæ Rempubicam, ejusq; felicitatem conservant, quid utilius, quid præstantius, quam Viros ad Magistratus gerendos Eligere, summa prudentia & Virtute predictos, quiq; ad Honores obtinendos, non Ambitione, non Largitionibus, sed Virtute & Modestia sibi parent adytum!*

§. 1. **T**HE Merits of Mr. Edward Winslow, the Son of Edward Winslow, Esq; of Draughtwich, in the County of Worcester, obliged the Votes of the Plymouth Colony (whereto he arrived in the Year 1624. after his Prudent and Faithful Dispatch of an Agency in England, on the behalf of that Infant Colony) to chuse him for many Years a Magistrate, and for Two or Three their Governour. Travelling into the Low-Countries, he fell into Acquaintance with the English Church at Leyden, and joining himself to them, he Shipped himself with that part of them which first came over into America; from which time he was continually engaged in such extraordinary Actions, as the assistance of that People to encounter their more than ordinary Difficulties, called for. But their Publick Affairs then requiring an Agency of as wise a Man as the Country could find at Whitehall for them, he was again prevaild withal in the Year 1635. to appear for them at the Council-board; and his appearance there proved as Effectual, as it was very Seasonable, not only for the Colony of Plymouth, but for the Massachusetts also, on very important Accounts. It was by the Blessing of God upon his wary and proper Applications, that the Attempts of many Adversaries to overthrow the whole Settlement of New-England, were themselves wholly overthrown; and as a small Acknowledgment for his great Service therein, they did, upon his return again, chuse him their Governour. But in the Year 1646. the place of Governour being reassumed by Mr. Bradford, the Massachusetts-Colony Addressed themselves unto Mr. Winslow to take another Voyage for England, that he might there procure their Deliverance from the Designs of many Troublesome Adversaries that were Petitioning unto the Parliament against them; and this Hercules having been from his very early Days accustomed unto the cruising of that sort of Serpents, generously undertook another Agency, wherein how many good Services he did for New-England, and with what Fidelity, Discretion, Vigour and Success he pursued the Interests of that Happy People, it would make a large History to relate, an History that may not now be expected until the Resurrection of the Just. After this he returned no more unto New-England; but being in great Favour with the greatest Persons then in the Nation, he fell into those Employments wherein the whole Nation fared the better for him. At length he was employed as

one of the Grand Commissioners in the Expedition against Hispaniola, where a Disease (rendred yet more uncase by his Dissatisfaction at the strange miscarriage of that Expedition) arresting him, he died between Domingo and Jamaica, on May 8. 1655. in the Sixty-first Year of his Life, and had his Body Honourably committed unto the Sea.

§. 2. Sometimes during the Life, but always after the Death of Governour Bradford, even until his own, Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen Governour of Plymouth. He was a Gentleman whose Natural Parts exceeded his Acquired; but the want and worth of Acquired Parts was a thing so sensible unto him, that Plymouth perhaps never had a greater Mecenas of Learning in it: It was he that in spite of much Contradiction, procured Revenues for the Support of Grammar-Schools in that Colony. About the time of Governour Bradford's Death, Religion it self had like to have died in that Colony, through a Libertine and Brownstick Spirit then prevailing among the People, and a strange Disposition to Discourage the Gospel-Ministry, by setting up the Gifts of Private Brethren in Opposition thereunto. The good People being in extreme Distress from the Prospect which this matter gave to them, saw no way so likely and ready to save the Churches from Ruin, as by the Election of Mr. Prince to the place of Governour; and this Point being by the Gracious and Marvellous Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ gained at the next Election, the Adverse Party from that very time sunk into Confusion. He had Sojourned for a while at Eastham, where a Church was by his means gathered; but after this time he returned unto his former Situation at Plymouth, where he resided until he died, which was March 29. 1673. when he was about Seventy-Three Years of Age: Among the many Excellent Qualities which adorned him as Governour of the Colony, there was much notice taken of that Integrity, wherewith indeed he was most exemplarily qualified: Whence it was that as he ever would refuse any thing that look'd like a Bribe; so if any Person having a Cause to be heard at Court, had sent a Present unto his Family in his absence, he would presently send back the value thereof in Money unto the Person. But had he been only a private Christian, there would yet have been seen upon him those Ornaments of Prayerfulness, and Peaceableness, and profound Renunciation to the

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the Conduct of the Word of God, and a strict Walk with God, which might justly have been made an Example to a whole Colony.

§. 3. Reader, If thou would'st have seen the true Picture of *Wisdom, Courage and Generosity*, the Successor of Mr. *Thomas Prince* in the Government of *Plymouth* would have represented it. It was the truly Honourable *Josiah Winslow*, Esq; the first Governour that was Born in *New-England*, and one well worthy to be an Example to all that should come after him: A True *English Gentleman*, and (that I may say all at once) the True Son of that Gentleman whom we parted withal no more than Two Paragraphs ago. His Education and his Disposition was that of a Gentleman; and his many Services to his Country in the Field, as well as on the Bench, ought never to be Buried in Oblivion. All that *Homer* desired in a Ruler, was in the Life of this Gentleman expressed unto the Life; to be, *Fortes in Hostes*, and, *Bonus in Croes*. Though he hath left an Offspring, yet I must ask for One Daughter to be remembered above the rest. As

of Old, *Epaminondas* being upbraided with want of Issue, boasted that he left behind him one Daughter, namely, the Battel of *Leuctra*, which would render him immortal; so our General *Winslow* hath left behind him his Battel at the For of the *Narragansetts*, to immortalize him: There did he with his own Sword make, and shape a Pen to Write his History. But so large a Field of Merit is now before me, that I dare not give my self the liberty to Range in it lest I lose my self. He died on Dec. 18. 1680.

*Fam Cinis est, & de tam magnis restat Achille,  
Nescio quid; parvam quod non bene compliat  
Urnam.*

§. 4. And what Successor had he? Methinks of the Two last Words in the wonderful Prediction of the Succession, Oracled unto King *Henry VII.* *LEO, NULLUS*, the First would have well suited the Valiant *Winslow* of *Plymouth*; and the last were to have been with'd for him that followed.

### CHAP. III.

#### Patres Conscripti: Or, ASSISTENTS.

#### MAGISTRATES in the Colony of New-Plymouth.

THE GOVERNOURS of *New-England* have still had Righteousness the Girdle of their Loins, and Faithfulness the Girdle of their Reins, that is to say, Righteous and Faithful Men about them, in the Assistance of such Magistrates as were called by the Votes of the Freemen unto the Administration of the Government, (according to their Charters) and made the Judges of the Land. These Persons have been such Members of the Churches, and such Patrons to the Churches, and generally been such Examples of Courage, Witdom, Justice, Goodness and Religion, that it is fit our Church-History should remember them. The Blessed *Apollonius*, who in a set Oration Generously and Eloquenty Pleaded the Cause of Christianity before the Roman Senate, was not only a Learned Person, but also (if *Jerom* say right) a Senator of Rome. The Senators of *New-England* also have pleaded the Cause of Christianity, not so much by Orations, as by Practising of it, and by Suffering for it. Nevertheless, as the *Sicemans* would have no other Epitaphs written on the Tombs of their Kings, but only their Names, that they might have no Honour, but what the Remembrance of their Actions and Merits in the Minds of the People should procure for them; so I shall content my self with only reciting the Names of these Worthy Persons, and the Times when I find them first chosen unto their Magistracy.

THE good People, soon after their first coming over, chose Mr. *William Bradford* for their Governour, and added Five Assistents, whose Names, I suppose, will be found in the Catalogue of them, whom I find sitting on the Seat of Judgment among them, in the Year 1633.

*Edward Winslow*, Gov.

*William Bradford*.

*Miles Standish*.

*John Howland*.

*John Alder*.

*John Dore*.

*Stephen Hopkins*.

*William Giffon*.

Afterwards at several times were added,

*Thomas Prince*.

*William Collier*.

*Timothy Hatherly*.

*John Brown*.

*John Jenny*.

*John Atwood*.

*Edmund Freeman*.

*William Thomas*.

*Thomas Willet*.

*Thomas Southworth*.

*James Cutworth*.

*Josiah Winslow*.

*William Bradford*. F.

1634.

1634.

1636.

1636.

1637.

1638.

1640.

1642.

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1652.

1656.

1657.

1658.

Thomas



Thomas Hinkley.  
James Brown.  
John Freeman.  
Nathaniel Bacon.

1658.  
1665.  
1666.  
1667.

mouth Colony, in the Year 1669. Since the<sup>th</sup>  
there have been added at several times,

Constant Southworth.  
Daniel Smith.  
Barnabas Lotbrop.  
John Thatcher.  
John Walley.

1670.  
1674  
1681.

Thus far we find in a Book Entituled, *New-England's Memorial*, which was Published by Mr. Nathaniel Morton, the Secretary of Ply-

#### CHAP. IV.

Nehemias Americanus. *The LIFE of JOHN WINTHROP, Esq<sup>s</sup>*  
*Governour of the MASSACHUSET COLONY.*

*Quicquq; Venturi erunt, Ars nostra certe non aberit. Cicer.*

§. 1. **L**ET Greece boast of her patient *Lycurgus*, the *Laogiver*, by whom *Diligence*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude* and *Wit* were made the *Fashions* of a therefore Long-lasting and Renowned Commonwealth: Let Rome tell of her Devout *Numa*, the *Laogiver*, by whom the most Famous Commonwealth saw Peace Triumphant over extinguished War, and cruel Plunders, and Murders giving place to the more mollifying Exercises of his Religion. Our New-England shall tell and boast of her *Winthrop*, a *Laogiver*, as patient as *Lycurgus*, but not admitting any of his Criminal Disorders; as Devout as *Numa*, but not liable to any of his Heathenish Madneses; a Governour in whom the Excellencies of Christianity made a most improving Addition unto the Virtues, wherein even without these he would have made a Parallel for the Great Men of Greece, or of Rome, which the Pen of a Plutarch has Eternized.

§. 2. A Stock of *Heroes* by right should afford nothing but what is *Heroical*; and nothing but an extreme Degeneracy would make any thing less to be expected from a Stock of *Winthrops*. Mr. Adam Winthrop, the Son of a Worthy Gentleman wearing the same Name, was himself a Worthy, a Discreet, and a Learned Gentleman, particularly Eminent for Skill in the Law, nor without Remark for Love to the Gospel, under the Reign of King Henry VIII. And Brother to a Memorable Favourer of the Reformed Religion in the Days of Queen Mary, into whose Hands the Famous Martyr Philpot committed his Papers, which afterwards made no Inconsiderable part of our Martyr-Books. This Mr. Adam Winthrop had a Son of the same Name also, and of the same Endowments and Employments with his Father; and this Third Adam Winthrop was the Father of that Renowned John Winthrop, who was the Father of New-England, and the Founder of a Colony, which upon many Accounts, like him that Founded it, may challenge the First Place among the English Glories of America. Our John Winthrop thus Born at the Mansion-House of his Ancestors, at Groton in Suffolk, on June 12. 1587. en-

joyed afterwards an agreeable Education. But though he would rather have Devoted himself unto the Study of Mr. John Calvin, than of Sir Edward Cook; nevertheless, the Accomplishments of a Lawyer, were those wherewith Heaven made his chief Opportunities to be Serviceable.

§. 3. Being made, at the unusually early Age of Eighteen, a Justice of Peace, his Virtues began to fall under a more general Observation; and he not only so Bound himself to the Behaviour of a Christian, as to become Exemplary for a Conformity to the Laws of Christianity in his own Conversation, but also discovered a more than ordinary Measure of those Qualities, which adorn an Officer of Humane Society. His Justice was Impartial, and used the Balance to weigh not the Cash, but the Case of those who were before him: His Wisdom did exquisitely Temper things according to the Art of Governing, which is a Business of more Contrivance than the Seven Arts of the Schools: Oyer still went before Terminus in all his Administrations: His Courage made him Dare to do right, and fitted him to stand among the Lions, that have sometimes been the Supporters of the Throne: All which Virtues he rendered the more Illustrious, by Emblazoning them with the Constant Liberality and Hospitality of a Gentleman. This made him the Terror of the Wicked, and the Delight of the Sober, the Envy of the many, but the Hope of those who had any Hopeful Design in Hand for the Common Good of the Nation, and the Interests of Religion.

§. 4. Accordingly when the Noble Design of carrying a Colony of Chosen People into an American Wilderness, was by some Eminent Persons undertaken, This Eminent Person was, by the Consent of all, Chosen for the Moses, who must be the Leader of so great an Undertaking: And indeed nothing but a Mosaic Spirit could have carried him through the Temptations, to which either his Farewell to his own Land, or his Travel in a Strange Land, must needs expose a Gentleman of his

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his Education. Wherefore having Sold a fair Estate of Six or Seven Hundred a Year, he Transported himself with the Effects of it into New-England in the Year 1630. where he spent it upon the Service of a famous Plantation founded and formed for the Seat of the most Reformed Christianity : And continued there, conflicting with Temptations of all sorts, as many Years as the Nodes of the Moon take to dispatch a Revolution. Those Persons were never concerned in a *New-Plantation*, who know not that the unavoidable Difficulties of such a thing, will call for all the Prudence and Patience of a Mortal Man to Encounter therewithal ; and they must be very insensible of the Influence, which the Just Wrath of Heaven has permitted the Devils to have upon this World, if they do not think that the Difficulties of a *New-Plantation*, devoted unto the Evangelical Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, must be yet more than Ordinary. How Prudently, how Patiently, and with how much Resignation to our Lord Jesus Christ, our brave Winthrop waded through these Difficulties, let Posterity Consider with Admiration. And know, that as the Picture of this their Governour, was, after his Death, hung up with Honour in the State-House of his Country, so the Wisdom, Courage, and Holy Zeal of his Life, were an Example well-worthy to be Copied by all that shall succeed in Government.

§. 5. Were he now to be consider'd only as a Christian, we might therein propose him as greatly Imitable. He was a very Religious Man ; and as he strictly kept his Heart, so he kept his House, under the Laws of Piety : there he was every Day constant in Holy Duties, both Morning and Evening, and on the Lord's Days, and Lectures ; though he wrote not after the Preacher, yet such was his Attention, and such his Retention in Hearings, that he repeated unto his Family the Sermons which he had heard in the Congregation. But it is chiefly as a Governour that he is now to be consider'd. Being the Governour over the considerable Part of New-England, he maintain'd the Figure and Honour of his Place with the Spirit of a true Gentleman ; but yet with such obliging Condescension to the Circumstances of the Colony, that when a certain troublesome and malicious Calumniator, well known in those Times, printed his Libellous Nick-Names upon the chief Persons here, the worst Nick-Name he could find for the Governour, was *John Temper-well* ; and when the Calumnies of that ill Man caused the Arch-Bishop to Summon one Mr. Cleave before the King, in hopes to get some Accusation from him against the Country, Mr. Cleave gave such an Account of the Governour's laudable Carriage in all Respects, and the serious Devotion wherewith Prayers were both publicly and privately made for His Majesty, that the King expressed himself most highly Pleased therewithal, only Sorry that so Worthy a Person should be no better Accommodated than with the Hardships of America. He was, in-

deed, a Governour, who had most exactly studied that Book, which pretending to Teach Politics, did only contain Three Leaves, and but One Word in each of those Leaves, which Word was, Moderation. Hence, though he were a Zealous Enemy to all Vice, yet his Practice was according to his Judgment thus expressed : In the Infancy of Plantations, Justice should be administered with more Lenity than in a settled State ; because People are more apt then to Transgress ; partly out of Ignorance of new Laws and Orders, partly out of Oppression of Business, and other Straits. [Lento Gradui] was the old Rule ; and if the Strings of a new Instrument be wound up unto their height, they will quickly crack. But when some Leading and Learned Man took Offence at his Conduct in this Matter, and upon a Conference gave it in as their Opinion, That a stricter Discipline was to be used in the beginning of a Plantation, than after its being with more Age established and confirmed, the Governour being reader to see his own Errors than other Mens, professed his Purpose to endeavour their Satisfaction with less of Lenity in his Administrations. At that Conference there were drawn up several other Articles to be observed between the Governour and the rest of the Magistrates, which were of this Import : That the Magistrates, as far as might be, should beforehand ripen their Consultations, to produce that Unanimity in their Publick Votes, which might make them liker to the Voice of God ; that if Differences fell out among them in their Publick Meetings, they should speak only to the Case, without any Reflection, with all due Modesty, and but by way of Question ; or Desire the deferring of the Cause to further time ; and after Sentence to imitate privately no Dislike ; that they should be more Familiar, Friendly and Open unto each other, and more frequent in their Visitations, and not any way expose each other's Infirmities, but seek the Honour of each other, and all the Court ; that One Magistrate shall not cross the Proceedings of another, without first advising with him ; and that they should in all their Appearances abroad, be so circumstanced as to prevent all Contempt of Authority ; and that they should Support and Strengthen all Under Officers. All of which Articles were observed by no Man more than by the Governour himself.

§. 6. But whilst he thus did as our New-English Nebemiah, the part of a Ruler in Managing the Publick Affairs of our American Jerusalem, when there were Tobijahs and Sanballaths enough to vex him, and give him the Experiment of Luther's Observation, Omnis qui regit, est tanquam signum, in quod omnia Facula, Satan & Mundus dirigunt ; he made himself still an exacter Parallel unto that Governour of Israel, by doing the part of a Neighbour among the distressed People of the New-Plantation. To teach them the Frugality necessary for those times, he abridged himself of a Thousand comfortable things, which he had



allow'd himself elsewhere : His *Habit* was not that *soft Raiment*, which would have been disagreeable to a *Wilderness*; his *Table* was not covered with the *Superfluities* that would have invited unto *Sensualities* : *Water* was commonly his *own Drink*, though he gave *Wine* to others. But at the same time his *Liberality* unto the *Needy* was even beyond measure *Generous*; and therein he was continually causing *The Blessing of him that was ready to Perish to come upon him, and the Heart of the Widow and the Orphan to sing for Joy* : But none more than those of *Deceased Ministers*, whom he always treated with a very singular *Compassion*; among the *Instances* whereof we still enjoy with us the *Worthy* and now *Aged Son* of that *Reverend Higginson*, whose *Death* left his *Family* in a wide *World* soon after his arrival here, publicly acknowledging the *Charitable Wintrop* for his *Elder-Father*. It was oftentimes no small *Trial* unto his *Faith*, to think, *How a Table for the People should be furnished when they first came into the Wilderness* ! And for very many of the *People*, his *own good Works* were needful, and accordingly employed for the answering of his *Faith*. Indeed, for a while the *Governour* was the *Joseph*, unto whom the whole *Body* of the *People* repaired when their *Corn* failed them : And he continued *Relieving* of them with his *open-handed Bounties*, as long as he had any *Stock* to do it with; and a lively *Faith* to see the return of the *Bread after many Days*, and not *Starve* in the *Days* that were to pass till that *return should be seen*, carried him cheerfully through those *Expences*. Once it was observable, that on *Feb. 5, 1630* when he was distributing the last *Handful of the Meal in the Barrel* unto a *Poor Man distressed by the Wolf at the Door*, at that *Instant* they spied a *Ship* arrived at the *Harbour's Mouth* Laden with *Provisions* for them all. Yea, the *Governour* sometimes made his *own private Parse* to be the *Publick*; not by *sucking* into it, but by *squeezing* out of it; for when the *Publick Treasure* had nothing in it, he did himself *defray* the *Charges of the Publick*. And having learned that *Lesson* of our *Lord*, *That it is better to Give, than to Receive*, he did, at the *General Court* when he was a *Third time* chosen *Governour*, made a *Speech* unto this purpose, *That he had received Gratitudes from divers Towns, which he accepted with much Comfort and Content*; and he had likewise received *Civilities* from particular *Persons*, which he could not refuse without *Incivility* in himself. Nevertheless, he took them with a *trembling Heart*, in regard of *God's Word*, and the *Conscience* of his *own Infirmities*; and therefore he desired them that they would not hereafter take it ill if he refused *such Presents* for the time to come. 'Twas his *Custom* also to send some of his *Family* upon *Errands*, unto the *Houses* of the *Poor* about their *Meal-time*, on purpose to *spy* whether they *wanted*; and if it were found that they *wanted*, he would make that the *Opportunity*

of sending *Supplies* unto them. And there was one *Passage* of his *Charity* that was perhaps a little *unusual* : In an hard and long *Winter*, when *Wood* was very scarce at *Boston*, a *Man* gave him a *private Information*, that a *needy Person* in the *Neighbourhood* stole *Wood* sometimes from his *Pile*; whereupon the *Governour* in a seeming *Anger* did reply, *Does he so? I'll take a Course with him; go, call that Man to me, I'll warrant you I'll cure him of Stealing* ! When the *Man* came, the *Governour* considering that if he had *Stolen*, it was more out of *Necessity* than *Disposition*, said unto him, *Friend, it is a severe Winter, and I doubt you are but meanly provided for Wood; wherefore I would have you supply your self at my Wood-Pile till this cold Season be over*. And he then *Merrily* asked his *Friends*, *Whether he had not effectually cured this Man of Stealing his Wood?*

§. 7. One would have imagined that so good a *Man* could have had no *Enemies*; if we had not had a daily and woful experience to *Convince* us, that *Goodness* it self will *make Enemies*. It is a wonderful *Speech of Plato*, (in one of his Books, *De Republica*) For the trial of true *Virtue*, 'tis necessary that a good *Man* under advice, should suffer the *Injury of the greatest Injustice*. The *Governour* had by his unspotted *Integrity*, procured himself a great *Reputation* among the *People*; and then the *Crime of Popularity* was laid unto his *Charge* by such, who were willing to deliver him from the *Danger* of having all *Men speak well of him*. Yea, there were *Persons* eminent both for *Figure* and for *Number*, unto whom it was almost *Essential* to *dislike* every thing that came from him; and yet he always maintained an *Amicable Correspondence* with them; as believing that they acted according to their *Judgment* and *Conscience*, or that their *Eyes* were held by some *Temptation* in the world of all their *Oppositions*. Indeed, his *right Works* were so many, that they expell'd him unto the *Envoy* of his *Neighbours*; and of such *Power* was that *Envoy*, that sometimes he could not stand before it; but it was by not *standing* that he most effectually withstood it all. Great Attempts were sometimes made among the *Freemen*, to get him left out from his *Place* in the *Government* upon little *Pretences*, left by the too frequent *Choice* of One *Man*, the *Government* should cease to be by *Choice*; and with a particular aim at him, *Sermons* were Preached at the *Anniversary Court of Election*, to dissuade the *Freemen* from choosing One *Man* twice together. This was the *Reward* of his extraordinary *Serviceableness* ! But when these Attempts did succeed, as they sometimes did, his *Profound Humility* appeared in that *Equality of Mind*, where-with he applied himself cheerfully to serve the *Country* in whatever *Station* their *Votes* had allotted for him. And one Year when the *Votes* came to be *Numbered*, there were found *Six* less for Mr. *Wintrop*, than for another *Gentleman* who then stood in *Competition* : But several

other

other Persons require the Election, therefore the Election was very irksome. The Magistrates, therefore, should at last take thought it was a Self-denial of the permit any of these Trials of those harsher sometimes had a few in the Days the Passion of Love like that of the Family of the last Conqueror, Judas Maccabees of God have the Bones; and it into Rules, the Societies will say he, is often sternness, untended this Envy by being free from §. 8. Were it the Exemplary Singing soft Anger, have those Infants sometimes to En his Gentleness, mimic, a Pattern that something seemed indeed ne than that of the the Governour, be contented, if pried; if it be Behold, Reader, by exemplified received a very man, who was delivered back that brought it as this, is a Law of Provocation Gentlemen was Provisions to send him some of his venour prayed for as a Token Gentlemen return overcame, of joy afterwards gave French have a me, of an Hono mist Man; and sensible Mixture on and Condescend There was a thing for fear May 17, 1637, try, who had honour more unto have confounding that the G



other Persons regularly Tending their *Votes* before the *Election* was published, were, upon a very frivolous Objection, refused by some of the Magistrates, that were afraid lest the *Election* should at last fall upon Mr. *Wintrop*: Which though it was well perceived, yet such was the *Self-denial* of this *Patriot*, that he would not permit any Notice to be taken of the Injury. But these *Trials* were nothing in Comparison of those harsher and harder *Treats*, which he sometimes had from the *Enviousness* of not a few in the Days of their *Paroxysms*; and from the *Faction* of some against him, not much unlike that of the *Piazzis* in *Florence* against the Family of the *Medices*: All of which he at last Conquered by Conforming to the Famous Judges Motto, *Prudens qui Patiens*. The Oracles of God have said, *Envy is rottenness to the Bones*; and *Gulielmus Parisiensis* applies it unto Rulers, who are as it were the *Bones* of the Societies which they belong unto: *Envy*, says he, is often found among them, and it is rottenness unto them. Our *Wintrop* Encountered this *Envy* from others, but Conquered it, by being free from it himself.

§. 8. Were it not for the sake of introducing the Exemplary Skill of this Wise Man, at giving *Self* Answers, one would not chuse to Relate those Instances of *Wrath*, which he had sometimes to Encounter with; but he was for his *Gentleness*, his *Forbearance*, and his *Longanimity*, a Pattern for worthy to be Written after, that something must here be Written of it. He seemed indeed never to speak any other Language than that of *Theodosius*, *If any Man speak evil of the Governour, if it be thro' Lightness, 'tis to be contemned; if it be thro' Madnesse, 'tis to be pitied; if it be thro' Injury, 'tis to be remitted*. Behold, Reader, the *Meekness* of *Wisdom* notably exemplified! There was a time when he received a very sharp Letter from a Gentleman, who was a Member of the Court, but he delivered back the Letter unto the Messengers that brought it with such a Christian Speech as this, *I am not willing to keep such a matter of Provocation by me!* Afterwards the same Gentleman was compelled by the scarcity of Provisions to send unto him that he would Sell him some of his Cattel; whereupon the Governour prayed him to accept what he had sent for as a Token of his Good Will, but the Gentleman returned him this Answer, *Sir, your overcoming of your self hath overcome me; and afterwards gave Demonstration of it*. The French have a saying, *That Un Honeste Homme, est un Homme melle!* A good Man is a mixt Man; and there hardly ever was a more sensible Mixture of those Two things, *Resolution* and *Condescension*, than in this good Man. There was a time when the Court of *Election*, being for fear of Tumult, held at *Cambridge*, May 17. 1637. The Sectarian part of the Country, who had the Year before gotten a Governour more unto their Mind, had a Project now to have confounded the *Election*, by demanding that the Court would consider a *Petition*

then tendered before their Proceeding thereunto. Mr. *Wintrop* saw that this was only a Trick to throw all into Confusion, by putting off the Choice of the Governour and *Affiliants* until the Day should be over; and therefore he did, with a strenuous Resolution, procure a dis-appointment unto that mischievous and ruinous Contrivance. Nevertheless, Mr. *Wintrop* himself being by the Voice of the Freemen in this Exigence chosen the Governour, and all of the other Party left out, that ill-affected Party discovered the *Dirt* and *Mire*, which remained with them, after the Storm was over; particularly the *Serjeants*, whose Office 'twas to attend the Governour, laid down their *Halbets*; but such was the Condescension of this Governour, as to take no present Notice of this Anger and Contempt, but only Order some of his own Servants to take the *Halbets*: And when the Country manifested their deep Remissions of the Affront thus offered him, he prayed them to overlook it. But it was not long before a Compensation was made for these things by the doubled *Respects* which were from all Parts paid unto him. Again, there was a time when the Suppression of an *Antinomian* and *Familistical* Faction, which extremely threatened the Ruin of the Country, was generally thought much owing unto this Renowned Man; and therefore when the Friends of that Faction could not wreak their Displeasure on him with any *Politick* Vexations, they set themselves to do it by *Ecclesiastical* ones. Accordingly when a Sentence of *Banishment* was passed on the Ring-leaders of those Disturbances, who

—*Maria & Terras, Calumq; profundum,  
Quippe serani, Rapidi, secum, vertantq; per  
Auras;*

many at the Church of *Boston*, who were then that way too much inclined, most earnestly solicited the Elders of that Church, whereof the Governour was a Member, to call him forth as an Offender for passing of that Sentence. The Elders were unwilling to do any such thing; but the Governour understanding the Ferment among the People, took that occasion to make a Speech in the Congregation to this Effect. *Brethren*, Understanding that some of you have desired that I should Answer for an Offence lately taken among you, had I been called upon to do so, I would, *First*, Have advised with the Ministers of the Country, whether the Church had Power to call in Question the Civil Court; and I would, *Secondly*, Have advised with the rest of the Court, whether I might discover their Counsels unto the Church. But though I know that the Reverend Elders of this Church, and some others, do very well apprehend that the Church cannot enquire into the Proceedings of the Court; yet for the Satisfaction of the weaker who do not apprehend it, I will declare my Mind concerning it. If the Church have any such Power, they have it from the Lord Jesus Christ; but the



Lord Jesus Christ hath disclaimed it, nor only by *Pratice*, but also by *Precept*, which we have in his Gospel, *Mat. 20. 25, 26.* It is true indeed, that *Magistrates*, as they are *Church-Members*, are accountable unto the *Church* for their Failings; but that is when they are out of their Calling. When *Uzziah* would go offer Incense in the *Temple*, the *Officers of the Church* called him to an account, and withstood him; but when *Ahaz* put the *Prophet* in Prison, the *Officers of the Church* did not call him to an account for *that*. If the *Magistrate* shall in a private way wrong any Man, the *Church* may call him to an Account for it; but if he be in Pursuance of a Course of *Justice*, though the thing that he does be *unjust*, yet he is not accountable for it before the *Church*. As for my self I did nothing in the Causes of any of the *Brethren*, but by the Advice of the *Elders of the Church*. Moreover, in the *Oath* which I have taken there is this Clause, *In all Causes wherein you are to give your Vote, you shall do as in your Judgment and Conscience you shall see to be Just, and for the publick Good.* And I am satisfied, it is most for the Glory of God, and the publick Good, that there has been such a *Sentence* passed; yea, those *Brethren* are to be divided from the rest of the Country in their Opinions and Practices, that it cannot stand with the publick Peace for them to continue with us; *Abraham* saw that *Hagar* and *Ismael* must be sent away. By such a Speech he marvelously convinced, satisfied and mollified the *unjust Brethren* of the Church; *Sic cunctos Pelagi cecidit Frater*— And after a little patient waiting, the differences all so wore away, that the Church, meely as a Token of Respect unto the Governour, when he had newly met with some Losses in his Estate, sent him a Present of several Hundreds of Pounds. Once more there was a time, when some active Spirits among the *Deputies of the Colony*, by their endeavours not only to make themselves a Court of Judicature, but also to take away the *Negative* by which the *Magistrates* might check their Votes, had like by over-driving to have run the whole Government into something too Democratical. And if there were a Town in *Spain* undermined by *Coneys*, another Town in *Thrace* destroyed by *Moles*, a Third in *Greece* ravished by *Frogs*, a Fourth in *Germany* subverted by *Rats*, I must on this Occasion add, that there was a Country in *America* like to be confounded by a *Swine*. A certain *Boy* now being found, was claimed by Two several Persons with a Claim so equally maintained on both sides, that after Six or Seven Years *Hunting* the Bufilees, from one Count unto another, it was brought at last into the *General Court*, where the final Determination was, that it was impossible to proceed unto any Judgment in the Case. However in the debate of this Matter, the *Negative of the Upper-House* upon the Lower in that Court was brought upon the Stage; and agitated with so hot a Zeal, that

*little more and all had been in the Fire.* In these Agitations the Governour was informed that an offence had been taken by some eminent Persons, at certain Passages in a Discourse by him written thereabout; whereupon with his usual *Condescendency*, when he next came into the General Court, he made a Speech of this Import. "I understand, that some have taken offence at something that I have lately written; which Offence I define to remove now, and begin this Year in a reconciled State with you all. As for the *Matter of my Writing*, I had the Concurrence of my Brethren; it is a Point of Judgment which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and over again, by such Light as God has given me, from the Rules of Religion, Reason and Custom; and I see no cause to Retract any thing of it: Wherefore I must enjoy my Liberty in that, as you do your selves. But for the Manner, this, and all that was blame-worthy in it, was wholly my own; and whatsoever I might allege for my own Justification therein before Men, I waive it, as now setting my self before another Judgment-Seat. However, what I wrote was upon great Provocation, and to vindicate my self and others from great Aspersions; yet that was no sufficient Warrant for me to allow an *Dissempner of Spirit* in my self; and I doubt I have been too prodigal of my Brethren's Reputation; I might have maintained my Cause without casting any Blemish upon others, when I made that my Conclusion, And now let Religion and sound Reason give Judgment in the Case; it look'd as if arrogated too much unto my self, and too little to others. And when I made that Profession, That I would maintain what I wrote before all the World, though such Words might modestly be spoken, yet I perceive an unbecoming Pride of my own Heart breathing in them. For these Failings I ask Pardon both of God and Man.

*Sic ait, & ditto citius Tumida Æquora placat,  
Collectasq; fugat Nubes, Solemque reducit.*

This *acknowledging Disposition* in the Governour, made them all *acknowledge*, that he was truly a *Man of an excellent Spirit*. In fine, the *Victories of an Alexander, an Hannibal, or a Cesar over other Men*, were not so Glorious, as the *Victories of this great Man over himself*, which also at last prov'd *Victories over other Men*.

§. 9. But the stormiest of all the *Trials*, that ever befel this Gentleman, was in the Year 1645, when he was in *Thle* no more than *Deputy-Governour* of the Colony. If the famous *Cato* were Forty-four times call'd into Judgment, but as often acquitted; let it not be wondered, and if our Famous *Wimbor* were one time so. There hapning certain Seditious and Mutinous Practices in the Town of *Hingham*, the *Deputy-Governour* as legally as prudently interposed his *Authority* for the checking of them: Whereupon there followed such an *Ex-*

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in the Fire. In  
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n by some eminent  
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and over again, by  
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and Custom; and I  
thing of it: Where-  
ery in that, as you  
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in it, was wholly  
might allege for  
self before Men, I  
felt before another  
what I wrote was  
and to vindicate my  
Applause; yet that  
for me to allow any  
self; and I doubt  
my Brethren's Re-  
maintained my Cause  
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clusion, And now  
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le to others. And  
tion, that I would  
fore all the World,  
modestly be spoken,  
eming Pride of my  
For these Fail-  
God and Man.

ida Equora placet,  
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in the Gover-  
nment, that he was  
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er, an Hannibal, or  
ere not so glorious,  
at Man over himself,  
Victories over other

of all the Trials that  
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rle no more than the  
ploy. If the famous  
es call'd into Judg-  
ed; let it not be won-  
Winthrop were one  
certain Seditious and  
Town of Hingham,  
legally as prudently  
for the checking of a  
followed such an Ex-  
chambers

chantment upon the minds of the Deputies in the General Court, that upon a scandalous Petition of the Delinquents upon them, wherein a pretended Invasion made upon the Liberties of the People was complained of the Deputy-Governour, was most irregularly call'd forth unto an Ignominious Hearing before them in a vast Assembly; whereto with a Sagacious Humilitie he consented, although he shew'd them how he might have Refus'd it. The result of that Hearing was, That notwithstanding the roushy Jealousy of the People about their Liberties lay at the bottom of all this Prosecution, yet Mr. Winthrop was publicly Acquitted, and the Offenders were severally Fined and Censured. But Mr. Winthrop then refusing the Place of Deputy-Governour on the Bench, saw cause to speak unto the Root of the Matter after this manner. 'I shall not now speak any thing about the past Proceedings of this Court, or the Persons therein concerned. Only I bless God that I see an Issue of this troublesome Affair. I am well satisfied that I was publicly Accus'd, and that I am now publicly Acquitted. But though I am justified before Men, yet it may be the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my Administrations, as calls me to be humbled; and indeed for me to have been thus charged by Men, is it self a Matter of Humiliation, whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If Miriam's Father spit in her Face, she is to be Ashamed. But give me leave before you go, to say something that may rectifie the Opinions of many People, from whence the Distempers have risen that have lately prevailed upon the Body of this People. The Questions that have troubled the Country have been about the Authority of the Magistracy, and the Liberty of the People. It is You who have called us unto this Office; but being thus called, we have our Authority from God; it is the Ordinance of God, and it hath the Image of God stamp'd upon it; and the contempt of it has been vindicated by God with terrible Examples of his Vengeance. I intreat you to consider, That when you chuse Magistrates, you take them from among your selves, Men subject unto like Passions with your selves. If you see our Infirmitie, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe Censurers of Ours. We count him a good Servant who breaks not his Covenant: The Covenant between Us and You, is the Oath you have taken of us, which is to this Purpose, That we shall govern you, and judge your Causes, according to God's Laws, and our own, according to our best Skill. As for our Skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an Error, not in the Will, but only in the Skill, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the Point of your own Liberty. There is a Liberty of corrupt Nature, which is affected both by Men and Beasts, to do what they list; and this Liberty is inconsistent with Authority; impatient of all Restraint; by this Liberty,

Sumus Omnes Deteriores: 'Tis the Grand Enemy of Truth and Peace, and the Ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a Civil, a Moral, a Federal Liberty, which is the proper End and Object of Authority; it is a Liberty for that only which is just and good; for this Liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very Lives; and whatsoever Crosses it, is not Authority, but a Distemper thereof. This Liberty is maintained in a way of Subjection to Authority; and the Authority set over you, will in all Administrations for your good be quietly submitted unto, by all but such as have a Disposition to shake off the Yoke, and lose their true Liberty, by their murmuring at the Honour and Power of Authority.

The Spell that was upon the Eyes of the People being thus dissolved, their distorted and enraged notions of things all vanisht; and the People would not afterwards entrust the Helm of the Weather-beaten Bark in any other Hands, but Mr. Winthrop's, until he Died.

§. 10. Indeed such was the Mixture of different Qualities in him, as to make a most admirable Temper; and his having a certain Greatness of Soul, which rendered him Grave, Generous, Courageous, Resolved, Well-applid, and every way a Gentleman in his Deameanour, did not hinder him from taking sometimes the old Romans way to avoid Confusions, namely, Ceding, or from discouraging some things which are agreeable enough to most that wear the Name of Gentlemen. Hereof I will give no Instances, but only oppose two Passages of his Life.

In the Year 1632. the Governour, with his Pastor Mr. Wilton, and some other Gentlemen, to settle a good understanding between the Two Colonies, travelled as far as Plymouth, more than Forty Miles, through an Howling Wilderness, no better accommodated in those early Days, than the Princes that in Solomon's time saw Servants on Horseback, or than Genus and Species in the old Epigram, going on Foot. The difficulty of the Walk, was abundantly compensated by the Honourable, first Reception, and then Dismission, which they found from the Rulers of Plymouth; and by the good Correspondence thus established between the New Colonies, who were like the floating Bottels wearing this Motto, Si Collidimar, Frangimur. But there were at this time in Plymouth two Ministers, leavened so far with the Humours of the Rigid Separation, that they insisted vehemently upon the Unlawfulness of calling any unregenerate Man by the Name of Good-man such an One, until by their indiscreet urging of this Whimsey, the place began to be disquieted. The wiser People being troubled at these Trifles, they took the opportunity of Governour Winthrop's being there, to have the thing publicly propounded in the Congregation; who in answer therunto, distinguished between a Theological and a Moral Goodness; adding, that when Juries were first used in Eng-land;



land, it was usual for the *Grier*, after the Names of Persons fit for that Service were called over, to bid them all, *Attend, Good Men, and True*; whence it grew to be a *Civil Custom* in the *English Nation*, for Neighbours living by one another, to call one another *Good-man such an One*: And it was pity now to make a stir about a *Civil Custom*, so innocently introduced. And that Speech of Mr. *Wintrop's* put a lasting stop to the Little, Idle, Whimsical *Conceits*, then beginning to grow Obstreperous. Nevertheless there was one *Civil Custom* used in (and in few but) the *English Nation*, which this Gentleman did endeavour to abolish in this Country; and that was, *The usage of Drinking to one another*. For although by *Drinking to one another*, no more is meant than an act of *Courtesy*, when one going to *Drink*, does Invite another to do so too, for the same Ends with himself, nevertheless the Governour (not altogether unlike to *Cleomenes*, of whom 'tis reported by *Plutarch*, *ἄνθρωπος ὁμοῖον ἑαυτῷ, Νολὲν! poculum nunquam præbuit*, considered the Impertinency and Insignificancy of this Usage, as to any of those Ends that are usually pretended for it; and that indeed it ordinarily served for no Ends at all, but only to provoke Persons unto unseasonable, and perhaps unreasonable Drinking, and at last produce that abominable *Health-Drinking*, which the Fathers of old so severely rebuked in the Pagans, and which the Papists themselves do Condemn, when their Caluists pronounce it, *Peccatum mortale, provocare ad Æquales Calices, & Nefas Respondere*. Wherefore in his own most Hospitable House he left it off; not out of any silly or stinging Fancy, but merely that by his Example a greater Temperance, with Liberty of Drinking, might be Recommended, and sundry Inconveniences in Drinking avoided; and his Example accordingly began to be much followed by the sober People in this Country, as it now also begins to be among Persons of the Highest Rank in the *English Nation* it self; until an Order of Court came to be made against that Ceremony in Drinking, and then the old Wont violently returned, with a *Nitumur in Veniunt*.

§. 11. Many were the Afflictions of this Righteous Man! He lost much of his Estate in a Ship, and in an House, quickly after his coming to New-England, besides the Prodigious Expence of it in the Difficulties of his first coming hither. Afterwards his assiduous Application to the Publick Affairs, (wherein Ipse se non habuit, postquam Republica cum Gubernatore habere cepit) made him so much to neglect his own private Interests, that an unjust Steward ran him 2500 l. in Debt. before he was aware; for the Payment whereof he was forced, many Years before his Decease, to sell the most of what he had left unto him in the Country. Albeit, by the observable Blessing of God upon the Posterity of this Liberal Man, his Children all of them came to fair Estates, and lived in good Fashion and Credit. Moreover, he suc-

cessively Buried Three Wives; the First of which was the Daughter and Heiress of Mr. Forth, of Much-Stambridge in Essex, by whom he had Wisdom with an Inheritance; and an excellent Son. The Second was the Daughter of Mr. William Clopton, of London, who Died with her Child, within a very little while. The Third was the Daughter of the truly Worthy Sir John Tyndal, who made it her whole Care to please, First God, and then her Husband; and by whom he had Four Sons, which Survived and Honoured their Father. And unto all these, the Addition of the Distempers, ever now and then raised in the Country, procured unto him a very singular share of Trouble, yea, so hard was the Measure which he found even among Pious Men, in the Temptations of a Wilderness, that when the Thunder and Lightning had smitten a Wind-mill, whereof he was Owner, some had such things in their Heads, as publicly to Reproach this Charitablest of Men, as if the Voice of the Almighty had rebuked, I know not what Oppression, which they judged him Guilty of: Which things I would not have mentioned, but that the Instances may fortifie the Expectations of my best Readers for such Afflictions.

§. 12. He that had been for his Attainments, as they said of the blessed Macarius, a *Hard ageyewer*, An old Man, while a young One, and that had in his young Days met with many of those Ill Days, whereof he could say, he had little Pleasure in them; now found old Age in its Infirmitates advancing Earlier upon him, than it came upon his much longer lived Progenitors. While he was yet Seven Years off of that which we call the grand Climacterical, he felt the Approaches of his Dissolution; and finding he could say,

*Non Habitus, non ipse Color non Gressus Euntis.*

*Non Species Eadem, que fuit ante, manet.*

he then wrote this account of himself. *Age now comes upon me, and Infirmities thereof, which makes me apprehend, that the time of my departure out of this World is not far off. However our times are all in the Lords Hand, so as we need not trouble our Thoughts how long or short they may be, but how we may be found Faithful when we are called for. But at last when that Year came, he took a Cold which turned into a Fever, whereof he lay Sick about a Month, and in that Sicknes, as it hath been observed, that there was allowed unto the Serpent the bruising of the Heel; and accordingly at the Heel or the Close of our Lives the old Serpent will be Nibbling more than ever in our Lives before; and when the Devil sees that we shall shortly be, where the wicked cease from troubling, that wicked One will trouble us more than ever; to this eminent Saint now underwert sharp Conflicts with the Tempter, whose Wrath grew Great, as the Time to exert it grew Short; and he was Buffeted with*

the Disconsolation  
Deferrius, who  
presentation of

Naper Erum Ju  
banus,  
Sabbath's pass

But it was no  
Dispelled, and  
Great Consolation  
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Elders of the Ch  
they and the wh  
Prayed for him;  
Canon Preached  
they were Sick,  
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as one that Mus  
whence I find him  
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Brother, a Man  
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and making this A  
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Bodies by Physic  
and of whom the  
ing an Enemy,  
A Greener wh  
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§. 1. ONE as  
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less they were Nob  
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Nobly Born, yet a  
Born, and by being  
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fination that they w  
count of them is  
Endeavour'd.

We read concerni  
He set up himself  
nd Pillar. It is a  
them who please G  
shall have a Place  
of God; that is to  
Come in the Church  
fulfilled in what



the Disconsolate Thoughts of Black and Sore Descriptions, wherein he could use that sad Representation of his own Condition.

*Nuper Eram Judex ; Jam Judicor , Ante Tribunas ,*

*Subsistens paveo , Judicor ipse modo .*

But it was not long before those Clouds were Dispelled, and he enjoyed in his Holy Soul the Great Consolations of God ! While he thus lay Ripening for Heaven, he did out of Obedience unto the Ordinance of our Lord, send for the Elders of the Church to Pray with him ; yea, they and the whole Church Fasted as well as Prayed for him ; and in that Fast the venerable Cotton Preached on *Psal. 35. 13, 14. When they were Sick, I humbled my self with Fasting ; I behaved my self as though he had been my Friend or Brother ; I bowed down heavily, as one that Mourned for his Mother :* From whence I find him raising that Observation, *The Sickness of one that is to us as a Friend, a Brother, a Mother, is a just occasion of deep bumbling our Souls with Fasting and Prayer ;* and making this Application, ' Upon this Occasion we are now to attend this Duty for a Governour, who has been to us as a Friend in his Counsel for all things, and Help for our Bodies by Physick, for our Estates by Law, and of whom there was no fear of his becoming an Enemy, like the Friends of David : ' A Governour who has been unto us as a Brother, not usurping Authority over the Church, often speaking his Advice, and often contra-

dicted, even by Young Men, and some of low degree ; yet not replying, but offering Satisfaction also when any supposed Offences have arisen ; a Governour who has been unto us as a Mother, Parent-like distributing his Goods to Brethren and Neighbours at his first coming ; and gently bearing our Infirmities without taking notice of them.

Such a Governour after he had been more than Ten several times by the People chosen their Governour, was New-England now to lose ; who having, like Jacob, first left his Council and Blessing with his Children gathered about his Bed-side ; and, like David, served his Generation by the Will of God, he gave up the Ghost, and fell asleep on March 26. 1649. Having, like the dying Emperor Valentinian, this above all his other Victories for his Triumphs, His overcoming of himself.

The Words of Josephus about Nehemiah, the Governour of Israel, we will now use upon this Governour of New-England, as his

#### EPITAPH.

*Ανθ' ἑξήκοντα χρόνους τὴν πόλιν, ἢ θάλασσαν  
καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἑσπερίοις φιλοτιμήσατο ὁ  
Μνησίων ἀείνων αὐτὸν καταλείπων τὰ τῶν  
ἑσπερίων τείχη·*

VIR FUIT INDOLE BONUS, AC JUSTUS :  
ET POPULARIUM GLORIÆ AMANTISSI-  
MUS :  
QUIBUS ETERNUM RELIQUIT MONU-  
MENTUM,

*Novanglorum MOENIA.*

#### CHAP. V.

#### SUCCESSORS.

§ 1. ONE as well acquainted with the Matter, as *Isocrates*, informs us, That among the Judges of *Areopagus* none were admitted, *οὐδὲν ἐν καλῶς γινώσκοντι, ἢ πολλὰν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐκδηλοῦντες*, unless they were Nobly Born, and Eminently Exemplary for a Virtuous and a Sober Life. The Report may be truly made concerning the Judges of New-England, tho' they were not Nobly Born, yet they were generally Well Born ; and by being Eminently Exemplary for a Virtuous and a Sober Life, gave Demonstration that they were New-born. Some Account of them is now more particularly to be Endeavoured.

We read concerning *Saul*, [1 Sam. 15. 12.] *He set up himself a place.* The Hebrew Word, *ἵστημι*, there used, signifies A Monumental Pillar. It is accordingly promised unto them who please God, [Isa. 56. 5.] *That they shall have a Place and a Name in the House of God ;* that is to say, a Pillar Erected for Fame in the Church of God. And it shall be fulfilled in what shall now be done for our

Governours in this our Church-History. Even while the Massachusettsians had a Winthrop for their Governour, they could not restrain the Channel of their Affections from running towards another Gentleman in their Elections for the Year 1634. particularly, when they chose unto the Place of Governour *Thomas Dudley*, Esq. one whom after the Death of the Gentleman abovementioned, they again and again Voted into the Chief Place of Government. He was Born at the Town of Northampton, in the Year 1574. the only Son of Captain Roger Dudley, who being Slain in the Wars, left this our Thomas, with his only Sister, for the Father of the Orphans, to take them up. In the Family of the Earl of Northampton he had opportunity perfectly to learn the Points of Good Behaviour ; and here having fitted himself to do many other Benefits unto the World, he next became a Clerk unto Judge *Nichols*, who being his Kinsman by the Mother's Side, therefore took the more special notice of him. From his Relation to this Judge, he had and used an Advantage to attain such a Skill in the



the Law, as was of great Advantage to him in the future changes of his Life; and the Judge would have preferred him unto the higher Employments, whereto his prompt Wit not a little recommended him, if he had not been by Death prevented. But before he could appear to do much at the *Pen*, for which he was very well Accomplished, he was called upon to do something at the *Sword*; for being a Young Gentleman well-known for his Ingenuity, Courage and Conduct, when there were Soldiers to be raised by Order from Queen Elizabeth for the French Service, in the time of King Henry the Fourth, the Young Sparks about *Norhampton* were none of them willing to enter into the Service, until a Commission was given unto our Young Dudley to be their Captain; and then presently there were *Fourscore* that Lifted under him. At the Head of these he went over into the Low Countries, which was then an Academy of Arms, as well as Arts; and thus he came to furnish himself with Endowments for the Field, as well as for the Bench. The Post assigned unto him with his Company, was after at the Siege of *Amiens*, before which the King himself was now Encamped; but the Providence of God so Ordered it, that when both Parties were drawn forth in Order to Battle, a Treaty of Peace was vigorously set on Foot, which diverted the Battle that was expected. Captain Dudley hereupon returned into England, and settling himself about *Norhampton*, he Married a Gentlewoman whose Estate and Estate were Considerable; and the Situation of his Habitation after this helped him to enjoy the Ministry of Mr. Dod, Mr. Cleave, Mr. Winston, and Mr. Hilderham, all of them Excellent and Renowned Men; which Puritan Ministry so seasoned his Heart with a Sense of Religion, that he was a Devout and Serious Christian, and a Follower of the Ministers that most effectually Preached Real Christianity all the rest of his Days. The Spirit of Real Christianity in him now also disposed him unto *Sober Non-Conformity*; and from this time, although none more hated the *Fanaticisms* and *Enthusiasms* of Wild Opinionists, he became a Judicious Dissenter from the Unscriptural Ceremonies retained in the Church of England. It was not long after this that the Lord Say, the Lord Compton, and other Persons of Quality, made such Observations of him, as to commend him unto the Service of the Earl of Lincoln, who was then a Young Man, and newly come unto the Possession of his Earldom, and of what belonged thereunto. The Grandfather of this Noble Person had left his Heirs under vast Entanglements, out of which his Father was never able to Extricate himself; so that the Difficulties and Incumbrances were now devolved upon this Theophilus, which caused him to apply himself unto this our Dudley for his Assurances, who proved so Able, and Careful, and Faithful a Steward unto him, that within a little while the Debris

of near Twenty Thousand Pounds, whereinto the Young Earl found himself desperately Ingulphed, were happily waded through; and by his Means also a Match was procured between the Young Earl and the Daughter of the Lord Say, who proved a most Virtuous Lady, and a great Blessing to the whole Family. But the Earl finding Mr. Dudley to be a Person of more than ordinary Discretion, he would rarely, if ever, do any Matter of any Moment without his Advice; but some into whose Hands there fell some of his Manuscripts after his leaving of the Earl's Family, found a Passage to this purpose. The Estate of the Earl of Lincoln, I found so, and so, much in Debt, which I have discharged, and have raised the Rents unto so many Hundreds Per Annum; God will, I trust, bless me and mine in such a manner. I can, as sometimes Nehemiah did, appeal unto God, who knows the Hearts of all Men, that I have with Integrity discharged the Duty of my Place before him.

I had prepared and intended a more particular Account of this Gentleman, but not having any opportunity to commit it unto the Perusal of any Descended from him, (unto whom I am told it will be unacceptable for me to Publish any thing of this kind, by them not Perused) I have laid it aside, and summed all up in this more General Account.

It was about Nine or Ten Years, that Mr. Dudley continued a Steward unto the Earl of Lincoln; but then growing desirous of a more private Life, he retired unto *Boston*, where the Acquaintance and Ministry of Mr. Cotton became no little Satisfaction unto him. Nevertheless the Earl of Lincoln found that he could be no more without Mr. Dudley, than *Pharaoh* without his *Joseph*, and prevailed with him to resume his former Employment, until the Storm of Persecution upon the Non-Conformists caused many Men of great Worth to Transport themselves into *New-England*. Mr. Dudley was not the least of the Worthy Men that bore a part in this Transportation, in hopes that in an American Wilderness they might peaceably attend and enjoy the pure Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. When the first Undertakers for that Plantation came to know him, they soon saw that in him, that caused them to chuse him their Deputy-Governour, in which Capacity he arrived unto these Coasts in the Year 1630. and had no small share in the Distresses of that Young Plantation, whereof an account by him written to the Countess of Lincoln has been since Published unto the World. Here his Wisdom in managing the most weighty and thorny Affairs was often signalized: His Justice was a perpetual Terror to Evil Doers: His Courage procured his being the first Major-General of the Colony, when they began to put themselves into a Military Figure. His Orthodox Piety had no little Influence into the Deliverance of the Country, from the Contagion of the Fatalistical Errors, which had like to have overturned all. He dwelt first at Cambridge;

bridge; but upon Hartford, he resided, upon the Invitation of the Government for the better settling of the Center of the Colony at Roxbury. There he was always very diligent in his duties. Here he was Secretary to the General Court, where were found all these Lines of his may serve to make in the Character

Din Eyer, Doef  
My Diffipation is  
Eleven times Seven  
and none God calls  
My Shuttles first,  
My Sae is Jet,  
My Spae is may  
My Flower is Jales  
My Dream is vane  
My Soul with Christ  
Forend Dear Wife  
Beat Hereby, make  
Beat Poverty, true  
So ball we live me  
Let Men of God  
Get such as do a  
Left their W Eyes  
To passim all  
If Men be left, and  
My Epitaph, I

But when I mention  
tlemen as one of his  
not leave unmentioned  
the Poems of  
have been Celebrated  
rare Learning of a  
of those bright  
Judge of England  
mult now be found  
England, namely,  
Daughter (believe  
Crown unto him.  
rites the Learned  
piece. She has be  
irreflex to the Old  
She hath heard  
taught the Liberal  
more lately was  
the Dispositions of  
She has been told  
equally, if not ex  
Fate of their Tim  
Impels Endless,  
Nobility, who wrote  
and of Transphire  
unto the Life: T  
nowned Anna Mar  
ver unto her. B  
such Catalogues of  
Hettinger, and V



bridge; but upon Mr. Hooker's removal to Hartford, he removed to Ipswich; nevertheless, upon the Importunity and Necessity of the Government for his coming to dwell nearer the Center of the whole, he fixed his Habitation at Roxbury. Two Miles out of Boston, where he was always at Hand upon the Publick Exigencies. Here he died, July 31. 1693. in the Seventy-Seventh Year of his Age; and there were found after his Death, in his Pocket, these Lines of his own Composing, which may serve to make up what may be wanting in the Character already given him.

*Dim Eyes, Deaf Ears, Cold Stomach, shew  
My Dissolution is in View.*

*Eleven times Seven near liv'd have I,  
And now God calls, I willing Die.*

*My Shuttle's shot, my Race is run,  
My Sun is set, my Day is done.*

*My Span is measur'd, Tale is told,  
My Flower is faded, and grown old.*

*My Dream is vanish'd, Shadow's fled,  
My Soul with Christ, my Body Dead.*

*Farewel Dear Wife, Children and Friends,  
Hate Herefelt, make Blessed Ends.*

*Bear Poverty, live with good Men;  
So shall we live with Joy agen.*

*Let Men of God in Courts and Churches watch  
O're such as do a Toleration hatch.*

*Let that Ill Egg bring forth a Cockatrice,  
To poison all with Herefelt and Vice.*

*If Men be left, and otherwise Combine,  
My Epitaph's, I Dy'd not Libertine.*

But when I mention the Poetry of this Gentleman as one of his Accomplishments, I must not leave unmentioned the Fame with which the Poems of one descended from him have been Celebrated in both Englands. If the rare Learning of a Daughter, was not the least of those bright things that adorn'd no less a Judge of England than Sir Thomas More; it must now be said, that a Judge of New-England, namely, Thomas Dudley, Esq. had a Daughter (besides other Children) to be a Crown unto him. Reader, America justly admires the Learned Women of the other Hemisphere. She has heard of those that were Tutors to the Old Professors of all Philosophy: She hath heard of Hippatia, who formerly taught the Liberal Arts; and of Sarcocchia, who more lately was very often the Moderatrix in the Disputations of the Learned Men of Rome: She has been told of the Three Corinna's, which equall'd, if not excell'd, the most Celebrated Poets of their Time: She has been told of the Empress Endocia, who Composed Poetical Paraphrases on Divers Parts of the Bible; and of Refsuda, who wrote the Lives of Holy Men; and of Pamphilia, who wrote other Histories unto the Life: The Writings of the most Renowned Anna Maria Schurman, have come over unto her. But the now prays, that into such Catalogues of Authoresses, as Beverovicus, Hottinger, and Voetius, have given unto the

World, there may be a room now given unto Madam Ann Bradstreet, the Daughter of our Governour Dudley, and the Consort of our Governour Bradstreet, whose Poems, divers times Printed, have afforded a grateful Entertainment unto the Ingenious, and a Monument for her Memory beyond the Stateliest Marbles. It was upon these Poems that an Ingenious Person bestowed this Epigram:

*Now I believe Tradition, which doth call  
The Muses, Virtues, Graces, Females all.  
Only they are not Nine, Eleven, or Three;  
Our Auth'ress proves them but an Unity.  
Mankind, take up some Blisses from the score;  
Monopolize Perfection hence no more.  
In your own Arts confess your selves out-  
done;*

*The Moon hath totally Eclips'd the Sun:  
Not with her Sable Mantle muffing him,  
But her bright Silver makes his Gold look  
dim:  
Just as his Beams force our pale Lamps to  
wink,  
And Earthly Fires within their Ashes shrink.*

What else might be said of Mr. Dudley, the Reader shall Continue from the Ensluing

## E P I T A P H.

*Helluo Librorum, Lectorum Bibliotheca*

*Communis, Sacra Syllabus Historie.*

*Ad Mensam Comes, vinct facundas, Rostro di-  
sertus,*

*(Non Cuiuslibet verbis, pondus, Acumen erat.)*

*Morum aeris Censor, validus Defensor amoris;*

*Et Sane & Cane Catholicæ fidei.*

*Angli-novæ Columen, Summum Decus atq; Se-  
natu;*

*Thomas Dudleius, conditur hoc Tumulo. E. R.*

S. 2. In the Year 1635, at the Anniversary Election, the Freeman of the Colony testified their grateful Esteem of Mr. John Haines, a Worthy Gentleman, who had been very Serviceable to the Interests of the Colony, by chusing him their Governour. Of him in an Ancient Manuscript I find this Testimony given; To him is New-England many ways be- holden: had he done no more but stilled a Storm of Dissention, which broke forth in the beginning of his Government; he had done enough to Endear our Hearts unto him, and to account that Day happy when he took the Reins of Government into his Hands. But this Pious, Humble, Well-bred Gentleman, removing afterwards into Connecticut, he took his turn with Mr. Edward Hopkins, in being every other Year the Governour of that Colony. And as he was a great Friend of Peace while he lived, so at his Death he entred into that Peace which attends the End of the perfect and upright Man, leaving behind him the Character sometimes given of a Greater, tho' not a Better,



Man, [Vespasian] *Bonis Legibus multa correxit, sed exemplo probæ vitæ plus effecit apud populum.*

§. 3. Near Twenty Ships from Europe visited New-England in the Year 1635, and in one of them was Mr. Henry Vane, (afterward Sir Henry Vane) an Accomplished Young Gentleman, whose Father was much against his coming to New-England; but the King, upon Information of his Disposition, commanded him to allow his Son's Voyage hither, with a Consent for his continuing Three Years in this Part of the World. Although his Business had some Relation to the Plantation of Connecticut, yet in the Year 1636. the Massachusetts Colony chose him their Governour. And now, Reader, I am as much a Seeker for his Character, as many have taken him to be a Seeker in Religion, while no less Persons than Dr. Manton have not been to seek for the Censure of A Wicked Book, with which they have noted the Mystical Drivinity, in the Book of this Knight, Entitled, *The Retired Man's Meditations*. There has been a strange variety of Translations bestowed upon the Hebrew Names of some Animals mentioned in the Bible: Kippod, for Instance, which we translate a Bittern; R. Salomon will have to be an Owl, but Luther will have it be an Eagle, while Paynim will have it be an Hedge-hog, but R. Kimchi will have it a Snail; such a Variety of Opinions and Reputations has the Name of this Gentleman fallen under; while some have counted him an Eminent Christian, and others have counted him almost an Heretick; some have counted him a Renowned Patriot, and others an Infamous Traitor. If Barak signifie both to Bless and to Curse; and Εὐλογειν be of the same Significancy with Βλασφημεν, in such Philology as that of Suidas and Hesychius; the Usage which the Memory of this Gentleman has met withal, seems to have been Accommodated unto that Indifferency of Signification in the Terms for such an Usage.

On the one side, I find an Old New-English Manuscript thus reflecting, *His Election will remain as a Blessing to their Judgments who did Elect him, while New-England remains a Nation; for he coming from Old-England, a Young Unexperienced Gentleman, (and as young in Judgment as he was in Years) by the Industry of some that could do much, and thought by him to play their own Game, was presently Elected Governour; and before he was scarce warm in his Seat, began to Broach New Tenets; and these were agitated with as much Violence, as if the Welfare of New-England must have been Sacrificed rather than these not take place. But the Wisdom of the State put a Period to his Government; necessity caused them to undo the Works of their own Hands, and leave us a Covenant, that all good Men are not fit for Government.* But on the other side, the Historian who has Printed The Trial of Sir Henry Vane, Knt. at the King's Bench, Westminster, June 2. and 6. 1662. with other occasional

Speeches; also his Speech and Prayer on the Scaffold, has given us in him the Picture of nothing less than an Heroe. He seems indeed by that Story to have suffered Hardly enough, but no Man can deny that he suffered Bravely: the English Nation has not often seen more of Roman, (and indeed more than Roman) Gallantry, out-facing Death in the most pompous Terrors of it. A great Royalist, present, at his Decollation, swore, *He died like a Prince*: He could say, *I bless the Lord I am so far from being affrighted at Death, that I find it rather shrink from me, than I from it!* He could say, *Ten Thousand Deaths rather than Defile my Conscience; the Chastity and Purity of which I value beyond all this World; I would not for Ten Thousand Worlds part with the Peace and Satisfaction I have in my own Heart.* When mention was made of the Difficult Proceeding against him, all his reply was, *Alas, what a Do do they keep to make a poor Creature like his Servant!* On the Scaffold they did, by the Blast of Trumpets in his Face, with much Incivility, hinder him from speaking what he intended; which Incivility he beforehand suspecting, committed a true Copy of it unto a Friend before his going thither; the last Words whereof were these, *As my last Words I leave this with you, That as the Present Storm we now lye under, and the dark Clouds that yet hang over the Reformed Churches of Christ, (which are coming thicker and thicker for a Season) were not unforeseen by me for many Years past; (as some Writings of mine declare) so the coming of Christ in these Clouds, in Order to a speedy and sudden revival of his Cause, and spreading his Kingdom over the Face of the whole Earth, is most clear to the Eye of my Faith, even that Faith in which I Die.* His Execution was June 14. 1662. about the Fiftieth Year of his Age.

§. 4. After the Death of Mr. Dudley, the Notice and Respect of the Colony fell chiefly on Mr. John Endicott, who after many Services done for the Colony, even before it was yet a Colony, as well as when he saw it grown into a Populous Nation, under his Prudent and Equal Government, expired in a good Old Age, and was Honourably Interr'd at Boston, March 23. 1665.

The Gentleman that succeeded Mr. Endicott, was Mr. Richard Bellingham, one who was bred a Lawyer, and one who lived beyond Eighty, well esteemed for his laudable Qualities; but as the Indians made the Statues of their Magistrates without Hands, importing that they must be no Takers; in this fashion must be formed the Statue for this Gentleman; for among all his Virtues, he was noted for none more, than for his notable and perpetual hatred of a Bribe, which gave him, with his Country, the Reputation of Old Claimed by Pericles, to be, *εισπραξις τις καὶ χρηματισμὸς* Covitatis Amans, & ad pecunias Invidius. And as he never took any from any one living; so he neither could nor would have

have given any to  
end of the Year  
ed not with Sinc  
of Bribe, but wi  
rightly.  
The Gentleman  
hon, was Mr.  
Affections of th  
his quick advances  
Office and Honour  
Country; and one

Pater Patria

THE Gentleman  
ret, was Mr.  
of a Minister in Lin  
dian Confrontist at  
Preacher at M  
New-Englanders: in  
found Respects un  
reason called, Th  
Country. He was a  
His Father (who w  
tlemen of a fine l  
fellows in Iman  
dorm, and one at  
Mr. Cotton, and by  
was brought up, a  
he was about  
the Death of his F  
fest unto the Deity  
But according to t  
that he should be  
within Two or Th  
into the Religious  
cal, (the best Fan  
in England), wher  
under the Directi  
sustaining successiv  
then (who had bee  
my Lord, that he  
permission to com  
the Capacity of G  
they granting, he  
Cambridge, who p  
with Advice that  
Study until my l  
wards in a Write  
made this humble  
Officers to my Str  
of Lincoln had a  
led me forth upon  
of dirt, and est  
met, where we spe  
may come in I  
profit; but then  
Life there, which  
Lord Rich not co  
bradstreet returns  
Lincolne; and



have given any to Death; but in the latter end of the Year 1672. he had his Soul gathered not with Sinners, whose Right Hand is full of Bribes, but with such as walk in their uprightness.

The Gentleman that succeeded Mr. Bellingham, was Mr. John Leveret, one to whom the Affections of the Freeman were signalized, in his quick advances through the lesser Stages of Office and Honour unto the highest in the Country; and one whose Courage had been as

much Recommended by Martial Actions abroad in his Younger Years, as his Wisdom and Justice were now at Home in his Elder. The Anniversary Election constantly kept him at the Helm from the time of his first Sitting there, until March 16. 1678. when Mortality having first put him on severe Trials of his *Passive-Courage*, (much more difficult than the *Active*) in pains of the Stone, released him.

Pater Patriæ: Or, *The LIFE of SIMON BRADSTREET, Esq;*

---Extinctus amabitur idem.

THE Gentleman that succeeded Mr. Leveret, was Mr. Simon Bradstreet, the Son of a Minister in Lincolnshire, who was always a Non-Conformist at home, as well as when Preacher at Middleburgh abroad. Him the New-Englanders in their Addresses full of profound Respects unto him, have with good reason called, *The venerable Mordecai of his Country*. He was born at Horbling, March 1603. His Father (who was the Son of a Suffolk Gentleman of a fine Estate) was one of the First Fellows in Immanuel-Colledge, under Dr. Charderton, and one afterwards highly esteemed by Mr. Cotton, and by Dr. Preston. Our Bradstreet was brought up at the Grammar-School, until he was about Fourteen Years Old; and then the Death of his Father put a stop for the present unto the Designs of his further Education. But according to the Faith of his Dying Father, that he should be well provided for, he was within Two or Three Years after this taken into the Religious Family of the Earl of Lincoln, (the best Family of any Nobleman then in England,) where he spent about Eight Years under the Direction of Mr. Thomas Dudley, sustaining successively divers Offices. Dr. Preston then (who had been my Lord's Tutor) moved my Lord, that Mr. Bradstreet might have their permission to come unto Immanuel College, in the Capacity of Governour to the Lord Rich, the Son of the Earl of Warwick; which they granting, he went with the Doctor to Cambridge, who provided a Chamber for him, with Advice that he should apply himself to Study until my Lord's Arrival. But he afterwards in a Writing of his, now in my Hands, made this humble Complaint; *I met with many Obstacles to my Study in Cambridge; the Earl of Lincoln had a Brother there, who often called me forth upon Pastimes. Divers Masters of Art, and other Scholars also, constantly met, where we spent most part of the Afternoons many times in Discourse to little purpose or profit; but that seemed an easy and pleasant Life then, which too late I repented. My Lord Rich not coming to the University, Mr. Bradstreet returned after a Year to the Earl of Lincoln; and Mr. Dudley then removing to*

Boston, his Place of Steward unto the Earl was conferred on Mr. Bradstreet. Afterwards he with much ado obtained the Earl's leave to Answer the Desires of the Aged and Pious Countess of Warwick, that he would accept the Stewardship of her Noble Family, which as the former he discharged with an Exemplary Discretion and Fidelity. Here he Married the Daughter of Mr. Dudley, by whose persuasion he came in Company with him to New-England, where he spent all the rest of his Days, Honourably serving his Generation. It was counted a singular Favour of Heaven unto Richard Chamond, Esq; one of England's Worthies, that he was a Justice of Peace near Threescore Years; but of Simon Bradstreet, Esq; one of New-England's Worthies, there can more than this be said; for he was chosen a Magistrate of New-England before New-England it self came into New-England; even in their first great Voyage thither Anno 1630. and so he continued annually chosen; sometimes also their Secretary, and at last their Governour, until the Colony had a share in the general Shipwrack of Charters, which the Reign of King Charles II. brought upon the whole English Nation. Mr. Joseph Dudley was placed, Anno 1685, as President over the Territory for a few Months, when the Judgment that was entered against the Charter gave unto the late King James II. an opportunity to make what Alterations he pleased upon the Order of things, under which the Country had so long been Flourishing. But when the short Presidency of that New-English and well Accomplished Gentleman, the Son of Mr. Thomas Dudley abovementioned, was expired, I am not in a Disposition here to relate what was the Condition of the Colony, until the Revolution whereto their Condition compell'd them. Only I have sometimes, not without Amazement, thought of the Representation which a Celebrated Magician made unto Catherine de Medicis, the French Queen, whose Impious Curiosity led her to desire of him a Magical Exhibition of all the Kings that had hitherto Reigned in France, and yet were to Reign. The Shapes of all the Kings, even unto the



Husband of that Queen successively shewed themselves, in the *Enchanted Circle*, in which that Conjuror had made his Invocations, and they took as many Turns as there had been Years in their Government. The Kings that were to come, did then in like manner successively come upon the Stage, namely, *Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV.* which being done, then Two Cardinals, *Richieu* and *Mazarine*, in Red Hats, became visible in the Spectacle: But after those Cardinals, there entered *Moses, Bears, Tygers, and Lions*, to consummate the Entertainment. If the People of New-England had not Imagined, that a Number of as *Rapacious Animals* were at last come into their Government, I suppose they would not have made such a Revolution as they did, on April 18. 1689. in conformity to the Pattern which the *English Nation* was then setting before them. Nevertheless, I have nothing in this Paragraph of our History to Report of it, but that Mr. *Bradstreet* was at this time alive: whose Paternal Compassions for a Country, thus remarkably *his own*, would not permit him to decline his Return unto his former Seat in the Government, upon the Unanimous Invitation of the People thereunto. It was a Remark then generally made upon him, *That though he were then well towards Ninety Years of Age, his intellectual force was hardly abated, but he retained a Vigour and Wisdom that would have recommended a younger Man to the Government of a greater Colony.* And the wonderful Difficulties, through which the Colony under his discreet Conduct waded, until the Arrival of his Excellency, *Sir William Phips*, with a Commission for the Government, and a New Charter in the Year 1692. gave a Remarkable Demonstration of it. Yea, this Honourable *Neslor* of New-England, in the Year 1696. was yet alive; and as *Georgius Leontinus*, who lived until he was an Hundred and Eight Years of Age, being asked by what means he attained unto such an Age, answered, *By my not Living*

*Voluptuously*; thus this excellent Person attained his good old Age, in part, *By Living very Temperately.* And the New-Englanders would have counted it their Satisfaction, if like *Arganthonius*, who had been Fourscore Years the Governour of the *Tartessians*, he might have lived unto the Age of an Hundred and Twenty; or, even unto the Age of *Johannes de Temporibus*, who was Knighted by the Emperor *Charlemaign*, and yet was Living till the Emperor *Conrade*, and saw, they say, no fewer Years than *Three Hundred Threescore and One.* Though, *To be Dissolved and be with Christ*, was the Satisfaction which this our *Macrobius* himself was with a weary Soul now waiting and longing for; and Christ at length granted it unto him, on March 27. 1697. Then it was, that one of the oldest Servants that God and the King had upon Earth, drew his *Last*, in the very place where he drew his *First*, *American Breath.* He Died at *Salem*, in a Troublesome Time, and entered into everlasting Peace. And in Imitation of what the Roman Orator said upon the Death of *Cicero*, I will venture to say, *Fuit hoc, Iustusque fuit, Acerbum Patrie, Grave Bonis Omnibus: Sed ita tamen Republicam casus Secuti sunt, ut mihi non Erepta Bradstreeto Vita, sed donata mors esse videatur.*

The Epitaph on that famous Lawyer, *Simon Pistorius*, we will now Employ for this Eminently Prudent and Upright Administrator of our Laws.

## E P I T A P H.

## SIMON BRADSTREET.

*Quod Mortale fuit, Tellus tenet; Inclyta Fama  
Nominis haud ullo stat violanda Die.*

And Add,

*Extinctum luget quæ tota Nov-Anglia Patrem,  
O Quantum claudat parvula Terra Virum!*

## C H A P. VI.

## Id est, Viri Animati: Or, ASSISTANTS.

THE Freeman of New-England had a great variety of Worthy Men, among whom they might pick and chuse a Number of *MAGISTRATES* to be the *Assistants* of their *GOVERNOURS*, both in directing the General Affairs of the Land, and in dispensing of Justice unto the People. But they wisely made few Alterations in their Annual *Electi- ons*; and they thereby shewed their Satisfaction in the wise and good Conduct of those whom they had *Elected*. If they called some few of their *Magistrates* from the *Plough* to the *Bench*, so the Old Romans did some of their *Dilettors*; yea, the greatest Kings in the World once carried *Plough-shares* on the top of their *Scepters*. However, the Inhabitants of New-England ne-

ver were so unhappy as the Inhabitants of *Norcia*, a Town scarce Ten Leagues from *Rome*; where they do at this Day chuse their own *Magistrates*, but use an exact Care, *That no Man who is able to Write, or to Read, shall be capable of any Share in the Government.* The *Magistrates* of New-England have been of a better Education. Indeed, several deserving Persons, who were joined as *Associates* and *Commissioners* unto the Laws, for the more effectual Execution of these in some Emergencies, cannot be brought into our Catalogue; but the Names of all our *Magistrates*, with the Times when I find their first Advancement unto that Character, are these.

MA-

*John Winthrop, G.  
Thomas Dudley, D.  
Matthew Cradock,  
Thomas Goff,  
Sir Richard Sal-  
lar, John Josselyn,  
Samuel Aldrich,  
John Vane,  
John Humphry,  
Simon Wiercomb,  
Increase Nowel,  
Richard Phipps,  
Nathaniel Wright,  
Samuel Vassal,  
Theophilus Eaton,  
Thomas Adams,  
Thomas Hutchinson,  
George Foxcroft,  
William Vassal,  
William Pincheon,  
John Pocock,  
Christopher Cusson,  
William Coddington,  
Simon Bradstreet,  
Thomas Sharp,  
Roger Ludlow,  
Edward Rostetter,  
John Endicot,  
John Winthrop, J.  
John Haver,  
Richard Billingsham,  
Antonie Hough,  
Richard Dummer,  
Henry Vane,  
Roger Harrickenden,  
Israel Stoughton,  
Richard Saltonstall,  
Thomas Flint,  
Samuel Symonds,  
William Hibbons,  
William Tyng,  
Herbert Pelham,  
Robert Bridges,  
Francis Willoughby,  
Thomas Wiggan,  
Edward Gibbons,  
John Glover,  
Daniel Goolin,  
Daniel Denison,  
Simon Willard,  
Humphrey Lubbert,  
Richard Bassel,  
Thomas Dartmouth,  
William Hamforth,  
Eliaser Lapham,  
John Lezeret,  
John Pincheon,  
Edward Lyng,  
William Stoughton,  
Thomas Clark,  
Joseph Dudley,  
Peter Bulkeley,*



## MAGISTRATES of the Massachusetts-Colony.

John Winthrop, Gov.  
 Thomas Dudley, Deputy Gov.  
 Matthew Cradock,  
 Thomas Goff,  
 Sir Richard Saltonstall,  
 Isaac Johnson,  
 Samuel Aldersley,  
 John Venn,  
 John Humphrey,  
 Simon Wercomb,  
 Increase Nowel,  
 Richard Perry,  
 Nathanael Wright,  
 Samuel Vassal,  
 Theophilus Eaton,  
 Thomas Adams,  
 Thomas Hutchinson,  
 George Foxcroft,  
 William Vassal,  
 William Pinchon,  
 John Pocock,  
 Christopher Cowlson,  
 William Coddington,  
 Simon Bradstreet,  
 Thomas Sharp,  
 Roger Ludlow,  
 Edward Roffiter,  
 John Endicot,  
 John Winthrop, Jun.  
 John Haines,  
 Richard Billingham,  
 Arterton Hough,  
 Richard Dummer,  
 Henry Vane,  
 Roger Hartackenden,  
 Israel Stoughton,  
 Richard Saltonstall,  
 Thomas Flint,  
 Samuel Symons,  
 William Hibbons,  
 William Tyng,  
 Herbert Pelham,  
 Robert Bridges,  
 Francis Willoughby,  
 Thomas Wiggan,  
 Edward Gibbons,  
 John Glover,  
 Daniel Gookin,  
 Daniel Denison,  
 Simon Willard,  
 Humphrey Abertson,  
 Richard Russell,  
 Thomas Danforth,  
 William Hawthorn,  
 Eleazer Lusher,  
 John Leveret,  
 John Pinchon,  
 Edward Tyng,  
 William Stoughton,  
 Thomas Clark,  
 Joseph Dudley,  
 Peter Bulkley,

Nathanael Saltonstall, 1679  
 Humphrey Dray, 1679  
 James Russell, 1680  
 Samuel Nowel, 1680  
 Peter Tilton, 1680  
 John Richards, 1680  
 John Hull, 1680  
 Bartholomew Gidney, 1680  
 Thomas Savage, 1680  
 William Brown, 1680  
 Samuel Appleton, 1681  
 Robert Pike, 1682  
 Daniel Fisher, 1683  
 John Woodbridge, 1683  
 Eliza Cook, 1684  
 William Johnson, 1684  
 John Hawthorn, 1684  
 Eliza Hutchinson, 1684  
 Samuel Sewal, 1684  
 Isaac Addington, 1686  
 John Smith, 1686

## Major-Generals of the Military Forces in the Colony, successfully chosen.

Thomas Dudley,  
 John Endicot,  
 Edward Gibbons,  
 Robert Sedgwick,  
 Humphry Abertson,  
 Daniel Denison,  
 John Leveret,  
 Daniel Gookin.

## Secretaries of the Colony, successfully chosen.

William Burgess,  
 Simon Bradstreet,  
 Increase Nowel,  
 Edward Ransom.

That these Names are proper and worthy to be found in our Church-History, will be acknowledged, when it is considered, not only that they were the Members of Congregational Churches, and by the Members of the Churches chosen to be the Rulers of the Commonwealth; and that their exemplary Behaviour in their Magistracy was generally such as to adorn the Doctrine of God our Saviour, and according to the Old Jewish Wilthes, *probitum est Homini, instar principis Dominari super populum, & cum elatione Spiritus, sed, ויראה, cum mansuetudine ac Timore*: But also that their Love to, and Zeal for, and Care of these Churches, was not the least part of their Character.

The Instances of their Concern for the Welfare of the Churches were innumerable. I will single out but one from the rest, because of some Singular Subserviency to the Designs of our Church-History, therein to be proposed: I'll do it only by Transcribing an Instrument, published Anno 1668, in such Terms as these.



To the Elders and Ministers of every Town within the Jurisdiction of the Massachusetts in New-England, the Governour and Council sendeth Greeting.

Reverend and Beloved in the Lord,

WE find in the Examples of Holy Scripture, that *Magistrates* have not only excited and commanded all the People under their Government, to seek the Lord God of their Fathers, and do the Law and Commandment, (2. Chron. 14. 2, 3, 4. Ezra 7. 25, 26, 27.) but also stirred up and sent forth the Levites, accompanied with other Principal Men, to Teach the good Knowledge of the Lord throughout all the Cities, (2. Chron. 17. 6, 7, 8, 9.) which Endeavours have been Crowned with the Blessing of God.

Also we find that our Brethren of the Congregational Persuasion in England, have made a good Profession in their Book, Entituled, *A Declaration of their Faith and Order*, (Page 59. Sect. 14.) where they say, That altho Pastors and Teachers stand especially related unto their particular Churches, yet they ought not to neglect others Living within their Parochial Bounds; but besides their constant publick Preaching to them, they ought to enquire after their profiting by the Word, Instructing them in, and Pressing upon them, (whether Young or Old) the great Doctrines of the Gospel, even personally and particularly, so far as their Strength and Time will permit.

We hope that sundry of you need not a Spur in these things, but are conscientiously careful to do your Duty. Yet, forasmuch as we have cause to fear that there is too much

Neglect in many places, notwithstanding the Laws long since provided therein, we do therefore think it our Duty to emit this Declaration unto you, earnestly Desiring, and, in the Bowels of our Lord Jesus, requiring you to be very Diligent and Careful to Catechise and Instruct all People (especially the Youth) under your Charge, in the sound Principles of Christian Religion; and that not only in Publick, but privately from House to House, as Blessed Paul did; (Act. 20. 20.) or at least, Three, Four, or more Families meeting together, as Time and Strength may permit; taking to your Assistance such godly and grave Persons as to you may seem most expedient: And also that you Labour to Inform your selves (as much as may be meet) how your Hearers do profit by the Word of God, and how their Conversations do agree therewith; and whether the Youth are Taught to Read the English Tongue: Taking all occasions to apply suitable Exhortations particularly unto them, for the Rebuke of those that do evil, and the Encouragement of them that do well.

The effectual and constant Prosecution hereof, we hope will have a Tendency to promote the Salvation of Souls; to suppress the Growth of Sin and Profaneness; to beget more Love and Unity among the People, and more Reverence and Esteem of the Ministry: And it will assuredly be to the enlargement of your Crown, and Recomence in Eternal Glory.

Given at Boston, the 10th of March, 1668.  
by the Governour and Council, and by them Ordered to be Printed, and sent accordingly.

Edward Rawson, Secrer.

## CHAP. VII.

Publicola Christianus. The LIFE of EDWARD HOPKINS, Esq; Governour of CONNECTICUT - COLONY.

*Superiores sunt, qui superiores esse sciunt.*

§. 1. WHEN the Great God of Heaven had carried his Peculiar People into a Wilderness, the Theocracy, wherein he became (as he was for that Reason titled) The Lord of Hosts, unto them and the Four Squadrons of their Army, was most eminently display'd in his Enacting of their Laws, his Directing of their Wars, and his Electing and Inspiring of their Judges. In some resemblance hereunto, when Four Colonies of Christians had marched like so many Hosts unto the Conduct of the good Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ into an American Wilderness, there were several Instances wherein that Army of Confessors was under a Theocracy: For their Laws were still Enacted, and their Wars were still Directed by the Voice of God, as far as they understood it, speaking from

the Oracle of the Scriptures; and though their Judges were still Elected by themselves, and not Inspired with such extraordinary Influences as carried them of Old, yet these also being singularly furnished and offered by the special Providence of God unto the Government of his New-English People, were so eminently acted by His Graces, and His Precepts, in the Discharge of their Government, that the Blessed People were still sensibly Governed by the Lord of All. Now among the First Judges of New-England, was Edward Hopkins, Esq; in whose time the Colony of Connecticut was favoured with Judges as at the first; and put under the Power of those with whom it was a Maxim, *Gratius est pietatis Nomen, quam potestatis.*

§. 2. The

§. 2. The Del-  
ward Hopkins,  
Secretary, about  
him for the Court  
in London; where  
good Fashions and  
in the Church  
not only to flourish  
all the faithful  
confessing and  
in the Worship  
with destroying  
Conformity there  
Number of good  
Salvages of Ame-  
his Excellent Fash-  
Eaton, he came  
removing from the  
ford upon Connec-  
and Pillar of that  
his Abode in the C-  
§. 3. In his Govern-  
the Solomon of his  
Wisdom and Know-  
come in before the  
Head, to be was  
the Refutation to  
among them. And  
A cold Fire, a dead  
God, a contradiction  
was our Hopkins  
a mere piece of La-  
no separate Interest  
their Interests with  
cessful Fidelity, the  
the Tribe of Benjamin  
Wilderness, Abidin-  
is Judge, Now he  
and Emblems, and  
the greatness of it  
Heaven shall be ge-  
Saints of the most  
our Hopkins was  
the Felicity which  
erated for Europe,  
happy Governors,  
dom, induced with  
who shall discern  
and Christianity,  
lency of Jesus Christ  
Humour and Feltic-  
Good, and attain  
and shall subject al-  
High and Glorious  
plished in America.  
§. 4. Most Exe-  
Charity; and whi-  
Love of God, he  
Submission unto the  
rity watchful over  
made a continual  
paration for Death  
Life: It was his  
before Day, to en-  
after which he  
Reading, and Op-



§. 2. The Descent and Breeding of Mr. **Edward Hopkins**, (who was Born, I think, near *Shrobsbury*, about the Year 1600.) first fitted him for the Condition of a *Turkey-Merchant*, in *London*; where he lived several Years in good Fashion and Esteem, until a powerful Party in the Church of *England*, then resolving not only to separate from the Communion of all the Faithful that were Averse to certain confessedly *unscriptural* and *uninstituted* Rites in the Worship of God, but also to *Persecute* with destroying Severities those that were *Non-Conformists* thereunto, compelled a considerable Number of good Men to seek a shelter among the Salvages of *America*. Among these, and with his Excellent Father-in-Law, Mr. *Theophilus Eaton*, he came to *New-England*; where then removing from the *Massachusetts-Bay* unto *Hartford* upon *Connecticut-River*, he became a Ruler and Pillar of that Colony, during the time of his Abode in the Country.

§. 3. In his Government he acquitted himself as the Solomon of his Colony, to whom *God gave Wisdom and Knowledge*, that he might go out and come in before the People; and as he was the Head, so he was the Heart of the People, for the Resolution to do Well, which he maintained among them. An unjust Judge is, as one says, *A cold Fire, a dark Sun, a dry Sea, an ungod God*, a contradicco in Adjecto. Far from such was our *Hopkins*; no, he was, *Altogether Righteous*, a meer piece of *Living Justice*. And as he had no separate Interests of his own, so he pursued their Interests with such an unspotted and successful Fidelity, that they might call him as the Tribe of *Benjamin* did their Leader in the Wilderness, *Avidan*, that is to say, *Our Father is Judge*. *New-England* saw little *Dawnings*, and Emblems, and Earnests of the Day, *That the greatness of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven shall be given unto the People of the Saints of the most High*, when such a Saint as our *Hopkins* was one of its Governours. And the Felicity which a Great Man has Prognosticated for Europe, *That God will stir up some happy Governour in some Country in Christendom*, indued with Wisdom and Consideration, who shall discern the true Nature of *Godliness* and *Christianity*, and the Necessity and Excellency of *Serious Religion*, and shall place his Honour and Felicity in pleasing God, and doing Good, and attaining Everlasting Happiness, and shall subvert all *Worldly Respects* unto these High and Glorious Ends: This was now Exemplified in *America*.

§. 4. Most Exemplary was his Piety and his Charity; and while he governed others by the Laws of God, he did himself yield a profound Subjection unto those Laws. He was exemplarily watchful over his own Behaviour, and made a continual Contemplation of, and Preparation for Death, to be the Character of his Life. It was his manner to Rise early, even before Day, to enjoy the Devotions of his Closet, after which he spent a considerable time in Reading, and Opening, and Applying the Word

of God unto his Family, and then Praying with them: And he had one particular way to cause Attention in the People of his Family, which was to ask any Person that seemed Careless in the midst of his Discourse, *What was it that I Read or Spoke last?* Whereby he Habituated them unto such an Attention, that they were still usually able to give a ready Account. But as for his Prayers, they were not only frequent, but so fervent also, that he frequently fell a Bleeding at the Nose through the Agony of Spirit with which he laboured in them. And, especially when imploring such *Spiritual Blessings*, as, *That God would grant in the End of our Lives, the End of our Hopes, even the Salvation of our Souls*, he would be so Transported, that the Observing and Judicious Hearers would say sometimes upon it, *Surely this Man can't be long out of Heaven*. Moreover, in his Neighbourhood he not only let himself to Encourage and Countenance real *Godliness*, but also would himself kindly visit the Meetings that the Religious Neighbours privately kept for the Exercises of it; and where the least Occasion for Contention was offered, he would, with a prudent and speedy Endeavour, Extinguish it. But the Poor he so considered, that besides the *Daily Reliefs* which with his own Hands he dispensed unto them, he would put considerable Sums of Money into the Hands of his Friends, to be by them employed as they saw Opportunity to do good unto all, especially the Household of Faith. In this thing he was like that Noble and Worthy *English General*, of whom 'tis noted, *He never thought he had any thing but what he gave away*; and yet after all, with much humility, he would profess, as one of the most Liberal Men that ever was in the World often would, *I have often turned over my Books of Accounts, but I could never find the Great God charged a Debtor there*.

§. 5. But Suffering as well as Doing belongs to the Compleat Character of a *Christian*; and there were several Trials wherein our Lord called this Eminent Patient Servant of his to Suffer the Will of God. He Conflicted with  *bodily Infirmities*, but especially with a *Wasting* and a *Bloody Cough*, which held him for Thirty Years together. He had been by *Persecutions* driven to cross an Ocean, to which he had in his Nature an *Antipathy*; and then a *Wilderness* full of such Crosses as attend the beginning of a *Plantation*, exercised him. Nevertheless there was one Affliction which continually dropt upon him above all the rest, and that was this, He Married a Daughter which the Second Wife of Mr. *Eaton* had by a former Husband; one that from a Child had been Observable for Desirable Qualities. But some time after she was Married she fell into a *Disordered Melancholy*, which at last issued in an *Incurable Distraction*, with such ill-shaped Ideas in her Brain, as use to be formed when the *Animal Spirits* are fired by Irregular Particles, fixed with Acid, Biliou,

Verie.



Venemous Ferments in the Blood. Very Grievous was this Affliction unto this her worthy Comfort, who was by temper a very Affectionate Person: And who now left no part of a tender Husband undone, to *Ease*, and, if it were possible, to *Cure* the Lamentable Desolation thus come upon, *The Desire of his Eyes*; but when the Physician gave him to understand, that no means would be likely to *Restore her Sense*, but such as would be also likely to *Hazard her Life*, he Replied with Tears, *I had rather bear my Cross unto the End that the Lord shall give!* But upon this Occasion he said unto her Sister, who, with all the rest related unto her, were as dear unto him as his own; *I have often thought, what should be the meaning of the Lord, in chastising me with so sharp a Rod, and with so long a Stroke!* Whereunto, when the Reply'd, *Sir, nothing singular has, in this Case, befallen you; God hath afflicted others in the like way; and we must be content with our Portion:* He Answered, *Sister, This is among the Lord's Rattles.* For my part I cannot tell what Sore to lay my Hand upon: However, in General, my Sovereign Lord is *Just*, and I will justify him for ever: But in Particular, I have thought the matter might lie here: I promised my self too much Content in this Relation and Enjoyment; and the Lord will make me to know that this World shall not afford it me. So he wisely, meekly, fruitfully bore this heavy Affliction unto his Dying Day; having been taught by the Affliction to Die Daily, as long as he Lived.

§. 6. About Governour Eaton, his Father-in-Law, he saw cause to say unto a Sister-in-Law, whom he much valued; *I have often wondered at my Father and your Father; I have heard him say, That he never had a Repenting, or a Repining Thought, about his coming to New-England: Surely, in this Matter he hath a Grace far out-shining Mine. But he is our Father! I cannot say, as he can, I have had hard work with my own Heart about it.* But upon the Death of his Elder Brother, who was *Warden of the Fleet*, it was necessary for him to Return into England, that he might look after the Estate which then fell unto him; and accordingly, after a Tempestuous and a Terrible Voyage, wherein they were eminently endangered by Fire, accidentally enkindled on the Ship, as well as by Water, which tore it so to Pieces, that it was Towed in by another Ship, he at length,

*Per Varios Casus; per tot Discrimina Rerum,*

arrived there. There a great Notice was quickly taken of him: He was made *Warden of the Fleet*, Commissioner of the Admiralty, and the Navy-Office, a Parliament-Man; and he was placed in some other considerable Stations: In all which he more than answered the Expectations of those who took him to be a Person *Eminently Qualified for Publick Service.* By these Employments, his design of Returning to

New-England, with which he left it, was diverted so far, that he sent for his Family; and about the time that he looked for them, he being advantaged by his great Places to employ certain Frigots for their safety on the Coast, by that means had them safely brought unto him. When they were with him in London, one of them told him how much his Friends in New-England With'd and Pray'd for his Return: And how that Passage had been used in our Publick Supplications for that Mercy, Lord, *If we may win him in Heaven, we shall yet have him on Earth:* But he Reply'd, *I have had many Thoughts about my Return, and my Affections have been bent very strongly that way; and tho' I have now, blessed be God, received my Family here, yet that shall be no hindrance to my Return.* I will tell you, though I am little worth, yet I have that Love which will dispose me to serve the Lord, and that People of his. But as to that matter, I incline to think they will not win it in Heaven; and I know not whether the Terrors of my dreadful Voyage hither might not be ordered by the Divine Providence, to Stake me in this Land, being in my Spirit sufficiently loth to run the hazard of such another. I must also say to you, I mourn exceedingly, and I fear, I fear, the Sins of New-England will ere long be read in its Punishments. The Lord has planted that Land with a Noble Vine; and Blessed hast thou been, O Land, in thy Rulers! But, alas! for the generality they have not considered how they were to Honour the Rules of God, in Honouring of those whom God made Rulers over them; and I fear they will come to smart by having them set over them, that it will be an hard Work to Honour, and that will hardly be capable to manage their Affairs.

§. 7. Accordingly he continued in England the rest of his Days, in several places of Great Honour and Burden faithfully serving the Nation; but in the midst of his Publick Employments most exactly maintaining the Zeal and Watch of his own private Walk with God. His Mind kept continually Mellowing and Ripening for Heaven; and one Expression of his Heavenly Mind, among many others, a little before his End, was, *How often have I pleased my self with thoughts of a joyful Meeting with my Father Eaton!* I remember with what pleasure he would come down the Street, that he might meet me when I came from Hartford unto New-Haven: But with how much greater Pleasure shall we shortly meet one another in Heaven! But as an Heavenly Mind is oftentimes a *Prefiging* Mind, so he would sometimes utter this *Prefige* unto some that were Near and Dear unto him; *God will shortly take the Protector away, and soon after that you will see great Changes overturning the present Constitution, and sore Troubles come upon those that now promise better things unto themselves.* However, he did not Live to see the Fulfilment of this Prediction.

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§. 8. For the time now drew near that this Israelite was to Die! He had been in his Life troubled with many Fears of Death; and after he fell Sick, even when he drew very near his Death, he said with Tears, Oh! Pray for me, for I am in extrem Darknes! But at length, on a Lord's Day, about the very time when Mr. Caryl was publicly praying for him, his Darknes all vanished, and he broke forth into these Expressions, Oh! Lord, thou hast kept the best Wine until the last! Oh! Friends, could you believe this? I shall be blessed for ever, I shall quickly be in Eternal Glory. Now let the whole World count me vile, and call me an Hypocrite, or what they will, I matter it not. I shall be blessed; there is reserved for me a Crown of Glory. Oh! Blessed be God for Jesus Christ! I have heretofore thought it an hard thing to die, but now I find that it is not so. If I might have my choice, I would now chuse to die; Oh! my Lord. I pray thee send me not back again into this Evil World, I have enough of it; no, Lord, now take me to Glory, and the Kingdom that is prepared for me! Yea, the Standers by thought it not possible for them to utter exactly after him, the Heavenly Words which now proceeded from him; and when one of them said, Sir, The Lord hath enlarged your Faith; he replied, Friend, this is Sense; the Lord hath even satisfied my Sense; I am sensibly satisfied of Everlasting Glory! Two or Three Days he now spent in Prayers and Praises, and in Inexpressible Joys: In which time, when some Eminent Persons of a very

Publick Station and Imployment came to Visit him, unto them he said, Sirs, Take heed of your Hearts while you are in your Work for God, that there be no root of bitterness within you. It may be pretended your Desires are to serve God, but if there are in you secret Aims at advancing of your selves, and your own Estates and Interests, the Lord will not accept your Services as pure before him.

But at length in the Month of March, 1657. at London he expired; when being opened, it was found, that his Heart had been unaccountably, as it were, Boiled and Wasted in Water, until it was become a little brittle Skin, which being touch'd, presently dropp'd in pieces. He had often willed, upon some great Accounts, that he might live till the beginning of this Year; and now when he lay a dying, he said, Lord! Thou hast fulfilled my Desires according to thy Word, that thou wilt fulfil the Desires of them that fear thee.

Now from the Tombstone of another Eminent Person, we will fetch what shall here be a proper

EPITAPH.

Part of EDWARD HOPKINS, Esq;  
But Heaven, not brooking that the Earth should share  
In the least Atom of a Piece so rare,  
Intends to Sue out, by a New Revivè,  
His Habeas Corpus at the Grand Assize.

CHAP. VIII.

SUCCESSORS.

§. 1. Alternately, for the most part every other Year, Mr. Hains, whom we have already mentioned elsewhere, took a turn with Mr. Hopkins in the Chief place of Government. And besides these, (Reader, the Oracle that once Predicted Government unto a ☉, would now and here Predict it unto a W.) there were Mr. Willis, Mr. Wells, and Mr. Webster, all of whom also had Opportunity to express their Liberal and Generous Dispositions, and the Governing Virtues of Wisdom, Justice and Courage, by the Election of the Freeman in the Colony before its being United with Newhaven. Had the Surviving Relations of these Worthy Men sent in unto me a Tenth Part of the Considerable and Imitable Things

which occur'd in their Lives, they might have made more of a Figure in this our History; whereas I must now Sum up all, with assuring my Reader, that it is the want of Knowledge in Me, and not of Desert in Them, that has confined us unto this Brevity.

§. 2. After the Union of Connecticut with Newhaven, there were in Chief Government Mr. Leet, whom we have already paid our Dues unto; and Mr. Treat, who is yet living, a Pious and a Valiant Man, and (if even Annota Quercus be an Honourable thing!) worthy to be Honour'd for an Hoary Head found in the Way of Righteousness: Besides, Mr. Winthrop, of whom anon, Reader, expect a Compleater History.

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CHAP.



## CHAP. IX.

Humilitas Honorata. *The LIFE of THEOPHILUS EATON, Esq; Governour of NEW-HAVEN COLONY.*

*Justitia Cultor, Rigidi Servator Honsti,  
In Commune Bonum.*

§. 1. **I**T has been enquired, why the Evangelist *Luke* in the *First Sacred History* which he Addressed unto his Fellow-Citizen, gave him the Title of *The most Excellent Theophilus*, but in the next he used no higher a Title than plain *Theophilus*? And though several other Answers might be given to that Enquiry, 'tis enough to say, That neither the *Civility of Luke*, nor *Nobility of Theophilus*, were by Age abated; but *Luke* herein considered the Disposition of *Theophilus*, as well as his own, with whom a reduced Age had rendered all *Titles of Honour* more *Disagreeable Superfluities*. Indeed nothing would have been more unacceptable to the Governour of our *New-Haven Colony*, all the time of his being so, than to have been Advanced and Applauded above the rest of Mankind; yet it must be now Published unto the Knowledge of Mankind, that *New-England* could not of his Quality show a *More Excellent Person*, and this was *Theophilus Eaton, Esq;* the first Governour of that Colony. *Humility* is a Virtue whereof *Amyraldus* observes, *There is not so much as a Shadow of Commendation in all the Pagan Writers*. But the Reader is now concerned with Writings which will *Commend* a Person for *Humility*; and therefore our *EATON*, in whom the shine of every Virtue was particularly set off with a more than ordinary Degree of *Humility*, must now be proposed as *Commendable*.

§. 2. 'Tis Reported, that the Earth taken from the Banks of *Nilus*, will very strangely Sympathize with the place from whence it was taken, and grow moist or dry according to the Increase and the Decrease of the River. And in spite of that *Popish Lie* which pretends to observe the contrary, this thing has been signally Moraliz'd in the daily Observation, that the *Sons of Ministers*, though betaking themselves to other Employments, do ordinarily carry about with them an Holy and Happy Savour of their Ministerial Education. 'Twas remarkably Exemplified in our *Theophilus Eaton*, who was Born at *Stony-Stratford* in *Oxfordshire*, the Eldest Son to the Faithful and Famous Minister of the place. But the Words of *Old* used by *Philostratus* concerning the Son of a Great Man, *As for his Son I have nothing else to say, but that he was his Son*; they could not be used concerning our *Theophilus*, who having received a good Education from his Pious Parents, did live many Years to Answer that Education in his own Piety and Usefulness.

§. 3. His Father being removed unto Coven-

try, he there at School fell into the Intimate Acquaintance of that Worthy *John Davenport*, with whom the Providence of God many Years after united him in the great Undertaking of settling a Colony of Christian and Reformed Churches on the *American Strand*. Here his Ingenuity and Proficiency rendered him notable; and so vast was his Memory, that although he wrote not at the Church, yet when he came home, he would, at his Father's Call, repeat unto those that met in his Father's House, the Sermons which had been publicly Preached by others, as well as his own Father, with such exactness, as astonished all the Neighbourhood. But in their after Improvements, the Hands of Divine Providence were laid across upon the Heads of *Theophilus Eaton* and *John Davenport*; for *Davenport*, whose Father was the Mayor of *Covenitry*, became a Minister; and *Eaton*, whose Father was Minister of *Covenitry*, contrary to his Intentions, became a Merchant. His Parents were very loth to have complied with his Inclinations; but their Compliance therewithal did at last appear to have been directed by a special Favour of Heaven unto the Family, when after the Death of his Father, he, by this means, became the *Joseph*, by whom his Mother was maintained until he died, and his Orphan Brethren and Sisters had no small part of their Subsistence.

§. 4. During the time of his hard Apprenticeship he behaved himself wisely; and his Wisdom, with God's Favour, particularly appeared in his chaste Escape from the Snares of a Young Woman in the House where he lived, who would fain have taken him in the Pits by the Wise Man cautioned against, and who was herself so taken only with his most Comely Person, that she dy'd for the Love of him, when she saw him gone too far to be obtained: Whereas, by the like Snares, the Apprentice that next succeeded him was undone for ever. But being a Person herewithal most signally Diligent in his Business, it was not long before the Maxim of the Wise Man was most literally accomplished in his coming to Stand before Princes; for being made a Freeman of London, he applied himself unto the East-Country Trade, and was publicly chosen the Deputy-Governour of the Company, wherein he so acquitted himself as to become considerable. And afterwards going himself into the East-Country, he not only became so well Acquainted with the Affairs of the *Baltick-Sea*, but also became so well Improved in the Accomplishments

compliments of King of England to the King of his Agency he to he much obliged Company, (who in Wife with a Bala curiously wrought above Sixty Pound, tance with the Ki terwards sold by little Services. N grity amongst the whether he was dom had he most helge the Benjamin for his Preservation the King of Denmark of England's Health distilled such Hea Prefence; the K a Pin, with the Nobles and C selves to convey and there was no Pledge his Health the more easily de Debauch.

§. 5. Having (which he was for a most virtuous had first Episcop Three Years in the East-Country. Bu his Temporal Eral one; i.e. living to render him the almost killed and yet at her De drous willing to Christ, from whom damned one Hour Earth. He afterw Pious Widow, the Oyster; unto the Widow, he became Faithful Friend Husband unto her had Five Children. ters. But the Se latter Wife dyin not long before former Wife was whereof the Elde upon that up with ever the Lord ha to let the Dissem Mr. Eaton spent great Credit and dan.

§. 6. At leng Humility Inven of God, w England with fo vortport was the from the Storm in



compliments of a *Man of Business*, that the King of England imploy'd him as an *Agent* unto the King of Denmark. The Concerns of his *Agency* he so discreetly managed, that as he much obliged and engaged the *East-land* Company, (who in Token thereof presented his Wife with a *Bafon* and *Ewer* double gilt, and curiously wrought with Gold, and weighing above Sixty Pound.) so he found much Acceptance with the King of Denmark, and was afterwards used by that Prince to do him no little Services. Nevertheless he kept his Integrity amongst the Temptations of that Court, whereat he was now a *Resident*; and not seldom had he most Eminent Cause to acknowledge the *Benignity* and *Interposal* of Heaven for his Preservations; once particularly, when the King of Denmark was beginning the King of England's Health, while Mr. *Eaton*, who disliked such *Health-Drinking*, was in his Presence; the King fell down in a sort of a Fit, with the Cup in his Hand, whereat all the Nobles and Courtiers wholly applied themselves to convey the King into his Chamber, and there was no notice taken who was to Pledge his Health; whereby Mr. *Eaton* was the more easily deliver'd from any share in the Debauch.

§. 5. Having arrived unto a fair Estate, (which he was first willing to do, he Married a most Virtuous Gentlewoman, to whom he had first Epoused himself after he had spent Three Years in an Absence from her in the *East-County*. But this dearest and greatest of his Temporal Enjoyments proved but a Temporal one; for living no longer with him than to render him the Father of Two Children, she almost killed him with her own Death; and yet at her Death she expressed herself wondrous willing to be Dissolved, and to be with Christ, from whom (she said) I would not be detained one Hour for all the Enjoyments upon Earth. He afterwards Married a Prudent and Pious Widow, the Daughter of the Bishop of *Croster*; unto the Three former Children of which Widow, he became a most Exemplary, Living and Faithful Father, as well as a most Worthy Husband unto herself, by whom he afterwards had Five Children, Two Sons and Three Daughters. But the Second of his Children by his latter Wife dying some while before, it was not long before his Two Children by his former Wife were smitten with the *Plague*, whereof the Elder died, and his House thereupon shut up with a, *Lord have Mercy*! However the Lord had this *Mercy* on the Family, to let the Distemper spread no further; and so Mr. *Eaton* spent many Years a Merchant of great Credit and Fashion in the City of London.

§. 6. At length Conformity to Ceremonies Humanely Invented and Imposed in the Worship of God, was urged in the Church of England with so much Rigour, that Mr. *Davenport* was thereby driven to seek a Refuge from the Storm in the Cold and Rude Corners of

America. Mr. *Eaton* had already affixed the New *Massachusetts-Colony*, as being one of the *Patentees* for it; but had no purpose of removing thither himself, until Mr. *Davenport*, under whose Excellent Ministry he lived, was compelled unto a share in this Removal. However, being fully satisfied in his own Conscience, that *Unlawful things* were now violently demanded of him, he was willing to accompany his *Persecuted Pastor* in the Retreat from Violence now Endeavoured, and many Eminent *Londoners* cheerfully engaged with him in this Undertaking. Unto *New-England* this Company of good Men came in the Year 1637, where chusing to be a distinct Colony by themselves, more Accommodated unto the Designs of *Merchandise* than of *Husbandry*, they fought and bought a large Territory in the Southern Parts of the Country for their Habitations. In the Prosecution hereof, the chief Care was devolved upon Mr. *Eaton*, who with an Unexampled Patience took many tedious and hazardous Journeys through a Desolate Wilderness full of Barbarous *Indians*, until upon Mature Deliberation he pitched upon a place now called *New-Haven*, where they soon formed a very regular Town; and a number of other Towns along the Sea side were quickly added thereunto. But by the Difficulties attending these Journeys, Mr. *Eaton* brought himself into an extreme Sickness; from which he recovered not without a *Effusa* in his Breast, whereby he underwent much Affliction. When the *Chirurgian* came to inspect the Sore, he told him, *Sir, I know not how to go about what is necessary for your Cure*; but Mr. *Eaton* answered him, *God calls you to do, and me to suffer*! And God accordingly strengthened him to bear miserable Cuttings and Launcings of his Flesh with a most Invincible Patience. The *Chirurgian* indeed made so many Wounds, that he was not able to Cure what he had made; another, and a better, Hand was necessarily employed for it; but in the mean while great were the Trials with which the God of Heaven exercised the Faith of this his Holy Servant.

§. 7. Mr. *Eaton* and Mr. *Davenport* were the *Moses* and *Aaron* of the Christian Colony now Erected in the South-West Parts of *New-England*; and Mr. *Eaton* being yearly and ever chosen their Governour, it was the Admiration of all Spectators to behold the *Discretion*, the *Gravity*, the *Equity* with which he still managed all their Publick Affairs. He carried in his very Countenance a Majesty which cannot be described; and in his Dispenfations of Justice he was a *Mirror* for the most Imitable *Impartiality*, but Ungainfayable Authority of his Proceedings, being awfully sensible of the Obligations which the *Oath* of a Judge lays upon him. *Ilz sont plus tenus de raison de garder Leur Serment, doubter mort, ou acquerir fortune*: And hence he, who would most patiently bear hard things offered unto his Person in private Cases, yet would never pass by any Publick Affronts, or Neglects



offered when he appeared under the Character of a *Magistrate*. But he fill was the Guide of the *Blind*, the Staff of the *Lame*, the Helper of the *Widow* and the *Orphan*, and all the *Distracted*; none that had a *Good Cause* was afraid of coming before him: On the one side, *In his Days did the Righteous flourish*; on the other side, *He was the Terror of Evil Doers*. As in his Government of the *Commonwealth*, so in the Government of his *Family*, he was Prudent, Serious, Happy to a Wonder; and albeit he sometimes had a large *Family*, consisting of no less than *Thirty Persons*, yet he managed them with such an *Even Temper*, that Observers have affirmed, *They never saw an House ordered with more Wisdom*! He kept an Honourable and Hospitable *Table*; but one thing that fill made the Entertainment thereof the better, was the continual Presence of his Aged *Mother*, by feeding of whom with an Exemplary Piety till she died, he ensured his own Prosperity as long as he lived. His *Children* and *Servants* he would mightily Encourage unto the Study of the *Scriptures*, and Countenance their Addresses unto himself with any of their Enquiries; but when he discerned any of them finfully negligent about the Concerns either of their General or Particular *Callings*, he would admonish them with such a Penetrating Efficacy, that they could scarce forbear falling down at his Feet with *Tears*. A Word of his was enough to flect them!

§. 8. So Exemplary was he for a *Christian*, that one who had been a *Servant* unto him, could many Years after say, *Whatever Difficulty in my daily Walk I now meet withal, still something that I either saw or heard in my Blessed Master Eaton's Conversation, helps me through it all; I have Reason to bless God that ever I knew him*! It was his Custom when he first rose in a *Morning*, to repair unto his Study; a Study well Perfumed with the *Meditations* and *Supplications* of an Holy Soul. After this, calling his *Family* together, he would then read a *Portion of the Scripture* among them, and after some Devout and Useful *Reflections* upon it, he would make a *Prayer* not long, but Extraordinary Pertinent and Reverent; and in the *Evening* some of the same Exercises were again attended. On the *Saturday Morning* he would fill take notice of the Approaching *Sabbath* in his *Prayer*, and ask the *Grace* to be Remembering of it, and Preparing for it; and when the *Evening* arrived, he, besides this, not only Repeated a Sermon, but also Instructed his People, with putting of *Questions* referring to the Points of Religion, which would oblige them to Study for an *Answer*; and if their Answer were at any time insufficient, he would wisely and gently Enlighten their Understandings; all which he concluded with *Singing of a Psalm*. When the *Lord's Day* came, he called his *Family* together at the time for the Ringing of the Fifth Bell, and repeated a Sermon, whereunto he added a *Fervent Prayer*, espe-

cially tending unto the Sanctification of the Day. At *Noon* he sang a *Psalm*, and at *Night* he retired an Hour into his Closet; advising those in his House to improve the same time for the good of their own Souls. He then called his *Family* together again, and in an obliging manner conferred with them about the things with which they had been Entertained in the House of God, shutting up all with a *Prayer* for the Blessing of God upon them all. For Solemn Days of *Humiliation*, or of *Thanksgiving*, he took the same Course, and Endeavoured still to make those that belonged unto him, understand the meaning of the Services before them. He seldom used any *Recreations*, but being a great Reader, all the time he could spare from Company and Business, he commonly spent in his Beloved Study; so that he merited the Name which was once given to a *Learned Ruler of the English Nation*, the Name of *Beauclerk*: In Conversing with his Friends, he was Affable, Courteous, and generally Pleasant, but Grave perpetually; and so Cautelous and Circumspect in his Discourses, and so Modest in his Expressions, that it became a Proverb for Incontestable Truth, *Governour Eaton said it*.

But after all, his *Humility* appeared in his having always but *Low Expectations*, looking for little *Regard* and *Reward* from any Men, after he had merited as highly as was possible by his *Universal Serviceableness*.

§. 9. His Eldest Son he maintained at the College until he proceeded *Master of Arts*; and he was indeed the Son of his Vows, and a Son of great Hopes. But a severe *Catarrh* diverted this Young Gentleman from the Work of the Ministry whereto his Father had once devoted him; and a Malignant Fever then raging in those Parts of the Country, carried off him with his Wife within Two or Three Days of one another. This was counted the forest of all the Trials that ever befel his Father in the Days of the Years of his Pilgrimage; but he bore it with a Patience and Composure of Spirit which was truly admirable. His dying Son look'd earnestly on him, and said, *Sir, What shall we do*! Whereto, with a well-ordered Countenance, he replied, *Look up to God*! And when he passed by his Daughter drowned in Tears on this Occasion, to her he said, *Remember the Sixth Commandment, Hurt not your self with Immoderate Grief*; Remember *Job, who said*, The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, Blessed be the Name of the Lord! You may mark what a Note the Spirit of God put upon it; in all this *Job* sinned not, nor charged God foolishly: God accounts it a charging of him foolishly, when we don't submit unto his Will patiently. Accordingly he now governed himself as one that had attained unto the Rule of Weeping as if we wept not; for it being the Lord's Day, he repaired unto the Church in the *Afternoon*, as he had been there in the *Forenoon*, though he was never

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like to see his Dearest Son alive any more in this World. And though before the First Prayer began, a Messenger came to prevent Mr. Davenport's praying for the Sick Person, who was now Dead, yet his Affectionate Father alter'd not his Course, but Wrote after the Preacher as formerly; and when he came Home he held on his former Methods of Divine Worship in his Family, not for the Excuse of *daron*, omitting any thing in the Service of God. In like sort, when the People had been at the Solemn Interment of this his Worthy Son, he did with a very Unpassionate Aspect and Carriage then say, *Friends, I thank you all for your Love and Help, and for this Testimony of Respect unto me and mine: The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken; blessed be the Name of the Lord!* Nevertheless, retiring hereupon into the Chamber where his Daughter then lay Sick, some Tears were observed falling from him while he uttered these Words, *There is a difference between a fullen Silence or a stupid Senselessness under the Hand of God, and a Child-like Submission thereunto.*

§. 10. Thus continually he, for about a Score of Years, was the *Glory and Pillar of New-Haven Colony*. He would often say, *Some count it a great matter to Die well, but I am sure 'tis a great matter to Live well. All our Care should be while we have our Life to use it well, and so when Death puts an end unto that, it will put an end unto all our Cares.* But having Excellently managed his Care to Live well, God would have him to Die well, without any room or time then given to take any Care at all; for he enjoyed a Death sud-

den to every one but himself! Having worshipped God with his Family after his usual manner, and upon some Occasion with much Solemnity charged all the Family to carry it well unto their Mistress who was now confined by Sickness, he Supp'd, and then took a turn or two abroad for his Meditations. After that he came in to bid his Wife *Good-night*, before he left her with her Watchers; which when he did, he said, *Metinks you look sad!* Where-to he reply'd, *The Differences risen in the Church of Hartford make me so;* she then added, *Let us e'en go back to our Native Country again;* to which he answered, *You may, [and so he did] but I shall Die here.* This was the last Word that ever he heard him speak; for now retiring unto his Lodging in another Chamber, he was overheard about midnight fetching a Groan; and unto one, sent in presently to enquire how he did, he answered the Enquiry with only saying, *Very Ill!* And without laying any more, he fell asleep in Jesus: In the Year 1657, *loosing Anchor from New-Haven for the better.*

—Sedes, ubi Fata, Quiescat  
Osfendunt.

Now let his Gravestone wear at least the following

### E P I T A P H.

NEW-ENGLAND's Glory, full of  
Warmth and Light,  
Stole away (and said nothing) in the Night.

## CHAP. X.

### S U C C E S S O R S.

§. 1. WHEN the Day arriv'd in the Anniversary Course for the Freedom of the Colony to Elect another Governor in the place of the Deceased Eaton, Mr. Davenport Preached on that Passage of the Divine Oracle, in *Job*. 1. 1, 2. *Now after the Death of Moses, the Servant of the Lord, it came to pass that the Lord spake unto Joshua, the Son of Nun, Moses Minister, saying, Now arise thou and all this People.* The Colony was abundantly sensible that their *Eaton* had been a Man of a *Mosaic Spirit*; and that while they chose him, as they did every Year of his Life among them to be their Governor, they could not chuse a better. But they now considered that Mr. Francis Newman, who had been for many Years the Secretary of the Colony, was there a Minister to their *Moses*, as he had been otherwise his intimate Friend, Neighbour, Companion and Counsellor. For this Cause the Unanimous Choice of the Freemen fell upon this Gentleman to succeed in the Government. And I shall here give a sufficient History of his Government;

which through Death was not suffered to continue above Three or Four Years, by only saying, *That he walk'd exactly in the Steps of his Predecessor.*

§. 2. Upon the setting of Mr. Francis Newman, there arose Mr. William Leet, of whom let not the Reader be displeased at this brief Account. This Gentleman was by his Education a Lawyer, and by his Employment a Registrar in the Bishop's Court. In that Station, at Cambridge, he observed that there were Summoned before the Court certain Persons to answer for the Crime of going to hear Sermons abroad, when there were none to be heard in their own Parish Churches at home; and that when any were brought before them for Fornication or Adultery, the Court only made themselves merry with their Peccadillo's; and that these latter Transgressors were as favourably dealt withal, as ever the Wolf was when he came with an Auricular Confession of his Murders to his Brother Fox for Absolution; but the former found as hard measure as ever the poor Ass, that had only taken a Stray by

mistake



mistake out of a Pilgrim's Pad, and yet upon Confession, was by Chancellor Fox pronounced Unpardonable. This Observation extremely scandalized Mr. Lee, who always thought, that Hearing a good Sermon had been a lesser Fault than Lying with one's Neighbour's Wife: And had the same Repentments that Austin And had the same Iniquity which made sometimes had of the Iniquity which made the Transgression of a Ceremony more severely reprehended than a Transgression of the Law of God; but it made an Everlasting Impression upon his Heart, when the Judge of the Court furiously demanded of one then to be censured, How he durst be so bold as to break the Laws of the Church, in going from his own Parish to hear Sermons abroad? And the Honest Man answered, Sir, How should I get Faith else? For the Apostle saith, Faith comes by Hearing the Word Preached; which Faith is necessary to Salvation; and Hearing the Word is the Means appointed by God for the obtaining and encreasing of it: And these Means I must use, whatever I suffer for it in this World. These Words of that Honest Man were Blessed by God with such an Effect upon the Mind of Mr. Lee, that he presently left his Office in the Bishop's Court, and forsaking that Unward

Generation of Men, he associated himself with such as would go Hear the Word, that they might get Faith; and in Hearing he did happily get the Like precious Faith. On this, and for this, he was exposed unto the Persecution, which caused him to retire into New-England with many Worthly Ministers and other Christians in the Year 1639. In that Countrey he settled himself under the Ministry of the Excellent Mr. Whitfield at Gilsford, where being also chosen a Magistrate, and then Governor of the Colony; and being so at the Juncture of time, when the Royal Charter did join Connecticut and New-Haven, he became next unto Governour Winthrop, the Deputy Governour of the whole; and after the Death of Mr. Winthrop, even until his own Death, the Annual Election for about a Decad of Years together still made him Governour. But in his whole Government he gave continual Demonstrations of an Excellent Spirit, especially in that part of it where the Reconciliation and the Coalition of the Spirits of the People under it was to be accomplished. Mr. Robert Treat is the Follower of his Example, as well as the Successor in his Government.

## CHAP. XI.

Hermes Christianus. *The LIFE of JOHN WINTHROP, Esq; Governour of CONNECTICUT and NEW-HAVEN United.*

-----Et Nos aliquod Nomenq; Deusq;  
Gessimus-----

§. 1. IF the Historian could give that Character of the best Roman Emperor, that he was Bonus a Bono, Pius a Pio, the Son of a Father like himself, our History may affirm concerning a very good New-English Governour also, that he was the Father of a Son like himself. The Proverb of the Jews which doth observe, That Vinegar is the Son of Wine; and the Proverb of the Greeks, which doth observe, That the Sons of Heroes are Trespassers, has been more than once contradicted in the happy Experience of the New-Englanders: But none of the least remarkable Contradictions given to it has been in the Honourable Family of our Winthrops.

§. 2. The Eldest Son of John Winthrop, Esq; the Governour of one Colony, was John Winthrop, Esq; the Governour of another, in, therefore happy, New-England, born Feb. 12. 1605, at Groton in England. His Glad Father bestowed on him a liberal Education at the University, first of Cambridge in England, and then of Dublin in Ireland; and because Travel has been esteemed no little Accomplishment of a Young Gentleman, he then Accomplished himself by Travelling into France, Holland, Flanders, Italy, Germany, and as far as Turkey it self, in which places he so improved his

Opportunity of Conversing with all sorts of Learned Men, that he returned home equally a Subject of much Experience, and of great Expectation.

§. 3. The Son of Scipio Africanus proving a degenerate Person, the People forced him to pluck off a Signet-Ring, which he wore with his Father's Face engraven on it. But the Son of our Celebrated Governour Winthrop, was on the other side so like unto his Excellent Father for early Wisdom and Virtue, that arriving at New-England with his Father's Family, Nov. 4. 1621. he was, though not above Twenty Three Years of Age, by the Unanimous Choice of the People, chosen a Magistrate of the Colony, whereof his Father was the Governour.

For this Colony he afterwards did many Services, yea, and he did them Abroad as well as at Home; very particularly in the Year 1634, when returning for England, he was by bad Weather forced into Ireland, where being invited unto the House of Sir John Clotworthy, he met with many Considerable Persons, by conferring with whom, the Affairs of New-England were not a little promoted; but it was another Colony for which the Providence of Heaven intended him to be such another Father, as his own Honourable Father had been to this.

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§. 4. In the turned unto New the Lord Say and Plantation upon a Commission of that Plantation good People to before this reason Colony thereabout ble Gentlemen and having wisely them, he fear a with all Needd the Mouth of the For, is now di Sq-Brook; by w ners further up ners done unto might else have ing in Awe.

§. 5. The Self- implied his own to the Disadvan Cometic, was made Governour the Restoration of ly undertook and the behalf of the ment, whose Affi Successful Probu Charter for them. lony of New-He both Colonies, no Grant of Priests tations which ha I have been inform gaged in this Neg a private Confere fessed His Majesty Charles I. had up Grandfather; and his Prebent, but al one of his Ri was the Opinion Hand that carried Colony under the ticle, they did, land, expects of him as the Israel how over us, for sing him for their together.

§. 6. When the Philosopher, nam wealth to flourish the Hundred Brzen S Thankful People And a Blessed Lo there was over p was not only a but also an Emin the Government of cessity manage are, by a Wise Oly ment of the Wor the Jews Prove



§. 4. In the Year 1635. Mr. Winthrop returned unto New-England, with Powers from the Lord Say and the Lord Brook, to settle a Plantation upon the Long River of Connecticut, and a Commission to be himself the Governour of that Plantation. But inasmuch as many good People of the Massachusetts-Colony had just before this taken Possession of Land for a New-Colony thereabouts, this Courteous and Peaceable Gentleman gave them no Molestation; but having wisely Accommodated the Matter with them, he sent a convenient number of Men, with all Necessaries, to Erect a Fortification at the Mouth of the River, where a Town, with a Fort, is now distinguished by the Name of Say-Brook; by which happy Action, the Planters further up the River had no small Kindness done unto them; and the Indians, which might else have been more Troublesome, were kept in Awe.

§. 5. The Self-denying Gentleman, who had employed his Commission of Governour so little to the Disadvantage of the Infant-Colony at Connecticut, was himself, ere long, by Election made Governour of that Colony. And upon the Restoration of King Charles II. he willingly undertook another Voyage to England, on the behalf of the People under his Government, whose Affairs he managed with such a Successful Prudence, that he obtained a Royal Charter for them, which Incorporated the Colony of New-Haven with them, and Invested both Colonies, now happily United, with a firm Grant of Privileges, beyond those of the Plantations which had been settled before them. I have been informed, that while he was engaged in this Negotiation, being admitted unto a private Conference with the King, he presented His Majesty with a Ring, which King Charles I. had upon some Occasion given to his Grandfather; and the King not only accepted his Present, but also declared, that he accounted it one of his Richest Jewels; which indeed was the Opinion that New-England had of the Hand that carried it. But having thus laid his Colony under Everlasting Obligations of Gratitude, they did, after his return to New-England, express of their Gratitude, by saying to him as the Israelites did unto Gideon, *Rule thou over us, for thou hast delivered us*; chusing him for their Governour twice Seven Years together.

§. 6. When the Governour of Athens was a Philosopher, namely Demetrius, the Commonwealth to flourish, that no less than Three Hundred Brazen Statues were afterward by the Thankful People Erected unto his Memory. And a Blessed Land was New-England, when there was over part of it a Governour, who was not only a Christian and a Gentleman, but also an Eminent Philosopher; for indeed the Government of the State is then most successfully managed, when the measures of it are, by a Wise Observer, taken from the Government of the World; and very unreasonable is the Jewish Proverb,

*Ne Habites in urbe ubi caput urbis est Medicus*: But highly reasonable the Sentence of Aristotle, *Ubi praeses fuerit Philoſophus, ibi Civitas erit Felix*; and this the rather for what is truly noted by Theophrastus, *Magistratus est Civitatis Medicus*. Such an one was our Winthrop, whose Genius and Faculty for Experimental Philosophy, was advanced in his Travels abroad, by his Acquaintance with many Learned Virtuosi. One Effect of this Disposition in him, was his being furnished with Noble Medicines, which he most Charitably and Generously gave away upon all Occasions; inſomuch that where-ever he came, still the Diseased flocked about him, as if the Healing Angel of Bethesda had appeared in the place; and so many were the Cures which he wrought, and the Lives that he saved, that if Scanderberg might boast of his having slain in his Time Two Thousand Men with his own Hands, this Worthy Person might have made a far more desirable Boast of his having in his Time Healed more than so many Thousands; in which Beneficence to Mankind, there are of his Worthy Children, who to this Day do follow his Direction and Example. But it was not unto New-England alone that the Respects of this Accomplished Philosopher were confined. For, whereas in pursuance of the Methods begun by that Immortally Famous Advancer of Learning, the most Illustrious Lord Chancellor Bacon, a Select Company of Eminent Persons, using to meet in the Lodgings of Dr. Wilkins of Wadham Colledge in Oxford, had laid the Foundation of a Celebrated Society, which by the Year 1663. being Incorporated with a Royal Charter, hath since been among the Glories of England, yea, and of Mankind; and their Design was to make Faithful Records of all the Works of Nature or of Art, which might come under their Observation, and Correct what had been False, Restore what should be True, Preserve what should be Rare, and Render the Knowledge of the World, as well more Perfect as more Useful; and by multiplied Experiments both of Light and Fruit, advance the Empire of Man over the whole visible Creation; it was the Honour of Mr. Winthrop to be a Member of this Royal Society. And accordingly among the Philosophical Transactions Published by Mr. Oldenburgh, there are some notable Communications from this Inquisitive and Intelligent Person, whose Insight into many Parts of the Creation, but especially of the Mineral Kingdom, was beyond what had been attained by the most in many Parts of America.

§. 7. If one would therefore desire an exact Picture of this Worthy Man, the Description which the most Sober and Solid Writers of the Great Philosophick Work do give of those Persons, who alone are qualified for the Smiles of Heaven upon their Enterprizes, would have exactly fitted him. He was a Studious, Humble, Patient, Reserved and Mortified Person, and one in whom the Love of God was Fer-

vent,



vent, the Love of *Man* sincere : And he had herewithal a certain *Extension of Soul*, which disposed him to a *Generous Behaviour* towards those, who by Learning, Breeding and Virtue, deserve Respects, though of a Persuasion and Profession in Religion very different from *his own*; which was *that of a Reformed Protestant, and a New-English Puritan*. In sum, he was not more an *Adversary* in those Noble and Secret *Medicines*, which would reach the *Roots* of the Distempers that annoy Humane Bodies, and procure an *Universal Rest* unto the *Archans* on all Occasions of Disturbance, than he was in those *Christian Qualities*, which appear upon the Cure of the Distempers in the Minds of Men, by the Effectual *Grace* of our Lord Jesus Christ.

§. 8. In the Year 1643. after divers *Essays* made in some former Years, the several Colonies of *New-England* came in *Fall*, as well as *Name*, *United Colonies*. And an Instrument was formed, wherein having declared, *That we all came into these parts of America with the same End and Aim, namely, to advance the Glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and enjoy the Liberties of the Gospel with Purity and Peace*, it was firmly agreed between the several Jurisdications, that there should yearly be chosen *Two Commissioners* out of each, who should meet at fit Places appointed for that purpose, with full Powers from the *General Courts* in each, to Concert and Conclude Matters of General Concernment for *Peace or War* of the several Colonies thus *Confederated*. In pursuance of this *Laudable Confederacy*, this most Meritorious Government of *Connecticut Colony* accepted the Trouble of appearing as a *Commissioner* for that Colony, with the rest met at *Boston*, in the Year 1676. when the Calamities of the *Indian-War* were distressing the whole Country : But here falling Sick of a Fever, he dy'd on *April 5*, of that Year, and was Honourably Interred in the same Tomb with his Honourable Father.

§. 9. His Father, as long ago as the Year 1642. had teen *Cauld* to Write unto him an Excellent Letter, wherein there were these among other Passages.

'You are the Chief of *Two Families* ; I had by your Mother *Three Sons and Three Daughters*, and I had with her a *Large Portion* of outward Estate. These now are all gone ; Mother gone ; Brethren and Sisters gone ; you only are left to see the Vanity of these *Temporal things*, and learn *Wisdom* thereby, which may be of more use to you, through the Lord's Blessing, than all that *Inheritance* which might have befallen you : And for which this may stay and quiet your Heart, *That God is able to give you more than this* ; and that it being *spont* in the furtherance of *his Work*, which hath here prospered so well, through his Power hitherto, you and yours may certainly expect a *liberal Portion* in the *Prosperity and Blessing* thereof hereafter ; and the rather, because it was not forced from you

by a Father's Power, but freely *religined* by your self, out of a Living and Filial Respect unto me, and your own readiness unto the Work it self. From whence, as I do often take Occasion to Bless the Lord for you, so do I also Commend you and yours to his *Fatherly Blessing*, for a plentiful Reward to be rendered unto you. And doubt not, my Dear Son, but let your Faith be built upon his Promise and Faithfulness, that as he hath carried you hitherto through many Perils, and provided liberally for you, so he will do for the time to come, and will never fail you, nor forsake you. — My Son, the Lord knows how Dear thou art to me, and that my Care has been more for thee than for my self. But I know thy Prosperity depends not on my Care, nor on *thine own*, but upon the Blessing of our Heavenly Father ; neither doth it on the things of this World, but on the *Light of God's Countenance*, through the Merit and Mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is that only which can give us *Peace of Conscience* with Contentation ; which can as well make our Lives Happy and Comfortable in a mean Estate, as in a great Abundance. But if you weigh things aright, and sum up all the Turnings of Divine Providence together, you shall find great Advantage. — The Lord hath brought us to a *Good Land* ; a Land, where we enjoy outward Peace and Liberty, and above all, the Blessings of the Gospel, without the Burden of Impositions in Matters of Religion. Many Thousands there are who would give Great Estates to enjoy our Condition. Labour therefore, my good Son, to increase our Thankfulness to God for all his Mercies to thee, especially for that he hath revealed his Everlasting Good-will to thee in Jesus Christ, and joined thee to the visible Body of his Church, in the Fellowship of his People, and hath saved thee in all thy Travails abroad, from being Infected with the Vices of these Countries where thou hast been, (a Mercy vouchsafed but unto few Young Gentlemen Travellers.) Let him have the Honour of it who kept thee. He it was who gave thee Favour in the Eyes of all with whom thou hadst to do, both by Sea and Land ; He it was who saved thee in all Perils ; and He it is who hath given thee a Gift in Understanding and Art ; and he it is who hath provided thee a Blessing in Marriage, a Comfortable Help, and many Sweet Children ; and hath hitherto provided liberally for you all : And therefore I would have you to Love him again, and Serve him, and Trust him for the time to come. Love and Prize that Word of Truth, which only makes known to you the Precious and Eternal Thoughts and Councils of the Light Inaccessible. Deny your own Wisdom, that you may find his ; and esteem it the greatest Honour to lye under the Simplicity of the Gospel of Christ Crucified, without which you can never enter into the Secrets of his Tabernacle, nor enjoy those sweet things which

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John Mason,  
George Willis,  
John Weller,  
William Ludlow,  
William Hopkins,  
Henry Woolcot,  
George Fenwick,  
Colymore,  
John Hesel,  
John Callicot,  
Henry Clark,  
John Wintrop,  
Thomas Lopping,  
John Talbot,  
John Ogden,  
Nathan Gold,  
Marthen Allyn,  
Richard Treat,



which Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, nor  
 can the Heart of Man conceive; but God hath  
 granted unto some few to know them even  
 in this Life. Study well, my Son, the saying  
 of the Apostle, *Knowledge puffeth up*. It is a  
 good Gift of God, but when it lifts up the  
 Mind above the *Cross of Christ*, it is the *Pride*  
 of Life, and the High-way to *Apostasy*, where-  
 in many Men of great Learning and Hopes  
 have perished. — In all the Exercise of your  
 Gifts, and Improvement of your Talents, have  
 an Eye to your Master's End, more than your  
 own; and to the Day of your Account, that you  
 may then have your *Quietus est*, even, *Well*  
*done, Good and Faithful Servant!* But my last  
 and chief Request to you, is, that you be  
 careful to have your Children brought up in  
 the Knowledge and Fear of God, and in the  
 Faith of our Lord Jesus Christ. This will  
 give you the best Comfort of them, and keep  
 them sure from any Want or Miscalriage:  
 And when you part from them, it will be no  
 small joy to your Soul, that you shall meet  
 them again in Heaven!

Doubleless, the Reader considers the *Historical*  
 Passages in this Extract of the Letter thus  
 Recited. Now, but by making this Reflection  
 upon the Rest, that as the *Prophetical Part* of  
 it was notably fulfilled in the Estate, whereto  
 the good Providence of God Recovered this  
 Worthy Gentleman and his Family, so the *Mo-  
 nitory Part* of it was most Exemplarily attend-  
 ed in his Holy and Useful Conversation. I  
 shall therein briefly sum up the *Life* of a Per-  
 son whom we shall call a *Second* unto none of  
 our Worthies, but as we call him our *Second*  
*Wintrop*.

## EPITAPHIUM.

Abi Viator;  
 Et Luge plures Magistratus in Uno periisse.  
 Redi Viator.  
 Non Perit, sed ad Celestem Societatem  
 Regia Magis Regiam,  
 Vere Adeptus,  
 Abiit:

WINTHROPUS, Non minor magnis Majoribus.

## CHAP. XII.

## ASSISTENTS.

MAGISTRATES of Connecticut-Co-  
 lony, before New-Haven Colony was  
 actually annexed unto it, were, (besides the two  
 Alternately, for the most Part. Elected Gover-  
 nours, HOPKINS, and HAINS.)

Roger Ludlow, 1636  
 John Steel, 1636  
 William Phelps, 1636  
 William Westwood, 1636  
 Andrew Ward, 1636  
 Thomas Wells, 1637  
 William Swain, 1637  
 Matthew Mitchell, 1637  
 George Hull, 1637  
 William Whiting, 1637  
 John Majon, 1637  
 George Willis, 1639  
 John Webster, 1639  
 William Ludlow, 1640  
 William Hopkins, 1642  
 Henry Woolcot, 1643  
 George Fenwick, 1644  
 Cosmore, 1647  
 John Howel, 1647  
 John Cullick, 1648  
 Henry Clark, 1650  
 John Wintrop, 1651  
 Thomas Topping, 1651  
 John Talcor, 1654  
 John Ogden, 1656  
 Nathaniel Gold, 1657  
 Matthew Allyn, 1658  
 Richard Treat, 1658

Thomas Baker, 1658  
 Mulford, 1658  
 Alexander Knowles, 1658  
 John Wells, 1658  
 Robert Band, 1659  
 Royner, 1661  
 John Allyn, 1662  
 Daniel Clark, 1662  
 Samuel Sherman, 1662  
 John Towns, 1664

MAGISTRATES of New-Haven Colony,  
 before Connecticut-Colony could accomplish  
 its Coalition therewith, were, (besides the  
 Governours elsewhere mentioned)

Stephen Goddard, 1637  
 Thomas Grigson, 1637  
 Richard Malbon, 1637  
 William Leet, 1637  
 John Desborough, 1637  
 Tapp, 1637  
 William Fowler, 1637  
 Francis Newman, 1653  
 Astwood, 1653  
 Samuel Eaton, 1654  
 Benjamin Fen, 1654  
 Matthew Gilbert, 1658  
 Jasper Crane, 1658  
 Robert Treat, 1659  
 William Jones, 1662

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MAGI-

MAGISTRATES after the Two Colonies  
were content, according to their Charter, to  
become ONE, were,

John Winthrop, Gov.

John Mason,

Matthew Allyn,

Samuel Willys,

Nathan Gold,

John Talcot,

Henry Woolcot,

John Allyn,

Samuel Sherman,

James Richards,

William Leet,

William Jones,

Benjamin Fen,

Falser Crane,

Daniel Clark,

Alexander Bryans,

James Bishop,

Anthony Howkins,

Thomas Wells,

John Nash,

Robert Treat,

Thomas Topping,

1665

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Matthew Gilbert,

Andrew Leet,

John Wadsworth,

Robert Chapman,

James Fitch,

Samuel Mason,

Benjamin Newberry,

Samuel Talcot,

Giles Hamlin,

1677

1678

1679

1681

1681

1683

1685

1685

1685

While the Colonies were Clusters of Rich  
Grapes, which had a Blessing in them. Such  
Leaves as these (which is in the Proverbs of  
the Jewish Nation, a Name for Magistrates)  
happily defended them from the Storms that  
molest the World.

Those of the least Character among them,  
yet came up to what the Roman Common-  
wealth required in their Magistrates.

Populus Romanus delegit Magistratus, quasi  
Reipublice Villicos, in quibus, si qua praterera  
est Ars, facile patitur; sin minus, virtute eorum  
& Innocentia Contentus est. Cic. Orat. Pro  
Plan.

THE Author of the following Narrative, is a Person of  
such well known Integrity, Prudence and Veracity, that  
there is not any cause to Question the Truth of what he here  
Relates. And moreover, this Writing of his is adorned with a  
very grateful Variety of Learning, and doth contain such surpris-  
ing workings of Providence, as do well deserve due Notice and  
Observation. On all which accounts, it is with just Confidence  
recommended to the Publick by

April 27.  
1697.

Nath. Mather,  
John Howe,  
Matt. Mead.

Pietas



*Pietas in Patriam:*

THE  
LIFE  
OF HIS  
EXCELLENCY

Sir William Phips, Knt.

Late Captain General, and Governour in Chief of the Province  
of the *Massachusetts-Bay*,

NEW-ENGLAND.

Containing the Memorable Changes Undergone, and Actions Per-  
formed by Him.

*Written by one intimately acquainted with Him.*

*Discite Virtutem ex Hoc, verumque Laborem.*

*To his Excellency the Earl of Bellomont, Baron of Coloony in Ire-  
land, General Governour of the Province of Massachusetts in New-  
England, and the Provinces annexed.*

May it please your Excellency,  
THE Station in which the Hand of  
the God of Heaven hath disposed  
His Majesties Heart to place your  
Honour, doth so manifestly entitle your  
Lordship to this ensuing Narrative, that  
its being thus Presented to your Excellen-  
cies Hand, is thereby both Apologized for  
and Justified. I believe, had the Writer  
of it, when he Penned it, had any Know-  
ledge of your Excellency, he would him-  
self have done it; and withal, would have  
amply and publicly Congratulated the  
People of *New-England*, on account of

their having such a Governour, and your  
Excellency, on account of your being  
made Governour over them. For though  
as to some other things it may possibly be  
a place to some Persons not so desirable,  
yet I believe this Character may be justly  
given of them, that they are the best Peo-  
ple under Heaven; there being among  
them, not only less of open Profaneness,  
and less of Lewdness, but also more of  
the serious Profession, Practice, and Power  
of Christianity, in proportion to their num-  
ber, than is among any other People upon  
the Face of the whole Earth. Not but I

E c 2      doubt,

doubt, there are many bad Persons among them, and too many diftemper'd Humours, perhaps even among those who are truly good. It would be a wonder if it should be otherwise; for it hath of late Years, on various accounts, and some very singular and unusual ones, been a Day of fore Temptation with that whole People. Nevertheless, as I look upon it as a Favour from God to those Plantations, that he hath set your Excellency over them, so I do account it a Favour from God to your Excellency, that he hath committed and trusted in your Hand so great a part of his peculiar Treasure and precious Jewels, as are among that People. Besides, that on other accounts the Lord Jesus hath more of a visible Interest in *New-England*, than in any of the Outgoings of the *English* Nation in *America*. They have at their own Charge not only set up Schools of lower Learning up and down the Country; but have also erected an University, which hath been the happy Nursery of many Useful, Learned, and excellently Accomplished Persons. And moreover, from them hath the blessed Gospel been Preached to the Poor, Barbarous, Savage *Heathen* there; and it hath taken such Root among them, that

there were lately four and twenty Assemblies in which the Name of the Lord Jesus was constantly called on, and celebrated in their own Language. In these things *New-England* outshineth all the Colonies of the *English* in those goings down of the Sun. I know your Excellency will Favour and Countenance their University, and also the Propagating of the Gospel among the Natives; for the Interest of Christ in that Part of the Earth is much concerned in them. That the God of the Spirits of all Flesh would abundantly replenish your Excellency with a suitable Spirit for the Service to which he hath called your Lordship, that he would give your Honour a prosperous Voyage thither, and when there, make your Excellency a rich Blessing to that People, and them a rejoicing to your Excellency, is the Prayer of,

April 27.

1697.

My Lord,

Your Excellencies most

Humble Servant,

Nath. Mather.

THE

Sir W.

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§ 1. F such  
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 intercession. *Our Bone*  
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 and Preserved, tha  
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 by, and raise the fin  
 of its Albes at his  
 like Method from  
 some *Dust*, a Phil  
 Criminal *Necromanc*  
 by Dead Ancestor  
 Body has been Inc  
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 side of our Creed,



# THE LIFE

OF HIS EXCELLENCY

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, Knt.

L A T E

G O V E R N O U R

O F

NEW-ENGLAND.

§. 1. **I**F such a Renowned Chymist, as *Quercetanus*, with a whole Tribe of *Labourers in the Fire*, since that Learned Man, find it no easie thing to make the common part of Mankind believe, That they can take a *Plant* in its more vigorous Confidence, and after a due *Maceration, Fermentation and Separation*, extract the *Salt* of that *Plant*, which, as it were, in a *Chaos*, invisibly reserves the *Form* of the whole, with its vital Principle; and, that keeping the *Salt* in a *Glass* Hermetically sealed, they can, by applying a *Soft Fire* to the *Glass*, make the *Vegetable* rise by little and little out of its *Ashes*, to surprize the Spectators with a notable Illustration of that *Resurrection*, in the Faith whereof the *Jews* returning from the Graves of their Friends, pluck up the *Grass* from the Earth, using those Words of the Scripture thereupon, *Your Bones shall flourish like an Herb*: 'Tis likely, that all the Observations of such Writers, as the Incomparable *Borellus*, will find it hard enough to produce our Belief, that the *Essential Salts* of *Animals* may be so Prepared and Preserved, that an Ingenious Man may have the whole *Ark of Noah* in his own Study, and raise the fine *Shape* of an *Animal* out of its *Ashes* at his Pleasure: And, that by the like Method from the *Essential Salts* of *Humane Dust*, a Philosopher may, without any Criminal Necromancy, call up the *Shape* of any *Dead Ancestor* from the *Dust* whereinto his Body has been Incinerated. The *Resurrection of the Dead*, will be as Just, as Great an Article of our *Creed*, although the *Relations* of

these Learned Men should pass for *Incredible Romances*: But yet there is an *Anticipation* of that Blessed *Resurrection*, carrying in it some Resemblance of these *Curiosities*, which is performed, when we do in a *Book*, as in a *Glass*, reserve the History of our *Departed Friends*; and by bringing our *Warm Affections* unto such an History, we revive, as it were, out of their *Ashes*, the true *Shape* of those Friends, and bring to a fresh View, what was *Memorable and Imitable* in them. Now, in as much as *Mortality* has done its part upon a Considerable Person, with whom I had the Honour to be well acquainted, and a Person as *Memorable* for the Wonderful *Changes* which befel him, as *Imitable* for his *Virtues and Actions* under those *Changes*; I shall endeavour, with the Chymistry of an Impartial *Historian*, to raise my Friend so far out of his *Ashes*, as to shew him again unto the World; and if the Character of *Heroick Virtue* be for a Man to deserve well of Mankind, and be great in the Purpose and Success of *Essays* to do so, I may venture to promise my Reader such Example of *Heroick Virtue*, in the Story whereto I invite him, that he shall say, it would have been little short of a *Vice in me*, to have withheld it from him. Nor is it any *Partiality* for the Memory of my Deceased Friend, or any other Sinister Design whatsoever, that has Invited me to this Undertaking; but I have undertaken this Matter from a sincere Desire, that the Ever Glorious Lord *JESUS CHRIST* may have the Glory of his *Power and Goodness*, and of his Providence, in what he did for such a Person, and



and in what he disposed and assisted that Person to do for him. Now, *May he assist my Writing, even he that prepared the Subject, whereof I am to Write!*

§. 2. So *obscure* was the *Original* of that Memorable Person, whose *Actions* I am going to relate, that I must, in a way of Writing, like that of *Plutarch*, prepare my Reader for the intended Relation, by first searching the *Archives* of Antiquity for a *Parallel*. Now, because we will not *Parallel* him with *Eumenes*, who, though he were the Son of a Poor Carrier, became a Governour of Mighty Provinces; nor with *Marius*, whose mean Parentage did not hinder his becoming a Glorious Defender of his Country, and Seven times the Chief Magistrate of the Chiefest City in the Universe: Nor with *Spherates*, who became a Successful and Renowned General of a Great People, though his Father were a *Collier*: Nor with *Diolephant*, the Son of a poor *Scriver*: Nor with *Bonifus*, the Son of a poor *School-Master*, who yet came to sway the Scepter of the Roman Empire: Nor, lastly, will I compare him to the more late Example of the Celebrated *Mazarini*, who though no Gentleman by his Extraction, and one so forlornly Educated, that he might have wrote *Man*, before he could write at all; yet ascended unto that Grandeur, in the Memory of many yet living, as to Umpire the most Important Affairs of *Christendom*: We will decline looking any further in that *Hemisphere* of the World, and make the *Hue and Cry* throughout the Regions of *America*, the *New World*, which *He*, that is becoming the Subject of our History, by his *Nativity*, belonged unto. And in *America*, the first that meets me, is *Francisco Pizarro*, who, though a *Spurious Offspring*, exposed when a *Babe* in a Church-Porch, at a forry Village of *Navarre*, and afterwards employ'd while he was a *Boy*, in keeping of Cattel, yet, at length, stealing into *America*, he so thrived upon his Adventures there, that upon some Discoveries, which with an handful of Men he had in a desperate Expedition made of *Peru*, he obtain'd the King of *Spain's* Commission for the Conquest of it, and at last so incredibly enrich'd himself by the Conquest, that he was made the first *Viceroy* of *Peru*, and created *Marquess* of *Ana-tillo*.

To the Later and Highest Part of that Story, if any thing hinderd His Excellency Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS*, from affording of a *Parallel*, it was not the want either of *Design*, or of *Courage*, or of *Conduitt* in himself, but it was the Fate of a *Premature Mortality*. For my Reader now being fatished, that a Person's being *Obscure* in his *Original*, is not always a *Iust Prejudice* to an Expectation of *Considerable Matters* from him; I shall now inform him, that this our *PHIPS* was Born Feb. 2. A. Dom. 1650. at a despicable Plantation on the River of *Kennebeck*, and almost the furthest Village of the Eastern Settlement of *New-England*. And as the *Father* of that Man, which

was as great a Blessing as *England* had in the Age of that Man, was a *Smith*, so a *Gan-Smith*, namely, *James Phips*, once of *Bristol*, had the Honour of being the *Father* to him, whom we shall presently see, made by the God of Heaven as great a Blessing to *New-England*, as that Country could have had, if they themselves had pleased. His fruitful *Mother*, yet living, had no less than *Twenty-Six* Children, whereof *Twenty-One* were Sons; but Equivalent to them all was *WILLIAM*, one of the youngest, whom his *Father* dying, left young with his *Mother*, and with her he lived, *keeping of Sheep in the Wilderness*, until he was *Eighteen Years Old*; at which time he began to feel some further Dispositions of Mind from that Providence of God which took him from the *Sheepfolds*, from following the *Ewes* great with *Young*, and brought him to feed his *People*. Reader, enquire no further who was his *Father*? Thou shalt anon see, that he was, as the *Italians* express it, *A Son to his own Labours*!

§. 3. His Friends earnestly solicited him to settle among them in a Plantation of the *East*; but he had an Unaccountable *Impulse* upon his Mind, perswading him, as he would privately hint unto some of them, *That he was Born to greater Matters*. To come at those greater Matters, his first Contrivance was to bind himself an Apprentice unto a *Ship-Carpenter* for Four Years; in which time he became a Master of the Trade, that once in a Vessel of more than *Forty Thousand Tuns*, repaired the Ruins of the Earth: *Noah's*, I mean; he then betook himself an Hundred and Fifty Miles further a Field, even to *Boston*, the Chief Town of *New-England*; which being a Place of the most Buiness and Resort in those Parts of the World, he expected there more Commodiously to pursue the *Spes Majorum & Melliorum*, *Hopes* which had inspir'd him. At *Boston*, where it was that he now learn'd, first of all, to Read and Write, he followed his Trade for about a Year; and by a laudable Department, so recommended himself, that he Married a Young Gentlewoman of good Repute, who was the Widow of one Mr. *John Hull*, a well-bred Merchant, but the Daughter of one Captain *Roger Spencer*, a Person of good Fashion, who having suffer'd much damage in his Estate, by some unkind and unjust Actions, which he bore with such Patience, that for fear of thereby injuring the Publick, he would not seek Satisfaction, *Fosterity* might afterward see the Reward of his Patience, in what Providence hath now done for one of his own *Fosterity*. Within a little while after his Marriage, he indentured with several Persons in *Boston*, to Build them a Ship at *Sheepscot River*, Two or Three Leagues Eastward of *Kennebeck*; where having Lunched the Ship, he also provided a *Lading* of Lumber to bring with him, which would have been to the Advantage of all Concern'd. But just as the Ship was hardly finish'd, the Barbarous *Indians* on that

that River, broke War upon the *Espe*, surprized by him, had no Refuge from now nothing in left his intended feast thereof, hours and the *Belgon*; to the was his own *Hoof*, with the *Ruin*; but the him from the Loss his Affairs into gro as had employ'd

§. 4. But he was beginning to make at *Allians*: for the woman his Wife, *raie of a King's* have the *Command* now accounted him be Owner of a *Fort* Lane of *Norfolk*: this would not be God would bring these Passages with he had for *Jesus* of them, that it is *Original* thereof. *Genius*, and nature his Disposition for Mould, where, was as much *Wife* there as by *Nature* the Air; that several sudden Tums of *the* *City*, as *Themselves* upon a *Fiddle*, yet *City* become a *Green* contrive a weighty entry parole in *uncination*, cutting like a *Razor*, he like *Mannes* to his them, that no less of his *Revelations*. *Temper*, for doing himself to the *Sea* Things; and upon about the *Edwards* but with little more serv'd him a little to *England*; which much unlike that on their *First* *Coin*. *Incarnum quo* *Est* *et* himself that *Wreck*, wherein were them multicovert on upon his Mind cover; and he his *Beligion* at *White* he became the *Capt* arrived at *New*



that River, broke forth into an Open and Cruel War upon the English; and the miserable People, surprized by so sudden a storm of Blood, had no Refuge from the Infidels. but the Ship now finishing in the Harbour. Whereupon he left his intended Lading behind him, and instead thereof, carried with him his old Neighbours and their Families, free of all Charges, to Boston; to the first Action that he did, after he was his own Man, was to save his Father's House, with the rest of the Neighbourhood, from Ruin; but the Disappointment which befel him from the Loss of his other Lading, plunged his Affairs into greater Embarrassments with such as had employ'd him.

§. 4. But he was hitherto no more than beginning to make Scaffolds for further and higher Actions! He would frequently tell the Gentlewoman his Wife, That he should yet be Captain of a King's Ship; That he should come to have the Command of better Men than he was now accounted himself; and, That he should be Owner of a Fair Brick-House in the Green-Lane of North-Boston; and, That, it may be, this would not be all that the Providence of God would bring him to. She entertained these Passages with a sufficient Incredulity; but he had so serious and positive an Expectation of them, that it is not easy to say, what was the Original thereof. He was of an Enterprizing Genius, and naturally disdain'd Littleness: But his Disposition for Business was of the Dutch Mould, where, with a little shew of Wit, there is as much Wisdom demonstrated, as can be shewn by any Nation. His Talent lay not in the Arts that serve chiefly for the pleasant and sudden Turns of Conversation; but he might say, as Themistocles, Though he could not play upon a Fiddle, yet he knew how to make a little City become a Great One. He would prudently contrive a weighty Undertaking, and then patiently pursue it unto the End. He was of an Inclination, cutting rather like a Hatchet, than like a Razor; he would propose very Considerable Matters to himself, and then to cut through them, that no Difficulties could put by the Edge of his Resolutions. Being thus of the True Temper, for doing of Great Things, he betakes himself to the Sea, the Right Scene for such Things; and upon Advice of a Spanish Wreck about the Bahamas, he took a Voyage thither; but with little more success, than what just served him a little to furnish him for a Voyage to England; whither he went in a Vessel, not much unlike that which the Dutchmen stamp'd on their First Coin, with these Words about it, Incertum quo Nata ferant. Having first inform'd himself that there was another Spanish Wreck, wherein was lost a mighty Treasure, hitherto undiscovered, he had a strong Impression upon his Mind that He must be the Discoverer; and he made such Representations of his Design at White-Hall, that by the Year 1683, he became the Captain of a King's Ship, and arrived at New-England Commander of the

Algier-Rose, a Frigate of Eighteen Guns, and Ninety-Five Men.

§. 5. To Relate all the Dangers through which he pass'd, both by Sea and Land, and all the Tiresome Trials of his Patience, as well as of his Courage, while Year after Year the most vexing Accidents imaginable delay'd the Success of his Design, it would even Tire the patience of the Reader: For very great was the Experiment that Captain Phips made of the Italian Observation, He that can't suffer both Good and Evil, will never come to any great Preferment. Wherefore I shall supersede all Journal of his Voyages to and fro, with reciting one Instance of his Conduct, that shew'd him to be a Person of no contemptible Capacity. While he was Captain of the Algier-Rose, his Men growing weary of their unsuccessful Enterprize, made a Mutiny, wherein they approach'd him on the Quarter-Deck, with Drawn Swords in their Hands, and required him to join with them in Running away with the Ship, to drive a Trade of Piracy on the South Sea. Captain Phips, though he had not so much of a Weapon as an Ox-Goad, or a Jaw-bone in his Hands, yet like another Shamgar or Samson, with a most undaunted Fortitude, he rush'd in upon them, and with the Blows of his bare Hands, Fell'd many of them, and Quell'd all the Rest. But this is not the Instance which I intended: That which I intend is, That (as it has been related unto me) One Day while his Frigate lay Careening, at a desolate Spanish Island, by the side of a Rock, from whence they had laid a Bridge to the Shoar, the Men, whereof he had about an Hundred, went all, but about Eight or Ten, to divert themselves, as they pretended, in the Woods: Where they all entered into an Agreement, which they Sign'd in a Ring, That about seven a Clock that Evening they would seize the Captain, and those Eight or Ten, which they knew to be True unto him, and leave them to perish on this Island, and so to be gone away unto the South Sea to seek their Fortune. Will the Reader now imagine, that Captain Phips having Advice of this Plot but about an Hour and half before it was to be put in Execution, yet within Two Hours brought all these Rogues down upon their Knees to beg for their Lives? But so it was! For these Knaves considering that they should want a Carpenter with them in their Villanous Expedition, sent a Messenger to fetch unto them the Carpenter, who was then at Work upon the Vessel; and unto him they shew'd their Articles, telling him what he must look for if he did not subscribe among them. The Carpenter being an honest Fellow, with much importunity prevail for one half hours Time to consider of the Matter; and returning to Work upon the Vessel, with a Spy by them set upon him, he feign'd himself taken with a Fit of the Cholick, for the Relief whereof he suddenly run unto the Captain in the Great Cabin for a Dram; where, when he came, his



business was only in brief, to tell the Captain of the horrible Distress which he was fallen into; but the Captain bid him as briefly return to the Rogues in the Woods, and Sign their Articles, and leave him to provide for the Rest. The Carpenter was no sooner gone, but Captain Phips calling together the few Friends (it may be seven or eight) that were left him aboard, whereof the Gunner was one, demanded of them, whether they would stand by him in the Extremity, which he informed them was now come upon him; whereto they reply'd, *They would stand by him, if he could save them*; and he Answer'd, *By the help of God he did not fear it*. All their Provisions had been carried Athwart to a Tent, made for that purpose there, about which they had placed several Great Guns to defend it, in case of any Assault from Spaniards, that might happen to come that way. Wherefore Captain Phips immediately ordered those Guns to be silently Drawn'd and Turn'd; and so pulling up the Bridge, he charged his Great Guns aboard, and brought them to Bear on every side of the Tent. By this Time the Army of Rebels comes out of the Woods; but as they drew near to the Tent of Provisions, they saw such a change of Circumstances, that they cried out, *We are Betray'd!* And they were soon confirm'd in it, when they heard the Captain with a stern Fury call to them, *Stand off, ye Wretches, at your Peril!* He quickly saw them cast into a more than ordinary Confusion, when they saw Him ready to Fire his Great Guns upon them, if they offered one Step further than he permitted them: And when he had signified unto them his Resolve to abandon them unto all the Desolation which they had purposed for him, he caused the Bridge to be again laid, and his Men began to take the Provisions abroad. When the Wretches beheld what was coming upon them, they fell to very humble Entreaties; and at last fell down upon their Knees, protesting, *That they never had any thing against him, except only his unwillingness to go away with the King's Ship upon the South-Sea Design: But upon all other accounts, they would chuse rather to Live and Die with him, than with any Man in the World; however, since they saw how much he was dissatisfied at it, they would insist upon it no more, and humbly begg'd his Pardon*. And when he judg'd that he had kept them on their Knees long enough, he having first secur'd their Arms, received them aboard; but he immediately weigh'd Anchor, and arriving at Jamaica, he Tum'd them off. Now with a small Company of other Men he sail'd from thence to Hispaniola, where by the Policy of his Address, he fish'd out of a very old Spaniard, (or Portuguese) a little Advice about the true Spot where lay the Wreck which he had been hitherto seeking, as unprofitably, as the Chymists have their Aurifick Stone: That it was upon a Reef of Shoals, a few Leagues to the Northward of Port de la Plata, upon Hispaniola, a Port so call'd, it seems, from the Landing of some of the Shipwreck'd

Company, with a Boat full of Plate, faved out of their Sinking Frigot: Nevertheless, when he had search'd very narrowly the Spot, whereof the old Spaniard had advis'd him, he had not hitherto exactly lit upon it. Such Thorns did vex his Affairs while he was in the Reef-Frigot; but none of all these things could retund the Edge of his Expectations to find the Wreck; with such Expectations he return'd then into England, that he might there better furnish himself to Prosecute a New Discovery; for though he judg'd he might, by proceeding a little further, have come at the right Spot, yet he found his present Company too ill a Crew to be confided in.

§. 6. So proper was his Behaviour, that the best Noble Men in the Kingdom now admitted him into their Conversation; but yet he was opposed by powerful Enemies, that Clogg'd his Affairs with such Demurrages, and such Disappointments, as would have wholly Discouraged his Delights, if his Patience had not been Inevitable. He who can wait, hath what he desireth. This his Indefatigable Patience, with a proportionable Diligence, at length overcame the Difficulties that had been thrown in his way; and prevailing with the Duke of Albemarle, and some other Persons of Quality, to fit him out, he set Sail for the Fishing-Ground, which had been by well baited half an Hundred Years before: And as he had already discover'd his Capacity for Business in many considerable Actions, he now added unto those Discoveries, by not only providing all, but also by inventing many of the Instruments necessary to the prosecution of his intended Fishery. Captain Phips arriving with a Ship and a Tender at Port de la Plata, made a stout Canoe of a stately Cotton-Tree, so large as to carry Eight or Ten Oars, for the making of which Periaga (as they call it) he did, with the same industry that he did every thing else, employ his own Hand and Adze, and endure no little hardship, lying abroad in the Woods many Nights together. This Periaga, with the Tender, being Anchored at a place Convenient, the Periaga kept Basking to and again, but could only discover a Reef of Rising Shoals thereabouts, called, The Boilers, which Rising to be within Two or Three Foot of the Surface of the Sea, were yet so steep, that a Ship striking on them, would immediately sink down, who could say, how many Fathom into the Ocean? Here they could get no other Pay for their long peeping among the Boilers, but only such as caus'd them to think upon returning to their Captain with the bad News of their total Disappointment. Nevertheless, as they were upon the Return, one of the Men looking over the side of the Periaga, into the calm Water, he spied a Sea Feather, growing, as he judg'd, out of a Rock; whereupon they bad one of their Indians to Dive and fetch this Feather, that they might however carry home something with them, and make, at least, as fair a Triumph as Caligula's.

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The *Diver* bringing up the *Feather*, brought therewith a surprizing Story, That he perceived a Number of Great Guns in the *Watry World* where he had found his *Feather*; the Report of which Great Guns exceedingly astonish'd the whole Company; and at once turned their Dependancies for their ill success into *Assurances*, that they had now lit upon the true Spot of Ground which they had been looking for; and they were further confirmed in these *Assurances*, when upon further Diving, the *Indian* fetch'd up a *Sow*, as they stil'd it, or a Lump of Silver, worth perhaps Two or Three Hundred Pounds. Upon this they prudently *Buo'y'd* the place, that they might readily find it again; and they went back unto their Captain whom for some while they distress'd with nothing but such *Bad News*, as they formerly thought they must have carried him: Nevertheless, they so slip'd in the Sow of Silver on one side under the Table, where they were now sitting with the Captain, and hearing him express his Resolutions to wait still patiently upon the Providence of God under these Disappointments, that when he should look on one side, he might see that *Odd Thing* before him. At last he *saw* it, seeing it, he cried out with some Agony, *Why? What is this? Whence comes this?* And then, with changed Countenances, they told him *how*, and *where* they got it: Then, said he, *Thanks be to God! We are made; and so away they went*, all hands to Work; wherein they had this one further piece of Remarkable Prosperity, that whereas if they had first fallen upon that part of the *Spanish Wreck*, where the Pieces of Eight had been stowed in Bags among the Ballast, they had seen a more laborious, and less enriching time of it: Now, most happily, they first fell upon that Room in the *Wreck* where the *Bullion* had been stored up; and they so prosper'd in this *New Fishery*, that in a little while they had, without the loss of any Man's Life, brought up *Thirty Two Tuns* of Silver; for it was now come to measuring of Silver by *Tuns*. Besides which, one *Adlerly* of Providence, who had formerly been very helpful to Captain *Phips* in the Search of this *Wreck*, did upon former Agreement meet him now with a little Vessel here; and he, with his few hands, took up about *Six Tuns* of Silver; whereof nevertheless he made so little use, that in a Year or Two he Died at *Bermudas*, as I have heard, he ran *Distressed* some while before he Died. Thus did there once again come into the Light of the Sun, a Treasure which had been half an Hundred Years groaning under the Waters: And in this time there was grown upon the Plate a Crust like *Lime-stone*, to the thickness of several Inches; which Crust being broken open by Irons contrived for that purpose, they knock'd out whole Bushels of rusty Pieces of Eight which were grown thereinto. Besides that incredible Treasure of Plate in various Forms, they fetch'd up, from Seven or Eight Fathom under Water, there were vast Riches of Gold, and Pearls, and Jewels,

which they also lit upon; and indeed, for a more Comprehensive *Invoice*, I must but summarily say, *All that a Spanish Frigate uses to be enrich'd withal*. Thus did they continue *Fishing* till their Provisions failing them, 'twas time to be gone; but before they went, Captain *Phips* caus'd *Adlerly* and his Folk to swear, That they would none of them Discover the Place of the *Wreck*, or come to the Place any more till the next Year, when he expected again to be there himself. And it was also Remarkable, that though the *Sows* came up still so fast, that on the very last Day of their being there, they took up *Twenty*, yet it was afterwards found, that they had in a manner wholly cleared that Room of the Ship where those *Mally things* were stowed.

But there was one extraordinary Distress which Captain *Phips* now found himself plung'd into: For his Men were come out with him upon Seamens Wages, at so much *per Month*, and when they saw such vast Litters of Silver *Sows* and *Pigs*, as they call them, come on Board them at the Captain's Call, they knew not how to bear it, that they should not share all among themselves, and be gone to lead a *short Life* and a *merry*, in a Climate where the Arrest of those that had hired them should not reach them. In this terrible Distress he made his Vows unto Almighty God, that if the Lord would carry him safe home to England with what he had now given him, to *luck of the Abundance of the Seas*, and of the *Treasures hid in the Sands*, he would for ever Devote himself unto the Interests of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and of his People, especially in the Country which he did himself Originally belong unto. And he then us'd all the obliging *Arts* imaginable to make his Men true unto him, especially by assuring them, that besides their *Wages*, they should have ample *Requitals* made unto them; which if the rest of his Employers would not agree unto, he would himself distribute his *own share* among them. Relying upon the Word of One whom they had ever found worthy of their Love, and of their Trust, they declar'd themselves *Content*: But still keeping a most careful Eye upon them, he hasten'd back for England with as much Money as he thought he could then safely Trust his Vessel withal; not counting it safe to supply himself with necessary Provisions at any nearer Port, and so return unto the *Wreck*, by which delays he wisely feared left all might be lost, more ways than one. Though he also, left so much behind him, that many from divers Parts made very considerable Voyages of *Gleanings* after his *Harvest*: Which came to pass by certain *Bermudians*, compelling of *Adlerly's* Boy, whom they *spirited* away with them, to tell them the exact place where the *Wreck* was to be found. Captain *Phips* now coming up to London in the Year 1687, with near *Two Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling* aboard him, did acquit himself with such an Exemplary Honesty, that partly by his fulfilling his Assurances to the







his *History*, and his *Character*. Accordingly though he had the Offers of a very Gainful Place among the *Commissioners of the Navy*, with many other Invitations to settle himself in *England*, nothing but a Return to *New-England* would content him. And whereas the Charters of *New-England* being taken away, there was a Governour imposed upon the Territories with an *Arbitrary* and as *Treasonable a Commission*, perhaps, as ever was heard of; a *Commission*, by which the Governour, with Three or Four more, none of whom were chosen by the People, had Power to make what *Laws* they would, and *Levy Taxes*, according to their own *Humours*, upon the People: and he himself had Power to send the best Men in the Land more than Ten Thousand Miles out of it, as he pleased: And in the Execution of his Power, the Country was every Day suffering *Intolerable Invasions* upon their *Proprieties*, yea, and the Lives of the best Men in the Territory began to be practised upon: Sir *William Phips* applied himself to Consider what was the most significant Thing that could be done by him for that poor People in their present Circumstances. Indeed, when *King James* offered, as he did, unto Sir *William Phips* an Opportunity to Ask what he pleased of him, Sir *William* Generously prayed for nothing but this, That *New-England might have its lost Privileges Restored*. The King then Replied, *Any Thing but that!* Whereupon he set himself to Consider what was the next Thing that he might ask for the Service, not of himself, but of his Country. The Result of his Consideration was, That by Petition to the King, he Obtained, with expence of some Hundreds of *Guineas*, a Patent, which constituted him The High Sheriff of that Country; hoping, by his Deputies in that Office, to supply the Country still with Conscientious Juries, which was the only Method that the *New-Englanders* had left them to secure any thing that was Dear unto them. Furnished with this Patent, after he had, in Company with Sir *John Narborough*, made a Second Visit unto the *Wreck*, (not so advantageous as the former for a Reason already mentioned) in his way he Returned unto *New-England*, in the Summer of the Year 1688. able, after Five Years Absence, to Entertain his Lady with some Accomplishment of his Predictions; and then Built himself a Fair *Brick House* in the very place which we foretold, the Reader can tell how many *Sessions* ago. But the *Infamous Government* then Rampant there, found a way wholly to put by the Execution of this Patent; yea, he was like to have had his *Person* Affiliated in the Face of the Sun, before his own Door, which with some further Designs then in his Mind, caused him within a few Weeks to take another Voyage for *England*.

§. 8. It would require a long Summers-Day to Relate the Miseries which were come, and coming in upon poor *New-England*, by reason of the *Arbitrary Government* then imposed on them; a Government wherein, as old *Wendover*

says of the Time, when *Strangers* were domineering over *Subjects in England*, *Judicia committantur Injustis, Leges Exlegibus, Pax Discordantibus, Justitia Injuriosis*; and *Foxes* were made the Administrators of Justice to the *Poultry*; yet some *Abridgment* of them is necessary for the better understanding of the Matters yet before us. Now to make this *Abridgment* Impartial, I shall only have Recourse unto a little Book, Printed at *London*, under the Title of *The Revolution of New-England Justified*; wherein we have a Narrative of the *Grievances* under the Male Administrations of that Government, written and signed by the chief Gentlemen of the Governour's Council; together with the *Sworn Testimonies* of many good Men, to prove the several Articles of the Declaration, which the *New-Englanders* published against their Oppressors. It is in that Book demonstrated.

That the Governour neglecting the greater Number of his Council, did Adhere principally to the Advice of a few *Strangers*, who were Persons without any Interest in the Country, but of declared *Prejudice* against it, and had plainly laid their Designs to make an Unreasonable Profit of the poor People: And four or five Persons had the absolute Rule over a Territory, the most Considerable of any belonging to the Crown.

That when *Laws* were proposed in the Council, tho' the Major part at any time Dissented from them, yet if the Governour were positive, there was no fair Counting the Number of Councillors Consenting, or Dissenting, but the *Laws* were immediately Engrossed, Published and Executed.

That this *Junto* made a Law, which prohibited the Inhabitants of any Town to meet about their Town-Affairs above once in a Year; for fear, you must Note, of their having any opportunity to Complain of *Grievances*.

That they made another Law, requiring all Masters of Vessels, even *Shallops* and *Wood-boats*, to give Security, that no Man should be Transported in them, except his Name had been for many Days posted up: Whereby the Pockets of a few *Leeches* had been filled with *Rees*, but the whole Trade of the Country destroyed; and all Attempts to obtain a *Redress* of these Things obstructed: and when this *Act* had been strenuously opposed in Council at *Boston*, they carried it as far as *New York*, where a Crew of them enacted it.

That without any Assembly, they Levied on the People a Penny in the Pound of all their *Estates*, and Twenty-pence per Head, as *Poll-money*, with a Penny in the Pound for Goods Imported, besides a Vast *Excise* on Wine, Rum, and other *Liquors*.

That when among the Inhabitants of *Ipsowich*, some of the Principal Persons modestly gave Reasons why they could not chuse a Commissioner to Tax the Town, until the King should first be Petitioned for the Liberty of an Assembly, they were committed unto *Goal* for it; as an



*High Misdemeanour*, and were denied an *Habeas Corpus*, and were dragg'd many Miles out of their own County to answer it at a Court in *Boston*; where *Jurors* were pickt for the Turn, that were not *Freeholders*, nay, that were meer *Sojourners*; and when the Prisoners pleaded the Privileges of *English men*. That they should not be Taxed without their own consent; they were told, That those things would not follow them to the ends of the Earth: As it had been before told them in open Council, no one in the Council contradicting it, You have no more Privileges left you, but this, that you are not bought and sold for Slaves: And in fine, they were all Fined severely, and laid under great Bonds for their good Behaviour; besides all which, the hungry Officers extorted Fees from them that amounted unto an Hundred and Threecore Pounds; whereas in *England*, upon the like Prosecution, the Fees would not have been Ten Pounds in all. After which fashon the *Townsmen* of many other Places were also served.

That these Men giving out, That the *Charters* being lost, all the Title that the People had upon their Lands was lost with them; they began to compel the People every where to take *Patents* for their Lands: And accordingly *Writs of Infrasion* were issued out against the chief Gentlemen in the Territory, by the Terror whereof, many were actually driven to Petition for *Patents*, that they might quietly enjoy the Lands that had been Fifty or Sixty Years in their Possession: but for these *Patents* there were such exorbitant Prices demanded, that Fifty Pounds could not purchase for its Owner an Estate not worth Two Hundred, nor could all the Money and Moveables in the Territory have defrayed the Charges of Patenting the Lands at the Hands of these *Crocodiles*: Besides the considerable *Quit-Rents* for the King. Yea, the Governour caused the Lands of particular Persons to be measured out, and given to his Creatures: And some of his Council petitioned for the Commons belonging to several Towns; and the Agents of the Towns going to get a voluntary Subscription of the Inhabitants to maintain their Title at Law, they have been dragg'd Forty or Fifty Miles to answer as Criminals at the next Assizes; the Officers in the mean time extorting Three Pounds per Man for fetching them.

That if these *Harpies*, at any time, were a little out of Money, they found ways to Impri- son the best Men in the Country; and there appeared not the least Information of any Crime exhibited against them, yet they were put unto Intolerable Expences by these Greedy Oppressors, and the Benefit of an *Habeas Corpus* not allowed unto them.

That packt and pickt *Juries* were commonly made use of, when under a pretended Form of Law, the Trouble of some Honest and Worthy Men was aimed at; and these also were hurried out of their own Counties to be tried, when *Juries* for the Turn were not like to be

found there. The Greatest Rigour being used still towards the *Jobsest* sort of People, whilst in the mean time the most horrid Enormities in the World, committed by Others, were overlooked.

That the publick Ministry of the Gospel, and all Schools of Learning, were discountenanced unto the Utmost.

And several more such abominable things, too notorious to be denied, even by a *Randolphian* Impudence it self, are in that Book proved against that unhappy Government. Nor did that most Ancient Set of the *Phœnician Shepherds*, who served the Government of Egypt into their Hands, as old *Manethon* tells us, by their *Villanies*, during the Reigns of those Tyrants, make a Shepherd more of an Abomination to the Egyptians in all after Ages, than these Wolves under the Name of Shepherds have made the Remembrance of their French Government an Abomination to all Posterity among the *New-Englanders*: A Government, for which, now, Reader, as fast as thou wilt, get ready this Epitaph:

*Nulla quæsit Scelere Potentia diuturna.*

It was under the Repentments of these Things that Sir William Phips returned into *England* in the Year 1688. In which *Twice-Wonderful-Year* such a Revolution was wonderfully accomplished upon the whole Government of the *English* Nation, that *New-England*, which had been a Specimen of what the whole Nation was to look for, might justly hope for a share in the General Deliverance. Upon this Occasion Sir William offered his best Assurances unto that Eminent Person, who a little before this Revolution betook himself unto *White-Hall*, that he might there lay hold on all Opportunities to procure some Relief unto the Oppressions of that afflicted Country. But seeing the *New-English* Affairs in so able an Hand, he thought the best Stage of Action for him would now be *New-England* it self; and so with certain Instructions from none of the least considerable Persons at *White-Hall*, what Service to do for his Country, in the Spring of the Year 1689, he halted back unto it. Before he left *London*, a Messenger from the Abdicated King tender'd him the Government of *New-England*, if he would accept it: But as that excellent Attorney General, Sir William Jones, when it was proposed that the Plantations might be Governed without Assemblies, told the King, That he could no more Grant a Commission to levy Money on his Subjects there, without their consent by an Assembly, than they could Discharge themselves from their Allegiance to the English Crown. So Sir William Phips thought it his Duty to refuse a Government without an Assembly, as a thing that was Treason in the very Essence of it; and instead of Petitioning the succeeding Princes, that his Patent for High Sheriff might be rendered Effectual, he joined in Petitions, that *New-England* might have its own old Patent so Restored, as to render inefficual that

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and all other Grants that might cut short any of its Ancient Privileges. But when Sir William arrived at New-England, he found a new Face of things; for about an Hundred Indians in the *Eastern Parts* of the Country, had unaccountably begun a War upon the *English* in July, 1688. and though the Governour then in the *Western Parts* had immediate Advice of it, yet he not only delayed and neglected all that was necessary for the *Publick Defence*, but also when he at last returned, he manifested a most Furious Displeasure against those of the Council, and all others that had forwarded any one thing for the security of the Inhabitants; while at the same time he dispatched some of his Creatures upon secret Errands unto *Canada*, and set at Liberty some of the most Murderous *Indians* which the *English* had seized upon.

This Conduct of the Governour, which is in a *Printed Remonstrance* of some of the best Gentlemen in the Council complained of, did extremely displease the *Suspicious* People: Who were doubtless more extram in some of their *Suspensions*, than there was any real *Occasion* for: But the Governour at length raised an Army of a *Thousand English* to Conquer this *Hundred Indians*, and this Army, whereof some of the chief Commanders were *Papists*, underwent the Fatigues of a long and a cold Winter, in the most *Caucasian* Regions of the Territory, till, without the killing of *One Indian*, there were more of the poor People killed, than they had Enemies there alive! This added not a little to the Dissatisfaction of the People, and it would much more have done so, if they had seen what the World had not yet seen of the *Suggestions* made by the *Irish Catholics* unto the late King, published in the Year 1691. in the *Account of the State of the Protestants* in Ireland, Licensed by the Earl of *Nottingham*, whereof one Article runs in these Express Terms, *That if any of the Irish cannot have their Lands in Specie, but Money in Lieu, some of them may Transport themselves into America, possibly near New-England, to check the growing Independants of that Country*: Or if they had seen what was afterwards seen in a Letter from *K. James* to His *Holiness*, (as they stile his *Highness*) the Pope of *Rome*; that it was his full Purpose to have set up *Roman-Catholicke Religion in the English Plantations of America*: Tho' after all, there is Cause to think that there was more made of the *Suspensions* then flying like *Wild-Fire* about the Country, than a strong *Charity* would have Countenanced. When the People were under these *Frights*, they had got by the Edges a little Intimation of the then Prince of *Orange's* glorious Undertaking to deliver *England* from the *Fear'd Evils*, which were already felt by *New-England*; but when the Person who brought over a Copy of the Prince's Declaration was imprisoned for bringing into the Country a *Treasonable Paper*, and the Governour, by his Proclamation, required all Persons to use their utmost Endeavours to binder the Landing of

any whom the Prince might send thither, they put them almost out of Patience: And one thing that plunged the more Considerate Persons in the Territory into uneasie thoughts, was the *Faulty Action* of some Soldiers, who upon the *Common Suspensions*, deserted their Stations in the Army, and caused their Friends to gather together here and there in little Bodies, to protect from the Demands of the Governour their poor Children and Brethren, whom they thought bound for a *Bloody Sacrifice*: And there were also belonging to the *Rose-Frigate* some that buzz'd surprising Stories about *Boston*, of many Mischiefs to be thence expected. Wherefore, some of the Principal Gentlemen in *Boston* consulting what was to be done in this Extraordinary Juncture, They all agreed that they would, if it were possible, extinguish all *Ellays* in the People towards an *Insurrection*, in daily Hopes of Orders from *England* for their Safety: But that if the Country People by any violent Motions push'd the Matter on so far, as to make a *Revolution* unavoidable, then to prevent the shedding of *Blood* by an ungoverned *Mobile*, some of the Gentlemen present should appear at the Head of the *Action* with a *Declaration* accordingly prepared. By the *Eighteenth of April*, 1689. Things were pushed on so far by the People, that certain Persons first Seized the Captain of the *Frigate*, and the Rumor thereof running like *Lightning* through *Boston*, the whole Town was immediately in Arms, with the most *Unanimous Resolution* perhaps that ever was known to have inspir'd any People. They then seized those Wretched Men, who by their innumerable Extortions and Abuses had made themselves the Objects of *Universal Hatred*; not giving over till the Governour himself was become their Prisoner: The whole *Action* being managed without the least *Bloodshed* or *Plunder*, and with as much Order as ever attended any Tumult, it may be, in the World. Thus did the *New-Englanders* assert their Title to the *Common Rights of Englishmen*; and except the Plantations are willing to Degenerate from the Temper of *True Englishmen*, or except the *Revolution* of the whole *English Nation* be condemned, their *Action* must so far be justified: On their late Oppressors, now under just Confinement, they took no other Satisfaction, but sent them over unto *White-Hall* for the Justice of the King and Parliament. And when the Day for the *Anniversary Election*, by their vacated Charter, drew near, they had many Debates into what Form they should cast the Government, which was till then Administred by a Committee for the Conservation of the Peace, composed of Gentlemen whose *Hop* it was to appear in the Head of the late *Action*; but their Debates issued in this Conclusion; That the Governour and Magistrates, which were in Power before the late *Usurpation*, should Resume their Places, and apply themselves unto the Conservation of the Peace, and put forth what Acts of Government the Emergencies might



might make needful for them; and thus to wait for further Directions from the Authority of England. So was there Accomplished a Revolution which delivered New-England from grievous Oppressions; and which was most graciously Accepted by the King and Queen, when it was Reported unto their Majesties. But there were new Matters for Sir William Phips, in a little while, now to think upon.

§. 9. Behold the great things which were done by the Sovereign God, for a Person once as little in his own Eyes, as in other Mens. All the Returns which he had hitherto made unto the God of his Mercies, were but Preliminaries to what remain to be related. It has been the Custom in the Churches of New-England, still to expect from such Persons as they admitted unto constant Communion with them, that they do not only Publickly and Solemnly Declare their Consent unto the Covenant of Grace, and particularly to those Duties of it, wherein a Particular Church-State is more immediately concerned, but also first relate unto the Pastors, and by them unto the Brethren, the special Impressions which the Grace of God has made upon their Souls in bringing them to this Consent. By this Custom and Caution, though they cannot keep Hypocrites from their Sacred Fellowship, yet they go as far as they can, to render and preserve themselves Churches of Saints, and they do further very much Edifie one another. When Sir William Phips was now returned unto his own House, he began to bethink himself, like David, concerning the House of the God who had surrounded him with so many Favours in his own; and accordingly he applied himself unto the North Church in Boston, that with his open Profession of his hearty Subjection to the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, he might have the Ordinances and the Privileges of the Gospel added unto his other Enjoyments. One thing that quickned his Resolution to do what might be in this Matter expected from him, was a Passage which he heard from a Minister Preaching on the Title of the Fifty-First Psalm: *To make a publick and an open Profession of Repentance, is a thing not misbecoming the greatest Man alive. It is an Honour to be found among the Repenting People of God, though they be in Circumstances never so full of Suffering. A Famous Knight going with other Christians to be Crowned with Martyrdom, observed, That his Fellow-Sufferers were in Chains, from which the Sacrificers had, because of his Quality, excus'd him; whereupon he was demanded, that he might wear Chains as well as they. For, said he, I would be a Knight of that Order too; There is among our selves a Repenting People of God, who by their Confessions at their Admissions to his Table, do signalize their being so; and thanks be to God that we have so little of Suffering in our Circumstances. But if any Man count himself grown too big to be a Knight of that*

Order, the Lord Jesus Christ himself will one Day be ashamed of that Man! Upon this Excitation, Sir William Phips made his Address unto a Congregational-Church, and he had there in one thing to propound unto himself, which few Persons of his Age, so well satisfied in Infant-Baptism as he was, have then to ask for. Indeed, in the Primitive Times, although the Lawfulness of Infant-Baptism, or the Precept and Pattern of Scripture for it, was never so much as once made a Question, yet we find Baptism was frequently delayed by Persons upon several superstitious and unreasonable Accounts, against which we have such Fathers as Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and others, employing a variety of Argument. But Sir William Phips had hitherto delayed his Baptism, because the Years of his Childhood were spent where there was no settled Minister, and therefore he was now not only willing to attain a good Satisfaction of his own Internal and Practical Christianity, before his receiving that Mark thereof, but he was also willing to receive it among those Christians that seemed most sensible of the Bonds which it laid them under. Offering himself therefore, first unto the Baptism, and then unto the Supper of the Lord, he presented unto the Pastor of the Church, with his own Hand-Writing, the following Instrument; which because of the Exemplary Devotion therein expressed, and the Remarkable History which it gives of several Occurrences in his Life, I will here faithfully Transcribe it, without adding to much as one Word unto it.

The first of God's making me sensible of my Sins, was in the Year 1674, by hearing your Father Preach concerning, *The Day of Trouble near*. It pleased Almighty God to smite me with a deep Sense of my miserable Condition, who had lived until then in the World, and had done nothing for God. I did then begin to think what I should do to be saved? And did bewail my Youthful Days, which I had spent in vain: I did think that I would begin to mind the things of God. Being then some time under your Father's Ministry, much troubled with my Burden, but thinking on that Scripture, *Come unto me, you that are weary and heavy Laden, and I will give you Rest*; I had those thoughts of drawing as near to the Communion of the Lord Jesus as I could; but the Ruins which the Indian Wars brought on my Affairs, and the Entanglements which my following the Sea laid upon me, hindered my pursuing the Welfare of my own Soul as I ought to have done. At length God was pleased to smile upon my Outward Concerns. The various Providences, both Merciful and Afflictive, which attended me in my Travels, were sanctified unto me, to make me acknowledge God in all my Ways. I have divers Times been in danger of my Life, and I have been brought to see that I owe my Life to him that has given

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given a Life so often to me: I thank God, he hath brought me to see my self altogether unhappy, without an Interest in the Lord Jesus Christ, and to close heartily with him, desiring him to Execute All his Offices on my Behalf. I have, now, for some time, been under serious Resolutions, that I would avoid whatever I should know to be Displeasing unto God, and that I would Serve him all the Days of my Life. I believe no Man will Repent the Service of such a Master. I find my self unable to keep such Resolutions, but my serious Prayers are to the Most High, that he would enable me. God hath done too much for me, that I am sensible I owe my self to him: To him would I give my self, and all that he has given to me. I can't express his Mercies to me. But as soon as ever God had smiled upon me with a Turn of my Affairs, I had laid my self under the VOWS of the Lord, That I would set my self to serve his People, and Churches here, unto the utmost of my Capacity. I have had great Offers made me in England; but the Churches of New-England were those which my Heart was most set upon. I knew, That if God had a People any where, it was here: And I Resolved to rise and fall with them; neglecting very great Advantages for my Worldly Interest, that I might come and enjoy the Ordinances of the Lord Jesus here. It has been my Trouble, that since I came Home I have made no more haste to get into the House of God, where I desire to be: Especially having heard so much about the Evil of that Omission. I can do little for God, but I desire to wait upon him in his Ordinances, and to live to his Honour and Glory. My being Born in a part of the Country, where I had not in my Infancy enjoyed the First Sacrament of the New-Testament, has been something of a Stumbling-Block unto me. But though I have had Profers of Baptism elsewhere made unto me, I resolved rather to defer it, until I might enjoy it in the Communion of these Churches; and I have had awful Impressions from those Words of the Lord Jesus in Mat. 8. 28. *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my Words, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed.* When God had blessed me with something of the World, I had no Trouble to great as this, *Left it should not be in Mercy,* and I trembled at nothing more than being put off with a Portion here. That I may make sure of better things, I now offer my self unto the Communion of this Church of the Lord JESUS.

Accordingly on March 22. 1690. after he had in the Congregation of North-Boston given himself up, first unto the Lord, and then unto his People, he was Baptized, and so received into the Communion of the Faithful there.

§. 10. Several times, about, before and after this time, did I hear him express himself unto this purpose: *I have no need at all*

to look after any further Advantages for my self in this World; I may sit still at Home, if I will, and enjoy my Ease for the rest of my Life; but I believe that I should offend God in my doing so: For I am now in the Prime of my Age and Strength, and, I thank God, I can undergo Hardship: He only knows how long I have to live; but I think 'tis my Duty to venture my Life in doing of good, before an useles Old Age comes upon me: Wherefore I will now expose my self, while I am able, and as far as I am able, for the Service of my Country: I was Born for others, as well as my self. I say, many a time have I heard him to express himself: And agreeable to this Generous Disposition and Resolution was all the rest of his Life. About this time New-England was miserably Brier'd in the Perplexities of an Indian War; and the Salvages, in the East part of the Country, issuing out from their inaccessible Swamps, had for many Months made their Cruel Depredations upon the poor English Planters, and surprized many of the Plantations on the Frontiers, into Ruin: The New-Englanders found, that while they continued only on the Defensive part, their People were thinned, and their Treasures wasted, without any hopes of seeing a Period put unto the Indian Tragedies; nor could an Army greater than Xerxes's have easily come at the seemingly contemptible handful of Troops which made all this Disturbance, or, Tamerlain, the greatest Conqueror that ever the World saw, have made it a Business of no Trouble to have Conquered them: They found, that they were like to make no Weapons reach their Enwampned Adversaries, except Mr. Milton could have shewn them how

To have pluck'd up the Hills with all their Load,  
Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by their shaggy tops,  
Up-lifting, bore them in their Hands, therewith  
The Rebel Host to've over-whelm'd—

So it was thought that the English Subjects, in these Regions of America, might very properly take this occasion to make an attempt upon the French, and by reducing them under the English Government, put an Eternal Period at once unto all their Troubles from the Frenchified Pagans. This was a Motion urged by Sir William Phips unto the General Court of the Massachusetts-Colony, and he then made unto the Court a brave Offer of his own Person and Estate, for the Service of the Publick in their present Extremity, as far as they should see Cause to make use thereof. Whereupon they made a First Essay against the French, by sending a Naval Force, with about Seven Hundred Men, under the Conduct of Sir William Phips, against L'Acady and Nova Scotia; of which Action we shall give only this General and Summary Account; that Sir William Phips set Sail from Nantacot, April 28. 1690. Arriving at Port-Royal, May 11. and had the Fort quickly Surrender'd into his Hands by the



the French Enemy, who despaired of holding out against him. He then took Possession of that Province for the English Crown, and having Demolished the Fort, and sent away the Garrison, Administered unto the Planters an Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, he left what Order he thought convenient for the Government of the Place, until further Order should be taken by the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts-Colony, unto whom he returned May 30. with an acceptable Account of his Expedition, and accepted a Place among the Magistrates of that Colony, to which the Free-Men had chosen him at their Anniversary Election Two Days before.

Thus the Country, once given by King James the First unto Sir William Alexander, was now by another Sir William recovered out of the Hands of the French, who had afterwards got the Possession of it; and there was added unto the English Empire, a Territory, whereof no Man can Read Monsieur Demy's Description Geographique & Historique des Costes de l'Amérique Septentrionale, but he must reckon the Conquest of a Region so Improvable, for Lumber, for Fishing, for Mines, and for Furs, a very considerable Service. But if a smaller Service has, e'er now, ever merited a Knighthood, Sir William was willing to Repeat his Merits by Actions of the greatest Service possible :

*Nili Altum credens, si quid superesset agendum.*

§. 11. The Addition of this French Colony to the English Dominion, was no more than a little step towards a greater Action, which was first in the Design of Sir William Phips, and which was, indeed, the greatest Action that ever the New-Englanders Attempted. There was a time when the Philistines had made some Inroads and Assaults from the Northward, upon the Skirts of *Goshen*, where the Israelites had a Residence, before their coming out of Egypt. The Israelites, and especially that Active Colony of the Ephraimites, were willing to Revenge these Injuries upon their wicked Neighbours; they presumed themselves Powerful and Numerous enough to Encounter the Canaanites, even in their own Country; and they formed a brisk Expedition, but came off unhappy Losers in it, the Jewish Rabbins tells us, they lost no less than Eight Thousand Men. The Time was not yet come, there was more Haste than good Speed in the Attempt; they were not enough concerned for the Counsel and Presence of God in the Undertaking; they mainly propounded the Plunder to be got among a People, whose Trade was that wherewith Beasts enriched them; so the business miscarried. This History the Psalmist going to recite, says, *I will utter dark Sayings of old*. Now that what befel Sir William Phips, with his whole Country of New-England, may not be almost forgotten among the dark Sayings of old, I will here give the true Report of a very memorable Matter.

It was Canada that was the chief Source of New-England's Miseries. There was the main Strength of the French; there the Indians were mostly supplied with Ammunition; thence issued Parties of Men, who uniting with the Salvages, barbarously murdered many Innocent New-Englanders, without any Provocation on the New-English part, except this, that New-England had Proclaimed King William and Q. Mary, which they said were Usurpers; and as Cato could make no Speech in the Senate without that Conclusion, *Delenda est Carthago*; so it was the general Conclusion of all that Argued sensibly about the safety of that Country, Canada must be Reduced. It then became the concurring Resolution of all New-England, with New-York, to make a Vigorous Attack upon Canada at once, both by Sea and Land.

And a Fleet was accordingly fitted out from Boston, under the Command of Sir William Phips, to fall upon Quebec, the chief City of Canada. They waited until August for some Stores of War from England, whither they had sent for that purpose early in the Spring; but none at last arriving, and the Season of the Year being so far spent, Sir William could not, without many Discouragements upon his Mind, proceed in a Voyage, for which he found himself so poorly provided. However, the Ships being taken up, and the Men on Board, his usual Courage would not permit him to Desist from the Enterprize; but he set Sail from Hull near Boston, August 9. 1690. with a Fleet of Thirty Two Ships and Tenders; whereof one, called the *Six Friends*, carrying Forty Four great Guns, and Two Hundred Men, was Admiral. Sir William dividing the Fleet into several Squadrons, whereof there was the *Six Friends*, Captain Gregory Sugars Commander, with Eleven more of the Admiral's Squadron, of which one was also a Capital Ship, namely, *The John and Thomas*, Captain Thomas Carter Commander; of the Vice-Admirals, the *Swan*, Captain Thomas Gilbert Commander, with Nine more; of the Rear-Admirals, the *America-Merchant*, Captain Joseph Eldridge Commander, with Nine more, and above Twenty Hundred Men on Board the whole Fleet: He so happily managed his Charge, that they every one of them Arrived safe at Anchor before Quebec, although they had as dangerous, and almost untrodten a Path, to take Un-Piloted, for the whole Voyage, as ever any Voyage was undertaken with. Some small French Prizes he took by the way, and set up English Colours upon the Coast; here and there, as he went along; and before the Month of August was out, he had spent several Days as far onward of his Voyage, as between the Island of Antecosta, and the Main. But when they entred the mighty River of Canada, such adverse Winds encountered the Fleet, that they were Three Weeks dispatching the way, which might otherwise have been gone in Three Days, and it was the Fifth of October, when a fresh Breeze coming up at East, carried them along by the North Shore, up to the Isle

of

of Orleans; passed by the whole Fleet of the French; and this loss of the Fleet, could not be cold and fierce, advanced, gave the Expedition a new force, was a new had, the means For a Thousand Albany, and the Indians, were West, and filled Fleet was to Victory. Expedition could which was thus Companies in the great Lake that Cannot not provide and the Indians and will one Day ing with the English Discouragement.

Had this been continued at the given to the French would have rendered and certain being informed Weller-Army, Winds that kept the whole Sea the City, before it. However, no dred Sir William the following Sum of October.

Sir William Phips, remainder in Chief, his Forces of Land;

To Count Front Governor for or in his Able or Them, it best.

The War betwixt the Land and French Warran, but the Indians, under engagement, upon the Majesty Subject to Provocation on the necessity of the Security and Satisfaction and Bar by the French and Jean Opportunities, by being desirous to christian-like Addition blood as much as



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quadron, of which one  
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the *Swan*, Captain The  
with Nine more, of  
the *America*, Merchant,  
Commander, with Nine  
Hundred Men on  
He so happily managed  
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the *Quebec*, although  
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for the whole Voyage  
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the *Quebec*, and the *Alba-*  
the mighty River of the  
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Weeks dispatching the  
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ning up at *Essex*, came  
Shore, up to the *Isle*

of Orleans; and then haling Southerly, they  
passed by the East end of that Island, with the  
whole Fleet approaching the City of *Quebec*.  
This loss of Time, which made it so late before  
the Fleet could get into the Country, where a  
cold and fierce Winter was already very far ad-  
vanced, gave no very good Prospect of Success to  
the Expedition: but that which gave a much  
worse, was a most horrid Mismanagement, which  
had, the mean while, happened in the West.  
For a Thousand English from New-York, and  
*Albany*, and *Connecticut*, with Fifteen Hundred  
Indians, were to have gone over-land in the  
West, and fallen upon *Mount-Royal*, while the  
Fleet was to Visit *Quebec* in the East; and no  
Expedition could have been better laid than this,  
which was thus contrived. But those English  
Companies in the West, marching as far as the  
great Lake that was to be passed, found their  
Canoes not provided, according to Expectation;  
and the Indians also were *Ulow*? God knows,  
and will one Day Judge! Dissuaded from join-  
ing with the English; and the Army met with  
such Discouragements, that they returned.

Had this Western Army done but so much as  
continued at the Lake, the Diversion thereby  
given to the French Quartered at *Mount-Royal*,  
would have rendered the Conquest of *Quebec*  
easier and certain; but the Governour of *Canada*  
being Informed of the Retreat made by the  
Western-Army, had opportunity, by the cross  
Winds that kept back the Fleet, unhappily to  
get the whole Strength of all the Country into  
the City, before the Fleet could come up unto  
it. However, none of these Difficulties hindered  
Sir William Phips from sending on Shoar  
the following Summons, on Monday the Sixth  
of October.

Sir William Phips, Knight, General and Com-  
mander in Chief, in and over Their Majes-  
ties Forces of New-England, by Sea and  
Land;

To Count *Frontenac*, Lieutenant-General and  
Governour for the French King at *Canada*;  
or in his Absence, to his Deputy, or Him,  
or Them, in Chief Command at *Quebec*.

THE War between the Two Crowns of Eng-  
land and France, doth not only sufficiently  
Warrant, but the Destruction made by the French  
and Indians, under your Command and Encour-  
agement, upon the Persons and Estates of Their  
Majesties Subjects of New-England, without  
Provocation on their part, hath put them under  
the Necessity of this Expedition, for their own  
Security and Satisfaction. And although the  
Cruelties and Barbarities used against them,  
by the French and Indians, might, upon the pre-  
sent Opportunity, prompt to a severe Revenge,  
yet being desirous to avoid all Inhumane and Un-  
christian-like Actions, and to prevent shedding of  
Blood as much as may be, and it is to be desired

That the aforesaid Sir William Phips, Knight,  
do hereby, in the Name, and in the Behalf of  
Their Most Excellent Majesties, William and  
Mary, King and Queen of England, Scotland,  
France and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith;  
and by Order of Their said Majesties Govern-  
ment of the Massachusetts-Colony in New-Eng-  
land, Demand a present Surrender of your Forts  
and Castles, undemolished, and the King's, and  
other Stores, unimbezelled, with a reasonable  
Delivery of all Captives; together with a Sur-  
render of all your Persons and Estates to my Dis-  
pose: Upon the doing whereof you may expect  
Mercy from me, as a Christian, according to  
what shall be found for Their Majesties Service,  
and the Subject's Security. Which if you Refuse  
forthwith to do, I am come Provided, and un-  
Resolved, by the help of God, in whom I trust, by  
Force of Arms, to Revenge all Wrongs and Inju-  
ries offered, and bring you under Subjection to  
the Crown of England; and when too late, make  
you with you had accepted of the Future sen-  
tenced.

Your Answer Positive in an Hour, returned  
by your own Trumpet, with the Return of  
mine, is Required, upon the Peril that  
will ensue.

The Summons being Delivered unto Count  
*Frontenac*, his Answer was;

That Sir William Phips, and those with him,  
were Heretics and Traitors to their King, and  
had taken up with that Usurper, the Prince of  
Orange, and had made a Revolution, which if it  
had not been made, New-England and the French  
had been all One; and that no other Answer was  
to be expected from him, but what should be from  
the Mouth of his Cannon.

General Phips now saw that it must cost  
him Dry Blows, and that he must Roar his  
Persuasions out of the Mouths of Great Guns;  
to make himself Master of a City which had  
certainly Surrender'd if self unto him, if he had  
arrived but a little sooner, and Summon'd it  
before the coming down of Count *Frontenac*,  
with all his Forces, to Command the oppressed  
People there, who would have been, many of  
them, gladder of coming under the English Gov-  
ernment. Wherefore on the Seventh of Octo-  
ber, the English, that were for the Land-Ser-  
vice, went on Board their lesser Vessels, in or-  
der to Land; among which there was a Bark,  
wherein was Captain *Ephraim Savage*, with  
sixty Men, that ran a-ground upon the North-  
Shoar, near two Miles from *Quebec*, and could  
not get off, but lay in the same Distress that  
*Sevea* did, when the Britains poured in their  
Numbers upon the Bark, wherein he, with a  
few more Soldiers of *Cesar's* Army, were, by  
the disadvantage of the Tide, left Ashoar.  
The French, with Indians, that saw them ly-  
there, came near, and Fired thick upon them,  
and were bravely Answered; and when two or



Three Hundred of the Enemy, at last planted a Field-Piece against the *Bark*, while the Wind blew so hard, that no help could be sent unto his Men, the General advanced so far, as to Level Two or Three great Guns, conveniently enough to make the Affiliants Fly; and when the Flood came, the *Bark* happily got off, without the hurt of one Man aboard. But so violent was the Storm of Wind all this Day, that it was not possible for them to Land until the Eighth of *October*; when the *English* counting every *Hour* to be a *Week* until they were come to *Battel*, vigorously got *Althoar*, designing to enter the *East-end* of the *City*. The *Small-Pox* had got into the *Fleet*, by which Distemper prevailing, the number of Effective Men which now went *Althoar*, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Walley*, did not amount unto more than Fourteen Hundred; but Four Companies of these were drawn out as *Forlorn*, whom, on every side, the Enemy fired at; nevertheless, the *English* Rushing with a shout, at once upon them caused them to Run as fast as Legs could carry them: So that the whole *English* Army, expelling as much Resolution as was in *Cæsar's* Army, when they first landed on *Britain*, in spite of all opposition from the Inhabitants, marched on until it was dark, having first killed many of the *French*, with the loss of but Four Men of their own; and frightened about Seven or Eight Hundred more of the *French* from an Ambuscado, where they lay ready to fall upon them. But some thought, that by *slaying in the Valley*, they took the way never to get over the *Hill*: And yet for them to lay where they were, till the smaller Vessels came up the *River* before them, so far as by their Guns to secure the Passage of the *Army* in their getting over, was what the Council of War had ordered. But the Violence of the *Weather*, with the General's being sooner plunged into the heat of Action than was intended, hindered the smaller Vessels from attending that Order. And this Evening a *French* Deserter coming to them, assured them, that Nine Hundred Men were on their March from *Quebeck* to meet them, already passed a little Rivulet that lay at the end of the *City*, but seeing them Land so suddenly, and so valiantly run down those that first Encountered them, they had Retreated: Nevertheless, That Count *Frontenac* was come down to *Quebeck* with no fewer than Thirty Hundred Men to defend the *City*, having left but Fifty Soldiers to defend *Mount Real*, because they had understood, that the *English* Army on that side, were gone back to *Albany*. Notwithstanding this dispiriting Information, the common Soldiers did with much vehemency Beg and Pray, that they might be led on; professing, that they had rather lose their Lives on the Spot, than fail of taking the *City*; but the more wary Commanders considered how rash a thing it would be, for about Fourteen Hundred Raw Men, tired with a long Voyage, to assault more than Twice as many Expert Soldiers, who were *Galli in suo ster-*

*quilinio*, or Cocks Crowing on their own Dunghil. They were, in truth, now gotten into the grievous Case which *Livy* describes, when he says, *Ibi grave est Bellum gerere, ubi non consistendi aut procedendi locus; quocunque aspectus Hostilia sunt omnia*; look on one side or 't'other, all was full of Hostile Difficulties. And indeed, whatever Popular Clamour has been made against any of the Commanders, it is apparent that they acted considerately, in making a Pause upon what was before them; and they did a greater kindness to their Soldiers than they have since been thanked for. But in this time, General *Phips* and his Men of War, with their *Carvas Wings*, flew close up unto the West-end of the *City*, and there he behaved himself with the greatest Bravery imaginable: nor did the other Men of War forbear to follow his brave Example: Who never discovered himself more in his Element, than when (as the Poet expresseth it,)

*The Slaughter-Breathing Brass grew hot, and Spoke  
In Flames of Lightning, and in Clouds of Smoke:*

He lay within Pistol-shot of the Enemies Cannon, and beat them from thence, and very much battered the Town, having his own Ship shot through in almost an Hundred Places with Four and Twenty Pounders, and yet but one Man was killed, and only Two Mortally Wounded Aboard him, in this hot Engagement, which continued the greatest part of that Night, and several Hours of the Day ensuing. But wondering that he saw no Signal of any Effective Action *Althoar* at the East-end of the *City*, he sent that he might know the Condition of the *Army* there; and received Answer, That several of the Men were so frozen in their Hands and Feet, as to be disabled from Service, and others were apace falling sick of the *Small-Pox*. Whereupon he ordered them on Board immediately to refresh themselves, and he intended then to have renewed his Attack upon the *City*, in the Method of Landing his Men in the Face of it, under the shelter of his great Guns; having to that purpose provided also a considerable number of well-shaped *Wheel-Barrows*, each of them carrying Two *Petarras* apiece, to March before the Men, and make the Enemy Fly, with as much Contempt as overwhelmed the *Philistines*, when undone by Foxes with Torches in their Tails; (remembered in an Anniversary Diversion every April among the Ancient Romans, taught by the *Phœnicians*.)

While the Measures to be further taken were debating, there was made an Exchange of Prisoners, the *English* having taken several of the *French* in divers Actions, and the *French* having in their Hands divers of the *English*, whom the *Indians* had brought Captives unto them. The *Army* now on Board continued still Resolute and Courageous, and on fire for the Conquest of *Quebeck*; or if they had missed of doing it by Storm,

Storm, they being themselves little white but Damage they Enemy before willing to protect of the Country more sensible Inhabitations Protection was And still they Game than the it self. But conclude the Storm arose this Snow and the they could not longer.

Thus, by an ing one unavowed well-formed and ver made by happily miscarry were a very much Delight, which any, let upon where, although the Publick, the cumstances, yet that neither it could reasonably be said that than he did, under his Business, as also relieved the confiding, that from his Country Army of Soldiers themselves, as upon the New- on them, would part of the Count considered, that engaging against saw yet but it And that the was the Foundation of laid in what this purpose like applying the Reasonable.

There was 'with Blisphemy and Wilhom of 'in Humane S 'with him, Th 'Judgments of the House of a 'them, the Ang 'from their Hol 'Morning, and 'moted Man, 'Night ensuing, 'most lovingly 'Godly Man, fi 'the Morning,



Storm, they knew that they might, by possessing themselves of the Isle of Orleans, in a little while have starved them out. Incredible Damage they might indeed have done to the Enemy before they Embarked, but they were willing to preserve the more undefensible Parts of the Country in such a Condition, as might more sensibly Encourage the Submission of the Inhabitants unto the Crown of England, whose Protection was desired, by so many of them. And still they were loth to play for any lesser Game than the immediate Surrender of Quebec it self. But e're a full Council of War could conclude the next Steps to be taken, a violent Storm arose that separated the Fleet, and the Snow and the Cold became so extrem, that they could not continue in those Quarters any longer.

Thus, by an evident Hand of Heaven, sending one unavoidable Disaster after another, as well-formed an Enterprize, as perhaps was ever made by the New-Englanders, most unhappily miscarried; and General Phips underwent a very mortifying Disappointment of a Design, which his Mind was, as much as ever any, set upon. He arrived Nov. 19. at Boston, where, although he found himself, as well as the Publick, thrown into very uneasy Circumstances, yet he had this to Comfort him, that neither his Courage nor his Conduct could reasonably have been Taxed; nor could it be said that any Man could have done more than he did, under so many Embarrassments of his Business, as he was to Fight withal. He also relieved the uneasiness of his Mind, by considering, that his Voyage to Canada, diverted from his Country an Horrible Tempest from an Army of Bo's-Lopers, which had prepar'd themselves, as tis affirmed, that Winter, to fall upon the New-English Colonies, and by filling on them, would probably have laid no little part of the Country desolate. And he further considered, that in this Matter, like *Israel* engaging against *Benjamin*, it may be, we saw yet but the beginning of the matter: And that the way to Canada now being learnt, the Foundation of a Victory over it might be laid in what had been already done. Unto this purpose likewise, he was heard sometimes applying the Remarkable Story reported by *Bradacordine*.

There was an Hermit, who being vexed with Blasphemous Injections about the Justice and Wisdom of Divine Providence, an Angel in Humane Shape invited him to Travel with him, That he might see the hidden Judgments of God. Lodging all Night at the House of a Man who kindly entertain'd them, the Angel took away a valuable Cup from their Host, at their going away in the Morning, and bestowed this Cup upon a very wicked Man, with whom they lodged the Night ensuing. The Third Night they were most lovingly Treated at the House of a very Godly Man, from whom, when they went in the Morning, the Angel meeting a Servant of

his, threw him over the Bridge into the Water, where he was drowned. And the Fourth, being in like manner most couragiously Treated at the House of a very Godly Man, the Angel before Morning did unaccountably kill his only Child. The Companion of the Journey being wonderfully offended at these things, would have left his Guardian: But the Angel then thus Address'd him, Understand now the secret Judgments of God! The first Man that entertain'd us, did inordinately affect that Cup which I took from him; 'twas for the Advantage of his Interior that I took it away, and I gave it unto the impious Man, as the present Reward of his good Works, which is all the Reward that he is like to have. As for our Third Host, the Servant which I slew had formed a bloody Design to have slain his Master, but now, you see, I have saved the Life of the Master, and prevented something of growth unto the Eternal Punishment of the Murderer. As for our Fourth Host, before his Child was Born unto him, he was a very liberal and beautiful Person, and he did abundance of good with his Estate; but when he saw he was like to leave such an Heir, he grew Covetous: wherefore the Soul of the Infant is Translated into Paradise, but the occasion of Sin is, you see, mercifully taken away from the Parent.

Thus General Phips, though he had been used unto Dying in this time, would say, That the things which had befallen him in this Expedition, were too deep to be Dived into!

§. 12. From the time that General Pen made his Attempt upon *Hispaniola*, with an Army that, like the New-English Forces against *Canada*, miscarried after an Expectation of having little to do but to Possess and Plunder; even to this Day, the general Disaster which hath attended almost every Attempt of the European Colonies in *America*, to make any considerable Encroachments upon their Neighbours, is a Matter of some close Reflection. But of the Disaster which now befel poor New-England in particular, every one will easily conclude none of the least Consequences to have been the Extream Debts which that Country was now plunged into; there being Forty Thousand Pounds, more or less, now to be paid, and not a Penny in the Treasury to pay it withal. In this Extremity they presently found out an Expedient, which may serve as an Example for any people in other Parts of the World, whose Difficulties may call for a sudden supply of Money to carry them through any Important Expedition. The General Assembly first pass'd an Act for the Levying of such a Sum of Money as was wanted, within such a Term of time as was judged convenient; and this Act was a Fund, on which the Credits of such a Sum should be rendered payable among the People. Hereupon there was appointed an able and faithful Committee of Gentlemen, who Printed, from Copper-Plates, a just Number of Bills, and Florished, Indented,



and Contrived them in such a manner, as to make it impossible to Counterfeit any of them, without a speedy Discovery of the Counterfeit : Besides which, they were all Signed by the Hands of *Three* belonging to that Committee. These *Bills* being of several Sums, from *Two Shillings*, to *Ten Pounds*, did confess the *Massachusetts-Colony* to be *Endebted* unto the Person, in whose Hands they were, the Sums therein expressed ; and Provision was made, that if any *Particular Bills* were Irrecoverable Lost, or Torn, or Worn by the Owners, they might be Recruited without any Damage to the *whole in general*. The *Publick Debts* to the *Sailors* and *Soldiers*, now upon the point of *Maturity*, (for, *Arma Tenenti, Omnia dat, qui Justa negat* !) were in these *Bills* paid immediately : But that further *Credit* might be given thereunto, it was Ordered that they should be accepted by the Treasurer, and all Officers that were Subordinate unto him, in all *Publick Payments*, at Five per Cent. more than the Value expressed in them. The People knowing that the *Tax-Aid* would, in the space of Two Years at least, fetch into the Treasury as much as all the *Bills of Credit*, thence emitted, would amount unto, were willing to be furnished with *Bills*, wherein 'twas their Advantage to pay their *Taxes*, rather than in any other *Specie*, and so the *Sailors* and *Soldiers* put off their *Bills*, instead of *Money*, to those with whom they had any Dealings, and they circulated through all the Hands in the Colony pretty Comfortably. Had the Government been so settled, that there had not been any doubt of any Obstruction, or Diversion to be given to the Prosecution of the *Tax-Aid*, by a *Total Change* of their Affairs then depending at *Whitehall*, 'tis very certain, that the *Bills of Credit* had been better than so much ready *Silver* ; yea, the *Invention* had been of more use to the *New-Englanders*, than if all their *Copper Mines* had been opened, or the Mountains of *Peru* had been removed into these Parts of *America*. The *Massachusetts Bills of Credit* had been like the *Bank Bills of Venice*, where though there were not, perhaps, a *Ducat* of *Money* in the *Bank*, yet the *Bills* were esteemed more than *Twenty per Cent.* better than *Money*, among the Body of the People, in all their Dealings. But many people being afraid, that the Government would in half a Year be so overturned, as to Convert their *Bills of Credit* altogether into *Wast Paper*, the *Credit* of them was thereby very much impaired ; and they, who first received them, could make them yield little more than *Fourteen or Sixteen Shillings* in the Pound ; from whence there arose those idle *Suspicious* in the Heads of many more Ignorant and Unthinking Folks concerning the use thereof, which, to the Incredible Detriment of the Province, are not wholly laid aside unto this Day. However, this Method of paying the *Publick Debts*, did no less than save the Publick from a perfect Ruin : And ere many Months were expired,

the Governour and Council had the Pleasure of seeing the *Treasurer* burn before their Eyes many a Thousand Pounds Worth of the *Bills*, which had passed about until they were again returned unto the Treasury ; but before their being returned, had happily and honestly, without a Farthing of *Silver Coin*, discharged the *Debts*, for which they were intended. But that which helped these *Bills* unto much of their *Credit*, was the Generous Offer of many Worthy Men in *Boston*, to run the Risk of selling their Goods reasonably for them : And of these, I think I may say, that General *Phips* was in some sort the *Leader* ; who at the very beginning, meekly to Recommend the *Credit* of the *Bills* unto other Persons, cheerfully laid down a considerable quantity of ready *Money* for an equivalent parcel of them. And thus in a little time the Country waded through the Terrible *Debts* which it was fallen into : In this, though unhappy enough, yet not so unhappy as in the *Loss* of Men, by which the Country was at the same time consumed. 'Tis true, there was very little *Blood* spilt in the Attack made upon *Quebeck* ; and there was a *Great Hand* of Heaven seen in it. The Churches, upon the Call of the Government, not only observed a General *Fast* through the Colony, for the Welfare of the Army sent unto *Quebeck*, but also kept the *Wheel of Prayer* in a *Continual Motion*, by Repeated and Successive Agreements, for Days of *Prayer* with *Fasting*, in their several Vicinities. On these Days the Ferventest Prayers were sent up to the God of Armies, for the Safety and Success of the *New-English Army* gone to *Canada* ; and though I never understood that any of the Faithful did in their Prayers arise to any assurance that the Expedition should prosper in all respects, yet they sometimes in their Devotions on these Occasions, uttered their Perswasion, that Almighty God had heard them in this thing, that the English Army should not fall by the Hands of the French Enemy. Now they were marvellously delivered from doing so, though the Enemy had such unexpected Advantages over them, yea, and though the horrid Winter was come on so far, that it is a Wonder the English Fleet, then Riding in the River of *Canada*, fared any better than the Army which a while since besieged *Poland*, wherein, of *Seventy Thousand* Invaders, no less than *Forty Thousand* suddenly perished by the severity of the Cold, albeit it were but the Month of *November* with them. Nevertheless, a kind of *Camp-Fever*, as well as the *Small-Pox*, got into the Fleet, whereby some Hundreds came short of Home. And besides this Calamity, it was also to be lamented, that although the most of the Fleet arrived safe at *New-England*, whereof some Vessels indeed were driven off by Cross-Winds as far as the *West-Indies*, before such Arrival ; yet there were Three or Four Vessels which totally miscarried : One was never heard of, a *Second* was Wreck'd, but most of the Men were saved by another in Com-

Company ; a *Third* Men were either the Indians, or after was by And a fourth may be, my Reader unworthy to A Brigantia for divers Days Weather, trying Vessels ; and the for Prayer with Diligence ; and must go altho, Storm, lose the carry with them, ced, that they m and therefore, they applied the *Prayers* Altho where they had ter before them their Vessels ever them all expecte it. Here they th *Chimney-leaf* th to this purpose. Planks as they Vessel, with the squalid Wilderne and they built a in they carefully quantity of Pri enough to leave one Month, mu our Six or Seven among them co Man, Two *Bark* a pound of Flou Pease, and two little Handful of momeatly, extra pared from all believe, they th pla : Wherefore such Leas am necessary to thei dition whereinc cast them ; now

—Pe They sit up could, among th Devotions, they more solemn by



Company; a *third* was Wreck'd so, that all the Men were either starv'd, or drown'd, or slain by the *Indians*, except *one*, which a long while after was by means of the *French* restored: And a *fourth* met with Accidents, which, it may be, my Reader will by and by pronounce not unworthy to have been Related.

A *Brigantine*, whereof Captain *John Rainsford* was Commander, having about Threecore Men aboard, was in a very stormy Night, *Octob. 28. 1690.* stranded upon the desolate and hideous Island of *Antecosta*, an Island in the mouth of the Mighty River of *Canada*; but through the singular Mercy of God unto them, the Vessel did not, immediately, stave to pieces, which if it had happened, they must have, one way or another, quickly perished. There they lay for divers Days, under abundance of bitter Weather, trying and hoping to get off their Vessel; and they solemnly set apart one Day for Prayer with *Fasting*, to obtain the Smiles of Heaven upon them in the midst of their Distresses; and this especially, That if they must go Alhoar, they might not, by any stress of Storm, lose the *Provisions* which they were to carry with them. They were at last convinced, that they must continue no longer on Board, and therefore, by the Seventh of *November*, they applied themselves, all Hands, to get their *Provisions* Alhoar upon the dismal Island where they had nothing but a sad and cold Winter before them; which being accomplished, their Vessel overset so, as to take away from them all expectation of getting off the Island in it. Here they now built themselves Nine small Chimney-lesse things that they called *Houses*; to this purpose employing such Boards and Planks as they could get from their shattered Vessel, with the help of *Trees*, whereof that squalid Wilderness had enough to serve them; and they built a particular *Store-House*, where-in they carefully Lodg'd and Lock'd the poor quantity of *Provisions*, which though scarce enough to serve a very abstemious Company for one Month, must now be so stinted, as to hold out Six or Seven; and the Allowance agreed among them could be no better than for One Man, Two Baskets, half a pound of Pork, half a pound of Flower, one Pint and a quarter of Pease, and two Salt Fishes per Week. This little Handful of Men were now a sort of *Commonwealth*, extraordinarily and miserably separated from all the rest of Mankind; (but I believe, they thought little enough of an *Utopia*: Wherefore they consulted and concluded such Laws among themselves, as they judged necessary to their subsistence, in the doleful Condition wherinto the Providence of God had cast them; now

—Penitus toto divisos Orbe.

They set up Good Orders, as well as they could, among themselves; and besides their daily Devotions, they Observed the Lord's Days, with more solemn Exercises of Religion.

But it was not long before they began to feel the more mortal effects of the Straits where-into they had been Reduced: Their *short* Commons, their Drink of *Snow-Water*, their Hard, and Wet, and Smoaky Lodgings, and their Grievous Despair of Mind, overwhelmed some of them at such a rate, and so ham-string'd them, that sooner than be at the pains to go abroad, and cut their one Fuel, they would lye after a Sottish manner in the Cold; these things quickly brought Sickneses among them. The first of their Number who Died was their Doctor, on the 20th of December; and then they dropt away, one after another, till between Thirty and Forty of the Sixty were buried by their disconsolate Friends, whereof every one look'd still to be the next that should lay his Bones in that Forsaken Region. These poor Men did therefore, on Monday the Twenty Seventh of January, keep a Sacred Fast (as they did, in some sort, a *Civil* one, every Day, all this while) to beseech of Almighty God, that his Anger might be turned from them, that he would not go on to cut them off in his Anger, that the Extremity of the Season might be mitigated, and that they might be prospered in some Essay to get Relief as the Spring should Advance upon them; and they took Notice that God gave them a Gracious Answer to every one of these Petitions.

But while the Hand of God was killing so many of this little Nation (and yet incapable to become a Nation, for it was, *Res unus Etatis, populus virorum*!) they apprehended, that they must have been under a most uncomfortable Necessity to kill One of their Company.

Whatever Penalties they Enacted for other Crimes, there was One, for which, like that of Parricide among the Antients, they would have promised themselves, that there should not have been Occasion for any Punishments; and that was, the Crime of Stealing from the Common-Stock of their Provisions. Nevertheless they found their Store-House divers times broken open, and their Provisions therefrom Stolen by divers unnatural Children of the Leviathan, while it was not possible for them to preserve their feeble Store-House from the Stone-Wall-breaking Madnes of these unreasonable Creatures. This Trade of Stealing, if it had not been stopp'd by some exemplary Severity, they must in a little while, by Lot or Force, have come to have Canibally devoured one another; for there was nothing to be done, either at Fishing, or Fowling, or Hunting, upon that Rueful Island, in the depth of a Frozen Winter; and though they sent as far as they could upon Discovery, they could not find on the Island any Living thing in the World, besides themselves. Wherefore, though by an Act they made Stealing to be so Criminal, that several did Run the Gallies for it, yet they were not far from being driven, after all, to make one Degree and Instance of it Capital. There was a wicked Irishman among them, who had such a Voracious Devil in him, that after divers Burglaries

upon



upon the *Store-House*, committed by him, at last he *Stole*, and *Eat* with such a *Rampaging Fury*, as to *Cram* himself with no less than *Eighteen Biskets*: at one *Stolen Meal*, and he was fain to have his *Belly* strok'd and bath'd before the *Fire*, lest he should otherwise have burst. This *Amazing*, and indeed *Murderous Villany* of the *Irisbman*, brought them all to their *Wits Ends*, how to defend themselves from the *Ruin* therein threatened unto them; and whatever *Methods* were propo'd, it was feared that there could be no stop given to his *Furacions* Exorbitancies any way but *One*; he could not be past *Stealing*, unless he were past *Eating* too. Some think therefore they might have Sentenced the *Wretch* to Die; and after they had been at pains, upon *Christian* and *Spiritual Accounts*, to prepare him for it, have Executed the Sentence, by Shooting him to Death: Concluding Matters come to that pass, that if they had not Shot him, he must have Starved them unavoidably. Such an *Action*, if it were done, will doubtless meet with no harder a Censure, than that of the Seven *Englisbmen*, who being in a Boat carried off to Sea from *St. Christopher's*, with but one *Days* Provision aboard for *Seventeen*, Singled out some of their Number by Lot, and Slew them, and *Eat* them; for which, when they were afterwards accus'd of *Murder*, the Court, in consideration of the *inevitable Necessity*, acquitted them. Truly the *inevitable Necessity* of *Starving*, without such an *Action*, sufficiently grievous to them all, will very much plead for what was done (whatever it were) by these poor *Antecossians*. And Starved indeed they must have been, for all this, if they had not Contrived and Performed a very desperate Adventure, which now remains to be Related. There was a very diminutive kind of Boat belonging to their *Brigantine*, which they recovered out of the Wreck, and cutting this Boat in Two, they made a shift, with certain odd Materials preserv'd among them, to lengthen it so far, that they could therein form a *little Cuddy*, where Two or Three Men might be stowed, and they set up a *little Mast*, whereto they fastened a little Sail, and accommodated it with some other *little Circumstances*, according to their present poor Capacity.

On the Twenty Fifth of *March*, Five of the Company Shipped themselves upon this Doughty *Fly-Boat*, intending, if it were possible, to carry unto *Boston* the Tidings of their woful Plight upon *Antecosta*, and by help from their Friends there, to return with seasonable Succours for the rest. They had not Sail'd long before they were Hemm'd in by prodigious Cakes of Ice, whereby their Boat sometimes was horribly wounded, and it was a Miracle that it was not Cruell'd into a *Thousand Pieces*, if indeed a *Thousand Pieces* could have been Splinter'd out of so minute a *Cock-Boat*. They kept labouring, and fearfully Weather-beaten, among enormous Rands of Ice, which would ever now and then rub formidably upon them, and were enough to have broken the Ribs of the strongest

Frigot that ever cut the Seas; and yet the signal Hand of Heaven so preserv'd this petty Boat, that by the Eleventh of *April* they had got a quarter of their way, and came to an Anchor under Cape *St. Lawrence*, having seen Land but once before, and that about seven Leagues off, ever since their first setting out, and yet having seen the open and Ocean Sea not so much as once in all this while, for the Ice that still encompass'd them. For their support in this Time, the little Provisions they brought with them would not have kept them alive; only they killed *Seale* upon the Ice, and they melted the upper part of the Ice for Drink; but fierce, wild, ugly *Sea-Horses*, would often to approach them upon the Ice, that the fear of being devoured by them was not the least of their Exercises. The Day following they weighed Anchor betimes in the Morning but the *Norweth Winds* persecuted them, with the raised and raging Waves of the Sea, which almost continually poured into them; and monstrous Islands of Ice, that seem'd almost as big as *Antecosta* it self, would ever now and then come athwart them. In such a Sea they lived by the special assistance of God, until, by the Thirteenth of *April*, they got into an Island of Land, where they made a Fire, and killed some Fowl, and some *Seale*, and found some *Goose-Eggs*, and supplied themselves with what Bilets of Wood were necessary and carriageable for them; and there they stay'd until the Seventeenth. Here their Boat lying near a Rock, a great Sea hove it upon the Rock, so that it was upon the very point of over-setting, which if it had, she had been utterly disabled for any further Service, and they must have call'd that Harbour by the Name, which I think, one a little more *Northward* bears, *The Cape without Hope*. There they must have ended their weary Days! But here the good Hand of God again interpos'd for them; they got her off; and though they lost their *Compass* in this Hurry, they sufficiently Repair'd another defective one that they had aboard. Sailing from thence, by the Twenty-fourth of *April*, they made Cape *Brittoon*; when a thick Fog threw them into a new Perplexity, until they were safely gotten into the Bay of *Islands*, where they again woo'd; and watred, and killed a few Fowl, and catch'd some Fish, and began to reckon themselves as good as half way home. They reach'd Cape *Sables* by the Third of *May*, but by the Fifth all their Provision was again spent, and they were out of sight of Land; nor had they any prospect of catching any thing that lives in the *Atlantick*: which while they were lamenting one unto another, a stout *Hallibut* comes up to the top of the Water, by their side; whereupon they threw out the Fishing-Line, and the Fish took the Hook; but he prov'd so heavy, that it required the help of several Hands to hale him in, and a *thankful Supper* they made on't. By the Seventh of *May* seeing no Land, but having once more spent all their Provision, they were grown almost

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But it is now th  
William!

§ 13. All this  
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'Bay Company,  
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'French Crown.



most wholly hopeleſs of Deliverance, but then a Fiſhing Shallop of Cape Ann came up with them, Fifteen Leagues to the Eaſtward of that Cape. And yet before they got in, they had ſo Tempeſtuous a Night, that they much feared perishing upon the Rocks after all : But God carried them into Boſton Harbour the Ninth of May, unto the great ſurprize of their Friends that were in Mourning for them : And there furniſhing themſelves with a Veſſel fit for their Undertaking, they took a Courſe in a few Weeks more to fetch home their Brethren that they left behind them at Antecoſta.

But it is now time for us to return unto Sir William!

§. 13. All this while CANADA was as much written upon Sir William's Heart, as CALLICE, they ſaid once, was upon Queen Mary's. He needed not one to have been his daily Monitor about Canada : It lay down with him, it roſe up with him, it engroſſed almoſt all his thoughts; he thought the ſubduing of Canada to be the greateſt Service that could be done for New-England, or for the Crown of England, in America. In purſuance whereof, after he had been but a few Weeks at Home, he took another Voyage for England, in the very depth of Winter, *when Sailing was now dangerous*; conſiſting with all the Difficulties of a tedious and a terrible Paſſage, in a very little Veſſel, which indeed was like enough to have periſhed, if it had not been for the help of his generous Hand aboard, and his Fortunes in the bottom.

Arriving — per tot Discrimina, in Briſtol, he haſted up to London; and made his Applications to their Majesties, and the Principal Miniſters of State, for aſſiſtance to renew an Expedition againſt Canada, concluding his Representation to the King with ſuch Words as theſe :

'If Your Maſteſty ſhall graciouſly pleaſe to Commiſſion and Aſſiſt me, I am ready to venture my Life again in your Service. And I doubt not, but by the Bleſſing of God, Canada may be added unto the reſt of your Dominions, which will (all Circumſtances conſidered) be of more Advantage to the Crown of England, than all the Territories in the Weſt-Indies are.

The Reasons here ſubjoined, are humbly Offered unto Your Maſteſties Conſideration.

'First, The Succeſs of this Deſign will greatly add to the Glory and Inter-eſt of the Engliſh Crown and Nation; by the Addition of the Beaver-Trade, and Securing the Hudſon's Bay Company, ſome of whole Factories have lately fallen into the Hands of the French; and increaſe of Engliſh Shipping and Seamen, by gaining the Fiſhery of Newfoundland; and by conſequence diminiſh the number of French Seamen, and cut off a great Revenue from the French Crown.

'Secondly, The Cauſe of the Engliſh in New-England, their failing in the late Attempt upon Canada, was their waiting for a Supply of Ammunition from England until Auguſt; their long Paſſage up that River; the Cold Season coming on, and the Small-Pox and Fevers being in the Army and Fleet, ſo that they could not ſtay Fourteen Days longer; in which time probably they might have taken Quebec; yet, if a few Frigates be ſpeedily ſent, they doubt not of an happy Succeſs; the Strength of the French being ſmall, and the Planters deſirous to be under the Engliſh Government.

'Thirdly, The Jeſuites endeavour to ſeduce the Moſquas, and other Indians (as is by them affirmed) ſuggeſting the Greatneſs of King Lewis, and the Inability of King William, to do any thing againſt the French in thoſe Parts, thereby to engage them in their Inter-eſts: In which, if they ſhould ſucceed, not only New-England, but all our American Plantations, would be endangered by the great increaſe of Shipping, for the French (built in New-England at eaſie rates) to the Infinite Diſhonour and Prejudice of the Engliſh Nation.

But now, for the Succeſs of theſe Applications, I muſt entreat the Patience of my Reader to wait until we have gone through a little more of our Hiſtory.

§. 14. The Reverend INCREASE MATHER beſtowing his Country of New-England in a very Deplorable Condition, under a Governour that acted by an Illegal, Arbitrary, Treafonable Commiſſion, and Invaded Liberty and Property after ſuch a manner, as that no Man could ſay any thing was his own, he did, with the Encouragement of the Principal Gentlemen in the Country, but not without much Trouble and Hazard unto his own Perſon, go over to Whitehall in the Summer of the Year 1688. and wait upon King James, with a full Representation of their Miſeries. That King did give him Liberty of Access unto him, whenever he deſired it, and with many Good Words promiſed him to relieve the Oppreſſed People in many Inſtances that were propoſed: But when the Revolution had brought the Prince and Princeſs of Orange to the Throne, Mr. Mather having the Honour divers times to wait upon the King, he ſill prayed for no leſs a Favour to New-England, than the full Reſtoration of their Charter-Privileges: And Sir William Phips happening to be then in England, very generouſly joined with Mr. Mather in ſome of thoſe Addreſſes: Whereſo His Maſteſty's Answers were always very expreſſive of his Gracious Inclinations. Mr. Mather, herein aſſiſted alſo by the Right Worſhipful Sir Henry Ashurst, a moſt Hearty Friend of all ſuch good Men as thoſe that once filled New-England, ſolicited the Leading Men of both Houſes in the Convention-Parliament, until a Bill for the Reſtoring



Restoring of the Charters belonging to *New-England*, was fully passed by the Commons of *England*, but that Parliament being Prorog'd, and then Dissolved, all that *Sisyphean* Labour came to nothing. The Disappointments which afterwards most wonderfully blasted all the hopes of the Petitioned Restoration, obliged Mr. *Mather*, not without the Concurrence of other Agents, now also come from *New-England*, unto that Method of Petitioning the King for a New Charter, that should contain more than all the Privileges of the *Old*; and Sir *William Phips*, now being again returned into *England*, lent his utmost assistance hereto.

The King taking a Voyage for *Holland* before this Petition was answered; Mr. *Mather*, in the mean while, not only waited upon the greatest part of the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, offering them a Paper of *Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charter-Privileges granted unto the Massachusetts-Colony*; but also having the Honour to be introduced unto the Queen, he assured Her Majesty, That there were none in the World better affected unto their Majesties Government than the People of *New-England*, who had indeed been exposed unto great Hardships for their being so; and entreated, that since the King had referred the *New-English* Affair unto the Two Lord Chief Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor General, there might be granted unto us what they thought was reasonable. Whereunto the Queen replied, That the Request was reasonable; and that she had spoken divers times to the King on the behalf of *New-England*; and that for her own part, she desired that the People there might not merely have Justice, but Favour done to them. When the King was returned, Mr. *Mather*, being by the Duke of *Devonshire* brought into the King's Presence on April 28. 1691. humbly pray'd His Majesties Favour to *New-England*; urging, That if their Old Charter-Privileges might be restored unto them, his Name would be great in those Parts of the World as long as the World should stand; adding,

Sir,  
YOUR Subjects there have been willing to venture their Lives, that they may enlarge your Dominions; the Expedition to Canada was a Great and Noble Undertaking.

May it please your Majesty, in your great Wisdom also to consider the Circumstances of that People, as in your Wisdom you have considered the Circumstances of *England*, and of *Scotland*. In *New-England* they differ from other Plantations; they are called Congregational and Presbyterian. So that such a Governour will not suit with the People of *New-England*, as may be very proper for other English Plantations.

Two Days after this, the King, upon what was proposed by certain Lords, was very in-

quisitive, whether he might, without breach of Law, set a Governour over *New-England*, whereto the Lord Chief Justice, and some others of the Council, answered, That whatever might be the Merit of the Cause, inasmuch as the Charter of *New-England* stood vacated by a Judgment against them, it was in the King's Power to put them under what Form of Government he should think best for them.

The King then said, That he believed it would be for the Advantage of the People in that Colony, to be under a Governour appointed by himself: Nevertheless (because of what Mr. *Mather* had spoken to him) He would have the Agents of *New-England* nominate a Person that should be agreeable unto the Inclinations of the People there; and notwithstanding this, he would have Charter-Privileges restored and confirmed unto them.

The Day following the King began another Voyage to *Holland*; and when the Attorney General's Draught of a Charter, according to what he took to be His Majesties Mind, as expressed in Council, was presented at the Council-board, on the Eighth of June, some Objections then made, procured an Order to prepare Minutes for another Draught, which deprived the *New-Englanders* of several Essential Privileges in their other Charter. Mr. *Mather* put in his Objections, and vehemently protested, That he would sooner part with his Life, than consent unto those Minutes, or any thing else that should infringe any Liberty or Privilege of Right belonging unto his Country; but he was answered, That the Agents of *New-England* were not Plenipotentiaries from another Sovereign State; and that if they would not submit unto the King's Pleasure in the Settlement of the Country, they must take what would follow.

The dissatisfactory Minutes were, by Mr. *Mather's* Industry, sent over unto the King in *Flanders*; and the Ministers of State then with the King were earnestly applied unto, that every mistake about the good Settlement of *New-England* might be prevented; and the Queen her self, with her own Royal Hand, wrote unto the King, that the Charter of *New-England* might either pass as it was drawn by the Attorney General, or be deferred until his own Return.

But after all, His Majesties Principal Secretary of State received a Signification of the King's Pleasure, that the Charter of *New-England* should run in the Main Points of it as it was now granted: Only there were several Important Articles which Mr. *Mather* by his unwearied Solicitations obtained afterwards to be inserted.

There were some now of the Opinion, that instead of submitting to this New Settlement, they should, in hopes of getting a Reversion of the Judgment against the Old Charter, declare to the Ministers of State, That they had rather have no Charter at all, than such an one



as was now proposed unto Acceptance. But Mr. Mather advising with many unprejudiced Persons, and Men of the greatest Abilities in the Kingdom, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Divines and Lawyers, they all agreed, that it was not only a lawful, but all Circumstances then considered, a Needful thing, and a part of Duty and Wisdom to accept what was now offered, and that a peremptory refusal would not only bring an Inconvenience, but a Fatal, and perhaps, a Final Ruin upon the Country; whereof Mankind would lay the blame upon the Agents.

It was argued, That such a Submission was no Surrender of any thing; that the Judgment, not in the Court of King's Bench, but in Chancery against the Old Charter, standing on Record, the Patten was thereby Annihilated; that all attempts to have the Judgment against the Old Charter taken off, would be altogether in vain, as Men and Things were then disposed.

It was further argued, That the Ancient Charter of New-England was in the Opinion of the Lawyers very Defective, as to several Powers, which yet were absolutely necessary to the subsistence of the Plantation: It gave the Government there no more Power than the Corporations have in England; Power in Capital Cases was not therein particularly expressed.

It mentioned not an House of Deputies, or an Assembly of Representatives; the Government and Company had, thereby (they said) no Power to impose Taxes on the Inhabitants that were not Freeman, or to erect Courts of Admiralty. Without such Powers the Colony could not subsist; and yet the best Friends that New-England had of Persons most Learned in the Law, professed, that suppose the Judgment against the Massachusetts-Charter might be Reversed, yet, if they should again Exert such Powers as they did before the Quo Warranto against their Charter, a new Writ of Scire Facias would undoubtedly be issued out against them.

It was yet further argued, That if an Act of Parliament should have Reversed the Judgment against the Massachusetts-Charter, without a Grant of some other Advantages, the whole Territory had been, on many Accounts, very miserably Incommoded: The Province of Maine, with Hampshire, would have been taken from them; and Plymouth would have been annexed unto New-York; so that this Colony would have been squeezed into an Atom, and not only have been rendered Insignificant in its Trade, but by having its Militia also, which was vested in the King, taken away, its Insignificancies would have become out of measure humbling; whereas now, instead of seeing any Relief by Act of Parliament, they would have been put under a Governour, with a Commission, whereby ill Men, and the King's and

Country's Enemies might probably have crept into Opportunities to have done Ten Thousand ill things, and have treated the best Men in the Land after a very uncomfortable manner.

It was lastly argued, That by the New Charter very great Privileges were granted unto New-England; and in some respects greater than what they formerly enjoyed. The Colony is now made a Province, and their General Court, has, with the King's Approbation, as much Power in New-England, as the King and Parliament have in England. They have all English Liberties, and can be touched by no Law, by no Tax, but of their own making. All the Liberties of their Holy Religion are for ever secured, and their Titles to their Lands, once for want of some Forms of Legal Conveyance, contested, are now confirmed unto them. If an ill Governour should happen to be imposed on them, what hurt could he do to them? None, except they themselves pleased: for he cannot make one Counsellor, or one Judge, or one Justice, or one Sheriff to serve his Turn: Disadvantages enough, one would think, to Discourage any ill Governour from desiring to be Stationed in those uncultivated Regions. The People have a Negative upon all the Executive part of the Civil Government, as well as the Legislative, which is a vast Privilege, enjoyed by no other Plantation in America, nor by Ireland, nor, hitherto by England it self. Why should all of this good be refused or depised, because of somewhat not so good attending it? The Despisers of so much good, will certainly deserve a Censure, not unlike that of Cainsabon, upon some who did not value what that Learned Man counted highly valuable, *Vix illis optari quidquam peius potest, quam ut facultate sua fruantur*: Much good may do them with their Madnets! All of this being well considered, Sir William Phips, who had made so many Addresses for the Restoration of the Old Charter, under which he had seen his Country many Years flourishing, will be excused by all the World from any thing of a Fault, in a most unexpected passage of his Life, which is now to be related.

Sir Henry Ashurst, and Mr. Mather, well knowing the agreeable Disposition to do Good, and the King and his Country Service, which was in Sir William Phips, whom they now had with them, all this while Prosecuting his Design for Canada, they did unto the Council-board nominate him for the GOVERNOUR of New-England. And Mr. Mather being by the Earl of Nottingham introduced unto His Majesty, said,

Sir,  
I do, in the behalf of New-England, most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you have been pleased, by a Charter, to restore English Liberties



Liberties unto them, to confirm them in their Properties, and to grant them some peculiar Privileges. I doubt not, but that your Subjects there will demean themselves with that dutiful Affection and Loyalty to your Majesty, as that you will see cause to enlarge your Royal Favourites towards them. And I do most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you have been pleased to give leave unto those that are concerned for New-England to nominate their Governour.

Sir William Phips has been accordingly nominated by us at the Council-Board. He hath done a good Service for the Crown, by enlarging your Dominions, and reducing of Nova Scotia to your Obedience. I know that he will faithfully serve your Majesty to the utmost of his Capacity; and if your Majesty shall think fit to confirm him in that place, it will be a further Obligation on your Subjects there.

The Effects of all this was, that Sir William Phips was now invested with a Commission under the King's Broad-Seal to be Captain General, and Governour in Chief over the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England; Nor do I know a Person in the World that could have been proposed more acceptable to the Body of the People throughout New-England, and on that score more likely and able to serve the King's Interests among the People there, under the Changes in some things unacceptable, now brought upon them. He had been a Guide, who had more than once ventured his Life to save his Country from their Enemies; and they now, with universal Satisfaction said, *Thou shalt rule over us*. Accordingly, having with Mr. Mather kissed the King's Hand on January 2d, 1691. he hastened away to his Government; and arriving at New-England the Fourteenth of May following, attended with the *Four-such-Frigat*, both of them were welcomed with the loud Acclamations of the long shaken and shatter'd Country, whereto they were now returned with a Settlement so full of happy Privileges.

§. 15. When Titus Flaminius had freed the poor Grecians from the Bondage which had long oppressed them, and the Herald Proclaimed among them the Articles of their Freedom, they cried out, *A Saviour! A Saviour!* with such loud Acclamations, that the very Birds fell down from Heaven astonish'd at the Cry. Truly, when Mr. Mather brought with him unto the poor New-Englanders, not only a Charter, which though in divers Points wanting what both he and they had wished for, yet for ever delivers them from Oppressions on their Christian and English Liberties, or on their Ancient Possessions, wherein ruining Writs of Intrusion had begun to invade them all, but also a GOVERNOUR who might call New-England his own Country, and who was above most Men in it, full of Affection to the Interests of his Country; the sensible

part of the People then caused the Sense of the Salvation thus brought them to reach as far as Heaven itself. The various little Humours then working among the People, did not hinder the Great and General Court of the Province to appoint a Day of Solemn THANKSGIVING to Almighty God, for Granting (as the Printed Order expressed it) a safe Arrival to his Excellency our Governour, and the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, who have industriously endeavoured the Service of this People, and have brought over with them a Settlement of Government, in which their Majesties have graciously given us distinguishing Marks of their Royal Favour, and Goodness.

And as the obliged People thus gave Thanks unto the God of Heavens, to they sent an Address of Thanks unto Their Majesties, with other Letters of Thanks unto some Chief Ministers of State, for the favourable Aspect herein cast upon the Province.

Nor were the People mistaken, when they promised themselves all the kindness imaginable from this Governour, and expected, *Under his shadow we shall live ease among the Heavens*: Why might they not look for halcyon-days, when they had such a King's-Father for their Governour?

Governour Phips had, as every raised and useful person must have, his *Evilious Enemies*; but the palest Envy of them, who turned their worst Enmity upon him, could not hinder them from confessing, *That according to the best of his Apprehension, he ever sought the good of his Country*: His Country quickly felt this on innumerable Occasions; and they had it eminently demonstrated, as well in his promoting and approving the Council's choice of good Judges, Justices and Sheriffs, which being once established, no Successor could remove them, as in his urging the General Assembly to make themselves happy by preparing a Body of good Laws as fast as they could, which being passed by him in his time, could not be nulled by any other after him.

He would often speak to the Members of the general Assembly in such Terms as these, *Gentlemen, You may make your selves as ease as you will for ever; consider what may have any tendency to your welfare; and you may be sure, that whatever Bills you offer to me, consistent with the Honour and Interest of the Crown, I'll pass them readily; I do but seek Opportunities to serve you; had it not been for the sake of this thing, I had never accepted the Government of this Province; and whenever you have settled such a Body of good Laws, that no Person coming after me may make you uneasy, I shall desire not one Day longer to continue in the Government*. Accordingly he ever passed every Act for the welfare of the Province proposed unto him; and instead of ever putting them upon Buying his Assent unto any good Act, he was much forwarder

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forwarder to give it, than they were to ask it: Nor indeed, had the *Hunger of a Salary* any such Impression upon him, as to make him decline doing all possible Service for the Publick, while he was not sure of having any Proportionable or Honourable Acknowledgments.

But yet he minded the Preservation of the King's Rights with as careful and faithful a Zeal as became a good Steward for the Crown: And, indeed, he studied nothing more than to observe such a Temper in all things, as to extinguish what others have gone to distinguish; even the Pernicious Notion of a separate Interest. There was a time when the *Roman Empire* was infested with a vast number of Governors, who were infamous for Infinite Avarice and Villany; and referring to this time, the Apostle *John* had a Vision of People killed with the Beasts of the Earth.

But Sir *William Phips* was none of those Governors; wonderfully contrary to this wretchedness was the Happiness of *New-England*, when they had Governor *Phips*, using the tenderness of a Father towards the People; and being of the Opinion, *Ditare magis esse Regium quam Ditecere*, that it was a braver thing to enrich the People, than to grow rich himself. A Father, I said; and what if I had said an Angel too? If I should from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, from *Theodoret*, and from *Jerom*, and others among the Ancients, as well as from *Calvin*, and *Bucan*, and *Peter Martyr*, and *Chemnitzius*, and *Bullinger*, and a Thousand more among the Moderns, bring Authorities for the Assertion, That each Country and Province is under the special Care of some Angel, by a singular Deputation of Heaven assigned thereunto, I could back them with a far greater Authority than any of them all. The Scripture it self does plainly assert it: And hence the most Learned *Grotius*, writing of *Commonwealths*, has a Passage to this purpose, *His singulis, suos Attributos, esse Angelos, ex Daniele, magno consensu, & Judei & Christiani veteres colligebant.*

But *New-England* had now, besides the *Guardian-Angel*, who more invisibly intended its welfare, a Governor that became wonderfully agreeable thereunto, by his whole Imitation of such a *Guardian-Angel*. He employed his whole Strength to guard his People from all Distresses, which threatened them either by Sea or Land; and it was remark'd, that nothing remarkably Disastrous did befall that People from the time of his Arrival to the Government, until there arrived an Order for his leaving it: (Except one thing which was begun before he entered upon the Government.) But instead thereof, the *Indians* were notably defeated in the Assaults which they now made upon the *English*, and several *French* Ships did also very advantageously fall into his Hands; yea, there was by his means a Peace restored unto the Province, that had been

divers Years languishing under the Hectic Feaver of a lingering War.

And there was this one thing more that rendered his Government the more desirable; that whereas 'tis impossible for a meer Man to govern without some Error; whenever this Governour was adviced of any Error in any of his Administrations, he would immediately retract it, and revoke it with all possible Ingenuity; so that if any occasion of just Complaint arose, it was usually his endeavour that it should not long be complain'd of.

—O, Felices nimium, sua si Bona, norant,  
Nov-Engl.—

But having in a Parenthesis newly intimated, that his Excellency, when he entered on his Government, found one thing that was remarkably Disastrous begun upon it: Of that one thing we will now give some account.

Reader, prepare to be entertained with as prodigious Matters as can be put into any History! And let him that writes the next *Thaumographia Pneumatica*, allow to these Prodigious the chief place among the Wonders.

§. 16. About the time of our Blessed Lord's coming to reside on Earth, we read of so many possessed with Devils, that it is commonly thought the Number of such miserable Enervements was then increased above what has been usual in other Ages; and the Reason of that Increase has been made a Matter of some Enquiry. Now though the Devils might herein design by *Preternatural Operations* to blast the Miracles of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, which point they gained among the Blasphemous *Pharisees*; and the Devils might herein also design a Villanous Imitation of what was coming to pass in the Incarnation of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, wherein God came to dwell in Flesh; yet I am not without suspicion, that there may be something further in the Conjecture of the Learned *Bartholinus* hereupon, who says, It was *Quod judei prater modum, Artibus Magicis dediti Demonem Advocaverint, the Jews*, by the frequent use of *Magical Tricks*, called in the Devils among them.

It is very certain, there were hardly any People in the World grown more fond of Sorceries, than that unhappy People: The *Talmuds* tell us of the little *Parbents* with Words upon them, which were their common Amulets, and of the Charms which they murther'd over Wounds, and of the various Enchantments which they used against all sorts of Distresses whatsoever. It is affirmed in the *Talmuds*, that no less than Twenty-four Scholars in one School were killed by Witchcraft; and that no less than Four-score Persons were Hanged for Witchcraft by one Judge in one Day. The

H h 2

Gloss



Gloss adds upon it, *That the Women of Israel had generally fallen to the Practice of Witchcrafts*; and therefore it was required, that there should be still chosen into the Council one skillful in the *Arts of Sorcerers*, and able thereby to discover who might be guilty of those *Black Arts* among such as were accused before them.

Now the Arrival of Sir William Phips to the Government of New-England, was at a time when a Governour would have had Occasion for all the Skill in *Sorcery*, that was ever necessary to a *Jewish Councillor*; a time when Scores of poor People had newly fallen under a prodigious Possession of Devils, which it was then generally thought had been by *Witchcrafts* introduced. It is to be confessed and bewailed, that many Inhabitants of New-England, and Young People especially, had been led away with little *Sorceries*, wherein they did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God; they would often cure Hurts with *Spells*, and practise detestable Conjurations with *Staves*, and *Keys*, and *Peas*, and *Nails*, and *Horse-hoofs*, and other Implements, to learn the things for which they had a forbidden and impious Curiosity. Wretched Books had stoln into the Land, wherein Fools were instructed how to become able Fortune-Tellers: Among which, I wonder that a blacker Brand is not set upon that Fortune-Telling Wheel, which that Sham-Scribler, that goes under the Letters of R. B. has promised in his *Delights for the Ingenious*, as an honest and pleasant Recreation: And by these Books, the Minds of many had been so poisoned, that they studied this *Finer Witchcraft*; until 'tis well, if some of them were not betray'd into what is Groffier, and more Sensible and Capital. Although these *Diabolical Divinations* are more ordinarily committed perhaps all over the whole World, than they are in the Country of New-England, yet, that being a Country Devoted unto the Worship and Service of the Lord JESUS CHRIST above the rest of the World, He signalized his Vengeance against these Wickednesses, with such extraordinary Dispensations as have not been often seen in other places.

The Devils which had been so play'd withal, and, it may be, by some few Criminals more Explicitly engaged and employed, now broke in upon the Country, after as astonishing a manner as was ever heard of. Some Scores of People, first about Salem, the Centre and First-Born of all the Towns in the Colony, and afterwards in several other places, were Arrested with many *Præternatural Vexations* upon their Bodies, and a variety of cruel Torments, which were evidently inflicted from the *Demons*, of the *Invisible World*. The People that were Infected and Insest with such *Demons*, in a few Days time arrived unto such a *Refining Alteration* upon their Eyes, that they could see their Tormentors; they saw a Devil of a Little *Stature*, and of a Tawny Colour, attended still

with *Spellres* that appeared in more Humane Circumstances.

These Tormentors tendred unto the afflicted a Book, requiring them to *Sign* it, or to *Touch* it at least, in token of their consenting to be Lifted in the Service of the Devil: which they refusing to do, the *Spellres* under the Command of that *Blackman*, as they called him, would apply themselves to Torture them with prodigious Molestations.

The afflicted Wretches were horribly *Distorted* and *Convulsed*; they were *Pinched* Black and Blue: *Pins* would be run every where in their Flesh; they would be *Scalded* until they had *Blisters* raised on them; and a Thousand other things before Hundreds of Witnesses were done unto them, evidently *Præternatural*: For if it were *Præternatural* to keep a rigid Fast for Nine, yea, for Fifteen Days together; or if it were *Præternatural* to have one's Hands ty'd close together with a Rope to be plainly seen, and then by *unseen Hands* presently pull'd up a great way from the Earth before a Crowd of People; such *Præternatural* things were endured by them.

But of all the *Præternatural* things which beset these People, there were none more unaccountable than those, wherein the prestigious *Demons* would ever now and then cover the most *Corporal* things in the World with a *Fascinating Mist* of *Invisibility*. As now; a Person was cruelly assaulted by a *Spellre*, that, she said, run at her with a *Spindle*, though no Body else in the room could see either the *Spellre* or the *Spindle*: At last, in her Agonies, giving a snatch at the *Spellre*, she pulled the *Spindle* away; and it was no sooner got into her Hand, but the other Folks then present beheld that it was indeed a Real, Proper, Iron *Spindle*; which when they looked up very late, it was nevertheless by the *Demons* taken away to do farther Mischief.

Again, a person was haunted by a most abusive *Spellre*, which came to her, she said, with a *Sheet* about her, though seen to none but her self. After she had undergone a deal of Teaze from the Annoyance of the *Spellre*, she gave a violent Snatch at the *Sheet* that was upon it; wherefrom the tore a Corner, which in her Hand immediately was beheld by all that were present, a palpable Corner of a *Sheet*: And her Father, which was now holding of her, catch'd, that he might keep what his Daughter had so strangely seized; but the *Spellre* had like to have wrung his Hand off; by endeavouring to wrest it from him: However he still held it; and several times this odd Accident was renewed in the Family. There wanted not the *Oaths* of good credible People to these particulars.

Also, it is well known, that these wicked *Spellres* did proceed so far as to steal several Quantities of Money from divers People, part of which Individual Money was dropt some times out of the Air, before sufficient *Spellators*, into

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into the Hands of the Afflicted, while the Spectres were urging them to subscribe their Covenant with Death. Moreover, Poisons to the Standers-by, wholly Invisibly, were sometimes forced upon the Afflicted, which when they have with much Reluctancy swallowed, they have soon presently, so that the common Medicines for Poisons have been found necessary to relieve them: Yea, sometimes the Spectres in the struggles have so dropt the Poisons, that the Standers-by have smelt them, and view'd them, and beheld the Pillows of the miserable stained with them.

Yet more, the miserable have complained bitterly of burning Rags run into their forceably diffused Mouths; and though no Body could see any such Clothes, or indeed any Fires in the Chambers, yet presently the scalds were seen plainly by every Body on the Mouths of the Complainers. And not only the Smell, but the Smoke of the Burning sensibly fill'd the Chambers.

Once more, the miserable exclaimed extremely of Branding Irons heating at the Fire on the Hearth to mark them; now though the Sanders-by could see no Irons, yet they could see distinctly the Print of them in the Athes, and smell them too as they were carried by the not-seen Furies, unto the Poor Creatures for whom they were intended; and those Poor Creatures werethereupon so Stigmatized with them, that they will bear the Marks of them to their Dying Day. Nor are these the Tenth Part of the Prodiges that fell out among the Inhabitants of New-England.

Flasby People may Burlesque these Things, but when Hundreds of the most sober People in a Country, where they have as much Mother-Wit certainly as the rest of Mankind, know them to be True, nothing but the absurd and froward Spirit of Salludcyn can Question them. I have not yet mentioned so much as one Thing that will not be justified, if it be required by the Oaths of more considerate Persons than any that can ridicule these odd Phenomena.

But the worst part of this astonishing Tragedy is yet behind; wherein Sir William Phips, at last being dropt, as it were from the Machine of Heaven, was an Instrument of easing the Distresses of the Land, now so darkened by the Wrath of the Lord of Hosts. There were very worthy Men upon the Spot where the assault from Hell was first made, who apprehended themselves call'd from the God of Heaven, to sift the business unto the bottom of it; and indeed, the continual Impressions, which the outcries and the havocks of the afflicted People that lived nigh unto them caused on their Minds, gave no little Edge to this Apprehension.

The Persons were Men eminent for Wisdom and Virtue, and they went about their enquiry into the matter, as driven unto it by a Conscience of Duty to God and the World. They did in the first Place take it for granted, that there are Witches, or wicked Children of Men, who upon Covenanting with, and Commissioning of Evil Spirits, are attended by their Ministry to

accomplish the things desired of them: To falsifie them in which Persuasion, they had not only the Assertions of the Holy Scripture; Assertions, which the Witch-Advocates cannot evade without Shifts, too foolish for any Prudent, or too profane for any Honest Man to use; and they had not only the well-attested Relations of the gravest Authors from Bodin to Bovet, and from Binsfeld to Brombal and Bazier; to deny all which, would be as reasonable as to turn the Chronicles of all Nations into Romances of Don Quixot and the Seven Champions; but they had also an Ocular Demonstration in one, who a little before had been executed for Witchcraft, when Joseph Dudley, Esq. was the Chief Judge. There was one whole Magical Images were found, and who confessing her Deeds, (when a Jury of Doctors returned her Compos Mentis) actually shewed the whole Court, by what Ceremonies used unto them, she directed her Familiar Spirits how and where to Cruciate the Objects of her Malice; and the Experiments being made over and over again before the whole Court, the Effect followed exactly in the Hurs done to People at a distance from her. The Existence of such Witches was now taken for granted by those good Men, wherein so far the generality of reasonable Men have thought they ran well; and they soon received the Confessions of some accused Persons to confirm them in it; but then they took one thing more for granted, wherein it now as generally thought they went out of the Way. The Afflicted People vehemently accused several Persons in several Places, that the Spectres which afflicted them, did exactly resemble them; until the Impunity of the Accusations did provoke the Magistrates to examine them. When many of the accused came upon their Examination, it was found, that the Demons then a thousand ways abusing of the poor afflicted People, had with a marvellous exactness represented them; yea, it was found, that many of the accused, but casting their Eye on the afflicted, the afflicted, though their Faces were never so much another way, would fall down and lye in a sort of a Swoon, wherein they would continue, whatever Hands were laid upon them, until the Hands of the accused came to touch them; and then they would revive immediately: And it was found, that various kinds of natural Actions, done by many of the accused in or to their own Bodies, as Leaning, Bending, Turning Awry, or Squeezing their Hands, or the like, were presently attended with the like things preternaturally done upon the Bodies of the afflicted, though they were so far asunder, that the afflicted could not at all observe the accused.

It was also found, that the Flesh of the Afflicted was often Bitten at such a rate, that not only the Print of Teeth would be left on their Flesh, but the very Savor of Spittle too: And there would appear just such a set of Teeth as was in the accused, even such as might be clearly distinguished from other Peoples. And usually the afflicted went through a

terrible



terrible deal of seeming Difficulties from the tormenting *Spectres*, and must be long waited on, before they could get a Breathing Space from their *Torments* to give in their Testimonies.

Now many good Men took up an Opinion, That the *Providence* of God would not permit an *Innocent Person* to come under such a *Spectral Representation*; and that a concurrence of so many Circumstances would prove an *accused Person* to be in a *Confederacy* with the *Demons* thus afflicting of the Neighbours; they judged, that except these things might amount unto a *Conviction*, it would scarce be possible ever to *Convert* a *Witch*; and they had some *Phibopical Schemes* of *Witchcraft*, and of the Method and Manner wherein *Magical Poisons* operate, which further supported them in their Opinion.

Sundry of the *accused Persons* were brought unto their *Trial*, while this Opinion was yet prevailing in the Minds of the *Judges* and the *Furies*, and perhaps the most of the People in the Country, then mostly Suffering; and though against some of them that were Tried there came in so much *other Evidence* of their Diabolical Compacts, that some of the most *Judicious*, and yet *Veheement* Opposers of the Notions then in Vogue, publicly declared, *Had they themselves been on the Bench, they could not have Acquitted them*; nevertheless, divers were Condemned, against whom the chief Evidence was founded in the *Spectral Exhibitions*.

And it happening, that some of the *Accused* coming to confess themselves *Guilty*, their *Shapes* were no more seen by any of the *afflicted*, though the Confession had been kept never so Secret, but instead thereof the *Accused* themselves became in all Vexations just like the *Afflicted*; this yet more confirmed many in the Opinion that had been taken up.

And another thing that quickned them yet more to Act upon it, was, that the *Afflicted* were frequently entertained with *Apparitions* of *Ghosts* at the same time that the *Spectres* of the supposed *Witches* troubled them: Which *Ghosts* always cast the Beholders into far more Consternation than any of the *Spectres*; and when they exhibited themselves, they cried out of being *Murdered* by the *Witchcrafts*, or other Violences of the Persons represented in the *Spectres*. Once or Twice these Apparitions were seen by others at the very same time that they shew'd themselves to the *afflicted*; and seldom were they seen at all, but when something unusual and suspicious had attended the Death of the Party thus appearing.

The *afflicted People* many times had never heard any thing before of the Persons appearing in *Ghost*, or of the Persons *accused* by the *Apparitions*; and yet the *accused* upon Examination have confessed the Murders of those very Persons, though these *accused* also knew nothing of the *Apparitions* that had come in against them; and the *afflicted Persons* likewise,

without any private Agreement or Collusion, when successively brought into a Room, have all asserted the same *Apparitions* to be there before them: These *Murders* did seem to call for an Enquiry.

On the other Part, there were many Persons of great Judgment, Piety and Experience, who from the beginning were very much dissatisfied at these Proceedings; they feared lest the *Devil* would get so far into the Faith of the People, that for the sake of many *Truths*, which they might find him telling of them, they would come at length to believe all his *Lies*, whereupon what a Desolation of *Names*, yea, and of *Lives* also, would ensue, a Man might without much *Witchcraft* be able to prognosticate; and they feared, lest in such an extraordinary Descent of *Wicked Spirits* from their *High Places* upon us, there might such *Principles* be taken up, as, when put into *Practice*, would unavoidably cause the *Righteous* to perish with the *Wicked*, and procure the Blood-thief of Persons like the *Gibeonites*, whom some learned Men suppose to be under a false Pretence of *Witchcraft*, by *Saul* exterminated.

However uncommon it might be for *guiltless Persons* to come under such unaccountable Circumstances, as were on so many of the *Accused*, they held some things there are, which if suffered to be Common, would subvert Government, and Disband and Ruin Humane Society, yet God sometimes may suffer such Things to even, that we may know thereby how much we are beholden to him for that restraint which he lays upon the *Infernal Spirits*, who would else reduce a World into a Chaos. They had already known of one at the Town of *Groton* hideously agitated by *Devils*, who in her Fits cried out much against a very Godly Woman in the Town, and when that Woman approached unto her, though the Eyes of the Creature were never so shut, the yet manifested a violent Sense of her approach: But when the Gracious Woman thus Impeached, had prayed earnestly with and for this Creature, then instead of crying out against her any more, she owned, that she had in all been deluded by the *Devil*. They now saw, that the more the *Afflicted* were Hearkned unto, the more the number of the *Accused* encreased; until at last many scores were cried out upon, and among them, some, who by the *Unblameableness*, yea, and *Serviceableness* of their whole Conversation, had obtained the Just Reputation of *Good People* among all that were acquainted with them. The Character of the *afflicted* likewise added unto the common Distaste; for though some of them too were *Good People*, yet others of them, and such of them as were most Flippant at *Accusing*, had a far other Character.

In fine, the Country was in a dreadful Ferment, and wise Men foresaw a long Train of Distral and Bloody Consequences. Hereupon they first advised, that the *afflicted* might be kept asunder in the closest Privacy; and one particular Person (whom I have cause to know)

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in pursuance of this Advice, offered himself singly to provide Accommodations for any six of them, that so the Success of more than ordinary Prayer with Fasting, might, with Patience, be experienced, before any other Courses were taken.

And Sir William Phips arriving to his Government, after this ensnaring horrible Storm was begun, did consult the neighbouring Ministers of the Province, who made unto his Excellency and the Council a return, (drawn up at their desire by Mr. Maiber the Younger, as I have been informed) wherein they declared.

We judge, that in the Prosecution of these and all such Witchcrafts, there is need of a very Critical and Exquisite Caution: Lest by too much Credulity for things received only upon the Devil's Authority, there be a Door opened for a long Train of miserable Consequences, and Satan get an Advantage over us; for we should not be Ignorant of his Devices.

As in complaints upon Witchcrafts, there may be Matters of Enquiry, which do not amount unto Matters of Presumption; and there may be Matters of Presumption, which yet may not be reckoned Matters of Conviction; so 'tis necessary that all Proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding Tenderness towards those that may be complained of, especially if they have been Persons formerly of an unblemished Reputation.

When the first Enquiry is made into the Circumstances of such as may lie under any just Suspicion of Witchcrafts, we could wish that there may be admitted as little as is possible of such Noise, Company, and Opennels, as may too hastily expose them that are Examined; and that there may nothing be used as a Test for the Trial of the Suspected, the lawfulness whereof may be doubted among the People of God: But that the Directions given by such judicious Writers as Perkins and Bernard, be consulted in such a Case.

Presumptions, whereupon Persons may be committed, and much more Convictions, whereupon Persons may be condemned as guilty of Witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more considerable, than barely the accused Persons being represented by a Spectre to the afflicted: Inasmuch as it is an undoubted and a notorious Thing, that a Demon may, by God's Permission, appear even to ill Purposes in the Shape of an Innocent, yea, and a Virtuous Man: Nor can we esteem Alterations made in the Sufferers, by a look or touch of the accused, to be an insupportable Evidence of Guilt; but frequently liable to be abused by the Devils Legedemans.

We know not whether some remarkable Affronts given to the Devils, by our disbelieving of those Testimonies whose whole Force and Strength is from them alone, may not put a Period unto the Progress of a direful Calamity begun upon us, in the accusation of so many Persons, whereof, we hope, some are yet clear from the great Transgression laid unto their Charge.

The Ministers of the Province also being jealous lest this Counsel should not be duly followed, requested the President of Harvard-Colledge to Compose and Publish (which he did) some Cases of Conscience referring to these Difficulties: In which Treatise he did, with Demonstrations of incomparable Reason and Reading, evince it, that Satan may appear in the Shape of an Innocent and a Virtuous Person, to afflict those that suffer by the Diabolical Molestations: And that the Ordeal of the Sight, and the Touch, is not a Conviction of a Covenant with the Devil, but liable to great Exceptions against the Lawfulness, as well as the Evidence of it: And that either a Free and Fair Confession of the Criminals, or the Oath of two Credible Persons proving such Things against the Person accused, as none but such as have a Familiarity with the Devil can know, or do, is necessary to the Proof of the Crime. Thus,

*Cum misit Natura Feras, & Monstra per Orbem.*

*Misit & Alciden qui Fera Monstra domet.*

The Dutch and French Ministers in the Province of New York, having likewise about the same time their Judgment asked by the Chief Judge of that Province, who was then a Gentleman of New-England, they gave it in under their Hands, that if we believe no Venefick Witchcraft, we must Renounce the Scriptures of God, and the Consent of almost all the World; but that yet the Apparition of a Person afflicting another, is a very insufficient Proof of a Witch; nor is it Inconsistent with the Holy and Righteous Government of God over Men, to permit the Affliction of the Neighbours, by Devils in the Shape of Good Men; and that a Good Name, obtained by a Good Life, should not be Lost by Meer Spectral Accusations.

Now upon a Deliberate Review of these things, his Excellency first Reprieved, and then Pardoned many of them that had been Condemned; and there fell out several strange things that caused the Spirit of the Country to run as vehemently upon the Acquiring of all the accused, as it by mistake ran at first upon the Condemning of them. Some that had been zealously of the Mind, that the Devils could not in the Shapes of good Men afflict other Men, were terribly Confuted, by having their own Shapes, and the Shapes of their most intimate and valued Friends, thus abused. And though more than twice Twenty had made such voluntary, and harmonious, and uncontrollable Confessions, that if they were all Shams, there was therein the greatest Violation made by the Efficacy of the most false World, upon the Rules of Understanding Humane Affairs, that was ever seen since God made Man upon the Earth, yet they did so recede from their Confessions, that it was very clear, some of them had been hitherto, in a sort of a Præternatural Dream, wherein they had said of themselves, they knew not what themselves.



In fine, The last Courts that fate upon this *Thorny Business*, finding that it was impossible to Penetrate into the whole Meaning of the things that had happened, and that so many *unsearchable Cheats* were interwoven into the Conclusion of a Mysterious Business, which perhaps had not crept thereinto at the Beginning of it, they cleared the accused as fast as they Tried them; and within a little while the afflicted were most of them delivered out of their Troubles also: And the Land had Peace restored unto it, by the God of Peace, treading Satan under Foot. *Erasmus*, among other Historians, does tell us, that at a Town in Germany, a Demon appearing on the Top of a Chimney, threatened that he would set the Town on Fire, and at length scattering some Athes abroad, the whole Town was pretently and horribly Burnt unto the Ground.

Sir William Philips now beheld such Demons hid oully scattering Fire about the Country, in the Exasperations which the Minds of Men were on these things rising unto; and therefore when he had well Canvased a Cause, which perhaps might have puzzled the Wisdom of the wisest Men on Earth to have managed, without any Error in their Administrations, he thought, if it would be any Error at all, it would certainly be the safest for him to put a stop unto all future Prosecutions, as far as it lay in him to do it.

He did so, and for it he had not only the Printed Acknowledgments of the *New-Englanders*, who publicly thanked him. As one of the Tribe of Zebulun, raised up from among themselves, and Spiritu'd as well as Committion'd to be the Steers-man of a Vessel beslogg'd in the Mare Mortuum of Witchcraft, who now so happily steered her Course, that the escaped Shipwrack, and was safely again Moored under the Cape of Good Hope, and cut asunder the Circazan Knot of Enchantment, more difficult to be Dissolved than the famous Gordian one of Old.

But the QUEEN also did him the Honour to write unto him those Gracious Letters, wherein her Majesty commended his Conduct in these Inexplicable Matters. And I did right in calling these Matters *Inexplicable*. For if, after the Kingdom of Sweden (in the Year 1669, and 1670.) had some Hundreds of their Children by Night often carried away by Spectres to an Hellish Rendezvous, where the Monsters that so Spirited them, did every way Tempt them to Associate with them; and the Judges of the Kingdom, after extraordinary Supplications to Heaven, upon a strict Enquiry, were so satisfied with the Confessions of more than Twenty of the accused, agreeing exactly unto the Depositions of the afflicted, that they put several Scores of Witches to Death, whereupon the Confusions came unto a Period; yet after all, the chiefest Persons in the Kingdom would Question whether there were any Witchcrafts at all in the whole Affair; it must not be wondred at, if the People of New-England are

to this Hour full of Doubts, about the Steps which were taken, while a War from the Invisibile World was Terrifying of them; and whether they did not kill some of their own side in the Smoke and Noise of this Dreadful War. And it will be yet less wondred at, if we consider, that we have seen the whole English Nation alarmed with a Plot, and both Houses of Parliaments upon good Grounds, Voting their Sense of it; and many Persons most justly Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, for their Injustice in it: When yet there are enough, who to this Day will pretend, that they cannot comprehend how much of it is to be accounted Credible. However, having related these wonderful Passages, whereof, if the Veracity of the Relator in any one Point be contested, there are whole Clouds of Witnesses to vindicate it, I will take my leave of the Matter with an wholesome Caution of Lactantius, which, it may be, some other Parts of the World besides New-England may have occasion to think upon; *Eficium Demones, ut que non sunt, sic tamen, quasi sint, conspiciendo Homini bus exhibeant.*

But the Devils being thus vanquished, we shall next hear, that some of his most devoted and resembling Children are so too.

§. 17. As one of the first Actions done by Sir William, after he came to the Age of Doing, was to save the Lives of many poor People from the Rage of the Diabolical Indians in the Eastern Parts of the Country, so now he was come to the Government, his Mind was very vehemently set upon recovering of those Parts from the Miseries, which a New and a Long War of the Indians had brought upon them. His Birth and Youth in the East, had rendred him well known unto the Indians there; he had Hunted and Fished many a weary Day in his Childhood with them; and when those rude Savages had got the Story by the End, that he had found a Ship full of Money, and was now become all one-a-King! They were mightily astonish'd at it: But when they further understood that he was become the Governour of New-England, it added a further Degree of Confirmation to their Astonishment. He likewise was better acquainted with the Situation of those Regions than most other Men; and he consider'd what vast Advantages might arise to no less than the whole English Nation, from the Lumber, and Fishery, and Naval-stores, which those Regions might soon supply the whole Nation withal, if once they were well settled with good Inhabitants.

Wherefore Governour Philips took the first Opportunity to raise an Army, with which he Travell'd in Person, under the East Country, to find out and cut off the Barbarous Enemy, which had continued for near four Years together, making horrible Havock on the Plantations that lay all along the Northern Frontiers of New-England: And having pursued those worse than Scythian Wolves, till they could be no longer followed, he did with a very laudable Skill, and unusual Speed, and with less Cost unto

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the Crown, than perhaps ever such a thing was done in the World, erect a strong Fort at *Pemmaguid*.

This Fort he contrived so much in the very Heart of the Country now possessed by the Enemy, as very much to hinder the several Nations of the Tawnies from *Clanning* together for the Common Disturbance; and his Design was, that a sufficient Garrison being here posted, they might from thence, upon Advice, issue forth to surprize that Ferocious Enemy. At the same time he would fain have gone in Person up the Bay of *Funda*, with a convenient Force, to have spoiled the Nest of Rebellious *Frenchmen*, who being *Rendezvouzed* at St. *John's*, had a yearly Supply of Ammunition from *France*, with which they still supplied the *Indians*, unto the extream Detriment of the *English*; but his Friends for a long time would not permit him to expose himself unto the Inconveniences of that Expedition.

However, he took such Methods, that the *Indian Kings* of the East, within a little while had their Stomachs brought down, to sue and beg for a Peace: And making their appearance at the New-Fort in *Pemmaguid*, Aug. 11. 1693; they did there Sign an Instrument, wherein, lamenting the Miseries which their Adherence to the *French Counsels* had brought them into, they did for themselves, and with the Consent of all the *Indians* from the River of *Merrimack*, to the most Easterly Bounds of all the Province, acknowledge their Hearty Subjection and Obedience unto the Crown of *England*, and Solemnly Covenant, Promise and Agree, to and with Sir *William Phips*, Captain General and Governour in Chief over the Province, and his Successors in that place, That they would for ever cease all Acts of Hostility towards the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, and hold a constant Friendship with all the *English*. That they would utterly abandon the *French Interests*, and not Succour or Conceal any Enemy *Indians*, from *Canada* or elsewhere, that should come to any of their Plantations within the *English Territories*: That all *English Captives*, which they had among them, should be returned with all possible speed, and no Ransom or Payment be given for any of them: That Their Majesties Subjects the *English*, now should quietly enter upon, and for ever improve and enjoy all and singular their Rights of Lands, and former Possessions, within the Eastern Parts of the Province, without any Claims from any *Indians*, or being ever disturbed therein: That all Trade and Commerce, which hereafter might be allowed between the *English* and the *Indians*, should be under a Regulation stated by an Act of the General Assembly, or as limited by the Governour of the Province, with the Consent and Advice of his Council. And that if any Controversie hereafter happen between any of the *English* and the *Indians*, no private Revenge was to be taken by the *Indians*, but proper Applications to be made unto His Majesties Government, for the due remedy thereof: Sub-

mitting themselves herewithal to be Governed by His Majesties Laws.

And for the Manifestation of their Sincerity in the Submission thus made, the *Hypocritical Wretches* delivered *Hostages* for their Fidelity; and then set their Marks and Seals, no less than Thirteen *Sagamos* of them, (with Names of more than a *Persian* length) unto this Instrument.

The first Rise of this *Indian War* had hitherto been almost as dark as that of the River *Nilus*: 'Tis true, if any *Wild English* did rashly begin to provoke and affront the *Indians*, yet the *Indians* had a fairer way to obtain Justice than by Bloodshed: However, upon the *New-English Revolution*, the State of the War became wholly New: The Government then employed all possible ways to procure a good Understanding with the *Indians*; but all the *English* Officers, Kindnesses, Courties were barbarously required by them, with New Acts of the most pernicious Hostility. Notwithstanding all this, there were still some *True People* that by their Scruples about the Justice of the War; but upon this New Submission of the *Indians*, if ever those *Rattle-snakes* (the only *Rattle-snakes*, which, they say, were ever seen to the Northward of *Merrimack-River*) should fit again, the most scrupulous Persons in the World must own, That it must be the most unexpected piece of Justice in the World for to extinguish them.

Thus did the God of Heaven bless the unwearied Applications of Sir *William Phips*, for the restoring of Peace unto *New-England*, when the Country was quite out of Breath, in its Endeavours for its own Preservation from the continual Outrages of an inaccessible Enemy, and by the Poverty coming in so like an armed Man, from the unsuccessfulness of their former Armies, that it could not imagine how to take one step further in its Wars. The most happy Respite of Peace beyond *Merrimack-River* being thus procured, the Governour immediately set himself to use all possible Methods, that it might be Peace, like a River, nothing short of Everlasting.

He therefore prevailed with Two or Three Gentlemen to join with him, in sending a Supply of Necessaries for Life unto the *Indians*, until the General Assembly could come together to settle the *Indian-Trade* for the Advantage of the Publick, that the *Indians* might not by Necessity be driven again to become a *French Property*; altho' by this Action, as the Gentlemen themselves were great Losers in their Estates, thus he himself declared unto the Members of the General Assembly, that he would upon Oath give an Account unto them of all his own Gains, and count himself a Gainer, if in lieu of all they would give him one *Beaver-Hat*. The same Generosity also caused him to take many a tedious Voyage, accompanied sometimes with his *Fidus Achates*, and very dear Friend, Kinsman and Neighbour, Colonel *John Phips*, between *Boston* and *Pemmaguid*; and this in the bitter Weeks of the *New-English*, which is almost a *Russian Winter*.



He was a sort of *Confessor* under such Torments of Cold, as once made the *Martyrdom* of *Muria*, and others, Commemorated in Orations of the Ancients; and the *Snow* and *Ice* which *Pliny* calls, *The Punishment of Mountains*, he cheerfully endured, without any other Profit unto himself, but only the *Pleasure* of thereby establishing and continuing unto the People the Liberty to *Sleep* quietly in their warm Nests at home, while he was thus concerned for them abroad. *Non mihi sed Populo*, the Motto of the Emperor *Hadrian*, was Engraved on the Heart of Sir *William*: NOT FOR MY SELF, BUT FOR MY PEOPLE; Or that of *Maximin*, *Quo major, hoc Laboriosior*, the more Honourable, the more Laborious.

Indeed the *Reflexions* of his Travels to the Southern as well as the Eastern Parts of the Country, when the Publick Safety call'd for his Presence, would have made one to think on the Translation which the King of *Portugal*, on a very Extraordinary Occasion, gave the Fourth Verse in the Hundred and Twenty-first Psalm. *He will not Slumber, nor will he suffer to Sleep the Keeper of Israel*. Nor did he only try to *Cicurate* the Indians of the East, by other Prudent and Proper Treatments; but he also furnished himself with an *Indian* Preacher of the Gospel, whom he carried unto the *Eastward*, with an Intention to Teach them the Principles of the *Protestant Religion*, and Unteach them the mixt *Paganry* and *Popery* which hitherto *Diaboliz'd* them. To Unteach them, I say; for they had been Taught by the *French* Priests this among other things, that the Mother of our Blessed Saviour was a *French Lady*, and that they were *Englishmen* by whom our Saviour was Murdered; and that it was therefore a *Meritorious* thing to destroy the *English* Nation. The Name of the preacher whom the Governour carried with him, was *Nabaton*, one of the Natives; and because the passing of such Expressions from the Mouth of a poor Indian, may upon some Accounts be worthy of Remembrance; let it be Remembered, that when the Governour propounded unto him such a Mission to the *Eastern* Indians, he replied, *I know that I shall probably Endanger my Life, by going to Preach the Gospel among the Frenchified Indians; but I know that it will be a Service unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore I will venture to go.*

God grant that his Behaviour may be in all things, at all times, according to these his Expressions! While these things were doing, having Intelligence of a *French* Man of War expected at *St. John's*, he dispatched away the *Non-such-Frigat* thither to intercept him; nevertheless by the gross Negligence, and perhaps Cowardice of the Captain, who had lately come from *England* with Orders to take the Command of her, instead of one who had been by Sir *William* a while before put in, and one who had signalized himself by doing of notable Service for the King and Country in it, the *Frenchman* arrived unladed, and went away

untouch'd. The Governour was extremely offended at this notorious Deficiency; it cast him into a great Impatience to see the Nation so wretchedly served; and he would himself have gone to *Saint John's* with a Resolution to Spoil that Harbour of Spoilers, if he had not been taken off, by being sent for home to *Whitehall*, in the very midst of his Undertakings.

But the Treacherous Indians being poisoned with the *French* Enchantments, and furnished with brave New Coats, and New Arms, and all new Incentives to War, by the Man of War newly come in; they presently and perfidiously fell upon two *English* Towns, and Butchered and Captived many of the Inhabitants, and made a New War, which the *New-Englanders* know not whether it will end until either *Canada* become an *English Province*, or that State arrive, wherein they shall beat Swords into Plough-shares, and Spears into Pruning-hooks. And no doubt, the taking off Sir *William Phips* was no small Encouragement unto the Indians in this Relapse, into the Villanies and Massacres of a New Invasion upon the Country.

§. 18. Reader, 'tis time for us to view a little more to the Life, the Picture of the Person, the Actions of whose Life we have hitherto been looking upon. Know then, that for his Exterior, he was one Tall, beyond the common Set of Men, and Thick as well as Tall, and Strong as well as Thick: He was, in all respects, exceedingly Robust, and able to Conquer such Difficulties of Diet and of Travel, as would have kill'd most Men alive: Nor did the Fat, wherewith he grew very much in his later Years, take away the Vigour of his Motions.

He was Well-set, and he was therewithal of a very Comely, though a very Manly Countenance: A Countenance where any true skill in Physiognomy would have read the Characters of a Generous Mind. Wherefore passing to his Interior, the very first thing which there offered it self unto Observation, was a most incomparable Generosity.

And of this, besides the innumerable Instances which he gave in his usual Hatred of Dirty or Little Tricks, there was one Instance for which I must freely say, *I never saw Three Men in this World that Equal'd him*; this was his wonderfully Forgiving Spirit. In the vast Variety of Business, through which he Raced in his time, he met with many and mighty Injuries; but although I have heard all that the most venomous Malice could ever His at his Memory, I never did hear unto this Hour, that he did ever once deliberately Revenge an Injury.

Upon certain Affronts he has made sudden Returns that have shewed Choler enough, and he has by Blow, as well as by Word, chastised Involuntaries: He was, indeed, sufficiently impatient of being put upon; and when Base Men, surprizing him at some Disadvantages (for else few Men durst have done it) have some-

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times drawn upon him, he has, without the *Wicked Madnes* of a *Formal Duel*, made them feel that he knew how to *Correct Fools*. Nevertheless, he ever declined a *Deliberate Revenge* of a *Wrong* done unto him; though few Men upon *Earth* have, in their *Vicissitudes*, been furnished with such frequent *Opportunities of Revenge*, as *Heaven* brought into the Hands of this Gentleman.

Under great Provocations, he would commonly say, *'Tis no Matter, let them alone: some time or other they'll see their Weakness and Rashness, and have occasion for me to do them a Kindness: And they shall then see I have quite forgotten all their Buzeness*. Accordingly 'twas remarkable to see it, that few Men ever did him a *Mischief*, but those Men afterwards had occasion for him to do them a *Kindness*; and he did the *Kindness* with as forgetful a *Bravery*, as if the *Mischief* had never been done at all. The Emperor *Theodosius* himself could not be readier to *Forgive*; so worthily did he verify that Observation.

*Quo quisque est Major, magis est Placabilis ira,  
Et Faciles Motus, Mens Generosa capit.*

In those Places of *Power* whereto the Providence of God by several *Degrees* raised him, it still fell out so, that before his *Rise* thereunto he underwent such things as he counted very hard *Abuses*, from those very Persons over whom the Divine Providence afterwards gave him the *Ascendant*.

By such *Trials*, the Wisdom of Heaven still prepared him, as *David* before him, for *successive Advancements*; and as he behaved himself with a marvellous *Long-suffering*, when he was *Tried*, by such *Mortifications*, thus when he came to be *advanced*, he convinced all Mankind, that he had perfectly Buried all the old Offences in an *Eternal Amnesia*. I was my Self an *Eye-witness*, that one, who was an *Eye-witness* of his Behaviour under such *Probations* of his Patience, did, long before his Arrival to that Honour, say unto him, *Sir, Forgive those that give you these Vexations, and know that the God of Heaven intends, before he has done with you, to make you the Governour of New-England!* And when he did indeed become the Governour of New-England, he shew'd that he still continued a Governour of himself, in his Treating all that had formerly been in ill Terms with him, with as much *Favour* and *Freedom*, as if there had never happened the least Exasperations: Though any Governour that *Kens Hobbaniism*, can easily contrive Ways enough to wreak a *Spite*, where he owes it.

It was with some *Christian Remark*, that he read the *Pagan-story* of the Renowned *Fabius Maximus*, who being preferred unto the highest Office in the Commonwealth, did, through a Zeal for his Country, overcome the greatest Contempts that any Person of Quality could have received. *Minutius* the Master of the

Horse, and the next Person in Dignity to himself, did first privately Traduce him, as one that was no *Soldier*, and less *Politician*; and he afterwards did both by Speeches and Letters prejudice not only the *Army*, but also the *Senate* against him, so that *Minutius* was now by an unpresupposed Commission brought into an *Equality* with *Fabius*.

All this while the great *Fabius* did not throw up his Cares for the Commonwealth, but with a wondrous *Equality of Mind* endured equally the Malice of the *Judges*, and the Fury of the *Commons*; and when *Minutius* a while after was with all his Forces upon the Point of perishing by the victorious Arms of *Hannibal*, this very *Fabius*, not listening to the Dictates of *Revenge*, came in and helped him, and saved him; and so by a rare Virtue, he made his worst *Adversaries* the Captives of his *Generosity*.

One of the Antients upon such an History, cried out, *If Heavens can do thus much for the Glory of their Name, what shall not Christians do for the Glory of Heaven!* And Sir William Phips did so much more than thus much, that besides his meriting the *Glory* of such a Name, as *PHIPIUS MAXIMUS*, he therein had upon him the Symptoms of a Title to the *Glory of Heaven*, in the Seal of his own Pardon from God. Nor was this *Generosity* in His EXCELLENCY the Governour of *New-England*, unaccompanied with many other *Excellencies*; whereof the *Piety* of his Carriage towards God is worthy to be first Mentioned.

It is true, He was very Zealous for all Men to enjoy such a *Liberty of Conscience*, as he judged a *Native Right of Mankind*: And he was extremely Troubled at the *over-boiling Zeal* of some good Men, who formerly took that wrong Way of reclaiming *Heretics* by *Persecution*. For this *Generosity*, it may be, some would have compared him unto *Gallos*, the Governour of *Achaia*, whom our Preachers, perhaps with Mistake enough, think to be condemned in the Scripture, for his not appearing to be a *Judge*, in Matters which indeed fell not under his Cognizance.

And I shall be content that he be compared unto that Gentleman; for that *Gallos* was the Brother of *Seneca*, who gives this Character of him, *That there was no Man who did not love him too little, if he could Love him any more; and, That there was no Mortal so Dear to any, as he was to all; and, That he hated all Vices, but none more than Flattery*.

But while the *Generosity* of Sir William caused him to desire a *Liberty of Conscience*, his *Piety* would not allow a *Liberty of Prophaneness*, either to himself or others. He did not affect any mighty *show* of Devotion; and when he saw any that were evidently careful to make a *show*, and especially, if at the same Time they were notoriously Defective in the Duties of *Common Justice* or *Goodness*, or the Duties of the *Relations* wherein God had stationed them, he had an extream Aversion for them.



Nevertheless he did shew a Conscientious Desire to observe the Laws of the Lord Jesus Christ in his *Conversation*; and he Conscientiously attended upon the Exercises of *Devotion* in the Seasons thereof, on *Lectures*, as well as on *Lord's Days*, and in the *Daily Sacrifice*, the Morning and Evening Service of his own Family; yea, and at the *Private Meetings* of the Devout People kept every *Fortnight* in the Neighbourhood.

Besides all this, when he had *great Works* before him, he would invite good Men to come and *Faith* and *Pray* with him at his House for the Success thereof; and when he had succeeded in what he had undertaken, he would prevail with them to come and keep a *Day of Solemn Thanksgiving* with him. His *Love* to Almighty God, was indeed manifested by nothing more than his *Love* to those that had the *Image* of God upon them; he heartily, and with real *Honour* for them, *Loved* all *Godly Men*; and in so doing, he did not confine *Godliness* to this or that Party, but where-ever he saw the *Fear of God*, in one of a *Congregational*, or *Presbyterian*, or *Antipædobaptist*, or *Episcopalian* Persuasion, he did, without any Difference, express towards them a Reverent Affection.

But he made no Men more welcome than those *good Men*, whose *Office* 'tis to promote and preserve *Goodness* in all other Men; even the *Ministers* of the Gospel: Especially when they were such as faithfully discharged their *Office*: And from these at any time, the least Admonition or Intimation of any good thing to be done by him, he entertained with a most obliging Alacrity. His *Religion* in truth, was one Principle that added *Virtue* unto that vast *Courage*, which was always in him to a Degree *Heroical*. Those terrible Nations which made their Descents from the Northern on the Southern Parts of Europe, in those Elder Ages, when so to *swarm* out was more frequent with them, were inspired with a *Valiant Contempt of Life*, by the Opinion wherein their Famous *Odin* instructed them. *That their Death was but an Entrance into another Life, wherein they who died in Warlike Actions, were bravely Feasted with the God of War, for ever*. 'Tis inexpressible how much the *Courage* of those fierce Mortals was fortified by that Opinion.

But when Sir *William Phips* was asked by some that observed his *Valiant Contempt of Death*, what it was that made him so little afraid of *Dying*, he gave a better grounded Account of it than those *Pagans* could; his Answer was, *I do humbly believe, that the Lord Jesus Christ shed his Precious Blood for me, by his Death procuring my Peace with God: And what should I now be afraid of dying for?*

But this leads me to mention the *Humble and Modest Carriage* in him towards other Men, which accompanied this his *Piety*. There were certain *Pomps* belonging unto the several Places of *Honour*, through which he passed; *Pomps* that are very taking to Men of *little Souls*:

But although he rose from so *little*, yet he discovered a *Marvellous Contempt* of those *Airy things*, and as far as he handsomely could, he declined, being Ceremoniously, or any other-wise than with a *Dutch Modesty* waited upon. And it might more truly be said of him, than it was of *Aristides*, *He was never seen the Prouder for any Honour that was done him from his Countrymen*.

Hence, albeit I have read that *Complain*, made by a *Worthy Man*, *I have often observed, and this not without some blushing, that even good People have had a kind of Shame upon them, to acknowledge their low beginning, and used all Arts to hide it*. I could never observe the least of that Fault in this *Worthy Man*; but he would speak of his own low beginning with as much Freedom and Frequency, as if he had been afraid of having it forgotten.

It was counted an *Humility* in King *Agathocles*, the Son of a *Potter*, to be served therefore in *Earthen Vessels*, as *Plutarch* hath informed us: It was counted an *Humility* in Archbishop *Willigis*, the Son of a *Wheelwright*, therefore to have *Wheels* hung about his Bed-Chamber, with this Inscription, *Recorde unde Veneris, i. e. Remember thy Original*. But such was the *Humility* and *Lowliness* of this *Rising Man*! Not only did he after his return to his Country in his Greatness, one Day, make a splendid Feast for the *Ship-Carpenters* of *Boston*, among whom he was willing at his Table to Commemorate the Mercy of God unto him, who had once been a *Ship-Carpenter* himself; but he would on all Occasions *Permit*, yea, *Study* to have his *Meannesses* remembered.

Hence upon frequent Occasions of Uneasiness in his Government, he would chuse thus to express himself, *Gentlemen, were it not that I am to do Service for the Publick, I should be much easier in returning unto my broad Ax again!* And hence, according to the *Affable Courtesie* which he ordinarily used unto all sorts of Persons, (quite contrary to the *Austerity* which the old Proverb expects in the *Raised*) he would particularly, when Sailing in sight of *Kennebeck*, with Armies under his Command, call the *Young Soldiers* and *Sailors* upon Deck, and speak to them after this Fashion; *Young Men, it was upon that Hill that I kept Sheep a few Years ago; and since you see that Almighty God has brought me to something, you learn to Fear God, and be Honest, and mind your Business, and follow no bad Courses, and you don't know what you may come to!* A Temper not altogether unlike what the advanced *Shepherd* had, when he wrote the *Tenenty-third Psalm*; or when he Imprinted on the Coin of his Kingdom the Remembrance of his Old Condition: For, *Christianus Gerson*, a Christianized *Jew*, has informed us, That on the one side of *David's* Coin were to be seen his old *Pouch* and *Crook*, the Instruments of *Shepherdry*; on the other side, were entangled the Towers of *Zion*.



In fine, our Sir William was a Person of so sweet a Temper, that they who were most intimately acquainted with him, would commonly pronounce him, *The best Conditioned Gentleman in the World!* And by the continual Discoveries and Expressions of such a Temper, he so gained the Hearts of them who waited upon him in any of his Expeditions, that they would commonly profess themselves willing still, *to have gone with him to the end of the World.*

But if all other People found him so kind a Neighbour, we may easily infer what an Husband he was unto his Lady. Leaving unmentioned that *Virtue* of his Chastity, which the Prodigious Depravation brought by the Late Reigns upon the Manners of the Nation, has made worthy to be mentioned as a *Virtue* somewhat extraordinary; I shall rather pass on to say, That the Love, even to Fondness, with which he always treated her, was a Matter not only of Observation, but even of such Admiration, that every one said, *The Age afforded not a kinder Husband!*

But we must now return to our Story.

§. 19. When Persons do by Studies full of Curiosity, seek to inform themselves of things about which the God of Heaven hath forbidden our Curious Enquiries, there is a marvellous Impression, which the Demons do often make on the Minds of those their Votaries, about the Future or Secret Matters unlawfully enquired after, and at last there is also an horrible Possession, which those Fatidic Demons do take of them. The Snares of Hell, hereby laid for miserable Mortals, have been such, that when I read the Laws, which Angellius affirms to have been made, even in Pagan Rome, against the Vaticinators; I wonder that no English Nobleman or Gentleman signalizes his regard unto Christianity, by doing what even a Roman Tully would have done, in promoting *An Act of Parliament* against that Paganish Practice of Judicial Astrology, whereof, if such Men as Austin were now living, they would assert, *The Devil first found it, and they that profess it are Enemies of Truth and of God.*

In the mean time, I cannot but relate a wonderful Experience of Sir William Phips, by the Relation whereof something of an Antidote may be given against a Poison, which the Diabolical Figure-Flingers and Fortune-Tellers that swarm all the World over may insinuate into the Minds of Men. Long before Mr. Phips came to be Sir William, while he sojourned in London, there came into his Lodging an Old Astrologer, living in the Neighbourhood, who making some Observation of him, though he had small or no Conversation with him, did (howbeit by him wholly undesired) one Day send him a Paper, wherein he had, with Preferences of a Rule in Astrology for each Article, distinctly noted the most material Passages that were to befall this our Phips in the remaining part of his Life; it was particularly Asserted and Insinuated, That he should be engaged in a

Design, wherein by Reason of Enemies at Court, he should meet with much delay; that nevertheless in the Thirty-Seventh Year of his Life, he should find a mighty Treasure; that in the Forty-First Year of his Life, his King should employ him in as great a Trust beyond Sea, as a Subject could easily have: That soon after this he should undergo an hard Storm from the Endeavours of his Adversaries to reproach him and ruin him; that his Adversaries, though they should go very near gaining the Point, should yet miss of doing so; that he should hit upon a vastly Richer Matter than any that he had hitherto met withal; that he should continue Thirteen Years in his Publick Station, full of Action, and full of Hurry; and the rest of his Days he should spend in the Satisfaction of a Peaceable Retirement.

Mr. Phips received this undesired Paper with Trouble and with Contempt, and threw it by among certain loose Papers in the bottom of a Trunk, where his Lady some Years after accidentally lit upon it. His Lady with Admiration saw, step after step, very much of it accomplished; but when he heard from England, that Sir William was coming over with a Commission to be Governour of New-England, in that very Year of his Life, which the Paper specified; he was afraid of letting it lye any longer in the House, but cast it into the Fire.

Now the thing which I must invite my Reader to remark, is this, That albeit Almighty God may permit the Devils to Predict, and perhaps to Perform very many particular things to Men, that shall by such a Presumptuous and Unwarrantable Juggle as Astrology (so Dr. Hall well calls it!) or any other Divination, consult them, yet the Devil which foretels many True things, do commonly foretel some that are False, and it may be, propose by the things that are True to betray Men into some fatal Misbelief and Miscarriage about those that are False.

Very singular therefore was the Wisdom of Sir William Phips, that as he ever Treated these Prophecies about him with a most Pious Neglect, so when he had seen all but the Two last of them very punctually fulfilled, yea, and seen the beginning of a Fulfillment unto the last but one also, yet when I pleasantly mentioned them unto him, on purpose to Try whether there were any occasion for me humbly to give him the serious Advice, necessary in such a Case to Anticipate the Devices of Satan, he prevented my Advice, by saying to me, *Sir, I do believe there might be a cursed Snare of Satan in those Prophecies: I believe Satan might have leave to foretel many things, all of which might come to pass in the beginning, to lay me asleep about such things as are to follow, especially about the main Chance of all; I do not know but I am to die this Year: For my part, by the help of the Grace of God, I shall endeavour to live as if I were this Year to die.* And let the Reader now attend the Event!



§. 20. 'Tis a Similitude which I have Learnd from no less a Person than the great *Basil*: That as the *Eye* fees not those Objects which are apply'd close unto it, and even lye upon it; but when the Objects are to some distance removed, it clearly discerns them: So, we have little sense of the Good which we have in our Enjoyments, until God, by the removal thereof, teach us better to prize what we once enjoy'd. It is true, the Generality of sober and thinking People among the *New-Englanders*, did as highly value the Government of *Sir William Phips*, whilst he lived, as they do his *Memory*, since his Death; nevertheless it must be confest, that the Blessing which the Country had in his indefatigable Zeal, to serve the Publick in all it's Interests, was not so valued as it should have been.

It was mention'd long since as a notorious Fault in *Old Egypt*, that it was *Loquax & Ingeniosa in Contumeliam Praefectorum Provincia*; *fi quis forte vitaverit Culpa, contumeliam non effugit*: And *New-England* has been at the best always too faulty, in that very Character, *A Province very Talkative, and Ingenious for the vilifying of its Publick Servants*.

But *Sir William Phips*, who might in a *Calm* of the Commonwealt have admistr'd all things with as General an Acceptance as any that have gone before him, had the Disadvantage of being set at *Heim* in a time as full of *Storm* as ever that *Province* had seen; and the People having their Spirits put into a *Tumult* by the distemp'ring and distemper'ing Variety of Distaffs, which had long been rendring the time Calamitous, it was natural for them, as 'tis for all Men then, to be complaining; and you may be sure, the *Rulers* must in such Cases be always complain'd of, and the chief Complaints must be heap'd upon those that are *Commanders in Chief*. Nor has a certain Proverb in *Asia* been improper in *America*, *He deservet no Man's good Word, of whom every Man shall speak well*.

*Sir William* was very hardly *Handled* (or *Tongued* at least) in the Liberty which People took to make most unbecoming and injurious Reflections upon his Conduct, and Clamour against him, even for those very Actions which were not only *Necessary* to be done, but highly *Beneficial* unto themselves, and though he would ordinarily smile at their *Frowardness*, calling it his *Country Pay*, yet he sometimes resented it with some uneasiness, he seem'd to himself sometimes almost as bad as *Rolled about in Regulus's Barrel*; and had occasion to think on the *Italian Proverb*, *To wait for one who does not come, to lye a Bed not able to sleep, and to find it impossible to please those whom we serve; are three Griets enough to kill a Man*.

But as *Forward* as the People were, under the *Epidemical Vexations* of the Age, yet there were very few that would acknowledge unto the very Last, *It will be hardly possible for us to see another Governour that shall more intirely*

*Love and Serve the Country*: Yea, had the Country had the Choice of their own *Governour*, 'tis judg'd their *Votes*, more than Forty to One, would have still fallen upon him to have been the Man: And the *General Assembly* therefore on all occasions renewed their Petitions unto the King for his Continuance.

Nevertheless, there was a little Party of Men, who thought they must not sleep till they had caus'd him to fall: And they to vigorously prosecuted certain Articles before the Council-board at *Whitehall* against him, that they imagin'd they had gain'd an *Order* of His Majesty in Council, to suspend him immediately from his Government, and appoint a *Committee* of Persons nominated by his Enemies, to hear all *Depositions* against him; and to a Report of the whole to be made unto the King and Council.

But His Majesty was too well informed of *Sir William's* Integrity to permit such a sort of Procedure, and therefore he signified unto His most Honourable Council, that nothing should be done against *Sir William*, until he had Opportunity to clear himself; and thereupon he sent His Royal Commands unto *Sir William* to come over. To give any retorting Accounts of the Principal Persons who thus adverstis'd him, would be a Thing to contrary to the Spirit of *Sir William Phips* himself, who at his leaving of *New-England* bravely declared that he freely forgave them all; and if he had returned thither again, would never have taken the least revenge upon them, that *This* alone would oblige me, if I had no other Obligations of Christianity upon me, to forbear it; and it may be, for some of them, it would be to throw *Water upon a drowned Mouse*.

Nor need I to produce any more about the Articles which these Men exhibited against him, than *This*; that it was by most Men believed, that if he would have conniv'd at some *Arbitrary Oppressions* too much us'd by some kind of Officers on the King's Subjects, *Few* perhaps, of *None* of those Articles had ever been form'd; and that he apprehended himself to be provided with a full *Defence* against them all.

Nor did His Excellency seem loth to have had his Case Tried under the *Brazen Tree of Gariac*, if there had been such an one; as that mentioned by the *Fabulous Martiad*, in his *Prodigies of Egypt*, a Tree which had Iron Branches with sharp *Hooks* at the end of them, that when any false Accuser approach'd, as the *Fabel* says, immediately flew at him, and truck in him, until he had ceas'd Injuring his Adversary.

Wherefore in Obedience unto the Kings Commands, he took his leave of *Boston* on the seventeenth of *November*, 1694. attended with all proper Testimonies of Respect and Honour from the *Body* of the People, which he had been the *Head* unto; and with *Addresses* unto their Majesties, and the Chief Ministers of State from the *General Assembly*, humbly imploring,

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ploring, that they might not be deprived of the Happiness which they had in such an Head.

Arriving at *Whitehall*, he found in a few Days, that notwithstanding all the Impotent Rage of his Adversaries particularly vented and printed in a *Villanous Libel*, as well as almost in as many other ways as there are Mouths, at which *Fyral* sometimes has vomited out its Infernal Fumes, he had all *Humane Assurance* of his returning in a very few Weeks again the Governor of *New-England*.

Wherefore there were especially two Designs, full of Service to the whole *English Nation*, as well as his own particular Country of *New-England*, which he applied his Thoughts unto. First, He had a new Scene of Action opened unto him, in an Opportunity to supply the Crown with all *Nasal Stores* at most *easy Rates*, from those *Eastern Parts* of the *Massachusetts Province*, which through the Conquest that he had made thereof, came to be Inherited in the *Massachusetts Charter*. As no Man was more capable than he to improve this Opportunity unto a vast Advantage, so his Inclination to it was according to his Capacity.

And he longed with some Impatience to see the King furnished from his own Dominions, with such floating and stately Castles, those *Wooden-Walls* of Great Britain, for much of which he has hitherto Traded with *Foreign Kingdoms*. Next, if I may say next unto this, he had an Eye upon *Canada*; all attempts for the reducing whereof had hitherto proved Abortive.

It was but a few Months ago that a considerable Fleet, under Sir *Francis Wheeler*, which had been sent into the *West-Indies* to subdue *Martenico*, was ordered then to call at *New-England*, that being recruited there, they might make a further Descent upon *Canada*; but Heaven frowned upon that Expedition, especially by a terrible Sickness, the most like the *Plague* of any thing that has been ever seen in *America*, whereof there Died, e'er they could reach to *Boston*, as I was told by Sir *Francis* himself, no less than *Thirteen Hundred* Sailors out of *Twenty One*, and no less than *Eighteen Hundred* Soldiers out of *Twenty-four*.

It was now therefore his desire to have satisfied the King, that his whole Interest in *America* lay at Stake, while *Canada* was in *French Hands*: And therewithal to have laid before several Noblemen and Gentlemen, how beneficial an Undertaking it would have been for them to have pursued the *Canadian-Business*, for which the *New-Englanders* were now grown too Feeble; their Country being too far now, as *Bede* says *England* once was, *Omni Milite & Floride Juvencitum Alacritate spoliata*.

Besides these two Designs in the Thoughts of Sir *William*, there was a Third, which he had Hopes that the King would have given him leave to have pursued, after he had continued so long in his Government, as to have obtained the more *General Welfare* which he design-

ed in the former Instances. I do not mean the making of *New-England* the Seat of a *Spanish Trade*, though so vastly profitable a thing was likely to have been brought about, by his being one of an Honourable Company engaged in such a Project.

But the *Spanish Wreck*, where Sir *William* had made his first good Voyage, was not the Only, nor the *Richest Wreck*, that he knew to be lying under the Water. He knew particularly, that when the Ship which had Governor *Boadilla* Aboard, was cast away, there was, as *Peter Martyr* says, an entire Table of Gold of *Three Thousand Three Hundred and Ten Pound Weight*.

The Duke of *Albemarle's* Patent for all such Wrecks now expiring, Sir *William* thought on the *Motto* which is upon the Gold Medal, bestowed by the late King, with his *Knighthood* upon him, *Semper Tibi pendeat Hamus*: And supposing himself to have gained sufficient Information of the right Way to such a Wreck, it was his purpose upon his Dismission from his Government, once more to have gone unto his old *Fishing-Trade*, upon a mighty Shelf of Rocks and Bank of Sands that lye where he had informed himself.

But as the Prophet *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, in their *Psalms* upon the Grants made unto their People by the Emperors of *Perfia* have that Reflection, *Man's Breath goeth forth, he returns to his Earth; in that very Day his thoughts perish*. My Reader must now see what came of all these considerable Thoughts. About the middle of *February*, 1694, Sir *William* found himself indisposed with a Cold, which obliged him to keep his Chamber; but under this Indisposition he received the Honour of a Visit from a very Eminent Person at *Whitehall*, who upon sufficient Assurance, bad him *Get well as fast as he could, for in one Month's time he should be again dispatched away to his Government of New-England*.

Nevertheless his Distemper proved a sort of *Malignant Fever*, whereof many about this time died in the City; and it suddenly put an End at once unto his Days and Thoughts, on the Eighteenth of *February*; to the extreme surprize of his Friends, who Honourably Interred him in the Church of *St. Mary Woolnoth*, and with him, how much of *New-England's* Happiness!

§. 21. Although he has now no more a Portion for ever in any Thing that is done under the Sun, yet Justice requires that his Memory be not forgotten. I have not all this while said He was Faultless, nor am I unwilling to use for him the Words which Mr. *Calamy* had in his Funeral Sermon for the Excellent Earl of *Warwick*, *It must be confessed, lest I should prove a Flatterer, he had his Infirmitates, which I trust Jesus Christ hath covered with the Robe of his Righteousness: My Prayer to God is, that all his Infirmitates may be Buried in the Grave of Oblivion, and that all his Virtues and Graces may Supervive*; although perhaps they were no Infirmitates







Lives in the Service of the Publick: And when Sir William Phips, the Captain General of New-England, who had often ventured his Life to serve the Publick, did expire, that Reverend Person, who was the President of the only University then in the *English America*, Preached a Sermon on that Passage of the Sacred Writ, *Ira. 57. 1. Merciful Men are taken away, none considering that the Righteous are taken away from the Evil to come*; and in it gave Sir William Phips the following Testimony.

'This Province is Beheaded, and lyes a Bleeding. A GOVERNOUR is taken away, who was a *Merciful Man*; some think too *Merciful*: And if so, 'tis best Erring on that Hand; and a *Righteous Man*; who, when he had great Opportunities of gaining by *Injustice*, did refuse to do so.

'He was a known Friend unto the best Interests, and unto the Churches of God: Not ashamed of owning them: No, how often have I heard him expressing his Desires to be an Instrument of Good unto them! He was a Zealous Lover of his Country, if any Man in the World were so: He exposed himself to serve it; he ventured his Life to save it: In that, a true *Nebemiah*, a Governour that sought the welfare of his People.

'He was one who did not seek to have the Government cast upon him: No, but instead thereof to my Knowledge he did several times Petition the King, that this People might always enjoy the great Privilege of chusing their own Governour; and I have heard him express his Desires, that it might be so, to several of the Chief Ministers of State in the Court of England.

'He is now Dead, and not capable of being Flattered: But this I must testify concerning him, That though by the Providence of God

'I have been with him at Home and Abroad, near at Home, and afar off, by Land and by Sea, I never saw him do any evil Action, or heard him speak any thing unbecoming a Christian.

'The Circumstances of his Death seem to intimate the Anger of God, in that he was in the Midst of his Days removed; and I know (though Few did) that he had great Purposes in his Heart, which probably would have taken Effect, if he had lived a few Months longer, to the great Advantage of this Province; but now he is gone, there is not a Man Living in the World capacitated for those Undertakings, New-England knows not yet what they have lost!

The Recitation of a Testimony so great, whether for the Author, or the Matter of it, has now made a Statue for the Governour of New-England, which

*Nec poterit Ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.*

And there now remains nothing more for me to do about it, but only to recite herewithal a well-known Story related by Suidas, That an Envious Man, once going to pull down a Statue which had been raised unto the Memory of one whom he maligned, he only got this by it, that the Statue falling down, knock'd out his Brains.

But Poetry as well as History must pay it's Dues unto him. If *Cicero's* Poem, intituled, *Quadrage*, wherein he did with a Poetical Chariot extol the Exploits of *Cesar* in Britain to the very Skies, were now Extant in the World, I would have Borrowed some Flights of That at least, for the Subject now to be Adorned.

But instead thereof, let the Reader accept the ensuing Elegy.

KK UPON

UPON THE  
DEATH  
OF

Sir William Phips, Knt.

Late Captain General and Governour in Chief of the Province  
of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*, who Expired in *London*,  
Feb. 18. 1694.

*And to Mortality a Sacrifice  
Falls He, whose Deeds must Him immortalize !*

**R**ejoice *Messieurs*, *Netops* rejoice ; 'tis  
true,  
Te *Philistines*, none will rejoice but You :  
Loving of All He Dy'd, who Love him not  
Now, have the Grace of *Publicans* forgot.  
Our *Almanacks* foretold a great Eclipse.  
This they foresaw not, of our greater PHIPS.  
PHIPS our great Friend, our Wonder, and our  
Glory,

The Terror of our Foes, the World's rare Story.  
England will Boast him too, whose Noble Mind  
Impell'd by Angels, did those Treasures find,  
Long in the Bottom of the Ocean laid,  
Which her Three Hundred Thousand Richer  
made.

By Silver yet ne'er Canker'd, nor desPd  
By Honour, nor Betray'd when Fortune smil'd.  
Since this bright Phœbus visited our Shoar,  
We saw no Fogs but what were rais'd before :  
Those vanisht too, harass'd by Bloody Wars  
Our Land saw Peace, by his most generous  
Cares.

The Wolfish Pagans at his dreaded Name,  
Tam'd, shrank before him, and his Dogs be-  
came !

Fell Moxus and fierce Dockawando fall,  
Charm'd at the Feet of our Brave General.

Fly-blow the Dead, Pale Envy, let him not  
(What Hero ever did?) escape a Blot.  
All is Distort with an Inchant'd Eye,  
And Heighth will make what's Right still stand  
awry.

He was, Oh that He was ! His Faults we'll tell,  
Such Faults as these we knew, and lik'd them  
well.

Just to an Injury, denying none  
Their Dues ; but Self-denying oft his own.

Good to a Miracle ; resolv'd to do  
Good unto All, whether they would or no.  
To make Us Good, Great, Wise, and all Things  
else,  
He wanted but the Gift of Miracles.  
On him, vain Mob, thy Mischiefs cease to  
throw ;  
Bad, but alone in This, the Times were so.

Stout to a Prodigy ; living in Pain  
To send back Quebec-Bullets once again.  
Thunder, his Musick, sweeter than the  
Spheres,  
Chim'd Roaring Canons in his Martial Ears.

Frigats



Frigats of armed Men could not withstand,  
 'Twas try'd, the Force of his one Swordless  
 Hand :

Hand. which in one, all of Briareus had,  
 And Hercules's twelve Toils but Pleasures made.

Too Humble; in brave Stature not so Tall,  
 As low in Carriage, stooping unto all.  
 Rais'd in Estate, in Figure and Renown,  
 Not Pride; Higher, and yet not Prouder grown.  
 Of Pardons full; neer to Revenge at all,  
 Was that which He would Satisfaction call.

True to his Mate; from whom though often  
 flown.  
 A Strangery et to every Love but one.  
 Write him not Childlike, whose whole People  
 were  
 Sons, Orphans now, of His Paternal Care.

Now left ungrateful Brands we should incur,  
 Your Salary we'll pay in Tears, GREAT SIR !

To England often blown, and by his Prince  
 Often sent laden with Preferments thence.  
 Prefer'd each Time He went, when all was done  
 That Earth could do, Heaven fetch'd Him to a  
 Crown.

'Tis He : With Him Interr'd bow great de-  
 signs !

Stand Fearless now, ye Eastern Firrs and Pines.  
 With Naval Stores not to enrich the Nation,  
 Stand, for the Universal Conflagration.  
 Mines, opening unto none but Him, now stay  
 Close under Lock and Key, till the Last Day :  
 In this, like to the Grand Aurifick Stone,  
 By any but Great Souls not to be known.  
 And Thou Rich Table, with Bodilla lost.  
 In the Fair Galeon, on our Spanish Coast.  
 In weight Three Thousand and Three Hundred  
 Pound,

But of pure Massy Gold, lye Thou, not found,  
 Safe, since He's laid under the Earth asleep,  
 Who learnt where Thou dost under Water keep.

But Thou Chief Loser, Poor NEW-ENGLAND,  
 speak  
 Thy Dues to such as did thy Welfare seek,  
 The Governour that vow'd to Rise and Fall  
 With Thee, Thy Fate shows in His Funeral.  
 Write now His Epitaph, 'twill be Thine own.  
 Let it be this, A PUBLICK SPIRIT'S GONE.  
 Or, but Name PHIPS; more needs not be ex-  
 press'd;  
 Both Englands, and next Ages, tell the Rest.

## The End of the Second BOOK.





P O L Y B I U S.

The Third B O O K  
OF THE  
New English History :  
CONTAINING THE  
L I V E S  
OF MANY

Reverend, Learned, and Holy DIVINES,  
(arriving *such from Europe to America*) by whose  
Evangelical Ministry the Churches of NEW-  
ENGLAND have been Illuminated.

By COTTON MATHER.

Testor, -- *Christianum de Christiano vera proferre.*

Πάντων κατὰ Θεὸν πολιτευομένων ὁ βίος τοῖς ἐκείνων ἀφελιμώτατος, ἐχ' ὑπό-  
δειγμα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παροχλόνος ὑπαέχων πρὸς ἀετιν.

*Simcon Metaphrast. in Vitâ Chrysostomi.*

*Equidem efferor studio Patres vestros, quos colui, & dilexi, videndi.*

*Cic. de Senec.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and Three  
Crowns, in Cheapside. 1702.

POLYBIO  
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BY COTTON MATHER.

T. Foster, Christianus de Christiano vera profere.

Quodam tempore G. de Montaigne dicitur à suis discipulis interrogatus, si  
 quidam homo dicit se Christianus esse, quid respondeat. Ad id  
 respondit, si Christianus dicitur, in Vita Christiani.

Equidem efficitur huius Patris vestigia, quae coluit, & dilexit, ostendit.  
 Cic. de Senect.

L O N D O N  
 Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and Tree  
 Corner, in Chancery. 1702.

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## INTRODUCTION.

**W**Hat was it that obliged Jerom to write his Book, *De Viris Illustribus*? It was the common Reproach of old cast upon the Christians, That they were all poor, weak, unlearned Men. The sort of Men sometime called Puritans, in the English Nation have been reproached with the same Character; and as a malignant Stapleton, counted the Terms of an Ais, and a Fool, good enough to treat our incomparable Whitaker. A Wretchedness often seen in English Protestants often term'd and thought, by the Men, who know no Christianity but Ceremony. There hath been too much of that Envy, that Sapienioris Socrate, Doctior Augustino, Calvinianus, Si modo dicere, clam, vel propalam, mox Tartaris, Moisis, Afris, Turcique, favientibus, jacebis execration. A Wretchedness often seen in English; I shall not English it. This is one thing that has laid me under Obligation, here to write a Book, *De Viris Illustribus*: In the whole whereof, I will with a most Conscientious and Religious Regard of Truth, Jace our History from any share, in that old Complaint of Melchior Canus, Dolenter hoc dico, nultio à Laeric severius Vitas Philosophorum scriptas esse, quam à Christianis, Vitas Christianorum: The Lives of Philosophers more truly written, than the Lives of Christians.

Reader, Behold these Examples; admire and follow what thou dost behold Exemplary in them. They are offered unto the Publick, with the Intention sometimes mentioned by Gregory: Ut qui Præceptis non accendimur, saltem Exemplis incitemur; atque ac Appetitu Rectitudinis nil fibi meus nostra difficile æstimet, quod perfectè peragi ab aliis videt: That Patterns may have upon us the force which Precepts have not.

If a Man were so absurd, as to form his Ideas of the Primitive Christians, from the monstrous Accusations of their Adversaries, he would soon persuade himself, that their God was the Deus Christianorum Ononychites, whose Image was erected at Rome. And if a Man should have no other Ideas of the Puritan Christians in our Days, than what the Tory-Pens of the Sons of Bolsecus have given them, we would think that it was a just thing to banish them into the cold Swamps of the North America. But when Truth shall have liberty to speak, it will be known, that Christianity never was more expressed unto the Life, than in the Lives of the Persons that have been thus reproached, among the Legions of the Accuser of the Brethren. It speaks in the ensuing Pages! Here, behold them, of whom the World was not worthy, wandering in Desarts!

Arnobius was put upon an Apology, against our particular Calumny, among the rest, That at the Meetings of the Christians, a Dog ty'd unto the Candlestick, drew away the Light, whereupon they proceeded unto the most Adulterous Confusions in the World. And a great Man in his Writings does affirm, I have heard this very thing, told more than once, with no small Confidence concerning the Puritans.

Reader, thou shalt now see, what sort of Men they were: Zion is not a City of Fools. As Ignatius in his famous Epistles to the Trallians, mentioning their Pastor, Polybius, reports him, A Man of so good and just a Reputation, that the very Atheists did stand in fear of him. I hope our POLYBIUS, will afford many deserving such a Character.

It was mentioned as the Business and Blessedness of John Baptist, To turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children. After a deal of more ado about the Sense of the passage thus translated, I contented my self with another Translation, To turn the Hearts of the Fathers WITH the Children; because I find the Preposition, *en*, as well as the Prefix *2*, in Mal. 4. 6. whence the passage is taken to be rendered With, rather than To. The Sense therefore I took to be, That John should convert both Old and Young. But further Thought hath offered unto me a further Gloss upon it: To turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, is to turn the Children by putting the Hearts of the Fathers into them; to give them such Hearts as were in Abraham, and others of their famous and faithful Fathers.

Reader, The Book now in thy Hands, is to manage the Design of a John Baptist, and convey the Hearts of the Fathers unto the Children.

Archiloos being desirous to give prevailing and effectual Advice unto Lycambes, by an elegant Protopopœia, brought in his dead Father, as giving the Advice he was now writing, and as it were put his Pen into his Father's Hand. Cicero being to read a Lecture of Temperance and Modesty unto Clodia, raised up her Father Appius Caius from the Grave, and in his Name delivered his Directions. And now, by introducing the Fathers of New-England, without the least Fiction, or Figure of Rhetorick, I hope the plain History of their Lives, will be a powerful way of propounding their Fatherly Counsels to their Posterity. A Stroke with the Hand of a dead Man, has before now been a Remedy for a Malady not easily remedied.

# The Third B O O K.

*De Viris Illustribus.*

In Four PARTS.

CONTAINING

The LIVES of near Fifty Divines,

Considerable in the

**Churches of New-England.**

*Credunt de nobis quæ non probantur, & nolunt inquiri, ne probentur  
non esse, quæ malunt credidisse.* Tert. Apol.

**H**aving entertained my Readers with a more imperfect Catalogue, of many Persons whose Memories deserve to be embalmed in a *Civil History*; I must so far consider, that it is an *Ecclesiastical History*, which I have undertaken, as to hasten unto a fuller and larger Account of those Persons who have been the *Ministers* of the Gospel, that fed the *Flocks in the Wilderness*: And indeed, *New-England* having been in some sort an *Ecclesiastical Country* above any in this World, those Men that have here appeared most considerable in an *Ecclesiastical Capacity*, may most reasonably challenge the most Consideration in our *History*.

Take then a Catalogue of *New-England's* first Ministers, who tho' they did not generally affect the Exercise of *Church-Government*, as confined unto *Classes*, yet shall give me leave to use the Name of *Classes* in my marshalling of them.

The First CLASSIS.

IT shall be of such as were in the *actual Exercise* of their Ministry, when they left *England*, and were the Instruments of bringing the Gospel into this Wilderness, and of settling Churches here according to the Order of the Gospel.

חֲסִידִים ראשונים: Or, Our First Good Men.

1. MR. Thomas Allen of Charles-Town.
2. Mr. John Allen of Dedham.
3. Mr. Avery of Marblehead.
4. Mr. Adam Blackman of Stratford.
5. Mr. Richard Blinnan of Gloucester.
6. Mr. Bruce of Brainford.
7. Mr. Edmund Brown of Sudbury.
8. Mr. Peter Bulkely of Concord.
9. Mr. Jonathan Burr of Dorchester.
10. Mr. Charles Chauncy of Scituate.
11. Mr. Thomas Cobbet of Lyn.

12. Mr. John

12. Mr. John  
13. Mr. John  
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25. Mr. John  
26. Mr. John  
27. Mr. Peter  
28. Mr. Peter  
29. Mr.  
30. Mr.  
31. Mr.  
32. Mr.  
33. Mr.  
34. Mr.  
35. Mr. John  
36. Mr. John  
37. Mr.  
38. Mr.  
39. Mr. John  
40. Mr. John  
41. Mr.  
42. Mr. Samuel  
43. Mr.  
44. Mr. John  
45. Mr. John  
46. Mr. Thomas  
47. Mr. Ralph  
48. Mr.  
49. Mr. Hugh  
50. Mr. Thomas  
51. Mr. George  
52. Mr.  
53. Mr. Abraham  
54. Mr. Peter  
55. Mr.  
56. Mr. Ezekiel  
57. Mr. Nathaniel  
58. Mr.  
59. Mr. Thomas  
60. Mr. Zachariah  
61. Mr.  
62. Mr. Ralph  
63. Mr.  
64. Mr. Samuel  
65. Mr. Nicholas  
66. Mr. William  
67. Mr. William  
68. Mr. Nathaniel  
69. Mr. John  
70. Mr.  
71. Mr.  
72. Mr. Henry  
73. Mr. Samuel  
74. Mr. John  
75. Mr.



12. Mr. John Cotton of Boston.
13. Mr. Timothy Dalton of Hampton.
14. Mr. John Davenport of New-Haven.
15. Mr. Richard Denton of Stamford.
16. Mr. Henry Dunster of Cambridge.
17. Mr. Samuel Eaton of New-Haven.
18. Mr. John Elliot of Roxbury.
19. Mr. John Fisk of Chelmsford.
20. Mr. Henry Flint of Braintree.
21. Mr. Fordham of Southampton.
22. Mr. Green of Reading.
23. Mr. John Harvard of Charles-Town.
24. Mr. Francis Higginson of Salem.
25. Mr. William Hooker of New-Haven.
26. Mr. Thomas Hooker of Hartford.
27. Mr. Peter Hobart of Hingham.
28. Mr. Ephraim Huet of Windsor.
29. Mr. Hall of the Isle of Sholes.
30. Mr. James of Charles Town.
31. Mr. Jones of Fairfield.
32. Mr. Knights of Topfield.
33. Mr. Knowles of Water-Town.
34. Mr. Leverick of Sandwich.
35. Mr. John Lotbrop of Barnstable.
36. Mr. Richard Mather of Dorchester.
37. Mr. Maud of Dover.
38. Mr. Muxerick of Dorchester.
39. Mr. John Mayo of Boston.
40. Mr. John Millar of Tarmouth.
41. Mr. Moxon of Springfield.
42. Mr. Samuel Newman of Rehoboth.
43. Mr. Norris of Salem.
44. Mr. John Norton of Boston.
45. Mr. James Noyse of Newberry.
46. Mr. Thomas Parker of Newberry.
47. Mr. Ralph Partridge of Duxbury.
48. Mr. Peck of Hingham.
49. Mr. Hugh Peters of Salem.
50. Mr. Thomas Peters of Saybrook.
51. Mr. George Phillips of Watertown.
52. Mr. Philips of Dedham.
53. Mr. Abraham Piereson of Southampton.
54. Mr. Peter Prudden of Milford.
55. Mr. Royner of Plymouth.
56. Mr. Ezekiel Rogers of Rovey.
57. Mr. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich.
58. Mr. Saxton of Scituate.
59. Mr. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge.
60. Mr. Zachary Symms of Charles-Town.
61. Mr. Skelton of Salem.
62. Mr. Ralph Smith of Plymouth.
63. Mr. Smith of Wethersfield.
64. Mr. Samuel Stone of Hartford.
65. Mr. Nicholas Street of Newbaven.
66. Mr. William Thompson of Braintree.
67. Mr. William Waltham of Marblehead.
68. Mr. Nathanael Ward of Ipswich, and his Son, Mr. John Ward of Haverhill.
69. Mr. John Warham of Windsor.
70. Mr. Weld of Roxbury.
71. Mr. Wheelwright of Salisbury.
72. Mr. Henry Whitfield of Guilford.
73. Mr. Samuel Whiteing of Lyn.
74. Mr. John Wilson of Boston.
75. Mr. Witherell of Scituate.

76. Mr. William Worcester of Salisbury.
77. Mr. Tying of Southold.

Behold, one Seven more than Sixty Decads of Persons, who being devoted unto the Sacred Ministry of our Lord, were the first that enlighten'd the dark Regions of America with their Ministry! Know Reader, that it was by a particular Diversion given by the Hand of Heaven, unto the Intentions of that Great Man, Dr. William Ames, that we don't now find his Name among the first in the Catalogue of our New-English Worthies: One of the most Eminent and Judicious Persons that ever lived in this World, was Intentionally a New-England-Man, tho' not Eventually, when that Profound, that Sublime, that Subtil, that Irrefragable, yea that Angelical Doctor, was designing to transport himself into New-England; but he was hinder'd by that Providence, which afterwards permitted his Widow, his Children, and his Library, to be translated hither. And now, our Fathers, where are they? These Prophets have they lived for ever? 'Twas the Charge of the Almighty to other Kings, Touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm: But the King of Terrors pleading an Exemption from that Charge, has now touch'd every one of these Holy Men; however, all the harm it has done unto them, has been to carry them from this present evil World, unto the Spirits of just Men made perfect. I may now write upon all these Old Ministers of New-England, the Epitaph which the Apostle hath left upon the Priests of the Old Testament, These were not suffer'd to continue, by reason of Death; adding the Clause which he hath left upon the Patriarchs of that Testament, These all died in Faith.

Wherefore we pass on to

## The Second CLASSIS.

IT shall be of Young Scholars, whose Education for their designed Ministry, not being finish'd, yet came over from England with their Friends, and had their Education perfected in this Country, before the College was come unto Maturity enough to bestow its Laurels.

1. Mr. Samuel Arnold of Marshfield.
2. Mr. John Bishop of Stamford.
3. Mr. Edward Bulkly of Concord.
4. Mr. Carter of Woburn.
5. Mr. Francis Dean of Andover.
6. Mr. James Eitch of Norwich.
7. Mr. Hunsford of Norwalk.
8. Mr. John Higginson of Salem.
9. Mr. Hough of Reading.
10. Mr. James of Easthampton.
11. Mr. Roger Newton of Milford.
12. Mr. John Sherman of Watertown.
13. Mr. Thomas Thacher of Boston.
14. Mr. John Woodbridge of Newberry.



Of these two *Sevens*, almost All are gone, where to be is, By far the Best of All. But these were not come to an Age for Service to the Church of God, before the Wisdom, and Prudence of the *New-Englanders*, did remarkably signify it self, in the Founding of a COLLEGE, from whence the most of their Congregations were afterwards supplied; a River, the Streams whereof made glad the City of God. From that Hour Old-England had more Ministers from New, than Old New-England had since then, from Old; nevertheless after a Cessation of Ministers coming hither from Europe, for Twenty Years together, we had another set of them, Coming over to help us: Wherefore take yet the Names of Two *Sevens* more.

We will now proceed unto,

### The Third CLASSIS.

IT shall be of such Ministers, as came over to New-England after the Reestablishment of the Episcopal Church-Government in England, and the Persecution, which then hurricano'd, such as were Non-*Conformists* unto that Establishment.

1. Mr. James Allen of Boston.
2. Mr. John Bailly of Watertown.
3. Mr. Thomas Bailly of Watertown.
4. Mr. Barnett of New-London.
5. Mr. James Brown of Saansey.
6. Mr. Thomas Gilbert of Topsfield.
7. Mr. James Keith of Bridgewater.
8. Mr. Samuel Lee of Bristol.
9. Mr. Charles Morton of Charlestown.
10. Mr. Charles Nicholet of Salem.
11. Mr. John Oxenbridge of Boston.
12. Mr. Thomas Thornton of Yarmouth.
13. Mr. Thomas Walley of Barnstable.
14. Mr. William Woodrop of Lancaster.

It is well known, that quickly after the Revival of the English Hierarchy, those, whose Consciences did not allow them to worship God, in some Ways and Modes then by Law established, were pursued with a Violence, which, doubtless many thousands of those whom the Church of England, in its National Constitution acknowledges for her Sons, were so far from Approving or Assisting, that they Abhorred it. What Spirit acted the Party that Raised this Persecution, one may guess from a Passage, which I find in a Book of Mr. Giles Firmius. A Lady assured him, that the signifying unto a Parliament-Man, her Dislike of the Act of Uniformity, when they were about it, and saying, I see you are laying a Snare in the Gate, he replied, Ay, if we can find any way to catch the Rogues, we will have them! It is well known that near Five and Twenty Hundred faithful Ministers of the Gospel, were now silenced in One Black Day, because they could not comply with some things, by themselves counted *sinful*, but by the Impos-

sers confessed *Indifferent*. And it is affirmed, that by a model Calculation, this Persecution procured the Untimely Death of Three Thousand Non-*Conformists*, and the Ruine of Three thousand Families, within Five and Twenty Years. Many retired into New-England, that they might have a little Rest at Noon, with the Flocks of our Lord in this Wilderness: But setting aside some Eminent Persons of a New English Original, which were driven back out of Europe into their own Country again, by that Storm. These few were the most of the Ministers, that fled hither from it. I will not presume to give the Reasons, why, No more; but observing a Glorious Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ, in moving the Stars to shine, where they were most wanted, I will conclude, lamenting the Disaster of New-England, in the Interruption, which a particular Providence of Heaven gave unto the Designs of that Incomparable Person Dr. John Owen, who had gone so far as to ship himself, with Intents to have taken this Country in his way to his Eternal Rest: It must have been our singular Advantage and Ornament, if we had thus enjoyed among us, One of the Greatest Men, that this last Age produced.

### REMARKS.

Especially upon the First Class, in our Catalogue of Ministers.

I. ALL, or Most, of the Ministers that make up our Two first Classes, came over from England within the Two first Lustrums of Years, after the first Settlement of the Country. After the Year 1640. that part of the Church of England, which took up Arms in the Old Cause of the Long Parliament, and which among all its Parliament-Men, Commanders, Lord-Lieutenants, Major-Generals, and Sea-Capitains, had scarce any but *Conformists*; I say, That part of the Church of England, knowing the Puritans to be generally inclinable unto those Principles of such Writers as *Bisbon* and *Hooker*, whereupon the Parliament then acted; and seeing them to be generally of the truest English Spirit, for the Preservation of the English Liberties and Properties, for which the Parliament then declared, (altho' there were some Non-*Conformists* in the King's Army also:) it was found necessary to have the Assistance of that considerable People. Whereupon ensued such a Change of Times, that instead of Old-England's driving its best People into New, it was it self turned into New. The Body of the Parliament and its Friends, which were *Conformists* in the beginning of that miserable War, before the War was ended, became such as those Old Non-*Conformists*, whose Union with them in Political Interests produced an Union in Religious. The Romanizing Laudians miscarried in their Enterprize, the Anglicane Church could not be carried over to the Gallicane. This was



not the first Instance of a *Shipwreck* befalling a Vessel bound for *Rome*; nor will it be the last: A Vessel bound such a Voyage, must be *Shipwreck'd*, tho' St. Paul himself were aboard.

II. The Occasion upon which these Excellent Ministers retired into an Horrid Wilderness of America, and encountered the dismal Hardships of such a Wilderness, was the Violent Persecution, wherewith a prevailing Party in the Church of England harassed them. In their own Land they were hereby deprived, not only of their *Living*s, but also of their *Liberty* to exercise their Ministry, which was dearer to them than their *Living*s, yea, than their very *Lives*: And they were exposed unto extreme *Sufferings*, because they conscientiously dissentied from the Use of some things in the Worship of God, which they accounted *Sins*. But I leave it unto the Consideration of Mankind, whether this forbidding of such Men to do their Duty, were no Ingredient of that Iniquity, which immediately upon the Departure of these Good Men brought upon Great Britain, and especially upon the Greatest Authors of this Persecution, *A Wrath* unto the uttermost, in the ensuing Desolations. All that I shall add upon it, is, That, I remember, the Prophet speaking of what had been done of old, by the *Assyrians*, to the Land of the *Chaldeans*, uses an Expression, which we translate, in *Ish. 23. 12.* He brought it unto Ruine: But there is a Punic Word, *Mopatra*, which old *Esfus* (and *Servius*) affirm to signify, *Cottages*; according to *Philargyrius*, it signifies, *Casae in Erebo habitantium*: Now that is the very Word here used, *מפרץ* and the Condition of *Cottages* in a Wilderness, is meant, by the Ruine, there spoken of. Truly, such was the Ruine, which the Ceremonious Persecutors then brought upon the most Conscientious Non-*Conformists*, unto their Unscriptural Ceremonies. But as the Kingdom of *Darkness* uses to be always at length overthrown by its own Policy, so will be at last found no advantage unto that Party in the Church of England, that the Orders and Actions of the Churches by them thus produced, become an *History*.

III. These Ministers of the Gospel, which were (without any *Odious Comparison*) as Faithful, Painful, Useful Ministers, as most in the Nation, being thus exiled from a *Sinful Nation*, there were not known to be left so many Non-*Conformist* Ministers, as there were Counties in England: And yet they were quickly so multiplied, that a Matter of Twenty Years after, there could be found far more than Twenty Hundred, that were so grounded in their Non-*Conformity*, as to undergo the Loss of all things, rather than make *Shipwreck* of it. When *Antiochus* commanded all the Books of Sacred Scripture to be burnt, they were not only preserved, but presently after they appeared out of their hidden Places, being Translated into the Greek Tongue, and carried abroad unto many other Patrons. It was now thought, there was effectual Care taken, to destroy all those Men, that made these Books the only Rule of their

Devotions; but behold, they presently appeared in greater Numbers, and many other Nations began to be Illuminated by them.

IV. *Moss*, if not *All*, of the Ministers, who then visited these Regions, were either attended or followed, with a Number of pious People, who had lived within the reach of their Ministry in England. These, who were now also become generally Non-*Conformists*, having found the powerful Impressions of those Good Mens Ministry upon their Souls, continued their sincere Affections unto that Ministry, and were willing to accompany it unto those utmost Ends of the Earth. Indeed, the Ministers of New-England have this always to recommend them unto a Good Regard with the Crown of England, that the most flourishing Plantation in all the American Dominions of that Crown, is more owing to them, than to any sort of Men whatsoever.

V. Some of the Ministers, and many of the Gentlemen, that came over with the Ministers, were Persons of considerable Estates; who therewith charitably brought over many poor Families of Godly People, that were not of themselves able to bear the Charges of their Transportation; and they were generally careful also to bring over none but Godly Servants in their own Families, who, afterwards by God's Blessing on their Industry have arrived, many of them, unto such plentiful Estates, that they have had Occasion to think of the Advice, which a famous Person, gave in a Publick Sermon, at their first coming over, *Jon* (said he) that are Servants, mark what I say; I desire and exhort you to be kind a while hence, unto your Master's Children. It won't be long before, you that came with nothing into the Country, will be rich Men, when your Masters, having buried their Rich Estates in the Country, will go near to leave their Families in a mean Condition; wherefore, when it shall be well with you, I charge you to remember them.

VI. The Ministers and Christians, by whom New-England was first planted, were a chosen Company of Men; picked out of, perhaps, all the Counties in England, and this by no *Human Contrivance*, but by a strange Work of God upon the Spirits of Men that were, no ways, acquainted with one another, inspiring them, as one Man, to secede into a Wilderness, they knew not where, and suffer in that Wilderness, they know not whar. It was a reasonable Expression once used by that eminent Person, the present Lieutenant-Governour of New-England in a very great Assembly, God sisted three Nations, that he might bring choice Grain into this Wilderness.

VII. The Design of these Refugees, thus carried into the Wilderness, was, that they might there, sacrifice unto the Lord their God: It was, that they might maintain the Power of Godliness, and practise the Evangelical Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, in all the Parts of it, without any *Human Innovations* and Impositions: Defended by *Charters*, which at once gave them



them so far the *Protection* of their King, and the *Election* of so many of their own Subordinate Rulers under him, as might secure them the *Undisturbed Enjoyment* of the *Church-Order* established amongst them. I shall but repeat the Words once used in a Sermon preached unto the *General Court* of the *Massachusetts-Colony*, at one of their Anniversary Elections. 'The Question was often put unto our Predecessors, *What went ye out into the Wilderness to see?* And the Answer to it, is not only too *Excellent*, but also too *Notorious*, to be diffembled. 'Let all Mankind know, that we came into the *Wilderness*, because we would worship God without that *Episcopacy*, that *Common Prayer*, and those unwarrantable *Ceremonies*, with which the *Land* of our *Fore-Fathers* *Sepulchres* has been defiled; we came hither because we would have our Posterity settled under the pure and full *Predications* of the Gospel; defended by *Rulers*, that should be of *our selves*.'

VIII. None of the least Concerns, that lay upon the Spirits of these Reformers, was the Condition of their Posterity: For which cause in the First Constitution of their Churches, they did more generally with more or less *Expressiveness* take in their Children, as under the *Church-wards* with themselves. They also did betimes endeavour the Erection of a *College*, for the training up of a successive Ministry in the Country; but because it was likely to be some while before a Considerable Supply could be expected from the *College*, therefore they took notice of the younger, hopeful *Scholars*, who came over with their Friends from *England*, and assisted their liberal Education; whereby being fitted for the Service of the Churches, they were in an orderly manner called forth to that Service. Of these we have given you a Number; whereof, I think, all but *One* or *Two* are now gone unto their *Fathers*.

IX. Of these Ministers, there were some few, suppose *Ten* or a *Dozen*, that after divers Years, returned into *England*, where they were eminently serviceable unto their Generation; but, by far, the biggest part of them, continued in this Country, *Serving their Generation by the Will of God*. Moreover, I find near half of them signally Blessed with *Sons*, who did work for our Lord *Jesus Christ*, in the Ministry of the Gospel, yea some of them as Mr. *Chancy*, Mr. *Elliot*, Mr. *Hobart*, Mr. *Mabers*, had (tho' not like *R. Jofe*, a wise Man among the Jews, of whom they report, that he had *Eight Sons*, who were also celebrated for wise Men among them; yet) not less than *Four* or *Five Sons* a piece thus employed: And though Mr. *Parker*, living always a *single Man*, had no Children, yet he was instrumental to bring up no less than *Twelve* useful Ministers. Among the Jews they that have been instructed by another, are called, *The Sons of their Instructor*. We read, *These are the Generations of Aaron and Moses*; when we find none but the *Sons of Aaron* in the enumerated *Generations*. But in the *Talmud*, it is thus ex-

pounded, *Hos Aaron genuit, Moses vero docuit, ideos ejus Nomine censetur*. (Thus the Sons of *Aerob*, are called the Sons of *Michael*, as the *Talmud* judges, because by her educated) And on this account no less than Twelve, were the *Sons* of Mr. *Parker*. I may add, that some of our Ministers, having their *Sons* comfortably settled, at, or near, the Place of their own Ministry, the People have thereby seen a comfortable Succession in the Affairs of Christianity; thus, the Writer of this History, hath, he knows not how often, seen it; that his *Grandfather*, baptized the *Grand-Parent*, his *Father* baptized the *Parent*, and He himself has baptized the *Children* in the same Family.

X. In the Beginning of the Country, the Ministers had their frequent Meetings, which were most usually after their Publick and Weekly or Monthly Lectures, wherein they consulted for the Welfare of their Churches; nor had they ordinarily any Difficulty in their Churches, which were not in these Meetings offered unto Consideration; for their mutual Direction and Assistance: And these Meetings are maintained unto this Day. The private Christians also had their private Meetings, wherein they would seek the Face, and sing the Praise of God; and Confer upon some Questions of Practical Religion, for their mutual Edification. And the Country still is full of those *Little Meetings*; yet they have now mostly left off one Circumstance, which in those our primitive Times, was much maintained; namely, their concluding of their more Sacred Exercises with Suppers; whereof, I sincerely think, I cannot give a better Account, than *Terrallian* gives of the Suppers among the Faithful, in his more primitive Times; *Therein their Spiritual Gains counterbalanced their Worldly Costs; they remembered the Poor, they ever began with Prayer; [and other Devotions] In Eating and Drinking they relieved Hunger, but should no Excess*. In feeding at Supper they remembered they were to pray in the Night. In their Discourse they considered that God heard them: And when they departed, their Behaviour was so Religious and modest, that one would have thought, we had rather been at a Sermon, than at a Supper. Our Private Meetings of good People to pray and praise God, and hear Sermons, either preached perhaps by the younger Candidates for the Ministry, (who here use to form themselves, at their Entrance into their Work,) or else repeated by exact Writers of *Short Hand* after their Pastors; and sometimes to spend whole Days in Fasting and Prayer, especially when any of the Neighbourhood are in Affliction, or when the Communion of the Lord's Table is approaching; those do still abound among us; but the Meals that made Meetings of them, are generally laid aside. I suppose, 'twas with some Eye to what he had seen in this Country, that Mr. *Firmin* has given this Report in a Book Printed 1681. Plain Mechanicks have I know, well Catechised, and Humble Christians, excellent in Practical Piety: They kept their Station, did

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not aspire to be Preachers, but for Gifts of Prayer, few Clergy-Men must come near them. I have known some of them, when they did keep their Fast, (as they did often) they divided the Work of Prayer: The first begun with *Confession*; the second went on with *Petition* for themselves; the third with *Petition* for *Church and Kingdom*; the fourth with *Thanksgiving*: Every one kept his own part, and did not meddle with another part. Such excellent Matter, so compacted without Tautologies; each of them for a good time, about an Hour, if not more, apiece; to the wondering of those which joined with them. Here was no reading of *Liturgies*: These were old *Jacob's* Sons, they could wrestle and prevail with God.

XI. Besides the Ministers enumerated in the three *Classes* of our Catalogue, there might a fourth *Class* be offered, under the Name of the *Anomalies* of New-England. There have at several times arrived in this Country, more than a Score of Ministers from other parts of the World, who proved either to *erroneous* in their Principles, or to *scandalous* in their Practices, or so disagreeable to the *Church Order*, for which the Country was planted, that I cannot well crowd them into the Company of our *Worthies*:

*Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur.*

And, indeed, I had rather my *Church History* should speak *nothing*, than speak *not well* of them that might else be mentioned in it: Being entirely of *Plutarch's* Mind, That it is better it should never be said, there was such a Man as *Plutarch* at all, than to have it said, that he was not an *honest*, and a *worthy* Man. I confess, there were some of those Persons, whose Names deserve to live in our *Book* for their *Piety*, altho' their particular *Opinions* were such, as to be disserviceable unto the declared and supposed *Interests* of our Churches. Of these there were some Godly *Anabaptists*; as namely, Mr. *Hansford Knollys*, (whom one of his Adversaries called, *Abysmal Knowledge*) of *Dover*, who afterwards removing back to *London*, lately died there, a good Man, in a good old Age. And Mr. *Miles of Swansea*, who afterwards came to *Boston*, and is now gone to his *Rest*. Both of these have a respectful Character in the Churches of this Wilderness. There were also some Godly *Episcopalians*; among whom has been commonly reckoned Mr. *Blackstone*, who, by happening to sleep first in an *Hovel*, upon a Point of Land there, laid claim to all the Ground, whereupon there now stands the *Metropolis* of the whole *English America*, until the Inhabitants gave him Satisfaction. This Man was, indeed, of a particular Humour, and he would never join himself to any of our Churches, giving this Reason for it: I came from England, because I did not like

the Lord Bishops; but I can't join with you, because I would not be under the Lord Brethren. There were some likewise that fell into gross *Miscarriages*, and the *Humor* of Souls having stuck the *Darts* of some extreme Disorder into those poor *Hearts*, the whole Flock pushed them out of their Society. Of these, tho' there were some so recovered, that they became true *Penitents*; yet inasmuch as the *Wounds* which they received by their *Falls*, were not in all regards thoroughly cured, I will choose rather to forbear their *Names*, than write them with any *Blots* upon them. For the same Cause, tho' I have his *Name* in our Catalogue, yet I will not say which of them it was, that for a while became a *Seeker*, and almost a *Quaker*, and seduced a great part of his poor People, into his bewitching *Errors*: At last the Grace of God recovered this Gentleman out of his *Errors*, and he became a very good and sound Man, after his Recovery: But alas, it was a perpetual *String* unto his penitent *Soul*, that he could not now reduce his wandering Flock, which he had himself seduced into the most unhappy *Aberrations*. They wandered on obstinately still in their *Errors*, and being irrecoverable, he was forced thereby unto a Removal from them, taking the Charge of a more Orthodox Flock, upon *Long Island*.

Nor know I where better than among these *Anomalies*, to mention one Mr. *Lenthal*, whom I find a Minister at *Weymouth*, about the Year 1637.

He had been one of good Report and Reputation in *England*; whereas, here, he not only had imbibed some *Antinomian* Weaknesses, from whence he was by Conference with Mr. *Cotton* soon recovered; but also he set himself to oppose the way of gathering Churches. Many of the common People eagerly fell in with him, to set up a *Church State*, wherein all the *Baptized* might be *Communicants*, without any further Trial of them; for which end many Hands were procured unto an *Instrument*, wherein they would have declared against the New-England Design of *Church Reformation*; and would have invited Mr. *Lenthal* to be their Pastor, in opposition therunto.

Mr. *Lenthal*, upon the Discourses of the Magistrates and Ministers before the *General Court*, who quickly checked these Disturbances, by sending for him, as quickly was convinced of his Error and Evil, in thus disturbing the good Order of the Country. His *Conviction* was followed with his *Confession*; and in open Court, he gave under his Hand a laudable *Retrattation*: Which *Retrattation* he was ordered also to utter in the Assembly at *Weymouth*, and so no further *Censure* was passed upon him.

In Four Parts we will now pursue the Design before us.



## JOHANNES in Eremo.

## MEMOIRS, relating to the LIVES,

Of the Ever-MEMORABLE

Mr. JOHN COTTON, *who Died 23. D. 10. M. 1652.*Mr. JOHN NORTON, *who Died 5. D. 2. M. 1663.*Mr. JOHN WILSON, *who Died 7. D. 6. M. 1667.*Mr. JOHN DAVENPORT, *who Died 15. D. 1. M. 1670.*Reverend and Renowned MINISTERS of the GOSPEL, *All, in the more Immediate Service of One Church, in Boston.*

AND

Mr. THOMAS HOOKER, *who Died 7. D. 5. M. 1647.*

Pastor of the Church at Hartford, New-England.

Preserv'd by COTTON MATHER.

The First Part.

*Forte nimis Videor Landes Cantare MEORUM;  
Forte nimis cineres Videor celebrare repostos;  
Non ita me Facilem Sine Vero Credite!*

To the READER.

**T**hat little part of the Earth which this Age has known by the Name of *New-England*, has been an Object of very signal, both *Frowns* and *Favours* of Heaven. Besides those *Stars* of the first *Magnitude*, which did sometimes *shine*, and at last *set* in this Horizon, there have been several Men of Renown, who were preparing and fully resolved to transport themselves hither, had not the Lord seen us unworthy of more such Mercies. It is still fresh in the Memory of many yet living, that that Great Man, *Dr. John Owen*, had given order for his passage in a Vessel bound for *Boston*; being invited to succeed the other famous *Johns*,

who had been *burning* and *shining* Lights in that which was the first Candlestick, set up in this populous Town; but a special Providence diverted him. Long before that, *Dr. Ames*, (whose Family, and whose Library *New-England* has had) was upon the Wing for this *American Desert*: But God then took him to the heavenly *Canaan*. Whether he left his Fellow upon Earth I know not: Such Acuteness of Judgment, and affectionate Zeal, as he excelled in, seldom does meet together in the same Person. I have often thought of *Mr. Paul Bayne*, his Farewel Words to *Dr. Ames*, when going for *Holland*; *Mr. Bayne* perceiving him to be a Man of extraordinary

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Parts, *Beware* (said he) of a *Strong Head*, and a *Cold Heart*. It is rare for a *Scholastical* Wit, to be joined with an *Heart warm in Religion*: But in him it was so. He has sometimes said, that he could be willing to walk twelve Miles on his Feet, on condition he might have an Opportunity to *preach* a Sermon: And he seldom did preach a Sermon without *Tears*. When he lay on his Death-bed, he had such Tasts of the *First-fruits of Glory*, as that a Learned Physician (who was a Papist) wondering, said, *Num Protestantis sic solent mori*: Is the Latter End of Protestants like this Man's? But altho' some excellent Persons, have, by a Divine Hand been kept from coming into these Ends of the *Earth*, yet there have been others, who whilst living made this *Land* (which before their Arrival was an *Hell of Darkness*) to be a place full of *Light and Glory*; amongst whom the Champions, whose Lives are here described, are worthy to be reckoned as those that have attained to the *First Three*.

There are many who have (and some to good purpose) endeavoured to collect the memorable Passages that have occurred in the *Lives* of eminent Men, by means whereof Posterity has had the knowledge of them. *Hierom* of old, wrote *De Viris Illustribus*: The like has been done by *Gennadius*, *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Prochorus*, and other ancient Authors. Of later Times, *Schopfius*, his *Academia Christi*; *Meursius*, his *Athene Batavæ*; *Verbeiden*, his *Elogia Theologorum*, *Melchior Adams*, *Lives* of Modern Divines, have preserved the Memories of some that did worthily, and were in their Day famous. There are two learned Men who have very lately engaged in a Service of this nature, *viz.* *Paulus Freberius*, who has published two Volumes in *Folio*, with the Title of, *Theatrum virorum Eruditione clarorum, ad hæc usque Tempora*. He proceeds as far as the Year 1680. The other is *Henningsus Witten*, who has written, *Memorie Theologorum nostri seculi*. It is a true (yet a true) Assertion, that *Historical Studies* are both profitable and pleasant. And of all *Historical Narratives*, those which give a faithful Account of the *Lives* of eminent Saints, must needs be the most edifying. The greatest part of the *Sacred Writings* are *Historical*; and a considerable part of them is taken up in relating the Actions, Speeches, exemplary *Lives*, and *Deaths*, of such as had been choice Instruments in the Hand of the Lord, to promote his Glory in the World. No doubt but that the Commemoration of the remarkable *Providences* of God towards his Servants, will be some part of their Work in Heaven for ever, that so he may have Eternal Praises for the Wonders of his Grace in Christ towards them. It must needs therefore be in it self, a thing pleasing to God, and a special Act of Obedience to the *Fifth Commandment*, to endeavour the preservation of the Names, and Honour of them, who have been *Fathers in Israel*. On which account, I cannot but rejoice in what is here done. Altho' *New-England* has been favoured with many faithful and eminent Ministers of God, there are only *Three* of them all, whose *Lives* have been as yet

published, *viz.* *Mr. Cotton*, whose Life was written by his immediate Successor *Mr. Norton*; and my Father *Mather*, whose was done by another Hand, and is Republished in *Mr. Sam. Clark's* last Volume; and *Mr. Eliot*, whose was done by the same Hand which did these, and has been several times Reprinted in *London*. Here the Reader has presented to him *Five* of them, who were amongst the chief of the *Fathers*, in the Churches of *New-England*. The same Hand has done the like Office of Love and Duty, for many others who were the *Worthies* of *New-England*, not only in the Churches, but in the *Civil State*, whom the Lord Christ saw meet to use as Instruments, in planting the *Heavens*, and laying the Foundation of the *Earth*, in this *New World*. If these find a candid Acceptance, *these* may possibly see the Light in due time.

Whether what is herewith emitted and written by my Son, be as to the *Manner* of it, well performed, I have nothing to say, but shall leave it unto others to judge, as they shall see cause; only as to the *Matter* of the History, I am ascertained that things are truly related. For altho' I had little of Personal Acquaintance with *Mr. Cotton*, being a Child not above Thirteen Years old when he died. I shall never forget the last Sermon which he preached at Cambridge, and his particular Application to the Scholars there, amongst whom I was then a Student newly admitted; and my Relation to his Family since, has given me an opportunity to know many observable things concerning him. Both *Bostons* have reason to Honour his Memory; and *New-England-Boston* most of all, which oweth its Name and Being to him, more than to any one Person in the World: He might say of *Boston*, much what as *Augustus* said of *Rome*, *Lateritiam reperi, marmoream reliqui*: He found it little better than a Wood or Wilderness, but left it a famous Town with two Churches in it. I remember, *Dr. Lightfoot*, in Honour to his Patron, *Sir Roland Cotton*, called one of his Sons, *Cotton*: It doth not repent me, that I gave my Eldest Son that Name, in Honour to his Grandfather: And the Lord grant that both of us may be Followers of him, as he followed Christ.

As for the other three *Worthies* who have taught the Word of God in this place, they had their peculiar Excellencies.

*Mr. Wilson* (like *John* the Apostle) did excel in *Love*; and he was also strong in *Faith*. In the time of the *Pequod War*, he did not only hope, but had assurance, that God would make the *English* Victorious. He declared, that he was as certain of it, as if he had with his Eyes seen the Victories obtained; which came to pass according to his Faith. I well remember, that I heard him once say, that when one of his Daughters was sick, and given up as dead, past recovery, he desired *Mr. Cotton* to pray with that Child; And (said he) whilst *Mr. Cotton* was praying, I was sure that Child should not then die, but live. That Daughter did live to be the Mother of many



Children; two of which are now useful Ministers of Christ: And he is still living, a pious Widow, another *Anna, serving God day and night*. When Mr. Norton was called from the Church of Ipswich to Boston, Mr. Nathaniel Rogers (that excellent Man, who was Son to the famous Mr. Rogers of Dedham, in Essex, and Pastor of the Church of Ipswich, in N. E.) opposed Mr. Norton's removal from Ipswich: Some saying, that Mr. Wilson would by his Argument, or Rhetorick, or both, get Mr. Norton from them at last; Mr. Rogers replied, *That he was afraid of his Faith, more than his Arguments*. Sometimes he was transported with a Propheticall Affatus, of which there were marvellous Influences. His Conversation was both pleasant and profitable; in that he could relate many Memorable Providences, which he himself had the certain knowledge of. Whilst I am writing this, there comes to my mind, one very pleasant, and yet very serious Story, which he told me, and I do not remember that ever I met with it any where but from him. It was this: There was one Mr. Snape, a Puritan Minister, who was by the Bishops cast into Prison, for his Nonconformity; when his Money was spent, the Jailor was unkind to him: But one Day as Mr. Snape was with his Knees at Prayer, the Window of his Chamber being open, he perceived something was thrown into his Chamber; but resolved he would finish his Work with God, before he would divert to see what it was. When he arose from his Knees, he saw a Purse on the Chamber-floor, which was full of Gold, by which he could make his Keeper better natur'd than he had been. Many such Passages could that good Man relate.

Mr. Norton was one whose Memory, I must acknowledge, I have peculiar cause to love and honour. I was his Pupil several Years. He had a very Scholasticall Genius. In the Doctrine of Grace he was exceeding clear; in indeed another *Austrian*. He loved and admired Dr. Twiss more than any Man that this Age has produced. He has sometimes said to me, *Dr. Twiss is Omne Exceptione Major*. He was much in Prayer: He would very often spend whole Days in Prayer, with Fasting before the Lord alone in his Study. He kept a strict daily Watch over his own Heart. He was an hard Student. He took Notice in a private Diary, how he spent his time every day: If he found himself not so much inclined to Diligence and Study, as at other times, he would reflect on his Heart and Ways, let happily some unobserved Sin should provoke the Lord to give him up to a foolish little's Frame of Spirit. In his Diary, he would sometimes have these Words, *Leve desiderium ad studendum: Forsan ex peccato admissio*. I bless the Lord that ever I knew Mr. Norton, and that I knew so much of him as I did.

As for Mr. Davenport, I have in a Preface to his Sermon on the Canticles, which are transcribed for the Press, and now at London, given what Account I could then obtain, concerning the remarkable Passages of his Life. I several times

desired him to imitate Junius, and some others, who had written their own Lives. He told me, he did intend it: But I could not find any thing of that nature among his Manuscripts, when many Years ago I had an occasion to seek after it. He was a *Princely Preacher*. I have heard some say, who knew him in his younger Years, that he was then very fervent and vehement, as to the manner of his Delivery: But in his later Times, he did very much imitate Mr. Cotton, whom in the Gravity of his Countenance, he did somewhat resemble. *Sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat*.

The Reader will find many observable Things in what is here related concerning Mr. Hooker: Yet great pity it is, that no more can be collected of the Memorables relating to so good and so great a Man as he was; then whom *Connecticut* never did, and perhaps never will, see a greater Person. Mr. Cotton, in his Preface to Mr. Norton's Answer to Apollonius, says of Mr. Hooker, *Dominatur in Concionibus*. Dr. Ames used to say, *He never knew his Equal*: There was a great Intimacy between them two. I remember my Father told me, That Mr. Hooker was the Author of that large Preface which is before Dr. Ames, his *Fresh Suit against Ceremonies*. He would sometimes say, *That next to converting Grace, he blessed God for his Acquaintance with the Principles and Writings of that Learned Man, Mr. Alexander Richardson*. It was a *Black Day to New-England*, when that great Light was removed.

There are some who will not be pleased, that any Notice is taken of the hard Measure which these excellent Men had from those persecuting Prelates, who were willing to have the World rid of them. But it is impossible to write the History of New-England, and of the Lives of them who were the chief in it, and yet be wholly silent in that matter. That eminent Person, Dr. Tillotson (the late Arch Bishop of Canterbury) did, not above four Years ago, sometimes express to me, his Resentments of the Injury which had been done to the first Planters of New-England, and his great dislike of Arch Bishop Laud's Spirit towards them. And to my knowledge, there are Bishops at this Day, of the same Christian Temper and Moderation with that Great and Good Man, lately dead. Had the Sees in England, fourscore Years ago, been filled with such Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, as those which King William (whom God grant long to Live and to Reign) has preferred to Episcopall Dignity, there had never been a New-England. It was therefore necessary that it should be otherwise then, than at this Day, that so the Gospel in the Power and Purity of it, might come into these dark Corners of the Earth, and that here might be seen a Specimen of the New Heavens and a New Earth, wherein dwells Righteousness, which shall e'er long be seen all the World over, and which, according to his Promise we look for.

Boston, New-England,  
May 16. 1695.

INCREASE MATHER.

The



The INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **W**hen the God of Heaven had carried a Nation into a Wilderness, upon the Designs of a Glorious Reformation, he there gave them a singular Conduct of his *Presence* and *Spirit*, in a certain *Pillar*, which by Day appear'd as a *Cloud*, and by Night as a *Fire* before them; and the Report of the Respect paid by the *Israelites* unto this *Pillar*, became so noised among the *Gentiles*, that the *Pagan Poets* derided them on this Account,

*Nil prater Nubes & celi Lumen adorant,*

[Which is, I suppose, the true Reading of that famous Verse in *Juvenal*: And I thus translate it,]

*Only the Clouds and Fires of Heaven they do worship at all Times.*

But I must now observe unto my Reader, that more than a Score of Years, after the beginning of the Age which is now expiring, our Lord Jesus Christ, with a thousand Wonders of his Providence, carried into an *American Wilderness*, a People persecuted for their desire to see, and seek a Reformation of the Church, according to the Scripture : Of which matter I cannot give a *brief*, and yet fuller History, than by reciting the memorable Words of that Great Man, Dr. John Owen, who in his Golden Book of *Communion with God*, thus expresses it : ' They who hold *Communion* with the Lord Jesus Christ, will admit *nothing*, practice *nothing*, in the Worship of God, but what they have his Warrant for ; unless it comes in his Name, with a, *Thus saith the Lord Jesus*, they will not hear an *Angel from Heaven* : They know, the *Apostles* themselves were to teach the *Saints*, only *what he commanded them* : And you know, how many in this very Nation, in the Days not long since passed, yea how many *Thousands*, left their *Native Soil*, and went into a vast and howling *Wilderness*, in the uttermost parts of the World, to keep their Souls undefiled and chaste unto their dear Lord Jesus, as to this of his Worship and Institutions. Now tho' the *Reformed Church* thus fled into the *Wilderness*, enjoy'd not the miraculous *Pillar*, vouchsafed unto the *Erratick Church* of *Israel*, for about forty Years together ; yet for that Number of Years, we enjoy'd many a *Person*, in whom the good *Spirit* of God, gave a Conduct unto us, and mercifully dispensed those directing, defending, refreshing Influences, which were as necessary for us, as any that the celebrated *Pillar* of *Cloud*, and *Fire*, could have afforded. The great and good *Shepherd* of the Church, favoured his distressed *Flocks* in the *Wilderness*, with many *Pastors*, that were learned, prudent, and holy, beyond

the common Rates, and Men after his own Heart : And it would be an Ingratitude many ways pernicious, if the Churches of New England should not, like those of the Primitive Times, have their *Diptychs*, wherein the Memory of those Eminent Confessors, may be recorded and preserved.

§ 2. Four or five of those eminent Persons are now to have their Lives described unto us, and offered unto the Contemplation and Imitation, especially of the Generation which are now rising up, after the Death of Cotton, and of the Elders that out-lived him, and had seen all the Great Works of the Lords, which he did for New-England. I saw a fearful Degeneracy, creeping, I cannot say, but rushing in upon these Churches ; I saw to multiply continually our Dangers, of our losing our small Points, in our first Faith, as well as our first Love, and of our giving up the Essentials of that Church Order, which was the very End of these Colonies ; I saw a visible shrink in all Orders of Men among us, from that *Greatness*, and that *Godliness*, which was in the first Grain, that our God brought from Three *scattered Kingdoms*, into this Land, when it was a *Land not sown* ; that while the *Papists* in Europe have grown better of late Years, by the Growth of *Janfemism* among them, the *Protestants* have prodigiously waxed worse, for a Revolt unto *Pelagianism*, and *Socinianism*, or what is half way to it, has not been more surprising to me, than to see that in *America*, while those parts which were at first Peopled by the *Refuge* of the English Nation, do sensibly amend in the Regards of Sobriety and Education, those Parts which were planted with a more noble Vine, do so fast give a Prospect of affording only the degenerate Plants of a strange Vine. What should be done for the stop, the turn of this Degeneracy ? It is reported of the *Syrians*, who were, doubtless, the Ancestors of the *Indians* first inhabiting these Regions, that in Battels, when they came to stand upon the Graves of their dead Fathers, they would there stand immovable, till they dy'd upon the spot : And, thought I, why may not such a Method now effectually engage the English in these Regions, to stand fast in their Faith and their Order, and in the Power of Godliness ? I'll shew them, the Graves of their dead Fathers ; and if any of them do retreat unto a Contempt or Neglect of Learning, or unto the Errors of another Gospel, or unto the Superstitions of Will-Worship, or unto a worldly, a selfish, a little Conversation, they shall undergo the irrepressible Rebukes of their Progenitors, here fetched from the dead, for their Admonition ; and I'll therewithal advertise my New-Englanders, that if a Grand child of a *Moses* become an *Idolater*, he shall, [as the Jews remark upon *Exod. 18. 20.*] be destroyed, as if not a *Moses*, but a *Manasseh*, had been his Father. Besides, *Plus Vultur Exemplis quam Preceptis* !

§ 3. Good Men in the Church of England, I hope,



hope, will not be offended at it, if the *Unreasonable Impositions*, and *Intolerable Persecutions*, of certain *Little-Soul'd Ceremony-Mongers*; which drove these worthy Men out of their Native Country, into the horrid Thickets of *America*, be in their Lives complained and repented. For, distinguishing between a *Romanizing Faction* in the Church of England, and the *True Protestant Reforming Church* of England, (Things as different as a *Jewel*, from an *Heylin*, or a *Grindal*, from a *Laud*!) the First Planters of *New England*, at their first coming over, did in a Publick and a Printed Address, call the Church of England, their *Dear Mother*, desiring their Friends therein, *To recommend them unto the Mercies of God, in their constant Prayers, as a Church now springing out of their own Bowels*: Nor did they think, that it was their *Mother* who turned them out of Doors, but some of their angry *Brethren*, abusing the Name of their *Mother*, who so harshly treated them. As for the *Romanizing Faction* in the Church of England, or, that Party, who resolving (altogether contrary to the Desire of the most Eminent Persons, by whom the *Common-Prayer* was made *English*) that the *Reformation* should never proceed one jot further than the *First Essay* of it, in the former Century, did make certain *Unscriptural Canons*, whereby all that could not approve, subscribe, and practise, a multitude of, (by themselves confessed purely *Humane*) Inventions in the Worship of God, were accursed, and *Ipsa Falso* Excommunicate; and by the Ill-obtained Aid of Bitter *Laos* to back these *Canons*, did by Fines and Goals and innumerable Violences, contrary to the very *Magna Charta* of the Nation, ruine many Thousands of the soberest People in the Kingdom; and who continually made as many *Shibboleths* as they could, for the *Discovering* and the *Extinguishing* of all real *Godliness*, and never gave over persecuting their *Tripartite Plot*, of *Arminianism*, and a Conciliation with the *Patriarch of the West*, and *Arbitrary Government* in the State, until at last they threw all into the lamentable Confusions of a *Civil War*; the Churches of *New-England* say, *Come not into their Secret, O my Soul*. We dare not be guilty of the *Schism*, which we charge upon that Party in the Church of England: And if any Faction of Men will require the *Assent* and *Consent* of other Men, to a vast Number of *Disputable* and *Uninstructed* things, and it may be, a *Mathematical Foolishness*, among the first of them, and utterly renounce all *Christian Communion* with all that shall not give that *Assent* and *Consent*, we look upon those to be Separatists; we dare not be so *Narrow-Spirited*: The Churches of *New-England* profess to make only the *Substantials* of the *Christian Religion* to be the *Terms* of our Sacred Fellowship: We dare make no Difference between a *Presbyterian*, a *Congregational*, an *Episcopalian*, and an *Antipedobaptist*, where their *Visible Piety*, makes it probable, that the Lord *Jesus Christ* has received them. And such Reverend Names, as *Hall*, and *Kidder*, most Worthy *Bishops* now adorning the *English*

Church, as well as the Names of such Reverend and Excellent Persons among the *Dissenters*, as *Bates*, *Annesly*, *How*, *Mead*, and *Alopo*, (with many Others), are, on that Score, together Precious unto this part of the *Christian America*. On the other side, the *True Protestant Reforming Church* of England, contains the whole *Body of the Faithful*, scattered through the *English Dominions*, though of different Persecutions about some *Rites* and *Modes*, and lesser Points of Religion: And all the Friends of the last *Reformation*, who, whether they think there needs a further Progress in that Work or no, yet are willing to make the Word of God the Rule of their serving him, do come under this Denomination. Those Divines, who, with *Arch-Bishop Usher* in the Head of them, did more than Fifty Years ago, give in a Paper, touching the *Innovations* of Doctrine and of Discipline in the Church of England, and make near Forty Exceptions against things in the *Liturgy*, were still as good Members of that Church, as they that *Hated to be Reformed*; and the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, which made the *Catechisms* now used among us, were as genuine *Sons of the Church* after they became *Non-Conformists*, as while they lived in *Conformity*, which every one of them, except *Eight or Nine*, did when they first came together. One who is at this Day a Right Reverend Bishop, has in his *Irenicum*, well expressed the Sense which I believe, the biggest Party of Christians in the Realm, Three to One have of those matters, which have been, *The Apples of Strife* among us: That *Christ*, who came to take away the insupportable Yoke of the *Jewish Ceremonies*, certainly did never intend to gall the Necks of the *Disciples* with another instead of it; and it would be strange, the Church would require more than *Christ* himself did, and make more Terms of *Communion*, than our Saviour did of *Disciple-ship*. The Grand Commission the Apostles were sent out with, was only to Teach, *What Christ* had commanded them; not the least Intimation of any Power, given them to impose or require any thing, beyond what he himself had spoken to them, or they were directed to, by the immediate Guidance of the *Spirit of God*. — And, [Speaking of the Reason, why our first Compilers of the *Common-Prayer*, took in so much of the *Papish Service*] Certainly, those Holy Men, who did seek by any means, to draw in others, at such a distance from their Principles, as the *Papists* were, did never intend, by what they did for that end, to exclude any truly tender Consciences, from their Communion; That which they laid as a *Bait* for them, was never intended by them as an *Hook* for those of our own Profession. And if this be the *True Church of England*, give me leave to say, The Churches of *New-England*, are no inconsiderable part of it; and that accordingly we may have a Room in it, I may safely in the Name of them all, offer, (as did the Renowned Author of our *Martyr-Books*, when they demanded



manded Subscription from him,) *To subscribe the New Testament.*

Upon the whole then, if any be displeased at my Report of the Unjust Impositions and Persecutions, which drove into America, as Good Christians, and Protestants, as any that were left behind them, it will not be the *True Church of England*; for why should That be called, *The Church of England*, which has caused Thousands of as real and thorough Christians, as any upon Earth, to say, *It is no better to dwell in the Wilderness, than with such an Contentious and Angry One!* That Church of England, which alone is worthy to be called so, will bewail, as I know divers Excellent Persons now in the Episcopal Sees have done, the Injuries offered unto our Puritan Fathers.

§ 4. Let my Reader, thus prepared, now entertain himself, as far as he pleases, with our Four *Johns*, to whose *Lives*, I have upon the Counsel and Command of an Ever-Honoured Parent, Appended the *Life of a Famous Thomas* in this Publication; *Johns*, with whom among the Five or Six Hundred Noted Persons of that Name, celebrated by One Historian, I find not many that were worthy to be compared; *Johns*, fuller of Light and Grace and the Good Spirit, than all these Four or Five and Twenty of that Name, who have sat in the Chair that pretends to *Infalibility*. And, if he pleases, let him see that Old Little Observation confirmed, that as the Name *Henry* has been happy in Kings, *Elizabeth* in Queens, *Edward* in Lawyers, *William* in Physicians, *Francis* in Scholars, *Robert* in Soldiers and State-men, so *John* has been happy in Divines. Even a Divine *Sehobadiah*, when he comes to be reckon'd among the Priests of the Lord, must have put upon him, the Name of *John* [1 Chron. 6. 9.] But let him consider these *Lives*, as rendered unto the Publick, upon an Account no less than that of keeping *Alive*, as far as this poor Essay may contribute thereunto, the Interests of *Dying Religion* in our Churches. I remember a Learned Man's Conjecture, That [in 1 Tim. 3. 15.] it is *Timothy*, and not *The Church*, which is called, *The Pillar and Ground of Faith*: Such Able, Holy, and Faithful Ministers as *Timothy*, are the Great Proclaimers and Preservers of Truth, for the Church of God: Such were these Famous *Johns* while they Lived, and now they are Dead, I have done my Endeavour that they may still be Such unto the Churches, unto whom I owe my All. I'll say but this, the last Words of the most Renowned Prebend of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Peter de Moulins*, who died a very Old Man, about Eleven Years ago, were, *Since Calvinism is cried down* [Actum est de Religione Christi apud Anglos], *Christianity is in Danger to be lost in the English Nation*. Alluding to what he said, about his *John Calvin*, I will take leave to say with respect unto our *John Cotton*, and the rest that here accompany him, *Christianity will be lost among us, if their Faith and Zeal, must all be buried with them*: Which, God forbid! As there would be an hazard, that the Early and Better Times of *New-Eng-*

land would have the *True Story* thereof, within a while, as irrecoverably lost, as the Story of the World, relating to those Times, which *Varro* distinguisheth unto *Incertum*, and *Fabulosum*, preceding the *Historical*, and we should shortly have as wretched Narratives of the first Persons and Actions in this Land, as *Justin* gives of the Jews, when he makes *Moses* the Son of their *Joseph*, and the Sixth of their Kings, or when he makes *Thein* Expell'd from Egypt, because the Gods would not otherwise allay a Plague that raged there, or such as are given by *Pliny*, when he makes *Moses* a Magician, or *Strabo*, that makes him an Egyptian Priest; if no speedy Care be taken to preserve the Memorables of our First Settlement; so I wish, the Laudable Principles and Practices of that First Settlement, may be kept from utterly being lost in our Apostasies, by the Care which is now taken thus to preserve what was *Memorable*, of the Men that have delivered them down unto us.

§ 5. Finally; When the Apostles had set before Christians the Saints, which were a *Cloud of Witnesses*, by imitating of whose Exemplary Behaviour we might enter unto Rest, he concludes with a Looking unto *Jesus*; or, according to the Emphasis of the Original, *A Looking off* (from them) unto *Jesus*, as the incomparably most perfect of all. So, Let my Reader do, when all that was *Inimitable* in the *Lives* of these Worthy Men, has had his Contemplation and Admiration; They all yet had their Defects, and therefore, Look off unto *Jesus*; Following Them no farther than they followed Him. It is a notable Passage, [in Luk. 7. 28.] which we mistranslate, *The Least in the Kingdom of God, is Greater than John*. In the Greek, what we translate, *The Least*, is, *He that is Lesser*; that is, *He that is Younger*. [Minor still has been the same with *Junior*.] Our Lord means Himself; who was Lesser, that is, Younger than *John* his Fore-runner; but, Greater than He! Truly, whatever was Excellent in these our *Johns*, I would pray, that the Minds of all that see it, may be raised still to think, Our Precious Lord *Jesus Christ*, is greater than these *Johns*: All their Excellencies are in him Transcendently, infinitely; as they were from Him derived. High Thoughts of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, provoked by Reading the Descriptions of these his Excellent Servants, that had in them a little of Him, and were no farther Excellent than as they had fo, will make me an abundant Recompence, for all the Difficulties, and all the Temptations, with which my Writing is attended. And as it quickens the Joys of my hastening Death, when I have through Grace, a Prospect of being then in that State whereto the Spirits of these Just Men made Perfect, are all of them Gathered, so I would have This now to our do all those Joys, To be with *Jesus Christ*, That surely, is by far the best of all.

*Monimenta Sepulchralia Justis non faciunt, nam*  
*Diffa eorum Sunt Memoria Eorum.*

Sentent. Judaic. in Berechit. Rabba.



## CHAP. I.

## COTTONUS Redivivus: Or, The LIFE of Mr. JOHN COTTON.

*In quo Lumen Religionis & Devotionis, Fumus generatus ex Lumine Scientiæ non exstinguit, illæ perfectus est: Sed Quis est Hic, ut adoremus eum? Algazel, in Libro Stateræ. Resp. Hic est!*—

§ 1. **W**HERE I Master of the Pen, wherewith *Palladius* embalmed his *Chrysofom*, the Greek Patriark, or *Polidorus* Eternized his *Austin*, the Latin Oracle, among the Ancients; Or, were I owner of the Quill wherewith among the Moderns, *Beza* celebrated his Immortal *Calvin*, or *Fabius* immortalized his Venerable *Eeza*; the Merits of *John Cotton* would oblige me to employ it, in the preserving his Famous Memory. If *Boston* be the chief Seat of New England, it was *Cotton* that was the Father and Glory of *Boston*: Upon which account it becomes a piece of pure *Justice*, that the *Life* of him, who above all Men gave *Life* to his Country, should bear no little Figure in its intended History; and indeed if any Person in this Town or Land, had the *Blessedness* which the *Roman* Historian long since pronounced such, even, *To do things worthy to be Writ, and to Write Things worthy to be Read*, it was *He*, who now claims a Room in our Pages. If it were a Comparison sometimes made of the Reformers, *Pomeranus* was a Grammarian, *Jusius Jonas* was an Orator, *Melancthon* was a Logician, but *Luther* was *All*: Even that Proportion, it may without *Envy* be acknowledged, that *Cotton* bore to the rest of our New English Divines; He that, whilst he was *Living* had this *Virtue* extraordinarily Conspicuous in him, *That it was his delight always, to acknowledge the Gifts of God, in other Men*, must now he is *Dead*, have other Men to acknowledge of him what *Erasmus* does of *Jerom*, *In hoc uno conjunctione suis & Eximium, quicquid in aliis parum admiramur*.

§ 2. There was a good *Heraldy* in that Speech of the Noble *Romanus*, *It is not the Blood of my Progenitors, but my Christian Profession that makes me Noble*. But our *John Cotton*, besides the Advantage of his Christian Profession, had a Defect from Honourable Progenitors, to render him doubly Honourable. His immediate Progenitors being by some Injustice, deprived of great Revenues, his Father Mr. *Roland Cotton* had the Education of a *Lawyer* bestowed by his Friends upon him, in hopes of his being the better capacitated thereby to recover the Estate, whereof his Family had been wronged; and to the Profession of a *Lawyer*, was that unit which this Gentleman applied himself all his Days. But our *John Cotton*, in this Happier than *Austin*, whose Father was careful to make an Orator than a Christian of him, while his Gracious Mother was making him on greater Accounts, a Son of her many Tears, had a very

pious Father in this worthy *Lawyer*, as well as a pious Mother, to Interest him in the Covenant of God. That worthy Man was indeed very singular in two most Imitable Practices. One was, that when any of his Neighbours desired to sue one another, addresed him for Counsel, it was his manner, in the most persuasive and obliging Terms that could be, to endeavour a Reconciliation between both Parties, preferring the Consolations of a Peace maker, before all the Fees, that he might have got by blowing up of Differences. Another was, that every Night it was his Custom to Examine himself, with Reflections on the Transactions of the Day past; wherein, if he found that he had not either Done good unto others, or Got good unto his own Soul, he would be as much grieved as ever the Famous *Titus* was, when he could complain in the Evening, *Amici Diem Perdidi*! Of such Parents was Mr. *John Cotton* born, at the Town of *Derby*, on the Fourth of December, in the Year 1585.

§ 3. The Religious Parents of Mr. *Cotton*, were solicitous to have him indue with a Learned as well as a Pious Education; and being neither so Rich, that the *Mater Artis* could have no room to do her part, nor so Poor that the *Res Augusta Domi*, should clog his Progress, they were well fitted thereby, to bestow such an Education upon him. His first Instruction was under a good School-Master, one Mr. *Johnson*, in the Town of *Derby*: Whereon the Intellectual Endowments of all sorts, with which the God of our Spirits adorned him, to discovered themselves, that at the Age of Thirteen, his Proficiency procured him Admission into *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*. Indeed the Proverb, *Soon Ripe soon Rotten*, has often been too hastily applied unto *Ratbe ripe Wits*, in young People; not only *Oecolampadius* and *Melancthon*, who commenced Bachelours of Arts, at Fourteen Years of Age, and *Luther*, who commenced Master of Arts at Twenty; but also our Dr. *Juel* sent unto *Oxford*, our Dr. *Usher* sent unto *Dublin*, and our Mr. *Cotton* sent unto *Cambridge*, all at the Age of Thirteen, do put in a Bar to the Universal Application of that Proverb. While Mr. *Cotton* was at the University, his Diligent Head, with Gods Blessings, made him a Rich Scholar, and his generous Mind found no little Nourishment by that Labour, which like the Sage Philosopher, he found sweeter than Idleness: Infirm such that his being Elected Fellow of *Trinity College*, as the Reward of his quick Proficiency, was diverted by nothing but this, that the extraordinary Charges for their



their Great Hall then in Building, did put by their *Election*. And there was this Remarkable in the Education of this *Chosen Vessel*, at the University: That while he continued there, his Father's Practice was, by the special Providence of God, augmented so much beyond what it been before, as was enough to maintain him there: Upon which Observation Mr. Cotton afterwards would say, 'Twas God that kept me at the University! Indeed some have said, That the great Notice quickly taken of the Eminency in the Son, was one Reason, why his Father not only came to be complemented on all sides, and Omnes Omnia Bona dicere, & laudare Fortunatus ejus, qui Filium haberet Tali Ingenio praeditum, but also had his Clients more than a little multiplied.

§ 4. Upon the Desires of Emanuel-Colledge, Mr. Cotton was not removed unto that Colledge, but also preferred unto a Fellowship in it, in order whereunto he did according to the Critical and Laudable Statutes of the House, go through a very severe *Examen* of his Fitness for such a Station; wherein 'twas particularly remarked, that the *Pofor* trying his Hebrew Skill by the Third Chapter of *Isaiah*, a Chapter which, containing more hard Words than any one Paragraph of the Bible, might therefore have puzzled a very good Hebrician, yet he made nothing of it. He was afterwards the Head Lecturer, the Dean, the Catechist, in that Famous Colledge; and became a Tutor to many Scholars, who afterwards proved Famous Persons, and had cause to bless God for the Faithful, and Ingenious and Laborious Communicativeness of this their Tutor. Here, all his Academical Exercises, whether in Disputations or in common Places, or whatever else did fo smelt of the Lamp, that the Wit, the Strength, the Gravity, and the Fulness, both of Reason and of Reading in them, caused him to be much admired by the Sparkling Wits of the University. But One thing among the rest, which caused a great Notice to be taken of him, throughout the whole University, was his Funeral Oration upon Dr. Some, the Master of Peter House, wherein he approved himself such a Master of Periclean, or Ciceronian Oratory, that the Auditors were even ready to have acclaimed, Non Vox Hominem Sonat! And that which added unto the Reputation, thus raised for him, was an University Sermon, wherein aiming more to preach Self than Christ, he used such Florid Strains, as extremely recommended him unto the Mass, who relished the Wisdom of Words above the Words of Wisdom: Though the pompous Eloquence of that Sermon, afterwards gave such a Disfist unto his own Renewed Soul, that with a Sacred Indignation he threw his Notes into the Fire.

§ 5. Hitherto we have seen the Life of Mr. Cotton, while he was not yet Alive! Though the Restraining and Preventing Grace of God, had kept him from such Out-breakings of Sin, as Desile the Lives of most in the World, yet like the Old Man, who for such a cause order

ed this Epitaph to be written on his Grave, Here lies an Old Man, who lived but Seven Years, he reckoned himself to have been but a Dead Man, as being Alienated from the Life of God, until he had experienced that Regeneration, in his own Soul, which was thus accomplished. The Holy Spirit of God had been at work upon his Young Heart, by the Ministry of that Reverend and Renowned Preacher of Righteousness, Mr. Perkins; but he resisted and smothered those Conventions, through a vain Perfection, that if he became a Godly Man, 'twould spoil him for being a Learned One. Yea, such was the Secret Enmity and Prejudice of an Unregenerate Soul, against Real Holiness, and such the Torment, which our Lords Wivesness give to the Consciences of the Earthly-minded, that when he heard the Bell toll for the Funeral of Mr. Perkins, his Mind secretly rejoiced in his Deliverance, from that Powerful Ministry, by which his Conscience had been so oft beleagured: The Remembrance of which thing afterwards, did break his Heart exceedingly! But he was, at length, more effectually awakened, by a Sermon of Dr. Sibb, wherein was discoursed the Misery of those, who had only a Negative Righteousness, or a Civil, Sober, Honest Blameless life before Men. Mr. Cotton became now very sensible of his own miserable Condition before God; and the Arrows of these Conventions, did stick to fast upon him, that after no less Three Years. Disconsolate Apprehensions under them, the Grace of God made him a thoroughly Renewed Christian, and filled him with a Sacred Joy, which accompanied him unto the Fulness of Joy for ever. For this Cause, as Persons truly converted unto God have a mighty and lasting Affection for the Instruments of their Conversion; thus Mr. Cotton's Veneration for Dr. Sibb, was after this very particular and perpetual, and it caused him to have the Picture of that Great Man, in that part of his House, where he might oftentime look upon it. But so the Token of fore Temptations and Afflictions and long spiritual Trials, fitted him to be an eminently useful Servant of God in his Generation!

§ 6. Some time after this Change upon the Soul of Mr. Cotton, it came unto his turn again to preach at St. Maries; and because he was to preach, an High Expectation was raised, through the whole University, that they should have a Sermon, flourishing indeed, with all the Learning of the whole University. Many Difficulties had Mr. Cotton in his own Mind now, what Course to steer. On the one side he considered, That if he should preach with a Scriptural and Christian Plainness, he should not only wound his own Fame exceedingly, but also tempt Carnal Men to revive an Old Cavil, That Religion made Scholars turn Dunces, whereby the Name of God might suffer not a little. On the other side, he considered, That it was his Duty to preach with such a Plainness, as became the Oracles of God, which are intended for the Conduct of Men in the



*Paths of Life*, and not for *Theoretical* Ostentations and Entertainments, and the Lord needed not any *Sin* of ours to maintain his own Glory. Hereupon Mr. Cotton resolved, that he would preach a plain Sermon, even such a Sermon, as in his own Conscience he thought would be most pleasing unto the Lord Jesus Christ; and he discoursed practically and powerfully, but very solidly upon the plain Doctrine of Repentance. The vain Wits of the University, disappointed thus, with a more excellent Sermon, that shew some troublesome Admonitions into their Consciences, discovered their Vexation at this Disappointment, by their not *Humming*, as according to their sinful and absurd Custom, they had formerly done; and the Vice-Chancellor, for the very same Reason also, graced him not, as he did others that pleased him. Nevertheless, the Satisfaction which he enjoyed in his own *faithful Soul*, abundantly compensated unto him, the loss of any Human Favour or Honour; nor did he go without many Encouragements from some Doctors, then having a better Sense of Religion upon them, who prayed him to persevere in the *good way of Preaching*, which he had now taken. But perhaps the greatest Consolation of all, was a notable Effect of the Sermon then preached! The famous Dr. Preston, then a Fellow of *Queen's College* in Cambridge, and of Great Note in the University, came to hear Mr. Cotton with the same itching Ears, as others were then led withal. For some good while after the beginning of the Sermon, his frustrated Expectation caused him to manifest his Uneasiness all the ways that were then possible; but before the Sermon was ended, like one of Peter's Hearers, he found himself *pierced at the Heart*: His Heart within him was now struck with such Repentments of his own *interior state* before the God of Heaven, that he could have no Peace in his own Soul, till with a *wounded Soul*, he had repaired unto Mr. Cotton; from whom he received thence further Assurances, wherein he became a *Spiritual Father*, unto one of the greatest Men in his Age.

§ 7. The well-disposed People of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, after this, invited Mr. Cotton to become their Minister; with which Invitation, out of a sincere and serious desire to serve our Lord in his Gospel, after the solemnest Addresses to Heaven for Guidance in such a solemn Affair, he complied. At this time the Mayor of the Town, with a more corrupt Party, having procured another Scholar from *Cambridge*, more agreeable to them, would needs have him to preach before Mr. Cotton: But the *Church-Warden* pretending to more of Influence upon their Ecclesiastical Matters, overruled it. However when the matter came to a *Vote*, amongst those to whom the Right of Election did by Charter belong, there was an *Equi-Vote* for Mr. Cotton; and that other Person; only the Mayor, who had the Calling Vote, by a strange Mistake pricked for Mr. Cotton. When the Mayor saw his Mistake, a new Vote was urged and granted; wherein it again proved an *Equi-Vote*; but

the Mayor most unaccountably mistook again, as he did before. Extremely displeased hereat, he pressed for a *Third Vote*; but the rest would not consent unto it; and so the Election fell upon Mr. Cotton, by the *involuntary Gift* of that very Hand, which had most opposed it. This Obstruction to the Settlement of Mr. Cotton in *Boston*, being thus conquered, another followed: For the Bishop of the Diocese, having understood that Mr. Cotton was infected with *Puritanism*, set himself immediately to discourage his being there; only he could object nothing, but, *That Mr. Cotton being a Young Man, he was not so fit upon that Score, to be over such a numerous and such a fawning People.* And Mr. Cotton having learned no otherwise to value himself, than to concur with the Apprehensions of the Bishop; intended therefore to return unto *Cambridge*: But some of his Friends, against his Inclination, knowing the *true way of doing it*, soon charmed the Bishop into a declared Opinion, that Mr. Cotton was an Honest, and a Learned Man. Thus the Admission of Mr. Cotton unto the Exercise of his Ministry in *Boston*, was accomplished.

§ 8. Mr. Cotton found the more peaceable Reception among the People, through his own want of internal Peace; and because his continual Exercises, from his *Internal Temptations* and Afflictions, made all People see, that instead of serving this or that Party, his chief care was about the Salvation of his own Soul. But the Scirs, which had been made in the Town, by the *Arminian Controversies*, then raging, put him upon further Exercises; whereof he has himself given us a Narrative in the ensuing Words: When I was first called to *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, so it was, that Mr. Baron, Son of Dr. Baron, (the Divinity-Reader of *Cambridge*) first broached, that which was then called *Lutheranism*, since *Arminianism*; as being indeed himself, Learned, Acute, Plausible in Discourse, and fit to insinuate into the Hearts of his Neighbours. And tho' he were a *Physician* by Profession (and of good Skill in that Art) yet he spent the greatest Strength of his Studies, in clearing and promoting the *Arminian* Tenents. Whence it came to pass, that in all the great Feasts of the Town, the chiefest Discourse at the Table, did ordinarily fall upon *Arminian* Points, to the great Offence of Godly Ministers, both in *Boston*, and Neighbour-Towns. I coming among them, a young Man, thought it a part both of Modesty and Prudence, not to speak much to the Points, at first, among Strangers and Ancients: Until afterwards, after hearing of many Discourses, in Public Meetings, and much private Discourse with the Doctor, I had learned at length, where all the great Strength of the Doctor lay. And then observing (by the Strength of Christ) how to avoid such Expressions as gave him any advantage in the Expressions of others, I began publicly to preach, and in private Meetings to defend the Doctrine of God's *Eternal Election*, before all

Fore-



Forefight of Good or Evil, in the Creature; and the Redemption (*ex gratia*) only of the Elect; the effectual Vocation of a Sinner, *Per irresistibilem Gratie vim*, without all respect of the Preparations of Free Will; and finally, the Impossibility of the Fall of a sincere Believer, either totally or finally from a State of Grace. Hereupon, when the Doctor had objected many things, and heard my Answers to those Scruples, which he was wont most plausibly to urge; presently after our Publick Feasts, and Neighbourly Meetings, were silent from all further Debates about Predestination, or any of the Points which depend thereupon, and all Matters of Religion were carried on calmly and peaceably.

About half a Year after, Mr. Cotton had been at Boston, thus usefully employ'd, he visited Cambridge, that he might then and there proceed Bachelor of Divinity, which he did: And his Concio ad Clerum, on Mat. 5, 13. *Vos estis Sal Terræ*, was highly esteemed by the Judicious. Nor was he less admired for his very singular Acuteness in Disputation, when he answered the Divinity *Ass* in the Schools; wherein he had for his Opponent a most acute Antagonist, namely Dr. Chappel, who was afterwards Provost of Trinity College in Dublin; and one unhappily successful in promoting the New Pelagianism.

§ 9. Settled now at Boston, his dear Friend, holy Mr. Baynes, recommended unto him a pious Gentlewoman, one Mrs. Elizabeth Horrocks, the Sister of Mr. James Horrocks, a famous Minister in Lancashire, to become his Consort in a Married Estate. And it was remarkable, that on the very Day of his Wedding to that eminently Varnous Gentlewoman, he first received that Assurance of God's Love unto his own Soul, by the Spirit of God, effectually applying his Promise of Eternal Grace and Life unto him, which happily kept with him all the rest of his Days: For which cause he would afterwards often say, *God made that Day, a Day of double Marriage to me!* The Wife, which by the Favour of God he had now found, was a very great help unto him, in the Service of God; but especially upon this, among many other Accounts, that the People of her own Sex, observing her more than ordinary Discretion, Gravity, and Holiness, would still improve the Freedom of their Address unto her, to acquaint her with the Exercites of their own Spirits; who acquainting her Husband with convenient Intimations thereof, occasioned him in his Publick Ministry more particularly and profitably, to discourse those things that were of everlasting Benefit.

§ 10. After he had been three Years in Boston, his careful Studies and Prayers brought him to apprehend more of Evil remaining Unreformed in the Church of England, than he had heretofore considered; and from this time he became a Confidentious Non-Conformist, unto the Unscriptural Ceremonies and Constitutions, yet maintained by that Church; but such was his Interest in the Hearts of the People, that his Non-Conformity instead of being *disparbed*, was indeed

embraced by the greatest part of the Town. However, at last, Complaints being made against him unto the Bishops Courts, he was for a while, then put under the Circumstances of a silenced Minister; in all which while, he would fill give his Presence at the Publick Sermons, tho' never at the Common Prayers of the Conformable. He was now offered, not only the Liberty of his Ministry, but very great Preferment in itself, if he would but Conform to the Scripted Rites, tho' but in one Act, and but for one Time: Nevertheless, his tender Soul, afraid of being thereby polluted, could not in the least comply with such Temptations. A Storm of many Troubles upon him, was now gathering; but it was very strangely diverted! For that very Man who had occasioned this Affliction to him, now became heartily afflicted for his own Sin in doing of it; and a stedfast, constant, prudent Friend, presenting a Pair of Gloves to a Proctor of an higher Court, then appeal'd unto that Proctor without Mr. Cotton's knowledge, swore, *In Animam Domini*, that Mr. Cotton was a Conformable Man: Which things illud in Mr. Cotton's being restored unto the Exercise of his Ministry.

§ 11. The Storm of Persecution being thus blown over, Mr. Cotton enjoyed Rest for many Years. In which time he faithfully employed his great Abilities, not in gaining Men to this or that Party of Christians, but in acquainting them with the more essential and substantial Points of Christianity. In the Space of Twenty Years that he lived at Boston, on the Lord's Days in the Afternoon, he thrice went over the Body of Divinity in a Catechetical way; and gave the Heads of his Discourse to young Scholars, and others in the Town, that they might answer to his Questions in the Congregation; and the Answers he opened and applied unto the general Advantage of the Hearers. Whilst he was in this way handling the Sixth Commandment, the Words of God which he uttered were so quick and powerful, that a Woman among his Hearers, who had been married sixteen Years to a Second Husband, now in Horror of Conscience, openly confessed her murdering her former Husband, by Poison, tho' thereby she expold her self to the Extremity of being burned. In the Forenoons of the Lord's Days, he preached over the first six Chapters in the Gospel of John, the whole Book of Ecclesiastes; the Prophecy of Zephaniah, the Prophecy of Zechariah, and many other Scriptures. When the Lord's Supper was administered, which was once a Month, he handled the Eleventh Chapter in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and the Thirteenth Chapter in the Second Book of the Chronicles; and some other pertinent Paragraphs of the Bible. In his Lectures, he went through the whole First and Second Epistles of John; the whole Book of Solomon's Song; the Parables of our Saviour to the Seventeenth Chapter of Matthew. His House also was full of young Students, whereof some were sent unto him out of Germany, some out of Holland, but most out of Cambridge: For Dr. Preston would still advise



his near fledg'd Pupils, to go live with Mr. Cotton, that they might be fitted for Publick Service; inſomuch, that it was grown almoſt a Proverb, *That Mr. Cotton was Dr. Preſton's Seafoning Veſſel*: And of thoſe that iſſued from this learned Family, famous and uſeful in their Generation, the well-known Dr. Hill was not the leaſt. Moreover, he kept a *Daily Lecture* in his Houſe, which, as very Reverend Ear-Witneſſes have expreſſed it, *He performed with much Grace, to the Edification of the Hearers*: And unto this Lecture many pious People in the Town, would conſtantly reſort, until upon a ſuſpicion of ſome Inconvenience, which might ariſe from the growing *Numerouſneſs* of his Auditory, he left it off. However, beſides his Ordinary Lecture every *Thurſday*, he preached *thrice* more: every *Week*, on the *Week-Days*; namely on *Wedneſdays* and *Thurſdays*, early in the Morning, and on *Saturdays* at Three in the Afternoon. And beſides theſe imment Labours, he was frequently employ'd on *extraordinary Days*, kept *Pro Temporis* & *Cauſis*, whereon he would ſpend ſometimes no leſs than *Six Hours* in the *Word and Prayer*. Furthermore, 'twas his Cuſtom, once a Year, to viſit his Native-Town of *Derby*, where he was a notable Exception to the General Rule of, *A Prophet without Honour in his own Country*; and by his vigilant Cares, this Town was for many Years kept ſupplied with able and faithful Miniſters of the Goſpel. Thus was this *good Man* a moſt indefatigable Doer of God.

§ 12. The good Spirit of God, ſo plentifully and powerfully accompanied the Miniſtry of this excellent Man, that a great Reformation was thereby wrought in the Town of *Boſton*. *Prophaneneſs* was extinguiſhed, *Superſtition* was abandoned, Religion was embraced and practiſed among the *Body* of the People; yea, the *Mayor*, with moſt of the Magiſtrates, were now called *Puritans*, and the *Satanical Party* was become inſignificant. As to the matter of *Non-Conformity*, Mr. Cotton was come to forbear the *Ceremonies* enjoyed in the Church of England; for which he gave this Account. 'The Grounds' were two: *Fiſt*, *The Significacy and Efficacy* 'put upon 'em, in the Preface to the Book of *Common-Prayer*: That they were neither *dumb* nor dark, but apt to ſtir up the dull Mind of *Man*, to the remembrance of his Duty to God, by ſome notable and ſpecial ſignification, whereby he may be edified; or Words to the like purpose. The Second was the Limitation of *Church-Power*, even of the higheſt Apotolical Commiſſion, to the *Obſervation* of the *Commandments* of *Chriſt*, Mat. 28. 20. Which made it appear to me utterly unlawful for any *Church-Power* to enjoy the Obſervation of *in-different Ceremonies*, which Chriſt had not commanded: And all the *Ceremonies* were alike deſtitute of the *Commandment* of Chriſt, tho' they had been *indifferent* otherwiſe; which, indeed others have juſtly pleaded they were not. But this was not all: For Mr. Cotton was alſo come to believe, That *Scripture Biſhops*

were appointed to rule no larger a Dioceſs than a particular Congregation; and that the *Miniſters* of the Lord, with the *Keys* of Eccleſiaſtical Government, are given by him to a *Congregational Church*. It hence came to paſs, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was now worſhipped in *Boſton*, without the uſe of the *Liturgy*, or of thoſe *Veſtments*, which are by *Zanchy* called *Execrables Veſtes*; yea, the Sign of the *Croſs* was laid aſide, not only in *Baptiſm*, but alſo in the *Mayor's Maſe*, as worthy to be made a *Nebuſtan*, becauſe it had been ſo much abuſed unto *Idolatry*. And beſides all this, there were ſome Scores of pious People in the Town, who more exactly formed themſelves into an *Evangelical Church-State*, by entering into *Covenant* with God, and with one another, *To follow after the Lord, in the Purity of his Worſhip*. However, the main Bent and Aim of Mr. Cotton's Miniſtry was, *To preach a crucified Chriſt*; and the Inhabitants of *Boſton* obſerved, that God bleſſed them in their *Secular Concernments*, remarkably the more, through his dwelling among them: For many *Strangers*, and ſome too, that were Gentlemen of good Quality, reſorted unto *Boſton*, and ſome removed their Habitations thither, on his Account; whereby the *Proſperity* of the place was very much promoted.

§ 13. As his *Deſert* of it was very high, ſo the *Reſpect* which he met withal was far from low. The beſt of his Hearers loved him greatly, and the worſt of them feared him, as knowing that he was a righteous and an holy Man. Yea, ſuch was the *Greatneſs* of his Learning, his Wiſdom, his Holineſs, that *Great Men* took no little notice of him. A very Honourable Perſon rode thirty Miles to ſee him; and afterwards profeſſed, *That he had as lieve bear Mr. Cotton's ordinary Expoſition in his Family, as any Miniſters publick Preaching that he knew in England*. Whilſt he continued in *Boſton*, Dr. Preſton would conſtantly come once a Year to viſit him, from his exceeding Value for Mr. Cotton's Friendſhip. Arch-Biſhop Williams did likewiſe greatly eſteem him for his incomparable Parts; and when he was *Keeper of the Great Seal*, he recommended Mr. Cotton to the Royal Favour. Moreover, the Earl of *Dorcheſter* and of *Lindſey*, had much regard unto him; which happened partly on this occaſion: The Earl's coming into *Lincolnſhire*, about the Draining of ſome Fenny Grounds. Mr. Cotton was then in his Courſe of Preaching on *Gal. 2. 20*. Intending to preach on the Duties of *living by Faith in Adverſity*; but conſidering that theſe Noble-men were not much acquainted with *Afflictions*, he altered his Intentions, and ſo ordered it, that when they came to *Boſton*, he diſcourſed on the Duties of *living by Faith in Proſperity*: When the Noble-men were ſo much taken with what they heard, that they aſſured him, if at any time he ſhould want a *Friend* at Court, they would improve all their Intereſt for him. And when Mr. Cotton did plainly, but witiſly admoniſh them, of certain *Papiſmes* on the Lord's Day, whereby they gave ſome Scandal, they took it moſt

Book II.  
moſt kindly from him. But now  
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§ 14. As long  
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§ 15. Altho'  
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into this trouble  
in the Sermon,  
and among other  
poſe: As for this  
ſal Paſtor, to be



most kindly from him, and promised a Reformation. But none of the *Roses* cast on this applauded *Ador*, smothered that humble, that loving, that gracious Disposition, which was his perpetual Ornament.

§ 14. At length, doubtless to chastise the seldom unchastited Evils of *Droifons*, crept in among the Christians of *Boston*, it pleased the God of Heaven to deprive them of Mr. Cotton's Ministry, by laying a *Tertian Ague* upon him for a Year together. But being invited unto the Earl of Lincoln's, in pursuance to the Advice of his Physicians, that he should change the Air, he removed thither; and thereupon he happily recovered. Nevertheless, by the same Sickness he then lost his excellent Wife; who having lived with him *Childless* for Eighteen Years, went from him now, to be for ever with the Lord; whereupon he travelled further a field, unto *London*, and some other places, whereby the recovery of his lost Health was further perfected. About a Year after this, he practically appeared in opposition to *Tertullianism*, by proceeding unto a Second Marriage; wherein one Mrs. Sarah Story, a virtuous Widow, very dear to his former Wife, became his Consort; and by her he had both Sons and Daughters.

§ 15. Altho' our Lord had hitherto made the Discretion and Vigilancy of Mr. Thomas Leveret (afterwards a doubly honoured Elder of the Church, in another Land) the happy occasion of diverting many Designs to molest Mr. Cotton for his Non-Conformity, yet when the Sins of the place had ripened it, for to dark a Vengeance of Heaven, as the removing of this eminent Light, a Storm of Persecution could no longer be avoided. A debauch'd Fellow in the Town, who had been punished by the Magistrates for his Debaucheries, contrived and resolved a *Revenge* upon them, for their Justice: And having no more effectual way to vent the cursed Malice of his Heart, than by bringing them into Trouble at the High Commission Court, up he goes to *London*, with Informations to that Court, that the Magistrates did not kneel at the Sacrament, nor observe some other Ceremonies by Law imposed. When some that belonged unto the Court signified unto this Informer, that he must put in the Minister's Name: Nay, (said he) the Minister is an honest-Man, and never did me any wrong; But it being further pressed upon him, that all his Complaints would be insignificant, if the Minister's Name were not in them, he then did put it in: And Letters *Misfroe* were dispatched incontinently, to Convent Mr. Cotton, before the infamous High Commission Court. But before we relate what became of Mr. Cotton, we will enquire what became of his Accuser. The Renowned Mr. John Rogers of *Debham*, having been on his Lecture Day, just before his going to preach, advised, that Mr. Cotton was brought into this trouble, he took occasion to speak of it in the Sermon, with just Lamentations for it; and among others, he used Words to this purpose: As for that Man, who hath caused a faithful Pastor, to be driven from his flock, he is a

Wisp, used by the Hand of God, for the scouring of his People: But mark the Words now spoken by a Minister of the Lord! I am verily persuaded, the Judgments of God, will overtake the Man that has done this thing: Either he will die under an Hedge, or something else, more than the ordinary Death of Men shall befall him. Now behold, how this Prediction was accomplished: This miserable Man quickly after this, dy'd of the Plague, under an Hedge, in *Dorshire*; and it was a long time, e'er any could be found, that would bury him. This is to turn Persecutor.

§ 16. Mr. Cotton knowing that Letters *Misfroe* were out against him, from the High Commission Court, and knowing, that if he appeared there, he could expect no other, than to be choaked with such a perpetual Imprisonment, as had already murdered such Men as *Bates* and *Udal*, he concealed himself as well as he could, from the raging *Pursuivants*. Application was made, in the mean time, to the Earl of *Dorset*, for the Fulfilment of his old Engagement unto Mr. Cotton; and the Earl did indeed intercede for him, until the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, who would often with, Oh! that I could meet with Cotton! rendered all his Intercessions both ineffectual and unseasonable. Hereupon that Noble Person sent word unto him, That if he had been guilty of Drunkenness, or Uncleanness, or any such lesser Fault, he could have obtained his Pardon; but inasmuch as he had been guilty of Non-Conformity, and Puritanism the Crime was unpardonable; and therefore, said he, You must fly for your Safety. Doubtless, it was from such unhappy Experiments, that Mr. Cotton afterwards published this Complaint: The Ecclesiastical Courts, are like the Courts of the High-Priests and Pharisees, which Solomon by a Spirit of Prophecy stileth, Dens of Lions, and Mountains of Leopards. And those who have to do with them, have found them Markets of the Sins of the People, the Cages of Uncleanness, the Forges of Extortion, the Tabernacles of Bribery, and they have been contrary to the End of Civil Government, which is, The Punishment of Evil-Doers, and the Praise of them which do well.

§ 17. Mr. Cotton, therefore, now, with Supplications unto the God of Heaven for his Direction, joined Consultations of good Men on Earth; and among others, he did with some of his Boston Friends, visit old Mr. Dod, unto whom he laid open the difficult Case now before him, without any Intimation of his own inclination, whereby the Advice of that holy Man, might have been at all forestalled. Mr. Dod upon the whole, said thus unto him: I am old Peter, and therefore must stand still, and bear the Brunt; but you being young Peter, may go whether you will, and ought, being persecuted in one City, to flee unto another. And when the Boston Friends urged, That they would support and protect Mr. Cotton, the privately; and that if he should leave them, very many of them would be exposed unto extreme Temptation: He readily answered,



answered, *That the removing of a Minister, was like the draining of a Fish-pond; the good Fish will follow the Water, but Eels, and other Baggage Fish, will stick in the Mud.* Which things when Mr. Cotton heard, he was not a little confirmed in his Inclination to leave the Land. Not did he forget the Conceit of *Cyprian*, That a seasonable Flight, is in effect, a *Confession of our Faith*: For it is a *Profession* that our Faith is dearer unto us, than all the *Enjoyments* from which we fly. But that which is further memorable in this matter, is, That as the Great God often makes his *Truth* to spread by the *Sufferings* of them that profess the *Truth*; Four hundred were converted by the Death of one persecuted *Cecilia*: And the *Scotch Bishop* would leave off burning of the Faithful, because the *Smoke of Hamilton* infected as many as it blew upon. Thus the Silencing and Removing of Mr. Cotton, which was to him, a thing little short of *Martyrdom*, was an occasion of more thorough *Repentance* in sundry of his bereaved People, who now began to consider, that God by taking away their Minister, was punishing their former *Unfruitfulness* under the most fruitful Ministry, which they had thus long enjoyed. And there was yet another such effect of the matter, which is now to be related.

§ 18. To avoid them that thirsted for his Ruine, Mr. Cotton travelled under a chang'd Name and Garb, with a full purpose of going over to *Holland*; but when he came near the place, where he would have shipped himself, he met with a Kinsman, who vehemently and effectually perswaded him to divert into *London*. Here the Lord had a *Work* for him to do, which he little thought of. Some Reverend and Renowned Ministers of our Lord in that Great City, who yet had not seen sufficient Reason to expose themselves unto *Persecutions* for the sake of *Non-Conformity*, but look'd upon the imposed Ceremonies as indifferent and sufferable Trifles, and weigh'd not the Aspect of the *Second Commandment*, upon all the *Parts and Means* of *Instituted Worship*, took this Opportunity for a *Conference* with Mr. Cotton; being perswaded, That since he was no *Passionate*, but a very *Judicious Man*, they should prevail with him rather to *conform*, than to leave his *Work* and his *Land*. Unto the Motion of a *Conference* Mr. Cotton most readily yielded: And first, all their Arguments for *Conformity*, together with Mr. *Byfield's*, Mr. *Whately's*, and Mr. *Sprint's*, were produced; all of which Mr. Cotton answered, unto their wonderful Satisfaction. Then he gave his Arguments for his *Non-Conformity*, and the Reasons why he must rather forgo his Ministry, or at least his Country, than wound his Conscience with unlawful Compliances: The Issue whereof was, that instead of bringing Mr. Cotton back to what he had now forsaken, he brought them off altogether from what they had hitherto practis'd: Every one of those eminent Persons, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye*, and Mr. *Davenport*, now became all that he was, and at last left the Kingdom for their being so. But

Mr. Cotton being now at *London*, there were three places which offered themselves to him for his Retreat; *Holland*, *Barbadoes*, and *New-England*. As for *Holland*, the Character and Condition, which famous Mr. *Hooker* had reported thereof, took off his Intentions of removing thither. And *Barbadoes* had not near such encouraging Circumstances, upon the best Accounts, as *New-England*; where our Lord Jesus Christ had a more than ordinary thing to be done for his Glory, in an *American Wilderness*, and so would send over a more than ordinary Man, to be employed in the doing of it. Thither, even to that Religious and Reformed Plantation, after the solemnest Applications to Heaven for Direction, this great Person bent his Resolutions: And Letters procured from the Church of *Boston*, by Mr. *Winthrop*, the Governor of the Colony, had their Influence on the matter.

§ 19. The God that had carried him through the Fire of *Persecution*, was now graciously with him in his Passage through the *Water* of the *Atlantic Ocean*, and he enjoyed a comfortable Voyage over the great and wide *Sea*. There were then three eminent Ministers of God in the Ship; namely, Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, and Mr. *Stone*; which glorious *Triumvirate* coming together, made the poor People in the *Wilderness*, at their coming, to say, That the God of Heaven had supplied them, with what would in some sort answer their three great Necessities; *Cotton* for their *Cloathing*, *Hooker* for their *Fishing*, and *Stone* for their *Building*: But by one or other of these three *Divines* in the Ship, there was a Sermon preached every Day, all the while they were aboard, yea they had three Sermons, or Expositions, for the most part every Day: Of Mr. *Cotton* in the Morning, Mr. *Hooker* in the Afternoon, Mr. *Stone* after Supper in the Evening. And after they had been a Month upon the *Seas*, Mr. *Cotton* received a Mercy, which God had now for Twenty Years denied unto him, in the Birth of his Eldest Son, whom he called *Sea-born*, in the Remembrance of the never-to-be-forgotten Blessings, which he thus enjoyed upon the *Seas*. But at the end of Seven Weeks they arrived at *New-England*, September 3. in the Year 1633. Where he put a-shore at *New-Boston*, which in a few Years, by the Smile of God; especially upon the Holy Witdom, Conduct, and Credit of our Mr. *Cotton*, upon some Accounts of Growth, came to exceed *Old Boston* in every thing that renders a Town considerable. And it is remarkable, that his Arrival at *New-England*, was just after the People there, had been by solemn Fasting and Prayer seeking unto God, that inasmuch as they had been engaging to walk with him in his Ordinances, according to his Word, he would mercifully lend over to them, such as might be Eyes unto them in the *Wilderness*, and strengthen them in discerning and following of that Word.

§ 20. There were divers Churches gathered in the Country, before the Arrival of Mr. *Cotton*; but upon his Arrival, the Points of Church-

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Order, were with more of Exactness revived, and received in them, and further observed in such as were gathered after them. He found the whole Country in a perplexed and a divided Estate, as to their Civil Constitution, but at the Publick Desires, preaching a Sermon on those words, *Hag. 2.4. Be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Jeshua, Son of Josedech the High-Priest; and be strong all ye People of the Land, saith the Lord, and work: For I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts.* The good Spirit of God, by that Sermon, had a mighty Influence upon all Ranks of Men, in the *Indian Plantation*; who from this time carried on their Affairs, with a new Life, Satisfaction, and Umanimity. It was then requested of Mr. Cotton, That he would, from the Laws wherewith God governed his ancient People, form an *Abstract* of such as were of a Moral and a Lasting Equity: Which he performed as acceptably as judiciously. But inasmuch as very much of an *Athenian Democracy*, was in the Mould of the Government, by the Royal Charter, which was then acted upon, Mr. Cotton effectually recommended it unto them, that none should be *Elders*, nor *Elected* therein, except such as were *visible Subjects* of our Lord Jesus Christ, personally confederated in our Churches. In these, and many other ways, he propounded unto them, an Endeavour after a *Theocracy*, as near as might be, to that which was the Glory of Israel, the *peculiar People*.

But the Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Country, was that on which he employ'd his peculiar Cares; and he was one of those *Olive-Trees*, which afforded a singular Measure of Oyl, for the Illumination of our Sanctuary.

§ 21. The Churches now had Rest, and were edified: And there were daily added unto the Churches, those that were to be saved. Now, tho' the poor People were fed with the Bread of Adversity, and the Waters of Affliction, yet they counted themselves abundantly compensated by this, that their Eyes might see such Teachers, as were now to be seen among them. The Faith and the Order in the Churches, was generally glorious, whatever little popular Confusions, might in some few places eclipse the Glory. But the warm Sun-shine will produce a Swarm of Insects; whilst Matters were going on thus prosperously, the Cunning and Malice of Satan, to break the Prosperity of the Churches, brought in a Generation of Hypocrites, who crept in unawares, turning the Grace of our God into Lawlessness. A Company of Antinomian and Familist Sectaries, were strangely crouded in among our more Orthodox Planters; by the Artifices of which busy Opinionists, there was a dangerous Blow given, first unto the Faith, and so unto the Peace of the Churches. In the Storm thus raised, it is incredible what Obloquy came to be cast upon Mr. Cotton, as if he had been the Patron of these Destroyers; merely because they willing to have a great Person in admiration, because of advantage, falsely used the Name of this great Person, by the Credit thereof to

disseminate and dissemble their Errors; and because the chief of them in their private Conferences with him, would make such fallacious Profession of Gospel-Truths, that his Christian and abused Charity, would not permit him to be so faulty as many others were, in Confining of them. However, the Report given of Mr. Cotton on this occasion, by one *Baily, a Scotchman*, in a most scandalous Pamphlet, called, *A Dissuasive*, written to cast an *Odium* on the Churches of New-England, by vilifying him, that was one of their most eminent Servants, are most horrid Injuries: For there being upon the Encouragement of the Success which the old *Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, and Chalcedonian* Councils had, in the extinguishing of several successive Heresies, a Council now called at *Cambridge*, Mr. Cotton, after some Debates with the Reverend Assembly, upon some controverted Points of Justification, most vigorously joined with the other Ministers of the Country, in testifying against the baseful Doctrines, whereby the Churches had been troubled. Indeed there did happen *Paroxysms* in this Hour of Temptation, between Mr. Cotton, and some other zealous and worthy Persons, which tho' they did not amount unto the heat and height of those that happened between Chrysostom and Epiphanius, or between Hierom and Ruffinus, yet they inclined him to meditate a *Removal* into another Colony. But a certain scandalous Writer, having publicly reproached Mr. Cotton, with his former Inclination to Remove, there was thereby provoked his publick and patient Answer, which being a summary Narrative of this whole Business, I shall here transcribe it.

There was a Generation of Familists in our own, and other Towns, who under pretence of holding forth what I had taught, teaching Union with Christ, and evidencing that Union, did secretly vent sundry and dangerous Errors and Heresies, denying all inherent Righteousness, and all evidencing of a good Estate thereby in any sort, and some of them also denying the Immortality of the Soul, and the Resurrection of the Body. When they were questioned by some Brethren about those things, they carried it, as if they had held forth nothing, but what they had received from me: Whereof, when I was advised to clear my self, I publicly preached against those Errors. Then said the Brethren to the Erring Party, See your Teacher declares himself clearly to differ from you. No matter (say the other) what he saith in publick, we understand him otherwise, and we know what he saith to us in private. Yea, and I my self could not easily believe, that those Erring Brethren and Sisters, were so corrupt in their Judgments as they were reported; they seeming to me forward Christians, and utterly denying any such Tenets, or any thing else, but what they received from my self. All which bred in sundry of the Country, a jealousy that I was in secret a Fomentor of the Spirit of Familism, if not lessened my self that way. Which I discern-



discerning, it wrought in me Thoughts (as it did in many other sincerely and Godly Brethren of our Church) not of a Separation from the Churches, but of a Removal to Newbaven, as being better known to the Pastor, and some others there, than to such as were at that time jealous of me here. The true Ground whereof was an inward Loathness to be Troublesome unto Godly Minds, and a Fear of the Unprofitableness of my Ministry there, where my way was suspected to be Doubtful and Dangerous. I chose therefore rather to meditate a Silent Departure in Peace, than by tarrying here, to make way for the breaking forth of Temptations. But when, at the Synod, I had discovered the Corruption of the Judgment of the Erring Brethren, and saw their Fraudulent Pretence of holding forth no other, but what they received from me (when as indeed they plead for Gross Errors contrary unto my Judgment) I thereupon did bear Witness against them; and when in a private Conference with some Chief Magistrates and Elders, I perceived, that my Removal upon such Differences was unwelcome to them, and that such Points need not to occasion any Distance (neither in Place nor in Heart) amongst Brethren, I then rested satisfied in my abode amongst them, and so have continued, by the Grace of Christ unto this Day.

His true, such was Mr. Cotton's Holy Integrity, that when he perceived the Advantage, which Erroneous and Heretical Persons in his Church, had from his abused Charity, taken to spread their Dangerous Opinions, before he was aware of them, he did publicly sometimes with Tears bewail it, That the Enemy had sown so many Tares whilst he had been asleep. Nevertheless 'tis as true, that nothing ever could be safer than the Disingenuity of those Pamphleteers, who took Advantage hence, to catch these Tears in their Venomous Ink-horns, and employ them for so many Blots upon the Memory of a Righteous Man, worthy to be had in Everlasting Remembrance.

§ 22. When the Virulent and Violent Edwards had been after a most Unchristian manner, by spattering the Excellent Burroughs, That Reviled Saint, in his Answer, had that Passage; The Extreme Eagerness of some to asperse our Names, makes us to think, that God hath made more use of our Names, than we were aware of. — We see by their Anger even almost to Madness, bent that way, that they had little Hope, to prevail with all their Argument against the Cause we profess, till they could get down our Reem (such as it was) in the Hearts of the People. — But our Names are not in the Power of their Tongues and Pens; they are in the Hands of God, who will preserve them so far, as he hath use of them; and further, we shall have no use of them our selves. That Bitter Spirit in Baily, must for such Causes expose Name of the Incomparable Cotton, unto Irreparable Injuries: For, from the meer Hear-says of that Uncharitable Writer, hastily Pub-

lished unto the World, the Learned and Wor-thy Dr. Hoornbeck, not much less against the Rules of Charity, Printed a Short Account of Mr. Cotton, whereof an Ingenious Author truly says, There was in it, Quot fere Verba, tot Errores famosissimi; neque tantum quot Capita, tot Carpenda, sed quot fere Sententiarum fundula, tot Dispungenda. That Scandalous Account, it is pity it should be Read in English, and greater pity that ever that Reverend Person should make it be Read in Latin; but this it was; Cottonus, horrore Ordinis Episcopalis, in Aliud Extremum prolapsus, Omnia plebi absque Vinculo Ecclesiarum concedebat. — Cottonus iste, primum in Anglia, alterius Longe Sententie fuerat, unde, & plurimorum Errorum Heresumque Rex, Maximus Ordinis istius, vel potius ATAXIAS, promotor exitit; babuitque fecum, quemadmodum Montanus olim Maximillam, suam Hutchinsononam, de quavari & prodigiofa multa referunt. From these miserable Historians, who would Imagine what a Stir has been abroad cast upon the Name of as Holy, as Learned as Orthodox, and Eminent a Servant of our Lord, in his Reformed Churches, as was known in his Age! Among the rest, it is particularly observable how a Laborious and Ingenious Foreigner, in his Bibliotheca Anglorum Theologica, having in his Index mentioned a Book of this our Mr. Cotton's, under the Style of Johannis Cottoni, Via Vita, Liber Utilissimus, presently adds, Alius Johannes Cottonus male Noto Homo: Whereas 'twas only by the Mispresentations of contentious and unadvised Men, that John Cotton, the Experimental Author of such an useful Book, must be branded with a Note of Infamy. But if the Reader will deal justly, he must join these Gross Calumnies upon Cotton, with the Fables of Luther's Devil, Zuinglius's Dreams, Calvijn's Brands, and Junius's Cloven Foot. If Hoornbeck ever saw Cotton's mild, but full Reply to Baily, which as the Good Spirited Beverly says, would have been esteemed a sufficient Refutation of all these wretched Slanders, Nisi Præter quorundam aures erant ad veritatem, tanquam Aspidum, obstruatas, 'tis impossible to excuse his wrongful Dealings with a Venerable Minister of our Lord! Pray, Sir, charge not on Cotton with an Horror Ordinis Episcopalis; until you have chastised your Friend Honorius Reggius, that is Georgius Hornius, for telling us, as Voetius quotes it; Multorum Animos Subit Recordatio illius, quod Venerabilis Beza, non sine Prophetie Spiritu, olim scripsit Knoxo, Ecclesie Scoticæ Reformatori: Sicut Episcopi Papatum pepererunt, ita Oculis pene ipsi jam cernitur. Pseudo Episcopos, papatus Reliquias, Epicureismum Torris Involutos. Atque hæc præmittere Visum, ut eo manifestius esse Britanniam diutius Episcopos non potuisse ferre, nisi in Papsimum & Atheismum Labi vellent. Charge not on Cotton with an Omnia Plebi absque Vinculo Aliarum Ecclesiarum concedebat; until, besides the whole Scope and Scheme of his Ecclesiastical Writings, which allow no more still unto the Fraternity, than

Parker,



Parker, Ames, Cartwright; and advance no other than that *Aristocratie*, that *Beza*, *Zanchy*, *Whitaker*, *Bucer*, and *Blondel* pleaded for, you have better confuted his Words in his Golden Preface to Norton's Answer unto the *Sylloge Quaestionum*, Neque nos Regimen propriè dictum alibi quam penes Presbyteros stabilendum Cupimus: Convenimus ambo in Subjeto Regiminis Ecclesiastici: Convenimus etiam in Regula Regiminis, ut Administrantur Omnia Juxta Canonem Sacrarum Scripturarum: Convenimus etiam in Fine Regiminis, ut Omnia Transigantur ad Edificationem Ecclesie, non ad Pompam aut Luxum Secularem: Synodos nos, una Vobiscum, cum opus fuerit, & Suscipimus & veneramus. Quantulum est, quod Refat, quod Distat! Alius Regiminis, quos vos a Synodo pergi Velleitis, eos a Synodo porrigi Ecclesie, & ab Ecclesiis, ex Synodo! DIORTHOSEI pergi poterimus. Charge not our Cotton with an ATAXIAS Promotor Exstruit, until you, your self, Doctor, have revoked your own two Concessions, which are all the Ataxies that ever could, with so much as the least Pretence, be imputed unto this Renowned Person; Ecclesia particularis quælibet Subjellum est Adequatum & proprium plenè potestatis Ecclesiasticæ; nec Congruè dicitur ejus Synodo Dependencia, And, Neque enim Synodi in alias Ecclesiis potestatem habent Imperantem, quæ Superiorum est, in Inferiores sibi Subditos; Non-Communionis Sententia Potestatem Sammam denotat. As for the Cottonus Plurimorum Errorum Hæresisque Rens, were Old Austin alive, he would have charged no less a Crime than that of *Sacerdige* upon the Man, that thus without all Colour, should Rob the Church of a Name which would justly be Dear unto it; for as the Great Caryl hath expressed it, The Name of Cotton is as an Ointment poured forth. But for the Top of all these Calumnies, Cottoni Huicinsona, instead of a Resemblance to Montani Maximilla, the truer Comparison would have been, Mulier ista, quæ per Calumniam notissimam Objiciebatur Athanasio. All the Favour which that Prophetess of Thyatira had from this Angelical Man, was the fame, that the provoked Paul shew'd unto the Pybonis. In fine, The Histories which the World has had of the New-English Churches, under the Influence of Mr. Cotton, I have sometimes thought much of a piece, with what we have in the Old Histories of *Lyfismachus*; That when a Leprous, a Scabby sort of a People were driven out of Egypt into the Wildernets, there was a certain Man call'd *Moses*, who counselled them to march on in a Body, till they came to some Good Soyl. This *Moses* commanded them to be kind unto no Man; To give Bad Advice rather than Good, upon all Occasions; and to destroy as many Temples as they could find; So, after much Travel and Trouble, they came to a Fruitful Soyl, where they did all the Mischief that *Moses* had recommended and built a City, which was at first called *Hierosyla*, from the spoiling of the Temples: But afterwards, to shun the Disgrace of the Occasion,

they changed it into *Hierosolyme*, and bore the Name of *Hierosolymitans*. But thus must a Bad Report, as well as a Good Report, follow such a Man as Mr. Cotton, whose only Fault after all, was that, with which that memorable Ancient *Nazienzen* was taxed sometimes; namely, the Fault of *Manfuetude*.

§ 23. These Clouds being thus happily blown over, the rest of his Days were spent in a more settled Peace, and Mr. Cotton's growing and spreading Fame, like *Joseph's* Bough, Ran over the Wall of the Atlantic Ocean, unto such a Degree, that in the Year 1641. Some Great Persons in England, were intending to have sent over a Ship on purpose to fetch him over, for the sake of the Service, that such a Man as He, might then do to the Church of God, then Travelling in the Nation. But although their Doubt of his Willingness to Remove, caused them to forbear that Method of obtaining him, yet the Principal Members in both Houses of Parliament wrote unto him, with an Importunity for his Return into England; which had prevailed with him, if the Dismal Showers of Blood, quickly after breaking upon the Nation, had not made such Afflictive Impressions upon him, as to prevent his purpose. He continued therefore in Boston unto his Dying Day; counting it a great Favour of Heaven unto him, that he was delivered from the Unsettledness of Habitation, which was not among the least of the Calamities that Exercised the Apostles of our Lord. Nineteen Tears and odd Months he spent in this Place, doing of Good publicly and privately, unto all sorts of Men, as it became a Good Man full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghost. Here in an Expository way, he went over the Old Testament once, and a Second Time as far as the Thirtieth Chapter of *Isaiah*; and the whole New Testament once, and a Second time, as far as the Eleventh Chapter to the Hebrews. Upon Lord's-Days and Lecture-Days, he Preached thorow the Acts of the Apostles; the Propheties of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*; the Books of *Ezra*, the Revelation, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Second and Thirde Epistles of *John*, the Epistle to *Titus*, both Epistles to *Timothy*; the Epistle to the *Romans*; with innumerable other Scriptures on Incidental Occasions. Though he had also the most Remarkable Faculty, perhaps of any Man living, to Meet every Remarkable Occasion, with pertinent Reflections, whatever Text he were upon, without ever wandering out of sight from his Text: And it is possible there might sometimes be a particular Operation of Providence, to make the Works and Words of God meet in the Ministry of his Holy Servant. But thus did he Abound in the Works of the Lord!

§ 24. At length, upon Desire, going to preach a Sermon at Cambridge, (which he did, on Isa. 54. 13. Thy Children shall be all taught of the Lord; and from thence gave many Excellent Councils unto the Students of the Colledge there) he took Wet in his Passage over the Ferry; but he presently felt the Effect of it, by



the failing of his Voice in Sermon-time; which ever until now, had been a clear, near, audible Voice, and easily heard in the most Capacious Auditory. Being found so doing, as it had often been his declared Wish, *That he might not live his Work!* (saying upon higher Principles than once *Curus Dentatus* did; *Malle esse se Aortuum, quam Vivere*; that he had rather Be Dead, than Live Dead: And with *Seneca*, *Ultimum malorum est ex vivorum Numero exire, ante quam moriaris*;) His Illness went on to an Inflammation in his Lungs; from whence he grew somewhat Asthmatical; but there was a Complication of other *Scorbatic Affected*, which put him under many Symptoms of his approaching End. On the Eighteenth of November, he took in Course for his Text, the Four last Verses of the Second Epistle to Timothy, giving this Reason for his insisting on so many Verses at once, *Because else* (he said) *I shall not live to make an End of this Epistle*; but he chiefly insisted on those Words, *Grace be with you all*. Upon the Lord's Day following, he preached his last Sermon on Joh. 1. 14. About that *Glorious* of the Lord Jesus Christ, from the Faith to the Sight whereof, he was now hastening. After this in that Study, which had been Performed with many such Days before, he now spent a Day in Secret Humiliations and Supplications, before the Lord; seeking the Special Affluences of the Holy Spirit, for the Great Work of Dying, that was now before him. What Glorious Transactions might one have heard passing between the Lord Jesus Christ, and an Excellent Servant of his, now coming unto him, if he could have had an Hearing Place behind the Hangings of the Chamber, in such a Day! But having finished the Duties of the Day, he took his Leave of his Beloved Study, saying to his Comfort, *I shall go into that Room no more!* And he had all along Presages in his Heart, that God would by his Present Sickness, give him an Entrance into the Everlasting Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore, Setting his House in Order, he was now so far from unwilling to Receive the Mercy-Stroke of Death, as that he was desirous to be with him, *With whom to be, is by far the best of all*. And although the chief Ground of his Readiness to be gone, was from the unutterably Sweet and Rich Entertainments, which he did by Fore-cast, as well as by Promise, know that the Lord had reserved in the Heavenly Regions for him, yet he said, it contributed unto this Readiness in him, when he consider'd the Saints, whose Company and Communion he was going unto; particularly Perkins, Ames, Preston, Milderham, Dod, and others, which had been peculiarly Dear unto himself; besides the Rest, in that General Assembly.

§ 25. While he thus lay sick, the Magistrates, the Ministers of the Country, and Christians of all sorts, resorted unto him, as unto a Publick Father, full of sad Apprehensions, at the withdraw of such a Publick Blessing; and the Gracious Words that proceeded out of his Mouth,

while he had Strength to utter the profitable Conceptions of his Mind, caused them to reckon these their Visits the Gainfullest that ever they had made. Among others, the then President of the College, with many Tears, desired of Mr. Cotton before his Departure, to bestow his Blessing on him; saying, *I know in my Heart, they whom you Bless shall be blessed*. And not long before his Death, he sent for the Elders of the Church, whereof he himself was also an Elder; who having, according to the Apostolical Direction, pray'd over him, he exhorted them to Feed the Flock over which they were Overseers, and encrease their Watch against those Decensions which he saw the Professors of Religion falling into: Adding, *I have now through Grace, been more than Forty Years a Servant unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and have ever found him a good Master*. When his Colleague Mr. Wilson, took his Leave of him with a Wish, that God would lift up the Light of his Countenance upon him, he instantly replied, *God hath done it already, Brother!* He then called for his Children, with whom he left the Gracious Covenant of God, as their never Failing Portion: And now desired, that he might be left Private the rest of his Minutes, for the more Freedom of his Applications unto the Lord. So lying Speechless a few Hours, he breathed his Blessed Soul into the Hands of his Heavenly Lord; on the Twenty third of December 1652, entering on the Sixty Eighth Year of his own Age: And on the Day, yea at the Hour, of his constant Weekly Labours in the Lecture, wherein he had been so long serviceable, even to all the Churches of New-England. Upon Tuesday the Twenty Eighth of December, he was most Honourably Interred, with a most numerous Concourse of People, and the most Grievous and Solemn Funeral that was ever known perhaps upon the American Strand; and the Lectures in his Church, the whole Winter following, performed by the Neighbouring Ministers, were but so many Funeral Sermons upon the Death and Worth of this Extraordinary Person: Among which, the First, I think, was preached by Mr. Richard Mather, who gave unto the bereaved Church of Boston this great Character of their Incomparable Cotton, *Let us pray, that God would raise up some Eleazar to succeed this Aaron: But you can hardly expect, that so large a Portion of the Spirit of God should dwell in any one, as dwelt in this Blessed Man!* And generally in the other Churches through the Country, the Expiration of this General Blessing to them all, did produce Funeral Sermons full of Honour and Sorrow; even as many Miles above an Hundred, as New-baven was distant from the Massachusetts-Bay, when the Tidings of Mr. Cotton's Decease arrived there, Mr. Davenport with many Tears bewailed it, in a Publick Discourse on that in 2 Sam. 1. 26. *I am distressed for thee, my Brother Jonathan, very pleasant hast thou been unto me. Yea, they speak of Mr. Cotton in their Lamentations to this Day!*



It is a memorable Saying of *Algalzel*, In quo Lumen Religionis & Devotionis, Fumus generatur ex Lamine Scientie non extinguit, ille perfectus est; Sed quis est hic, ut adoremus eum? Reader, I will show thee such a Man; One in whom the *Light of Learning* accompanied the *Fire of Goodness*, met in an High Degree: But thou shalt *Adore* none but the Lord *Jesus Christ*, who made him such a Man.

§ 26. How vast a *Treasure of Learning* was laid in the *Grave*, which was opened on this Occasion, can scarce *Credibly* and *Sufficiently* be related. Mr. *Cotton* was, indeed, a most *Universal Scholar*, and a *Living System* of the *Liberal Arts*, and a *Walking Library*. It would be endless to recite all his particular Accomplishments, but only *Three Articles of Observation* shall be offered. First, For his *Grammar*, he had a very singular Skill in those *Three Languages*, the Knowledge whereof was the *Inscription on the Cross* of our Saviour, proposed unto the *Perpetual Use* of his Church. The *Hebrew* he understood so exactly, and so readily, that he was able to *Discourse* in it. In the *Greek* he was a Critick, so Accurate and so well Versed, that he need not, like *Austin*, to have studied it in his Reduced Age. Thus, if many of the *Ancients* committed gross Mistakes in their Interpretations of the Scriptures, through their want of Skill in the Originals, Mr. *Cotton* was better qualified for an *Interpreter*. He both wrote and spoke *Latin* also with great Facility; and with a most *Ciceronian Elegancy*, Exemplified in one Published Composure. Next, for his *Logic*, he was completely furnished therewith to encounter the subtlest Adversary of the Truth. But although he had been Educated in the *Peripatetic* way, yet like the other *Puritans* of those times, he rather affected the *Ramsean Discipline*, and chose to follow the Methods of that Excellent *Ramus*, who like *Justin* of old, was not only a *Philosopher*, but a *Christian*, and a *Martyr* also; rather than the more Empty, Trifling, Altercative Notions, to which the Works of the Pagan *Aristotle* derived unto us, through the Mangling Hands of the Apostate *Porphyrie*, have disposed his Disciples. Lastly, for his *Theologie*, There was that he had his Greatest *Extrordinariness*, and most of all, his *Textual Dexterity*. His Abilities to Epound the Scriptures, caused him to be Admired by the Ablest of his Hearers. Although his incomparable *Modesty* would not permit him to speak any more than the *Leash of Himself*, yet unto a private Friend he hath said, That he knew not of any *Difficult Place* in all the whole Bible, which he had not weighed, somewhat unto Satisfaction. And hence, though he ordinarily bestowed much pains upon his *Publick Sermons*, yet he hath sometimes Preached most Admirably, without any Warning at all, and a *New Note* upon a Text before him, occurring to his mind, but just as he was going into the Assembly, has taken up his Discourse for that Hour, so Pertinently and Judiciously, that the most Critical of his Auditors, imagined

nothing *Extemporaneous*. Indeed his *Library* was vast, and vast was his Acquaintance with it; but although amongst his Readings, he had given a *Special Room* unto the *Fathers*, and unto the *School men*, yet at last, he preferred one *Calvin* above them all. If *Erasmus*, when offered a *Bishoprick* to write against *Luther*, could answer, *There was more Drivinity in a Page of Luther, than in all Thomas Aquinas*; 'Tis no wonder that *Salmasius* could so Venerate *Calvin*, as to say, That he had rather be the Author of that One Book, *The Institutions* written by Calvin, than have written all that was ever done by *Grotius*. Even such a *Calvinist* was our *Cotton*! Said he, I have read the *Fathers* and the *School men*, and *Calvin* too; but I find, That he that has Calvin has 'em all. And being asked, why in his Latter Days he indulged *Nocturnal Studies* more than formerly, he pleasantly replied, *Because I love to sweeten my mouth with a piece of Calvin before I go to sleep*.

§ 27. Indeed in his Common Preaching, he did as *Basil* reports of *Ephrem Syrus*, *Plurimum distare a Mundana Sapientia*; and though he were a Great Scholar, yet he did Conscientiously forbear making to the Common People any *Ostentation* of it. He had the Art of concealing his Arts, and thought with *Sobrinus*, *Non minus est Virtus Populariter quam Argute Loqui*, and Mr. *Dod*, *That Latin for the most part was Flesh in a Sermon*. Accordingly, when he was Handling the *Deepest Subjects*, a Speech of that Import was frequent with him, *I desire to speak so, as to be understood by the meanest Capacity*! And he would sometimes give the same Reason for it, which the Great *Austing* gave, *If I Preach more Scholastically, then only the Learned, and not the Unlearned, can so understand as to profit by me; but if I Preach plainly, then both Learned and Unlearned will understand me, and so I shall profit all*. When a *Golden Key* of Oratory would not so well open a *Mystery* of Christianity, he made no stick to take an *Iron One*, that should be less *Rhetorical*. You should hear few *Terms of Art*, few *Latinities*, no *Exotic* or *Obscure* Phrases, obscuring of the Truths, which he was to bring unto the People of God. Nevertheless his more Judicious and Observing Hearers, could by his most Untrifling Sermons perceive that he was a man of more than Ordinary Abilities. Hence when a *Duchman* of Great Learning, heard Mr. *Cotton* Preach at *Boston*, in England, he professed, That he never in his Life saw such a Conjunction of Learning and Plainness, as there was in the Preaching of this worthy Man. The Glory of God, and not his own Glory, was that at which he aimed in his Labours; for which cause, at the end of his Notes, he still inserted that Clause, *Tibi Domine: Or, For thy Glory, O God!* For his Delivery, though it were not like *Farels*, *Noisy* and *Thundring*, yet it had in it a very awful Majesty, set off with a Natural and Becoming Motion of his Right Hand; and the Lord was in the Still Voice at such a Rate, that Mr. *Wilson* would say, Mr. *Cotton* Preacher with such



*Authority, Demonstration, and Life, that methinks, when he preaches out of any Prophet, or Apostle, I hear not him; I hear that very Prophet and Apostle; yea, I hear the Lord Jesus Christ himself speaking in his Heart.* And the Success which God gave to these plain Labours of his faithful, humble, diligent Servant, was beyond what most Ministers in the Country ever did experience: There have been few that have been so many and mighty Effects, given to the Travels of their Souls.

§ 28. He was even from his Youth to his Age, an indefatigable Student, under the Conscience of the Apostolical Precept, *Be not slothful in Business, but fervent in Spirit serving the Lord.* He was careful to redeem his Hours, as well as his Days; and might lay claim to that Character of the blessed Martyr, *Sparing of Sleep, more sparing of Words, but most sparing of Time.* If any came to Visit him, he would be very Civil to 'em, having learn'd it as his Duty, *To use all Gentleness towards all Men:* And yet he would often say with some regret, after the departure of a Visitant, *I had rather have given this Man an handful of Money, than have been kept thus long out of my Study:* Reckoning with Pliny, the Time not spent in Study, for the most part, *is well away.* For which cause he went not much abroad; but he judg'd ordinarily that more Benefit was obtain'd, according to the Advice of the Wise King, by conversing with the Dead [in Books], than with the Living [in Talks:] And that needless Visits do commonly unframe our Spirits, and perhaps disturb our Comforts. He was an early Riser, taking the Morning for the Muses; and in his latter Days forbearing a Supper, he turn'd his former Supping-time, into a Reading, a Thinking, a Praying-time. Twelve Hours in a Day he commonly studied, and would call that a *Scholar's Day*; resolving rather to wear out with Using, than with Rusting. In truth, had he not been of an healthy and hearty Constitution, and had he not made a careful, tho' not curious Diet serve him, instead of an *Hippocrates*, his continued Labour must have made his Life, as well as his Labour, to have been but of a short continuance. And, indeed, the Work which lay upon him, could not have been performed, without a Labour more than ordinary. For besides his constant Preaching, more than once every Week, many Cases were brought unto him far and near, in resolving whereof, as he took much time, so he did much good, being a most excellent *Casualist*. He was likewise very deeply concerned in peaceable and effectual Disquisitions of the Controversies about Church-Government, then agitated in the Church of God. And tho' he chiefly gave himself to Reading, and Doctrine, and Exhortation, depending much on the Ruling Elders to inform him, concerning the State of his particular Flock, that he might the better order himself in the Word and Prayer, yet he found his Church-Work, in this regard also, to call for no little Painfulness, Watchfulness, and Faithfulness.

§ 29. He was one to clothed with Humility, that according to the Emphasis of the Apostolical Direction, by this *Literary* his Relation as a Disciple to the lowly Jesus, was notably discovered; and hence he was patient and peaceable, even to a Proverb. He had a more than common Excellency in that cool Spirit, which the Oracles of Wisdom describe, as the excellent Spirit in the Man of Understanding; and therefore Mr. Norton would parallel him, with Moses among the Patriarchs, with Melancthon among the Reformers. He was rather excessive than defective in Self-denial, and had the Nimia Humilitas, which Luther sometimes blamed in Staupitius: Yea, he was at last himself sensible, that some fell very deep into the Sin of Corah, through his extreme Forbearance, in matters relating to his own just Rights in the Church of God. He has, to a Judicious Friend, thus expressed himself, *Angry Men have an advantage above me; the People dare not set themselves against such Men, because they know it wont be born; but some care not what they say or do about me, because they know I wont be angry with them again.* One would have thought the Ingenuity of such a Spirit should have broke the Hearts of Men, that had indeed the Hearts of Men in them; yea, that the hardest Hints would have been broken, as is usual, upon such a soft Bag of Cotton! But alas! he found it otherwise, even among some who pretended unto high Attainments in Christianity. Once particularly, an humorous and imperious Brother, following Mr. Cotton home to his Houle, after his Publick Labours, instead of the grateful Respects with which those Holy Labours were to have been encouraged, rudely told him, That his Ministry was become generally, either dark, or flat: Whereat this meek Man, very mildly and gravely, made only this Answer: *Both, Brother, it may be, both: Let me have your Prayers that it may be otherwise.* But it is remarkable, that the Man sick thus of wanton Singularities, afterwards died of those damnable Heresies, for which he was deservedly Excommunicated. Another time, when Mr. Cotton had modestly replied unto one that would much Talk and Crack of his Insight into the Revelations: Brother, I must confess my self to want Light in those Mysteries. The Man went home, and sent him a Pound of Candles: Upon which Action this good Man bestowed only a silent Smile. He would not set the Beacon of his Great Soul on fire, at the landing of such a little Cock-boat. He learned the Lesson of Gregory, *It is better, many times, to fly from an Injury by Silence, than to overcome it by Replying:* And he used that Practice of Gryneus, *To Revenge Wrongs by Christian Taciturnity.*

I think, I may not omit, on this occasion, to transcribe a remarkable passage, which that good Man, Mr. Flavel, reports, in a Sermon on Gospel-Unity. His Words are these:

A Company of vain wicked Men, having inflamed their Blood in a Tavern at Boston, and seeing that Reverend, Meek, and Holy Mini-

Book III  
Minister of Christ the Street, on the 17th day, (with Cotton. Down whippers themselves) then are I confess I am there wiser I am now. He Compositions, their Sports, And it may Temper in him Alarms-Epilogues. Actually as motion never a Call to do and Occasion; a very Occasion at er to much Plea there, but with Calling. As he med Constantly, religious Assurance, He had a great Civil ones. He into into his Com Unimpages, seems to the Calhells 'twas to fo theless, in the Confidence, his hinder him from He would not f to abandon or p of Holiness.

§ 30. His Com particularly obse Family, where he in a Passion; but shew what Rules were violated, He was indeed of He therein Moni pter, with a lit tore and after w was very (hort) Mr. Bains, and him, That it wa to be tedious in it instantly a Portion prayed over wh he was very mi Prayer; he wo without a Pray fence of God's was the Advice per cum Des, Se egregiously here David, Lord, I was with God al ly with him on the Week, whic ously. The Sab ore: For which Evening to Even his coming to



Minister of Christ, Mr. Cotton, coming along the Street, one of them tells his Companion, *I'll go, (saith he) and put a Trick upon Old Cotton.* Down he goes, and crossing his way, whippers these Words into his Ear, *Cotton (saith he) thou art an old Fool.* Mr. Cotton replied, *I confess I am so: The Lord make both me and thee wiser than we are, even wise unto Salvation.* He relates this passage to his wicked Companions, which cast a great Damp upon their Sports, in the midst of a Frolick.

And it may pass for a Branch of the same Temper in him, that he extremely hated all *Allorrio-Episcopacy*: And tho' he knew as practically as most Men in the World, *That we have a Call to do good, as often as we have Power and Occasion*; yet he was slow of apprehending any Occasion at all, tho' he might have had never so much Power to meddle for Good, any where, but within the Sphere of his own proper Calling. As he understood that *Leontius* blamed *Constantine*, for interposing too far in Ecclesiastical Affairs, thus Mr. Cotton, on the other side, had a great Aversion from engaging in any Civil ones. He would Religiously decline taking into his Cognizance all Civil Controversies, or Umpirages, and whatever looked heterogeneous to the Calling of one, whose whole Business 'twas to feed the Flock of God. Nevertheless, in the Things of God, of Christ, of Conscience, his condescending Temper did not hinder him from the most immovable Resolution. He would not so follow Peace with all Men, as to abandon or prejudice, one for, the Interests of Holiness.

§ 30. His Command over his own Spirit, was particularly observable in his Government of his Family, where he would never correct any thing in a Passion; but first, with much deliberation shew what Rule in the Holy Word of God, had been violated, by the Fault lately committed. He was indeed one that ruled well his own House. He therein Morning and Evening, read a Chapter, with a little Applicatory Exposition, before and after which he made a Prayer; but he was very thorough in all, accounting as Mr. Dod, Mr. Bann, and other great Saints did before him, *That it was a thing inconvenient many ways to be tedious in Family Duties.* He also read constantly a Portion of the Scripture alone, and he prayed over what he read: Pray'd I say; for he was very much in Prayer, a very Man of Prayer; he would rarely sit down to study, without a Prayer over it, referring to the Presence of God accompanying what he did. It was the Advice of the Ancient, *Si vis esse Semper cum Deo, Semper Ora, Semper Lege*: And agreeably hereunto, Mr. Cotton might say with David, *Lord, I am still with thee.* But he that was with God all the Week, was more intimately with him on his own Day, the chief Day of the Week, which he observed most Conscientiously. The Sabbath he began the Evening before: For which keeping of the Sabbath from Evening to Evening, he wrote Arguments before his coming to New-England: And I suppose,

'twas from his Reason and Practice, that the Christians of New-England have generally done so too. When that Evening arriv'd, he was usually larger in his Exposition in his Family, than at other times: He then Catechized his Children and Servants, and prayed with them, and sang a Psalm; from thence he retired unto Study and secret Prayer, till the time of his going into his Repose. The next Morning, after his usual Family Worship, he betook himself to the Devotions of his Retirements, and so unto the Publick. From thence towards Noon, he repaired again to the like Devotions, not permitting the Interruption of any other Dinner, than that of a small Repast carried up unto him. Then to the Publick, once more: From whence returning, his first Work was *Closet Prayer*, then Prayer with Repetitions of the Sermons, in the Family. After Supper he still sang a Psalm; which he would conclude with uplifted Eyes and Hands, uttering this Doxology, — *Blessed be God in Christ our Saviour!* Last of all, just before his going to Sleep, he would once again go into his Prayerful Study, and there briefly recommend all to that God, whom he served with a pure Conscience.

But there was one point of Sabbath keeping, about which it may not be unuseful for me to transcribe a passage, which I find him writing to Mr. N. Rogers, in the Year 1630.

*Studying for a Sermon upon the Sabbath day, so far as it might be any wearisome Labour to Invention or Memory, I cover (when I can) willingly to prevent it; and would rather attend upon the quickning of my Heart and Affections, in the Meditation of what I am to deliver. My Reason is, much Reading and Invention, and Repetition of things, to commit them to Memory, is a weariness to the Flesh and Spirit too; whereas the Sabbath day doth rather invite unto an holy Rest. But yet if God's Providence have straiten'd my time in the Week days before; by concurrence of other Business, not to be avoided, I doubt not, but the Lord, who allowed the Priests to employ their Labour, in killing the Sacrifices on the Sabbath day, will allow us also to labour in our Callings on the Sabbath, to prepare our Sacrifice for the People.*

These were his ordinary Sabbaths: But he also kept extraordinary ones, upon the just occasions for them. He was in Fasting often, and would often keep whole Days by himself, wherein he would with solemn Humiliations and Supplications, implore the wanted Mercies of Heaven; yea, he would likewise by himself, keep whole Days of Thanksgiving unto the Lord: Besides the many Days of this kind, which he celebrated in Publick Assemblies with the People of God. Thus did this Man of God continually.

§ 31. Without Liberty and Hospitality, he had been really as undervaluing of the Character of a Minister of the Gospel, as the Sacrilegious Niggardliness of the People, does often endeavour to make Ministers incapable of answering that Character. But Mr. Cotton was most exemplary



emplary for this Virtue; wherein there are of his Children, that have also learned of him. The Stranger and the Needy were still entertained at his Table, *Episcopalis & Benigne*, as was the Phrase instructively used, for a charitable Entertainment of old. It might be said of him, as once it was of the Generous Corinthian, *Semper aliquis in Cottoni Domo*: He was ever shewing of Kindness to Somebody or other. What *Posidonius* relates of *Austin*, and what *Peter Martyr* affirms of *Bucer*, was very true of our Cotton: *His House was like an Inn, for the constant Entertainment which he gave upon the Account of the Gospel*. And he would say, *If a Man want an Heart for this Charity, it is not fit such a Man should be ordained a Minister*: Consenting therein to the great Canonist, *Hospitalitas usque adeo Episcopis est necessaria, ut si ea inveniantur alieni, Jure prohibentur Ordinari*. While he lived quietly in England, he was noted for his bountiful Disposition, especially to Ministers driven into England by the Storms of Persecution, then raging in Germany: For which cause *Libingus*, *Saumer*, *Tolner*, and others of the German Sufferers, in their Accounts of him, would stile him, *Pater Doctissimus, Clarissimus, Fidelissimus, plurimunque Honorandus*. It was remarkable, that he never omitted inviting unto his House, any Minister travelling to, or through the Town, but only that one Man, who periodically betray'd *Mr. Hildersham*, with his Non-Conformist Associates, into the Hands of their Enemies. And after he came to New-England, he changed not his Mind with his Air; but with a *Quantum ex Quantilo* continued his Beneficence upon all occasions, tho' his Abilities for it were much diminished; which brings to mind a most memorable Story. A little Church, whereof the worthy *Mr. White* was Pastor, being by the strange and strong Malice of their prevailing Adversaries, forced of *Barnudas* in much Misery, into a Desert of America, the Report of their Distresses came to their Fellow Sufferers, tho' not alike Sufferers, at New-England. *Mr. Cotton* immediately applied himself to obtain a Collection, for the Relief of those distressed Saints; and a Collection of about 700 l. was immediately obtained, whereof Two hundred was gathered in that one Church of Boston, where there was no Man who did exceed, and but one Man who did equal, this Devotest of Liberal Things, in that Contribution. But behold the wonderful Providence of God! This Contribution arrived unto the poor People on the very Day, after they had been brought unto a Personal Division of the little Meal then left in the Barrel; upon the spending whereof, they could foresee nothing but a lingering Death; and on that very Day, when their Pastor had preach'd unto them, upon that most suitable Text, *Psal. 23. 1. The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want*.

§ 32. The Reader that is inquisitive after the Prosopography of this Great Man, may be informed, that he was of a Clear, Fair, Sanguine Complexion, and like *David* of a ruddy Counte-

nance. He was rather low than tall, and rather fat than lean, but of a becoming Modesty. In his younger Years his Hair was brown, but in his latter Years as white as the Driven Snow. In his Countenance there was an inexpressible sort of Majesty, which commanded Reverence from all that approached him: This Cotton was indeed the Cato of his Age, for his Gravity; but had a Glory with it which Cato had not. I cannot indeed, say, what they Report of *Hilary*, that *Serpents were not able to look upon him*; nevertheless, it was commonly observed, that the worst sort of Serpents, would from the Awe of his Presence keep in their Poisons. As the Keeper of the Inn, where he did use to lodge, when he came to Derby, would profanely say to his Companions, That he wished *Mr. Cotton* were gone out of his House; for he was not able to Swear, while that Man was under his Roof. So other wicked Persons could not stiew their Wickedness, whilst this holy and righteous Man was in the Company. But the exacter Picture of him, is to be taken from his Printed Works, whereof there are many, that praise him in the Gates, tho' few of them were Printed with his own Knowledge or Consent.

We will mention a Catalogue of his Works, because (as it was said of *Calvin*'),

*Chara quibus fuerat Cottoni Vita; laborum Gratior ejusdem Vita perennis erit.*

The Children of New-England are to this day most usually fed with his excellent Catechism, which is entituled, *Milk for Babies*.

His well-known Sermons on the First Epistle of *John*, in Folio, have had their Acceptance with the Church of God; tho' being preached in his Youth, and not published by himself, there are some things therein, which he would not have inserted.

There are also of his abroad, Sermons on the Thirteenth of the Revelations, and on the *Viatic*, and on *Rev. 20. 5, 6. and 2 Sam. 7.* last in Quarto.

As also, a Savory Treatise, entituled, *The Way of Life*. The Reverend Prefacer whereto saith, *Ever since I had any knowledge of this judicious Author, I have look'd upon him as intrusted with as great a part of the Churches Treasure, as any other whatsoever.*

Several Volumes of his Expositions upon *Ecclesiastes* and *Canticles*, are also published in Octavo.

As likewise, *A Treatise of the New Covenant*: Which being only a Posthumous Piece, and only Notes written after him, is accordingly to be judged of.

And there have seen the Light, An Answer to *Mr. Ball*, about Forms of Prayer. A Discourse about the Grounds and Ends of Infant-Baptism. A Discourse about Singing of Psalms, proving it a Gospel-Ordinance. An Abstract of Laws in Christ's Kingdom, for Civil Government. A Treatise about the Holiness of Church-Members; proving, that visible Saints are the

matter



matter of a Church. Another Discourse upon *Things indifferent*, proving that no Church Governours have Power to impose *indifferent Things*, upon the Consciences of Men. Add hereto, The Way of the Churches in *New-England* : And that Golden Discourse of *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* : In a written Copy whereof, yet in our Hands, there were some things which were never Printed, maintaining, that in the Government of the Church, *Authority* is peculiar to the *Elders* only ; and answering all the *Brownist* Arguments to the contrary. But whereas there may occur a passage in his Book of *The Way of the Churches*, which may have in it a little more of the *Morrellian* Tang, Reader, 'twas none of Mr. Cotton's ; Mr. Cotton was troubled when he saw such a passage, in an imperfect Copy of his Writings, exposed unto the World, under his Name, against his *Will* : And he took an opportunity, in the most publick manner, to declare as much unto the World.

He was also sometimes put upon writing yet more *Polemically*. Indeed there was one occasion of so writing, which he declined meddling withal ; and that was this : Mr. Cotton having in his younger Years, written to a private Friend some things, tending (at his desire) to clear the Doctrine of *Reprobates*, from the Exceptions of the *Arminians* ; and this Manuscript falling into Dr. *Tewiss*'s hand, that learned Man publish'd it, with his own Confutation of certain passages in it, which did not agree so well with the Doctor's own *Supralapsarian Scheme*. Now when Mr. Cotton saw himself reviled for this Cause by *Baily*, as being *Pelagian*, he only made this meek Reply : *I hope God will give me Opportunity e'er long to confider of this, the Doctor's Labour of Love. I bless the Lord, who has taught me to be willing to be taught, of a far meaner Disciple, than such a Doctor, whose Scholastical Acuteness, Pregnancy of Wit, Solidity of Judgment, and Dexterity of Argument, all Orthodox Divines do highly honour, and whom all Arminians and Jesuites do fall down before, with Silence. God forbid I should shut my Eyes against any Light brought to me by him. Only I desire I may not be condemned as a Pelagian, or Arminian, before I be heard.*

Moreover, Mr. *Cawdry* fell hard upon him ; to whom he prepared an Answer, which was afterwards Published and Seconded by Dr. *Owen*. But besides these, he was twice compelled unto some other *Eristical* Writings : Once in Answer to *Baily* ; another time in Answer to *Williams* : In both of which, like *Job*, he turned the Books which his Adversaries had written against him, into a Crown. I believe, never any meer Man, under such open and horrid Injuries, as these two Reporters heaped upon Mr. Cotton, did Answer with more Christian Patience : His Answers are indeed a Pattern for all Answerers to the World's end. But it was particularly remarkable, that in this matter, certain Persons, who had fallen under the Censures of the Civil Authority in the Country, singled out Mr. Cotton

for the Object of their Displeasure, altho' he had, most of all Men, declined Interfering himself in the Actions of the Magistrature, and had also done more than all Men, to obtain Healing and Favour for those ungrateful Delinquents. However, the venomous Tongues all this while, only lick'd a *File*, which made themselves to bleed ; his *Fame*, like the *Fitz*, remained invulnerable ; and if Mr. Cotton would from his own profitable Experience, have added another Book unto this Catalogue, it might have been on the Subject handled by *Plutarch*, *De Capienda ex Hostibus Utilitate*. This is the *Elenchus* of Mr. Cotton's published Writings ; whereupon we might make this Conclusion.

*Digna Legi Scribis, Facis & Dignissima Scribi ; Scripta probant Doctum, Te, Tua, Falsa, probum.*

§ 33. The things which have been related, cause us to account Mr. Cotton an extraordinary Person.

*Dives eras Donis, etiamque Fidelis in Ufu,  
Lucratus Domino multa Talenta tuo.  
Multus eras Studiis, multusq; Laboribus, uno  
Te, fora, Tempa, Donus, Te, capere sivi.  
Multa Laborabas Scribendo, Multa Docendo,  
Invigilans Operi, Nocte Dieque, Dei.  
Multa Laborabas Scribendo, Multa Ferendo,  
Que nili Cottono, vix Subeunda forem.  
Tu non unus eras, sed Multi ; Multus in Uno,  
Multorum Donis predictis Unus eras.  
Uno Te amiso, Multos Amissurus eris.  
Sed neque per Multos Restitutus eris.*

These were some of the Lines, which the Renowned *Bulky* justly wept upon his Grave. Yea, we may, on as many Accounts as these Days will allow, reckon him to have been a Prophet of the Lord : And when we have entertain'd our selves with a Memorable Demonstration of it, in one surprising and stupendous Article of our Church History, we will put a Period unto this part of it.

At the time when some unhappy Persons were just going from hence to *England*, with certain *Petitions*, which had a tendency to disturb the good Order of Things in both Church and State, then settling among us, Mr. Cotton in the ordinary Course of his Lectures on the *Canticles*, preached on *Cant. 2. 15. Take us the Foxes, the little Foxes, which destroy the Vines*. Having thence observed, That when God has delivered his Church from the Dangers of the persecuting Bear and Lyon, then there were Foxes that would seek by Policy to undermine it : And, That all those who go by a Fox-like Policy to undermine the Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ, shall be taken and overtaken by his Judgments. He came at length to his Application, where with a more than ordinary Majesty and Fervecency, he after this manner expressed himself.

First, Let such as live in this Country take heed, how they go about in any indirect Way



or Course to prejudice the Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ in the Land, or the Government of the Land. If you Do, The Keeper of Israel, who neither slumbereth nor sleepeeth, will not take it well at your Hands. He that brought this People hither, and preserved them from the Rage of Persecution, and made this Wilderness an *Hiding Place* for them, whilst he was Chastising our Nation, with the other Nations round about it, and has manifested his Gracious Presence in the midst of these His *Golden Candlesticks*, and secured us from the Plots of the late Archbishop, and his Confederates abroad, and from the Plots of the Heathen here at home; there is no Question But He will defend us from the Underminings of *False Brethren*, and such as are joined with them. Wherefore let such know, That this is, in many respects, *Immanuel's Land*, and they shall not prosper that rise up against it, but shall be Taken every One of them in the Snares they lay for it. This I speak as a Poor Prophet of the Lord, according to the Word of His Grace now before us! But in the Second Place, whereas many of our Brethren are going to England, Let me direct a Word unto Them also. I desire the Gracious Presence of our God may go with you, and his Angels guard you, not only from the Dangers of the Seas, while you are there-upon, but also from the Errors of the Times, when you arrive. Nevertheless, if there be any among you, my Brethren, as tis Reported there are, that have a *Petition* to prefer unto the High Court of Parliament, that may conduce to the Distraction and Annoyance of the Peace of our Churches, and the weakening the Government of the Land where we Live, Let Such know, the Lord will never suffer them to prosper in their Subtil, Malicious, Desperate Undertakings against his People, who are as tender unto him as the Apple of his Eye. But if there be any such among You, who are to Go, I do exhort you, and I would advise you in the Fear of God, that when the Terrors of the Almighty shall beset the Vessel wherein you are, when the Heavens shall frown upon you, and the Billows of the Sea shall swell above you, and the Dangers of Death shall threaten you, as I am verily persuaded they will, I would have you then to Consider your Ways. I will not give the Counsel that was taken concerning Jonas, to cast such a Person into the Sea; God forbid! But I counsel such to come then unto a Resolution in themselves to Desist from their Enterprises, and Cast their Petitions into the Sea. It may be, that Hardness of Heart and Stoutness of Spirit may cause you to persist, and yet in Mercy to some Gracious Persons among you, the Lord may deliver the Ship from utter Destruction for their sakes. But the Lord hath further Judgments in Store: He is the God of the Land, as well as of the Sea. I speak this also, as an unworthy Prophet of the Lord!

These Things were then uttered by a Person, that was as little of an Enthusiast, as most Men in the World. Now attend the Event!

That Ship, after many Stretches of Weather in the Harbour, puts out to Sea; but at Sea it had the Terriblest Passage, perhaps, that ever was heard of; The Mariners not being able to take any Observation of either Sun or Star, for Seven Hundred Leagues together. Certain well disposed Persons aboard, now calling to Mind the Words of Mr. Cotton, thought it necessary to admonish the Persons, who were carrying over the Malignant Papers against the Country; and some of those Papers were by them there-upon given to the Seamen, who immediately cut them in pieces and threw them over-board. The Storm forthwith abated; however there afterwards came up New Storms, which at last hurried the Ship among the Rocks of Scilly; where they yet received a Deliverance, which most of them that consider'd it, pronounced Miraculous. When the Rude Cornish Men saw how Miraculously the Vessel had escaped, they said, God was a Good Man to save them so! But the most Instructed Obligated Passengers kept a Day of Solemn Thanksgiving to God; in which even the Profane Persons on Board, under the Impression of what had happened, then bore a part. However, the Corn-fields in New-England, still stood Undisturbed, notwithstanding the Various Names affixed unto the *Tales of Petitions* against their Liberties. For, as Mr. Cotton elegantly expressed it, God then *Rescued Three Nations, with shaking Dispensations, that he might procure some Rest unto his People in this Wilderness!*

§ 34. This was Mr. Cotton! What more he was, let these Lines, taking no License but from the Real Truth, Delineate.

Upon the Tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late Teacher of the Church of Boston in New-England.

HERE lies Magnanimous Humility;  
Majesty, Meekness; Christian Apathy  
On soft Affections, Liberty in Thrall;  
A Noble Spirit, Servant unto All;  
Learnings Great Master-piece, who yet would fit  
As a Disciple, at his Scholars Feet:  
A Simple Serpent, or Serpentine Dove,  
Made up of Wisdom, Innocence and Love:  
Neatness Embroider'd with It self alone,  
And Civils Canonized in a Gown;  
Embracing Old and Young, and Low and High,  
Ethies Imbodyed in Dximity;  
Ambitious to be Lowest, and to Raise  
His Brethren Honour on his own Decays;  
(Thus doth the Sun retire into his Bed,  
That being gone the Stars may (shew their head)  
Could Wound at Argument without Division,  
Cut to the Quick, and yet make no Incision:  
Ready to Sacrifice Dovesick Nations  
To Churches Peace, and Ministers Devotions:  
Himself, indeed (and Singular in That)  
Whom All Admired, He Admired not:

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Liv'd Like an *Angel* of a Mortal Birth,

Convers'd in *Heaven* while he was on *Earth* :

Though not, as *Moses*, Radiant with Light

Whose *Glory* Dazzl'd the Beholders Sight,

Yet so Divinely Beautif'd, you'd Count

He had been Born and Bred upon the *Mount* :

A Living Breathing *Bible*, Tables where

Both *Covenants*, at Large, engraven were ;

*Gospel* and *Law*, in's Heart, had Each its Column ;

His Head an Index to the Sacred Volume ;

His very Name a *Title-Page* ; and next,

His Life a *Commentary* on the Text.

O, What a Monument of Glorious Worth,

When, in a *New Edition*, he comes forth,

Without *Errata's*, may we think he'll be

In *Leaves* and *Covers* of Eternity !

A Man of Might, at Heavenly Eloquence,

To Fix the *Ear*, and Charm the *Conscience* ;

As if *Apollon* were Reviv'd in Him,

Or he had Learned of a *Seraphim* :

Spake *Many Tongues* in One : One Voice and Sense

Wrought, *Joy* and *Sorrow*, *Fear* and *Confidence* :

*Rocks* Rent before him, *Blind* Receiv'd their Sight,

*Souls* *Levell'd* to the *Dunghill*, stood *Upright* :

*Infernal Furies*, Burst with Rage to see

Their Prisoners *Captiv'd* into *Liberty* :

A *Star* that, in our Eastern *England*, *Roke*,

Thence hurry'd by the Blast of Stupid Foes,

Whose *Foggy Darknefs*, and Benumbed Senses,

Brookt not his Dazling *Fervent Influences* :

Thus did he move on *Earth*, from *East* to *West* ;

There he went *down*, and *up* to *Heaven* for Rest.

Nor from himself, whist *Living*, doth he vary,

His Death hath made him an *Ubiquitary* :

Where is his *Sepulchre* is Hard to say,

Who, in a *Thousand Sepulchres*, doth lay

(Their *Hearts*.) I mean, whom he hath Left Behind,

In Them) his Sacred Reliques, now, Enshrin'd.

But Let his Mourning Flock be Comforted,

Though *Moses* be, yet *Joshua* is not Dead :

I mean *Renowned Norton*, worthy he,

Successor to our *Moses*, is to be,

O Happy *Israel* in *America*,

In such a *Moses*, such a *Joshua*.

B. Woodbridge.

§. 35. Three Sons, and Three Daughters, was

this Renowned *Walker* with God Blessed withal.

His Eldest Son did spend and end his Days in

the Ministry of the Gospel, at *Hampton* : Being

esteemed a thorough *Scholar*, and an able *Prea-*

cher ; and though his Name were *Sea-born*, yet

none of the lately Revived Heresies were more

Abominable to him, than that of his Name-

fake, *Pelagius* [or, *Morgan*] of whom the *Wit-*

ness of the Ancient Poet is true,

*Pessifero Vomuit coluber Serpente Britannus.*

His Second Son was a Minister of the Gospel,

at *Plymouth*, and one by whom, not only the

*English*, but also the *Indians* of *America*, had

the Glad Tidings of *Salvation*, in their own

Language carried into them.

Of his Two Younger Daughters, the first was

Married unto a Merchant of Good Fashion,

whose Name was Mr. *Egginton* ; but he did

not long survive the Birth of her first Child, as

that Child also did not survive many Years af-

ter the Death of her Mother. The next is at this

time Living, the Consort of one well known in

both *Englands*, namely, *Increase Mather*, the

President of *Harvard College*, and the Teacher

of a Church in *Boston*.

The Youngest of his Sons, called *Roland*, and

the Eldest of his Daughters, called *Sarah*, both

of them died near together, of the *Small-Pox*,

which was raging among the Inhabitants of

*Boston*, in the Winter of the Year 1649.

The Death of those two Lovely Children, required

the Faith of an *Abraham*, in the Heart of their

Gracious Father ; who indeed most exemplarily

Expressed what was required. On this Occasion,

I find, that on a spare Leaf of his *Almanack*,

he wrote in *Greek Letters* these *English Verses* ;

In *Sarum*.

Farewel, dear Daughter *Sara*, Now Thou'rt gone,

(Whither thou much desiredst) to thine Home :

Pray, my Dear Father, Let me now go Home !

Were the last Words thou spakst to me alone.

Go then, sweet *Sara*, take thy *Sabbath Rest*.

With thy Great Lord, and all in Heaven Blest.

In *Rolandum*.

Our Eldest Daughter, and our Youngest Son,

Within Nine Days, both have their full Race run.

On th' Twentieth of th' Eleventh, Died She,

And on the Twenty Ninth Day Died He.

Both in their Lives were Lovely and United,

And in their Deaths they were not much Divided.

Christ gave them Both, and He takes both again

To live with Him ; Blest be His Holy Name.

In *Urrumque*.

Suffer, Saith Christ, Your Little Ones.

To Come forth, Me unto,

For of such Ones my Kingdom is,

Of Grace and Glory too.

We do not only Suffer them,

But Offer them to Thee,

Now, Blessed Lord, Let us Believe,

Accepted, that they be :

That Thou hast Took them, in Thine Arms,

And on them Put thine Hand,

And Blessed them with Sign of Thee,

Wherein our Blessings Stand.

But he has at this Day Five Grandsons, all

of them Employed in the Publick Service of the

Gospel ; whereof, Let the Reader count him

the Meanest, that is the Writer of this History,

and accept further one Little Piece of History,

relating hereunto.

The Gathering of the Second Church in *Es-*

sexton, was evidently very much to the Disadvan-

tage of Mr. *Cotton*, in many of his Interests.

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But he was a *John*, who reckoned his *Joy* fulfilled in *This*, That in his own *Decease* the Interests of the Lord *Jesus Christ* would *Increase*; and therefore, with an Exemplary *Self-Denial*, divesting himself of all carnal Respects, he let himself to encourage the Foundation of that *Church*, out of Respect unto the Service and Worship of our *Common Lord*. Now, it has pleased the Lord so to order it, That many Years after his *Decease*, that *Self-Denial* of his Holy Servant, has turned unto some Account, in the Opportunities which *That very Church* has given unto *His Children*, to Glorify the Lord *Jesus Christ*, in the Conduct of it: His Son-in-Law has been seen for more than *Thrice Ten Years*, and his Grandson for more

than *Twice Seven Years*, the Ministers of the Gospel, in *That very Church*, accommodated with happy Opportunities, To serve their Generation.

### Epitaphium.

JOHANNES COTTONUS,

*Cujus Ultima Laus est,  
Quod fuerit inter Nov-Anglos Primus.*

### CHAP. II.

NORTONUS *Honoratus*, the LIFE of Mr. JOHN NORTON.

§ 1. THERE was a Famous *John* whose Achievements are by our Lord Embazoned in those Terms, *He was a Burning and a Shining Light*. In the Tabernacle of Old, erected by the Order and for the Worship of God, there were those Two Things, a Candlestick and an Altar; in the One a *Light* that might never go out, in the other a *Fire* that might never be extinguished; and yet such an Affinity between these, that there was a *Fire* in the *Light* of the one, and a *Light* in the *Fire* of the other. Such a Mixture of both Faith and Love should be in those that are employed about the Service of the Tabernacle: And though the Tabernacle erected for our Lord in this Wilderness, had many such *Burning and Shining Lights*; yet among the *Chief* of them is to be reckoned, that *John* which we had in our Blessed Norton.

§ 2. He was Born the Sixth of May, 1606. at *Starford* in *Hartfordshire*; descended of Honourable Ancestors. In his early Childhood he discovered a Ripeness of Wit, which gave just Hopes of his proving Extraordinary: And under Mr. *Strange* in the School of *Bunningford*, he made such a Proficiency, that he could sometimes write Good Latin, with a more than common Elegancy and Invention. At Fourteen Years of Age, being sent unto *Peter-House*, he staid there, till after his taking of his First Degree; where a *Romish* Emiffary, taking a curious and exact Observation of his Notable Accomplishments, used all the Methods he could think of, to have seduced him over unto the *Romish* Irreligion: But God intending him to be a Pillar in his own Temple, mercifully prevented his hearkening unto any Temptations to become a *Support* unto the Tower of *Babel*.

§ 3. In his Youth he was accustomed unto some Youthful Vanities; especially unto Card-Playing; an Evil which he did first Ponder and Reform upon a Serious Admonition, which a Servant of his Father's gave unto him. When

he came to consider that a Lot is a Solemn Appeal unto the God of Heaven, and even by the rudest Gentiles counted a Sacred Thing, he thought that Playing with it, was a Breach of the Third Commandment in the Laws of our God; it should be used, he thought, rather Prayerfully than Sportfully. He considered, that the Papists themselves do not allow these Games in Ecclesiastical Persons, and the Fathers do reprove them with a vehement Zeal in all sorts of Persons. He considered, that when the Roman Empire became Christian, severe Edicts were made against these Games, and that our Protestant Reformers have branded them with an Infamous Character; wherefore inclining now to follow *Whatever things are of a Good Report*, he would no longer meddle with Games that had so much of a Scandal in them.

§ 4. An Extreme Disaster befalling his Father's Estate, he left the University; and became at once *Usher* to the School, and Curate in the Church at *Starford*: Where a Lecture being maintained by a Combination of several Godly and Able Ministers, he on that Occasion fell into Acquaintance with several of them; especially Mr. *Jeremiah Dyke*, of *Epping*, by whose Ministry the Holy Spirit of God, gave him a Discovery of his own manifold Sinfulness and Wretchedness in an Unregenerate State, and awakened him unto such a Self-Examination, as drove him to a *Sorrow* little short of Despair; but after some time, the same Holy Spirit, enabled him to receive the Christ and Grace, tendered in the Promises of the Gospel, with an Unspeakable Consolation. Whereupon he thought himself concerned in that Advice of Heaven, *When thou art Converted, Strengthen thy Brethren!*

§ 5. Having before this been well studied in the Tongues and Arts, he was the better fitted for the higher Studies of Divinity; whereto he now wholly addicted himself: And being in

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his own happy Experience acquainted with Faith, and Repentance, and Holiness, he did from that Experience now make *Lively Sermons* on those points unto his Hearers. He soon grew Eminent in his Ministry; setting off the Truths he deliver'd, not only with such *Ornaments of Laconic* and well contriv'd Expression, as made him worthy to be called, *The Master of Sentences*, but also with such *Experimental Passages* of Devotion, as made him admired for *A Preacher seeking out Acceptable Words*.

§ 6. His Accomplishments render'd him as capable of *Preferments*, as most in his Age; but *Preferments* were then so clogg'd with Troublesome and Scruplefome *Impositions*, that Mr. Norton, as well as other Conscientious Young Ministers, his Contemporaries, declined meddling with them. His *Aversion*, and indeed *Antipathy* to *Arminianism* (after he was, as *Bradwardin* speaks, *Gratie Radio Vistatus*.) and his Dislike of the *Ceremonies*, particularly hindered him from a Considerable Benefice, where to his Uncle might have helped him. Dr. *Sibs* also, the Master of *Katharine Hall* in Cambridge, taken with his Abilities, did earnestly sollicite him, to have accepted of a *Fellowship* in that College; but his Conscience being now satisfied in the *Unlawfulness* of some things then required in Order thereunto, would not permit him to do it. One asked once a great Prelate at Court, how it came to pass, that such a Preacher (an Ancient Chaplain there) a Wife, Grave, Holy Man, did not *Rise*? Meaning by way of *Preferment*: The Prelate answered him, *Truly, let me tell you, That I verily think, he never will Rise until the Resurrection*. Truly, Let me now tell the World, That such were the Principles of Mr. Norton, there was no likelihood of his *Rising* in this World, as things then went in the World. Wherefore he contented himself with a more Private Life, as Chaplain in two Knights Houſes at *High Laver* in *Essex*, namely, Sir *William Mafham's*; there waiting, till God might furnish him with *Unexceptable Opportunities*, for his more Publick Preaching of the Gospel. But generally, all those who had any Talt of his Ministry, had a very high Opinion of it; nor was there any Man in that part of the Country more esteem'd than he was, for all sorts of Excellencies; inſomuch, that when he came away, an Ancient Minister ſaid, *He believed there was not more Grace and Holiness left in all Essex, than what Mr. Norton had carried with him*.

§ 7. His Natural Temper had a Tincture of *Cooler* in it; but as the ſowreſt and harſheſt *Fruits* become the moſt *Pleasant*, when tempered with a due Proportion of *Sweetneſs* add'd thereunto, ſo the Grace of God ſweeten'd the Diſpoſition of this good Man, into a moſt Affable, Courteous, and Complaiſant Behaviour, which render'd him exceeding *Amiable*. Indeed when the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the *Spirit*, and *Soul* and *Body*, being *Sanctified*, ſome do by *Spirit* underſtand the Natural Temper, or *Humour*; and accordingly the *Spirit* of this *Quick* Man

being *Sanctified*, he became a Man of an *Excellent Spirit*.

§ 8. Valt was the Treasure of *Learning* in this Reverend Man. He was not only a moſt Accurate *Grammarian*, which is abundantly manifeſted by his Printed Works in Divers Languages; but an *Univerſal Scholar*: Nevertheless, 'twas as a *School-man* that he ſhow'd himſelf the moſt of a *Scholar*. He accounted that the Excellency of a *Scholar*, lay more in *Diſtinctneſs* of *Judgment*, than in *Elegancy* of *Language*; and therefore, though he had a neater Style than moſt other Men, yet he was Deſirous to furniſh himſelf *ad pugnam*, rather than *ad Pompam*. Hence having intimately acquainted himſelf with the *Subtilties* of *School-aſtic* Divinity, he made all to illuſtrate the *Doctrines* of *Chriſt* and of *Grace*, unto which he made all the Spoils of the *Schools* gloriously ſubſervient. He was a moſt Elegant Preacher, and the True Follower of Dr. *Sibs*!

§ 9. But let his *Excellencies* have been what they will, there was in thoſe Days a *Set of Men*, reſolved that the Church of God ſhould loſe the Benefit of all thoſe Excellencies, except the Perſon which had them, could comply with certain *Uninfluſtrated Rites* in the Worſhip of God; which our Mr. Norton could not; and it was that which made him ours. This drove him to the remote Regions of *America*, where he *hoped*, as well he *might*, that there would never be done ſo *unreaſonable* a Thing, as to obſtruct that *Evangelical Worſhip* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for the ſake whereof thoſe Regions have been added unto the *Engliſh Dominions*. Wherefore in the Year 1634. having married a Gentlewoman both of Good Eſtate, and of Good Eſteem, he took ſhipping for *New-England*, accompanied in the ſame Ship with the Famous Mr. *Thomas Shepard*.

§ 10. In the Road betwixt *Harwich* and *Yarmouth*, he very narrowly eſcaped a Terrible Shipwreck: For by the Vehemency of a Storm all their Anchors gave way, ſo that they were driven within a Cable's Length of the *Sands*; but yet the Anchor of their Hope in God, held faſt unto the laſt. Mr. *Shepard* having taken the *Mariners* above Decks, Mr. Norton took the *Paſſengers* between Decks, and each of them with their Company, applied themſelves unto Perſent Prayer, whereto the Almighty God gave a preſent Anſwer in their wonderful Deliverance. After this Tempeſt, which diſappointed their Voyage to *New-England* for that Seaſon, Mr. Norton returned unto his Friends in *Essex*; where Mr. *Dyke* welcomed him, as one come from the dead; profeſſing to him, *That he would have given many Pounds for ſuch a Tryal of his Faith, as this his Friend had newly met withal*.

§ 11. The next Year Mr. Norton renewed his Voyage to *New-England*; but intervening Accidents made it very late in the Year, before he could begin the Voyage: And ſo, coming upon the *American Coaſt* in the Month of *October*, they encounter'd with another very terrible



Storm, which lasted Eight and forty Hours with great extremity, and had broken the Vessel to pieces, if it had not had a strength more than ordinary. One Wave remarkably washed some of the *Sea-men* overboard on one side, and then threw them in again on t'other, and so vehement was the Storm, that they were forced at length to undergird the Ship with the *Cable*, that they might keep her sides together. But within ten Days after this, they were brought safe into *Plymouth Harbour*.

§ 12. There had been some Overtures between him and Mr. *Winflow*, the Agent of *Plymouth*, now on board with him, about his accepting of a Settlement in that Plantation; and the People of *Plymouth* now courteously and earnestly invited him, accordingly to continue with them. Nevertheless, the State of Things in the *Masachusetts Colony*, was more agreeable unto him; and the Church of *Ipswich* made their speedy Applications unto him, to take the Pastoral Charge of them. This occasioned his Deliberation with his Friends in the Bay, what Course to steer.

§ 13. While he sojourned in his unsettled State at *Boston*, he came into Acquaintance with the Ministers thereof, who entertained him with a very high Opinion of him; especially Mr. *Mather of Dorchester*, who tho' of longer standing than he, yet consulted him as an Oracle, in Matters of greatest Consequence unto him; and found him so accomplished and experienced a Person, that he maintained a most valuable Friendship with him to the last. Yea, tho' he were yet a young Man, and short of Thirty, when he first came into the Country, yet the Magistrates of the Colony soon became so sensible of his Abilities, as to make use of him in some of their most arduous Affairs. And there happened several Occasions to try the Scholastic Emmencies, whereto he was arrived, one of which was, when there was in these Parts a *French Friar*, who found in Mr. *Norton*, a Protestant, equal to his own School-men, and well-acquainted with them all. Indeed there was in him the Union of two Excellencies, which do not always meet. It was the Character of *Hortensius*, that he was weak in Writing, and yet able to Speak: It was the Character of *Abercius*, that he was weak in Speech, and yet able in Writing: But our *Norton* was in both of these a very able Person.

§ 14. It was the Church of *Ipswich*, that our Lord gave so rich a thing, as his eminent Servant *Norton*: But besides the constant Labours of this holy and fruitful Man, in that particular Church, he there did several great Services of a more extensive Influence to the whole Church of God; whereof one was this: *Guilielmus Apollonius*, at the Direction of the Divines in *Zealand*, in the Year 1644, sent over to *New-England* a Number of Questions, relating to our Way of Church-Government; whereto the Ministers of *New-England* unanimously imposed upon Mr. *Norton* the Task of drawing up an Answer, which he finished in the Year 1645.

And it was, I suppose, the first *Latin Book* that ever was written in this Country. What Satisfaction it gave, may be gathered, not only from the Attestations of Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Ayer*, Mr. *Symphon*, thereunto; but also from the Expressions of Dr. *Hornbeck*, who frequently magnifies the Reason, and the Candour of our *New-Englsh* Divine, even in those Points, wherein he does himself dissent from him. Nor is it amiss to add the words in Dr. *Fuller's Church History*, hereupon; which are: *Of all the Authors I have perused concerning these Opinions, none to me was more Informative than Mr. John Norton, one of no less Learning than Modesty, in his Answer to Apollonius, Pastor in the Church of Middleburgh.*

§ 15. It will do no hurt for me to repeat one Passage on this Occasion, which to me seemed worthy of some Remark. While Mr. *Norton* was deeply engaged in writing his *Latin Account* of our Church-Discipline, some of his more Accurate and Judicious Hearers, imagined that his Publick Sermons wanted a little of that Exactness, which did use to attend them; whereof one said something to that Mr. *Whiting*, whom I may well call the *Angel* in the Church of *Lyn*. Mr. *Whiting* hereupon in a very respectful and obliging manner, spoke to Mr. *Norton*, saying, Sir, There are some of your People, who think that the Services wherein you are engaged for all the Churches, do something take off the Edge of the Ministry, wherewith you should serve your own particular Church: I would intreat you, Sir, to consider this matter; for our greatest Work is to preach the Gospel unto that Flock, wherewith we are Overseers. Our great and good Man took the excellent Oyl of this Intimation, with the Kindness which became such a Man, and made it serviceable unto his holy Studies.

§ 16. Another considerable Service, which then called for the Studies of this excellent Man, was the advising, modelling, and recommending the Platform of Church-Discipline, agreed by a Synod at Cambridge, in the Year 1647. Into that Platform he would fain have had inferred, certain Propositions concerning the Watch, which our Churches are to have over the Children born in them; which Propositions were certainly the first Principles of New-England: Only the fierce Oppositions of one eminent Person, caused him that was of a peaceable Temper, to forbear urging them any further; by which means, when those very Propositions came to be advanced and embraced in another Synod, more than twice seven Years after, many People did ignorantly count them *Novelties*. Moreover, when the Synod first assembled, it was a thing of some unhappy Consequence, that the Church of *Boston* would not send any Messengers unto it: But Mr. *Norton* preaching the next Lecture there, wherein he handled the Nature of Councils, and the Power of Civil Magistrates to call such Assemblies, and the Duty of the Churches in regarding their Advice, the Church of *Boston* were therewithal so fatished, as to testify their Communion with the rest of the Churches, by sending



ing three Messengers to accompany their Elders now in the *Synod*. And when the Result of the *Synod* came to try its Acceptance in the Churches, he did his part, especially in his own, with a prudent and pious Diligence to obtain it, which was happily accomplished.

§ 17. There was yet one Comprehensive Service more, which this Learned Man here did for the Church of God; and that was this: A Gentleman of New-England had written a Book, entitled, *The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption*: Wherein he pretends to prove, That Christ suffered not for us those unutterable Torments of God's Wrath, which are commonly called Hell-Torments, to redeem our Souls from them; and that Christ bore not our Sins by God's Imputation, and therefore also did not bear the Curse of the Law for them. The General Court of the Colony, concerned that the Glorious Truths of the Gospel might be rescued from the Confusions, wherinto the Essay of this Gentleman had thrown them, and afraid lest the Church of God abroad should suspect that New-England allowed of such exorbitant Aberrations, appointed Mr. Norton to draw up an Answer to that *Erroneous Treatise*. This Work he performed with a most Elaborate and Judicious Pen, in a Book afterwards published under the Title of, *A Discussion of that Great Point in Divinity, The Sufferings of Christ: And the Questions about his Active and Passive Righteousness, and the Imputation thereof*. In that Book the true Principles of the Gospel are stated with so much Demonstration, as is indeed unanswerable. The Great Assertion therein explained and maintained, is (according to the express Words of the Reverend Author), 'That the Lord Jesus Christ as God-Man, and Mediator, according to the Will of the Father, and his own voluntary Consent, fully obeyed the Law, doing the Command in a way of Works, and suffering the Essential Punishment of the Curse, in a way of obedient Satisfaction unto Divine Justice, thereby exactly fulfilling the first Covenant: Which Active and Passive Obedience of his, together with his Original Righteousness, as a Surety, God, of his rich Grace, actually imputeth unto Believers; whom, upon the Receipt thereof, by the Grace of Faith, he declareth and accepteth, as perfectly Righteous, and acknowledge them to have a Right unto Eternal Life.'

And in every Clause of this Position, the Author expressed not his own Sense alone, but the Sense of all the Churches in the Country: In Testimony whereof, there was published at the End of the Book, an Instrument signed by five considerable Names, *Cotton, Wilson, Marber, Symmes, and Tompson*, who in the Name of others, declare, 'As they believe, they do also profess, That the Obedience of Christ to the whole Law, which is the Law of Righteousness, is the Matter of our Justification, and the Imputation of our Sins to Christ (and thereupon his suffering the Sense of the Wrath of God upon him for our Sin) and the Imputa-

tion of his Obedience and Sufferings to us, are the formal Cause of our Justification; and that they who deny this, do now take away both of these, both Matter and Form of our Justification, which is the Life of our Souls, and of our Religion, and therefore called the Justification of Life.'

This being the Primitive Doctrine of Justification, among the Churches of New-England, the things that were judged opposite hereunto, in the Renowned *Richard Baxter's Aphorisms of Justification*, did then give a great and just Offence unto the Faithful in this Country: Yea, they look'd upon many things in his Writings, to be, as *Photius* has it, upon some things in *Clemens Alexandrinus*; that is to say, Things expressed, *iniquis, not safely and soundly*; albeit, the other more Practical and Savory Books of that Holy Man, were highly valued in these American Regions; and not a few have here blessed God for him, and for his Labours. And as in those Elder Days of New-England, the Esteem which our Churches had for that eminent Man, did not hinder them from rejecting that *New Covenant of Works*, with which they thought he confounded that most important Article, upon the Notions whereof the Church either stands or falls: Thus it is a Grief of Mind unto our Churches at this Day, to find that great and good Man, in some of his *last Works*, under the blinding Heat of his Indignation against some which we also account unjustifiable, yea, dangerous Opinions and Expressions of Dr. *Crish*, reproaching some of the most undoubted Points in our common Faith. We read him unaccountably enumerating among Errors, which he says, have corrupted Christianity, and subverted the Gospel, such things as these:

'They feign That God made a Covenant with Adam, that if he stood, God would continue him, and his Posterity; and if he fell, God would take it, as if all his Posterity, then personally sinned in him.—Feigning God to make Adam, not only the Natural Father and Root of Mankind, but also arbitrarily, a constituted Representative of all the Persons that should spring from him. Whence they infer, that Christ was by God's Imposition, and his own Sponson, made the Legal Representative Person of every one of the Elect, taken singularly: So that what he did for them, God reputeth them to have done by him. Hereby they falsely make the Person of the Mediator, to be the Legal Person of the Sinner.'

'They forge a Law, that God never made, that faith, Thou or thy Surety, shall they personally, or die.'

'They feign God to have made an Eternal Covenant with his Son.'

'They feign Christ to have made such an exchange with the Elect, as that having taken all their Sins, he hath given them all his Righteousness; not only the Fruit of it, but the Thing in it self.'

They



They say, That by the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness, Habitual and Actual. We are judged perfectly just.

They talk of Justification in meer ignorant Confusion: — They say, That to justify is not to make righteous, but to judge righteous.

They err grossly, saying, That by [Faith imputed for Righteousness] and [our being justified by Faith] is not meant, the *Act*, or *Habit* of Faith, but the *Object*, Christ's Righteousness: Not sticking thereby to turn such Texts into worse than Nonsense. [All these are Mr. Baxter's Words, in his Defence of Christ, chap. 2.]

These Things, which our Churches with Amazement, behold Mr. Baxter thus calling *Fictions, Falsities, Forgeries, Ignorant Confusions*, and gross Errors, were defended by Mr. Norton, as the Faith once delivered unto the Saints: Nor do our Churches at this Day consider them, as any other, than glorious Truths of the Gospel; which, as they were maintain'd by Mr. Norton. So two Divines, which were the Scholars of Mr. Norton, well known in both England, Nathanael, and Increase Mather, (*Fratrium dulces Par*;) and a third, a worthy Minister of the Gospel, Mr. Samuel Willard, now living in the same House from whence Mr. Norton went, unto that *not made with Hands*, have in their Printed Labours most accurately expressed them, and confirmed them. Hence, altho' as on the one side, I have this passage of Mr. Baxter's, in a Letter from him, written but a few Months before he died, *I am as zealous a Lover of the New-England Churches as any man, according to Mr. Norton's, and the Synods Model*: So on the other side, the Memory of Mr. Baxter is on many accounts *zealously loved* among the Churches of New-England, yet espousing the Principles for their Establishment, wherein Mr. Norton had appeared: Nevertheless, inasmuch as Mr. Baxter, just before his Entrance into his Everlasting Rest, requested of my Parent then in London: *Sir, If you know of any Errors in any of my Writings, I pray you to confute them after I am dead*. I thought it not amiss, to regard for the Gospel-Truths of Justification at this day labouring, as to take occasion from the mention of Mr. Norton's Book, to say, That in that one Book of his, there is a Confutation of Mr. Baxter, who seems to oppose those things, which the Churches of New-England judge cannot be denied without corrupting of Christianity, and subverting of the Gospel. But waving any further mention of the Book, I cannot leave unmentioned a couple of Passages in the Preface of it, which is *Dedictory* to the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony. One is this: *I appeal to any competently judicious and sober-minded Man, if the Denial of Rule in the Presbytery, of a Declive Voice in the Synod, and of the Power of the Magistrate in Matters of Religion, do not in this Point translate the Papal Power unto the Brotherhood of every Congregation*. Another is this: *You have been among the first of Magistrates,*

*which have approved and patrifised the Congregational Way; no small Favour from God, nor Honour to your selves, with the Generation to come, when that shall appear to be the Way of Christ.*

§ 18. But we say nothing of Norton, if we don't speak of an Orthodox Evangelist. Being himself such an one, he digested the Subtleties of the School-men into solid and wholesome Christianity, which he published in a Treatise entitled, *The Orthodox Evangelist*: Wherein he handles the abstruse Points of the Existence and Subsistence, and Efficiency of God, and the Person of Christ, and the Methods of the Spirit in uniting us to him; and the Doctrine of Justification, with the future and happy State of the Saints; all in such a manner, that Mr. Cotton saw cause to say in his Preface to this Treatise, *Clusters of ripe Grapes passing under the Press, are fit to be transported unto all Nations; thus, such Gifts and Labours passing under the Press, may be fitly communicated to all Churches*. The Physicians do speak, there are Pillula sine quibus esse nolo; other are Libelli sine quibus, some Books sine quibus esse nolo; and this is one of 'em. This Book he dedicated unto his own Church, in Ipswich, and in the Close of his Dedication, I cannot forget this emphatical passage, *You are our Glory and Joy: Forget not the Emphasis in the Word, Our: Ministers, compared with other Christians, have little to joy in in this World: It is not with the Ministers of the present, as with the Ministers of late Times; nor with the Exiles, as with the rest; nor with your Exiles, as with some others*. Let this Our, or if you please Your Condition, for therein you have been both Partners with us, and Supporters of us, be your Provocation. Thus and more than this useful, was this *Bratwardin of New-England*, while Ipswich had him.

§ 19. When Cotton, that Man of God, lay sick of the Sickness whereof he died, his Church desired that he would nominate and recommend a fit Person to succeed him; and he advised them to apply themselves unto Mr. Norton, hoping that the Church of Ipswich being accommodated with such another eminent Person as Mr. Rogers, would out of respect unto the general Good of all the People of God throughout the Land, so far deny themselves, as to dismiss him from themselves. That which gave Encouragement unto this Business, was not a Dream of Mr. Cotton's, tho' it was indeed a strange thing, that Mr. Cotton in his Illness, being solicitous what Counsel to give unto his Church, he dream'd, that he saw Mr. Norton riding unto Boston, to succeed him, upon a White Horse, in Circumstances that were exactly afterwards accomplished: And when Mr. Wilson, with his Flock, saw the thing accomplished, it caused them to look upon Mr. Norton, almost with the same Eye, that old Narcissus, with the Church at Jerusalem, did upon Alexander, when upon the warning of a Voice from Heaven, to take him, whom they should so find, they found him out of the City, provided for them. But it was a Design



Design which Mr. Norton had of returning for England : A Design which he had so laid before his People, as to obtain their Grant, that if upon staying a Twelve Month longer among them, there did occur no occasion for him to alter his purposes, they would not oppose his going. Now when the Agents of the Church at Boston, made this Motion to the Church of Ipswich, there was much debate about it ; wherein at length an honest Brother made this Proposal : *Brethren, a Case in some things like to this, was once that way determined : We will call the Damfel, and enquire at her Mouth : Wherefore I propose, that our Teacher himself be enquired of, whether he be inclined to go ?* They then put that Question to Mr. Norton himself, who being troubled at the Offer of the Question unto him, answered, *That if they judged such Reasons as caused his Removal from Europe into America, now call'd for his Removal from Ipswich to Bolton, he should resign himself ; but he could not be Active.* However, at length, they consented, that he should for the present, go sojourn at Boston, to try, and see how far the Will of God about this matter, might be afterwards discovered ; but after Mr. Norton was gone, many of the People fell into a very unreasonable Indisposition towards Mr. Rogers, as if he had not been Active enough, altho' he had, indeed, been as Active, as he well could be, to retain his Colleague among them. The Melancholly Temper of Mr. Rogers felt too deep an Impression from those *Paroxysms*, and *Murmurings* of the People, that it is thought, his End was thereby hastned ; but the Church, upon the Death of Mr. Rogers, renewing their Demands of Mr. Norton's Return, a Council was upon that occasion call'd ; which Council advis'd Ipswich to grant Mr. Norton a fair Dismission unto the Service of Boston, and in Boston, of all New England. However divers lesser Councils, that were successively call'd on this Occasion, could not comfortably procure this Dismission, till at last the Governour and Magistrates of the Colony call'd a Council for this end ; in their Order for which, they intimate their Concern, left while the two Churches were contending, which of them should enjoy Mr. Norton, they should both of them, and the whole Country with them, lose that Reverend Person, by his prosecuting his Inclination to remove into England. Hereupon such a Dismission could not be denied ; but now Boston joyfully receiving Mr. Norton, Ipswich applied themselves unto Mr. Cobber, who afterwards continued a rich Blessing among them. And Mr. Norton did indeed, the part of a surviving Brother for Mr. Cotton, in raising up, or at least keeping up the Name of that Great Man, by publishing a most elegant Account of his Life, part whereof was afterwards transcribed by Sam. Clark, into his Collections.

§ 20. Mr. Norton being now transplanted into that Garden which our Lord had in Boston, did there bring forth much of that *Fruit* whereby the heavenly Father was glorified. There he preached, he wrote, he pray'd, and maintained

without any Prelatical Episcopacy, a Care of all the Churches. And New-England being a Country whose Interests were most remarkably and generally enwrap'd in its Ecclesiastical Circumstances, there were many good Offices, which Mr. Norton did for the Peace of the whole Country, by his wife Counsels upon many Occasions, given to its Counsellors. In truth, if he had never done any thing, but that one thing of preventing by his wife Interposition, the Acts of Hostility, which were like to pass between our People, and the Dutch at Manhattan, that alone were well worth his coming into the Station which he now had at Boston. But the Service which now most signalized him, was, his Agency at White-Hall ; for it being found necessary to Address the Restored King, the Worshipful Simon Bradstreet, Esq; and this Reverend Mr. John Norton, were sent over as Agents from the Colony, with an Address unto His Majesty ; wherein there were, among others, the following Passages.

‘ We supplicate Your Majesty for your Gracious Protection of us, in the Continuance both of our Civil, and of our Religious Liberties ; according to the Grantees known End of Suing for the Patent, conferr'd upon this Plantation by Your Royal Father. *Our Liberty to Walk in the Faith of the Gospel, with all good Conscience, according to the Order of the Gospel, was the Cause of our transporting our selves, with our Wives, our Little Ones, and our Substance, from that pleasant Land, over the Atlantick Ocean, into the Vast Wilderness ; choosing rather the pure Scripture Worship, with a good Conscience, in this remote Wilderness, than the Pleasures of England, with Submission to the Impositions of the then so disposed, and so far prevailing Hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil Conscience.—* We are not Seditious as to the Interests of Caesar, nor Schismatical as to the Matters of Religion. We distinguish between Churches, and their Impurities.—We could not live without the *Publick Worship* of God, nor be permitted the *Publick Worship*, without such a *Take of Subscription and Conformity*, as we could not consent unto without Sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy Divine Worship, free from Human Mixtures, without Offence to God, Man, and our own Consciences, we, with Leave, but not without Tears, departed from our Country, Kindred, and Fathers Houses, into this *Patmos*.—

It was in February 1661, that they began their Voyage, and it was in September following, that they returned : Mr. Norton's place being the mean time supplied by the Neighbouring Ministers, taking of their Turns. And by their Hands the Country received the King's Letters, wherein he signified, That the Expressions of their Loyalty and Affection to Him, were very acceptable, and that confirming to them their *Priviledges*, He would cherish them with all manner of Encouragement and Protection.



§ 21. Such has been the *Jealous* Disposition of our *New-Englanders* about their Dearly-bought *Privileges*, and such also has been the *Various* Understanding of the People about the Extent of those *Privileges*, that of all the *Agents*, which they have sent over unto the Court of *England*, for now Forty Years together, I know not any *One*, who did not at his Return, meet with some very forward Entertainment among his Country-men: And there may be the *Wisdom* of the Holy and Righteous God, as well as the *Malice* of the Evil One, acknowledged, in the Ordering of such *Temptations*. Of these *Temptations*, a considerable share fell to Mr. Norton; concerning whom there were many, who would not stick to say, that he had laid the *Foundation* of Ruine to all our *Liberties*; and his melancholly Mind imagined, that his best Friends began therefore to look awry upon him.

§ 22. In the Spring before his going for *England*, he Preached an Excellent Sermon unto the Representatives of the whole Colony, Assembled at the Court of *Election*, wherein I take particular Notice of this Passage, *Moses was the meekest Man on Earth, yet it went ill with Moses, 'tis said, for their Sakes. How long did Moses live at Meribah? Sure I am; it kill'd him in a short Time; a Man of as Good a Temper as could be expected from a meer Man: I tell you, it will not only kill the People, but it will quickly kill Moses too!* And in the Spring after his Return from *England*, he found his own Observation in himself too much Exemplified. It was commonly judged, That the *Smothered Grievs* of his Mind, upon the *Unkind Resentments*, which he thought many People had of his Faithful and Sincere Endeavours to serve them, did, more than a little, hasten his End; an End, whereat JOHN NORTON went, according to the Anagram of his Name INTO HONNOR. But he had the Privilege to enter into *Immortality*, without such a Formal and Feeling Death, as the most of *Mortals* encounter with; for though in the Forenoon of April 5. 1663. it was his Design to have Preached in the Afternoon, he was that Afternoon taken with a sudden *Lypothymie*, which presently and easily carried him away to those Glories, wherein the *Weary are at Rest*, but it was a Dark Night, which the Inhabitants of *Boston* had upon the Noise of his Death; Every Corner of the Town was filled with Lamentations, which left a Character upon that Night, unto this Day, not forgotten! His dearest Neighbour, Mr. Richard Mather, wept over him at his Funeral, which was on the next Lecture Day, a Sermon most agreeable to the occasion; And the Son of his Fellow Traveller, Mr. Thomas Shepard, was one of the many, who bestowed their *Elegies* upon him; using this, among his other Strokes.

The Schoolmens *Doctors*, whomsoever they call, *Subtil, Seraphick, or Angelical*:  
Dull Souls! Their Tapers burn exceeding Dim;  
They might to *School* again, to learn of him.

Lombard must out of Date; we now profess Norton, the Master of the Sentences;  
Scotus, a Dunce to him; should we compare Aquinas, here, none to be named are.

Of a more Heavenly Strain, his Notions were, More pure, Sublime, Scholastical, and clear. More like th' Apostles Paul and John, I wist, Was this our Orthodox Evangelist.

Which Lines accompanied with Mr. Wylson's Anagrammatizing of JOHANNES NORTONUS into Nonne is Honoratus? Will give him his deserved Character.

§ 23. He that shall Read the Tragical Romances, written by that Brazen-faced Lyar *Bolsecus*, concerning the Deaths of such Men as *Calvin* and *Beza*, or such monstrous Writings as those of *Tympius*, *Cochleus*, *Genebaurd*, and some others, who would bear the World in hand, that *Luther* and *Oecolampadius* Learnd the Protestant Religion of the Devil, and were at last kill'd by him; and that *Bucer* had his Guts pull'd out and cast about by the Devil; will not wonder if I tell him, that after the Death of Mr. Norton, the Quakers published a Libel, by them called, *A Representation to King and Parliament*; wherein, pretending to Report some Remarkable Judgments upon their Persecutors, they insert this Passage, *John Norton* Chief Priest in *Boston*, by the immediate Power of the Lord, was smitten, and as he was sinking down by the Fire-side, being under just Judgment, he confessed the Hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died.

—Which they mention, as a Judgment upon a Persecutor. Whereas, the Death of this Good Man, was attended with no Circumstances, but what unto a Good Man might be Eligible and Comfortable, and circumstanced far otherwise than it was by those Revilers Represented. But it was necessary for that Enchanted People, thus to revenge themselves upon one, who amongst his other Services to the Church of God, already mentioned, had, at the desire of the General Court, written a Book, Entituled, *The Heart of New-England rent at the Blasphemies of the Present Generation, Or, a Brief Treatise concerning the Doctrine of the Quakers: Which Doctrine was in this Treatise solidly confuted.* And perhaps, it had been better if this had been all the Confutation; which I add, because I will not, I cannot make my self a Vindicator of all the *Severities*, with which the Zeal of some Eminent Men hath sometimes Enraged and Increased, rather than Reclaimed those miserable *Heretics*: But with that the Quakers may be treated as Queen Elizabeth directed the Lord President of the North to treat the Papists; when the advised him to convince them with Argument, rather than suppress them with Violence; to that purpose using of the Words of the Prophets, *Nolo Mortem Peccatoris.*

§ 24. Not long after his Death, his Friends published Three Sermons of his, which for the Circumstances

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Circumstances of them could have been Entitled, *These were the last Words of that Servant of the Lord.* The First of the Sermons, was the last Sermon, which he preach'd at the Court of Election at Boston. It is on Jer. 10. 17. entitled, *Sion the Out-cast healed of her Wounds:* And there are two or three Passages in it, which I cannot but recommend unto the peculiar Consideration of the present Generation

"To differ from our Orthodox, Pious, and Learned Brethren, is such an Affliction to a Christian and an Ingenuous Spirit, as nothing but Love to the Truth could arm a Man of Peace against. Our Profession being in a way differing from these and those, it concerns us, that our walking be very Cautelous, and that it be without giving any Just Offence.

Again, *In matters of State and Church, Let it be shown that we are his Disciples, who said, Give unto Cesar the things that are Cæsars, and Give unto God the things that are God's: And in Matters of Religion, Let it be known, That we are for Reformation and not for Separation.*

... Once more, — I may say thus much (and pardon my Speech) A more yielding Ministry unto the People than ours, I believe is not in the World. I beseech you, Let not Cæsar be killed in the Senate, after he hath conquer'd in the Field. Let us acknowledge the Order of the Eldership, in our Churches, in their Way, and the Order of Councils in their Way, duly backed and encouraged: Without which Experience will witness that these Churches cannot long consist.

The Second of the Sermons, was the last Sermon which he preached on the Lord's Day. It is on Joh. 14. 3. entitled, *The Believers Consolation in the Remembrance of his Heavenly Mansion, prepared for him by Christ.*

The Third of the Sermons was the last Sermon, which he preach'd on his Lecture. It is on Heb. 8. 5. entitled, *The Evangelical Worshipper, subjeeting to the Prescription and Sovereignty of Scripture Pattern.*

§ 25. The Three Sermons thus Published as the last, or the Dropt Mantle of this Elias, are accompanied with the Translation of a Letter, which was compos'd in Latin by Mr. Norton, and subscribed by more than Forty of the Ministers, on this Occasion. The Famous John Dury having from the Year 1635, been most indefatigably labouring for a Pacification, between the Reformed Churches in Europe, communicated his Design to the Ministers of New-England, requesting their Concurrence and Countenance unto his Generous Undertaking. In answer to Him, this Letter was written; and there are one or two Passages, which I chuse to transcribe from it, because as well the Spirit of our Norton, as the Story of our Country, is therein Indigitated.

*Redeunt in Memoriam, & redeunt quidem non sine Sanctorum Sympathia, Beate ille Anime, Melancthonis & Parei N T N EN A TIO I Z, hic inter Reformatos, ille inter Evangelicos, Vir*

*Consummatissimus. Quorum Alter Haganoam iter faciens, ita Ingeniuit.*

*Viximus in Synodis, & jam moriemur in illis.*

*Alter Vero, Super Eristica Eucharistica Meditabundus, in hac Verba Erupit, Desessum sum Disputando. Nimium, illis Judicibus, Orandum potius quam—Disputandum; Vivendum non Litigandum. Forsitan & Confilia Pacis, Stimulus recentis Ira baldeus, minus grata fuere, utriusque partis Theologi Rixis diuturnioribus aliquando fessi & Sabati, equis animis Suscipere, non moleste ferunt: Mare pacificum Aquis Meribanis, Longo Rerum usu Edocti, anteferebant.*

'We may here call to Mind, and not without some Sacred Sympathy, those Blessed Souls, Melancthon and Pareus, now among the Blessed, the one no less Famous among the Reformed, than the other among the Evangelicks. Of these, the one going towards Haganoa, with Hisse uttered these Words,

*In Synods hitherto we lived have,  
And now in them, return unto the Grave.*

'The other seriously meditating on the Controversty of the Eucharist, brake forth into these Words, *I am weary with Disputing.* Thus, if these might be Judges, we ought rather to Pray than Dispute, and study how to Live, rather than Contend. And perhaps the Divines of either Part, after they have been wearied and broke in their Spirits with daily and continual Contentions, will more readily accept of the Counsels of Peace, which hitherto have been less acceptable, while the Sense of Anger has been spurring of them: After they have been taught by long use, they may prefer the Waters of the Pacific Sea, before those of Meribah.

*Gratias agimus Domino Dureo, cui Josephi Longe terra marique a fratribus Dissiti, meminisse Cordi fuit: Qui nos Misellor, in Cilicio, Cilicio autem ipsi confidimus Evangelico, Militantes, tam Auspicato Nuncio invessere dignatus est: Qui Novam Angliam, quasi particulam aliquam Vimbris Vestimenti Aaronici, unguento prae-dicti delibatam, in Album Syncrētismi, Longe celeberrimi, adscribere, non adpernatur: Qui porro Literis ad Syncrētismum hortatoris, subinde nobis Ansim praeuit Testimonium hoc, quale quale, perbibendi Communions nostrae fraternae, cum universa Cohorte Proteſtantium, fidem Jesu Christi proſitentium. Ingenue enim fateamur, tranquilla tam quam erant Omnia, nec Signa Minantia signis ad huc nobis conspiciebantur: quippe quibus, Episcopis, illa Tempeſtate Rerum Dominis, publico Ministerio Desungis, nedum Sacris frui, sine Subscriptione & Conſormitate, (ut loqui ſolent) atque adeo Humanarum Adventionum, in Divinis Commixtione, non Liceret, & Jatus viſum eſt, vel in Longinquas, & Incultas Terrarum Oras, Cultus purioris Ergo conceſſiſſe, quam Oneri Hierarchico, cum Rerum*

F f f Omnia



*Omnium Affluentia, Conscientia autem Dispendio, succubuisse. At parvam fugiendam, nos Ecclesiarum Evangelicarum Communioni Nuncium misisse, hoc vero est quod fidenter & Sancte pernegamus.*

We give thanks to Mr. Dury, into whose Heart it came to remember, *Joseph separate from his Brethren* at so great a Distance both by Sea and Land: And who hath vouchsafed with so comfortable a Message to visit us poor People, clothed in *Sackcloth*, for our Warfare; yet, as we trust, the *Sackcloth* of the Gospel: Who hath not refused to put New-England as part of the Skirt of Aaron's Garment, upon which hath descended some of the Precious Oyl, into the Catalogue of the so much famed *Agreement*: And who hath by his Letter exhorting to such Agreement given us an Occasion to bring in this Testimony, such as it is, for our *Brotherly Communion* with the whole Company of *Protestants* professing the Faith of Christ Jesus. For we must ingenuously confess, that then, when all things were quiet, and no threatening Signs of War appeared, seeing we could not be permitted by the *Bishops*, at that time prevailing to perform the Office of the Ministry in *Publick*, nor yet to enjoy the Holy Ordinances, without *Subscription and Conformity* (as they were wont to speak) nor without the Mixture of *Humane Inventions* with *Divine Institutions*, we chose rather to depart into the remote and unknown parts of the Earth, for the sake of a *Purer Worship*, than to lay down under the *Hierarchy* in the Abundance of all things, but with *Prejudice* of Conscience. But that in flying from our Country, we should renounce *Communion* with such Churches, as profess the Gospel, is a thing, which we confidently and solemnly deny.

*Quocunque apud Catus, per Univerfum Evangelicorum Choram, Fundamentalia Doctrinae & Essentialia Ordinis, Vigent, quomodo in plerisque Controversiis Theologicis, Apicibus nobiscum iuxta minus Sentiant, illos tamen ad unum Omnes, pro Fratribus agnoscamus, iisque cetera pacifice, & Ordinate incedentibus, ALEXIAS KOINONTIAS in Domino porrigere, paratissimos, nos esse hujce palam facimus.*

In whatever Assemblies amongst the whole Company of those that profess the Gospel, the *Fundamentals of Doctrine, and Essentials of Order*, are maintained, though in many Niceties of *Controversial Divinity*, they are at less Agreement with us, we do hereby make it manifest, that we do acknowledge them all, and every one for *Brethren*, and that we shall be ready to give unto them the *Right Hand of Fellowship* in the Lord, if in other Things they be Peaceable, and walk Orderly.

§ 26. This was our Norton! And we might have given yet a fuller Account of him, if we

could have seen the *Diary*, which he kept of his *Daily Walk*. However he was well known to be a Great Example of *Holiness, Watchfulness, and Extraordinary Wisdom*; and though he left no *Children*, yet he has a *Better Name than that of Sons and of Daughters*. Moreover, there was one Considerable part of *Ministerial Work*, wherein he not only went beyond most of his Age, but also proved a *Leader unto many Followers*. Though the Ministers of New-England counted it *Unlawful* for them, *Ordinarily* to perform their *Ministerial Acts* of Solemn and Publick Prayer by *Reading or Using any Forms of Prayer* composed by other Persons for them; They Reckoned an *Ability to express the Case of a Congregation in Prayer*, to be a *Ministerial Gift*, which our Lord forbids his Ministers to *Neglect*; They supposed that a Minister, who should only Read *Forms of Sermons* composed for him, would as Truly Discharge the Duty of *Preaching*, as One that should only Read such *Forms of Prayers*, would the Duty of *Praying*, in it: They could not find, that any *Humane Forms of Prayers*, were much used in any part of the Church, until about *Four Hundred Years* after Christ, nor any made for more than some Single Province, until *Six Hundred Years*; nor any Imposed until *Eight Hundred*, when all manner of *Ill-formed Things* began to be found in the Temple of God: Nevertheless very many of our Greatest Ministers, in our more Early times, did not use to Expatiate with such a Significant and Admirable Variety in their *Prayers*, before their *Sermons*, as many of our Later Times have attained unto: Nor indeed *Then* did They, nor *Still* do We, count all *Forms of Prayer* Simply Unlawful. But the more General Improvements and Expressions of *The Gift of Prayer*, in our Ministers, have Since been the matter of Observation; and particularly Mr. Norton, therein was truly Admirable! It even Transported the Souls of his Hearers to accompany him in his Devotions, wherein his Graces would make Wonderful Salleys into the vast Field of Entertainments, and Acknowledgements, with which we are furnished in the New-Covenant, for our *Prayers*. I have heard of a Godly Man in Ipswich, who after Mr. Norton's going to Boston, would Ordinarily Travel on foot from Ipswich to Boston, which is about Thirty Miles, for nothing but the Weekly Lecture there; and he would profess, that it was worth a Great Journey, to be a Partaker in one of Mr. Norton's *Prayers*. This Pattern of Prayer in Mr. Norton, had some Influence upon it, that since his Time, our *Pulpits* have been fuller than ever of *Experimental Demonstrations*, that the Ministers of the Gospel may on all Occasions present their Supplications before God, in the Discharge of their Ministry, with more Pertinent, more Affecting, more Expanded *Enlargements*, than any Form could Afford unto them. New-England can show, even *Young Ministers*, who never

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did in all Things Repeat *One Prayer* twice over, in that part of their Ministry wherein we are *First of All, to make Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings*; and yet sometimes, for much more than an *Hour* together, they pour out their Souls unto the Almighty God in such a Fervent, Copious, and yet *Proper Manner*, that their most Critical Auditors, can complain of Nothing *Disagreeable*, but profess themselves extremely *Edified*.

But our Praying Norton, who while he was among us, *Prayd with the Tongue of An-*

gels, is now gone to *Praise with the Angels* for ever.

### Epitaphium.

JOHANNES NORTONUS.

*Quis fuerat, Ultra si quæras,*

*Dignus es qui Nescias.*

### CHAP.

P. III. *Memoria WILSONIA, the LIFE of Mr. JOHN WILSON.*

§ 1. SUCH is the Natural Tendency in humane Minds to Poetry, That as tis observed, the *Roman Historian*, in the very first Line of his *History*, fell upon a Verse,

*Urbum Romam, In Principio Reges habuere;*

So the *Roman Orator*, though a very Mean Poet, yet making an *Oration* for a Good One, could not let his First Sentence pass him, without a perfect *Hexameter*.

*In Qua me non Inficior mediocriter Esse.*

If therefore, I were not of all Men the most Unpoetical, my Reader might now expect an Entertainment altogether in *Verses*, for I am going to write the *Life* of that *New-English Divine*, who had so nimble a Faculty of putting his Devout Thoughts into *Verses*, that he Signalized himself by the Greatest Frequency, perhaps, that ever Man used, of sending *Poems* to all Persons, in all Places, on all Occasions, and upon this, as well as upon Greater Accounts, was a *David* unto the *Flocks* of our Lord in the *Wilderness*:

*Quicquid tentabat Dicere, Versus erat;*

Wherein, if the Curious Relished the Piety sometimes rather than the Poetry, the Capacity of the *Most*, therein to be accommodated, must be considered. But I intend no further Account of this matter, than what is given by his Worthy Son, (Reprinting at Boston in the Year 1680. the *Verses* of his Father, upon the Famous Deliverances of the *English Nation* Printed at London, as long ago as the Year 1626.) Whose Words are, *What Volumes hath he Penned, for the help of Others, in their several Changes of Condition? How was his Heart full of Good Matter? And his Verses past, like to the Handkerchiefs carried from Paul to uphold the Disconsolate, and heal their Wounded Souls?*

For indeed this is the *Least Thing* that we have to Relate of that *Great Saint*; and accordingly, it is under a more considerable Character, that I must now exhibit him, even as a *Father* to the Infant Colonies of *New-England*.

§ 2. Mr. John Wilson, descending from Eminent Ancestors, was born at *Windsor* in the *Wonderful Year* 1588. The third Son of Dr. *William Wilson*, a Prebend of *St. Pauls*, of *Rocheſter* and of *Windsor*, and Rector of *Chiff*: Having for his Mother, a Niece of Dr. *Edmund Grindall*, the most Worthily Renowned Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*: His exact Education under his Parents, which betimes Tinged him with an Aversion to Vice, and above all, to the very shadow of a *Lye*, fitted him to undergo the further Education, which he received in *Eaton Colledge*, under *Udal* (and *Langley*) whom now we may venture, after *Poor Tom Taffer*, to call, *The severest of Men*. Here he was most Remarkably twice delivered from drowning; but at his Book, he made such Proficiency, that while he was the *Least Boy* in the School, he was made a *Propositor*; and when the Duke of *Biran*, Embassador from the *French King Henry IV.* to Queen *Elizabeth*, visited the School, he made a Latin *Oration*, for which the Duke bestowed Three *Angels* upon him. After four Years Continuance at *Eaton*, he was removed unto *Cambridge*, between the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Year of his Age; and admitted into *Kings Colledge* in the Year 1602. When he came to stand for a Fellowship in that Colledge, his Antipathy to some Horrid Wickednesses, whereto a Detestable Wretch that had been acquainted with him, would have betray'd him, caused that Malicious Wretch by Devised and Accurſed Slanders to ruin so far the Reputation of this Chast Youth with the other *Fellows*, that had not the Provolt, who was a Serious and a Reverend Person, interposed for him, he had utterly lost his Privilege; which now by the Major Vote he obtained. But this Affliction



put him upon many Thoughts and Prayers before the Lord.

§ 3. He had hitherto been according to his good Education, very civilly and soberly disposed : But being by the good Hand of God, led unto the Ministry of such Holy Men as Mr. Bains, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Chaderton, he was by their Sermons enlightened and awakened, unto more solicitous Enquiries after, *The one thing yet lacking in him*. The serious Dispositions of his Mind, were now such, that besides his pursuance after the Works of Repentance in himself, he took no little pains to pursue it in others; especially the Malefactors in the Prisons, which he visited with a devout, sedulous, and successful Industry. Nevertheless, being forestalled with Prejudices against the *Puritans* of those Times, as if they had held, he knew not well what *odd Things*, he declined their Acquaintance; altho' his good Conversation had made him to be accounted one of them himself. Until going to a Bookeller's Shop, to augment his well-furnish'd Library, he light upon that famous Book of Mr. Richard Rogers, called, *The Seven Treasuries* : Which when he had read, he so affected, not only the Matter, but also the Author of the Book, that he took a Journey unto *Webersfield*, on purpose to hear a Sermon from that *Boanerges*. When he had heard the Heavenly Passages that fell from the Lips of that worthy Man, privately, as well as publicly, and compared therewithal the Writings of *Greenham*, of *Dod*, and of *Dent*, especially, *The Pathway to Heaven*, written by the Author last mentioned, he saw that they who were Nick-named *Puritans*, were like to be the desirablest Companions, for one that intended his own everlasting Happiness; and pursuant unto the Advice which he had from Dr. Amer, he associated himself with a Pious Company in the University; who kept their Meetings in Mr. Wilson's Chamber, for Prayer, Fasting, Holy Conference, and the Exercises of true Devotion.

§ 4. But now perceiving many good Men to scruple many of the *Rites* practised and imposed in the Church of England, he furnished himself with all the Books that he could find written on the Case of *Conformity*, both *Pro* and *Con*, and pondered with a most Conscientious Deliberation, the Arguments on both sides produced. He was hereby convinced of the Evil in *Conformity*, that at length, for his observable Omission, of certain Uninstituted Ceremonies in the Worship of God, the Bishop of Lincoln then visiting the University, pronounced upon him the Sentence of *Quindennum*; that is, that besides other Mortifications, he must within Fifteen Days have been expelled, if he continued in his Offence. His Father being hereof advised, with all Paternal Affection, wrote unto him to *Conform*; and at the same time interceded with the Bishop, that he might have a Quarter of a Year allowed him; in which time, if he could not be reduced, he should then leave his Fellowship in the College. Hereupon he sent

him unto several Doctors of Great Fame, to get his Objections resolved; but when much Discourse, and much Writing, had passed between them, he was rather the more confirmed in his Principles about *Church-Reformation*. Wherefore his Father, then diverting him from the Designs of the Ministry, disposed him to the *Law* of Court; where he fell into Acquaintance with some young Gentlemen, who associated with him in constant Exercises of Devotion; to which Meetings the repeated Sermons of Dr. Gouge were a continual Entertainment: And here it was, that he came into the Advantageous Knowledge of the Learned *Scultetus*, Chaplain to the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, then making some stay in England.

§ 5. When he had continued Three Years at the *Law* of Court, his Father discerning his Disposition to be a *Minister of the Gospel*, permitted his proceeding *Master of Arts*, in the University of Cambridge; but advised him to address another College, than that where he had formerly met with Difficulties. Dr. Cary, who was then Vice-Chancellor, understanding his former Circumstances, would not Admit him without *Subscription*; but he refused to *Subscribe*. In this Distress he repaired unto his Father, at whose House there happened then to be present, the Countess of Bedford's chief Gentleman, who had Business with the Earl of Northampton, the Chancellor of the University. And this Noble Person, upon the Information which that Gentleman gave him of the matter, presently wrote a Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, on the behalf of our young *Wilson*; whereupon he received his Degree, and continued a while after this, in Emanuel College: From whence he made frequent and useful Visits unto his Friends in the Counties adjoining, and became further fitted for his intended Service. But while he was passing under these Changes, he took up a Resolution which he thus expressed before the Lord : *That if the Lord would grant him a Liberty of Conscience, with Purity of Worship, he would be content, yea thankful, tho' it were at the furthestmost End of the World*. A most Propheticall Resolution!

§ 6. At length preaching his first Sermon at Newport, he set his Hand unto that Plough, from whence he never afterwards looked back: Not very long after which, his Father lying on his Death-bed, he kneeled, in his Turn, before him, for his Blessing, and brought with him for a share in that Blessing, the Virtuous young Gentlewoman, the Daughter of the Lady Mansfield, (Widow of Sir John Mansfield, Master of the *Mint*, and the Queen's Surveyor) whom he designed afterwards to marry: Whereupon the old Gentleman said, *Ab, John, I have taken much Care about thee, such time as thou wast in the University, because thou wouldest not Conform; I would fain have brought thee to some higher Preferment than thou hast yet attained unto: I see thy Conscience is very scrupulous, concerning some things that have been observed and imposed in the Church: Nevertheless, I have rejoiced to see*

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see the Grace and Fear of God in thy Heart; and seeing thou hast kept a good Conscience hitherto, and walked according to thy Light, so do still; and go by the Rules of God's Holy Word: The Lord bless thee, and her, whom thou hast chosen to be the Companion of thy Life! Among other places where he now preached, Morelake was one; where his *Non-Conformity* exposed him to the Rage of Persecution; but by the Friendship of the Justice, namely: Sir William Bird, a Kinsman of his Wife, and by a Mistake of the Informers, the Rage of that Storm was moderated.

§ 7. After this he lived as a Chaplain successively, in Honourable and Religious Families; and at last was invited unto the House of the most Pious Lady Scudamore. Here Mr. Wilson observing the Discourse of the Gentry at the Table, on the Lord's Day, to be too disagreeable unto the devout Frame to be maintained on such a day, at length he zealously stood up at the Table, with Words to this purpose, *I will make bold to speak a Word or two: This is the Lord's Holy Day, and we have been hearing his Word, and after the Word preached, every one should think, and speak about such things as have been delivered in the Name of God, and not lavish our time in Discourses about Hawks and Hounds.* Whereupon a Gentleman then present made this handsome and civil Answer: *Sir, We deserve all of us to be thus reproved by you; this is indeed the Sabbath-day, and we should surely have better Discourse; I hope it will be a Warning to us.* Notwithstanding this, the next Lord's Day, the Gentry at the Table were at their *Old Notes*; which caused Mr. Wilson again to tell them, *That the Hawks which they talk'd of, were the Birds that picked up the Seed of the Word, after the sowing of it; and pray'd them, That their Talk might be of such things, as might sanctify the Day, and edify their own Souls:* Which caused the former Gentleman to renew his former Thankfulness for the Admonition. But Mr. Leigh, the Lady's Husband, was very angry; whereof when the Lady advised Mr. Wilson, wishing him to say something that might satisfy him, he replied, *Good Madam, I know not wherein I have given any just Offence; and therefore I know of no Satisfaction that I owe: Your Ladyship has invited me to preach the good Word of God among you; and so I have endeavoured according to my Ability: Now such Discourse as this, on the Lord's Day, is profane and disorderly: If your Husband like me not, I will be gone.* When the Lady informed her Husband how penitently Mr. Wilson was in this matter, he mended his Countenance and Carriage; and the Effect of this Reproof was, that unsuitable Discourse, on the Lord's Day, was cured among them.

§ 8. Removing from this Family, after he had been a while at *Henly*, he continued for three Years together, preaching at four places, by turns, which lay near one another, on the Edges of *Sussex*, namely *Bumsted, Stoke, Clare, and Cansdyke*. Here some of *Sudbury* happening

to hear him, they invited him to succeed the eminent old Mr. *Jenkins*, with which Invitation he cheerfully complied, and the more cheerfully because of his Opportunity to be near old Mr. *Richard Rogers*, from whom afterwards when dying, he received a Blessing among his Children; yea, to encourage his Acceptance of this place, the very Reader of the Parish did subscribe, with many Scores of others, their Desires of it; and yet he accepted not the Pastoral Charge of the Place, without a Solemn Day of Prayer with Fasting, (wherein the Neighbouring Ministers assisted) at his Election: Great Notice was now taken of the Success, which God gave unto his Labours, in this famous Town; among other Instances whereof, one was this: A Tradesman much given to Stealing, as well as other profane and vicious Practices, one Day seeing People flock to Mr. Wilson's Lecture, thought with himself, *Why should I tarry at home to work, when so many go to hear a Sermon?* Wherefore, for the sake of Company, he went unto the Lecture too; but when he came, he found a Sermon, as it were, particularly directed unto himself, on *Eph. 4. 28.* *Let him that hath stole, steal no more;* and such was the Impression thereof upon his Heart, that from this time he became a changed and pious Man.

§ 9. But if they that will live godly must suffer Persecution, a peculiar share of it must fall upon them, who are zealous and useful Instruments to make others live so. Mr. Wilson had a share of this Persecution; and one *A—n*, was a principal Author of it. This *A—n* had formerly been an Apprentice in *London*, where the Bishops detained him some Years, under an hard Imprisonment, because he refused the Oath *Ex Officio*, which was pressed upon him to tell, *Whether he had never heard his Master pray against the Bishop?*

The Charity of well-disposed People now supported him, till he got abroad, recommended by his hard Sufferings, unto the good Affections of the Puritans, at whose Meetings he became to converse, and thereupon such a forward and zealous Professor, that at length he took upon him, under the Confidence of some *Latinity*, whereof he was Owner, to be a sort of Preacher among them. This Man would Reverence Mr. Wilson as his Father, and yet upon the Provocation of seeing Mr. Wilson more highly Valued and Honour'd than himself, he not only became a Conformer himself, but also, as Apostates use to be, a malignant and violent Persecutor of those from whom he had Apostatized. By his means Mr. Wilson was put into trouble in the Bishops Courts; from whence his Deliverance was at length obtained by certain powerful Mediators. And once by his Tricks, the most noted Pursuivant of those Times, was employed for the seizing of Mr. Wilson; but tho' he seized upon many Scores of the People coming from the Lecture, he dismissed the rest, because he could not meet with Mr. Wilson himself, who by a special Providence, went out of his direct



direct Way, to visit a worthy Neighbour, and so escaped this mighty Hunter.

Afterwards an eminent Lady, happening innocently to make some Comparison between the preaching of Mr. *Wilfon*, and one Dr. B. of B. the angry Doctor presently applied himself unto the Bishop of *London*, who for a while suspended him. And when that Storm was over, he with several other worthy Ministers, came to be wholly silenced in another, that was raised upon Complaints made by one Mr. *Bird*, unto the Bishop of *Norwich* against them. Concerning this *Mr. Bird*, there happened one passage hereupon, which had in it something extraordinary. Falling very sick, he had the help of a famous and skilful Physician, one Dr. *Duke of Colchester*; who having left his Patient, in his Opinion, safely recovered, gave Mr. *Wilfon* a Visit with an Account of it. Recovered! says Mr. *Wilfon*, You are mistaken, Mr. Doctor; he's a dead Man! The Doctor answered, If ever I recovered a sick Man in my Life, that Man is recovered. But Mr. *Wilfon* replied, No, Mr. Doctor, he's a dead Man, he shall not live: Mark my Words! The Doctor smiled; but for all that, before they parted, the News was brought them, that the Man was dead indeed, and the Lord known by the Judgment which he executed. But at last Mr. *Wilfon* obtained from the truly Noble Earl of *Warwick*, to sign a Letter, which the Earl bid himself to draw up, unto the Bishop, on his behalf; by the Operation of which Letter, his Liberty, for the Exercise of his Ministry, was again procured. This Bishop was the well known Dr. *Harinet*, who a little while after this, travelling Northward, upon Delights of Mischief against the Reforming Pastors and Christians there, certain Ministers of the South set apart a Day for solemn Fasting and Prayer, to implore the Help of Heaven against those Designs; and on that very Day, he was taken with a Sore and an odd Fit, which caused him to stop at a blind House of Entertainment on the Road, where he suddenly died.

§ 10. At last, being persecuted in one Country, he must flee into another. The Plantation of a New English Colony was begun: And Mr. *Wilfon*, with some of his Neighbours, embarked themselves in the Fleet, which came over thither in the Year 1630. Where he applied himself with all the Vigor imaginable, to encourage the poor People, under the Difficulties of their New Plantation. This good People buried near Two hundred of their Number, within a Quarter of a Year after their first Landing; which caused Mr. *Wilfon* particularly to endeavour their Consolation, by preaching on *Jacob's* not being disheartened by the Death of his nearest Friends in the way, when God had called him to remove. And how remarkably, perhaps I might say, *excellently* liberal he was, in employing his Estate for the Relief of the Needy, every such one to behold him, as to reckon him the Father of them all! Yea, the poor Indians themselves also tasted of his Bounty. It was celebrated, as the Glory of *Bellar-*

mine, that he would sell his Goods, to convert them into Alms for the Poor; yea, that *Quadam die proprium Aramentarium Argentolium, at ditaret Inopes, inter pignora obligavit*: Our Mr. *Wilfon*, tho' a greater Disclaimers of Merit than *Bellarmino* was, not only in his Writings, but on his Death bed it self, yet came not behind *Bellarmino* for the extension of his Charity. To give Instances of his, even over-doing Liberality, would be to do it Injuries; for indeed they were innumerable: He acted as if the Primitive Agreement of having all Things in common, had been of all Things, the most agreeable unto him. I shall Sum up all, in the Lines of an elegant Elegy, which Mr. *Samuel Bacbe*, an Ingenious Merchant, made upon him, at his Death:

*When as the Poor want Succour, where is he  
Can say, all can be said, Extremepore?*

*Vie with the Lightning, and melt down to the  
quick*

*Their Souls, and make themselves their Pockets  
pick?*

*Where's such a Leader, thus has got the sight  
To teach holy Hands to War, Fingers to fight;  
Their Arrows hit? Bowels to Bowels meant it,  
God, Christ, and Saints, accept, but Wilfon  
sent it.*

*Which way so e'er the Propositions move,*

*The Ergo of his Syllogisms Love.*

*So bountiful to all: But if the Poor*

*Was Christian too, all's Money went, and more,  
His Coat, Rug, Blanket, Gloves, he thought  
their due*

*Was all his Money, Garments, one of two.*

But he was most set upon the Main Business of this new Plantation; which was, To settle and enjoy the Ordinances of the Gospel, and Worship the Lord Jesus Christ according to his own Institutions: And accordingly, he, with the Governour, and others that came with him on the same Account, combined into a Church-State, with all convenient Expedition.

§ 11. Mr. *Wilfon's* Removal to New England, was rendered the more difficult, by the Indisposition of his dearest Comfort thereunto; but he hoping, that according to a Dream which he had before his coming hither, That he saw there a little Temple rising out of the Ground, which by Degrees increased into a very high and large Dimensions, the Lord had a Temple to build in these Regions; resolved never to be discouraged from his Undertaking. Wherefore having first sent over an encouraging Account of the good Order, both Civil and Sacred, which now began to be established in the Plantation, he did himself return into England, that he might further pursue the Effect thereof; and accordingly he made it his Business, wherever he came, to draw as many good Men as he could, into this Country with him. His Wife remained unswadable, till upon Prayer with Fasting before the Almighty Turner of Hearts, he received an Answer, in her becoming willing to accompany him



him over an Ocean into a Wilderness. A very formidable Parting they now had from their old Friends in *Sudbury*, but a safe and quick passage over the *Atlantic*; and whereas the Church of *Boston*, observing that he arrived not at the time expected, had set apart a *Day of Humiliation* on his behalf, his joyful Arrival before the Day, caused them to turn it into a *Day of Thanksgiving*. But Mrs. *Wilson* being thus persuaded over, into the Difficulties of an *American* Desert, I have heard, that her Kinsman, old Mr. *Dod*, for her Consolation under those Difficulties, did send her a Present, with an Advice, which he had in it, something of *Curiosity*. He sent her, at the same time, a *Brass Counter*, a *Silver Crown*, and a *Gold Jacobus*; all of them severally wrapped up: With this Instruction unto the Gentleman, who carried it: That he should first of all deliver only the *Counter*, and if she receiv'd it with any shew of Discontent, he should then take no further Notice of her; but if she gratefully resented that small Thing, for the sake of the Hand it came from, he should then go on to deliver the *Silver*; and to the *Gold*. But whilst assure her, That such would be the Dispensations of God unto her, and the other good People of New-England: If they would be content and thankful with such little Things, as God at first bestow'd upon them; they should, in time, have *Silver* and *Gold* enough. Mrs. *Wilson* accordingly, by her cheerful Entertainment of the least Remembrance from good old Mr. *Dod*, gave the Gentleman occasion to go through with his whole Present, and the annexed Advice; which hath in a good Measure been accomplished.

§ 12. It was not long before Mr. *Wilson's* Return to *England* once more, was obliged by the Death of his Brother, whose *Will*, because it bequeathed a Legacy of a Thousand Pounds unto *New-England*, gave Satisfaction unto our Mr. *Wilson*, tho' it was otherwise injurious unto himself. A Tedious and Winter-Voyage he now had; being twice forced into *Ireland*, where first at *Galloway*, then at *Kingsale*, afterwards at *Bandon-bridge*, he occasionally, but vigorously and successfully served the Kingdom of God. At last he got safe among his old Friends at *Sudbury*; according to the Prediction which he had let fall in his former Farewel unto them: It may be John *Wilson* may come, and see *Sudbury* once again. From whence, visiting Mr. *Nathaniel Rogers*, at *Affington*, where he arrived before their Morning Prayers; Mr. *Rogers* asked him to say something upon the Chapter that was read, which happened then to be the first Chapter in the first Book of *Chronicles*; and from a Paragraph of meer proper Names, that seemed altogether barren of any edifying Matter, he raised so many fruitful and useful Notes, that a pious Person then present, amazed thereat, could have no rest, without going over into *America* after him. Having dispatched his Affairs in *England*, he again embarked for *New-England*, in Company with four Ministers, and near two hundred Passengers, whereof some were Persons

of considerable Quality: But they had all been lost by a large Leak sprang in the Ship, if God had not, on a Day of Solemn Fasting, and Prayer, kept on board for that purpose, mercifully discovered this dangerous Leak unto them.

§ 13. That *Phoenix* of his Age, Dr. *Ames*, would say, That if he might have his Opinion of the best Condition that he could propound unto himself on this side Heaven, it would be, that he might be the Teacher of a Congregational Church, whereof Mr. *Wilson* should be the Pastor. This Happiness, this Privilege, now had Mr. *Cotton* in the Church of *Boston*. But Satan envious at the Prosperity of that flourishing Church, raised a Storm of *Antinomian*, and *Kamified* Errors, which had like to have thrown all into an irrecoverable Confusion, if the good God had not remarkably blessed the Endeavours of a Synod; and Mr. *Wilson*, for a while, met with hard measure for his early opposition to those Errors, until by the help of that Synod, the Storm was weathered out. At the beginning of that Assembly, after much Discourse against the Unscriptural *Enthusiasm*, and *Revelations*, then by some contended for, Mr. *Wilson* proposed, *You that are against these things, and that are for the Spirit and the Word together, hold up your Hands!* And the multitude of Hands then held up, was a comfortable and encouraging Introduction unto the other Proceedings. At the Conclusion of that Assembly, a Catalogue of the Errors to be condemned, was produced; whereof when one asked, *What shall be done with them?* The wonted Zeal of Mr. *Wilson* made this blunt Answer, *Let them go to the Devil of Hell, from whence they came.*

In the midst of these Temptations also, he was by a Lot, chosen to accompany the Forces, then sent forth upon an Expedition against the *Pequod Indians*; which he did with so much Faith and Joy, that he professed himself as fully satisfied, that God would give the English a Victory over those Enemies, as if he had seen the Victory already obtained. And the whole Country quickly shared with him in the Consolations of that remarkable Victory.

§ 14. In the Wilderness he met with his Difficulties; for besides the loss of Houses, divers times by Fire, which yet he bore with such a cheerful Submission, that once one that met him on the Road, informing of him, *Sir, I have sad News for you; while you have been abroad, your House is burnt.* His first Answer was, *Blessed be God: He has burnt this House, because he intends to give me a better.* (Which accordingly came to pass.)

He was also put upon complying with the Inclinations of his Eldest Son to Travel; who accordingly travelled, first into *Holland*, then into *Italy*, where he proceeded a Doctor of *Physick*, and so returned into *England*, excellently well adorned with all the Accomplishments of a most pious and useful Gentleman. But this worthy Person died about the Year 1658. And this hastened the Death of his Mother, &c. the year



came about; which more than Doubled the Grief of his Father. And these Afflictions were yet further embittered by the Death of his Eldest Daughter Mrs. Rogers, in Child-bed with her first Child; at whose Interment, though he could not but express a deal of Sorrow, yet he did it with most Patientia, that in Token, he said, of his Grounded and Joyful Hopes, to meet her again in the Morning of the Resurrection, and of his Willingness to resign her into the Hands of him who would make all Things work together for good, he himself took the Spade, and threw in the first Shovelful of Earth upon her. And not long after, he buried Three or Four of his Grand children by another Daughter Mrs. Danforth (yet living with her Worthy Son in Law Edward Bromfield, Esq; in Boston) whereof one lying by the Walls, on a Day of Publick Thanksgiving, this Holy Man then preached a most Savoury Sermon on Job 1. 21. The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the Name of the Lord. The next Child, although so weakly that all depaired of its Life, his Prophetical Grandfather said, Call him John, I believe in God, he shall live, and be a Prophet too, and do God Service in his Generation! Which is, at this Day, fulfilled in Mr. John Danforth, the present Pastor to the Church of Dorchester. Encountering with such, and many other Exercises his Years rolled away, till he had served New-England, Three Years before Mr. Cotton's coming over, Twenty Years with him; Ten Years with Mr. Norton, and Four Years after him.

§ 15. In his Younger Time, he had been used unto a more Methodical way of Preaching, and was therefore admired above many, by no less Auditors than Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Bridge, when they travelled from Cambridge into Essex, on purpose to observe the Ministers in that County; but after he became a Pastor, joined with such Illuminating Teachers, he gave himself a Liberty to Preach more after the Primitive Manner; without any distinct Propositions, but chiefly in Exhortations and Admonitions, and good wholesome Councils, tending to excite good Motions in the Minds of his Hearers; (but upon the same Texts that were Doctrinally handled by his Colleague instantly before;) and yet sometimes his Pastoral Discourses had such a Spirit in them, that Mr. Shepard would say, Methinks I hear an Apostle, when I hear this Man! Yea, even one of his Ex Tempore Sermons, has been since his Death, counted worthy to be published unto the World. The Great Lecture of Boston, being disappointed of him, that should have Preached it, Mr. Wilson Preached that Lecture on a Text occurring in the Chapter that had been read that Morning in his Family, Jer. 29. 8. Neither hearken to your Dreams, which you cause to be Dreamed; from whence he gave a Seasonable Warning unto the People against the Dreams, wherewith sundry sorts of Opinions, have been endeavouring to seduce them. It was the last Boston Lecture that ever he

Preached (Nov. 16. 1665.) and one who writ after him, in Short hand, about a Dozen Years after Published it. But his last Sermon he Preached at Roxbury Lecture, for his most Worthy Son-in-Law Mr. Danforth; and after he had read his Text, which was in the Beginnings and Conclusions of sundry of the last Psalms, with a Seraphical Voice, he added, If I were sure this were the last Sermon that ever I should Preach, and these the last Words that ever I should speak, yet I would still say, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Praise ye the Lord! Thus he ended his Ministry on Earth, thus he began his Possession of Heaven with Hallelujahs.

§ 16. Indeed, if the Picture of this Good, and therein Great Man, were to be exactly given, Great Zeal, with Great Love, would be the two Principal Strokes, that joined with Orthodoxy, should make up his Pourtraiture. He had the Zeal of a Phineas, I had almost said of a Seraphim, in testifying against every thing that he thought offensive unto God. The Opinionists, which attempted at any time to debase the Scripture, or confound the Order, embraced in our Churches, underwent the most pungent Animadversions of this his Devout Zeal; whence, when a certain Assembly of People, which he approved not, had set up in Boston, he charged all his Family, that they should never dare, so much as once to enter into that Assembly; I charge you, said he, That you do not once go to hear them; for whatsoever they may pretend, they will rob you of Ordinances, rob you of your Souls, rob you of your God. But though he were thus, like John, a Son of Thunder against Seducers, yet he was like that Blessed and Beloved Apostle also, all made up of Love. He was full of Affection, and ready to help and relieve and comfort the Distressed; his House was Renowned for Hospitality, and his Purse was continually emptying it self into the hands of the Needy: From which Disposition of Love in him, there once happened this Passage; when he was beholding a great Muster of Souldiers, a Gentleman then present said unto him, Sir, I'll tell you a great Thing, here's a mighty Body of People, and there is not Seven of them all, but what loves Mr. Wilson; but that Gracious Man presently and pleasantly replied, Sir, I'll tell you as good a Thing as that, here's a mighty Body of People, and there is not so much as one of them all, but Mr. Wilson loves him. Thus he did, by his own Example, notably Preach that Lesson, which a Gentleman found in the Anagram of his Name, With no one ill: And thus did he continue, to Do every one good, until his Death gave the same Gentleman Occasion thus to Elegize upon him:

Now may Celestial Spirits sing yet Higher,  
Since one more's added to their Sacred Quire;  
Wilson the Holy, whose Good Name doth still,  
In Language Sweet, bid us [With no Ill.]



§ 17. He was one, that consulting not only his own Edification, but the Encouragement of the Ministry, and of Religion, with an Indefatigable Diligence visited the Congregations of the Neighbouring Towns, at their *Weekly Lectures*, until the Weakness of *Old Age* rendered him incapable. And it was a delightful thing then to see upon every Recurring Opportunity, a large Company of Christians, and even *Magistrates* and *Ministers* among them, and Mr. *Wilson* in the Head of them, visiting the *Lectures* in all the Vicinage, with such Heavenly Discourses on the Road, as caused the Hearts of the Disciples to burn within them; And indeed it was remark'd, That though the Christians then spent less Time in the *Shop*, or *Field*, than they do now, yet they did in both prosper more. But for Mr. *Wilson*, I am saying, That a *Lecture* was a *Treasure* unto him; he Priz'd it, he fought it, until *Old Age* at length brought with it a *Sickness*, which a long while confin'd him. In this Illness he took a Solemn Farewell of the *Ministers*, who had their *Weekly Meetings* at his *Hospitable House*, and were now come together from all parts, at the Anniversary Election for the Government of the Colony. They asked him to declare solemnly, what he thought might be the *Sins*, which provoked the Displeasure of God against the Country. Whereto his Answer was, *I have long feared several Sins*; Whereof, one, he said, was *Corabim*; "That is, when People rise up as *Corah* against their *Ministers*, as if they took too much upon them, when indeed they do but rule for Christ, and according to Christ; yet it is nothing for a Brother to stand up and oppose, without Scripture or Reason, the Word of an Elder, saying [I am not satisfied!]" And hence, if he do not like the Administration (be it *Baptism* or the like) he will turn his back upon God and his Ordinances, and go away. And for our Neglect of *Baptizing* the Children of the Church, those that some call *Grand-children*, I think God is provoked by it. Another Sin (said he) I take to be the making light of, and not subjecting to the Authority of *Synods*, without which the Churches cannot long subsist.

§ 18. Afterwards, having solemnly with Prayer, and Particularly and very Prophetically Blessed his Relations and Attendants, he now thus comforted himself, *I shall e'er long be with my old Friends*, Dr. *Preston*, Dr. *Sibs*, Dr. *Taylor*, Dr. *Gouge*, Dr. *Ames*, Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Norton*, my *Ins of Court Friends*, and my *Comfort*, Children, *Grand-children* in the Kingdom of God. And when some then present magnified God for making him a Man of such Use, and lamented themselves in their own Loss of him, he replied, *Alas, Alas, Use no such Words concerning me*; for I have been an *Unprofitable Servant*, not worthy to be called a *Servant of the Lord*: But I must say, The Lord be merciful to me a Sinner, and I must say, Let thy tender Mercies come unto me, O Lord, even thy Salvation according to thy Word.

The Evening before he died, his Daughter asking him, Sir, *How do you do?* He held up his hand, and said, *Vanishing Things! Vanishing Things!* But he then made a most affectionate Prayer, with and for his Friends; and so quietly fell Asleep on August 7. 1667. in the Seventy Ninth Year of his Age. This expired that Reverend Old Man: Of whom, when he left England, an Eminent Personage, said, *New-England shall flourish, free from all General Desolations, as long as that good Man liveth in it*; Which was comfortably accomplished. He was Interr'd with more than ordinary Solemnity, and his Neighbour Mr. *Richard Mather* of *Dorchester*, thereat lamented the Publick Loss in his Departure; with a Sermon upon *Zech. 1. 5. Your Fathers where are they, and the Prophets, do they live for ever?*

§ 19. Being a Man of Prayer, he was very much a Man of God; and a certain Propheticall Assaurs, which often directs the Speeches of such Men, did sometimes remarkably appear in the Speeches of this Holy Man. Instances hereof have been already given. A few more shall now be added.

Beholding a Young Man extraordinarily Dutiful in all possible ways of being serviceable, unto his aged Mother, then Weak in Body, and Poor in Estate, he declared unto some of his Family what he had beheld; adding therewithal, *I charge you to take notice of what I say*; God will certainly bless that Young Man; John Hull (for that was his Name) shall grow Rich, and live to do God good Service in his Generation! It came to pass accordingly, That this Exemplary Person became a very Rich, as well as Emphatically a Good Man, and afterwards died a *Magistrate* of the Colony.

When one Mr. *Adams*, who waited on him from *Hartford* unto *Weathersfield*, was followed with the News of his Daughter's being fallen suddenly and doubtfully sick, Mr. *Wilson* looking up to Heaven, began mightily to wrestle with God for the Life of the Young Woman: Lord (said he) wilt thou now take away thy Servants Child, when thou seest he is attending on thy Poor unworthy Servant in most Christian Kindness; O! do it not! And then turning himself about unto Mr. *Adams*, Brother (said he) I trust your Daughter shall live, I believe in God she shall recover of this Sickness! And so it marvellously came to pass, and she is now the fruitful Mother of several desirable Children.

A *Pequot-Indian*, in a Canoe, was espied by the *English*, within Gun-shot, carrying away an *English Maid*, with a Design to Destroy her or Abuse her. The Souldiers fearing to kill the Maid if they shot at the Indian, asked Mr. *Wilson's* Counsel, who forbade them to fear, and assured them, God will direct the Bullet! They shot accordingly; and killed the Indian, though then moving swiftly upon the Water, and saved the Maid free from all harm whatever.

Upon the Death of the first and only Child (being an Infant) of his Daughter Mrs. *Danforth*,



forth, he made a Poem, wherein were these Lines among the rest,

What if they part with their beloved one,  
Their first Begotten, and their Only Son?  
What's this to that which Father Abram  
Suffer'd,

When his own hands his Only Darling offer'd,  
In whom was bound up all his Joy in this  
Life present, and his hope of future Bliss?  
And what if God their Other Children Call,  
Second, Third, Fourth, suppose it should be  
All?

What's this to Holy Job, his Trials sad,  
Who neither these nor other Comforts had?  
His Life was only given him for a Prey,  
Yet all his Troubles were to Heaven's way,  
Yea to far Greater Blessings on the Earth,  
The Lord rewarding all his Tears with Mirth.

And behold, as if that he had been a *Vates*,  
in both Senses of it, a *Poet* and a *Prophet*, it  
pleas'd God afterwards to give his Daughter a  
*Second*, a *Third*, and a *Fourth* Child, and then  
to take them all away at once, even in one  
*Fortnight* time; but afterwards, happily to  
make up the Loss.

Once passing over the *Ferry* unto a *Lecture*,  
on the other side of the Water, he took  
notice of a Young Man in the Boat, that worded  
it very unhandomely unto his Aged Father:  
Whereat this Faithful Seer, being much trou-  
bled, said unto him, *Young Man, I advise you*  
*to repent of your Undutiful Rebellious Carriage*  
*towards your Father; I expect else to hear, that*  
*God has cut you off, before a Twelve-month come*  
*to an End!* And before this time expired, it  
came to pass, that this unhappy Youth going  
to the Southward, was their hack'd in pieces,  
by the *Pegado Indians*.

A Company of People in this Country, were  
mighty hot upon a Project of removing to *Pro-  
vidence*, an Island in the *West-Indies*, and a Vener-  
able Assembly of the Chief *Magistrates*, and  
*Ministers* in the Colony, was address'd for their  
*Council* about this undertaking; which *Assembly*  
laid before the Company very weighty *Rea-  
sons* to dissuade them from it. A Prime Ring-  
leader in that Business, was one *Venner* a *Co-  
oper of Salem*, the Mad Blade, that afterwards  
perish'd in a Nonfensical Uproar, which he,  
with a Crew of *Bedlamites*, possess'd like him-  
self, made in *London*. This *Venner*, with  
some others, now stood up and said, *That not-  
withstanding what had been offer'd, they were*  
*clear in their Call to remove*: Whereupon, *Mr.*  
*Wilson* stood up and answer'd, *ay, do you come*  
*to ask Counsel in so weighty a matter as this,*  
*and to have Help from an Ordinance of God in it?*  
*And are you beforehand resolv'd, that you will go*  
*on? Well, you may go, if you will, but you shall*  
*not prosper. What? Do you make a Mock of*  
*God's Ordinance? And it came to pass accord-  
ingly, the Enterprise was not long after dashed in*  
*pieces, and Venner's precipitating Impulses,*  
afterwards carried him to a miserable End.

A Council sitting at a *Town*, where some *Be-  
neficial Differences* call'd for the Assistances  
of the Neighbours to compose them, there was  
one Man observ'd by *Mr. Wilson*, to be ex-  
tremely perverse, and most unreasonably trou-  
blesome and mischievous to the Peace of the  
Church there; Whereupon *Mr. Wilson* told the  
*Council*, he was confident, *That the Jealousy of*  
*God would set a Mark upon that Man, and that*  
*the ordinary Death of Men should not befall him*.  
It happen'd shortly after, that the Man was  
barbarously Butcher'd by the *Salvages*!

While *Mr. Wilson* was Minister of *Sudbury*  
in *England*, there was a noted Person who had  
been absent for some while among the *Papists*.  
This Man returning Home, offer'd himself to  
the Communion; whereat *Mr. Wilson* in the open  
Assembly, spake unto him after this manner:  
"Brother, you here present your self, as if you  
would partake in the Holy Supper of the  
Lord. You cannot be ignorant of what you  
have done in withdrawing your self from our  
Communion, and how you have been much  
conversant for a considerable while, with the  
Papists, whose Religion is Antichristian."  
Therefore, though we cannot fo absolutely  
charge you, God knows, who is the Searcher  
of all Hearts; and if you have dech'd your  
self with their Worship and Way, and not  
repented of it, by offering to partake at this  
time in the Holy Supper with us, you will  
eat and drink your own Damnation; but if  
you are clear, and have nothing wherewith  
to charge your self; you your self know, up-  
on this account you may receive. The Man  
did then partake at the Lord's Table, professing  
his Innocency. But as if the Devil had enter'd  
into him, he soon went and hang'd himself.

In the Circumstances of his own Children, he  
saw many Effects of an Extraordinary Faith.

His Eldest Son, *Edmund*, while Travelling  
into the Countries, which the Bloody *Papists*  
Inquisition has made a Clime too Torrid for a  
*Protestant*, was extremely expol'd: But the  
Prayers of the young Gentleman's continually  
distressed Father, for him, were answer'd with  
Signal Preservations. When he was under  
Examination by the Inquisitors, a Friend of  
the Chief among them, suddenly arriv'd; and  
the Inquisitor not having seen this Friend for  
many Years before, was hereby so diverted and  
mollified, that he carried the Young *Mr. Wil-  
son* to Dinner with him; and, though he had  
pass'd hitherto unknown by his true Name, yet  
this Inquisitor could now call him, to his great  
Surprize, by the Name of *Mr. Wilson*, and re-  
port unto him the Character of his Father, and  
his Father's Industry in serving the Hereticks  
of *New-England*. But that which I here most  
of all design, is an Account of a thing yet more  
Memorable and Unaccountable. For, at ano-  
ther Time, his Father dream'd himself transpor-  
ted into *Italy*, where he saw a Beautiful Per-  
son in the Son's Chamber, endeavouring with a  
Thousand Enchantments, to debauch him;  
whereupon the Old Gentleman made, and was  
by

by his Ret-fellow  
er to God full o  
unto his Temple  
himself with the  
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that the most con  
try thought it not  
bring their Childr  
more of his *Par-  
case, Mr. Thom  
him, at his Death*

Whole of abrac  
Or of *Elijah's*  
Would surely i  
is.

And think the  
As *Agad John*  
The people will  
So did we cou  
Unto him for



by his Bed-fellow overheard making, first, *Prayers* to God full of Agony, and then *Warnings* unto his Tempted Son, to beware of Defiling himself with the *Daughter of a Strange God*. Now, some considerable while after this, the *Young Gentleman* writes to his Father, that on such a Night, (which was upon Enquiry found the very same Night,) a Gentlewoman had carefled him, thus and so (just according to the *Vision*), and that his *Chastity* had been Conquered, if he had not been strongly possessed with a Sense of his Father's *Prayers* over him, and *Warnings* unto him, for his Escape from the Pits, whereto do fall the *Abhorred of the Lord*.

His other Son, *John*, when a Child, fell upon his Head from a Loft four Stories high, into the Street, from whence he was taken up for Dead, and so battered and bruised and bloody with his Fall, that it struck Horror into the Beholders: But Mr. *Wilson* had a wonderful Return of his *Prayers* in the Recovery of the Child, both unto *Life* and unto *Sense*; inasmuch, that he continued unto *Old Age*, a Faithful, Painful, Useful Minister of the Gospel; and but lately went from the Service of the Church in *Medfield*, unto the Glory of the Church *Triumphant*.

After Mr. *Wilson's* Arrival at *New-England*, his Wife, who had left off hearing of Children for many Years, brought him another *Daughter*; which *Lamb* was indeed unto him as a *Daughter*; and he would present her unto other Ministers, for their Blessing, with great Affection, saying, *This is my New-England Token!* But this Child fell sick of a *Malignant Fever*, wherein the was gone so far, that every one despaired of her Life, except her Father, who called in several Ministers, with other Christians, unto a *Fast* on that Occasion; and hearing the *Prayers* of Mr. *Cotton* for her, found his Heart so raised, that he confidently declared, *While I heard Mr. Cotton at Prayer, I was confident the Child should Live!* And the Child accordingly did Live; yea, she is to this Day alive, a very *Holy Woman*, adorned like them of *Old Time*, with a *Spirit of Great Price!*

The Blessings pronounced by Mr. *Wilson*, upon many Persons and Affairs, were observed for *Prophecies*, and especially his Death-bed Blessings upon his Children and Grand-children were so, that the most considerable Persons in the Country thought it not much to come from far, and bring their Children with them, for the Enjoyment of his *Patriarchal Benedictions*. For which cause, Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, in an *Elegy* upon him, at his Death *Patriotically* thus expressed it;

Who of *Abraham's*, *Moses*, *Samuel*, reads,  
Or of *Elijah's* or *Elisha's* Deeds,  
Would surely say, Their *Spirit* and *Power* was  
his,

And think there were a *Metempsychosis*.  
As *Aged John*, th' *Apostle* us'd to Bless  
The People, which they judg'd their Happiness.  
So did we count it worth our *Pilgrimage*  
Unto him for his *Blessing*, in his Age.

These were *Extraordinary Passages*; Many of them, are things which *Ordinary Christians* may more safely *Ponder* and *Wonder*, than *Expi* in *Our Days*! Though sometimes *Great Reformers*, and *Great Sufferers*, must be signalized with them. I know very well what *Livy* says, *Datur hac Venia Antiquitatis, ut miscendo Humana Divinis, Primordia Urbium Augustiora faciat*: But I have been far from imposing the least *Fable* upon the World in reporting such *Extraordinary Passages* of Mr. *Wilson*, or any other *Great Confessor*, by whom the *Beginnings* of this Country were made *Illustrious*; there are *Witnesses* enough, yet living of them.

§ 20. There is a certain little *Sport of Wit*, in *Anagrammatizing the Names of Men*, which was used as long ago at least as the Days of *Old Lycophron*: And which sometimes has afforded *Reflections* very *Monitory*, as *Affilius* by his just Admirers changed into *Sedulitas*, or very *Charakterizing*, as *Renatus Cartesius*, by his Disciples turn'd into, *Tu seis res Naturæ*; or very *Satirical*, as when *Satan* ruleth me, was found in the *Transposed* Name of a certain *Active Persecutor*: And when, *Lo, a Damned Crew*, was found in the Name of one that made a Figure among the *Popish Plotters* against the Nation. Yea, 'tis possible, that they who affect such *Grammatical Curiosities*, will be willing to plead a *Prescription* of much higher and Elder Antiquity for them; even the *Temurah*, or *Mutation*, with which the *Jews* do Criticize upon the Oracles of the *Old Testament*. There, they say, you'll find the *Anagram* of our *First Fathers* Name *Ha adam*, to express *Adamah*, the Name of the of the Earth, because he had his Original: An *Anagram* of a *Good Signification*, they'll show you [Gen. 4.8.] and of a *Bad* one [Gen. 38.7.] in those *Glorious Oracles*; and they will endeavour to perfwade you, that *Maleachi* in *Exodus* in *Anagrammatically* expounded *Michael*, in *Daniel*. But of all the *Anagrammatizers* that have been trying their Fancies, for the Two Thousand Years which have run out, since the Days of *Lycophron*, yea, or for the more than Five Thousand, since the Days of our *First Father*, I believe there never was Man, that made so many, or so nimby, as our Mr. *Wilson*; who, together with his *Quick Turns*, upon the Names of his Friends, would ordinarily *Fetech*, and rather than *Loft*, would even *Force Devout Instructions* out of his *Anagrams*. As once, upon hearing my Father preach a Sermon about *The Glories of our Lord Jesus Christ*, Mr. *Wilson* immediately gave him that *Anagram* upon his Name, *Crescentius Matherus*, *Anagram* *En Christo Merces tua*: So there could scarcely occur the Name of any Remarkable Person, at least, on any Remarkable Occasion unto him, without an *Anagram*; raised thereupon; and he made this *Poetical*, and *Peculiar Disposition* of his Ingenuity, a Subject whereon he grafted *Thoughts* far more Solid and Solemn and Useful, than the *Stock* it self. Wherefore methoughts, it looked like a Piece of *Injustice*, that his own Funeral produced



(among the many Poems afterwards Printed) no more *Anagrams* upon his Name, who had so often thus handled the Names of others; and some thought the *Muses* look'd very much dissatisfied, when they saw these Lines upon his Hearse.

## JOHN WILSON.

Anagr.

John Wilson.

Ob! change it not, no sweeter Name or Thing,  
Throughout the World, within our Ears shall ring.

There was a little more of Humour, in the Fancy of Mr. Ward, the well-known simple Coder of Agawam, as that witty Writer filled himself, who observing the great Hospitality of Mr. Wilson, in conjunction with his *Metagrammatic* Temper, said, *That the Anagram of JOHN WILSON was, I PRAY, COME IN, YOU ARE HEARTILY WELCOME.*

To make up this want, I might conclude the Life of this good Man, with an *Anagram*, which he left on, and for himself:

Johannes Willson.

Anagr.

In uno Jesu, nos Salvo.

Vel

Non in uno Jesu Salus.

An non in Jesu, Credentium, fignitur, unde Tota Salus? Hic est, hic Sita Tota Salus.

But it is to the last Place in our History of this worthy Man, that I reserve that part of his Character, which lay in his Disposition to allot unto himself the last place among all worthy Men; for his low Opinion of himself, was the top of all his other Excellencies. His Humility not only caused him to prefer the meanest of his Brethren above himself, but also to comply with the meanest Opportunities of being serviceable. He might justly be reckoned the Namesake of that John, the Bishop of Alexandria, who was called not only *Johannes Eleemosynarius*, but also *Humilis Johannes*. Hence 'twas, that when his Voice in his Age did to faint him, that his great Congregation could be no longer edified by his *Publick Labours*, he cheerfully and painlessly set himself to do all the good that he could by his *Private Visits*, and such also as he could not reach with Sermons, he often found with *Vesites*. Hence 'twas that when that Plea was used with the Church of Ipswich, to resign Mr. Norton unto the Church of Boston, after the Death of Mr. Cotton, because it was said, *Let him that hath two Coats, give to him that hath none*; And a Person of Quality replied, *Boston hath one*; [meaning Mr. Wilson] this good Man answered, *Who's that?* I am nothing! Yea, hence 'twas, that when Malefactors had been openly scourged upon the just Sentence of Authority, he would presently

send for them to his House, and having first expressed his Bounty to them, he would then bestow upon them such gracious Admonitions and Exhortations, as made them to become, instead of desperate, remarkably penitent. Indeed, I know not whether his Humility might not have some Excess, in some Instances charged upon it; at least once, when he had promised unto a Neighbouring Minister, to preach a Sermon for him, and after his Promise came in Season to that Minister, saying, Sir, I told you, that I would preach for you, but it was rashly done of me; I have on my Knees beg'd the Pardon of it, from the Lord; that I should offer thus to deprive his People of your Labours, which are so much better than any of mine can be: Wherefore, Sir, I now come reasonable to tell you, That I shall fail you! And accordingly, there was no persuading of him to the contrary.

But from the like Humility it was, that a good Kinsman of his, who deserves to live in the same Story, as he now lives in the same Heaven with him, namely Mr. Edward Rawson, the Honoured Secretary of the Massachusetts Colony, could not by all his Intreaties persuade him to let his Picture be drawn; but still refusing it, he would reply, *What! such a poor vile Creature as I am! Shall my Picture be drawn?* I say, No; it never shall! And when that Gentleman introduced the Limner, with all things ready, vehemently importuning him to graatify so far the Desires of his Friends, as to sit a while, for the taking of his Effigies, no Importunity could ever obtain it from him. However, being bound in Justice to employ my Hand, for the Memory of that Person, by whose Hand I was my self baptised, I have made an Essay to draw his Picture, by this Account of his Life; wherein if I have missed of doing to the Life, it might be made up with several expressive Passages, which I find in Elegies written and printed upon his Death: Whereof there were many Composed, by those whose Opinion was well signified by one of them:

Sure *Verselets* he does mean, to's Grave to go,  
And well deserves, that now no *Verse* can show.

But waving the rest, let the following Poem, never before Printed, offer some Odours for the Reader's further Entertainment.

Some Offers to Embalm the Memory of the truly Reverend and Renowned JOHN WILSON: the first Pastor of Boston, in New-England: Interr'd (and a great part of his Country's Glory with him) August 11. 1667. Aged 75.

Might Aaron's Rod (such Funerals mayn't be dry)  
But broach the Rock, 'twould gush pure Elegy,  
To round the Wilderness with purring Leys,  
And tell the World, the great Saint Wilson's Praise.

Here's



Here's one, *Pearls* are not in great Clusters found  
Here's one, the *Skill* of *Tongues* and *Arts* had  
Crown'd;

Here's one (by frequent *Martyrdom* was try'd)  
That could forego *Skill*, *Pelf*, and *Life* beside,  
For *Christ*: Both *Englands* *Darling*, whom in  
Swains

They press'd to see, and Hear, and felt his  
*Charms*.

'Tis one (when will it rise to Number two?  
The World at once can but one *Phoenix* show:)  
For *Truth* a *Paul*, *Cephas* for *Zeal*, for *Love*  
A *John*, inspir'd by the *Coelestiall Dove*.  
*Abram's* true Son for *Faith*; and in his *Tent*  
*Angels* oft had their *Table* and *Content*.

So *bumble*, that alike on's *Charity*,  
Wrought *Extrall Gent*; with *Extrall Rudi*.  
Pardon this *Fault*; his great *Excess* lay *there*,  
He'd Trade for *Heaven*, with all he came a near;  
His *Mend*, *Clothes*, *Cash*, he'd fill for *Ventures*  
fend

Consign'd, Per Brother *Lazarus*, his Friend.

*Mighty* in *Prayer*, his Hands uplifted reach'd  
*Mercies* high Throne, and thence strange *Bounties*  
fetch'd,

Once and again, and oft: So felt by all,  
Who weep his *Death*, as a departing *Paul*.  
*All*, yea, baptiz'd with *Tears*, lo *Children* come,  
(Their *Baptism* he maintain'd!) unto his *Tomb*.

'Twixt an *Apostle*, and *Evangelist*,  
Let stand his Order in the heavenly *List*.

Had we the *Costly Alabaster Box*,  
What's left, we'd spend on this *New-Englands*  
*Knox*;

True *Knox*, fill'd with that Great *Reformer's*  
*Grace*,

In *Truth's* just Cause, fearing no *Mortal's* Face.

*Christ's* Word, it was his *Life*, *Christ's* Church,  
his *Care*;

And to great with him his *least* Brethren were,  
Not Heat, nor Cold, nor Rain, or Frost, or Snow,

Could hinder, but he'd to their *Sermons* go:  
*Aaron's* Bells chim'd from far, he'd run, and then  
his ravish'd Soul echo'd, Amen, Amen!

to establish him, his *Language* vnto us was  
his *Ministry* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

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to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

He travels'd oft the fierce *Atlantic* Sea,  
But *Parnos* of *Confessors* 'twas for Thee

This Voyage lands him on the wished Shore,  
From whence this *Father* will return no more,  
To fit the *Moderator* of thy Sages.

But tell his *Zeal* for thee to After Ages,  
His *Care* to guide his *Flock*, and feed his *Lambs*,

By Words, Works, Prayers, *Psalms*, *Hymns*, and  
*Anagrams*:

Those *Anagrams*, in which he made no Start  
Out of meet *Nothings*, by *Creating Art*,

Whole Words of Counsel; did to *Motes* unfold  
*Names*, till thy *Lessons* gave richer than Gold,

And every *Angle* to exactly fay,  
It should out-shine the brightest *Solar Ray*.

Sacred his *Verse*, writ with a *Cherub's* Quill;  
But those wing'd Choristers of *Zion-Hill*,

Pleas'd with the *Notes*, call'd him a part to bear,  
With them, where he his *Anagram* did hear.

I pray come in, heartily Welcome, Sir.

## Epitaphium.

Thinking what *Epitaph* I should offer unto  
the *Grave*, of this *Worthy* Man, I call'd unto  
Mind the fittest in the World, which was  
directed for him, immediately upon his *Death*,  
by an Honourable Person, who still continues the  
same *Lover*, as well as *Instance*, of Learning  
and *Virtue*, that he was, when he then advised  
them to give Mr. *Wilson* this

## EPITAPH.

And now abides *Faith*, *Hope*, and *Charity*,  
But *Charity's* the *Greatest* of the *Three*.

To which this might be added, from  
another Hand:

*Aurea, quæ obliuiscere referens* 1 *Primeum Venustas*  
*Conditi Arcano, Secula Apostolica,*

*Officis, Donique viderem Santissimus Heros,*  
*WILSONUS, tacitis Protulit Ex Tenebris.*

to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

to us was his *Life* and *Love* to us was his *Life*

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## CHAPTER IV.

*Puritanismus* *Novo-Englicanus*. THE LIFE of Mr. JOHN DAVENPORT.

A Noted Author of more than twice ten  
ven *Treatises*, and Chaplain to two  
successive Queens of *England*, was that *Christo-*  
*pher Davenport*, whose assumed Name was, *Francis-*  
*cus a Sancta Clara*. And in Mr. *Rushworth's*  
Collection of Speeches, made in the Celebrated  
Parliament, 1640. I find, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*  
using these Words: *Sancta Clara*, hath publish-  
ed, That if a Synod were held, *Non intermitis*

*Puritans*, letting *Puritans* aside, our *Articles*  
and their *Religion* would soon be agreed. They  
have brought it to pass, that under the  
Name of *Puritans*, all our Religion is branded.  
Whoever squares his Actions by any Rule,  
either Divine or Humane, he is a *Puritan*.  
Whoever would be governed by the King's  
Laws, he is a *Puritan*. Whether this  
Account of *Martens* be allow'd or no; there was,  
tho'



tho' not a *Brother* (as a certain *Wooden* Historian, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, has reported) yet a *Kinsman* of that *Sancta Clara*, who was among the most eminent *Paritians* of those Days; and this was our *boly* and famous *Mr. John Davenport*: One of whom I may, on many Accounts, use the Elogy, with which the Learned still mention *Salustius*, *Vir nunquam satis Laudatus, nec Temere sine Laude nominandus*.

§ 2. *Mr. John Davenport* was born at *Coven-try*, in the Year 1597. of worthy Parents; a *Father* who was Mayor of the City, and a pious *Mother*, who having lived just long enough, to devote him, as *Hannah* did her *Samuel*, unto the Service of the *Sanctuary*, left him under the more immediate Care of Heaven to fit him for that Service. The Grace of God sanctified him with good *Principles*, while he had not yet seen two Sevens of Years in an *evil World*; and by that Age he had also made such Attainments in Learning, as to be admitted into *Brajer-Nose* College, in *Oxford*. From thence, when he was but Nineteen Years old, he was called unto publick and constant Preaching in the City of *London*, as an Assistant unto another *Divine*; where his notable Accomplishments for a *Minister*, and his Couragious *Residence* with, and *Visiting* of his Flock, in a dreadful *Plague-time*, caused much Notice to be quickly taken of him: His Degree of *Master of Arts*, he took not, until, in Course, he was to proceed *Bachelor of Divinity*: And then with Universal Approbation, he received both of these *Laurels* together.

§ 3. This pious Man was both an hard *Student*, and a great *Preacher*. His *Custom* was to sit up very late at his *Lucubrations*; whereby, tho' he found no sensible Damage himself, and never felt his Head ach, yet his Counsel was that other *Students* would not follow his Example. But the Effects of his *Industry* were seen by all Men, in his approving himself upon all Occasions, an universal *Scholar*. As for the *Sermons* wherewith he fed the Church of God, he wrote them for the most part, more largely than the most of *Ministers*; and he spoke them with a Gravity, an Energy, an Acceptableness, whereto few *Ministers* ever have arrived: Indeed his greatest Enemies, when they heard him, would acknowledge him to be among the best of *Preachers*. The ablest Men about *London* were his nearest *Friends*; among whom he held a very particular Correspondence with *Dr. Preston*: He, when he dy'd, left his Notes with *Mr. Davenport*, by him to be published; and accordingly with *Dr. Sibbs*, you'll find *Mr. Davenport* signing some of their Dedications.

§ 4. About the Year 1626. there were several eminent Persons, among whom were two *Dollors* of Divinity, with two other *Divines*, and four *Lawyers*, wherof one the King's *Serjeant* at Law, and four *Citizens*, wherof one the Lord Mayor of *London*, engaged in a Design to procure a Purchase of *Impropriations*, and with the *Profits* thereof to maintain a constant, and able, and painful Ministry, in those parts of the Kingdom,

where there was most want of such a Ministry. The *Divines* concerned in this Design, were *Dr. Gouge*, *Dr. Sibbs*, *Mr. Offspring*, and our *Mr. Davenport*; and such an incredible Progress was made in it, that it is judged, all the *Impropriations* in *England* would have been honestly and easily recovered unto the immediate Service of the Reformed Religion. But *Bishop Laud* looking with a jealous Eye on this Undertaking, least it might in time give a Secret Growth to *Non-Conformity*, he obtained a Bill to be exhibited in the *Exchequer Chamber*, by the King's Attorney-General, against the *Peoffees*, that had the Management of it. Upon this occasion, I find this Great Man writing in his *Great Bible*, the ensuing Passages:

' Feb. 11. 1632. The Busines of the *Peoffees* being to be heard the third time at the *Exchequer*, I prayed earnestly, That God would assist our Counsellors, in opening the Case, and be pleased to grant, that they might get no advantage against us, to punish us as *Evil Doers*; promising to observe what Answer he gave. Which seeing he hath graciously done, and delivered me from the thing I feared, I record to these Ends:

- ' 1. To be more *Industrious* in my Family.
- ' 2. To check my *Unbankfulness*.
- ' 3. To quicken my self to *Thankfulness*.
- ' 4. To awaken my self to more *Watchfulness* for the time to come, in remembrance of his Mercy.

' Which I beseech the Lord to grant, upon whose Faithfulness in his Covenant, I cast my self, to be made Faithful in my Covenant.

John Davenport.

The Issue of the Busines was this: The Court condemn'd their Proceedings as dangerous to the Church and State; pronouncing the *Gifts*, *Offerments*, and *Contrivances*, made to the Uses aforesaid, to be illegal, and so dissolved the same, confiscating their Money unto the King's Use. Yet the *Criminal Party* referred unto, was never prosecuted in the *Star-Chamber*; because the Design was generally approved, and multitudes of discreet and devout Men, extremely resented the Ruine of it.

§ 5. It happened that soon after this, the famous *Mr. John Cotton* was fallen under such a Storm of Persecution for his *Non-Conformity*, as made it necessary for him to propose and purpose a Removal out of the Land: Whereupon *Mr. Davenport*, with several other great and good Men, considering the eminent Learning, Prudence, and Holiness of that excellent Person, could be at no rest, until they had by a solemn Conference inform'd themselves of what might move him to such a Resolution. The Issue of the Conference was, that instead of their dissuading him from exposing himself to such Sufferings, as were now before him, he convinced them



them of the Truth in the Cause for which he suffered; and they became fatished both of the Evil in sundry Matters of Worship and Order, imposed upon them, and of the Duty which lay upon them, in their places to endeavour the Reformation of things in the Church, according to the Word of God. Mr. Davenport's Inclination to Non-Conformity from this time, fell under the Notice and Anger of his Diocesan; who presently determined the Marks of his Vengeance for him: Of which being seasonably and sufficiently advertised, he convened the principal Persons under his Pastoral Charge in Coleman-street, at a General Vestry, desiring them on this occasion to declare, what they would advise, for acknowledging the Right which they had in him, as their Pastor, he would not, by any danger, be driven from any Service, which they should expect of demand at his Hands; but he would imitate the Example of Luther, who upon Letters from the Church of Wittenberg, from whence he had withdrawn for his Security, upon the Direction of the Duke of Saxony, returned unto the Courageous Exercise of his Ministry. Upon a serious Deliberation, they discharged his Conscientious Obligation, by agreeing with him, that it would be best for him to resign; but altho' he now hoped for something of a quiet Life, his Hope was disappointed; for he was continually dogged by raging bulle Puritans, from whom he had no safety but by retiring into Holland.

§ 6. Over to Holland he went, in the latter end of the Year 1633. Where the Messengers of the Church, under the Charge of Mr. Paget, met him in his way to Amsterdam, inviting him to become the Colleague of their Aged Pastor. But Mr. Davenport had not been long there, before his Indisposition to the promiscuous Baptizing of Children, concerning whom there was no charitable or tolerable Testimony of their belonging to Christian Parents, was by Mr. Paget so improved against him, as to procure him the Displeasure of the Dutch Classes in the Neighbourhood. The Contention on this Occasion proceeded so far, that tho' the Dutch Ministers had under their Hands declared — *We desire nothing more, than that Mr. Davenport, whose eminent Learning, and singular Piety is much approved and commended of all the English our Brethren, may be lawfully promoted unto the Ministry of the English Church: We do also greatly approve of his good Zeal and Care, of his having some precedent private Examination of the Parents, and Sureties of Children to be Baptized in the Christian Religion.* Yet the matter could not be accommodated; Mr. Davenport could not be allowed, except he would promise to Baptize the Children of such whose Parents and Sureties were, upon Examination, found never so much Unchristianized, Ignorant, or Scandalous. He therefore desisted from his Publick Ministry in Amsterdam, about the beginning of the Year 1635, contenting himself to set up a Catechetical Exercise in the Family, where he sojourned on the Afternoon of the Lord's Days,

an Hour after the Publick Sermons were over. But some considerable number of People, at length, resorting to this Exercise, a Jealousie was pretended by his Adversary, that the Design of it was to promote such *Sects*, as indeed the chief Design of it was to prevent; and upon this pretence it was hindered, even from this better Opportunity of doing Service altho'. The fuller Story of these uncomfortable and unreasonable Brangles, the Reader may find in an *Apologetical Discourse* of Mr. Davenport's, published for his own Vindication; wherein he do's with a Learned Pen, handle several Points much controverted in the Reformed Churches; and shew himself a Divine well studied in the Controversies of the present, and the former Ages. But the Upholder of all was, that he returned back to London; where he told his Friends, *That he thought God carried him over into Holland, on purpose to bear Witness against that promiscuous Baptizing, which at least bordered very near upon a Profanation of the Holy Institution.*

§ 7. He observed, that when a Reformation of the Church has been brought about in any part of the World, it has rarely been afterwards carried on any one step further, than the first Reformers did succeed in their first Endeavours: he observed that as easily might the Ark have been removed from the Mountains of Ararat, where it first grounded, as a People get any Ground in Reformation; after and beyond the first Remove of the Reformers. And this Observation quickened him to embark in a Design of Reformation, wherein he might have Opportunity to drive things in the first Essay, as near to the Precept and Pattern of Scripture, as they could be driven. The Plantation of New-England afforded him this Opportunity, with the chief Undertakers whereof he had many Consultations, before he had ever taken up any purpose of going himself into that part of the World; and he had, indeed, a very great stroke in the encouraging and enlivening of that Noble Undertaking. He was one of those by whom the Patent for the Massachusetts Colony was procured; and tho' his Name were not among the Patenters, becau' he himself desired it might be omitted, lest his Enemy, the Bishop of London, then of the King's Privy Council, should upon his Account appear the more fiercely against it; yet his Purse was in it, his Time was in it, and he contributed unto it all manner of Assurances: This he did before his going to Holland. And while he was in Holland, he received Letters of Mr. Cotton, from the Country whereto he had thus been a Father; telling him, *That the Order of the Churches, and the Common-Wealth, was nice so settled in New-England, by common Consent, that it brought into his Mind the New Heaven, and the New Earth, where it dwells Righteousness.* Wherefore, soon after his Return for London, he shipp'd himself, with several eminent Christians, and their Families, for New-England; where, by the good Hand of GOD upon them, they



they arrived in the Summer of the Year, 1637.

§ 8. Mr. Cotton welcomed Mr. Davenport, as *Moses did Jethro*, hoping that he would be, as *Eyes unto them in the Wilderness*. For by the Cunning and Malice of *Satan*, all things in this *New-England Wilderness* were then *surprised* into a deal of Confusion, on the Occasion of the *Antinomian* Opinions then spread abroad; but the Learning and Wisdom of this worthy Man in the Synod then assembled at Cambridge, did contribute more than a little to dispel the *Fascinating Mists* which had suddenly disordered all our Affairs. Having done his part in that *Blessed Work*, (as we have elsewhere more fully related) He, with his Friends, who were more fit for *Zebulon's Ports*, than for *Issachar's Tents*, chose to go farther Westward; where they began a Plantation and a Colony, since distinguished by the Name of *New-Haven*; and endeavoured, according to his Understanding, a yet stricter Conformity to the Word of God, in settling of all Matters, both Civil and Sacred, than he had yet seen exemplified in any other Part of the World. There the Famous Church of *New-Haven*, as well as the other Neighbouring Towns, enjoyed his Ministry, his Discipline, his Government, and his Universal Direction for many Years together; even till after the Reformation of King Charles II. *Connecticut and New-Haven*, were by One Charter incorporated. And here, with what Holiness, with what Watchfulness, with what Usefulness he discharged his Ministry, it is worthy of a Remembrance among all that would propose unto themselves a worthy Example. Nevertheless, all that I shall here preserve of it, is this One Article. A young Minister, once receiving of wife and good Councils from this good and wife and great Man, he received this among the rest, That he should be much in Ejaculatory Prayer: For indeed, Ejaculatory Prayers, as *Arrows in the Hand of a Mighty Man*, so are they, Happy is the Man that has his Quiver full of them! And it was believed, by more curious Observers, That Mr. Davenport himself, was well used unto that sacred Skill of, Walking with God, and, Having his Eyes ever towards the Lord, and, Being in the Fear of the Lord all the Day long, by the use of Ejaculatory Prayers, on the Innumerable Occasions, which every Turn of our Lives does bring for those Devotions. He was not only constant in more Settled, whether Social or Secret Prayers; but also in the midst of all beheading Incumbrances, tying the Wishes of his Devout Soul unto the *Arrows of Ejaculatory Prayers*, he would shoot them away unto the Heavens, from whence he still expected all his Help. With such a Glory, with such a Defence, was *New-Haven* Blessed!

§ 9. But his Influences were not confined unto his own Colony of *New-Haven*; they were extended as far as his general and generous Care of all the Churches, could carry him. And hence, I find him in a particular manner, ex-

pressing his good Affections unto the *Irenio* Designs and Studies, which were in those Days managing by some great Men, for the restoring of Communion among the divided Churches of the Reformation. Perhaps, I cannot give an exact Character of this eminent Person's Disposition, than by my Transcribing and my Translating of a few Passages in a Letter to the Famous *Dury*, by him composed, and by the rest of the Ministers in his Colony subscribed.

*Elegante Schismatis incendio, Ecclesias, quas oportebat Aristissimo Pacis & Unitatis Vinculo Colligari, misera in scissas Invisâ Deo Lacerabat Erinuys; Usque adeo ut qui mutuum contra communes Hostes opem conferrent, pro dolor! Concerationes Midianiticas invocant agunt; Sicut Enim Juvenes quos ad Dimicandum Abnerus Provocabat, se mutuis Vulneribus Consecravit; Sic, quorundam Vitio, qui partes potius agunt male Disputantium, quam bene Evangelizantium, Furgia, Lites, Animorum Divortia, Schismata & Scandala, in Ecclesiis Evangelicis, Subornantur, non sine gravi Infirmorum Offensiculo, nec sine Summo Bonorum Omnium Merore, ac Juuicorum Evangelica Veritatis Obdoleamento.*

While the Fire of Schism was raising, the *Hateful Fury* has miserably torn to Pieces, the Churches that should have been held together in the strictest Bonds of Love and Unity; inasmuch that they who should have united, for mutual Help against the common Enemy, alas, have even fallen upon one another, as in the Day of Midian. As the young Men, upon the Provocation of *Aber*, wounded one another to Death; thus, by the Fault of some, who do the part rather of *Bad Wranglers*, than of *Good Preachers*, there do arise in the Reformed Churches, those *Brawls* and *Strifes*, and Animosities, and *Schisms* and *Scandals*, which offend the *Weak*, and afflict the *Good*, and are no little Satisfaction to the Enemies of *Gospel-Truth*.

*Nunc Vero, Postquam Custos Israelis, Deus Pacis, dedit in Corda tot Ecclesiarum & Magistratum, ut Vulneribus istis Medicinam facendam esse, Necessarium iudicarent, En! Bonorum omnium Animi, in Spem erecti, Malorum ipsorum Salutarem Clausulum Expectant, & Votis intimis, Patrem Misericordiarum Vobiscum invocant, ut Spiritus sui Gratia, Secundum Verbum Suum, Confilia & actiones Servorum Suorum dirigere, ad Sancti Nominis sui Gloriam dignetur.*

But now that the *Keeper of Israel*, the God of Peace, hath put it into the Hearts of many Churches and Rulers, to apprehend it necessary, that a Cure should be sought for these Wounds, Behold! The Minds of all Good Men, do with a raised Hope expect an Happy Close of these *Michiefs*; and with most hearty Prayers, do beseech the Father of Mercies, that he would, by the Grace of his Spirit, according to his Word, please to direct the Counsels and Actions of his Servants, for the Glory of his own Holy Name.

*Reste quidem scissis, Reverende Frater Durze, quod nos etiam in eodem Vobiscum Corpore, Sub eodem*



*eodem Capite Jesu Christo, Constitutos, ad Negotium hoc, in Sanctorum Communionem, Promovendum, fraterne invitasti.*

'You have done Right Well, Reverend Brother, in that you have, after a Brotherly manner, unto the Promoting of this Affair, in the Communion of Saints invited us, who belong to the same Mystical Body, with your selves, under One Head, our Lord Jesus Christ.

*Dica Vero non est Orthodoxis impingenda, quasi Optatissime illi Paci, que inter Scissas Evangelicas Ecclesias quaritur, Offendiolum posuerint, & Remoram qui Necessitate Postulante, ea utuntur Libertate Resutandi Errores, quam Pax non debet impedire; adeoque suo Exemplo futuram pacem prænuntiant, à Vitius in Excessu positus.* — *Quippe quod Sincere de Erroribus Judicare, & Errores tamen in Fratribus Infirmis Tolerare, Virumque Judicamus esse Apostolice Doctrinæ Consonum. Toleratio Vero Fratrurn Infirmorum, non debet esse absque Reclargitione, Sed tantum absque Rejectione.*

'Nevertheless, 'tis not to be made an Article of Complaint against the Orthodox, as if they would hinder or delay the Peace desired so much among the Reformed Churches, because they do, as Necessity shall call for it, use that Liberty of Refuting Errors, which Peace ought to be no Bar unto; and by their Example, would rescue the future Peace from the Extremes wherewith it would be rendered Faulty. — For we reckon that as well to Judge what things are Errors, as to bear with such Errors in Weaker Brethren, are both of them agreeable to what we have been taught by the Apostles. The Toleration of our Erro-neous Brethren, should not be without Rebu-kings, but it should be without Refelling of those Brethren.

§ 10. It is a Notable Expression, and a Wonderful Concession of that great Cardinal Bellarmine, the last Goliath of the Romish Philistines; *Ecclesia ex Intentione Fideles tantum Colligit, & si nosset Impios & incredulos, eos aut nunquam admitteret, aut casu Admissos Excluderet.* The

Church (he says) intentionally gathers only True Believers, and if she knew who were Wicked and Faithless, either she would not admit them at all, or if they were accidentally admitted, she would exclude them. Our Davenport conceiving it a Shame, that any Protestant should protest for less Church Purity, than what the Confessions of a Learned Papist allow'd e'er he was aware, to be contended for, did now at New-haven, make Church Purity to be one of his greatest Concernments and Endeavours. It was his declared Principle, That more is required of Men, in order to their being Members of an Infiltrated Church, than that they profess the Christian Faith, and ask the Visible Seals of the Covenant in the Fellowship of the Church; all which may be done, by Persons notoriously scandalous in their Lives, from whom the Command is, *Turn away*: But only such Persons may be received as Members of a particular Church, who (according to Mat-

16. 18. 19.) make such a Publick Profession of their Faith, as the Church may, in charitable Discretion judge, has Bless'dness annexed unto it, and such as *Wish* and *Blood* hath not revealed. In pursuance of this Principle, he was, like his dear Friend, that Great Man, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, perswaded, That (as he speaks) *there are many Rules in the Word, whereby it is meet for us, to judge who are Saints; by which Rules those who are entrusted to receive Men unto Ordinances in Churches, are to be guided, and so to separate between the Precious and the Unclean, as the Priests of old were enabled and commanded by Ceremonial Differences, which God then made to typify the like Discrimination of Persons.* And therefore, making the Marks of a repenting and a believing Soul, given in the Word of God, the Rules of his Tryals, he used a more than ordinary Exactness in Trying, those that were Admitted unto the Communion of the Church: Indeed so very thoroughly, and I had almost said, severely strict, were the Terms of his Communion, and so much, I had well nigh said, over-much, were the Golden Snuffers of the Sanctuary employ'd by him in his Exercise of Discipline towards those that were Admitted, that he did all that was possible, to render the Renowned Church of New-Haven, like the New Jerusalem; and yet, after all, the Lord gave him to see that in this World, it was impossible to see a Church State, whereinto *there enters nothing which defiles*. This Great Man, hath himself, in one of his own Treatises observed it, *The Officers and Brethren of the Church, are but Men, who judge by the outward appearance. Therefore their Judgement is fallible, and hath been deceived; as we see in the Judgment of the Apostles, and the Church at Jerusalem, concerning Ananias and Sapphira; and in that of Philip, and the Church in Samaria, concerning Simon Magus. Their Duty is to proceed, as far as Men may, by Rule, with due Moderation and Gentleness, to try them, who offer themselves to Fellowship, whether they be Believers or not; refusing known Hypocrites; tho' when they have done all they can, close Hypocrites will creep in.* And now, I might entertain my Reader, I hope, with a profitable, I am sure, with a very prodigious History; I will on this occasion, relate most horrible things done in the Land, which this good Man saw, to confirm his own Observation: But I will take a fitter Occasion for it.

§ 11. After this, the remaining Days of this eminent Person, were worn away under the unhappy Temptations of a Wilderness. It so happened, that the most part of the first Church in Boston, the Metropolis of the Colony, out of Respect unto his vast Abilities, had applied themselves unto him, to succeed those famous Lights, Cotton, and Norton, and Wilson, who having from that Golden Candlestick, illuminated the whole Country, were now gone to shine in an higher Orb. His Removal from New-Haven was clogg'd with many temptations Difficulties: (For, *Miraculi infirmi, vite iter, si longum, sine Offensione, Percurrere*.) But he

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broke through them all, in Expectation to do what he judged would be a more comprehensive Service unto the Churches of New-England, than could have been done by him, in his now undistinguished Colony. On this occasion, if I should mention that lamentable Observation of Old Epiphanius, who says, *I have known some Confessors, who delivered up their Body, and their Spirit, for the Lord, and persevering in Confession and Charity, obtained Great Proof of the Sincerity of their Faith, and excelled in Piety, Humanity, and Religion, and were continual in Fastings, and in a word, flourished in Vertue; and yet these very Men were blisshed with some Vice, as either they were prone to reproach Men, or would swear profanely, or were over talkative, or were prone to Anger, or got Gold and Silver, or were defiled with some such Vices; which nevertheless detract not from the just Praises of their Vertue.* I must add upon it, that Mr. Davenport was a Confessor flourishing in Vertue, upon whom they that upon the Score of his Removal, were most of all dissatisfied at him, would not yet charge those unhappy Blemishes: And if any good Men in the *Sifting Times*, did count him either too frail, or too high, in some of his Apprehensions: *Nevertheless, these Things also detract not from the just Praises of his Vertue.*

§ 12. So rich a Treasure of the best Gifts, as was in our Davenport, was well worth coveting by the considerabest Church in the Land. He was a most incomparable Preacher, and a Man of more than ordinary Accomplishments; a Prince of Preachers, and worthy to have been a Preacher to Princes: He had been acquainted with Great Men, and Great Things, and was Great himself, and had a Great Fame abroad in the World; yea, now he was grown old, like Moses, his Force was not abated. And the Character which I remember that old Pagan Historian, Diodorus the *Sicilian*, gave of our Moses, every Body was ready to give of our Davenport, *He was a Man of a Great Soul, and very powerful in his Life.* But his Removal did seem too much to verifie an Observation, by the famous Dr. Tuckney thus expressed: *It is ill transplanting a Tree that thrives in the Soil:* For accepting the Call of *Boston Church*, in the Year 1667, that Church, and the World, must enjoy him no longer than till the Year 1670: When on March 15. Aged Seventy two Years, he was by an Apoplexy fetch'd away to that Glorious World, where the Spirits of Cotton and Davenport, are together in Heaven, as their Bodies are now in one Tomb on Earth.

§ 13. His constant and various Employments otherwise, would not permit him to leave many Printed Effects of his Judicious Industry, besides those few already mentioned: Altho' he were so close and bent a Student, that the rude Pagans themselves took much Notice of it, and the *Lidian Salvages* in the Neighbourhood, would call him, *So Big Study Man.* Only there is in the Hands of the Faithful, a Savory Treatise of his, entitled, *The Saints Anchor-hold*; in the Preface whereof, a *Dumoiraire* of Re-

nowned Men; to wit, Mr. Hook, and Mr. Caryl, give this Attestation: "As touching the Author of this Treatise, in whose Heart the Text was written by the Finger of God, before the Discourse was Penned by his own Hand; his Piety, Learning, Gravity, Experience, Judgment, do not more commend him to all that know him, than this Work of his may commend it self to them that read it. The Christian Faith has also been solidly and learnedly maintain'd by him, in a Discourse long since published, for the Demonstration of our blessed Jesus, to be the true Messias. Nor would I forget a Sermon of his on 2 Sam. 23.3. at the Anniversary Court of Election at Boston, 1669, afterwards published. And among the many Epistles which he hath prefix'd unto the Books of other Authors, I know not whether his excellent Epistle before Mr. Scudder's *Daily Walk*, may not, for the worth of it, be reckon'd it self a Book, as the Book it self was the Directory of his own *Daily Walk.* Moreover, there is published a Treatise of his under this Title, *The Power of Congregational Churches*; in the Preface whereof Mr. Nathanael Mather, (at this time the worthy and well-known Pastor of such a Church in the City of London) has these very significant Expressions concerning him: *Certain it is, the Principles held forth in this Treatise, cost the Reverend Author, not only many Sufferings, but also many, very many sad Searchings, and much Reading and Study, on set purpose, accompanied with manifold Prayers and Cries to the Father of Lights, for Light therein. After all which, he was more confirmed in them, and attained to such comfortable Clearness therein, as bore him up with much inward Peace and Satisfaction, under all his Afflictions, on the Account of his Perfection in these Points. And so perswaded, lived, and so died this grave and serious Spirited Man.* There is likewise published, *A Discourse about Civil Government, in a New Plantation, whose Design is Religion:* In the Title-Page whereof, the Name of Mr. Cotton, is, by a Mistake, put for that of Mr. Davenport. And there was lately transcribed for the Press, from his Notes, a large Volume of Accurate and Elaborate Sermons, on the whole Book of *Canticles.* But the Death of the Gentleman chiefly concerned in the intended Impression, proved the Death of the Impression itself.

§ 14. To conclude: There will be but an unjust Account given of the things preached and written by this Reverend Man, if we do not mention one singular Favour of Heaven unto him. It is well known, that in the earliest of the Primitive Times, the Faithful did in a literal Sense, believe the *Second Coming* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the *Rising and Reigning of the Saints* with him; a thousand Years before the rest of the *Dead live again:* A Doctrine, which however some of later Years have counted *Heretical*; yet, in the Days of *Irenaeus*, was question'd by none but such as were counted *Hereticks.* 'Tis evident from *Justin Martyr*, that this Doctrine of the *Chiliasm*, was in his Days embraced, among all *Orthodox Christians*; nor did this

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Kingdom of our Lord, begin to be doubted, until the Kingdom of Antichrist began to advance into a considerable Figure; and then it fell chiefly under the Reproaches of such Men, as were fain to deny the Divine Authority of the Book of *Revelation*, and of the Second Epistle of *Peter*. He is a Stranger to Antiquity, who does not find and own the Ancients generally of the Persuasion, which is excellently summi'd up in those Words of *Lactantius*, *Vener summi & maximi Dei Filium. Verum ille, cum deleverit injustitiam, Judiciumque maximum fecerit, ac Justos, qui a Principio fuerunt, ad vitam Restauraverit, Mille Annis inter Homines Versabitur, eoque Justissimo Imperio reget*. Nevertheless, at last Men came, not only to lay aside the Modesty expressed, by one of the first considerable *Anti-Millenaries*, namely *Jerom*, when he said, *Qua licet non sequamur, tamen Condemnare non possumus, eo quod multi Virorum Ecclesiasticorum & Martyrum, ista dixerint*: But also with Violence to persecute the Millenary Truth as an *Heretical Pravity*. So the Mystery of our Lord's appearing in his Kingdom, lay buried in Popish Darkness, till the Light thereof had a fresh Dawn, since the Antichrist entered into the last half Time of the Period allotted for him; and now, within the last few Sevens of Years, as things grow nearer to Accomplishment, Learned and Pious Men, in great Numbers every where, come to receive, explain, and maintain the *Old Faith* about it. But here was the special Favour of Heaven, to our *Davenport*, that for many Years ago, when in both *Englands* the true Notion of the *Chilid*, was hardly apprehended by as many Divines of Note, as there are Mouths of *Nilus*, yet this worthy Man clearly

saw into it, and both preach'd and wrote those very things, about the *Future State*, the Coming of the Lord, the *Calling of the Jews*, and the First and Second *Resurrection of the Dead*, which do now of late Years get more ground against the opposition of the otherwise minded, and find a kinder Entertainment among them that search the *Scriptures*: And whereof he afterwards, when he was an *Old Man*, gave the World a little Taft, in a Judicious Preface before a most Learned and Nervous Treatise, composed by one that was then a *Young Man*, about the *Mystery of the Salvation of Israel*. Even, then, so long ago it was, that he asserted, *A Personal, Visible, Powerful, and Glorious Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ unto Judgment, long before the End of the World*.

But thus we take our Leave of this Renowned Man, and leave him resting in hope, to stand in his *Lot*, at that End.

### Epitaphium.

JOHANNES DAVENPORTUS,

In Portum Delatus.

Vivus Nov-Angliae, ac Ecclesiae Ornamentum,

E T

Mortuus, Utriusque Triste Desiderium.

## A P P E N D I X.

*The Light of the Western Churches: Or, The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS HOOKER, the Renowned Pastor of Hartford-Church, and Pillar of Connecticut-Colony, in New-England.*

Essay'd by COTTON MATHER.

*Quod si digna Tua minus est mea Pagina Lande,  
At voluisse sat est.*

To the CHURCHES in the Colony of CONNECTICUT.

**A** Ltho' the Providence of Heaven, whereby the Bounds of People are set, hath carried you so far Westward, that some have pleasantly, The last Conflict with Antichrist, must be in your Colony: Yet, I believe you do not reckon your selves removed beyond the reach of Tempta-

tion and Corruption. 'Tis a Great Work that you have done, for our Lord Jesus Christ, in forming a Colony of Evangelical Churches for him, where Satan alone had Reigned without Control in all former Ages: But your incomparable Hooker, who was one of the greatest in the Founda-

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tion of that Work, was in his Day, well aware, that Satan would make all the best he could, unhappily to get all buried in the Degeneracies of Ignorance, Worldliness, and Profanity. To advise you of your Dangers, and uphold the Life of Religion among you, I presume humbly to lay before you, the Life of that excellent Man, who for Learning, Wisdom, and Religion, was a Pattern well worthy of perpetual Consideration. Having served my own Province, with the History of no less than four famous Johns, all fetched from One

Church, I was for certain special Causes, unwilling to have it complained, as once it was of the Disciples, Thomas was not with them: Wherefore I was willing to make this Appendix unto that History, confessing that thro' want of Information I have Underdone in this, more than in any part of the Composure; yet so done, that I hope the good Hand of the Lord, whom I have design'd therein to glorify, will make what is done, to be neither unacceptable, nor unprofitable unto his People.

Cotton Mather.

Of the Examination to be made. THE LIFE OF MR. THOMAS HOOKER.

§ 1. **W**HEN *Taxaris* met with his Countryman *Anacharsis*, in *Athens*, he gave him this Invitation, Come along with me, and I will shew thee at once all the Wonders of Greece: Whereupon he shewed him *Solon*, as the Person in whom there Centered all the Glories of that City, or Country. I shall now invite my Reader to behold at the Wonders of New-England, and it is one *Thomas Hooker* that he shall behold them: Even in that *Hooker*, whom a worthy Writer would needs call, *Saint Hooker*, for the same Reason, (he said) and with the same Freedom that *Latimer* would speak of *Saint Bilney*, in his Commemorations. 'Tis that *Hooker*, of whom I may venture to say, that the famous Romanist, who wrote a Book, *De Tribus Thomis*; or, Of Three *Thomas's*; meaning *Thomas the Apostle*, *Thomas Becket*, and *Sir Thomas More*, did not as a Thousandth part so well for his *Thomas's*, as a New-Englander might, if he should write a Book, *De Duobus Thomis*, or, Of Two *Thomas's*; and with *Thomas the Apostle*, join our Celebrated *Thomas Hooker*: My One *Thomas*, even our Apostolical *Hooker*, would in just Balances, weigh down two of *Stapleton's* Rebellious Arch-Bishops, or Bigotted Lord Chancellors. 'Tis he, whom I may call, as *Theodoret* call'd *Irenæus*, *The Light of the Western Church*.

§ 2. This our *Hooker* was born at *Marfield*, in *Leicestershire*, about the Year 1586, of Parents that were neither unable, nor unwilling to bestow upon him a Liberal Education; where to the early and lively Sparkles of Wit observed in him, did very much encourage them. His Natural Temper was cheerful and courteous; but it was accompanied with such a sensible Grandeur of Mind, as caus'd his Friends, without the help of Altruology, to prognosticate that he was born to be considerable. The Influence which he had upon the Reformation of some growing Abuses, when he was one of the Proctors in the University, was a thing that more eminently signalized him, when his more public Appearance in the World was coming on: Which was attended with an Advancement unto a Fellowship, in *Emmanuel College*, in *Cambridge*; the Students whereof were originally designed for the Study of Divinity.

§ 3. With what Ability and Fidelity he ac-

quitted himself in his Fellowship, it was a thing sensible unto the whole University. And it was while he was in this Employment, that the more effectual Grace of God, gave him the Experience of a true Regeneration. It pleased the Spirit of God very powerfully to break into the Soul of this Person, with such a Sense of his being exposed unto the just Wrath of Heaven, as fill'd him with most unusual Degrees of Horror and Anguish, which broke not only his Rest, but his Heart also, and caus'd him to cry out, While I suffer thy Terrors, O Lord, I am distracted! While he long had a Soul harassed with such Distresses, he had a singular Help in the prudent and piteous Carriage of Mr. *Ash*, who was the Sizer, that then waited upon him; and attended him with such discreet and proper Compassions, as made him afterwards to respect him highly all his Days. He afterwards gave this Account of himself, That in the time of his Agonies, he could Reason himself to the Rule, and conclude that there was no way but Submission to God, and lying at the Foot of his Mercy in Christ Jesus, and waiting humbly there, till he should please to persuade the Soul of his Favour: Nevertheless when he came to apply this Rule unto himself in his own Condition, his Reasoning would fail him, he was able to do nothing. Having been a considerable while thus troubled with such Impressions for the Spirit of Bondage, as were to fit him for the great Services and Enjoyments, which God intended him; at length he received the Spirit of Adoption, with well-grounded Persuasions of his Interest in the New Covenant. It became his manner, at his lying down for Sleep, in the Evening, to single out some certain Promise of God, which he would repeat and ponder, and keep his Heart close unto it, until he found that Satisfaction of Soul wherewith he could say, I will lay me down in Peace, and Sleep; for thou, O Lord, makest me dwell in Assurance. And he would afterwards Counsel others to take the same Course; telling them, That the Promise was the Boat, which was to carry a perishing Sinner over unto the Lord Jesus Christ.

§ 4. Mr. Hooker being now well got through the Storm of Soul, which had helped him unto a most Experimental Acquaintance with the Truths of the Gospel, and the way of employ-



ing, and applying those Truths, he was willing to serve the Church of God in the Ministry, whereto he was devoted. At his first leaving of the University, he joyned in the House of Mr. Drake, a Gentleman of great Note, not far from London; whose worthy Comfort being visited with such Distresses of Soul, as Mr. Hooker himself had passed through, it proved an unspeakable advantage unto both of them, that he had that opportunity of being serviceable; for indeed he now had no *Superiour*, and scarce any *Equal*, for the Skill of Treating a troubled Soul. When he left Mr. Drake's Family, he did more publicly and frequently preach about London; and in a little time he grew famous for his Ministerial Abilities, but especially for his Notable Faculty at the wife and fit management of *wounded Spirits*. However, he was not Ambitious to exercise his Ministry among the Great Ones of the World, from whom the most of Preferment might be expected; but in this, imitating the Example and Character of our blessed Saviour, of whom 'tis noted, that according to the Prophecie of *Isaiah*, by him, *The Poor had the Gospel preached unto them*; he chose to be where great Numbers of the Poor might receive the Gospel from him.

§ 5. About this time it was, that Mr. Hooker grew into a most intimate Acquaintance with Mr. Rogers of *Dedham*; who so highly valued him for his Multifarious Abilities, that he used and gained many Endeavours to get him settled at *Colchester*; whereto Mr. Hooker did very much incline, because of its being so near to *Dedham*, where he might enjoy the *Labour* and *Lectures* of Mr. Rogers, whom he would sometimes call, *The Prince of all the Preachers in England*. But the Providence of God gave an Obstruction to that Settlement; and, indeed, it was an Obstruction which Mr. Hooker would sometimes afterwards say unto his Friends, *That the Providence of God often diverted him from Employment in such Places as he himself desired, and still directed him to such Places, as he had no thoughts of*. Accordingly, *Chelmsford* in *Essex*, a Town of great Concourse, wanting one to *break the Bread of Life* unto them; and hearing the Fame of Mr. Hooker's powerful Ministry, addressed him to become their Lecturer: And he accepted their Offer about the Year 1626, becoming not only their Lecturer, but also on the Lord's Days, an Assistant unto one Mr. *Mitchel*, the Incumbent of the place, who tho' he were a *Smaller*, yet being a Godly Person, gladly encouraged Mr. Hooker, and liv'd with him in a most comfortable Amity.

§ 6. Here his Lecture was exceedingly frequented, and proportionably succeeded; and the Light of his Ministry shone through the whole County of *Essex*. There was a rare mixture of *Pleasure* and *Profit* in his preaching; and his Hearers felt those penetrating Impressions of his Ministry upon their Souls, which caused them to Reverence him, as a *Teacher sent from God*. He had a most excellent Faculty at the Applications of his Doctrine; and he would

therein to touch the *Conscience* of his Auditors, that a Judicious Person would say of him, *He was the Best or an Use that ever he heard*. Hereby there was a great Reformation wrought; not only in the Town, but in the adjacent Countie; from all parts whereof they came to hear the *Wisdom of the Lord Jesus Christ*, in his Gospel, by this worthy Man dispensed: And some of great Quality among the rest, would often resort from far to this Assembly; particularly the truly Noble Earl of *Warwick*, whose Countenance of Good Ministers procured more Prayers to God for him, than most Noble men in *England*.

When he first set up his Lecture, there was more *Profaneness* than *Devotion* in the Town; and the multitude of Inns and Shops, and the Town, produced one particular Disorder, of Peoples filling the Streets with unsuitable Behaviours, after the Publick Services of the Lord's Day were over. But by the Power of his Ministry in Publick, and by the Prudence of his Carriage in Private, he quickly cleared the Streets of this Disorder, and the Sabbath came to be very visibly sanctified among the People.

§ 7. The Joy of the People in this Light was but for a Season. The Conscientious Non-Conformity of Mr. Hooker, to some Rites of the Church of *England*, then vigorously pressed, especially upon such able and useful Ministers, as were most likely to be laid aside by their scrupling of those Rites, made it necessary for him to lay down his Ministry in *Chelmsford*, where he had been about four Years there employed in it. Hereupon, at the Request of several eminent Persons, he kept a School in his own hired House, having one Mr. *John Eliot* for his Usher, at little *Baddow*, not far from *Chelmsford*; where he managed his Charge with such Discretion, such Authority, and such Efficacy, that able to do more with a Word, or a Look, than most other Men could have done by a severer Discipline, he did very great Service to the Church of God, in the Education of such, as afterwards proved themselves not a little serviceable. I have in my Hands, a Manuscript, written by the Hands of our blessed *Eliot*, where in he gives a very great Account of the little Academy then maintained in the House of Mr. Hooker; and among other things, he says, *To this place I was call'd, through the infinite Riches of God's Mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor Soul: For here the Lord said unto my dead Soul, Live; and through the Grace of Christ, I do live, and I shall live for ever! When I came to this blessed Family, I then saw, and never before, the Power of Godliness, in its Lively Vigour, and Efficacy*.

§ 8. While he continued thus in the Heart of *Essex*, and in the Hearts of the People there, he signalized his Usefulness in many other Instances.

The Godly Ministers round about the Country, would have recourse unto him, to be directed and resolved in their *difficult Cases*; and







a Convert, as to be at length a sincere *Professor* and *Pratifier* of the Godliness, whereof he had been a *Perfector*.

§ 11. The *Spiritual Court* sitting at *Chelmsford*, about the Year 1630. had not only silenced Mr. *Hooker*, but also bound him over in a Bond of Fifty Pound to appear before the *High Commission*, which he could not now attend, because of an Ague then upon him. One of his Hearers, namely Mr. *Nash*, a very honest Yeoman, that rented a great Farm of the Earl of *Warwick* at *Much-Waltham*, was bound in that Sum for his Appearance, but as *Paul* was advised by his Friends, that he would not venture into the Theatre at *Ephesus*, thus Mr. *Hooker*'s Friends advised him to forfeit his Bonds, rather than to throw himself any further into the Hands of his Enemies. Wherefore, when the Day for his Appearance came, his honest Surety being reimbursed by several good People in and near *Chelmsford*, sent in the forfeited Sum into the Court, and Mr. *Hooker* having, by the Earl of *Warwick*, a courteous and private Reces provided for his Family at a Place called *Old Park*, for which I find, the Thanks of Dr. *Hill* afterwards publicly given in his Dedication of Mr. *Fenner*'s Treatise about *Impenitency*, he went over to *Holland*. In his Passage thither, he quickly had occasion to discover himself, when they were in Eminent Hazard of *Shipwreck* upon a Shelf of Sand, whereon they ran in the Night, but Mr. *Hooker*, like *Paul*, with a Remarkable Confidence, assured them, that they should be all preserved; and they had as Remarkable a Deliverance. I have also heard, that when he fled from the Pursuivants, to take his Passage for the *Low-Countries*, at his last parting with some of his Friends, one of them said, Sir, What if the Wind should not be fair, when you come to the Vessel? whereon he instantly replied, Brother, Let us leave that with him, who keeps the Wind in the hollow of his hand: And it was observ'd, That although the Wind was cross, until he came aboard, yet it immediately then came about fair and fresh, and he was no sooner under Sail, but the Officer arriv'd at the Sea side happily too late now to come at him: Which minds me of what befel Dr. *Goodwin*, not long after. That Great Man lay Wind-bound in hourly Suspicions that the Pursuivants would stop his Voyage, and seize his Person before the Wind would favour his getting away for *Holland*. In this Distress, humbly praying to the Lord *Jesus Christ*, for a more propitious Wind, he yet said, Lord, If thou best at this time, any poor Servant of thine, that wants this Wind, more than I do another, I do not ask for the Changing of it; I submit unto it. And immediately the Wind came about, unto the Right Point; and carried him clear from his Pursuers.

§ 12. Arriving in *Holland*, he was invited unto a Settlement with old Mr. *Pager*; but the old Man being secretly willing that Mr. *Hooker* should not accept of this Invitation, he con-

trived many ways to render him suspected unto the *Classis*, on a Suspicion that he favoured the *Brownists*; unto whom he had, indeed, an extreme Aversion. The Misunderstandings operated so far, as to occasion Mr. *Hooker*'s Removal from *Amsterdam*, notwithstanding he had so fully exprest himself, when in his answer to one of Mr. *Pager*'s Questions, he declared in these Words, To separate from the Faithful Assemblies and Churches in England, or no Churches, is an Error in Judgment, and Sin in Practice, held and maintained by the *Brownists*, and therefore to communicate with them in their Opinion or Practice, is sinful and utterly unlawful; and care should be taken to prevent Offence, either by encouraging them in their way, or by drawing others to a further Approbation of that way than is meet. Going from *Amsterdam*, he went unto *Delft*; where he was most kindly received by Mr. *Forbes*, an Aged and Holy *Seaver* Minister, under whose Ministry many English Merchants were then settled. The Text whereon he first Preached at his coming thither, was Phil. 1. 29. To you it is given not only to Believe, but also to Suffer; and after that Sermon, Mr. *Forbes* manifested a strong Desire to enjoy the Fellowship of Mr. *Hooker* in the Work of the Gospel; which he did for about the space of two Years: In all which time they lived so like Brethren, that an Observer might say of them, as they said of *Basil* and *Nazianzen*, They were but one Soul in two Bodies; and if they had been for any little while asunder, they still met with such Friendly and Joyful Congratulations, as testified a most affectionate Satisfaction in each others Company.

§ 13. At the end of two Years, he had a Call to *Rotterdam*; which he more heartily and readily accepted, because it renewed his Acquaintance with his Invaluable Dr. *Ames*, who had newly left his Place in the *Erastian* University. With him he spent the Residue of his Time in *Holland*, and assisted him in composing some of his Discourses, which are, *His Fresh Suit against the Ceremonies*: For such was the Regard which Dr. *Ames* had for him, that notwithstanding his vast Ability and Experience, yet when it came to the Narrow of any Question about the Instituted Worship of God, he would still profess himself conquered by Mr. *Hooker*'s Reason; declaring, that though he had been acquainted with many Scholars of divers Nations, yet he never met with Mr. *Hooker*'s Equal, either for Preaching, or for Disputing. And such was the Regard, which on the other side, he had for Dr. *Ames*, that he would say, If a Scholar was but well studied in Dr. *Ames* his *Medulla Theologicæ*, and *Cassæ Conscientiæ*, so as to understand them thoroughly, they would make him (supposing him versed in the Scriptures) a Good Disme, tho' he had no more Books in the World. But having tarried in *Holland* long enough to see the State of Religion in the Churches there, he became satisfied, that it was neither Eligible for him to tarry in that Country, nor convenient for his Friends



to be invited thither after him. I have at this time in my Hands, his Letter from Rotterdam to Mr. Cotton, wherein are these words; 'The State of these Provinces to my weak Eye, seems wonderfully ticklish and miserable.' For the better part, *Heart Religion*, they content themselves with very Forms, tho' much blemished; but the Power of Godliness, for ought I can see or hear, they know not; and if it were thoroughly pressed, I fear least it will be fiercely opposed. My Ague yer holds me; the ways of God's Providence, wherein he has walked towards me, in this long time of my Sickness, and wherein I have drawn forth many wearyish Hours, under his Almighty Hand (Blessed be his Name) together with Pursuits and Banishment, which have waited upon me, as one Wave follows another, have driven me to an Amazement: His Paths being too secret and past finding out by such an Ignorant, Worthless Worm as my self. I have looked over my Heart and Life, according to my measure; aimed and guessed as well as I could: And entreated his Majesty to make known his Mind, wherein I missed; and yet methinks I cannot spell out readily the purpose of his Proceedings; which I confess have been wonderful in Miseries, and more than wonderful in Mercies to me and mine. Wherefore, about this time, understanding that many of his Friends in *Essex*, were upon the *Wings*, for a *Wilderness* in *America*, where they hoped for an opportunity to enjoy and practise the *Pure Worship* of the Lord Jesus Christ, in Churches gathered according to his Direction, he readily answered their Invitation to accompany them in this Undertaking. Dr. Ames had a design to follow Mr. Hooker; but he died soon after Mr. Hooker's Removal from Rotterdam. However his Widow and Children afterwards came to *New-England*; where having her House burnt, and being reduced unto much Poverty and Affliction, the charitable Heart of Mr. Hooker (and others that joined with him) upon Advice thereof, comfortably provided for them.

§ 14. Returning into *England* in order to a further Voyage, he was quickly scented by the Puritans; who at length got so far up with him, as to knock at the Door of that very Chamber, where he was now discoursing with Mr. Stone, who was now become his designed Companion and Assistent for the *New English* Enterprise. Mr. Stone was at that Instant smoking of *Tobacco*; for which Mr. Hooker had been reproving him; as being then used by few Persons of Sobriety; being also of a sudden and pleasant Wit, he stepped unto the Door, with his Pipe in his mouth, and such an Air of Speech and Look, as gave him some Credit with the Officer. The Officer demanded, *Whether Mr. Hooker were not there?* Mr. Stone replied with a brave sort of Confidence, *What Hooker? do you mean Hooker that liv'd once at Chelmsford?* The Officer answered, *Yes, He!* Mr. Stone immediately, with a Diversion like

that which once helped *Athanasius*, made this true Answer, *If it be he you look for, I saw him about an Hour ago, at such an House in the Town; you had best hasten thither after him.* The Officer took this for a sufficient Account, and went his way; but Mr. Hooker, upon this Intimation, concealed himself more carefully and securely, till he went on Board, at the Downs, in the Year 1633. the Ship which brought him, and Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Stone to *New-England*: Where none but Mr. Stone was owned for a Preacher, at their first coming aboard; the other two delaying to take their Turns in the Publick Worship of the Ship, till they were got so far into the Main Ocean, that they might with Safety, discover who they were.

§ 15. Amongst Mr. Fenner's Works, I find some imperfect and shattered, and I believe, Injurious Notes of a *Farewell Sermon* upon Jer. 14. 9. *We are called by thy Name, leave us not: Which Farewell Sermon was indeed, Mr. Hooker's, at his leaving of England.* There are in those Fragments of a Sermon, some very *Patetical* and most *Prophetical* Passages, where some are these.

*It is not Gold and Prosperity which makes God to be our God; there is more Gold in the West-Indies, than there is in all Christendom; but it is God's Ordinances in the Virtue of them, that show the Presence of God.*

*Again, Is not England ripe? Is she not weary of God? Nay, she is fed fat for the slaughter.*

*Once more, England hath seen her best Days, and now evil Days are befalling us.*

*And, Thow England, which hath been lifted up to Heaven with Means, shall be abased and brought down to Hell; for if the mighty Works, which have been done in thee, had been done in India or Turkey, they would have repented e'er this.*

These Passages I quote, that I may the more effectually describe the Apprehensions with which this worthy Man took his *Farewell* of his Native Country.

But there is one strange Passage in that Sermon, that I know not what well to think of; and yet it is to be thought of. I remember, 'tis a Passage in the Life of the Reverend Old *Blackberry*, who died in the Year 1648. 'That he would often say it was very probable, the *English* Nation would be sorely punished by the *French*: And that he believed, *Papery* would come in, but it would not last, nor could it recover its former Strength.' The notable Fulfilment which that Passage hath seen, would carry one to consider the unaccountable Words which Our Hooker uttered in his *Farewell Sermon*. 'Tis very likely, that the Scribe has all along wronged the Sermon; but the Words now referred unto, are of this Purport, *That it had been told him from God, That God will destroy England, and lay it waste; and that the People should be put unto the Sword, and the Temples burnt*

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burnt, and many Houses laid in Ashes. Long after this, when he lived at Hartford in New-England, his Friends that heard that Sermon, having the News of the Miseries upon England, by the Civil Wars. brought unto them, enquired of him, *Whether this were not the time of God's destroying England, whereof he had spoken?* He replied, *No, this is not the time; there will be a time of respite after these Wars, and a time wherein God will further try England; and England will further sin against him, and show an Antipathy against the Government of the Lord Jesus Christ in his Church; his Royal Power in the Governing thereof will be denied and rejected. There will therefore a time come, when the Lord Jesus Christ will plead his own, and his own Cause, and the Cause of them who have suffered for their Fidelity to her Institutions: He will plead it in a more dreadful way, and break the Nation of England in pieces, like a Potters Vessel. Then a Man shall be precious as the Gold of Ophir; but a small Remnant shall be left: And afterward God will raise up Churches to himself, after his own Heart, in his own time and way. God knows, what there may be in this Prediction.*

§ 16. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton were, for their different Genius, the Luther and Melancthon of New England; at their Arrival unto which Country, Mr. Cotton settled with the Church of Boston, but Mr. Hooker with the Church of New-Town, having Mr. Stone for his Assitant. Inexpressible now was the Joy of Mr. Hooker, to find himself surrounded with his Friends, who were come over the Year before, to prepare for his Reception; with open Arms he embraced them, and uttered these words, *Now I live, if you stand fast in the Lord.* But such multitudes flocked over to New-England after them, that the Plantation of New Town became to straight for them; and it was Mr. Hooker's Advice, that they should not incur the danger of a *Sitta*, or an *Ejsek*, where they might have a *Rehoboth*. Accordingly in the Month of June 1636, they removed an Hundred Miles to the Westward, with a purpose to settle upon the delightful Banks of *Connelicut River*: And there were a bout an Hundred Persons in the first Company that made this Removal; who not being able to walk above Ten Miles a Day, took up near a Fortnight in the Journey; having no Pillows to take their Nightly Rest upon, but such as their Father *Jacob* found in the way to *Padan-Aram*. Here Mr. Hooker was the chief Instrument of beginning another Colony, as Mr. Cotton, whom he left behind him, was, of preserving and perfecting that Colony where he left him; for, indeed each of them were the Oracle of their several Colonies.

§ 17. Tho' Mr. Hooker had thus removed from the *Massachusetts Bay*, yet he sometimes came down to visit the Churches in that Bay: But when ever he came, he was received with an Affection, like that which *Paul* found among the *Galatians*; yea, 'tis thought, that once there seemed some Intimation from Heaven, as if the

good People had overdone in that Affection: For on May 26. 1639. Mr. Hooker being here to preach that Lord's Day in the Afternoon, his great Fame had gathered a vast Multitude of Hearers from several other Congregations, and among the rest, the Governour himself, to be made Partaker of his Ministry. But when he came to preach, he found himself so unaccountably at a loss, that after some shattered and broken Attempts to proceed, he made a full stop; saying to the Assembly, *That every thing which he would have spoken, was taken both out of his Mouth, and out of his Mind also;* wherefore he desired them to sing a Psalm, while he withdrew about half an Hour from them: Returning then to the Congregation, he preached a most admirable Sermon, wherein he held them for two Hours together in an extraordinary Strain both of Pertinency and Vivacity.

After Sermon, when some of his Friends were speaking of the Lords thus withdrawing his Assistance from him, he humbly replied, *We daily confess, that we have nothing, and can do nothing, without Christ; and what if Christ will make this manifest in us, and on us, before our Congregations? What remains, but that we be humbly contented? And what manner of Discouragement is there in all of this?* To this content was he to be nullified, that the LORD might be magnified!

§ 18. Mr. Hooker that had been born to serve many, and was of such a Publick Spirit, that I find him occasionally celebrated in the Life of Mr. Angier, lately published for one, who would be continually inquisitive how it fared with the Church of God, both at home and abroad, on purpose that he might order his Prayers and Cares accordingly: [Which, by the way, makes me think on Mr. *Firmin's* words: *I look on it, (saith he) as an Aid of a grown Christian, whose Interest in Christ is well cleared, and his Heart walking close with God, to be really taken up with the Publick Interest of Christ.*] He never took his Opportunity to serve himself, but lived a sort of Exile all his Days, except the last fourteen Years of his Life, among his own Spiritual Children at Hartford; however, here also he was an Exile. Accordingly, wherever he came, he lived like a Stranger in the World! When at the Lands-end, he took his last flight of England, he said, *Farewel England! I expect now no more to see that Religious Zeal, and Power of Godliness, which I have seen among Professors in that Land!* And he had Sagacious and Prophetical Apprehensions of the Declensions which would attend *Reforming Churches*, when they came to enjoy a place of Liberty: He said, *That Adversity had slain its Thousands; but Prosperity would slay its Ten Thousands!* He feared, *That they who had been lively Christians in the Fire of Persecution, would soon become cold in the midst of Universal Peace, except some few, whom God by sharp Tryals, would keep in a Faithful, Watchful, Humble, and Praying Frame.* But under these Pre apprehensions, it was his own endeavour to beware of abating his own



first Love! And of so *Watchful*, so *Prayerful*, so *Fruitful* a Spirit was Mr. *Hooker*, that the Spirit of Prophecy it self, did seem to grant him some singular Affiliations. Indeed, every wise Man is a Prophet; but one so eminently acquainted with Scripture and Reason, and Church-History, as our *Hooker*, must needs be a Seer, from whom singular Prognostications were to be expected. Accordingly, there were many things prognosticated by him, wherein the Future State of New-England, particularly of Connecticut has been so much concerned, that its pity they should be forgotten. But I will in this History, record only two of his Predictions. One was, *That God would punish the wanton Spirit of the Professors in this Country, with a sad want of Able Men in all Orders.* Another was, *That in certain places of great Light here shined against, there would break forth such horrible Sins, as would be the Amazement of the World.*

§ 19. He was a Man of Prayer, which was indeed a ready way to become a Man of God. He would say, *That Prayer was the principal part of a Minister's Work; 'twas by this, that he was to carry on the rest.* Accordingly, he still devoted one Day in a Month to private Prayer, with Fasting, before the Lord, besides the Publick Fasts, which often occurred unto him. He would say, *That such extraordinary Favours, as the Life of Religion, and the Power of Godliness, must be preferred by the frequent Use of such extraordinary Means, as Prayer with Fasting; and that if Professors grow negligent of these Means, Iniquity will abound, and the Love of many wax cold.* Nevertheless, in the Duty of Prayer, he affected Strength rather than Length; and tho' he had not so much variety in his Publick Praying, as in his Publick Preaching, yet he always had a seasonable Respect unto present Occasions. And it was observed, that his Prayer was usually like *Jacob's Ladder*, wherein the nearer he came to an End, the nearer he drew towards Heaven; and he grew into such Rapturous Pleadings with God, and Praisings of God, as made some to say, *That like the Master of the Feasts, he reserved the best Wine until the last.* Nor was the wonderful Success of his Prayer, upon special Concerns, unobserved by the whole Colony; who reckoned him the *Moses*, which turned away the Wrath of God from them, and obtained a Blessing from Heaven upon their Indian Amalickites, by his uplifted Hands, in those remarkable Deliverances which they sometimes experienced. It was very particularly observed, when there was a Battel to be fought between the *Narraganset*, and the *Menhagin Indians*, in the Year 1643. The *Narraganset* Indians had plottied the Ruine of the *English*, but the *Menhagin* were Confederate with us; and a War now being between those two Nations, much Notice was taken of the prevailing Importunity, wherewith Mr. *Hooker* urged for the Accomplishment of that Great Promise unto the People of God, *I will bless them that bless thee, but I will curse him that curses thee.* And the Effect of it was, that the *Narraganset* re-

ceived a wonderful Overthrow from the *Menhagin*, though the former did Three or Four to One for Number, exceed the latter. Such an Israel at Prayer, was our *Hooker*! And this Praying Pastor was Blessed; as, indeed, such Ministers use to be, with a Praying People: There fell upon his pious People, a Double Portion of the Spirit, which they beheld in him.

§ 20. That Reverend and Excellent Man, Mr. *Whitfield*, having spent many Years in studying of Books, did at length take two or three Years to study Men; and in pursuance of this Design, having acquainted himself with the most considerable Divines in England, at last he fell into the Acquaintance of Mr. *Hooker*; concerning whom, he afterwards gave this Testimony: 'That he had not thought there had been such a Man on Earth; a Man in whom there shone so many Excellencies, as were in this incomparable *Hooker*; a Man in whom Learning and Wisdom, were so tempered with Zeal, Holiness, and Watchfulness. And the same Observer having exactly Noted Mr. *Hooker*, made this Remark, and gave this Report, more particularly of him, *That he had the best Command of his own Spirit, which he ever saw in any Man whatever.* For though he were a Man of a Choleric Disposition, and had a mighty Vigour and Fervour of Spirit, which as occasion served, was wondrous useful unto him, yet he had ordinarily as much Government of his Choler, as a Man has of a Mastiff Dog in a Chain; he could let out his Dog, and pull in his Dog, as he pleased. And another that observed the Heroical Spirit and Courage, with which this Great Man fulfilled his Ministry, gave this Account of him, *He was a Person who, while doing his Master's Work, would put a King in his Pocket.*

Of this there was an Instance, when the Judges were in their Circuit, present at *Chelmsford*, on a Fast kept throughout the Nation, Mr. *Hooker* then, in the presence of the Judges, and before a vast Congregation, declared freely the Sins of England, and the Plagues that would come for such Sins; and in his Prayer he besought the God of Heaven, to set on the Heart of the King, what his own Mouth had spoken in the Second Chapter of *Malachi*, and the Eleventh and Twelfth Verses, [in his Prayer he so distinctly quoted it!] *An Abomination is committed, Judah hath married the Daughter of a strange God, the Lord will cut off the Man that doeth this.* Though the Judges turned unto the place thus quoted, yet Mr. *Hooker* came into no trouble; but it was long before the Kingdom did.

§ 21. He was indeed of a very condescending Spirit, not only towards his Brethren in the Ministry, but also towards the meanest of any Christians whatsoever. He was very willing to sacrifice his own Apprehensions into the Convincing Reason of another Man; and very ready to acknowledge any Mistake, or Failing, in himself. I'll give one Example: There hap-

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Mr. Hooker ar  
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of them, and  
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Dexterity; and



opened a damage, to be done unto a Neighbour, immediately whereupon, Mr. Hooker meeting with an unlucky Boy, that often had his Name up, for the doing of such Mischiefs, he fell to chiding of that Boy, as the Doer of this. The Boy denied it, and Mr. Hooker still went on in an angry manner, charging of him; whereupon said the Boy, *Sir, I see you are in a Passion, I'll say no more to you: And so ran away.* Mr. Hooker, upon further Enquiry, not finding that the Boy could be proved Guilty, sent for him; and having first by a calm Question, given the Boy opportunity to renew his Denial of the Fact, he said unto him: *Since I cannot prove the contrary, I am bound to believe; and I do believe what you say:* And then added, *Indeed I was in a Passion, when I spoke to you before; it was my Sin, and it is my Shame, and I am truly sorry for it: And I hope in God I shall be more watchful hereafter.* So giving the Boy some good Counsel, the poor Lad went away extremely affected with such a Carriage in so good a Man; and it proved an occasion of good unto the Soul of the Lad all his Days.

On this occasion, it may be added, That Mr. Hooker did much abound in Acts of Charity. It was no rare thing, for him to give sometimes Five Pound, sometimes Ten Pound at a time, towards the Support of Widows and Orphans, especially those of deceased Ministers.

Thus also, when the People at *Southampton*, twenty Leagues from *Hartford*, wanted Corn, Mr. Hooker, and some few that joined with them, sent them freely a whole Bark's Load of Corn, of many Hundred Bushels, to relieve them. Thus he had those that *Chrysostom* calls, *zōonōisus abemptores, unanſwerable Syllogisms*, to demonstrate Christianity.

§ 22. He had a singular Ability, at giving Answers to Cases of Conscience; whereof happy was the Experience of some Thousands: And for this Work he usually set apart, the Second Day of the Week; wherein he admitted all sorts of Persons in their Discourses with him, to reap the Benefit of the extraordinary Experience which himself had found of Satan's Devices. Once particularly, Mr. Hooker was addressed by a Student in Divinity, who entring upon his Ministry, who as the most useful Ministers, at their Entrance thereupon, use to be horribly buffeted with Temptations, which were become almost intolerable: Repairing to Mr. Hooker in the Distresses and Anguishes of his Mind, and bemoaning his own overwhelming Fears, while the Lion was thus roaring at him, Mr. Hooker answered, *I can compare with any Man living for Fears! My Advice to you is; That you search out, and analise the humbling Causes of them, and refer them to their proper places; then go and pour them out before the Lord; and they shall prove more profitable to you than any Books you can read.* But Mr. Hooker in his dealing with troubled Consciences, observed, that there were a sort of crafty and guileful Souls, which he would find out with an admirable Dexterity; and of these he would say, as Paul

of the *Cretians*, *They must be reprov'd sharply, that they may be found in the Faith; sharp Rebukes make found Christians.* Indeed, of some he had Compassion, making a Difference, and others he saved with Fear, pulling them out of the Fire.

§ 23. Altho' he had a notable Hand at the Discussing and Adjusting of Controversial Points, yet he would hardly ever handle any *Polemical Divinity* in the Pulpit; but the very Spirit of his Ministry, lay in the Points of the most Practical Religion, and the Grand Concerns of a Sinner's Preparation for, Implantation in, and Salvation by, the Glorious Lord Jesus Christ. And in these Discourses he would frequently intermix most affectionate Warnings of the Declensions which would quickly befall the Churches of New-England.

His Advice to young Ministers, may on this occasion be fitly mentioned. It was, That at their Entrance on their Ministry, they would with careful Study preach over the whole *Body of Divinity* methodically, (even in the *American Method*) which would acquaint them with all the more intelligible and agreeable Texts of Scripture, and prepare them for a further Acquaintance with the more difficult, and furnish them with Abilities to preach on whole Chapters, and all Occasional Subjects, which by the Providence of God, they might be directed unto.

Many Volumes of the Sermons preached by him were since Printed; and this Account is to be given of them.

While he was Fellow of *Emanuel-Colledge*, he entertained a special Inclination to those Principles of Divinity, which concerned, *The Application of Redemption*; and that which eminently fitted him for the Handling of those Principles, was, That he had been from his Youth trained up in the Experience of those *Humiliations and Consolations*, and Sacred *Communion*, which belong to the New Creature; and he had most critically compared his own Experience, with the Accounts which the *quick and powerful Word of God*, gives of those Glorious Things. Accordingly he preached first more briefly on these Points, whilst he was a Catechist in *Emanuel-Colledge*, in a more Scholastick way; which was most agreeable to his present Station; and the Notes of what he then delivered were so esteemed, that many Copies thereof were transcribed and preserved. Afterwards he preached more largely on those Points, in a more popular way at *Chelmsford*, the Product of which were those Books of *Preparation for Christ, Contrition, Humiliation, Vocation, Union with Christ, and Communion*, and the rest, which go under his Name; for many wrote after him in Short-Hand; and some were to hold as to publish many of them, without his Consent or Knowledge; whereby his Notions came to be deformedly misrepresented in multitudes of passages; among which I will suppose that crude passage, which Mr. *Giles Firmin*, in his *Real Christian*, so well confutes, *That if the Soul be rightly humbled, it is content to bear the*



*State of Damnation.* But when he came to New-England, many of his Church, which had been his old Essex Hearers, desired him once more to go over the Points of God's Regenerating Works upon the Soul of his Elect; until, at last, their Desires prevailed with him to Resume that pleasant Subject. The Subject hereby came to have a Third Concoction in the Head and Heart of one, as able to digest it, as most Men living in the World; and it was his design to perfect with his own Hand his Compoures for the Press, and thereby vindicate both Author and Matter, from the Wrongs done to both, by Surprising Editions heretofore. He did not live to finish what he intended; yet a Worthy Minister, namely, Mr. John Higginson, one richly able himself to have been an Author of a not unlike Matter, Transcribed from his Manuscripts, near two Hundred of these Excellent Sermons, which were sent over into England, that they might be published; but by what means I know not, scarce half of them have seen the Light unto this Day. However, this possible, the Valueableness of those that are published, may at some time or other awaken some Enquiries after the unknown Hands where in the rest are as yet concealed.

§ 24. But this was not all the Service which the Pen of Mr. Hooker did for the Church of God! It was his Opinion, That there were Two great Reserves of Enquiry, for this Age of the World; the first, wherein the Spiritual Rule of our Lords Kingdom does consist, and after what manner it is Internally Revealed, Managed and Maintained in the Souls of his People? The second, after what Order the Government of our Lord's Kingdom is to be Externally managed and maintained in his Churches? Accordingly, having done his part for delivering the Former Subject from Pharisaical Formality, on the one Hand, and from Familistical Enthusiasm on the other, he was by the solicitous Impunity of his Friends, prevailed withal to compose a Treatise on the other Subject also. Upon this Occasion, he wrote his Excellent Book, which is Entitled, *A Survey of Church Discipline*; wherein, having in the Name of the other Ministers in the Country, as well as his own, professed his Concurrence with Holy and Learned Mr. Rutherford, as to the Number and Nature of Church-Officers; the Right of People to call their own Officers; the Unfitness of Scandalous Persons to be Members of a Visible Church; the Unwarrantableness of Separation from Churches for certain Defective Circumstances; the Lawfulness, yea, Needfulness of a Confociation among Churches; and Calling in the Help of such Confociations, upon emerging Difficulties, and the Power of such Confociations to proceed against a Particular Church, pertinaciously offending, with a Sentence of Non-Communion: He then proceeds to consider, a Church Congregational completely constituted with all its Officers, having full Power in its self to exercise all Church Discipline, in all the Censures thereof; and the Interest,

which the Consent of the People is to have in the Exercise of this Discipline. The first fair and full Copy of this Book was drowned in its Passage to England, with many Serious and Eminent Christians, which were then Buried by Shipwreck in the Ocean: For which cause there was another Copy sent afterwards, which through the Pre-mature Death of the Author, was not so perfect as the former; but it was a Reflection, which Dr. Goodwin made upon it, *The Destiny which hath attended this Book, hath visited my Thoughts with an Apprehension of something like Omen to the Cause it self: That after the overwhelming of it with a Flood of Obloquies, and Disadvantages and Misrepresentations, and injurious Oppressions cast out after it, it might in the time, which God alone hath put in his own Power, be again emergent.* He adds, *I have looked for this; That this Truth and all that should be said of it, was Ordained as Christ of whom every Truth is a Ray, to be as a Seed corn, which unless it fall to the Ground and die, and this perhaps together with some of the Persons that profess it, it brings yet forth much Fruit.* However, the Ingenious Mr. Stone who was Collegue to Mr. Hooker, accompanied this Book, with a little Epigram, whereof these were the concluding Difficulties.

*If any to this Platform can Reply,  
With better Reason; Let this Volume Die;  
But better Arguments, if none can give,  
Then Thomas Hooker's Policy shall Live.*

§ 25. In his Administration of Church Discipline there were several things as Imitable, as Observable. As he was an hearty Friend unto the Confociation of Churches; and hence all the time that he lived, the Pastors of the Neighbouring Churches held their frequent Meetings for mutual Consultation in things of common Concernment; so, in his own particular Church, he was very careful to have every thing done with a Christian Moderation and Unanimity. Wherefore he would have nothing publicly propounded unto the Brethren of the Church, but what had been first privately prepared by the Elders; and if he feared the happening of any Debate, his way aforehand was, to visit some of the more noted and leading Brethren, and having engaged them to second what he should move unto the Church, he rarely missed of a full Concurrence: To which purpose he would say, *The Elders must have a Church in a Church, if they would preserve the Peace of the Church:* And he would say, *The debating Matters of Difference, first before the whole Body of the Church, will doubtless break any Church in pieces, and deliver it up unto loathsome Contempt.* But if any difficult or divided Agitation was raised in the Church, about any matter offered, he would ever put a stop to that publick Agitation, by delaying the Vote until another Meeting; before which time, he would ordinarily by private Conferences, gain over such as were unfurnished. As for the Admission of

Communi-



Communicants unto the Lord's Table, he kept the Examination of them unto the Elders of the Church, as properly belonging unto their *Work and Charge*; and with his Elders he would order them to make before the whole Church a Profession of a Repenting Faith, as they were able, or willing to do it. Some, that could unto Edification do it, he put upon thus relating the manner of their Conversion to God; but usually they only answered unto certain probatory Questions, which were tendered them; and so after their Names had been for a few Weeks before signed unto the Congregation, to learn whether any Objection or Exception could be made against them; of any thing Scandalous in their Conversations, now consenting unto the Covenant, they were admitted into the Church Communion. As for Ecclesiastical Censures, he was very watchful to prevent all Procedures unto them, as far as was consistent with the Rules of our Lord; for which cause (except in grosser Abominations) when Offences happened, he did his utmost, that the Notice thereof might be extended no further, than it was when they first were laid before him; and having reconciled the Offenders with sensible and convenient Acknowledgments of their Miscalriages, he would let the Notice thereof be confined unto such as were beforehand therewith acquainted; and hence there was but one Person admonished in, and but one Person excommunicated from the Church of *Hartford*, in all the Fourteen Years, that Mr. *Hooker* lived there. He was much troubled at the too frequent Censures in some other Churches; and he would say, 'Church Censures are things, wherewith neither we, nor our Father's have been acquainted in the practice of them; and therefore the utmost Circumspection is needful, that we do not spoil the Ordinances of God, by our Management thereof. In this point he was like *Beza*, who defended the Ordinance of Excommunication against *Erasmus*; and yet, he with his Colleagues, were so cautious in the use of it, that in eleven Years, there was but one Excommunication passed in all Geneva.

§ 26. He would say, *That he should Esteem it a Favour from God, if he might live no longer than he should be able to hold up lively in the Work of his Place; and that when the time of his Departure should come, God would shorten the time: And he had his Desire.* Some of his most observant Hearers observed an astonishing sort of a Cloud in his Congregation, the last Lord's Day of his publick Ministry, when he also administered the Lord's Supper among them; and a most unaccountable Heaviness and Sleepiness, even in the most Watchful Christians of the Place, not unlike the Drowsiness of the Disciples, when our Lord was going to die; for which, one of the Elders publicly rebuked them. When those Devout People afterwards perceived that this was the last Sermon and Sacrament wherein they were to have the Pre-

sence of the *Pastor* with them, 'tis inexpressible how much they bewailed their Unattentiveness unto his Farewell Dispositions; and some of them could enjoy no Peace in their own Souls, until they had obtained Leave of the Elders to confess before the whole Congregation with many Tears, that Inadvertency. But as for Mr. *Hooker* himself; an Epidemical Sickness, which had proved mortal to many, though at first small or no Danger appeared in it, arrested him. In the time of his Sickness he did not say much to the Standers by; but being asked, that he would utter his Apprehensions about some important things, especially about the State of New-England, he answered, *I have not that Work now to do; I have already declared the Counsel of the Lord: And when one that stood weeping by the Bed side said unto him, Sir, You are going to receive the Reward of all your Labours*, he replied, *Brother, I am going to receive Mercy!* At last he closed his own Eyes with his own Hands, and gently stroaking his own Forehead, with a Smile in his Countenance, he gave a little Groan, and so expired his blessed Soul into the Arms of his *Fellow Servants*, the *Holy Angels*, on July 7. 1647. In which last Hours, the Glorious Peace of Soul, which he had enjoyed without any Interruption for near Thirty Years together, so gloriously accompanied him, that a worthy Spectator then writing to Mr. *Cotton* a Relation thereof, made this Reflection, *Truly Sir, the Sight of his Death, will make me have more pleasant Thoughts of Death, than ever I yet had in my Life!*

§ 27. Thus lived and thus died one of the First Three. He, of whom the great Mr. *Cotton* gave this Character, that he did, *Agmen ducere & dominari in Concionibus, gratia Spiritus Sancti & virtute plenus*; and that he was, *Vir Solutis & Accerrimi Judicii*; and at length uttered his Lamentations in a Funeral Elegy, wherof some Lines were these.

*'Twas of Geneva's Worthies said with Wonder,  
(Those Worthies Three) Farew was wont to  
Thunder,  
Viret like Rain on tender Grass to show'r,  
But Calvin, lively Oracles to pour.*

*All these in Hooker's Spirit did remain,  
A Son of Thunder, and a Show'r of Rain;  
A Pourer forth of lively Oracles,  
In saving Soul, The Summ of Miracles.*

This was *He*, of whom his Pupil Mr. *Ath*, gives this Testimony; *For his great Abilities and glorious Services, both in this and in the other England, he deserves a Place in the first Rank of them, whose Lives are of late recorded.* And this was *He*, of whom his Reverend Contemporary, Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*, rendered this for an Epitaph; in every Line wherof, methinks the Writer deserves a Reward equal to what *Virgil* had, when for every Line, referring to *Marcellus* in the end of his Sixth *Æneid*, he perceived



received a Sum, not much less than Eighty Pounds in Money, or as ample a Requital, as Cardinal Richlieu gave to a Poet, when he, be stow'd upon him two Thousand Sequins for a witty Conceit in one Verse of but seven Words, upon his Coat of Arms.

*America, although She do not Boast,  
Of all the Gold and Silver from that Coast,  
Lent to her Sister Europe's Need or Pride;  
(For 't had repaid her, with much Gain beside,  
In one Rich Pearl, which Heaven did thence  
afford,  
As Pious Herbert gave his honest word;)   
Yet thinks, She in the Catalogue may come  
With Europe, Africk, Asia, for one Tomb.*

But as *Ambras* could say concerning Theodosius, *Non Totus recessit, reliquit nobis Liberos, in quibus cum debemus agnoscere, & in quibus cum Cernimus & Tenemus*; thus we have to this Day among us, our Dead Hooker yet living in his worthy Son, Mr. Samuel Hooker, an Able, Faithful, Useful Minister, at Farmington, in the Colony of Connecticut.

### Epitaphium.

#### THOMAS HOOKER.

*Heu! Pietas; Heu! prisca Fides.*

Or, For a more extended Epitaph, we may take the Abridgement of his Life, as offered in some Lines of Mr. *Elijah Corlei*, that memorable old School-master in Cambridge, from whose

Education our Colledge and Country has received by many of its *Worthy Men*, that he is himself *Worthy* to have his Name celebrated in no less a Paragraph of our *Church History*, than that wherein I may introduce him, endeavouring to celebrate the Name of our Great Hooker, unto this purpose.

*Si mea cum vestris, valuisse vota, Nov-Angli,  
Hookerus Iarso videret Astra Grada,  
Te, Reverende Senex, Sic Te dileximus omnes,  
Ipsa huius forent ut tibi Jura poli.  
Morte Tua Infandum Cogor Renovare dolorem,  
Quippe Tua videat Terra Nov-Anglia suam.  
Dignus erat, Aquila similis, Renovasse Juventutem,  
Et Fato in Terris Candidiore frui.  
Tu Domus Emanuel, Soror Augustissima, Mater  
Mille Prophetarum, Tu mihi Tellis eris.  
Te Testem apello, quondam Chelmsfordia, Celis  
Proxima; Te prece Suscitus ille Tuus.  
Non tulit, hæc Chalcas, Arcis Phæbique Sacerdos,  
Nam populo Sperni sic sua sacra videt.  
Vidit & ex Rostris Genti prædicare vatem  
Bella, quod in Christum Tota Rebells erat.  
Quem Patria exegit, serus Hostis Episcopus, Hostis  
Hunc minus, in Batavis, vexat amara Febribus.  
Post varios casus, Quassata Nov-Anglia, tandem  
Ramsifer inde Tibi Dux Columba venit.  
Ille Tuos Cæcis Ornat, pascitque Fideles,  
Laudibus Innumerus addit & ille Tuus.  
Dulcis Amicus erat, Pastorque Insignis, & Altus  
Doctus, Eloquio, Moribus, Ingenio.  
Prob Fudor! Ereptum Te vivi vidimus, & non  
Excessuræ Animæ Struximus Insidias!  
Insidias precibus, Lacrymisque perezimus, unde  
Semita Cælestis sic tibi clausa foret.  
Sed Frustra hæc meditator! —  
Lustra per HOOKERUS ter quinque Viator,  
erat: jam  
Cælestem patriam Possidet ille suam.*

*Sepher*



*Sepher Jereim, i.e. Liber Deum Timentium.*

O R,

Dead ABEL's yet Speaking, and Spoken of.

In the HISTORY of

Mr. Francis Higginson,  
 Mr. John Avery,  
 Mr. Jonathan Burr,  
 Mr. George Philips,  
 Mr. Thomas Shepard,  
 Mr. Peter Prudden, and several o-  
 thers of New-Haven Colony.  
 Mr. Peter Bulkly,  
 Mr. Ralph Partridge,  
 Mr. Henry Dunster,  
 Mr. Ezekiel Rogers,  
 Mr. Nathanael Rogers,  
 Mr. Samuel Newman,  
 Mr. Samuel Stone,  
 Mr. William Thompson,

Mr. John Warham,  
 Mr. Henry Flint,  
 Mr. Richard Mather,  
 Mr. Zechariah Symmes,  
 Mr. John Allin,  
 Mr. Charles Chauncey,  
 Mr. John Fisk,  
 Mr. Thomas Parker,  
 Mr. James Noyes,  
 Mr. Thomas Thacher,  
 Mr. Peter Hobart,  
 Mr. Samuel Whiting,  
 Mr. John Sherman,  
 Mr. Thomas Cobbet,  
 Mr. John Ward.

Eminent Ministers of the Gospel in the Churches of New-England.

By COTTON MATHER.

*The Second Part.**Solus Honor Merito quæ datur, ille datur.*

Thus Shine, ye Glories of your Age, while we  
 Wait to Fill up your Martyrologie.

*Bona estote Animo, (Dilecti Frater) appropinquat Tempus quandò erit Nominum aque  
 ac Corporum Resurrectio.* Wilkinfon. Concion. ad Academic.

## INTRODUCTION.

WHEN the Incomparable Hevelius was preparing for the World, his New, and Rare, and most Accurate Selenography, his Design was, to advance into the Heavens, the Names of the most Meritorious Astronomers, by Naming from them the several distinguishable Parts of the Planet, which was to be described by him; so that in the Moon, there would now have been seen, an Oceanus Coperniceus, an Oceanus Tychoicus, a Mare Keplerialium, a Lacus Galilæi, a Palus Mæstlini, an Insula Scheiveriana, a Peninsula Gassendi, a Mons Mericeni, a Vallis Bullialdi, a Sinus Wendelini, a Promontorium Crugerianum, a Desertum Linhemanni, and other such Denominations. But upon Second Thoughts, he saw that this could not be done without Envy and Offence; for there were certain Places more Eminent than others, and he might happen to assign them unto such Persons as were less Eminent,



ment in the Opinions of Mankind about their Merits: Wherefore he chose rather Geographical Denominations, for the Maculae Lunares, which were now to be distinguished.

Reader, There is a Number of Divines now before us, demanding their Places in our Church-History; their Souls are in the Heavens; their Names also should be there. I was thinking to have ranked them according to their Merits; I would have assigned their Places, according to their Eminencies in the Church of God. But finding that this Attempt would have been too invidious; I will have them to take their Places, as in the History of Lives uses to be done, Secundum Annorum Emortualium Seriem, according to the Years wherein they died.

What I write, shall be written with all Christian Veracity, and Fidelity. Heaven forbid, that I should indulge my Pen, in such flourishing Flatteries, as fill the Lives of the Lutheran Divines, in the Collections that Witten has made of the Memoria Theologorum nostri faculi Clarissimum, renovat. Heaven forbid, that I should in any one Instance deserve to be thought a Writer of such Legends, as they generally (and it may be sometimes unrighteously) have reproached the Lives of the Ancients, written by Simeon Metaphrastes: For I will now confess to my Reader, one thing that has encouraged me, in my Endeav-

our to preserve the Memory of these worthy Men.

I read in Prov. 10. 7. The Memory of the Just is blessed; or, for a Blessing: And I know the common Glasses upon it. But I have met with a Note of Dr. Jermy's thereupon, which I will now count as worthy to be transcribed, as I have heretofore counted it worthy to be pondered.

The very remembering of them [saith he] shall bring a Blessing to such as do remember them, God will bless those that honour the Memory of his Servants: And besides, the Memory of them will make them imitated, which is a Blessing that will be rewarded with Blessedness.

I will add, That Examples do strangely charm us into Imitation. When Holiness is pressed upon us, we are prone to think, that it is a Doctrine calculated for Angels and Spirits, whose Dwelling is not with Flesh. But when we read the Lives of them that excelled in Holiness, tho' they were Persons of like Passions with our selves, the Conviction is wonderful and powerful. Reader, Behold loud Calls to Holiness, from these who said, not, Ite illuc; but, Venite huc, when the Calls were uttered.

## CHAP. I.

Janus Nov-Anglicanus. The LIFE of Mr. FRANCIS HIGGINSON.

Semper Honor, Nomenque Tuum, Laudesque Manebunt.

§ 1. **W**ithout Recourse to any fabulous, whether Egyptian or Grecian Shams of Antiquity, we have other Intimations enough, that our Father Noah, after a New World began to be Peopled from him, did remove with his Eldest Son Japhet, from his own, and his old Country of Ogyge, or Palestine, into the Country which is now called Italy. And it is particularly remarkable, that his Great Grandson Dodanim, removing with a Colony of his increasing Posterity, into Epirus, he built a City, which with the whole Province, was called by the Name of Dodona; where he built a Temple, in which the People did assemble to worship God, and hear the Precepts of the Patriarch preach'd upon. But it was not long before a fearful Degeneracy overtaking the Posterity of these Planters, they soon left and lost the Religion of their Progenitors; and in that very place where Dodanim had his Church, there succeeded the Dodonean Oracles. Now among the memorable Names, which in other Monuments of Antiquity, besides those of Tuscan, expos'd by Inghiramus, we find put upon our illustrious Father Noah, one is that of Janus, which at first they pronounced Janes, from the Hebrew

word, יין, Jajin, for Wine, which was the true Original of it; and so his famous Vineyard was therein commemorated. For which cause Cato also tells us, Janus primus invenit Fer & Vinum, Et ob id ductus fuit Priscus Oenotrius: And Antiochus Syracusanus, mentions the Oenotrii, which Noah carried with him. Of this Janus, the Thuseians employed a Ship, as a Memorial; they had a Ship on his Coins, doubtless with an Eye to the Ark of Noah; but there was also on the Reverse, as Ovid relates, Altera Forma Biceps; and this Double Face was ascrib'd unto Janus, because of the View which he had of the Two Worlds, the Old and the New. The Covenant which God established with Noah, was by After-Ages refer'd unto, when they feigned Janus to be the President of all Covenant and Concord; and the Figure which Noah made among Mankind was confessed by them, when they gave Janus the Sir-name of Pater, as being so to all the Hero's, who obtained a place among the Gods. Moreover, the Mythical Writers tell us, that in the Reign of this Janus, all the Dwellings of Men were hedged in with Piety and Sanctity, in which Tradition the exemplary Righteousness of Noah seems to have been

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been celebrated: And hence in their old Rituals, he was called *Cerus*, *Manus*, which is as much as to say, *Sandus & Bonus*. But without pursuing these *Curiousities* any further, I will now lay before my Reader the Story of that worthy Man; who when 'tis considered, that he crossed the *Sea* with a *Renowned Colony*, and that having seen an *Old World in Europe*, where a Flood of Iniquity and Calamity carried all before it, he also saw a *New World in America*; where he appears the first in a Catalogue of *Hero's*, and where he with his People were admitted into the *Covenant of God*; whereupon an Hedge of *Piety and Sandity* continued about that People as long as he lived, may therefore be called the *Noah, or Janus of New-England*. This was Mr. *Francis Higginson*.

§ 2. If in the History of the Church for more than Four thousand Years, contained in the Scriptures, there is not recorded either the *Birth day* of any one Saint whatever, or the *Birth day* of him that is the *Lord of all Saints*, I hope it will be accounted no Defect in our History of this worthy Man, if neither the *Day*, nor the *Place* of his *Birth* can be recovered. We will therefore begin the History of his Life, where we find that he began to live.

Mr. *Francis Higginson*, after he had been Educated at *Emanuel-Colledge*, that Seminary of Puritans in *Cambridge*, until he was *Master of Arts*: And after that, the true *Emanuel*, our Lord Jesus Christ, had by the Work of *Regeneration* upon his Heart, instructed him in the better and nobler *Arts*, of *living unto God*; he was by the special Providence of Heaven, made a *Servant of our Emanuel*, in the Ministry of the Gospel, at one of the Five Parish-Churches in *Leicester*. The main Scope of his Ministry, was now to promote, first, a thorough *Conversion*, and then a godly *Conversation*, among his People: And besides his being as the famous *Preacher in the Wilderness* was, a *Voice*, and preaching Lectures of Christianity by his whole Christian, and most Courteous and Obliging Behaviour, he had also a most charming *Voice*, which rendered him unto his Hearers, in all his Exercises, another *Ezekiel*: For, *Lo, he was unto them, as a very lovely Song of one that bath a pleasant Voice, and can play well upon an Instrument*: And from all parts in the Neighbourhood they flocked unto him. Such was the Divine Presence with, and Blessing on the Ministry of this good Man, in this place, that the Influence thereof on the whole Town, was quickly become a Matter of Observation: Many were turned from *Darkness to Light, and from Satan to God*; and many were built up in their most Holy Faith; and there was a notable Revival of Religion among them. And such were his Endeavours to conform unto the Example of our Lord Jesus Christ, our Grand Exemplar, in the whole Course of his Ministry, that we might easily have written a *Book of those Conformities*.

§ 3. For some Years he continued in his Conformity, to the Rites then required and practised

in the Church of *England*; but upon his Acquaintance with Mr. *Arthur Hilderham*, and Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, he set himself to study the Controversies, about the Evangelical Church-Discipline, then agitated in the Church of God: And then the more he studied the *Scripture*, which is the sole and full Rule of Church-Administrations, the more he became dissatisfied with the Ceremonies, which had crept into the Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ, not only without the Allowance of the *Scripture*, but also without the Countenance of the earliest *Antiquity*. From this time he became a Conscientious *Non-Conformist*; and therefore he was deprived of his Opportunity to exercise his Ministry, in his Parish Church: Nevertheless, his Ministry was generally so desirable unto the People, that they procured for him the Liberty to preach a constant Lecture, on one part of the Lord's Day; and on the other part, as an Assistant unto a very aged Parson, that wanted it. He was now maintained by the voluntary Contribution of the Inhabitants; and tho' the rest of the Ministers there continued *Conformists*, yet they all freely invited him unto the use of their Pulpits, as long as they could avoid any trouble to themselves by their so doing: By which means he preached successively in *Three* of the Parish-Churches, after that he had been by *Non-Conformity* made incapable. He preached also at *Belgrave*, a Mile out of the Town; but under God, the chief Author of these more easie Circumstances unto such a *Non-Conformist*, was the Generous Goodness and Candour of Dr. *Williams*, the Bishop of *Lincoln*, to whose Diocese *Leicester* belonged. It continued until the *Eray* between that Bishop, and *Laud* the Bishop of *London*, who fer himself to extirpate and extinguish all the *Non-Conformists*, that were *William's* Favourites, among whom one was Mr. *Higginson*.

§ 4. The signal Blessing of God, which accompanied the Ministry of Mr. *Higginson*, in *Leicester*, was followed with two very contrary Consequences. On the one side, a great multitude of Christians, then call'd *Puritans*, did not only attend the Worship of God more publicly in their *Assemblies*, and more secretly in their *Families*, but also they frequently had their private Meetings, for Prayer (sometimes with *Egging*) and repeating of *Sermons*, and maintaining of profitable Conferences, at all which Mr. *Higginson* himself was often present: And at these times, if any of their Society were scandalous in their Conversation, they were personally admonished, and means were used with them to bring them unto Repentance. On the other side, there was a *profane Party*, fill'd with *Wolvish* Rage against the Flock of the Lord Jesus Christ, and especially against this good Man, who was the Pastor of the Flock: Whose impartial Zeal in reproving the Common Sins of the Time and Place, did more than a little add unto the Exasperations of that Party; but also divers of them turn'd *Persecutors* hereupon, yet many remarkable Providences laid a Restraint upon them,



and the Malignants were smitten with a Dread upon their Minds, *That the Judgments of God would pursue those, that should go to harm such a Follower of him that is good.*

§ 5. Even the *Episcopal Party of the English Nation*, among whose *Thirty Nine Articles*, one is, *That the visible Church is a Congregation of Faithful Men, where the Word of Christ is duly preached, and the Sacraments be rightly administered*; have concluded it, as a *Godly Discipline in the Primitive Church, That Notorious Sinners were put to open Penance.* And in the Rubric before the Communion, have ordered Ministers to advertise all *Notorious Evil Liveres*, and such as have wronged their Neighbours by *Word or Deed*, or such as have *Malice and Hatred* reigning between them, *That they should not presume to come to the Lord's Table, till they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented.* Under the Encouragement hereof, Mr. Higginson, before he became a *Non-Conformist*, professed this Principle, *That ignorant and scandalous Persons, are not to be admitted unto the Lord's Supper*: And as far as he could, he *praised* what he professed. Wherefore he did *Catechise and Examine* Persons about their Fittness for the Communion; and if any Persons were notoriously *scandalous*, he not only told them of their Sins in *private*, but also in *Public* declared, that they were not to be admitted unto the Lord's Supper, until the Congregation had some Testimonies of their *serious Repentance.*

It was a good Courage of *Old Cyprian*, to declare: *If any think to join themselves to the Church, not by their Humiliation and Satisfaction, when they have scandalized the Brethren, but by their Great Words and Threats, let them know, that the Church of God will oppose them, and the Tents of Christ will not be conquered by them.* And no less was the good Metal in our Higginson. Accordingly after a Sermon on those Words of our Saviour, *Give not that which is holy unto Dogs*, unto this purpose applied, going to administer the *Lord's Supper* unto the Communicants, now come into the Chancel, he espied one that was known unto them all, to be a common *Drunkard and Swearer*, and a very vicious Person; he told that Man before them all, *That he was not willing to give the Lord's Supper unto him, until he had professed his Repentance, unto the Satisfaction of the Congregation*: And therefore he desired the Man to withdraw: The Sinner withdrew, but went out full of such Passion and Poison against Mr. Higginson, and Horror in his own Conscience, that he fell sick upon it; and while he lay sick he was visited, as well by good People, that endeavoured his Conversion, as by bad People that had been his old Companions, and now threatened what they would do against Mr. Higginson. The Wretch continued in an exorbitant Frame for a few Days, and at last roared out, *That he was damned, and that he was a Dog, and that he was going to the Dogs for ever.* So he cried, and so he died: And this was known to all People.

§ 6. There were many such marvellous Judgments of God, which came like *Fire* from Heaven, to restrain and revenge the Wrongs which were offered unto this faithful *Witness* of our Lord Jesus Christ. Particularly, there was a pious Gentlewoman, the Wife of a very *profane* Gentleman, dwelling in another Parish, who would frequently go to attend upon Mr. Higginson's Ministry, both in the publick and private Exercises of our Holy Religion; whereat her Husband, after many other Expressions of his deep Displeasure, vowed, that he would be revenged on Higginson; and accordingly he resolved upon a Journey to London, there to exhibit a Complaint against this good Man, at the *High-Commission Court*: But when he had got all things ready for his Journey, just as he was mounting his Horse, he was by an immediate Hand of Heaven, smitten with an intolerable Torment of Body, and Horror of Conscience, and was led into his House, and laid upon his Bed; where within a few Hours, Death did his Office upon him.

§ 7. And unto the remarkable Appearances of Heaven, on the behalf of this faithful Man, may be enumerated that which betel a famous Doctor of Divinity, Pretend of a Cathedral, and Chaplain to His Majesty, who then lived in *Leicester*: This Gentleman preached but very seldom; and when he did at all, it was after that Fashion, which has been sometimes called *Gentleman Preaching*; after a flouting manner, and with such a vain Ostentation of Learning, and Affectation of Language, as ill became the Oracles of God; the People generally flocking more to the more edifying Ministry of Mr. Higginson, than to these Harangues. Our Doctor so extremely resented it, that both publicly and privately, on all Opportunities, he expressed his Indignation against Mr. Higginson, and vowed, *That he would certainly drive him out of the Town.* Now it so fell out, that the Sheriff appointed this Doctor to preach at the General Assizes there, and gave him a Quarter of a Year's time to provide a Sermon for that occasion: But in all this time, he could not provide a Sermon unto his own Satisfaction; insomuch, that a Fortnight before the time was expired, he expressed unto some of his Friends, a Despair of being well provided: Wherefore his Friends persuaded him to try; telling him, *That if it came to the worst, Mr. Higginson might be procured to preach in his room*; he was always ready. The Doctor was wonderfully averse unto this last Proposal; and therefore studied with all his might, for an agreeable Sermon; but he had such a Blast from Heaven upon his poor Studies, that the very Night before the Assizes began, he sent his Wife to the devout Lady *Cave*, who prevail'd with Mr. Higginson to supply his place the Day ensuing; which he did, with a most suitable, profitable, and acceptable Sermon; and unto the great Satisfaction of the Auditory. When the Lady *Cave* had let it be known, how this thing, which was much wondered at, came about, the common Discourse



of the Town upon it, so confounded the Doctor, that he left the Town, vowing, *That he would never come into it again.* Thus Mr. Higginson was left in the Town! But I pray, *Who was driven out?*

§ 8. We lately Styled Mr. Higginson a *Faithful Man*: And innumerable were the Instances, wherein he so approved himself, particularly there was a time when many Courtiers, Lords, and Gentlemen coming in a Frolick to *Leicester*, which was counted a *Puritanical Town*, resolved, that they would put a Trick upon it. Wherefore, they invited the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, whereof divers were esteemed *Puritans*, unto a *Cellation*; and overcame them to drink a number of *Healths*, with the accustomed Ceremonies of drinking upon their *Knees*, till they all became shamefully and extremely *Drunk*. This Bussiness becoming the common Discourse of the Town, Mr. Higginson, from a Text chosen to the purpose, in the Audience of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* themselves, demonstrated the *Sinfulness of Health-drinking*, and of *Drunkenness*, and the Aggravation of that *Sinfulness*, when it is found in *Magistrates*, whose Duty 'tis to punish it in other Men: Therewithal admonishing them to Repent seriously of the Scandal which they had given. This *Faithfulness* of Mr. Higginson was variously Resented: Some of the People disliked it very much, and some of the *Aldermen* were so disturbed and enraged at it, that they *Breathed out Threatnings* till they were out of *Breath*: But the better sort of the People generally approved it, as a Conformity to that Rule, *Them that sin before all, Rebuke before all*, that others may fear; and several of the *Aldermen* confessed their Sin with a very penitent and pertinent Ingenuity. The Issue was, that Mr. Higginson was brought into no Trouble; and the God of Heaven so disposed the Hearts of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, that after this, upon the Death of old Mr. *Sachverell*, they chose Mr. Higginson to be their *Town-preacher*, unto which place there was annexed a large Maintenance, to be paid out of the Town-Treasury. In answer hereunto, Mr. Higginson thank'd them for their good Will; but he told them, that he could not accept of it, because there were some Degrees of Conformity therein required, which he could not now comply withal: Nevertheless there being divers Competitors for the Place, about whom the Votes of the *Aldermen* were much divided, he prevailed with them to give their Votes for a Learned and Godly Conformist, one Mr. *Angel*; who thereby came to be settled in it. There were also made unto him, several Offers of some of the Greatest and Richest Livings in the Country thereabouts; but the Conscientious Disposition to *Non Conformity*, now growing upon him, hindered his Acceptance of them.

§ 9. While Mr. Higginson continued in *Leicester*, he was not only a *Good Man full of Faith*, but also a *Good Man full of Work*. He preached constantly in the Parish-Churches;

and he was called, while a *Conformist*, frequently to preach *Visitation-Sermons*, *Affliction-Sermons*, and *Funeral-Sermons*: And as well then, as afterwards, he was often engaged in *Fasts*, both publick and private, both at Home and Abroad; and many repaired unto him with *Cases of Conscience*, and for Help about their *Interior State*. Besides all this, he was very serviceable to the Education of *Scholars*, either going to, or coming from the University; and such, as afterwards proved eminently serviceable to the Church of God: Whereof some were Dr. *Seaman*, Dr. *Brian*, Mr. *Richardson*, and Mr. *Howe*, all of them *Leicestershire Men*, who would often say, how much they owed unto Mr. Higginson. And he was very useful in forwarding and promoting of Contributions, for the Relief of the *Protestant-Exiles*, which came over from the Ruined *Bohemia*, and the Distressed *Palatinate*, in those Times; and many other Pious Designs. But when (as he that writes the Life of Holy Mr. *Bains* expresses it) the *Hour and Power of Darkness* was come from *Lambeth*, or when the Bishop of *London*, prevailed, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* retired, the Blades of the *Laudian Faction* about *Leicester* appeared, Informed and Arri'd against Mr. Higginson, so that he lived in continual Expectation to be dragg'd away by the *Puritan*s, unto the *High-Commission Court*, where a Sentence of *Perpetual Imprisonment* was the best thing that could be looked for.

§ 10. Now behold the Interposing and Seasonable Providence of Heaven! A considerable Number of Wealthy and Worthy Merchants, obtaining a Charter from K. *Charles I.* whereby they were Incorporated by the Name of, *The Governour and Company of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England*; and intending to send over Ships with Passengers for the Beginning of a *Plantation* there, in the Beginning of the Year 1629. And resolving to send none upon their Account, but godly and honest Men, professing that Religion, which they declared was the End of this *Plantation*: These were informed of the Circumstances whereto Mr. Higginson was now Reduced; and accordingly they dispatched a couple of Messengers unto him, to invite him unto a Voyage into *New-England*, with kind Promises to support him in the Voyage. These two Messengers were Ingenious Men; and understanding that *Puritan*s were expected every Hour, to fetch Mr. Higginson up to *London*, they designed for a while to Ask the Parts of *Puritan*s: Coming therefore to his Door, they knock'd roundly and loudly, like Fellows equip'd with some Authority; and said, *Where is Mr. Higginson? We must speak with Mr. Higginson!* Informing that his affrighted Wife ran up to him, telling him that the *Puritan*s were come, and praying him to step aside out of their way, but Mr. Higginson said, *No, I will go down and speak with them; and the Will of the Lord be done!* When the Messengers were come into the Hall, they held out their Papers unto him, and with a certain Roughness



and Boldness of Address told him, *Sir, We come from London, and our Business is to fetch you up to London, as you may see by these Papers:* Which they then put into his Hands; whereat the People in the Room were confirmed in their Opinion, that these Blades were *Purpoins*; and Mrs. Higginson her self said, *I thought so:* And fell a weeping. But when Mr. Higginson had lookt upon the Papers, he soon perceived, that they were Letters from the *Govermour and Company* inviting him to *New-England*, with a Copy of the *Charter*, and Propositions for managing their design of Establishing and Propagating *Reformed Christianity* in the *New-Plantation*: Whereupon he had them *welcome!* And there ensued a pleasant Conversation betwixt him, and his now undisguised Friends. In answer to this Invitation, Mr. Higginson having first consulted Heaven with humble and fervent Supplications, for the Divine Direction about to great a Turn of his Life, he advised then with several Ministers; especially with his dear Friend Mr. *Hilderfsam*, who told him, *That were he himself a younger Man, and under his Care and Call, he should think he had a plain Invitation of Heaven unto the Voyage;* And so he came unto a Resolution to comply therewithal.

§ 11. When Mr. Higginson's Resolution came to be known, it made so much Noise among the *Puritans*, that many of them receiving Satisfaction unto the many Enquiries which they made on this Occasion, resolved, that they would accompany him. And now it was not long before his *Farewel Sermon* was to be preached! Before he knew any thing about an Offer of a Voyage to *New-England*. In his Meditations about the State of *England*, he had strange and strong Apprehensions that God would shortly punish *England* with the Calamities of a *War*, and he therefore composed a Sermon upon those Words of our Saviour, *Luk. 21. 20, 21. When you see Jerusalem compassed with Armies, then flee to the Mountains.* Now after he was determined for *New-England*, he did, in a vast Assembly, preach this for his *Farewel Sermon*; and therein having mentioned unto them, what he took to be the Provoking Sins of *England* in General, and of *Leicester* in particular, he plainly told them, that he was perished, God would chastise *England* with a *War*, in the Sufferings whereof *Leicester* would have a more than ordinary share. How this Prediction was afterwards accomplished, is known to Mankind; and it was especially known to *Leicester*, which being strongly Fortified and Garrison'd, and having the Wealth of all the Country about, brought into it, was Besieged, and at length carried by Storm; and the Town was horribly plunder'd, and Eleven Hundred People were slain in the Streets.

But Mr. Higginson having ended this his Prophetical Sermon, he gave thanks to the Magistrates, and the other Christians of the Place, for all the Liberty, Countenance, and Encouragement, which they had given unto his Mi-

nistry: And he told them of his intended Removal to *New-England*, the Principal End of which Plantation, he then declared, was the Propagation of Religion; and of the Hopes which he had, that *New-England* might be designed by Heaven, as a *Refuge* and *Shelter* for the *Non-Conformists* against the Storms that were coming upon the Nation, and a Region, where they might practise the *Church Reformation*, which they had been bearing Witness unto. And so he concluded with a most affectionate Prayer for the King, the Church, the State, and peculiarly for *Leicester*, the Seat of his former Labours. And after this he took his Journey, with his Family, for *London*; the Streets as he passed along being filled with People of all sorts, who bid him *Farewel*, with Loud Prayers and Cries for his *Welfare*.

§ 12. When he came to *London*, he found *Three Ships* ready to sail for *New-England*, with *Two* more, that were in a Month's Time, to follow after them: Filled with Godly and Honest Passengers, among whom there were *Two* other *Non-Conformist* Ministers. They set sail from the *Isle of Wight*, about the first of *May*, 1629. and when they came to the Land's End, Mr. Higginson calling up his Children, and other Passengers unto the Stern of the Ship, to take their last Sight of *England*. He said, *We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewel Babylon! Farewel Rome! But we will say, Farewel Dear England! Farewel the Church of God in England, and all the Christian Friends there! We do not go to New-England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the Corruptions in it: But we go to practise the positive Part of Church Reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America.* And so he concluded with a fervent Prayer for the King, and Church, and State, in *England*; and for the Presence and Blessing of God with themselves, in their present Undertaking for *New-England*. At length by the Good Hand of God upon them, they arrived, after a comfortable Passage, unto *Salem Harbour* on the Twenty fourth of *June* ensuing.

§ 13. Mr. Higginson being in this Voyage associated with Mr. Skelton, a Minister of the like Principles with himself, they were no sooner got on Shore, but they likewise associated in pursuing their Principles and Intentions of Religion, which were the end of their coming hither. Accordingly, laying before the chief of the People their Desires, and their Designs of settling a *Reformed Congregation* in the Place, after a frequent Converse about the Methods of it, they came unto a hearty Concurrence, to take a Day in the following *August* for it. In order hereunto Mr. Higginson drew up a *Confession of Faith* with a Scriptural Representation of the *Covenant of Grace* applied unto their present purpose, whereof *Thirty Copies* were taken for the *Thirty Persons*, which were to begin the Working of *Gathering the Church*. The Day was kept as a *Fast*; wherein, after the



the Prayers and Sermons of the Two Ministers, these *Thirty Persons* did solemnly and feverally profess their Consent unto the Confession and Covenant then read unto them; and they proceed then to chuse Mr. Skelton, Mr. Higginson their Teachers, and one Mr. Houghton, for a Ruling Elder. And after this, many others joined unto the Church, thus gathered; but none were admitted, of whose good Conversation in Christ, there was not a Satisfactory Testimony. By the same Token, that at this First Church-Gathering, there fell out a Remarkable Matter which is now to be Related. At a time when the Church was to be gathered at Salem, there was about 30 Miles to the Southward of that place, a Plantation of Rude, Lewd, Mad, English People, who did propose to themselves a Gainful Trade with the Indians, but quickly came to nothing. A Young Gentleman belonging to that Plantation being at Salem, on the Day when the Church was gathered, was at what he saw and heard, so deeply affected, that he stood up expressing with much Affection, his desire to be admitted into their Number, which when they demurr'd about, he desired that they would at least admit him to make his Profession before them. When they allow'd this, he expressed himself so agreeably, and with so much Ingenuity and Simplicity, that they were extremely pleas'd with it; and the Ministers told him, That they highly approved of his Profession, but inasmuch as he was a Stranger to them, they could not Receive him into their Communion, until they had a further Acquaintance with his Conversation. However, such was the Hold which the Grace of God now took of him, that he became an Eminent Christian, and a Worthy and Useful Person, and not only afterwards joined unto the Church of Boston, but also made a great Figure in the Commonwealth of New England, as the Major-General of all the Forces in the Colony; it was Major-General Gibbons.

§ 14. The Church of Salem now being settled, they enjoyed many Smiles of Heaven upon them; and yet there were many things, that lookt like Frowns: For, they were exercised with many Difficulties, and almost an Hundred of good People died the First Winter of their being here; among whom was Mr. Houghton, an Elder of the Church. Mr. Higginson also fell into an Hectic-Fever, which much disabled him for the Work of his Ministry; and the last Sermon upon the Incurable Growth of this Malediction upon him, was upon the Arrival of many Gentlemen, and some Hundreds of Passengers to New-England, in the beginning of the ensuing Summer. He then preached on those Words of our Saviour, Matth. 11. 7. *What went you out into the Wilderness to see?* From whence, he minded the People of the Design, whereupon this Plantation was erected, namely, Religion: And of the Streights, Wants, and various Trials, which in a Wilderness they must look to meet withal; and of the need which there was for them to evidence the Up-

rightness of their Hearts, in the end of their coming hither. After this, he was confined unto his Bed, and visited by the chief Persons of the New-Colony, who much bewailed their Loss of so useful a Person, but comforted him with the Consideration of his Faithfulness to the Lord Jesus, in his former Sufferings and Services, and the Honour which the Lord had granted him, to begin a Work of Church-Reformation, in America. He replied, *I have been but an Unprofitable Servant; and all my own Doings I count but Loss and Dung: All my Desire is to win Christ, and be found in him, not having my own Righteousness!* And he several times declared, *That though the Lord called him away, he was persuaded God would raise up others, to carry on the Work that was begun, and that there would yet be many Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ in this Wilderness.* He likewise added, *That though he should leave his Orphan Wife and Eight Children, whereof the Eldest but about fourteen Years old, in a low Condition, yet he left them with his God, and he doubted not but the Faithful God would graciously provide for them.* So, in the midst of many Prayers, he fell asleep; as in the Month of August, 1630. and in the Forty Third Year of his Age, and his Funeral was attended with all possible Solemnity.

§ 15. Reader, Prepare to behold and admire and adore the Faithfulness of our God, in providing for the Children of them, that faithfully have served him. He moved the Hearts of many Charitable Christians, who yet were spending on the Stocks, which they brought out of England with them, to provide as comfortably for the Widow and Offspring of this deceased Minister, as if he had left them some Thousands of Pounds. And his two Sons, who had been brought up at the Grammar-School in Leicester, had a particular Taft of this Liberality, in the Provision which was thus made for their having such a Learned Education, as might fit them for the Service of the Church in the Ministry of the Gospel.

One of these, Francis by Name, was for a Time a Schoolmaster at our Cambridge; but having attained as much Learning as New-England could then afford, he was desirous to visit some European University; and being recommended unto Rotterdam, some Dutch Merchants, out of respect unto an hopeful Scholar of New-England, contributed Four-score Pounds in Money to assist his Juvenile Studies at Leyden. Afterwards having visited some other Universities in those Parts, he returned into England; where he declined a Settlement in some other, which he thought more Opinionative, and so more Contentious and Undesirable Places, to which he was invited, and settled at Kerby-Steven in Westmoreland, hoping to do most good among the ignorant People there. But it pleased the God of Heaven to permit the first out-breaking of that Prodigious and Comprehensive Heresy Quakerism in that very place; and a Multitude of People being bewitched thereto, it was a great Affliction



Affliction unto this worthy Man; but it occasion'd his writing the first Book that ever was written against that Sink of Blasphemies, Entitled, *The Irreligion of Northern Quakers*. This Learned Person was the Author of a Latin Treatise, *De quing, maximis Luminibus: De Luce increata; De Luce creata; De Lamine Nature, Gratie & Gloria;* and having Illuminated the House of God in that part of it, where our Lord had set him to shine, he went away to the *Light of Glory*, in the Fifty Fifth Year of his Age.

The other named *John*, has been on some Laudable Accounts another *Origen*; for the Father of *Origen* would kiss the uncovered Breast of that Excellent Youth, whilst he lay asleep, as being the Temple where the Spirit of God was resident, and as *Origen*, after the untimely Death of his Father, had his poor Mother with Six other Children to look after; whereupon he taught first a *Grammar-School*, and then betook himself unto the Study of Divinity; in this other *Higginson* after a pious Childhood, having been a School-Master at *Hartford*, and a Minister at *Saybrook*, and afterwards at *Guilford*, became at length in the Year 1659. a Pastor, and a rich and long *Blessing*, succeeding his Father in his Church at *Salem*. This Reverend Person has been always valued for his useful *Preaching*, and his holy *Living*; and besides his constant Labours in the *Pulpit*, whereby his own Flock has been edified; the whole Country has, by the *Press*, enjoyed some of his Compositions, and by his Hand, the Compositions of some others also, passing the *Press*, have been accompanied. Having formerly born his Testimony to, *The Cause of God, and his People in New-England*, in a Sermon so entituled, which he preached on the greatest Anniversary Solemnity, which occur'd in the Land, namely, the Anniversary *Election*; when he thought, that the Advances of Old Age upon him directed him to live in the hourly Expectation of Death, he published a most Savoury Book, on *Our Dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace to his Disciples in a Troublesome World*; with a Discourse on the Duty of Christians, to be Witnesses unto Christ; unto which is added, *some Help to Self-Examination*.

Nevertheless, this true *Simcon* is yet waiting for the Consolation of Israel. This Good Old Man is yet alive; (in the Year 1696.) arrived unto the Eightieth Year of his Devout Age,

and about the Sixtieth Year of his Publick Work, and he, that from a Child knew the Holy Scriptures, does at those Years wherein Men use to be Twice Children, continue preaching them with such a manly, pertinent, judicious Vigour, and with so little Decay of his Intellectual Abilities, as is indeed a Matter of Just Admiration. But there was a famous Divine in Germany, who on his Death bed when some of his Friends took Occasion to commend his past painful, faithful, and fruitful Ministry, cried out unto them [*Auferte Ignem adnuc enim pulvis habeo!*] Ob! bring not the Sparks of your Praises near me, as long as I have any Chaff left in me! And I am sensible that I shall receive the like Check from this my Reverend Father, if I presume to do him the Justice, which a few Months hence will be done him, in all the Churches; nor would I deserve at his Hands, the Blow which *Constantine* gave to him, who *Imperatorem ausus est, in Os Beatum dicere*.

§ 16. At the same time, that Mr. Francis Higginson was persecuted for his Non-Conformity in *Leicester-shire*, there was one Mr. Samuel Skelton, who underwent the like Persecution in *Lincolnshire*; and by means hereof they became Fellow-Travelers in their Voyage to New-England, and Fellow-Labourers in their Service here. All the Remembrance that I can recover of this Worthy Man is, that he surviv'd his Colleague, a Good and Faithful Servant of our Lord, well doing, until Aug. 2. 1634. and retired from an Evil World, then to partake with him in the Joy of their Lord.

## Epitaphium.

Jacet sub hoc Tumulo, Mortuus,

FRANCISCUS HIGGINSONUS:

Jaceret & ipsa Virtus, si mori posset.

Abi Viator.

Es sis hujus Ordinis Franciscanus.

CHAP.



## CHAP. II.

## The DEATH of Mr. JOHN AVERY.

THE Divine Oracles have told us, *That the Judgments of God are a Great Deep*: And indeed it is in the *Deep*, that we have seen some of those *Judgments* executed.

It has been Remark'd, that there miscarried but *One Vessel* of all those *Great Fleets* which brought Passengers unto *New-England* upon the Pious and Holy Designs of the First Settlement; which *Vessel* also was but a *Pinnace*; nevertheless richly laden, as having in it Mr. *Avery*.

Mr. *Avery*, a Worthy Minister, coming into *New-England*, was invited unto *Marble-head*; but there being no *Church* there, and the *Fisher-men* being there generally too remiss to form a *Church*, he went rather to *Newberry*, intending there to settle.

Nevertheless, both the Magistrates and the Ministers of the Country urging the Common Good, that would arise from his being at *Marble-head*, he embarked in a *Pinnace*, with Two Families, his own and his Cousin Mr. *Anthony Thacher's*, which, with some others then aboard, made in all Twenty Three Souls; designing in a few Hours to have reached the Port.

But on *August 14. 1635.* in the Night, there came on as mighty a Storm as perhaps was ever known in these Parts of the World; a Storm which drove the *Vessel* upon a Rock, and so tore it, that the poor People sat presently up to the middle in Water, expecting every moment the *Waves of Death* to be rolling over them.

The *Vessel* was quickly broken all to pieces, and almost the whole Company drowned, by being successively waffed off the Rock; only Mr. *Thacher*, having been a considerable while tossed hither and thither, by the Violent Seas, was at last very strangely cast alive upon the Shore; where much wounded, he found his *Wife* a Sharer with him in the like Deliverance.

While these distressed Servants of God were hanging about the Rock, and Mr. *Thacher* had Mr. *Avery* by the Hand, resolving to die together, and expecting by the Stroke of the next Wave to die, Mr. *Avery* lift up his Eyes to Heaven, saying, *We know not what the Pleasure of God is; I fear we have been too unmindful of former Deliverances*: Lord, I cannot challenge a Promise of the Preservation of my Life; but thou hast promised to deliver us from Sin and Condemnation, and to bring us safe to Heaven, through the All-sufficient Satisfaction of Jesus Christ; this therefore I do challenge of thee. Which he had no sooner spoken, but he was by a Wave sweeping him off, immediately waffed

away to Heaven indeed: being well furnished with those *unperishable Things*: Whereto refers the Advice of the famous Duke of *Bavaria*, *Hujusmodi comparande sunt opes, quæ nobiscum possunt simul coare in Naufragio*.

The next Island was therefore called *Thacher's Woe*, and that *Rock Avery's Fall*.

Who can without shedding Tears, almost enough to make a sensible Addition unto the *Lake Leman*, call to mind the Fate of the incomparable *Hottinger*, upon that Lake, in the Year 1667? That incomparably Learned and Godly Man, being by the States-General of the United Provinces, after much Importunity, prevailed withal, to come unto *Leyden*, the Boat wherein he was, with his Wife and three Children, and a Kinsman, and another Person of Quality, unhappily overset, by striking on an unseen Rock, a little way off the Shoar. He, with the two Gentlemen, got safe out of the Water; but seeing his Wife, and Three Children, in extrem Danger of Drowning, they went into the Water again to save them, and there he, with one of the Gentlemen, (and his three Children) were drowned themselves. But eight Days before this lamentable Accident, he found this Verse written on the *Dofor's Chair*, at his ascending it for the Publick Exercises; whereof the Writer could never be found:

*Carmina jam Mariens, Canit Exequialia Cygnus.*

Reader, From *Hottinger*, now return to *Avery*. Compare the manner of their Death; and never forget the memorable *Syon Song*, which *Avery* not eight Days, but scarce eight Seconds of a Minute, before his Expiration, sang in the Ears of Heaven.

What was applied once to *Hottinger*, shall now be borrowed for *Avery*, as an

## Epitaphium.

*Virtutem quis non post Te sectetur cuncto,  
Virtutem quando gloria tanta manet.*

And add,

*Tutum senet Anchora portum,  
Nunc Hilaris Ventos ridet, Tumidæque  
procellas.*

CHAP.



## CHAP. III.

Natus ad Exemplar. THE LIFE of Mr. JONATHAN BURR.

*Exemplo monstrante Viam.*

§ 1. **W**hen the Interests of *David* were carried into a *Wilderness*, the Respects and Regards was a *Jonathan*, had thereunto were such, that he at last uttered this Exclamation thereupon, *Thy Love to me was wonderful!* The Interests of our *Jesus*, the true *David*, being lodged very much in an *American Wilderness*, there was a *Jonathan*, whose *Love* thereunto was indeed *so wonderful*, that it carried him through the many *Waters* of the *Atlantic Ocean*, to be serviceable thereunto; and this was Mr. *Jonathan Burr*.

§ 2. He was born at *Redgrave*, in *Suffolk*, about the Year 1604; descended of Godly Parents, who gratified the Inclinations of this their Son, with a Learned Education. But altho' *Literature* did much adorn his Childhood, *Religion* did to much more; for he had from a Child known the *Holy Scriptures*, which made him wise unto Salvation. It is noted, that the Rod of *Aaron* was made of an *Abound-Tree*; of which 'twill be no *Phylism* to observe (tho' *Pliny* observe it), that it flowers the first of all *Trees*, even in *January*, in the more Southern Countries, and bears in *March*; which has been sometimes employ'd as an Intimation, how quickly those that are designed for the Ministry, should Blossom towards Heaven, and be young *Jeremiahs*, and *Johns*, and *Timothies*. Thus did our *Jonathan*. Even in his very Childhood, so studious he was, as to leave his Food for his Book, but withal so pious, that he could neither Morning nor Evening dare to go without *Prayers* to God for his Blessing. And as it was his endeavour, whilst a School-boy, to be every Day in the Year of the Lord, so he would on the Lord's Day discover a singular Measure of that Fear; not only by abstaining from the Liberties which others of his Age then use to take, to pass the time away, but also by devoting the time to the Exercises of Devotion. His Father, observing this Disposition of the Child, hoped, as well he might, that whatever was expended in fitting him for Service, would be well repaid, in the Service which might be done by him for the Church of God; and therefore after due Preparations for it, he sent him unto the University.

§ 3. After he had spent three or four Years in *Academical Studies*, the Death of his Father fetch'd him sooner than he would have gone, into the Country; where, tho' he kept a School, yet he pursued the Design of accomplishing himself with every part of Learning, that when those of his Years were to take their Degrees of *Mastership*, he was one of the Moderators, which place he discharged with great Acceptation. But

he afterwards would say, That the awful and humbling Providence of God, in the Death of his Father, which hinder'd him from those Employments and Preferments in the University, for which he had a particular Fondness, had an effect upon him, for which he had Reason to admire the Wisdom of Heaven; inasmuch as it reduced him to that modest, gracious, careful Frame, which made him the fitter for the Work of turning many to Righteousness.

§ 4. Having for a while attended that Work at *Horningbarrow*, near *Bury* in *Suffolk*, he afterwards undertook the Charge of *Reckingshal*, in the same County, wherein he did most exemplarily express the Spirit of a Minister of the New Testament. He would therein be sometimes ready to envy the more easie Condition of the *Husbandmen*; but in Submission and Obedience unto the Call of God, he now for his Hand unto the Plough of the Lord *Jesus Christ*: And therefore in the Form of a Solemn Covenant, he obliged himself unto the most Conscientious Discharge of his Ministerial Duties; in which Discharge he would always beg of God, that whatever Exhortation he gave unto others, might first be shaped in his own Experience: And yet sometimes he would complain unto his Friends: *Alas, I preach not what I am, but what I ought to be.*

§ 5. This gracious Man, was indeed a very humble Man, and his Humility carried him even into a Dejection of Spirit; especially when by Impertinencies he had been prevailed upon to preach abroad. Once particularly, there was a Person of Quality, for whose Conversion many Prayers had been put up to God, by those who hoped that God might have much Honour from a Man of Honour brought unto himself. Mr. Burr preaching at a place, far from his own Congregation, had a most happy Success in the Conversion of this Gentleman, who not only acknowledged this Change, with much Thankfulness, both to God, and the Instrument; but also approved himself a changed Man, in the whole Frame of his After-Conversation. And yet coming home, from the Preaching of that Sermon, Mr. Burr had a particular Measure of his lowly and modest Reflections thereupon; adding, *I shall conclude, it is of God, if any Good be done by any thing preached by such an Unworthy Instrument.*

§ 6. Hence on the Lord's Day, after he came home from his publick Work, it was his manner presently to Retire, and spend some time in praying to God, for the pardon of the Sins, which accompanied him in his Work, and in praising of God, for enabling him to go, in any



any measure, through it; with Petitions for the good Success of his Labours.

He then would come down to his Family-Worship, wherein he spent some Hours instructing of the Family, and performing of other Duties: And when his Wife desired him to abate of his excessive Pains, his Answer would be, *'Tis better to be worn out with Work, than to be eaten out with Rust.* It was indeed his Joy, to be spending his Life unto the uttermost for God, and for his People; yea, he would say, tho' he should have no *Temporal Rewards*. Accordingly, when any that had been benefited by his Ministry, sent him any *Tokens* of their Gratitude, he would (like *Luther*) beg of God, *That he might not have his Portion in such things*: And he desired of his grateful Friends, *That if they had gotten any good of him, they would give unto God alone the Glory of it.* Moreover, if he had understood, that any had gained in the Concern of their Souls, by his Labours, he would mention it, in some of his privater Devotions, with this expression, *Lord, of thine own have I given, take then the Glory unto thy self: As for me, let my Portion be in thy self, and not in the Things of this World.* But when he was debarred of his Liberty to preach, he was even like a *Fish out of the Water*; and his very Body languished through a Sympathy, with the Relentments of his Mind; saying, *That his Preaching was his Life; and if he were laid aside from that, he should quickly be dead.*

§ 7. It was not on the Lord's Day only, but every Day, that this good Man was usually. In the Fear of the Lord all the Day long. He might say, with the *Psalmist*, *When I awake, I am still with God*: For at his first awaking, he would bless God for the Mercies of the Night, and then pray, *That he might so number his Days, as to apply his Heart to Wisdom*: And if he awoke in the Night, it would commonly be with some *Thanksgivings* unto Heaven. Rising in the Morning, he would repair to his beloved Study, where he began the Day with *Secret Prayer* before the Lord: After this he would read a Chapter in the *Old Testament*, spending some time in Serious and Solemn, and Heart-searching Meditations thereupon: He would then come down into his Family; where, with his Prayers, he would then Read and Expound, and apply the same Chapter unto his own Folks, and such of the Neighbours as would come in, to enjoy his Meditations, at the usual Season of them. Retiring then to his Study again, he would continue there, till called unto his Dinner; and if none came to speak with him after Dinner, he would, after some Diversion for a while with his Children, return to his Study, where he would then have a time to pray with his Wife: But if at any time he were invited unto a Dinner abroad, he would have a time for that Service in the Forenoon, before his going out.

As the Evening drew on, after the like manner, he would read a Chapter in the *New Testament*, making his Family Partakers of his Re-

flections, with his Prayer upon it. And before his going to Bed, he usually walked up and down the Room, for half an Hour, or more, pondering upon something, which his Wife desired to know, *What it was*? He replied, *Seeing thou art so near me, if it may do thee good, I'll tell thee*: First, He said, he called himself unto an Account, *How he had spent the Day*? And what sinful Commissions, or Omissions, he had been overtaken with; for which, he then, begged Pardon of God. Secondly, He reckon'd up the particular Mercies he had received in the Day, rendering of Praises to Heaven for those Mercies. Lastly, He made his Petitions to God, that he might be prepared for sudden Death: Unto which Third Article in his Thoughts, that which gave more special Occasion was, the sudden Death of his Brother, an eminent and excellent Christian, whom, he said, he could never forget.

§ 8. When he travelled abroad, he thought long to be at home again, through his Disaffection at his not having elsewhere, so convenient Seasons for his Communion with God. And when he took any Journeys with his Friends, it was his manner to enquire, *What God had been done, or gained therein*? And what good Examples had been seen? And what good Instructions had been heard? And that there might be no loss of time in the Journeys, he would be full of profitable Discourse, especially by way of Occasional Reflection, upon things that then occurred unto Observation. What he was in a Journey, the same he was at the Table; even like the *Tire*, (what was once writ of *Athenodorus*) *ἑστάναι ὡς καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ*. So that they who would bear no part in a gracious Communication, would be dumb, where ever he came; and some of the roughest and rudest Hearers, would have Tears fetched from their Eyes, at the Soul-melting Expressions that passed from his Mouth. Moreover, at a Feast he would eat more sparingly than at another time, giving us his Reason for his Temperance, the Advice of the Wife Man: *Put a Knife to thy Throat*: And he would say, *Where there are many Varieties, there are many Temptations.*

§ 9. It was his wont, before the Lord's Supper, to keep a Day of solemn Fasting and Prayer alone, with his Wife, as well to prepare themselves for that Sacred Ordinance; as to obtain the manifold Blessings of Heaven upon his Family and Neighbourhood: Such was his Piety. And as for his Charity, he seldom visited the Poor, but with Spirituals, he communicated also Temporals unto them: For which, when some of his Friends intimated, that he might err, in reserving no more for himself, he would answer, *I often think of those Words, He that soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly.* It was also remarkable, to see how much his own Personal Joys, and Grievs, were swallowed up in the Sympathy which he had, with the Condition of the whole Church abroad: When he heard it was well with the Church, he would say, *Blessed be God, that it goes well with them, what*



over becomes of me! But if ill, none of his own private Prosperity kept him from feeling it, as true Member of that Mystical Body. Finally, All the Graces which thus rendered him amiable to those that were about him, were attended with such *Mystic Meekness*, as made him yet further amiable: He would be *zealous*, when he saw Dishonour cast on the Name of God, but *patient* under Injury offer'd unto himself: If he were informed, that any thought meanly of him, he would not be moved at it, but say, *I think as meanly of my self, and therefore may well be content, that others think meanly of me*: And when Evil hath been charged on him, he has replied, *If Men see so much, what does God see?* Disgraceful and unworthy Speeches bestowed upon him, he would call, his Gains; but it was his Trouble to find himself applauded. His Friends might indeed have said of him, as Luther of Melancthon, *Mibi plane videtur saltem in hoc errare, quod Christum ipse lingat longius abesse a Corde suo, quam sit revera, certe nimis Nullus in hoc est nostrer Jonathan*.

§ 10. This bright Star must move Westward. He, with many Fellow-Sufferers for the Testimony of *Jesus*, being silenced in England; and foreseeing a dismal Storm a coming upon the Nation, till the overpassing whereof he saw many Praying Saints directed unto America, for Chambers of Safety; and willing to forego all Worldly Advantages, for the Enjoyment of Gospel Ordinances, admixt without the mixtures of *Humane Inventions*; he removed into New-England, having his three Children with him, and his Wife big with a Fourth, in his Remove; where arriving, it refreshed him not a little, to see the escaped People of God, with Harps in their Hands, there singing the Song of Moses. He came into New-England, at a time, when there was not so much want of Lights, as of Golden Candlesticks, wherein to place the Lights; but he was not long there, before he was invited by the Church of Dorchester, to be an Assistant unto the well-known Mr. Richard Mather.

§ 11. The Evil One, disturbed at the Happenings of Dorchester, very strongly endeavoured a Misunderstanding between Mr. Mather and Mr. Burr; and the Misunderstanding did proceed so far, as to produce a Paroxysm.

It was judged by some of the Brethren in the Church, that Mr. Burr had expressed himself erroneously in certain Points, then much agitated throughout the Country; and Mr. Mather, upon their Desire, examining the Propositions which this Good Man had written, thought he could not altogether clear them from Exceptions. Hereupon grew such Alienations, that they could not be well Re-united, without calling in the Help of Neighbour-Churches in a Council, which Council directing both Mr. Mather and Mr. Burr, to acknowledge what Misunderstandings were then discovered in this Business, those two Good Men set apart a Day for the Reconciliation; and with such Exemplary Expressions of Humility and

Affection, Rectified all that had been out of Joint, that God was exceedingly Glorified, and the Peace of the Church effectually restored and maintained.

§ 12. This true Barnabas, was not only to give the Churches of New-England a Consolatory Visit, in his Passage unto Glory, that he might leave them an Example of that Love, Patience, Holiness, and Fruitfulness, which would make them an Happy People. Tho' he had not Persecution to try him in this Wilderness; yet he was not without his Trials: For, as 'tis well observed in the Discourse, *De Duplici Martyrio*, which goes under the Name of Cyprian; *Si desit Tyrannus, si Tortor, si Spoliator, non desit concupiscentia, Martyrii, Materiam, quotidianam nobis exhibens*. The next Year after he came to New-England, he was taken Sick of the Small-Pox, out of which he nevertheless recovered, and came forth as Gold that had been tryed in the Fire. He then renewed and applied the Covenant of Grace, by the suitable Recognitions of the following Instrument.

I Jonathan Burr, being brought in the Arms of Almighty God over the Vast Ocean, with my Family and Friends, and Graciously provided for in a Wilderness, and being sensible of my own Unprofitableness and Self-seeking; yet of Infinite Mercy, being called unto the Tremendous Work of Feeding Souls, and being of late with my Family deliver'd out of a Great Affliction of the Small-Pox; and having found the Fruit of that Affliction; God Tempering, Ordering, Mitigating the Evil thereof, to as I have been graciously and speedily deliver'd, I do promise and vow to him, that hath done all things for me; First, That I will aim only at his Glory, and the Good of Souls, and not my self and Vain Glory: And that, Secondly, I will walk Humbly, with lower Thoughts of my self, considering what a poor Creature I am; a Puff of Breath, sustained only by the Power of his Grace: And therefore, Thirdly, I will be more watchful over my Heart, to keep it in a due Frame of Holiness and Obedience, without running out so far to the Creature, for I have seen, That he is mine only Help in time of need; Fourthly, That I will put more weight upon that firm Promise, and sure Truth, That God is a God bearing Prayer: Fifthly, That I will set up God, more in my Family, more in my self, Wife, Children and Servants; conversing with them in a more serious and constant manner; for This, God aimed at, in sending his Hand into my Family at this time.

Memento Mori.

In Meipso Nihil, in Christo Omne.

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Nor was his Heavenly Conversation afterwards disagreeable to these Grateful Resolutions of his Devout Soul. By the same Token, that the famous Mr. Thomas Hooker, being one of his Auditors, when he preached in a great Audience at Charlestown, had this Expression about him. Surely, this Man wont be long out of Heaven, for he preaches as if he were there already. And the most experienced Christians in the Country, found still in his Ministry, as well as in his whole Behaviour, the Breathing of such a Spirit, as was very greatly to their Satisfaction. They could not but call him, as Dionysius was once called, *πνεῦμα ἱερός*, The Bird of Heaven. Had it not been Old Adam's World, so Innocent, so Excellent, so Heavenly a Person, could not have met with such Exercises as he and others like him, then sometimes did, even from their *Truest Brethren*.

§ 13. Having just been preaching about the Redemption of Time, he fell into a Sickness of Ten Days Continuance; during which Time, he expressed a wonderful Patience, and Submission, upon all Occasions. His Wife perceiving his Willingness to die, asked him, *Whether he were desirous to leave her and his Children?* Whereto his Answer was, *Do not mistake me, I am not desirous of that; but I bless God, that now my Will is the Lord's Will: If he will have me to live yet with my dear Wife and Children, I am willing. I will say to you my dear Wife and Children, as the Apostle says, It is better for you, that I abide with you; but it is better for me to be dissolved and to be with Christ.* And perceiving his Wife's Disconsolation, he asked her, *If she could not be willing to part with him;* whereupon, when she intimated how hard it was, he exhorted her to acquiesce in that God, who would be Better than Ten Husbands: Adding, *Our Parting is but for a Time, I am sure we shall one Day meet again.* Being discouraged by finding himself unable to put on his Clothes, one of his Friends told him, *his Work was now to lie still:* At which he complained, *I lie slugging a Bed, when others are at work!* But being minded of God's Will, That it should be so, that quieted him. Observing how diligently his Wife tended him, he said unto her, *Don't spend so much Time with me, but go thy way and spend some time in Prayer; thou knowest not what thou mayst obtain from God; I fear lest thou look too much upon this Affliction.* A Day or two before his Death, he blessed his Children; and the Night before he died, he was overheard sometimes to say, *I will wait until my Change come; and Why art thou so loath to die? A few Hours before his Death, it was observed, that he had a fore Conflict with the Angel of Death, who was now shooting his last Arrows at him; and when one of the Standers-by said, The Sting of Death is taken away, the Lord Jesus Christ has overcome Death for you; this is one of Satan's last Assaults; his Work is now almost at an end;*

*though he be a subtil Enemy, and would if it were possible, deceive the very Elect;* he presently laid hold on that last Expression, *If it were possible;* said he, *Blessed be God there is no Possibility!* After this, he requested the Company might withdraw, that so he might have an Opportunity to pray for a while by himself; but seeing the Company loth to leave the Room, he pray'd in Latin as long as he had Strength to do it. When he was to Appearance just expiring, he called for his Wife; and steadfastly fixing his Eyes upon her, he said, *Cast thy Care upon God, for he careth for thee.* About half an Hour after this, when Death had been for some while drawing the Curtains about him, his last Words were those unto his Wife, *Hold Fast, Hold Fast!* So he finished his Pilgrimage, on Aug. 9. 1641.

§ 14. Unto that Virtuous Gentlewoman his Wife, he expressed himself with great Confidence, That God would certainly provide well for her; and that Gentlewoman, shortly after being Honourably and Comfortably married unto another Gentleman of Good Estate, namely, Richard Dummer, Esq. once a Magistrate of the Colony, lived with him near Forty Years; and was more than Forty Years after alive to testify her Experience of the Accomplishment, which God had given unto that Faith of her Dying Husband: Who at his Death commended his Family to God, in Strains not unlike those of the Dying *Widerus*;

CHRISTE, tibi soli mea pignora Viroa relinquo,  
Quorum post Mortem Tu Pater esto meum.  
Qui cunctis Vitæ miserum me jugiter Annis  
Pavisti, Largam dans Mibi semper opem,  
Tu quoque; Pæce meos defende, tuere, doceas,  
Et tandem ad Celi gaudia transfer. Amen.

## Epitaphium.

Mortuus hic Jacet, qui in Omnium Cordibus Vivit.

Omnes Virtutes, quæ Vivunt post Funera,  
In Unius BURRI Funere invocaverunt  
Sepulcrum.

To make up his Epitaph, I will borrow a Line or two from the Tomb-stone of Volkmarius.

Hic Jacet Exutis nimium cito BURRIUS Annis,  
Adjuga Suggestus, Magne MATHERE, Tui  
Si magis Annosam licuisset condere Vitam,  
Ac Scriptis Animum notificare Libris,  
Tot Verbis non esset opus hoc Scalpere Saxum,  
Sufficerent Quatuor, BURRIUS hic situs est.



## CHAP. IV.

## The LIFE of Mr. GEORGE PHILIPS.

*Vita Ministri est Censura & Synsura.*

§ 1. NOT only the Common Sign-Posts of every Town, but also some famous Orders of *Knighthood* in the most famous Nations of *Europe*, have entertained us with Traditions of a certain Champion, by the Name of *St. GEORGE dignified and distinguished*. Now willst many do with *Calvin*, reckon this Noble *St. George*, with his Brother *St. Kit*, among the *Larvæ* and *Fables* of the *Romantic Monks*; others from the Honourable mention of him in so many *Liturgies*, do think there might be such a Man: But then, he must be no other, neither better nor worse, in the most probable Opinion of *Rainolds*, than *George the Arabian Bishop of Alexandria*, the Antagonist and Adversary of *Athanasius*, of this Memorable Trooper, the *Arrians* feigned Miracles, and with certain *Disguises*, imposed the Fame of him upon the *Orthodox*. But the Churches of *New-England* being wholly unconcerned with any such a *St. George*, and wishing that they had been less concerned with many *Quakers*, whose chief Apostles have been so many of them call'd *George's*, but in Effect so many *Dragons*, there was one *George* who was indeed among the first *Saints* of *New-England*! And that Excellent Man of our Land was *Mr. George Philips*.

§ 2. He was born at *Raymund*, in the County of *Norfolk*; descended of Honest Parents, who were encouraged by his great Proficiency at the Grammar-School, to send him unto the University; where his good *Invention*, strong *Memory*, and solid *Judgment*, with the Blessing of God upon all, attained a Degree of Learning that may be called *Eminent*. The diligent Reading of the *Fathers*, while he was yet himself among *Young Men*, was one of the things that gave a special Ornament unto that Skill in *Theology*, whereto he attained; but that which yet further fitted him to become a *Divine*, was his being made *Partaker* of the *Divine Nature*, by the Sanctification of all his Abilities for the Service of God, in a True *Regeneration*.

§ 3. Devoting himself to the Work of the Ministry, his Employment beset him at *Boxford in Essex*; whereof he found much Acceptance with Good Men; as being a Man *Mighty in the Scriptures*. But his Acquaintance with the Writings and Persons of some Old *Non Conformists* had instilled into him such Principles about *Church Government*, as were like to make him unacceptable unto some, who then drove the World before them. Some of these Principles he had intimated in his publick

Preaching; whereupon some of his unsatisfied Hearers repair'd unto Old *Mr. Rogers of Dedham*, with some Intimations of their Dissatisfaction. But *Mr. Rogers*, although he had not much studied the Controversy, yet had so high a Respect for *Mr. Philips*, that he said, *He believed Mr. Philips would preach nothing without some good Evidence for it from the Word of God, and therefore they should be willing to regard whatever Mr. Philips might, from that Word, make evident unto them.* And as for *Mr. Philips*, the more he was put upon the Study and searching of the *Truth*, in the Matter controverted, the more he was confirmed in his own Opinion of it.

§ 4. When the Spirit of Persecution did at length with the extremest Violence, urge a Conformity to *Ways and Parts* of Divine Worship, conscientiously scrupled by such Persons as our *Mr. Philips*. He, with many more of his Neighbours, entertained Thoughts of transcribing themselves and their Families into the *Deserts of America*, to prosecute and propagate the Glorious Designs of the Gospel, and spread the *Light* of it in those *Goings down of the Sun*, and being resolved accordingly to accompany the Excellent *Mr. Winthrop* in that Undertaking, he with many other Devout Christians, embarked for *New-England*, where they arrived in the Year 1630, through the *Good Hand of God* upon them. Here, quickly after his Landing, he lost the *Desire* of his Eyes, in the Death of his *Desirable Consort*, who, though an only Child, had cheerfully left her Parents, to serve the Lord *Jesus Christ*, with her Husband, in a *Terrible Wilderness*. At *Salem* she died, entering into the Everlasting Peace; and was very solemnly interr'd near the Right Honourable the Lady *Arabella*, the Sister of the Earl of *Lincoln*, who also took *New-England* in her Way to Heaven.

§ 5. *Mr. Philips*, with several Gentlemen, and other Christians having chosen a place upon *Charles-River*, for a Town which they called *Water-Town*, they resolved that they would combine into a *Church-Fellowship* there, as their first Work; and build the *House of God*, before they could build many *Houses* for themselves; thus they sought, first, the *Kingdom of God*! And indeed, *Mr. Philips* being better acquainted with the True *Church-Discipline*, than most of the Ministers that came with him into the Country, their Proceedings about the gathering and ordering of their *Church*, were *Methodical* enough, though not made in all things a *Pattern* for all the rest. Upon a Day set apart



apart for solemn *Fasting* and *Prayer*, the very next Month after they came ashore, they entered into this *Holy Covenant*.

July 30. 1630.

‘ We whose Names are hereto subscribed, having through God’s Mercy, escaped out of *Pollutions* of the World, and been taken into the *Society* of his People, with all Thankfulness do hereby both with *Heart* and *Hand* acknowledge, That his Gracious Goodness, and Fatherly Care, towards us: And for further and more full Declaration thereof, to the present and future Ages, have undertaken (for the promoting of his *Glory* and the Churches *Good*, and the Honour of our Blessed *Jesus*, in our more full and free subjecting of our selves and ours, under his Gracious Government, in the Practice of, and Obedience unto all his Holy Ordinances and Orders, which he hath pleased to prescribe and impose upon us) a long and hazardous Voyage from *East* to *West*, from *Old England* in *Europe*, to *New-England* in *America*; that we may walk before him, and serve him without *Fear* in *Holiness* and *Righteousness*, all the *Days* of our *Lives*: And being safely arrived here, and thus far onwards peaceably preserved by his special *Providence*, that we may bring forth our Intentions into *Actions*, and perfect our *Resolutions*, in the Beginnings of some Just and Meet *Executions*; We have separated the *Day* above written from all other Services, and Dedicated it wholly to the Lord in Divine Employments, for a *Day* of *Afflicting* our *Souls*, and humbling our selves before the Lord, to seek him, and at his Hands, a Way to walk in, by *Fasting* and *Prayer*, that we might know what was Good in his Sight: And the Lord was intreated of us.

For in the End of that *Day*, after the finishing of our publick Duties, we do all, before we depart, solemnly and with all our Hearts, personally, Man by Man for our selves and ours (charging them before Christ and his Elect Angels, even *them* that are not here with us this *Day*, or are yet unborn, That they keep the Promise unblameably and faithfully unto the coming of our Lord *Jesus*) promise, and enter into a *sure Covenant* with the Lord our God, and before him with one another, by *Oath* and serious *Protestation* made, to Renounce all *Idolatry* and *Superstitions*; *Will-Worship*, all *Humane Traditions* and *Inventions* whatsoever, in the Worship of God; and forsaking all *Evil Ways*, do give our selves wholly unto the Lord *Jesus*, to do him faithful Service, observing and keeping all his Statutes, Commands, and Ordinances, in all Matters concerning our Reformation; his Worship, Administrations, Ministry, and Government; and in the Carriage of our selves among our selves, and one

towards another, as he hath prescribed in his *Holy Word*. Further swearing to cleave unto that alone, and the true Sense and meaning thereof to the utmost of our Power, as unto the most clear *Light* and *infallible Rule*, and All-sufficient *Canon*, in all things that concern us in this our Way. In Witness of all, we do *ex Animo*, and in the presence of God, hereto set our Names or Marks, in the Day and Year above written.

About Forty Men, whereof the First was that Excellent Knight Sir Richard *Saltonstall*, then subscribed this *Instrument*, in Order unto their Coalescence into a *Church-Estate*; which I have the more particularly Recited, because it was one of the First Ecclesiastical Transactions of this Nature managed in the Colony. But in after time, they that joined unto the *Church*, subscribed a Form of the *Covenant*, somewhat altered, with a *Confession* of Faith annexed unto it.

§ 6. A Church of Believers being thus gathered at *Watertown*, this Reverend Man continued for divers Years among them, faithfully discharging the Duties of his Ministry, to the Block, whereof he was made the *Overseer*; and as a Faithful Steward giving to every one their Meat in due Season. Herein he demonstrated himself to be a Real *Divine*: But not in any thing more, than in his most intimate Acquaintance with the Divine Oracles of the Scripture: Being fully of *Jerom’s* Perswasion, *Ama Scientiam Scripturarum, & Vitia Carnis non amabis*. He had so thoroughly perused and pondered them, that he was able on the sudden to turn unto any Text, without the Help of *Concordances*; and they were so much his Delight, that as it has been by some of his Family affirmed, He read over the whole Bible six times every Year: Nevertheless he did use to say, That every time he read the Bible, he observed or collected something, which he never did before. There was a Famous Prince of *Transylvania*, who found the time to read over the Bible no less than Twenty Seven Times. There was a Famous King of *Arragon*, who read over the Bible fourteen Times, with *Lyrar’s* Commentaries. A Religious Person, who was a close Prisoner, in a dark Dungeon, having a Candle brought him, for the few Minutes in the Day when his poor Meals were to be eaten, chose then to read a little of his Bible, and eat his Necessary Food, when the Candle was gone. Yea, the Emperour *Theodosius* wrote out the *New-Testament* with his own Hand; and *Bonaventure* did as much by the *Old*; and some have, like *Zuinglius* and *Beza*, lodg’d vast Paragraphs of it in the Memories. Among such Memorable Students in the Scriptures, our *Philips* deserves to have some Remembrance: Who was fully of the Opinion expressed by *Luther*, If the Letters of Princes are to be read three times over, surely then God’s Letters (as *Gregory* calls the Scriptures) are



are to be read Seven times Thrice, yea, Seventy times Seven, and if it could be a Thousand times over; and he might say with Ridley, giving an Account how much of the Bible he had learnt by Heart, *Tho' in time a great Part of the Study departed from me, yet the sweet Smell thereof, I trust I shall carry with me to Heaven.* Indeed being well skill'd in the Original Tongues, he could not fee further into the Scriptures than most other Men; And thereby being made *Wise unto Salvation*, he also became a *Man of God*, thoroughly furnished unto all good Works.

§ 7. Hence also, he became an able *Disputant*; and ready upon all Occasions, to maintain what he delivered from the Word of God; for which Cause, his Hearers counted him, *The Irrefragable Doctor*: Though he were so *Humble and Modest*, as to be very averse unto *Disputation*, until driven thereto by extream Necessity. One of his Hearers after some Conference with him about *Infant-Baptism*, and several Points of *Church Discipline*, obtain'd a Copy of the Arguments in Writing for his further Satisfaction. This Copy the Man sends over to *England*, which an Anabaptist there published with a pretended *Confutation*; where by the *Truth* lost nothing, for Mr. *Philips* hereupon published a *Judicious Treatise*, Entitled, *A Vindication of Infant-Baptism*, where to there is added another, *Of the Church*. This Book was honourably received and mentioned, by the Eminent Assembly of *London-Ministers*; and a Preface full of Honour was thereto prefixed by the famous Mr. *Thomas Shepard*; notwithstanding the Difference between him and Mr. *Philips*, upon one or two Points, whereabouts those two Learned Neighbours managed a Controversy with so much Reason, and yet Candor and Kindness, that if all *Theological Controversies*, had been so handled, we need not so much wish, *Liberari ab Implacabilibus Theologorum Odiis*.

§ 8. About fourteen Years continued he in his Ministry at *Watertown*; in which time his Ministry was Blessed, for the *Conversion* of many unto God, and for the *Edification* and *Confirmation* of many that were converted. He was, indeed, *A Good Man, and full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghost*: And for that Cause he was not only in publick but in private also, very full of *Holy Discourse* on all Occasions; especially on the *Lord's Day* at Noon, the time intervening between the Two Exercises, he would spend in conferring with such of his Good People, as resorted unto his House, at such a Rate, as marvellously *Ministred Grace unto the Hearers*; not wanting any time then, as it seems, for any further *Preparations*, than what he had still aforehand made, for the publick Sermons of the Afternoon.

§ 9. He laboured under many Bodily Infirmities: But was especially liable unto the *Cholick*, the Extremity of one Fit whereof, was the *Wind* which carried him afore it, into the *Haven* of Eternal Rest, on July 1. in the Year 1644. much Desired and Lamented by his Church at *Watertown*; who testified their Affection to their Deceased Pastor, by a special Care to promote and perfect the Education of his Eldest Son, whereof all the Country, but especially the Town of *Roxbury*, have since reaped the Benefit.

### Epitaphium.

Hic Jacet GEORGIUS PHILIPPI.

Vir Incomparabilis, nisi SAMUELEM genuisset.

### CHAP. V.

Pastor Evangelicus. THE LIFE of Mr. THOMAS SHEPARD.

Nec Mireris,  
Animam tam Subito in Cælum evolasse, nam Vicem  
Alarum sibi supplerunt Preces sue & suspiria.

§ 1. IT was the Gracious and Savoury Speech uttered by one of the greatest Personages in *England*, and perhaps in all *Europe*, unto a Grave Minister: I have (said he) passed through many Places of Honour and Trust, both in Church and State, more than any of my Order in *England*, for Seventy Years before. But were I assured that by my Preaching, I had converted but one Soul unto God, I should herein take more Comfort, than in all the Honours and

Offices that have ever been bestowed upon me. Let my Reader now go with me, and I will show him one of the Happiest Men, that ever we saw; as great a Converter of Souls, as has ordinarily been known in our Days.

§ 2. Amongst those *Rumors*, whereof there were Diverse, Ministers of New-England, which were Born in or near the First Lulne of King James's Reign, one of the least Inconsiderable was our Mr. *Thomas Shepard*; whose Father Mr.

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Mr. William Shepard, called him *Thomas*, because his Birth was Nov. 5. Anno 1605. as near as could be guessed, at the very *Hour*, when the Blow should have been given in the Execrable *Gun-powder Treason*; a Villany, concerning which he said, *This Child of his would hardly be able to believe, that ever such a Wickedness could be attempted by the Sons of Men.* His Father had six Daughters and three Sons, whereof this *Thomas* born in *Toucester*, near *Northampton*, was the youngest; and as he lived a prudent, so he died a pious Man, while his youngest Son was but a *Youth*. Our *Thomas* had in his Childhood, labour'd under the Discouragements, first of a Bitter *Step-Mother*, and then of a Cruel *School-Master*, till God stirred up the Heart of his Elder Brother, to become a Father unto him who, for the Use of his Portion, brought him up.

§ 3. Bending his Mind now to Study, he became fit for the University, at fifteen Years of Age; where he was placed under the Tuition of Mr. *Cockrel*, a *Northamptonshire* Man, Fellow of *Immanuel College*.

But when he had been upwards of two Years in that College, this young Man, who had been heretofore under more Ineffectual Operations of the Divine Word upon him, was now more Effectually Called unto a saving Acquaintance with him, that is our true *Immanuel*. The Ministry of Mr. *Chaderton* and Mr. *Dickinson*, struck his Heart with powerful Convictions of his Miseries in his Unregeneracy; and while he shook off those Convictions, it pleased God that a Devout Scholar walking with him, fell into Discourses about the Miseries of an Unregenerate Man, whereby the Arrows of God were struck deeper into him. At another time, falling into a pious Company, where they conferred about, *The Wrath of God*, and the *Extremity and Eternity* of it, this added unto his Awakenings; and tho' profane Company afterwards caused him to lose much of the Sense, which he had of these things, yet when Dr. *Preston* came thither, his first Sermon on that [Be Renewed in the Spirit of your Mind] so Renewed the former Impressions, which had been upon him, that he soon approved himself a Person truly Renewed in his own Spirit, and converted unto God. From this time, which was in the Year 1624. he set himself especially on the Work of Daily Meditation, which he attended every Evening before Supper; Meditating on, *The Evil of Sin*, *The Terror of Gods Wrath*, *The Day of Death and Judgement*, *The Beauty of the Lord Jesus Christ*, and *The Deceitfulness of his own Heart*, until he found the Transforming Influence of those Things upon his own Soul; a Course which afterwards, he would mightily commend unto others that consulted him; and he rested not until coming to see, that in the Lord Jesus Christ alone, there was laid up the full Supply of all Spiritual Wants, he found the Grace of God enabling him to accept of that precious Lord, and rejoice in that Wisdom, and Righte-

ousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption, which He is made unto us: Whence afterwards, drawing up a Catalogue of the Divine Favours unto him, he had therein these Passages among the rest, which are from thence now transcribed.

*The Lord is the God that sent, I think, the best Ministers in the World to call me; Dr. Preston and Mr. Goodwin. The Words of the first, at the first Sermon he made, when he came into the College, as Master of it; and divers that he preached at that time, did open my Heart, and convince me of my Unbelief, and my total Emptiness of all, and Enmity against all Good. And the Lord made me honour him highly, and love him dearly, though many Godly Men spake against him. And he is the God that in these Ordinances convinced me of my Guilt and Filth of Sin, especially self seeking, and Love of Honour of Men in all I did, and humbled me under both, so as to make me set a higher price upon Christ, and Grace, and loath my self the more, and so I was eased of a World of Discouragement. He also showed me the Worth of Christ, and made my Soul satisfied with him, and cleave to him, because God had made him Righteousness; and hence also Revealed his Free Justification, and gave me Support and Rest upon and in his Promises made to them that Receive him as Lord and King; which I found my Heart long awaiting to. And this was the Ground; or rather Occasion of many horrid Temptations of Atheism, Judaism, Kemism, Popery, Despair, as having sinned the Unpardonable Sin; yet the Lord, at last, made me yield up my self to his Condemning Will, as good; which gave me great Peace and Quietness of Heart, through the Blood and Pity of Christ. I have met with all Kinds of Temptations, but after my Conversion. I was never tempted to Arminianism, my own Experience so sensibly confuting the Freedom of Will.*

§ 4. One Dr. *Wilson*, having a purpose, with a most Noble and Pious Charity, to maintain a Lecture, the Ministers of Essex, in one of their Monthly Fasts, propounded unto Mr. *Shepard*, the Service of this Lecture to be attended in the Great Town of *Coggeshal*. But the People of *Earls Coln*, on that very Day, when the Ministers were together in Talking at Prayer, for the Direction of Heaven in this Matter, so affectionately addressed them, for the Benefit of this Lecture, that it was granted unto them, for the Three Years ensuing. Mr. *Shepard*, having proceeded Master of Arts at *Cambridge*, accepted now an Invitation to *Earls Coln*; and at the End of Three Years the Inhabitants were so loath to let him go, that they gathered among themselves a convenient Salary to support him still amongst them: Though his Lecture were gone. At *Earls Coln* then he tarried, and prevailed for the Lecture to be settled the next Three Years in *Toucester*, the Place of his Nativity; and for Mr. *Stone* to be employed in the Labour of it; which was to him an Extreme Satisfaction.

§ 5. Altho' Mr. *Shepard* were but a young Man, yet there was that Majesty and Energy in



his Preaching, and that *Holiness* in his Life, which was not ordinary. And God made him a rich Blessing, not only to *Coln*, but unto all the Towns round about; wherein there were many converted unto God, and sundry were so affected unto this Instrument of their Conversion, that they afterwards went a thousand Leagues to enjoy his Ministry. But when *Dr. Laud* becomes Bishop of *London*, *Mr. Shepard* must no longer be Preacher at *Coln*: He was quickly silenced, for none but that Fault, which was then known by the Name of *Puritanism*: And being silenced, he withdrew to the kind Family of the *Harlackindens*, where applying himself more exactly to the Study of the *Ceremonies* in the Worship of God then imposed, the more he studied them, the less he liked them. Among other things that signalized him, after his Acquaintance with *Mr. Harlackinden*, I find one memorable passage reported by *Mr. Woodcock*, with sufficient Evidence, in *Mr. Baxter's* Book about, *The Worlds of Spirits*. In the Chamber of a Tomb house, where two of *Mr. Harlackinden's* Men did use to lie, there was always, at Two a Clock in the Morning, the Sound of a Great Bell tolling. *Mr. Harlackinden* would once lie there, between his two Servants, to satisfy himself about it. At the usual time came the usual Sound, which threw the Gentleman into no little Consternation. But *Mr. Shepard*, with some Christians, having spent a Night in Prayer at this place, the Noise never gave any disturbance after.

Once and again after this, finding the Resolution of the Bishop to ruin him, if he did not leave the Country, he seasonably received Letters of *Mr. Ezekiel Rogers*, Minister of *Rowly*, in *Torkshire*, encouraging him to visit those parts, and accept Employment in the House of *Sir Richard Daryl*, of *Buttercrambe*, in that County. Driven to follow this Counsel, his Journey proved as troublesome in all the *Winter-Circumstances* of it, as a Traveller could have wished for; and after he had swam for his Life, by missing his way over some overflown Bridges, he made it late on *Saturday-night*, before he came to *Tork*; but there having refreshed himself, he went on to *Buttercrambe* that Night, which was about seven Miles further, where wet, and cold, and late, he that Night arrived.

§ 6. It added unto his Discouragements, when on the first Night of his Arrival, he found gross Profanities prevailing both in the Family, and in the Neighbourhood; but God quickly made him instrumental to a blessed Change in both. The profane Persons thereabouts were soon touched with the Efficacy of his Ministry, and his Conference; and Prayer with Fasting, as well as other Exercises of Devotion, succeeded in the room of their former Wildnesses. Both *Sir Richard*, and all his Sons, as well as many others there, had cause to bless God, that ever they saw the Face of this Holy Man: And as a Testimony of their Affection for him, they encouraged his Marriage with the *Knight's* near

Kinswoman, who upon this Account also enlarged her Portion, about the Year 1632. But *Bishop Neal* here, would not allow him any Liberty for his Ministry, without a *Subscription*, which his better informed Conscience could not make; and this occasioned his Removal upon a Call, unto a Town of *Northumberland*, call'd *Heddon*; where his Labours were prospered unto the Souls of many People. One of the Houses which he then hired, was haunted with a Devil, as was commonly conceived upon the departure of a noted Witch, who had been the former Inhabitant; and the House was troubled with strange Noises, till the earnest Prayers of this Man of God procured a Deliverance from so extraordinary a Trouble. But thither also the Zeal of the Bishop reached him, and forbade his preaching there any more; no, nor durst the more Ingenious *Dr. Morton*, the Bishop of *Durham*, afford him any Countenance or Connivance, inasmuch as the Primate of *England* had look'd with so hard an Eye upon him.

§ 7. While he was thus deny'd the Liberty of preaching the Truths of the Gospel, as much as in the remotest Corners of the Land, the Removal of *Mr. Cotton*, *Mr. Hooker*, *Mr. Stone*, and *Mr. Weld* into *New-England*, had awaken'd many pious People, all *England* over, to think of the like Removal; and several of his Friends already gat into *New-England*, as well as others, that were now going thither, invited him to accompany them in the Condition of that Plantation. Wherefore he consider'd with himself, that he could not propose to himself the peaceable Exercise of his Ministry in any part of *England*; that his most intimate Friends had many ways express'd their Desires of his going with them into another Country; that many eminent Ministers, and excellent Christians, had already transplanted themselves; that he could not with a safe Conscience comply with the Ceremonies, and Mixt Communion at home; that it was his Duty to seek the Enjoyment of Divine Ordinances in a further measure, than was there attainable; and that it would be a sad thing for him, in Case of Mortality, to leave his Wife and Son, in the midst of the Northern Barbarities; which Considerations now dispos'd him for *New-England*. So having preach'd his Rarewel Sermon at *Newcastle*, he came from thence in a Disguise to *Spitch*, and from thence to *Earls-Cold*: Longing to be in a Country, where he might not lose any more precious time, thro' the Inconveniences of Unsettlement.

§ 8. *Mr. Shepard*, and *Mr. Norton* coming now together unto *Tarmouth*, to take Shipping for *New-England*, they were much way-laid by Pursevaunts, employ'd for the Trepanning and Entrapping of them; and these Pursevaunts had proceeded so far, as by a Sum of Money to obtain a Promise from a Boy, belonging to the House, where they scented *Mr. Shepard's* Quarters, that he would open the Door for them, to take him at a certain Hour of the Night. But behold the watchful Providence of God, over his faithful Servants! The gracious and serious

Words



Words of Mr. Shepard, in the Hearing of this unlucky Boy, struck him with Horror to think, that he should be so wicked, as to betray such an Holy Man. Whereupon the convinced Boy, did with Tears discover the whole Plot, unto his Godly Mither, who forthwith convey'd Mr. Shepard, out of the way, and confounded the Setters that would have catch'd him.

§ 9. It was the latter end of the Year 1634, when Sailing was now dangerous, that Mr. Shepard shipped himself, in a Ship of about Four hundred Tun, commanded by a very able Seaman, but under a perpetual Entail and Series of Disasters, after some Injustice had been used about her. They set Sail from Harwich, upon the Edge of the Winter; but after several Deliverances from several Distresses, within a few Hours of their first setting out, the Winds drove them again back into Tarmouth Road; where there arose one of the most fearful Storms that ever was known. They thought they had lost all their Anchors, and with their Anchors all their Hopes; and tho' Thousands from Tarmouth Walls did pity them, yet none could relieve them: However, the Companions of an eminent Officer, then amongst the Spectators, were a little distinguishing, when he scoffingly said: As for a poor Collier there in the Road, he pitied him very much; but as for the Puritans in the other Ship, he was not concern'd, their Faith would save them. In this Extremity, Mr. Shepard, with all the Mariners in one part of the Ship, and Mr. Norton, with Two hundred Passengers in the other, poured out their most fervent Prayers unto Almighty God; whereupon the Wind immediately so abated, that the Ship stay'd; and they found, tho' the upper part of the Vessel all broken, yet their last Anchor unbroken, and themselves deliver'd from so great a Death.

§ 10. The next Day, which was the Lord's Day, he went ashore to Tarmouth, where one of his first Works, was to bury his First-born Son; tho' he durst not himself be present at the Burial, because his Danger from the horrid Man-catchers ashore, had less of Mercy, and more of Horror in it, than what he escap'd from the merciless and horrible Waves of the Sea. Mr. Bridge of Norwich, now kindly invited him thither; whither, when he came, the worthy Madam Corbet freely offered him a great House of hers, then standing empty at Eastwick; and there he spent all the Winter, in the Company, and with the Assistance of Mr. Harlackinden, a Friend that loved him at all times. In the Spring he went up to London; where by a Removal from the Lodgings, which he took at his first Arrival there, he again very narrowly escap'd thole, to whom such a Shepherd was an Abomination.

The Perils wherein he was continually, from his own Country-men, compell'd him once more to encounter the Perils of Sea; so that in July following, he sail'd from Gravesend, in a Bottom too decay'd and feeble indeed, for such a Voyage; but yet well accommodated with the

Society of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Jones, and other Christians, which more significantly made good the Name of the Ship, The Defence. In their first Storm, the Vessel sprang a Leak, which let in the Water faster, than both Pumps were able to turn it out; a Leak eighteen Inches long, and an Inch wide: But it was, tho' with much difficulty found and stop'd, just as they were upon diverting into Ireland for their Safety. Being thus again delivered, they got into New-England, and on Oct. 3. they were let ashore at Boston; from whence, within a Day or two, his Friends at Cambridge gladly fetch'd him.

§ 11. Mr. Hooker, with his Congregation at Cambridge, now removing to Harford, upon Connecticut River, many comfortable Dwellings, and considerable Demesnes, were hereby somewhat prepared for Sale to the good People, which Mr. Shepard brought over with him, who were loth to lose any more of their short Lives, by more tedious Removals. Accordingly, taking up their Station at Cambridge, Mr. Shepard, with several of his good People, did on the first of the ensuing February, in a vast Assembly, wherein were present the Magistrates of the Colony, with the Ministers and Messengers of the Neighbouring Churches, keep a Day of Prayer, in the Close of which Day, they made a Confession of their Faith, with a Declaration of what Regenerating Impressions the Grace of God had made upon them; and then they entred into their Covenant, whereby they became a Church, to which Mr. Cotton, in the Name of the rest, gave the Right Hand of Fellowship. However, the Ordination of Mr. Shepard, unto the Pastoral Charge of this Church, was deferred, until another Day, wherein there was more time to go thro' the other Solemnities, proper to such a great Occasion.

§ 12. Within a Year after the gathering of the Church at Cambridge, and the Ordaining of Mr. Shepard in that Church, the Country was miserably distracted by a Storm of Antinomian and Familistical Opinions then raised. The Mother Opinion of all the rest was, That a Christian should not fetch any Evidence of his good State before God, from the sight of any inherent Qualification in him; or from any Conditional Promise made unto such a Qualification. From the Womb of this fruitful Opinion, and from the Countenance hereby given to immediate and unwarranted Revelations, 'tis not easie to relate, how many Monsters, worse than African, arose in these Regions of America: But a Synod assembled at Cambridge, whereof Mr. Shepard was no small part, most happily crush'd them all. The Vigilancy of Mr. Shepard was blessed, not only for the Preservation of his own Congregation from the Rot of these Opinions, but also for the Deliverance of all the Flocks, which our Lord had in the Wilderness. And it was with a respect unto this Vigilancy, and the Enlightning and Powerful Ministry of Mr. Shepard, that when the Foundation of a College was to be laid, Cambridge rather than any other place, was pitch'd upon to be the Seat of that happy



Seminary : Out of which there proceeded many notable Preachers, who were made *such*, & professed by their fitting under Mr. *Shepard's* Ministry.

§ 13. It has been a Question of some Curiosity, what might be the Distemper of *Hesekiah*, whereof he recovered so remarkably, and miraculously? Now when I consider the *Chattering*, whereto the sick Prince was brought by his Discase, and the *Cataplasme* which he used of things diffusive and emollient, I incline, with *Bartholinus*, to think, that his Distemper might be a *Malignant Quinsie*, whereof usually the Sick are either kill'd, or (like *Hesekiah*) cur'd on the Third Day. Such a Distemper arrested our holy *Shepard*, when in the Course of Nature, and in the Wilt of good Men, he might have yet lived with us, for much more than fifteen Years; yea, twice fifteen more, would scarce have carried him further than the Common Age of Man. Returning home from a Council at *Roxbury*, he fell into a *Quinsie*, with a Symptomatick Fever, which suddenly stop'd a *Silver Trumpet*, from whence the People of God had often heard the joyful Sound. Among other Passages uttered by him, when he lay a dying, he address'd those that were about him, with these words : *Oh love the Lord Jesus very dearly; that little part that I have in him, is no small Comfort to me now.* He died, August 25, 1649. when he was Forty Three Years, and Nine Months old; and left behind him of Three Wives, who he successively married, Three Sons, who have since been the Shepherds of three several Churches in this Country.

§ 14. 'Tis a good Saying, *Non Annis sed Factis vivunt mortales*. Accordingly, we will overagain measure the short Life of Mr. *Shepard*, by the great Work which he did in it : In all of which, the Motto of *Weber* was the Design of our *Shepard*, *Autori Vite Vivendum Deo*.

Now besides the other frequent and constant Labours of his Ministry, which left their Impressions on the Souls of Multitude, where ever he came, the *Presb* has preferred some of his Labours for the surviving Generation : And the published Composites of this Laborious Person, are of two sorts; namely, the more Doctrinal, and the more *Practical*; tho' indeed he was of such a Spirit, as always to gain the Point, of mixing both in the same Discourses.

§ 15. Among his Composites of the more Doctrinal sort, the *Bell* seems to be born by his Elaborate and Judicious Treatise, entituled, *Theses Sabbatica*; wherein he hath handled the Morality of the Sabbath, with a degree of Reason, Reading, and Religion, which is truly extraordinary. It was his Observation, If any State would reduce the People under it, unto all sort of Superstition and Impiety, let them erect a Dancing Sabbath; and if the God of this World would have all Professors enjoy a total Immunity from the Law of God, and all manner of Licentiousness allow'd them without Check of Conscience, let him then make an Every-day Sabbath.

And it was an extreme Grief unto his devout Soul, to see the extreme Ignorance and Profaneness, wherewith many in the English Nation decried the Sacred Observation of the Lord's Day, as a Novelty no older than *Perkins*, and as the Stratagem of a few old Disciplinary Puritans. Wherefore as the most Comprehensive Service to be done for the true Power of Godliness, which he saw would rise and fall with the Sabbath, he did in these learned *Theses* maintain the Morality, and advise the Sanctification of that Sacred Rest. Having thus manifested his Concern for the Fourth Commandment, he manifested a Concern for the Second also; by a Discourse, wherein besides a more full opening of sundry Particulars concerning Liturgies, the Power of the Keys, the Matter of the Visible Church, there is more largely handled the Controversie concerning the Catholick Visible Church, tending to clear up the Old Way of Christ, in the Churches of New-England. That which inspired him, with Mr. *John Allin* of *Dedham*, to write this Discourse, was especially a two-fold Consideration, express'd among other things, in the Fair Poreb of this Book, about the Temple of God. One thing that moved him, was his Desire of Reformation; whereof he says, *We freely confess, that we think the Reformation of the Church doth not only consist in purging out corrupt Worship, and setting up the true, but also in purging the Churches from such Profaneness and Sinfulness, as is scandalous to the Gospel, and makes the Lord weary of his own Ordinances.*

About the way of attaining which Reformation, he adds, 'Tis true; where there is no Church-Relation, but a People are ready to begin a new Constituting of Churches, Reformation is to be sought in the first Constitution : This is our Case——But where corrupted Churches (such as we conceive the Congregation of England generally to be) are to be Reformed; there we conceive, that such Congregations should be call'd by able Ministers unto Repentance for former Evils, and confessing and bewailing their Sins, renew a Solemn Covenant with God, to reform themselves, and to submit unto the Discipline of Christ. By which means such as refuse so to do, exclude themselves, and others, by the Severity of Discipline should be purged out, if falling into Sin they remain impenitent in the same.

Another thing that moved him, was his Regard for New-England; whereof his Words there must never be forgotten; and the Reason of my transcribing them, is, because the Church History of my Country, is briefly comprised in them, faith he, 'The Lord knows how many Longings and Pantings of Heart, have been in many after the Lord Jesus, to see his Goings in the Sanctuary, as the one thing their Souls desired and requested of him, and that they might dwell in his House for ever; the Fruit of which Prayers, and Desires, this Liberty of New-England, hath been taken to be, and thankfully received of God. Yea, how many serious Consultations with one another, and with



with the faithful Ministers, and other eminent Servants of Christ, have been taken about this Work, is not unknown to some; and surely all the Persons, whose Hearts the Lord stirred up in this Business, were not *rusty, weak-spirited, inconsiderate* of what they left behind, or of what it was to go into a Wilderness. But if we were able to recount the singular Workings of Divine Providence, for the bringing on this Work, to what it is come unto, it would stop the Mouths of all; whatever many may say or think, we believe *After-times will admire and adore the Lord herein, when all his Holy Ends, and the Ways he has used to bring them about, shall appear*. Look from one end of the Heaven unto another, Whether the Lord hath allayed to do such a Work as this, in any Nation! To carry out a People of his own, from so flourishing a State, to a Wilderness so far distant, for such Ends, and for such a Work; yea, and in few Years hath done for them, as he hath here done, for his poor despised People. When we look back and consider, what a strange Poise of Spirit, he hath laid upon many of our Hearts, we cannot but wonder at our selves, that to many, and some so weak and tender, with such Cheerfulness and constant Resolutions, against so many Persuasions of Friends, and Discouragements from the ill Report of this Country, the Straits, Wants, and Trials of God's People in it, yet should leave our Accommodations, and Comforts, forsake our dearest Relations, Parents, Brethren, Sisters, Christian Friends and Acquaintances; over-look all the Dangers and Difficulties of the *wast Seas*, the Thoughts whereof was a Terror to many; and all this, to go into a Wilderness, where we could foresee nothing but Care and Temptations, only in hopes of enjoying Christ in his Ordinance, in the Fellowship of his People. Was this from a stupid Sencelessness, or desperate Carelessness, what became of us, or ours? Or want of Natural Affections to our dear Country, or nearest Relations? No surely, with what Bowels of Compassions to our dear Country; with what Heart-breaking Affections to our dear Relations, and Christian Friends, many of us at least, came away, the Lord is Witness. What shall we say of the singular Providence of God, bringing so many Ship-loads of his People thro' so many Dangers, as upon Eagles Wings, with so much Safety from Year to Year? The Fatherly Care of our God, in Feeding and Clothing so many in a Wilderness, giving such Healthfulness, and great Increase of Posterity? What shall we say of the Work it self of the Kingdom of Christ? And the Form of a Commonwealth erected in a Wilderness, and in so few Years brought to that State, that scarce the like can be seen in any of our English Colonies. In the richest places of this America, after many more Years standing? That the Lord hath carried the Spirits of so many of his People, through all their toilsome Labours, Wants, Difficulties, Losses, with such a Mea-

sure of Cheerfulness and Contentment! But above all, we must acknowledge the singular Pity and Mercies of our God, that hath done all this, and much more, for a People to unworthy, so sinful, that by Murmuring of many, Unfaithfulness in Tributes, Oppressions, and other Evils, which are found among us, have to dishonoured his Majesty, exposed his Work here to much Scandal and Oblivion, for which we have cause for ever to be afflicted, that the Lord should yet own us; and rather correct us in Mercy, than cast us off in Displeasure, and scatter us in this Wilderness, which gives us cause to say, *Who is a God like our God, that pardons Iniquities, and passes by the Transgressions of the Remnant of his Heritage, even because he delighteth in Mercy!*

Having almost written the Life of Mr. Shepard; yea, and of many other his fellow Exiles, in transcribing this Passage, I may now go on to add, That there has been directed now unto the whole English World, a most excellent Letter of Mr. Shepard, about, *The Church-Membership of Children, and their Right to Baptism*. This Letter, like that of the glorious Martyr Philpot, written at the like Time, for the like End, recited in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, was written by him, not three Months before his going to that Lord, whose Charge had been, *For little Children to be considered as belonging to the Kingdom of Heaven*: And it was written to one that was then wavering about the Point of *Infant-Baptism*, but hereby recovered and established. The Son of this Reverend Person published this Letter, with hopes, that it might have a better Effect, than the famous Letter of *Elijah* had upon *Jehoram*, which many think written before his Translation, and concealed until a fit Season, afterwards, appeared, for the presenting of it. But I shall conclude the Catalogue of his Doctrinal Tracts, with the mention of another Letter of his, Printed at London in the Year 1645, under the Title of, *New-England's Lamentation, for Old England's Errors*.

§ 16. But Compositions of a more Practical sort, were those to the writing whereof he had a more lively Disposition of Mind. And among these, to pass by the Sermon of his, Printed under the Title of, *Wine for Gospel Wantons, or Cautions against Spiritual Drunkenness*. In which Sermon, about as long as fifty Years ago, he uttered his Complaint of this Tenour, *Do not we see great Unfidelity in the Covenant of God, walking with God as Peradventurers, and Hangerings after the Whoredoms of the World, at this Day? And Divisions and Distractions? Nothing done without Division and Contention? Certainly something is amiss? And to pass by a Treatise of his, Printed under the Title of, *Subjection to Christ, in all his Ordinances and Appointments, the best Means to preserve our Liberty*. To which Treatise is annexed another, *Concerning Ineffectual Hearing of the Word*. There are especially three of his Books, which have been more*



considered. The first and least of those Books, is called, *The Sincere Convert*: Which the Author would commonly call, *His Ragged Child*: And once, even after its *Fourth Edition*, wrote unto Mr. Giles Firmin, thus concerning it: *That which is call'd, The Sincere Convert: I have not the Book: I once saw it. It was a Collection of such Notes in a dark Town in England, which one procuring of me, published them without my Will, or my Privy. I scarce know what it contains, nor do I like to see it; considering the many scandalous Typographical, most absurd; and the Confession of him that published it, That it comes out much altered from what was first written.* The many Injudicious Readers, which that useful Book has found, among devout and serious People, and the woful Horrors which have thereby been raised in many Godly Souls, oblige me to add the Censure of Mr. Giles Firmin, whose Words in his *Real Christian* are: 'In short, as to that Book, for the general part of it, the Book is very solid, quick, and searching, it cuts very sharply. It is not a Book for an unbound Heart to delight in: I mean, in those Places, where he agrees, both with the Scriptures, and with other able Divines, and of these makes use; but for the other passages which do not agree with either (as there are some things in it) I will let them go, as being none of Mr. Shepard's, and not trouble my self with 'em; and with no Christian that is tender and sincere, to trouble himself with them. This I put in, because I hear that Book hath caus'd much Trouble in Gracious Christians: Had it been to Christians in Name only, un-*sound Believers*, Hypocrites, I should not have troubled my self about it, for I know it is not for their Tooth. But this Book was followed with a second and larger, called, *The Sound Believer*; which in a more distinct, correct, and most judicious Treatise of Evangelical Conversion, discovers the Work of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, in reconciling a Sinner unto God. And, as in the Preface to that Book, he gives that Reason for his writing it, 'I considered my weak Body, and my short Time of sojourning here, and that I shall not speak long to Children, Friends or God's precious People; I am sure not to many in England, to whom I owe almost my whole self, and whom I shall see in this World no more; I have been elsewhere willing to take the Season, that I might leave some part of God's precious Truth on Record, that it might speak (Oh! that it might be to the Heart) among whom I cannot, and when I shall not be: So the next Book of his occurring to our Notice, is a *Posthumous* one. And that is a Volume in Folio, opening and applying the Parable of the Ten Virgins, and handling the Dangers incident unto the most Flourishing Churches or Christians, which Book is from the Author's Notes, a Transcript of Sermons preached at his Lecture, from June 1696. to May 1690. Whereof the Venerable Names of Greenhill, Calamy, Jackson, Als, Taylor, have subscribed

the Testimony, *That though a Vein of serious, solid and hearty Piety ran through all this Author's Works, yet he hath reserved the best Wine till the last. These were the Works of that Man, whose Death in the Lord has now carried him to a Rest from his his Labours.*

§ 17. As he was a very Studious Person, and a very Lively Preacher; and one who therefore took great Pains in his Preparations, for his publick Labours, which Preparations he would usually finish on Saturday, by two a Clock in the Afternoon; with Respect whereunto he once used these Words, *God will curse that Man's Labours, that labours up and down in the World all the Week, and then upon Saturday in the Afternoon goes to his Study; whereas God knows, that Time were little enough to pray in and weep in, and get his Heart into a fit Frame for the Duties of the approaching Sabbath.* So the Character of his daily Conversation was *A Trembling Walk with God.* Now to take true Measures of his Conversation, one of the best Glasses that can be used, is the *Diary*, wherein he did himself keep the Remembrances of many Remarkables that passed, betwixt his God and himself; who were indeed *A sufficient Theatre to one another.* It would give some Inequality to this Part of our Church History, if all the Holy Memoirs left in the Private Writings of this Walker with God, should here be Transcribed: But I will single out from thence a few Passages, which might be more agreeably and profitably exposted unto the World.

§ 18. We will begin with what his Eminent Successor Mr. Mitchell entred in his own *Diary*, as Reported by Mr. Shepard unto himself, which runs in these Latin Terms, *Olim Cantabrigia, Ego Horrore & Tenebris oppletus, An ad Mensam Domini accederem, maxime Dubitavi, Tandem autem accessi utique. Cum vero Panis & Vinum jam essent Communicanda, mihi Exeundem putavi; tantâ confusione ipsi Oppressus: Sed Deus me ibi retinuit, ac tandem huc me adegit, ut, Licet, ego nihil possem in occipiendo Christo, ad illum tamen respicerem, ut Ille me prehenderet & ad me veniret. Stاتم, tam perspicue, sensi Christum illuculentem Animo, quam solem Orientem sentire possum. Hoc tantopere me exivit, & de Vita Fidei hac usq; Eruduit, ut non possum non magni pendere.* Mr. Mitchell had this of Mr. Shepard, Aug. 13. 1696.

§ 19. How experimentally acquainted he himself was with the *Practice and Import of the Doctrine* wherein he chiefly insisted, in his preaching unto others, will be illustrated from this most Edifying Record in his *Diary*.

'April 10. I had many Thoughts which came in, to press me to give up my self to Christ Jesus, which was the Dearest Thing I had: And I saw, that if when I gave my self to Christ, he would give himself to me again, it would be a *Wonderful Change*; to have the Bottomless Fountain of all Good,

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thus communicated unto me! Thus, *Two* or *Three* Days, I was exercised about this; and at last, (which was the Day wherein I fell sick on the Sabbath) in my Study I was put to a Double Question; *First*, Whether Christ would take me, if I gave my self to him? *Then*, Whether I might take him again upon it? And so I resolved to seek an Answer to both, from God in *Meditation*. So on the *Saturday*, April 11. I gave my self to the *Lord Jesus*, thus. *First*, I acknowledged all I was, or had, was *his own*; as *David* spake of their Offerings, I acknowledged him the *Owner* of all. *Secondly*, I resigned not only my *Goods* and *Estate*, but my *Child*, *Wife*, *Church* and *Self* unto the *Lord*; out of *Love*, as being the best and dearest things, which I have. *Thirdly*, I prized it as the *Greatest Mercy*, if the *Lord* will take them; and so I desired the *Lord* to do it. *Fourthly*, I desired him to take all for a *Threefold end*; to do with me what he would; to love me; to honour himself by me, and all mine. *Fifthly*, Because there is a secret *Redemption*, that the *Lord* shall do all for the *Soul* that giveth up it self to the *Lord*; but 'tis that God may please my *Will* and *Love* me; and if he doth not, then the *Heart* dieth; hence I gave up my *Will* also, unto the *Lord's* Hands, to do with it what he please. *Sixthly*, My many *Whorish* Lusts I also resigned, but that he would take them all away. And *Seventhly*, That he would keep me also from all *Sin* and *Evil*. Thus, I gave my self unto the *Lord*; but then I questioned, *Will the Lord take me?* In answer whereto, *First*, I saw that the *Lord* desired and commanded me to Give me my *Heart*. *Secondly*, I saw, that this was pleasing to him, and the contrary displeasing. *Thirdly*, I saw, that it was fit for him to take me, and to do what he will with me. But then I questioned, *Will the Lord receive, and do me good everlastingly?* because I gave up my Friends and the whole *Church* to the *Lord* also, as I did my self; and *will the Lord take all them?* For answer, Here I saw the Great Privilege of it, and the *Wisdom* of God in committing some Men's Souls to the Care of *One Godly Man* of a *Publick Spirit*; because he, like *Moses*, commands them, gives them, returns them all to the *Lord* again; and so a *World* of Good is communicated for his Sake. The Third Question was, *But might I take the Lord?* And my Answer was, If the *Lord* did apprehend and take me to himself, then I might take him, for I had no other to lay hold on.

§ 20. Of what *Thoughts* and what *Frames*, he sometimes had in his Preparations, for the *Lord's* Table, we will recite but one Expressive Meditation.

July 10. 1641. On the Evening of this Day, before the *Sacrament*, I saw it my Duty to sequester my self from all other things,

for the *Lord* the next Day — And now I saw my *Blessedness* did not lie in *Receiving* of *Good* and *Comfort* from God, but in *holding forth* the *Glory* of God, and his *Virtues*. For 'tis, I saw, an Amazing Glorious Object, To see God in the *Creature*. I God speak, God act, the Deity not being the *Creature*, and turned into it; but filling of it, shining through it; to be covered with God as with a Cloud, or as a *Glass-Lantern* to have his Beams penetrate through it. *Nothing is good but God, and I am no further good than as I hold forth God*. The Devil overcame *Eve* to damn her self, by telling her, that she should be like God; Oh! That is a Glorious Thing! And should not I be Holy, and be like him? Moreover, I found my Heart drawn more sweetly to close with God, thus as my End, and to place my Happiness therein. Also, I saw it was my *Misery*, to hold forth *Sin* and *Satan* and *Self* in my Course. And I saw one of these two things must be done. Now because my Soul wanted *Pleasure*, I purposed then to hold forth God, and did hope it should be my *Pleasure* so to do, as it would be my Pain to do otherwise.

§ 21. How watchful he was in the Discharge of his Ministry, let this his Meditation intimate.

August 15. I saw, on the Sabbath, Four *Evils* which attend me in my Ministry. *First*, Either the Devil treads me down by *Discomposure* and *Shame*; from the Sense of the *Means* of what I have provided in private Meditations, and unto this I saw also an Answer, to wit, that every thing sanctified to do Good, its *Glory* is not to be seen in it self, but in the *Lord's* sanctifying of it: Or, from an Apprehension of the Unfavourableness of *Peoples Spirits*, or their Unreadiness to hear in *Hot* or *Cold* Times. *Secondly*, or *Carelessness* possesses me; arising, because I have done well, and been engaged, and have been respected formerly, hence it is no such matter, though I be not always alike; Besides, I have a Natural *Dulness* and *Cloynedness* of Spirit, which does naturally prevail. *Thirdly*, *Infirmities* and *Weakness*, as want of *Light*, want of *Life*, want of a Spirit of *Power* to Deliver what I am affected with for Christ; and hence I saw many Souls not set forward nor God felt in my Ministry. *Fourthly*, Want of *Success*, when I have done my best. I saw these, and that I was to be humbled for these. I saw also many other Sins, and how the *Lord* might be angry. And this Day, in musing thus, I saw, that when I saw God angry, I thought to pacify him by abstaining from all Sin, for the time to come. But then I remembered, *First*, that my *Righteousness* could not satisfy, and that this was Resting on my own *Righteousness*. *Secondly*, I saw I could not do it. *Thirdly*, I saw *Righteousness* ready made, and already finished,



shed, fit only for that purpose. And I saw that God's afflicting me for Sin, was not that I should go and satisfy by reforming, but only be humbled for, and separated from Sin, being reconciled and made *Righteous by Faith in Christ*, which I saw a little of that Night. This Day also I found, my Heart untoward, sad and heavy, by musing on the many *Evils to come*; but I saw, if I carried four things in my Mind always, I should be comforted. *First*, That in my self, I am a dying condemned Wretch, but by Christ reconciled and alive. *Secondly*, In my self and in all Creatures finding *Insufficiency*, and no Rest but God All-sufficient, and enough to me. *Thirdly*, Feeble and unable to do any thing my self; but in Christ able to do all things. *Fourthly*, Although I enjoyed all these but in part, in this World, yet I should have them all perfectly shortly in Heaven; where God will show himself fully reconciled, sufficient and efficient, and abolish all Sin, and live in me perfectly.

§ 22. How sensible he was of the *Least Failings* in himself, and how desirous to mend those Failings, may be gathered from the ensuing Brief Meditations.

' Decemb. 1. A small thing troubled me. Hence I saw that though the Lord had made me that Night attain that part of *Humiliation*, that I deserved nothing but Misery, yet I fell short in this other part; namely, to *submit* unto God in any Crossing Providence, or Commandment; but I had a Spirit soon touched and provoked. I saw also, that the Lord let Sin and Satan prevail there, that I might see my Sin and be more humbled by it, and so get Strength against it.

Again,

' Mar. 19. I said, as *Pride* was my Sin, so *Shame* should be my Punishment. And many Fears I had of *El's* Punishment, for not *reproving Sin*, when I saw it, and that sharply; and here I considered, that the Lord may, and doth sometimes make one Good Man a Terror and dreadful Example of Outward Miseries, that all others may fear that be Godly, lest his Commands should be slighted, as he did *Eli*.

Once more.

' Octob. 10. When I saw the *Gifts* and Honour attending them in another, I began to affect such an *Excellency*, and I saw hereby that usually in my Ministry, I did affect an *Excellency*, and hence for upon the Work: Whereas the Lord hereupon humbled me for this, by letting me see this was, A *Diabolical Pride*; and so the Lord made me thankful for *seeing* it, and put me in Mind to watch against it.

§ 23. Of how *Humble* and of how *Publick* a Spirit he was, we will inform our selves, especially from Two Meditations, which he wrote on such Days of Prayer, as he was used unto.

### The First was this.

' Nov. 3. On a Fast-Day at Night, in Preparation for the Duty, the Lord made me sensible of these Sins in the Churches. 1. Ignorance of themselves; because of secret Evils. 2. Of God; because most Men were full of Dark and Doubtful Consciences. 3. Not caring for Christ, dearly, only. 4. Neglect of Duties; because of our Place of Security. 5. Standing against all Means, because we grow not better. 6. *Earblinefs*; because we long not to be with Christ. And I saw Sin, as my Greatest Evil, because I saw my self was not better than God. I was vile, but he was Good only, whom my Sin did cross, and I saw what cause I had to loath my self, and not to seek Honour unto my self. Will any desire his *Dunghill* to be commended? Will he grieve, if it be not? If he judge so indeed of it. So my Heart began to fall off from it; and the Lord also gave me some Glimpse of my self, and a good Day and time it was to me.

On the End of the Fast, I first went unto God, I rested upon him as sufficient; Secondly, Waited on him as efficient; and said, Now, Lord, Do for thy Churches and Help in Mercy! In the Beginning of the Day, I began to consider, Whether all the Country did not fare the worse for my Sins? I saw it was so, and this was an humbling Thought to me; and I thought, if every one in particular, thought so and was humbled, it would do well. I consider also, That if Repentance turn away Judgments, then, if the Question be, Who they are that bring Judgments? The Answer would be, They that think their Sins so small as that God is not angry with them at all.

### The Second was this.

April 4. Preparing for a Fast.

' May not I be the Cause of the Church's Sorrows, which are Renewed upon us? For, What have the Sheep done?  
' I. My Heart has been long lying out from the Lord. The Lord first sent a Terrible Storm at Sea, to awaken me; and the Deliverance from it was so sweet, that I could not but think my Life after that, should be only Heavenly, as being pulled from an apparent Death to live a New Life. Then, immediately upon this my Child was taken away from me; my First-Born, which made me remember, how bitter it was to cross the Lord's Love.



Love. Thirdly, I set my Face to *New-England*, where considering the *Liberties* of God's House, I resolv'd and thought it fit to be wholly for the Lord, in all manner of *Holiness*, at Bed, at Board, every where. Fourthly Then the Lord took my Dear Wife from me, and this made me resolve to delight no more in *Creatures*, but in the Lord, and to seek him. Fifthly, The Lord then threatned *Blindness* to my Child; and this made God's Will *Afflicting* sweet to me, but much more *Commanding* and *Promising*: And then I could do his Will, and leave those things to himself. But Oh! How is my *Gold* become dim? And how little have I answered the Lord! Considering my *Ship Resolutions*. I have wanted Remembrance, Heart and Strength or Will to do any of these things. And therefore, I have not cause to blame the Lord; for he has perswaded my Heart to this; but my own Concupiscence and vile Nature, which Lord! that I might mourn for! That thou mayst *Restore Comforts* to me! *Apostasy* from God is grievous, tho' it be in a little Degree; to serve *Satan* without Promise! To forsake the Lord against Promise! What Evil have I found in the Lord? This brings more Disgrace upon the Lord, than if there had never been any coming to him.

II. The People committed to me: They are not pited to much nor *prayed* for, nor *visited*, as ought to have been; nor have I shewed so much Love unto them.

III. The Family, I have not Edified nor Instructed, nor taken all Occasions of Speech with them.

IV. The Gospel, I have preached, has not been seen in his Glory; nor Believed, nor Affecting.

V. Not seeking to Christ for Supply, so that all hath been *Dead Works*, and Fruit of *Pride*, walking daily without Christ, and without approving my self unto him. And hence, tho' I do his Work, I don't mind him in it. His Command, His Presence, not yet endeavour to grow somewhat every Day.

My not lamenting the *Falls* of Professors, and the Condition of the Country, who are not indeed the *Glory of God* in the World, nor the *Holy People*. Is it not hence, that many *Pillars* in the Church have fallen, as if the Lord would not trust such *precious Vessels* to my Care? And hath not the Sorrow lain upon me? And hence *Universal Mortality*? When *Ezekiel's* Heart was lifted up, then *Wrath* came not only on him, but on all the rest:

And I have now had a long *Sickness*, as if the Lord would delight no more in me to use me. Oh! My God, who shall be like thee in pardoning and subduing mine Iniquities.

Behold, Reader, the Language of an Holy Soul!

But I will now take my Leave of Mr. *Shepard's* Memory, with one Diffick, in the Funeral Elegy, which Mr. *Peter Bulkly* made on him: A Comprehensive.

## EPITAPH.

*Nominis, Officijq; fuit Concordia Dulcis;  
Officio Pastor Nominis Pastor erat.*

## CHAP. VI.

*Prudentius.* The LIFE of Mr. PETER PRUDDEN, and several other Divines, Famous in the Colony of *Neibhaven*.

THAT Greatest of *Peace-Makers*, the Son of God, has assured us, *Blessed are the Peace-Makers, for they shall be called the Children of God*. I am sure then, 'tis a *Blessed Child of God*, whose Name is now before us; (*Prudden* shall we call him? or, *Prudent*;) who besides his other Excellent Qualities, was noted for a Singular Faculty to sweeten, compose and qualify *Exasperated Spirits*, and stop or heal all Contentions. Whence 'twas that his Town of *Milford* enjoyed *Peace with Truth* all his Days, notwithstanding some Dispositions to Variance, which afterwards broke forth among them.

God had marvellously Blessed his Ministry in England, unto many about *Herefordshire*, and near *Wales*; from whence when he came

into *New-England*, there came therefore many considerable Persons with him.

At their Arrival in this Country, they were so mindful of their *Eusefulness* here, that they gathered Churches, before they had erected Houses, for the Churches to meet in. There were then Two Famous Churches gathered at *New-haven*; gathered in Two Days, one following upon 'other; Mr. *Davenport's* and Mr. *Prudden's*: And this with one singular Circumstances, That a mighty Barn was the Place, wherein the Duties of that Solemnity were attended. Our Glorious Lord Jesus Christ himself being Born in a Stable, and laid in one of those Moveable and Four-square Little Vessels wherein they brought Meat unto the Cattel, it was the more allowable, that a Church,



Church, which is the *Mystical Body* of that Lord, should thus be born in a *Barn*. And in this Translation, I beheld our Lord, *With his Fan in his Hand, purging his Floor, and gathering her Wheat into the Garner.*

That holy Man, Mr. Philip Henry, being reproached by his Persecutors, that his Meeting-place had been a *Barn*, pleasantly answered, *No new thing, to turn a Threshing-floor into a Temple.* So did our Christians at New-haven.

The next Year Mr. Prudden, with his Church, removed unto *Milford*, where he lived many Years an Example of Piety, Gravity, and boiling Zeal, against the growing Evils of the Times.

And tho' he had a numerous Family, yet such was his *Discretion*, that without much *Distraktion*, he provided comfortably for them, notwithstanding the difficult Circumstances, wherewith an *Infant-Plantation* was encumbered.

He continued an able and faithful Servant of the Churches, until about the *Fifty sixth* Year of his own Age, and the *Fifty sixth* of the present Age; when his Death was felt by the Co-

lony, as the Fall of a Pillar, which made the whole Fabrick to shake.

Like that of *Piccart*, now let our *Prudden*, lie under this

## E P I T A P H.

*Dogmate non tantum fuit Auditoribus Idem  
Exemplo in Vita; jam quoque morte præit.*

But our *Pen* having flown as far off as the Colony of *New-haven*, it may not return, without some Remarks and Memoirs, of Three other Worthy Divines, that were sometimes famous in that Colony. The Reader must excuse my Ignorance of the first Circumstances, if he find them to be *Born Men* in our History.

Mr. Blackman.

Mr. Pierjon.

Mr. Denton.

## CHAP. VII.

### The LIFE of Mr. ADAM BLACKMAN.

**A**Mong those *Believers* who first enjoyed the Name of *Christians*, there were several famous *Teachers*, whereof one (*Acts 13. 1.*) had the Name of *Niger*. And in the Primitive Churches of *New-England* also, there was among our famous *Teachers*, a good Man, who wore the same *Sir-name*, this was our Mr. *Blackman*, concerning whom, none but a *Romanist* would have used that Rule:

*Hic Niger est, hunc tu Romane, caveto.*

For he was highly esteemed in the *Protestant* Country, where he spent the latter Days of his Life.

He was a useful Preacher of the Gospel, first in *Leicestershire*, then in *Derbyshire*: But coming to *New-England*, from the Storm that began to look black upon him, he was attended with a defensible Company of the *Faithful*, who said unto him, *Entreat us not to leave you, or to return from following after you: For whither you go, we will go; and your God shall be our God.*

*New-England* having received this Holy Man, who notwithstanding his Name, was for his Holiness, *A Nazarite purer than Snow, whiter than Milk.* It was first at *Guilford*, and afterwards at *Siratsford*, that he employ'd his Talents: And if a famous Modern Author be known by

the Name of *Adamus Adamandus*, our *Adam Blackman*, was by the Affections of his People so likewise called.

It was his Opinion, that as for our *Bodies*, thus for our *Spirits* also, *Cibus simplex est Optimus*: And accordingly he studied plain Preaching, which was entertained by his People with a profitable Hearing. And as *Luther* would say, He is the ablest Preacher, *Qui pueriliter, Trivialiter, Populariter, simplicissime docet*: So our *Hooker*, for the sake of the sacred and solid Simplicity, in the Discourses of this worthy Man, would say, *If I might have my Choice, I would choose to live and die under Mr. Blackman's Ministry.*

There was a Great Person among the Reformers in *Germany*, who had almost the same Name with our *Blackman*; that was *Melancthon*, and indeed this good Person was a *Melancthon*, among the Reformers of *New-haven*; in this happier than he, that his Lot was cast among a pious People, who did not administer so frequent Occasions as the *Germans* did for the Complaint, *That Old Adam was too hard for his young Name-sake.*

For a Clove, I may apply to him the ingenious Epitaph of *Besa* upon *Melancthon*.

Cui



*Cui Niveus toto Regnabat pectore Candor ;  
Unum cui Caelum, cura laborque fuit :  
Num Rogitus, quâ sit dictus Ratione Me-  
lancthon ?  
Scilicet Euxinum, quâ Ratione vocant.*

[For this is a well known Sea, call'd *Euxine*, or *Harbours*, because there are no good Harbors in it.]

## CHAP. VIII.

## The LIFE of Mr. ABRAHAM PIERSON.

It is reported by *Pliny*, and perhaps 'tis but a *Plinysm*, that there is a Fifth called *Lucerna*, whose *Tongue* doth shine like a *Torch*, if it be a Fable, yet let the *Tongue* of a Minister be the *Moral* of that Fable: Now such an illuminating *Tongue*, was that of our *Pierſon*.

He was a *Yorkſhire* Man, and coming to *New-England*, he became a Member of the Church at *Boston*; but afterwards thus employed, towards the Year 1640. The Inhabitants of *Lyn*, ſtrained at home, looked out for a new Plantation, ſo going to *Long-Iſland*, they agreed both with the Lord *Starling's* Agent, and with the *Indian* Proprietors, for a Situation at the *West-end* of that Iſland: Where the *Dutch* gave them ſuch diſturbance, that they deſerted their Place for another at the *East-end* of it. Proceeding in their Plantation, by the Acceſſion of near an hundred Families, they called Mr. *Pierſon* to go thither with them; who with ſeven or eight more of their Company, regularly incorporated themſelves into a Church State before their going: the whole Company alſo entering at the ſame time, with the Advice of the Government of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, into a Civil Combination, for the maintaining Government among themſelves. Thus was there ſetled a Church at

*Southampton*, under the Paſtoral Charge of this worthy Man; where he did with a laudable Diligence undergo two of the three hard Labors, *Docentis* and *Regentis*, to make it become (what *Pardſiſe* was called), *An Iſland of the Innocent*.

It was afterward found neceſſary for this Church to be divided. Upon which occaſion Mr. *Pierſon* referring his Caſe to Council, his Removal was directed unto *Brainford*, over upon the Main, and Mr. *Fordham* came to ſerve, and to feed that part of the Flock, which was left at *Southampton*; but where-ever he came, he ſhone.

He left behind him the Character of a pious and prudent Man; and a true Child of *Abraham*, now ſafely lodged in *Sinur Abraham*.

## Epitaphium.

*Terris diſceſſit, ſuſpirans Gandia cæli,  
Pierſonum Patriam ſcandit ad Aſtra  
ſuam.*

## CHAP. IX.

## The LIFE of Mr. RICHARD DENTON.

THE Apoſtle deſcribing the *ſaſe Miniſters* of thoſe Primitive Times, he calls them, *Clouds without Water*, carried about of Winds. As for the true Miniſters of our Primitive Times, they were indeed carried about of Winds; tho' not the Winds of *Frange Doctrines*; yet the Winds of *Hard Sufferings*, did carry them as far as from *Europe* into *America*, the *Hurricane* of Perſecution, whereon doubtleſs the Prince of the Power of the Air had his Influence, drove the Heavenly Clouds, from one part of that Heaven, the Church, unto another. But they were not *Clouds without Water*, where they came; they came with Showers of Bleſſing, and rained very gracious Impreſſions upon the Vineyard of the Lord.

Among theſe Clouds was our Pious and Learned Mr. *Richard Denton*, a *Yorkſhire* Man, who having watered *Halifax* in *England*, with his fruitful Miniſtry, was by a Tempeſt then hurried into *New-England*, where firſt at *Weathersfield*, and then at *Stamford*, his Doctrine dropt as the Rain, his Speech diſtilled as the Dew, as the ſmall Rain upon the tender Herb, and as the Showers upon the Graſs.

Tho' he were a little Man, yet he had a great Soul; his well-accomplished Mind, in his leſſer Body, was an *Ulad* in a Nut-shell.

I think he was blind of one Eye; nevertheleſs he was not the leaſt among the Seers of our *Iſ-*

N n rael;



*rael*; he saw a very considerable Proportion of those things which *Eye hath not seen*.

He was far from Cloudy in his Conceptions and Principles of Divinity; whereof he wrote a *System*, entituled, *Soliloquia Sacra*; so accurately, considering the Fourfold State of Man, in his, I. Created Purity. II. Contracted Deformity. III. Restored Beauty. IV. Celestial Glory. That Judicious Persons, who have seen it, very much lament the Churches being so much deprived of it.

At length he got into Heaven beyond Clouds, and so beyond Storms; waiting the Return of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Clouds of Heaven,

when he will have his Reward among the Saints.

## Epitaphium.

*Hic Jacet, & fruitur Tranquilla sede Richardus*

Dentonus, *cujus Fama perennis erit.*  
*Incola jam cali velut Astra micantia fulget,*  
*Qui multis Fidei Lumina clara dedit.*

## CHAP. X.

### The LIFE of Mr. PETER BULKLY.

*Ipse Aspectus Boni viri delectat. Sen.*

§ 1. IT has been a Matter of some Reflection, that among the pretended Successors of Saint Peter, there never was any Pope, that would pretend unto the Name of Peter; but if any of them had been Christened by that Name at the Font, they afterwards changed it, when they came unto the Chair. No doubt, as *Raphael Urbine*, the famous Painter, being tax'd, for making the Face in the Picture of Peter too Red, replied, He did it on purpose, that he might represent the Apostle *Blushing in Heaven*, to see what Successors he had on Earth: So these infamous Apostates, might blush to hear themselves called Peter, while they are Conscious unto themselves, of their being Strangers to all the Vertues of that Great Apostle. But the Denomination of Peter, might be with an Everlasting Agreeableness claimed by our eminent Bulkly, who, according to the Spirit and Counsel of Peter, Fed the Flock of God among us, taking the Oversight thereof, not by Constraint, but Willingly; not for filthy Lucre, but of a willing Mind.

§ 2. He was descended of an Honourable Family, in Bedfordshire; where for many successive Generations, the Names of Edward and Peter, were alternately worn by the Heirs of the Family. His Father was Edward Bulkly D D a faithful Minister of the Gospel; the same whom we find making a Supplement unto the last Volume of our Books of Martyrs. He was born at Woodbil, (or Odel) in Bedfordshire, January 31st. 1582.

His Education was answerable unto his Original; it was Learned, it was Gentle, and which was the top of all, it was very Pious: At length it made him a Batchellor of Divinity, and a Fellow of Saint John's College in Cambridge: The College wherinto he had been Admitted, about the Sixteenth Year of his Age; and it was while he was but a Junior Batchellor that he was chosen a Fellow.

§ 3. When he came abroad into the World, a good Benefice beset him, added unto the Estate of a Gentleman, left him by his Father; whom he succeeded in his Ministry, at the place of his Nativity: Which one would imagine Temptations enough to keep him out of a Wilderness.

Nevertheless, the Concern which his renewed Soul had for the pure Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for the Planting of Evangelical Churches to exercise that Worship, caused him to leave and sell all, in hopes of gaining the Pearl of great Price, among those that first Peopled New-England, upon those Glorious Ends. It was not long that he continued in Conformity to the Ceremonies of the Church of England; but the good Bishop of Lincoln conniv'd at his Non-Conformity (as he did at his Fathers), and he lived an unmolested Non-Conformist, until he had been Three Prentice-ships of Years in his Ministry. Towards the latter end of this time, his Ministry had a notable Success, in the Conversion of many unto God; and this was one occasion of a latter end for this time. When Sir Nathanael Brent was Arch-Bishop Laud's General, as Arch-Bishop Laud was another's, Complaints were made against Mr. Bulkly, for his Non-Conformity, and he was therefore Silenced.

§ 4. To New-England he therefore came, in the Year 1635; and there having been for a while, at Cambridge, he carried a good Number of Planters with him, up further into the Woods, where they gathered the Twelfth Church, then formed in the Colony, and call'd the Town by the Name of Concord.

Here he buried a great Estate, while he raised one still, for almost every Person whom he employ'd in the Affairs of his Husbandry. He had many, and godly Servants, whom after they had lived with him a fit Number of Years, he still dis-

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dismissed with bestowing *Farms* upon them, and to took others after the like manner, to succeed them in their Service, and his Kindness. Thus he cast his Bread both upon the *Waters*, and into the *Earth*, not expecting the Return of this his Charity to a Religious Plantation, until after many Days.

§ 5. He was a most excellent *Scholar*, a very well-read Person, and one, who in his Advice to young Students, gave Demonstrations, that he knew what would go to make a *Scholar*. But it being essential unto a *Scholar*, to love a *Scholar*, so did he, and in Token thereof, endowed the Library of *Harvard-Colledge*, with no small part of his own.

And he was therewithal a most exalted *Christian*, full of those Devotions, which accompany a *Conversation in Heaven*; especially, to an exact a *Sabbath-keeper*, that if at any time he had been asked, Whether he had strictly kept the *Sabbath*? He would have replied, *Christianus sum, intermittere non possum*. And *Conscientiosus* even to a degree of *Scrupulosity*. That *Scrupulosity* appeared particularly in his avoiding all *Novelties* of Apparel, and the *Cutting of Hair* too close, that of all the famous Name-lakes he had in the World, he could have least born the *Sir-name* of that well-known Author, *Petrus Crinitus*.

§ 6. It was observed, that his Neighbours hardly ever came into his Company, but whatever *Business* he had been talking of, he would let fall some Holy, Serious, Divine, and Useful Sentences upon them, e'er they parted: An Example many ways worthy to be imitated, by every one that is called, *A Minister of the Gospel*.

In his Ministry he was another *Farel*, *Quo Nemo sonuit fortius*. He was very *Laborious*, and because he was through some Infirmities of Body, not so able to Visit his Flock, and instruct them from House to House, he added unto his other Publick Labours on the Lord's Days, that of constant Catechising; whereina, after all the Unmarried People had answered, all the People of the whole Assembly were edified, by his Expositions and Applications.

His first Sermon was on *Rom. 1. 16. I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ*. At Odel he preached on part of the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, and part of *Jonah*, and a great part of the Gospel of *Matthew*, and of *Luke*; the Epistles to the *Philippians*, and of *Peter* and of *Jude*; besides many other Scriptures. At *Concord* he preached over the Illustrious Truths, about the *Person*, the *Natures*, the *Offices of Christ*. [What would he have said, if he had lived unto this *Evil Day*, when 'tis counted good Advice for a Minister of the Gospel, *Not to preach much on the Person of Christ*?] The greatest part of the Book of *Psalms*; the Conversion of *Zacharias*; *Paul's* Commission, in *Act. 26. 18*. His Death foretold in the *Commandments*; and *John 16. 7, 8, 9*. He expounded *Mr. Perkins* his *Six Principles*, whereto he added a *Seventh*, and Examined the young People, what they

understood and remembered of his Exposition.

Moreover, by a sort of winning, and yet prudent Familiarity, he drew Persons of all Ages in his Congregation to come and sit with him, when he could not go and sit with them; whereby he had opportunity to do the part of a faithful Pastor, in considering the *State of his Flock*.

Such was his pious Conduct, that he was had in much Reverence by his People; and when at any time, he was either *hasty* in speaking to such as were about him, whereto he was disposed by his Bodily Pains, or *severe* in Preaching against some things, that others thought were no way momentous, whereto the great Exactness of his Piety inclined him; yet those little Stinginess took not away the Interest which he had in their Hearts; they knowing him to be a just Man, and an holy, observed him.

And the Obedience which his own People had for him, was also paid him from all sorts of People throughout the Land; but especially from the Ministers of the Country, who would still address him as a *Father*, a *Prophet*, a *Counsellor*, on all Occasions.

§ 8. Upon his importunate pressing a piece of *Charity*, disagreeable to the Will of the *Ruling Elder*, there was occasioned an unhappy *Dyscord* in the Church of *Concord*; which yet was at last healed, by their calling in the help of a *Council*, and the *Ruling Elder's* Abdication. Of the Temptations which occurred on these Occasions, *Mr. Bulkly* would say, *He thereby came, 1. To know more of God. 2. To know more of Himself. 3. To know more of Men*. Peace being thus restored, the small things in the beginning of the Church there, increased in the Hands of their faithful *Bulkly*, until he was translated into the Regions, which afford nothing but *Concord and Glory*; leaving his well-fed Flock in the *Wilderness*, unto the Pastoral Care of his worthy Son *Mr. Edward Bulkly*.

§ 9. It is remarked, That a Man's *Whole Religion* is according to his Acquaintance with the *New Covenant*. If then, any Person would know what *Mr. Peter Bulkly* was, let him read his judicious and Savory Treatise of the *Gospel Covenant*; which has passed through several Editions, with much Acceptance among the People of God. Quickly after his first coming into this Country, he preached many Sermons on *Zech. 9. 11. The Blood of thy Covenant*. The Importunity of his Congregation prevailed with him, to preach this Doctrine of the *Covenant* over again in his Lectures, and fit it for the Press. He did accordingly; and of that Book the well-known *Mr. Shepard* of *Cambridge*, has given this Testimony. *The Church of God is bound to bless God, for the holy, judicious, and learned Labours, of this aged, experienced, and precious Servant of Jesus Christ, who hath taken much pains to discover, and that not in Words and Allegories, but in the Demonstration and Evidence of the Spirit, the great Mystery of Godliness wrapt up in the Covenant; and hath now*



fully opened many knotty Questions concerning the same, which happily have not been brought so full to Light until now; which cannot but be of singular and seasonable use to prevent Apostasies from the Simplicity of the Covenant and Gospel of Christ.

§ 10. Having offered this particular Account of a Book, which is to be reckoned among the First-born of New-England, I may not forbear doing my Country the Service of extracting from it one Paragraph, which we may reckon the dying Charge of a Moses to an Israel in a Wilderness.

And thou, New-England, which art exalted in Privileges of the Gospel, above many other People, know thou the Time of thy Visitation, and consider the Great Things the Lord hath done for thee. The Gospel hath free passage in all Places where thou dwellest: Oh! that it might be glorified also by thee! Thou enjoyest many faithful Witnesses, which have testified unto thee, the Gospel of the Grace of God. Thou hast many bright Stars shining in thy Firmament, to give thee the Knowledge of Salvation from on high, to guide thy Feet in the way of Peace. Be not high-minded, because of thy Privileges, but fear because of thy danger. The more thou hast committed unto thee, the more thou must account for. No Peoples Account will be heavier than thine, if thou do not walk worthy of the Means of thy Salvation. The Lord looks for more from thee, than from other People, more Zeal for God, more Love to his Truth, more Justice and Equity in thy ways: Thou shouldest be a special People, an only People, none like thee in all the Earth. Oh! be so, in loving the Gospel, and the Ministers of it, having them in singular Love for their Work's sake.

Glorify thou the Word of the Lord, which has glorified thee. Take heed, lest for neglect of either, God remove thy Candlestick out of the midst of thee; lest being now, as a City upon an Hill, which many seek unto, thou be left like a Beacon upon the top of a Mountain, desolate and forsaken. If we walk unworthy of the Gospel brought unto us, the greater our Mercy hath been, in the enjoying of it, the greater will our Judgment be for the Contempt.

§ 11. His first Wife was the Daughter of Mr. Thomas Allen, of Goldington: A most virtuous Gentlewoman, whose Nephew was the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Allen. By her he had nine Sons, and two Daughters. After her Death, he lived eight Years a Widdower, and then married a virtuous Daughter of Sir Richard Chirwood; by whom he had three Sons, and one Daughter.

Age at length creeping on him, he grew much afraid of out-living his Work; and his Fear he

thus expressed, in a short Epigram, composed March 25. 1657.

*Pigra senectutis jam venit inutilis etas,  
Nil aliud nunc sum quam feri pondus inert:  
Da tamen, Alme Deus, dum vivam, vitæ laudi  
Eternum sancti Nomines usque Tui.  
Ne vream (moriar potius!) nil utile Agendo;  
Finit opto magis, mors properata Dies.  
Vel doceam in Sando Cætu tua verba salutis,  
Celestique canam Cantica sacra Chorus.  
Sæu vream, moriarque, tum sis, Christe, quod uni  
Debita Vita mea est, debita morsque tibi.*

He was ill, as well as old, when he writ these Verses; but God granted him his Desire. He recovered, and preached near two Years after this, and then expired, March 9. 1657, in the Seventy seventh Year of his Age.

§ 12. The Epigram newly mentioned, invites me to remember, that he had a competently good Stroke at Latin Poetry; and even in his Old Age, affected sometimes to improve it. Many of his Composure are yet in our Hands. One was written on his Birth-Day, June 31st, 1654.

*Ultimus iste Dies Menses, mihi primus habetur,  
Quo cepi lucem cernere primus erat.  
Sepruaginta duos Annos exinde peregi.  
Atque tuo Annorum est Ultimus iste Dies.  
Præterito Veteri jam nunc novus incipit Annus  
O utinam mihi sit mens nova, vita nova.*

Another of them was written on an Earthquake, Oct. 29. 1653.

*Ecce Dei nutu Pellus pavescit tremiscit,  
Terra Tremens mota est sedibus ipsa suis,  
Nutant Fulera Orbis, mundi compago soluta est;  
Ex vultu fratri contremuit ille Dei.  
Contremuit tellus, imis concussa Cavernis,  
Ponderibus quonquam sit gravis illa suis.  
Evomit ore pulvis magno cum murmure ventor,  
Quos in visceribus clauserat ante suis.  
Ipsa tremit Tellus scelerum gravitate virorum,  
Sub sceleris nostri pondere Terra tremit.  
O nos quam duri! Sunt ferrea pectora nobis  
Non etenim gemimus cum gemit omne solum.  
Quis te non metuit, metuit quem Fabrica mundi  
Quemque timent cali, terraque tota tremit.  
Motibus a Tantis nunc tandem terra quiescat,  
Sed cessent potius crimina nostra precor.*

The rest we will bury with him, under this

## EPITAPH.

*Obiit jam qui jamandum obierat Bulklaus;  
Nec Patriam ille mutavit, nec penè vitam:  
Ediit, quod ire consueverat, & ubi jam erat.*



## CHAP. XI.

## THE LIFE of Mr. RALPH PARTRIDGE.

WHEN David was driven from his Friends into the Wilderness, he made this Parthetical Representation of his Condition, *'Twas as when one doth hunt a Partridge in the Mountains.* Among the many worthy Persons who were persecuted into an American Wilderness, for their Fidelity to the Ecclesiastical Kingdom of our true David, there was one that bore the Name, as well as the State, of an *hunted Partridge.* What befel him, was, as Bede faith of what was done by Felix, *Juxta nominis sui Sacramentum.*

This was Mr. Ralph Partridge, who for no Fault but the Delicacy of his good Spirit, being distressed by the Ecclesiastical Setters, had no Defence, neither of *Beak*, nor *Claw*, but a *Flight* over the Ocean.

The Place where he took Cover, was the Colony of *Plymouth*, and the Town of *Duxbury* in that Colony.

This Partridge had not only the Innocency of the Dove, conspicuous in his blameless and pious Life, which made him very acceptable in his Conversation; but also the Loftiness of an Eagle, in the great Seat of his intellectual Abilities. There are some Interpreters, who understand *Church Officers* by the *living Creatures*, in the Fourth Chapter of the *Apocalypse*, will have the Teacher to be intended by the Eagle there, for his quick insight into remote and hidden things. The Church of *Duxbury* had such an Eagle in their Partridge, when they enjoy'd such a Teacher.

By the same Token, when the Platform of Church-Discipline was to be compos'd, the Synod at Cambridge appointed three Persons to draw

up each of them, *A Model of Church-Government, according to the Word of God*, unto the end, that out of those, the Synod might form what should be found most agreeable; which three Persons were Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Mather, and Mr. Partridge. So that in the Opinion of that Reverend Assembly, this Person did not come far behind the first three, for some of his Accomplishments.

After he had been Forty Years a faithful and painful Preacher of the Gospel, rarely, if ever, in all that while interrupted in his Work, by any Bodily Sickness, he dy'd in a good Old Age about the Year 1658.

There was one singular Instance of a *veaned Spirit*, whereby he signalized himself unto the Churches of God. That was this: There was a time, when most of the Ministers in the Colony of *Plymouth*, left the Colony, upon the Discouragement which the want of a *competent Maintenance* among the needy and froward Inhabitants, gave unto them. Nevertheless Mr. Partridge was, notwithstanding the *Paucity* and the *Poverty* of his Congregation, so afraid of being any thing that look'd like a *Bird wandering from his Nest*, that he remained with his poor People, till he took Wing to become a *Bird of Paradise*, along with the winged *Seraphim* of Heaven.

## Epitaphium.

Avolatit!

## CHAP. XII.

## Psaltes. THE LIFE of Mr. HENRY DÖNSTER.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Veneration which we pay to the Names and Works of those Reverend Men, whom we call the *Fathers*, yet even the *Roman Catholics* themselves confess, that those *Fathers* were not infallible. *Andradus*, among others, in his Defence of the Council of *Trent*, has this passage, *There can be nothing devised more superstitious, than to count all things delivered by the Fathers, Divine Oracles.* And indeed, 'tis plain enough, that those excellent Men, were not without *Errors* and *Frailties*, of which, I hope, 'twill not be the part of a *Cham* to take some little Notice. Thus *Jerom* had his Erroneous Opinion of *Peter's* be-

ing unjustly reprehended; and was fearfully asleep in the other matters, wherein he opposed *Vigilantius*. *Augustin* was for admitting the *Infants* of Christians unto the Lord's Supper: And alas! How much of *Babylon* is there in his best Book, *De Civitate Dei*. *Hilary* deny'd the *Soul-Sorrows* of our Lord in his Passion, if you will believe the Report of *Bellarmine*. *Clement Alexandrinus* affirm'd, That our Lord neither *Eat* nor *Drank* from the Necessities of Human Life; and that he and his Apostles after their Death, preached unto the *Damned* in Hell, of whom there were many converted. *Origen* taught many things contrary unto the true Faith, and



and frequently confounded the Scriptures with False Expositions. Tertullian fell into *Montanism*, and forbad all *second Marriages*. How little Agreement was there between *Epiphanius* and *Cyrilostom*, *Irenaeus* and *Vidor*, *Cornelius* and *Cyprian*? And indeed, that I may draw near to my present purpose, the Erroneous Opinion of *Rebaptism* in *Cyprian*, is well known to the World.

Wherefore it may not be wondrous at, if among the first *Fathers* of *New-England*, there were some things, not altogether to agreeable to the *Principles*, whereupon the Country was in the main Established. But among those of our *Fathers*, who differ'd somewhat from his *Brethren*, was that Learned and Worthy Man Mr. *Henry Dunster*.

He was the President of our *Harvard College* in *Cambridge*, and an able Man: [As we may give some Account, when the History of that College comes to be offered.]

But wonderfully falling into the Errors of *Antipadobaptism*, the *Overseers* of the College became solicitous, that the Students there might not be unawares ensnared in the Errors of their *President*. Wherefore they laboured with an extreme Agony, either to rescue the Good Man from his own *Mistake*, or to Restrain him from imposing them upon *The Hope of the Flock*, of both which, finding themselves to Despair, they did as quietly as they could, procure his *Removal*, and provide him a Successor, in Mr. *Charles Chauncy*.

He was a very good *Hebrician*, and for that Cause, he bore a great Part in the Metrical Version of the *Psalms*, now used in our Churches. But after some short Retirement and Secession from all Publick Business, at *Scituate* in the Year 1659, he went thither, where he bears his part in Everlasting and Celestial *Hallelujahs*. It was justly counted an Instance of an Excellent Spirit, in *Margaret Meering*; That tho' she had been excommunicated by the Congregation of Protestants, whereof Mr. *Rough* was Pastor, and the seem'd to have hard Measure also in her Excommunication; yet when Mr. *Rough* was imprison'd for the Truth, she was very fervent to him, and at length suffer'd Martyrdom for the Truth with him. Something that was not altogether unlike this Excellent Spirit was instanced by our *Dunster*. For, he died in such Harmony of Affection with the Good Men, who had been the Authors of his Removal from *Cambridge*, that he, by his Will, ordered his Body to be carried unto *Cambridge* for its Burial, and bequeathed Legacies to those very Persons.

Now I know not where, better than here, to infer that Article of our Church-History, which concerns our Metrical Translation of the *PSALMS* now sung in our Churches.

About the Year 1639. the *New-English Reformers*, considering that their Churches enjoy'd the other Ordinances of Heaven in their Scriptural Purity, were willing that the Ordinance of *The Singing of Psalms*, as should be

restored among them, unto a Share in that *Fa-rity*. Tho' they blessed God for the Religious Endeavours of them who translated the *Psalms* into the *Metre* usually annex'd at the End of the Bible, yet they beheld in the Translation so many *Detractions* from, *Additions* to, and *Variations* of, not only the Text, but the very Sense of the Psalmist, that it was an Offence unto them. Resolving then upon a New Translation, the chief Divines in the Country, took each of them a Portion to be Translated. Among whom were Mr. *Wells* and Mr. *Eliot* of *Roxbury*, and Mr. *Mather* of *Dorchester*. These, like the rest, were of so different a Genius for their Poetry, that Mr. *Shepard* of *Cambridge*, on the Occasion address'd them to this Purpose.

*You Roxb'ry Poets, keep clear of the Crime,  
Of missing to give us very good Rhime.  
And you of Dorchester, your Verses lengthen,  
But with the Texts own Words, you will them  
strengthen.*

The *Psalms* thus turn'd into *Metre* were Printed at *Cambridge*, in the Year 1640. But afterwards, it was thought, that a little more of Art was to be employ'd upon them: And for that Cause, they were committed unto Mr. *Dunster*, who Revised and Refined this Translation; and (with some Assistance from one Mr. *Richard Lyon*, who being sent over by Sir *Henry Mildmay*, as an Attendant unto his Son, then a Student in *Harvard College*, now resided in Mr. *Dunster's* House;) he brought it into the Condition wherein our Churches ever since have used it.

Now, tho' I heartily join with those Gentlemen, who wish that the Poetry hereof were mended; yet I must confess, That the *Psalms* have never yet seen a Translation, that I know of, nearer to the Hebrew Original: And I am willing to receive the Excuse which our Translators themselves do offer us, when they say; *If the Verses are not always so elegant, as some desire or expell, let them consider, That God's Altar needs not our Polishing; we have respect'd rather a plain Translation, than to smooth our Verses with the Sweets of any Paraphrase. We have attended Conscience rather than Elegance, Fidelity rather than Ingenuity; that so we may sing in Zion the Lords Songs of Praise according unto his own Will, until he bid us enter into our Masters Joy, to sing Eternal Hallelujahs.*

Reader, When the Reformation in France began, *Clement Marot*, and *Theodore Beza*, turn'd the *Psalms* into French *Metre*; and *Lewis Guadimel* set Melodious Tunes unto them. The Singing hereof charm'd the Souls of Court and City, Town and Country. They were sung in the *Louvre* it self, as well as in the Protestant Churches: Ladies, Nobles, Princes, yea, King *Henry* himself sang them. This one thing mightily contributed unto the Downfall

of Popery, &c.  
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at Thirties  
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succeeded May



of Popery, and the Progress of the Gospel. All Ranks of Men practis'd it; a Gentleman of the Reformed Religion, would not eat a Meal without it. The Popish Clergy raging hereat, the Cardinal of Lorrain got the Profane and Obscene Odes of the Pagan Poets to be turn'd into French, and sang at the Court: And the Divine *Psalms* were thus banished from that Wicked Court.

Behold, the Reformation pursued in the Churches of New England, by the *Psalms* in a New Metre: God grant the Reformation may never be lost, while the *Psalms* are sung in our Churches.

But in this Matter, Mr. Dunster is to be acknowledged. And if unto the Christian, while singing of *Psalms* on Earth, Chrysostom could well say, *Μὴτ' Ἀρχαῖον ἀδύει, μὴτ' Ἀρχαῖον ἀκούει;*

*Thou art in a Consort with Angels! How much more may that Now be said of our Dunster?*

From the *Epitaph* of *Hepricus Rentzius*, we will now furnish our *Henry Dunster* with an

E P I T A P H.

*Præco, Pater, Serenus; Sonni, Fœvi, Colniq;  
Sacra, Scholam, Christum; Voce, Rigore,  
Fide.*

*Famam, Animam, Corpus; Dispergit, Recreat,  
Abdit;  
Virtus, Christus, Humus; Laude, Salute,  
Sinn.*

CH A P. XIII.

The LIFE of Mr. EZEKIEL ROGERS.

*Si in Dōctore Ecclesiæ, ad ἀποτίκτον μίσθον, accesserit οὐκ ἄνευ δόξης, & Politæ Eruditio, ad Eruditionem διευξαι ἐξαρκενῶν, ac Facundia; ne hic Talis Omnibus Absolutus videbitur.*

Melc. Adam. in Vita Hatteri.

§ 1. IT is among the Greater Prophets of Israel, that we find an *Ezekiel*, who had in his very Name *The Fortitude of God*. And it is not among the smaller Prophets of New-England, that we have also seen an *Ezekiel*; one inspired with a Divine Fortitude, for the Work of a Witness prophesying in the Sackcloth of a Wilderness. This was our famous *Ezekiel Rogers*, of whom we have more to say, than barely that he was born in the Year 1590. and that he died in the Year 1660.

§ 2. His Father was Mr. Richard Rogers of *Weathersfield* in *England*, the well-known Author of the Book, that is known by the Name of *The Seven Treatises*. Of that Richard we will content our selves with one pithy Passage, mentioned by his Grandson Mr. *William Tenkyns*, in his Exposition upon *Jude*, 'That Blessed Saint, *Jaith* be, was another *Enoch* in his Age; a Man whose walking with God appeared by that Incomparable Directory of a Christian Life, called *The Seven Treatises*, woven out of Scripture, and his own experimental Practice; he would sometimes say, 'That he should be sorry, if every Day were not to him as his last Day. It is his *Ezekiel Rogers*, whereof we are now to give an Account. The early Sparklings of Wit, Judgment and Learning, in him, gave his Father no little Satisfaction, and Expectation of his Proficiency; and at Thirteen Years of Age made him capable of Preferment in the University; where he proceeded *Master of Arts* at the Age of Twen-

ty. Removing thence to be Chaplain in a Family, famous for both Religion and Civility, namely the Family of Sir Francis Barrington at *Hatfield Broad-Oak* in *Essex*, he there had opportunity not only to do Good, by his profitable Preaching, but also to get Good, by his Conversation with Persons of Honour, who continually resorted thither, and he knew and us'd his opportunity to the utmost.

§ 3. Both in Praying and Preaching, he had a very notable Faculty; 'twas accompanied with Strains of Oratory, which made his Ministry very acceptable. Hence, after Five or Six Years Residence in this Worshipful Family, Sir Francis bestowed upon him the Benefice of *Rovely* in *Yorkshire*; in hopes, that his more lively Ministry might be particularly successful in Awakening those drowsy Corners of the North: And accordingly the Church there, standing in the Center of many Villages, there was now a great Resort unto the Service there performed.

§ 4. Nevertheless Mr. Rogers had much Uncertainty in his Mind about his own Experience of those Truths which he preached unto others; he feared, that notwithstanding his pathetic Expressions, wherewith his Hearers were affected, he was himself, in his own Soul, a Stranger to that Faith, and Repentance, and Conversion, which he pressed upon them. This Consideration very much perplexed him; and his Perplexity was the greater, because he could not hear of any Experienced Minister in those Parts



Parts of the Kingdom, to whom he might utter the Trouble that was upon him. At last, hoping that either from his Brother of *Weathersfield*, or his Cofin of *Dedham*, he might receive some Satisfaction, he took a Journey into *Elsex* on purpose to be by them resolved of his *Doubts*. His Design was to have came at his famous Kinsman before his Lecture began; but missing of that, he gat into the Assembly before the Beginning of the Sermon; where he found that by the singular Providence of God, his *Doubts* were as punctually and exactly resolved, as if the excellent Preacher had been acquainted with his *Doubts* beforehand.

§ 5. Being now satisfied of his own *Effectual Vocation*, he went on in his Ministry with a very signal Blessing of Heaven upon it, unto the *Effectual Vocation* of many more: His Ministry was much frequented, and remarkably successful. In the Exercise whereof, he once had opportunity to preach in the stately *Minster of York*, on a publick Occasion, which he served and suited notably. Dr. *Matthews* was then the Arch-Bishop of *York*, who permitted the use of those *Lectures*, which Arch-Bishop *Grindal* had erected; whereby the Light of the Gospel was marvellously diffused unto many Places that sat in the *Region* and the *Shadow of Death*. All the pious Ministers in such a Precinct, had a Meeting once a Month, in some noted Place, when and where several of them did use to preach one after another, beginning and concluding the whole Exercise with Prayer. Mr. *Rogers* bore his part in these *Lectures*, as long as Dr. *Matthews* lived; from one of which, an *Accuser of the Brethren*, went once unto the Arch-Bishop with this Accusation, That one of the Ministers had made his Petition in his Prayer, *May the Almighty shut Heaven against the Arch-Bishop's Grace*; whereas the Arch-Bishop instead of being offended, as the Pick-thankly Reporter hoped he would have been, fell a laughing heartily and answered, *Those Good Men know well enough, that if I were gone to Heaven, their Exercises would soon be put down. And it came to pass accordingly!*

§ 6. In Delivering the Word of God, he would sometimes go beyond the *Strength*, which God had given him; for though he had a *Lively Spirit*, yet he had a *Crazy Body*; which put him upon studying *Physick*, wherein he attained unto a Skill considerable. But the worst was this, That riding far from home, some violent Motion used by him in ordering of his Horse, broke a *Vein* within him; whereupon he betook himself to his Chamber, and there kept private, that his Friends might not persecute him, with any of their Unseasonable Kindness. But in two Month's time, he obtained a Cure, so that he returned unto his Family and his Employment: God would not suffer that *Mouth* to be stopped, which had so many *Testimonies* to bear still for his *Truths* and *Ways*!

§ 7. At last, the Severity wherewith *Subscription* was then urged, put a Period unto the Twenty Years publick Ministry of our Useful *Rogers* although the Man, who suspended him, shew'd him so much Respect, as to let him enjoy the Profits of his *Living*, two Years after the Suspension, and let him also put in another, as good as he could get. He employed one Mr. *Bishop* to supply his Place in the Ministry, from which a *Bishop* had confined him; nevertheless this good Man also was quickly silenced, because he would not in publick read the *Censure* which was passed upon Mr. *Rogers*.

§ 8. Many prudent Men in those times, foreseeing the Storms that were likely in a few Years to break upon the *English Nation*, did propose *New England* for their *Hiding-place*. And of these, our Mr. *Rogers* was one, who had been accompanied by Sir *William Constable* and Sir *Matthew Bynton* also in his Voyage hither, if some singular Providences had not hindered them. Hither did the Good Hand of God bring him, with many of his *Torkshire* Friends, in the Year 1638. Ships having been by his Discretion and Influence brought from *London* unto *Hull*, to take in the Passengers. Arriving at *New England*, he was urged very much to settle with his *Torkshire* Folks at *New-Haven*; but in Consideration of the Dependence, that several Persons of Quality had on him to chuse a meet Place for their Entertainment in this Wilderness, when they should come hither after him, he was advised rather to another Place, which he was professed very near his Reverend Kinsman, Mr. *Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich*. The Towns of *Ipswich* and *Newberry* were willing, on easy Terms, to part with much of their Land, that they might admit a *Third Plantation* in the middle between them; which was a Great Advantage to Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*; who called the Town *Rosely*, and continued in it about the same Number of Years, that he had spent in that *Rosely*, from whence he came on the other side of the *Atlantic Ocean*.

§ 9. About five Years after his coming to *New England*, he was chosen to preach at the Court of Election at *Boston*; wherein though the Occasion and the Auditory were Great, yet he shew'd his Abilities to be Greater; inasmuch, that he became famous through the whole Country. And what Respect all the Churches abroad paid him, he much more found in his own Church at Home; where he was exceedingly successful, and approved in his Ministry, in which the Points of *Regeneration* and *Union* with the Lord Jesus Christ by Faith, were those whereon he most insisted.

In the Management of those Points, he had a notable Faculty at penetrating into the Souls of his Hearers, and manifesting the very Secrets of their Hearts. His Prayers and Sermons would make such lively Representations of the Thoughts then working in the Minds of his People, that it would amaze them to see their



own Condition so exactly represented. And his *Occasional Discourses* with his People; especially with the *young ones* among them; and most of all, with such as had been, by their Deceased Parents, recommended unto his watchful Care; were marvellously profitable. He was a *Tree of Knowledge*, but so laden with Fruit, that he stooped for the very *Children* to pick off the Apples ready to drop into their Mouths. Sometimes they would come to his House, a Dozen in an Evening; and calling them up into his Study, one by one, he would examine them, *How* they walked with God? *How* they spent their Time? *What* good Books they read? *Whether* they pray'd without ceasing? And he would therewithal admonish them to take heed of such *Temptations* and *Corruptions*, as he thought most endangered them. And if any *Differences* had fallen out amongst his People, he would forthwith send for them, to lay before him the Reason of their *Differences*; and such was his Interest in them, that he usually heard and stop'd all their little Contentions, before they could break out into any open *Flames*.

§ 10. After Ten or Twelve Years most prosperous Attendance on his Ministry in *Roxbury*, some unhappy Grievs befel him, which were thus occasioned. It was thought pity, that so *Great an Ability*, as that wherewith Mr. Rogers was *Talented*, should be confined into so *small an Auditory*, as that whereto his *Lord's Day Labours* were confined; and he was perswaded therefore to set up a *Lecture*, once in a Fortnight, whereto the Inhabitants of other Towns resorted, with no small Satisfaction. A most Excellent Young Man was, upon this Increase of his Labours, obtained for his Assistant: But through the *Deceives* of Satan, there was raised a *Jealousy* in the Hearts of many among the People, that their *Old Pastor* was not Real and Forward enough, in prosecuting the Settlement of that *Assistent*; and this Jealousy broke forth into almost unaccountable *Disaffections* between him and them; which though they were afterwards cured, yet the Cure was in some Regards too *Palliative*.

§ 11. The Rest of this Good Man's Time in the World was *Winter*; he saw more *Nights* than *Days*, and in Vicissitudes of Affliction, *The Clouds returning after the Rain*. He buried his *First Wife*, and all the *Children* he had by that Wife. He then married a Virgin Daughter of the well-known Mr. John Wilson, in hopes of Issue by her; but God also took her away, with the Child she had conceived by him.

After this, he married once more a Person, in Years agreeable to him; but that very Night a Fire burnt his *Dwelling-House* to the Ground, with all the Goods that he had under his Roof. Having *Rebuilt* his House, he received a *Fall* from his Horse, which gave to his *Right Arm* such a Bruise, as made it ever after useless unto him; upon which Account he was now put

upon Learning to Write with his *Left Hand*.

—Pollebat mira Dexteritate tamen.—

Thus having done the Will of God, he was put upon further Trial of his *Patience*! But there was this Comfortable in his Trial, that the Good Spirit of God enabled him to bear his Crosses chearfully, and *Rejoice in his Tribulations*.

§ 12. The Natural Constitution of his Body was but feeble and Crazy: Nevertheless, by a Prudent Attendance to the *Rules of Health*, his Life was lengthened out considerably: But at last a Lingring Sickness ended his Days, *Jan. 23. 1666.* in the Seventieth Year of his Age. His *Books* wherewith he had Recruited his Library, after the *Fire*, which consumed the good Library, that he had brought out of *England*, he bestowed upon *Harvard College*.

His *Lands*, the greatest part of them, with his House, he gave to the Town and Church of *Roxbury*.

§ 13. Because 'twill give some Illustration unto our *Church History*, as well as notably describe the Excellent and Exemplary Spirit of this Good Man, and it hath been sometimes noted, *Optima Historia, est Historia Epistolaris*, I will here insert one of his Letters, written (with his *Left Hand*) unto a Worthy Minister in *Charlestown*, the 6th of the 12th Month, 1657.

Dear Brother,

Though I have now done my Errand in the other Paper, yet methinks, I am not satisfied to leave you so suddenly, so barely. Let us hear from you, I pray you; How you do. Find your Ministry go on comfortably? Doth your Fruit of your Labours? Are *New Converts* brought in? Do your *Children* and Family grow more Godly? I find greatest Trouble and Grief about the *Rising Generation*. *Young People* are little stirred here; but they strengthen one another in Evil, by Example, by Counsel. Much a do I have with my own Family; hard to get a *Servant* that is Glad of *Catechising*, or *Family-Duties*: I had a rare Blessing of *Servants* in *Torshire*; and those that I brought over were a Blessing: But the *Young Brood* doth much afflict me. Even the *Children* of the Godly here, and elsewhere, make a woful Proof. So that, I tremble to think, what will become of this Glorious Work that we have begun, when the *Ancient* shall be gathered unto their Fathers. I fear Grace and Blessing will die with them, if the Lord do not also show some Signs of Displeasure, even in our Days. — We grow *Worldly* every where; methinks I see little *Godliness*, but all in a Hurry about the *World*; every one



for himself, little Care of Publick or Common Good.

It hath been God's way, not to send sweeping Judgments, when the Chief Magistrates are Godly and grow more so. I beseech all the Bay Ministers, to call earnestly upon Magistrates (that are often among them) tell them, That their Godliness will be our Protection: If they fail, I shall fear some sweeping Judgment shortly. The Clouds seems to be gathering.

I am hastning Home, and grown very Asthmatical, and Short-breathed. Oh! that I might see some Signs of Good to the Generations following, to send me away Rejoicing! Thus I could weary you and my self, and my Left Hand; but I break off suddenly. O, Good Brother, I thank God, I am near Home; and you too are not far. Oh! the Weight of Glory, that is ready waiting for us, God's poor Exiles! We shall sit next to the Martyrs and Confessors. O, the Embraces wherewith Christ will embrace us! Cheer up your Spirits in the Thoughts thereof; and let us be zealous for our God and Christ, and make a Conclusion. Now the Lord bring us well thro' our Poor Pilgrimage.

Your Affectionate Brother,

Ez. Rogers.

## EPITAPH.

A Resurrection to Immortality,  
is here Expected,  
For what was Mortal,  
of the Reverend

EZEKIEL ROGERS.

Put off, Jan. 23. 1660.

When Preachers Die, what Rules the Pulpit  
gave  
Of Living, are still Preached from the Grave.  
The Faith and Life, which your Dead Pastor  
Taught  
Now in One Grave with him, Sirs, Bury not.

Abi, Viator.

A Mortuo discere Vivere ut Moriturus;  
E Terris discere Cogitare de Cælis.

## CHAP. XIV.

Enlogius. The LIFE of Mr. NATHANAEL ROGERS.

In JESU mea Vita meo, mea Clausula Vita  
Est, & in hoc JESU Vita perennis erit.

§1. IT is a Reflection, carrying in it somewhat of Curiosity; that as in the Old Testament, God saw the First Sinner under a Tree, so in the New Testament, Christ saw one of the First Believers under a Tree, with a particular Observation. The Sinner hid himself among the Trees of the Garden, alighted with Fig-Leaves, but it was a false Cover and Shelter whereto he trusted; the most High discovered him. The Believer also hid himself under a Fig-Tree, where nevertheless, the Shady Leaves hindred not our Lord from seeing of him. The Sinner when he was discovered, expressed his Fear, saying, I heard thy Voice, and I was afraid. The Believer seen by our Lord, expressed his Faith, saying, Master, Thou art the Son of God. The Name of this Believer was Nathanael. At the Beginning of the Law under the Old Testament, you have Nature in an Adam under a Tree; at the Beginning of the Gospel, under the New Testament, you have Grace under a Tree in a

Nathanael. Truly, at the Beginning of New-England also, among the First Believers, that formed a Church for our God in the Country, there was a Famous Nathanael, who retired into these American Woods, that he might serve the King of Israel: This was our Nathanael Rogers. One of the First English Arch-bishops assumed the Name of Deus dedit, and the Historian says, he answered the Name that he assumed. Our Nathanael was not in the Rank of Arch-bishops; but as was his Name, A GIFT OF GOD, so was he!

§2. Cornelius Tacitus, who is by the Great Budens called, The Wickedest of all Writers, reports of the Jews, That they adored an Ass's Head; Because by a Direction from a Company of Ales, errorem stinque depeccatant; and this Report, received by him from a Railing Egyptian, became so received, that no Defence against it would be allowed. That Excellent Company of Draines, which led the People of

God



God, unto the sweet Waters of his Institutions, in the *Wilderness* of New-England, whereinto they were driven, have been esteemed no better than a *Company of Asses*, by the *Romishly* affected Writers of this Age. But those *Heads*, which are justly admired (tho' not adored) among that People, had more of *Angels*, than of *Asses* in them: The *English* Nation had few better *Christians* than most, and it had not many better *Scholars* than *some*, who then retired into these Ends of the Earth. Now among all those *Great Men* who submitted themselves unto all the *Littlest* of a *Wilderness*, there is a very high Rank to be assigned unto one, who is now to be described.

He was the Second Son of that famous Man, Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*; and born while his Father was Minister of *Haveril*, about the Year 1598. He was educated at the Grammar School in *Dedham*, till he was near Fourteen Years old, and then he was admitted into *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*. There he became a remarkable and incomparable Proficient in all *Academic Learning*; but some Circumstances of his Father would not permit him to wait for *Preferments*, after he was become capable of *Employments* in other places. His usual manner there, was to be an early and an exact Student; by which means he was quickly laid in with a good Stock of *Learning*; but unto all his other *Learning*, there was that *Glory* added, *The Fear of God*, for the Crown of all; the Principles whereof were infused into his young Soul, with the Counsels of his pious Mother, while he yet sat on her Knees, as well as his holy Father, when he came to riper Years. From his very Childhood he was exemplary for the Success which God gave unto the Cares of his Parents, to principle him with such things, as rendered him wise unto *Salvation*.

§ 3. Having from his Youth been used unto the most Religious Exercises, not only *Social*, but also *Secret*, nevertheless the Hurries of *Association* carried him abroad one Morning before he had attended his usual Devotions in his Retirements; but his Horse happening to stumble in a plain Road, it gave him a bruising, bloody, dangerous Fall; which awakened him so to consider of his *Omission* in the Morning, that for the rest of his Life, he was wondrous careful to omit nothing of his *Daily Duties*: Wherein at length he so abounded, that as *Carthusian* speaks, *Dulcissimo Deo totus immergi cupis, Et inviscerari*.

§ 4. Tho' he were of a pleasant and cheerful Behaviour, yet he was therewithal sometimes inclined unto *Melancholy*; which was attended with, and perhaps productive of some *Dejections* in his own Mind, about his Interest in the Favour of God. Whence even after he had been a Preacher of some standing, he had sometimes very sore Dependancies and Objections in his own Soul, about the Evidences of his own *Regeneration*; he would conclude, that no *Grace* of God had ever been wrought in him. Whereupon a Minister, that was his near Friend, gave

him once that Advice, *To let all go for lost, and begin again upon a new Foundation*; but upon his recollecting himself, he found that he could not forego, he might not renounce all his former blessed Experience. And so his Doubts expired.

§ 5. The first Specimen that he gave of his Ministerial Abilities, was as a *Chaplain* in the House of a Person of Quality; whence after a Year or two thus *staged*, he adventured a Flight unto a great Congregation at *Bocking*, in *Essex*, under Dr. *Barkam*; not without the wonder of many, how the Son of the most noted *Puritan* in *England*, should come to be employed under an Episcopal Doctor, so gracious with Bishop *Land*; but this Dr. *Barkam* was a good Preacher himself, and he was also willing to gratify his Parishioners, who were many of them Religiously disposed: Hence, tho' the Doctor would not spare a Tenth-part of his Revenues, which from his *divers Livings*, amounted unto near a Thousand a Year, to one who did above *Three Quarters* of his Work, yet he was otherwise very Courteous and Civil to our Mr. *Rogers*, whom his Parishioners handsomely maintained out of their own *Purses*; and shew'd what a room he had in their Hearts, by their doing so.

§ 6. All this while, Mr. *Rogers* had, like his Father, applied his Thoughts only to the main Points of Repentance from dead Works, and Faith towards God; and he had never yet look'd into the controverted Points of Discipline. Indeed the Disposition of his famous Father towards those things, I am willing to relate on this occasion; and I will relate it in his own words, which I will faithfully transcribe, from a MSS. of his now in my Hands: 'If ever I come into Trouble, [he writes] for want of Conformity, I resolve with my self, by God's Assistance, to come away with a clear Conscience, and yield to nothing in present, until I have prayed and fasted, and conferred: And tho' the Liberty of my Ministry be precious, yet buy it not with a guilty Conscience. I am somewhat troubled sometimes at my Subscription, but I saw sundry Men of good Gifts, and good Hearts, as I thought, that did so. And I could not prove that there was any thing contrary to the Word of God: Tho' I milked them much, and I knew them, *unprofitable Burthens to the Church of God*. But if I be urged unto the Use of them, I am rather resolved never to yield thereto. They are to me very irksome Things; yet seeing I was not able to prove them flatly unlawful, or contrary to God's Word, I therefore thought better to save my Liberty with Subscribing, (seeing I did it not against my Conscience) than to lose it, for not yielding so far. Yet this was some small trouble to me, that I did it, when I was in no special Peril of any present Trouble; which yet I thought, I were as good do of my self, as when I should be urged to it. But it may be, I might not have been urged of a long time, or not at all; but might have escaped



by Friends and Money, as before; which yet I feared: But it was my Weakness, as I now conceive it; which I beseech God to pardon unto me. Written 1627. This I smarted for 1631. If I had read this, it may be, I had not done what I did.

Reader, In this one Passage thou hast a large History, of the Thoughts and Fears, and Cares, with which the Puritans of those Times were exercised.

But Mr. Hooker, now Lecturer at Chelmsford, understanding that this young Preacher was the Son of a Father, whom he most highly respected, he communicated unto him the Grounds of his own Dissatisfaction, at the Ceremonies then imposed. Quickly after this, the Doctor of *Bocking* being present at the Funeral of some eminent Person there, he observed that Mr. Rogers forbore to put on the *Surplice*, in the Exercise of his Ministry on that occasion; which inspired him with as much Disgust against his *Curate*, as his *Curate* had against the *Surplice* itself. Whereupon, tho' the Doctor were so much a Gentleman, as to put no *Publick Affront* upon Mr. Rogers, yet he gave him his private *Advice* to provide for himself, in some other place.

§ 7. See the Providence of our Lord! About that very time, *Affington*, in *Suffolk*, being visited by the Death of the former Incumbent, the Patron thereof was willing to bestow it upon the Son of his honoured Friend in *Debam*; whither he now removed, after that *Bocking* had for four or five Years enjoyed his Labours. The Inhabitants of *Bromly*, near *Colchester*, were at the same time extremely discontented at their missing of him. However, see again the Providence of our Lord; the Bishop of *Norwich* let him live quietly five Years at *Affington*, where the Bishop of *London* would not have done at *Bromly*. This was the Charge now entrusted with our Rogers; concerning whom, I find an eminent Person publishing unto the World, this Account: Mr. Nathanael Rogers, a Man so able and so judicious, in *Soul-work*, that I would have trusted my Soul with him, as soon as with any Man in the Church of Christ.

§ 8. Here his Ministry was both highly respected, and greatly prospered, among Persons of all Qualities, not only in the Town it self, but in the Neighbourhood. He was a lively, curious, florid Preacher; and by his Holy Living, he so farther preached, as to give much Life unto all his other preaching. He had usually, every Lord's Day, a greater Number of Hearers than could crowd into the Church; and of these many Ignorant Ones were instructed, many Ungodly Ones were Converted, and many Sorrowsome Ones were comforted. Tho' he had not his Father's notable Voice, yet he had several Ministerial Qualifications, as was judged, beyond his Father; and he was one prepared unto every good Work; tho' he was also exercised with Bodily Infirmities, which his Labours brought upon him. 'Tis a thing I find observ'd by Mr. Firmin, John Rogers was not John Chrysostom; and yet God honoured no Man in those Parts of England

with the Conversion of Souls more than him. And good Bishop *Brouncker* would say, John Rogers will do more good with his Wild Notes, than we shall do with our Set Music. But our Nathanael Rogers, was a Fisher of Men, who came with a Silken Line, and a Golden Hook, and God prospered him also. He was an Apollo, who had his Harp and his Arrows; and the Arrows his charming and piercing Eloquence, which had *343* & *468*, in it were Arrows in the Hand of a mighty Man. He not only knew how to build the Temple, but also how to carve it: And he could say with *Lactantius*, (his very Namesake) *Vellem mihi dari Eloquentiam, vel quia magis credunt Homines Veritati ornata vel ut ipsi suis Armis vincantur.*

§ 9. But a Courte was taken to extinguish these Lights, as fast as any Notice could be taken of them. It was the Resolution of the *Episcoparchy*, that the Ministers who would not conform to their Impositions, must be silenced all over the Kingdom. Our Mr. Rogers perceiving the Approaches of the Storm towards himself, did out of a particular Circumspection in his own Temper, choose rather to prevent than to receive the Censures of the Ecclesiastical Courts; and therefore he resigned his place to the Patron, that so some Godly and Learned Conformist, might be invested with it: Nevertheless, not being free in his Conscience, wholly to lay down the Exercise of his Ministry, he designed a Removal into *New-England*; whereunto he was the rather moved, by his Respect unto Mr. Hooker, for whom his Value was extraordinary. Reader, In all this, there is no *Reproach* cast upon this excellent Rogers. *Kampnia videtur & puerum*

§ 10. He had married the Daughter of one Mr. Crane of *Cogeshal*, a Gentleman of a very considerable Estate, who would gladly have mentioned this his worthy Son-in-Law, with his Family, if he would have tarried in England; but observing the strong Inclination of his Mind unto a *New-English Voyage*, he durst not oppose it. Now, tho Mr. Rogers were a Person very unable to bear the Hardships of Travel, yet the Impression which God had made upon his Heart, like what he then made upon the Hearts of many Hundreds more, perhaps as weakly and feeble as he, carried him through the Enterprize with an unwearied Resolution; which Resolution was tried, indeed, unto the utmost. For whereas the Voyage from *Gravesend* unto *Boston*, uses to be dispatched in about Nine or Ten Weeks, the Ships which came with Mr. Rogers, were fully Twenty four Weeks in the Voyage; and yet in this tedious Passage, not one Person did miscarry. After they had come Two Thirds of their way, having reached the length of *Newfoundland*, their Wams were so multiplied, and their Winds were so contrary, that they entred into a serious Debate, about returning back to England: But upon their setting apart a Day for solemn Fasting and Prayer, the Weather cleared up; and in a little time they arrived at their desired Port; namely, about



bout the middle of November, in the Year 1636.

§ 11. It was an extream Discouragement unto him, at his Arrival, to find the Country thrown into an horrible Combustion, by the Familistical Opinions, which had newly made such a Disturbance, as to engage all Persons, on one side or t'other of the Controversies, all the Country over. But God blessed the Prayers and Pains of his People, for the speedy stopping of that Gangreen; and settled the Country in a comfortable Peace, by a Synod convened at Cambridge the next Year; whereto our Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Partridge, who came in the same Ship with him, contributed not a little by their Judicious Discourses and Collations.

§ 12. His first Invitation was to Dorebester; but the Number of Good Men who came hither, desirous of a Settlement under his Ministry, could not be there accommodated; which caused him to accept rather of an Invitation to Ipswich, where he was Ordained Pastor of the Church, on Feb. 20. 1638. At his Ordination preaching on 2 Cor. 2. 16. *Who is sufficient for these things*: A Sermon so Copious, Judicious, Accurate, and Elegant, that it struck the Hearers with admiration. Here was a Renowned Church consisting mostly of such illuminated Christians, that their Pastors in the Exercise of their Ministry, might (as *Jerom* said of that brave Woman *Marcella*) *Sentire se non tam Discipulos habere quam Judices*. His Colleague here, was the Celebrious Norton; and glorious was the Church of Ipswich now, in two such extraordinary Persons, with their different Gifts; but united Hearts, carrying on the Concerns of the Lord's Kingdom in it. While our humble Rogers was none of those, who do, *Τὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν καυχῆμας, καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ποιεῖν*, Think the Brightness of their Brethren to shadow and obscure themselves. But if Norton were excellent, there are Persons of good Judgment, who think themselves bound in Justice to say, That Rogers came not short of Norton, in his greatest Excellencies.

§ 13. While he lived in Ipswich, he went over the Five last Chapters of the Epistle to the Ephesians, in his Ministry; the Twelfth Chapter to the Hebrews; the Fourteenth Chapter of Hosea; the Doctrine of Self-denial, and walking with God; and the Fifty third Chapter of Isaiah; to the great Satisfaction of all his Hearers, with many other Subjects more occasionally handled. It was counted pity that the Publick should not enjoy some of his Discourses, in all which he was, *ὁ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν*: But his Physician told him, That if he went upon transcribing any of his Compositures, his Disposition to Accuracy would so deeply engage him in it, as to endanger his Life: Wherefore he left few Monuments of his Ministry, but in the Hearts of his People, which were many. But tho' they were so many, that he did justly reckon that well-instructed, and well-inclined People, his Crown, yet in the Paroxysm of Temptation among them, upon Mr. Norton's Removal, the melan-

choly Heart of Mr. Rogers, thought for a while, they were too much a Crown of Thorns unto him.

§ 14. It belongs to his Character, that he feared God above many, and walked with God, at a great Rate of Holiness: Tho' such was his Reservedness, that none but his intimate Friends knew the Particularities of his Walk, yet such as were indeed intimate with him could observe, that he was much in *Busting and Prayer, and Meditation*, and those Duties wherein the Power of Godliness is most maintained: And as the Graces of a Christian, so the Gifts of a Minister, in him, were beyond the ordinary Attainments of good Men. Yea, I shall do a wrong unto his Name, if I do not freely say, That he was one of the greatest Men, that ever set foot on the American Strand. Indeed, when the Apostle Paul makes that just Boast, *I was not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles*: He does not speak (as we commonly take it) in respect of such as were true Apostles, but in reference to those false Apostles, who had nothing to set them out, but their own lofty Words, with an unjust slight of him. Whereas our blessed Rogers, I may without Injury, or Odium, venture to compare with the very best of the true Ministers, which made the best Days of New-England, and say, *He came little, if at all behind the very chiefest of them all*.

§ 15. He was much troubled with Spitting of Blood; wherein he would comfort himself with the Saying of one Mr. Price, upon such an Occasion, *That tho' he should spit out his own Blood, by which his Life was to be maintained, yet he should never, Expere Sanguinem Christi, or lose the Benefits of Christ's Blood, by which he was redeemed*. He was also subject unto the Flatus Hypochondriacus, even from his Youth; wherewith when he was first surprized, he thought himself a dying Man; but a good Physician, and a long Experience, convinced him, that it was a more Chronical Distemper. And while he was under the early Discouragements of this Distemper, I find the famous Mr. Cotton, in a Letter dated March 9. 1631. thus encouraging of him:

I bless the Lord with you, who supporteth your feeble Body, to do him Service, and mean while perfecteth the Power of his Grace in your Weakness. You know who said it, *Unmortified Strength posseth hard to Hell, but sanctified Weakness creepeth fast to Heaven*. Let not your Spirit faint, tho' your Body do. Your Soul is precious in God's sight; your Hairs are numbered, and the number and measure of your fainting Fits, and wearisome Nights, are weighed and limited by his Hand, who hath given you his Lord Jesus Christ, to take upon him your Infirmities, and bear your Sicknesses.

Nor was it this Distemper which at last ended his Days; but it was a Flood of Rheum, occasioned partly by his distaste of Tobacco, whereto



he had formerly accustomed himself, but now left it off, because he found himself in Danger of being *Enslaved* unto it; which he thought a thing below a *Christian*, and much more a *Minister*. He had often been seized with Fits of Sickness in the Course of his Life: And his last seemed no more threatening than the former, till the *last Morning* of it. An Epidemical sort of *Cough* had arrested most of the Families in the Country; which proved most particularly Fatal to *Bodies*, before labouring with *Rheumatic* Indispositions. *This* he felt; but in the whole time of his Illness, he was full of *Heavenly* Discourse and Counsel, to those that came to visit him. One of the last things he did, was to *Bless* the Three Children of his only Daughter, who had purchased his Blessing by her singular Dutifulness unto him. It is a notable Passage in the *Talmuds*, That the Inhabitants of *Tippor* expressing an extreme Unwillingness to have the Death of *R. Judab* (whom they Surnamed, *The Holy*.) reported unto them, he that brought the Report, thus expressed himself, *Holy Men and Angels took hold of the Tables of the Covenant, and the Hand of the Angels prevailed, so that they took away the Tables!* And the People then perceived the meaning of the Parabolizer to be, That *Holy Men* would fain have detained *R. Judab* still in this World; but the *Angels* took him away. Reader, I am as lothe to tell the Death of *Rogers the Holy*, and the Inhabitants of *Ipswich* were as lothe to hear it: But I must say, The *Hand of the Angels prevailed, on July 3. 1655.* in the Afternoon, when he had uttered those for his last Words, *My Times are in thy hands.*

§ 16. He was known to keep a *Diary*; but he kept it with so much Reservation, that it is not known, that ever any one but himself did read one Word of it: And he determined that none ever should; for he ordered a couple of his Intimate Friends to cast it all into the Fire, without ever looking into the Contents of it.

Surely, with the *Loss* of so Incomparable a Person, the Survivors must lament the Loss of those *Experiences*, which might in these *Rich Papers*, have kept him, after a sort, still *Alive* unto us! But as they would have provid him, An *Incarnate Seraphim*, so the other *Seraphim*, who carried him away with them, were no Strangers to the *Methods*, by which he had Ripened and Winged himself, to become one of their Society.

I cannot find any Compositions of this Worthy Man's offered by the *Press* unto the World; except one, and that is only a Letter which he wrote from *New-England*, unto a Member of the Honourable House of Commons, at *Westminster*, in the Year 1643. Wherein observing, That *Ecclesiam ad Mundi Normam Regnorum & statuum componere, est mere Donum Tapetibus accommodare*; he pathetically urged, That the Parliament would confess the Guilt of Neglecting,

yea, Rejecting Motions of Reformation in former Parliaments, and proceed now more fully to answer the just Expectations of Heaven. But I have in my Hands, a brief *Manuscript*, written in a Neat Latin Style, whereof he was an Incomparable Master. 'Tis a Vindication of the *Congregational Church Government*; and there is one Passage in it, by Transcribing whereof, I will take the Leave to address the present Age.

*Non raro Reformationem impedit Difficultas Reformandi, & Ecclesias vera Disciplina Conformes reddendi. Jebelbaphat excelsa non amovebat quia Populus non Comparaverat Animum Deo. Non desuerant (inquit Bucerus) intra hos Triginta Annos, qui Videri voluerint Justam Evangelii Predicationem plane amplecti, atq; Religionis Christi rite Constituende precipuam Curam suscipere, propter quam etiam non parum periclitari sunt. Verum perpauci adhuc reperti sunt, qui se Christi Evangelio & Regno omnino subjecissent. Multo vero minus permillum fuit fides, probatisq; Ecclesiarum Ministris, nec adeo multi Ministrorum voluissent id sibi concedi, ut qui Privatis Admonitionibus non acquiescissent, atq; a manifestis peccatis suis recipere se noluisse, eos una cum Ecclesie Senioribus, ad hoc electis, nomine totius Ecclesie, ad Penitentiam Vocassent & Ligassent; eosq; qui & hoc Salutis sue Remedium respissent, cum assensu Ecclesie prae Ethnicis & Publicanis habendos Publice pronunciascent. Cujus Rationem etiam posuit Peter Martyr; Videntur aliqui subverberi Tumultus, & Turbas, quod sua Tranquillitati consulant, sibi; fingant atq; somniant, quandam Tranquillitatem in Ecclesia, quam impossibile est ut habeant, si Gregem Christi recte pasci voluerint. Hinc Regula Prudentia pro Regula Praecepti proponitur; & Queritur porius quid fieri convenienter possit, quam quid debeat. Fallit haec Regula, cum multa Deus efficiat per Zelotas (quos vocant) quae Politicis Impossibilia Visa fuerint; Puta Hezekiam, Josiam, & Edwardum Sextum, Angliae Regem. Cum videas unum Ezram Cnere & Cilio, fletu & Jejunio, tam Spissum & Arduum Opus superasse, quo Carissimas Conjuges, & liberos desideravissimos, & Maritorum Gremio, & Paternis Genibus, revulsit & ablegavit; eorumq; non tantum infame Plebis; etiam Manus Iptorum Principum & Antistitum, prima fuit in Praeparatione ista: Quis inquam, fidelis Minister adeo insensatus est, ut in repurganda Ecclesia, nihil non audeat, cum Bono Deo? Magna quidem est Veritatis & Sanctitatis, Vis & Majestas: Fidelis & Efficax est Assentia Spiritus, iis qui Zelo accensi Gloria Dei sedulo incumbunt. Tempori quidem aliquando est cedendum; sed Operi Dei non est supersedendum,*

God will one Day cause these Words to be Translated into *English!*

In the mean Time, Go thy way, NATHANAEL, until the End; for thou shalt Rest. — and



and on thy *Referring Place* I will inscribe the Words of *Luther* upon his *Nefensus*, for thy

*Et si ullum unquam Excitasset,*  
*TE nunc Excitorem.*

E P I T A P H.

ONATHANAEL, *Si mihi datum esset*  
*Donum*  
*Miraculosum Excitandi Mortuos,*

And for the same Use borrow the Words, in the Epitaph of *Brentius*, the Younger.

*Morte Pia rapitur, Celsiq; sit Incola : Semper*  
*Andiet, O magno digna propago Patre.*

A P P E N D I X.

THE Invaluable *Diary* of Mr. Nathanael Rogers is lost: Something of his *Fathers* is not so: We'll do something towards Repairing our Loss out of That: Some Secret Papers of Old Mr. John Rogers, are fallen into my Hands: I will make them as *Publick* as I can; and I will annex them to the *Life* of his Excellent Son, because that Son of his, did live over the *Life* of his Renowned Father. Thus, Father and Son shall live here together; and by offering the Reader an Extract of some Observable *Memorials* for a *Godly Life*, contained in Reserved Experiences of Mr. John Rogers of

*Dedbam*, I shall also describe the very Spirit of the Old Puritans, in the *Former Age*, by the View whereof, I hope there will more be made in that Age which is to come. Sirs, Read these *Holy Memorials*, and let it not be said of us, according to the Complaint which the *Talmuds* thus utter, *Si prisci fuerunt Filii Regnum, nos sumus Filii Hominum Vulgarium; Et si prisci fuerunt Homines Vulgares, nos sumus veluti Asini*. Let it not be said, as it uses to be by the Jewish Rabbi's, *Elegantior est Sermo familiaris Patrum, quam Lex Filiorum*.

Sixty MEMORIALS for a Godly Life.

A COVENANT.

I Have firmly purposed, (by God's Grace,) to make my *whole Life*, a Meditation of a *Better Life*, and *Godliness* in every part; That I may from Point to Point, and from Step to Step, with more Watchfulness, walk with the Lord.

Oh! The Infinite Gain of it! No small Help hereto, is Daily Meditation and often *Confession*. Therefore, since the Lord hath given me to see in some sort, the Coldness of the *Half-Service*, that is done to his Majesty, by the most, and even by my self, I renew my Covenant more firmly with the Lord, to come nearer unto the *Practice* of *Godliness*, and oftener to have my Conversation in *Heaven*, my Mind seldom, and more lightly set upon the things of this *Life*, to give to my self less Liberty in the secretest and smallest Provocations to *Evil*, and to endeavour after a more continual Watch from thing to thing, that as much as may be, I may walk with the Lord for the Time of my abiding here below.

A Form of Direction.

II. This Resolutely Determine, That God be always my *Glory*, through the Day: And, as

occasion shall be offered, help forward such as shall Repair to me, or among whom, by God's Providence, I shall come: And these two being regarded, That I may tend my own Good, going forward, (my own Heart, I mean, Calling and Life, and my Family and Charge) looking for my *Change*, and preparing for the *Cross*, yea, for *Death* it self: And to like little of mine Estate, when I shall not sensibly find it thus with me: And whilst God affordeth me Peace, Health, Liberty, an Heart delighting in him, outward Blessings with the same, to beware that *Godliness* seem not pleasant to me, for *Earthly Commodities*, but for it self: If in this Course, or any part of it, I should halt, or mislike, not to admit of any such *Deceit*: And for the Maintenance of this Course, to take my Part in all the good *Helps*, appointed by God for the same; as these: First, To Begin the Day with Meditation, Thanksgiving, Confession and Prayer: To put on my *Armour*: To Watch and Pray oft and earnestly in the Day, for holding fast this Course: To hearken on my self hereto by mine own Experience (who have ever seen, that it goeth well with those, which walk after this Rule, 1 Pet. 3. 13. Gal. 6. 16.) and by the Example of others. (Heb. 13. 7.) And for the better helping my self forward, still in this Course, my Purpose and Desire is, to learn Humility and Meekness more and



and more, by God's *Chastisements*, and encourage my self to this Courte of Life, by his daily *Blessings* and *Mercies*; and to make the same use of all Exercises in my Family. And faithfully to peruse and examine the several parts of my Life every Evening, how this Courte hath been kept of me, where it hath to keep it still, where it hath not, to seek Pardon and Recovery; and all Behaviour that will not stand with this, to hold me from it; as from *Bane*.

#### A Form for a Minister's Life

III. In *Solitariness* to be least solitary: In Company, taking of doing of Good, to Wife, to Family, to Neighbours, to Fellow-Ministers, to all with whom I deal, *kind*; amiable, yet *modest*; low in mine own Eyes; oft with the Sick and Afflicted: Attending to *Reading*; painful for my *Sermons*; not easily provoked unto *Anger*; not carried away with *Conceits* hastily; not wandering in fond Dreams, about *Ease* and *deceivable Pleasures*; not shamed in the *World*, nor making *lawful Liberties* my delight; helpful to all that need my help, readily, and all those that I ought to regard: And all this, with continuance, even all my Days.

IV. Chief *Corruptions* to be watch'd against, be, *Sourness*, *Sadness*, *Timorousness*, *Forgetfulness*, *Fretting*, and *Inability to bear Wrongs*.

V. I am very backward to *private Visiting* of Neighbours Houses, which doth much hurt: For thereby their Love to me cannot be so great as it would be; and I know not their particular Wants and States so well, and therefore cannot speak so fully to them as I might.

VI. A Minister had need look, that he profit by all his *Preaching himself*, because he knows not what *others* do: Many, he knows, get no good; of many more he is uncertain: So that if he get no good himself, his Labour and Travail shall be in vain.

VII. Begin the Day with *half an Hour's Meditation and Prayer*. And let me resolutely set my self to walk with God through the Day: If any thing fall out amiss, recover again speedily, by humble Confession, hearty Prayer for Pardon, with Confidence of obtaining. And so proceed.

VIII. Oh! *Mildness*, and *Cheerfulness*, with *Reverence*, how sweet a Companion art thou!

IX. Few rare and worthy Men, continue to to their End; but one way or other, fall into *Coldness*, *gross Sin*, or to the *World*: Therefore *beware*.

X. Count not the *Daily Direction*, nor *Christian Life*, to be *Boagage*; but count it the sweetest *Liberty*, and the only way of true *Peace*. Whosoever this is counted hard, that State that is embraced instead thereof, shall be harder.

XI. *Worldly Dealings*, are great Lets to Fruitfulness in Study, and cheerful proceeding in our *Christian Course*.

XII. One can never go about *Study*, or *Preaching*, if any thing lie heavy on the *Conscience*.

XIII. The worst Day wherein a Man keeps his Watch, and holds to the daily Rules of Directions, is freer from danger, and brings more Safety than the best Day, wherein this is not known or practised.

XIV. I am oft, I confess, ashamed of my self, when I have been in Company, and seen *Gists of Knowledge*, in many careless unconfessionable, and odd Minuties; which (with better Reasons) hath stirred up a Desire oftimes in me, that I could follow my Studies. Yet I would never have been willing to have changed with them: For what is all *Knowledge*, without a sanctified and comfortable use of it, thro' Love; and without Fruit of our Labour, in doing good, and winning and building up of Souls, or at least a great endeavour after it.

XV. Many Ministers set their Minds much upon *this World*, either Profit, or Preference, for which they venture dangerously, and some of them are *soon snatch'd away*. Therefore God keep me ever from setting my Foot on such a Path, as hath no Continuance, and is not without much Danger in the End.

XVI. It's good for a Man to delight in that, wherein he may be bold to delight without Repentance: And that is, to be always doing, or seeking occasion to do some *Good*. The Lord help me herein.

XVII. When God hedgeth in a Man with many Mercies, and gives him a comfortable Condition, its good to *acknowledge* it often, and be highly thankful for it. Else God may soon bring a Man so low, as he would think that State happy, that he was in before, if now he had it again. Therefore, *God make me wise*.

XVIII. Right good Men have complained, that they are oft-times in very *bad Case*, their Hearts disordered and distempered very fore, for want of taking to themselves a *certain Direction* for the Government of their Lives.

XIX. Idle and unprofitable *Talk of By-matters*, is a Canker that consumeth all Good, and yet our Heart much lusteth after it: Therefore resolve firmly against it.

XX. A necessary and most comely thing it is, for a Minister to carry himself so wisely and amiably unto all, as he may do good unto all sorts, to bring back them that be fallen off, in meekness and kindness, to pass by an Offence in those that have wronged him, which is an high Point of Honour, and not to keep from them, and estrange himself from their Acquaintance, and so suffer them to fall further, to be lowly towards the meaner sort of Christians; to keep the Credit of his Ministry with all.

I am persuaded, If my Light did shine more clearly, and mine Example were seen more manifestly, in these and such things (which are of no small force to persuade the People) that both my Ministry would be of more power, and that I should draw them also to be better.

XXI. Look, that I lie not down in Bed, but in *Peace* with God any Night, and never my Heart rest, until it relent truly, for any thing that hath passed amiss in the Day.

XXII. It



XXII. It is good for a Minister, not to deal much with his People about *Worldly Matters*, yet not to be *strange* to them: Nor to be a *Stumbling-block* unto the People, by *Worldliness*, or any other Fault, else he deprives himself of all liberty and advantage of dealing with them for their Errors.

XXIII. *Buffetings of Satan*, tho' they be grievous, yet they are a very good Medicine against Pride and Security.

XXIV. *Christ's Death*, and *God's Mercy*, is not sweet, but where *Sin* is four.

XXV. It is an hard thing for a Man to keep the *Rules of Daily Direction*, at Times of *Sickness* or *Pain*. Let a Man labour to keep out *Evil*, when he wants *Fitness*, *Strength*, and *Occasion*, to do *Good*, and that is a good Portion for a *Sick Body*. Alſo in *Sickness* that is fore and sharp, if a Man can help himself with *short and oft Prayers* to God, for *Patience*, *Contentment*, *Meekness*, and *Obedience* to his holy Hand, its well, tho' he can't bend the *Mind* much, or earnestly upon any thing.

XXVI. *Innocence* is a very good Fence and Fort against *Impatience*, in false Accufations, or great Afflictions. Let them that be Guilty fret and vex themselves, and shew Bitterness of Stomach against such as speak ill of them; but they that look carefully to their Hearts and Ways, (without looking at *Mens Eye*), let them be still, and of a *meek and quiet Spirit*.

XXVII. Besides the use of the *Daily Direction*, and following strictly the Rules thereof, yet there must be now and then the use of *Fasting*, to purge out *Weariness*, and *Commonness*, in the use of it.

XXVIII. 'Tis a rare thing for any Man, so to use *Prosperity*, as that his Heart be drawn the nearer to God. Therefore we had need in that Estate, to watch diligently, and labour to walk humbly.

XXIX. Ob. *Forwardness*! How unseemly and hurtful a thing to a Man's self and others! Amiable *Cheerfulness*, with *Watchfulness* and *Sobriety*, is the best Estate, and meetest to do good, especially to others.

XXX. Follow my Calling: Lose no Time at home or abroad; but be doing some Good: Mind my going Homeward: Let my Life never be pleasant unto me, when I am not fruitful, and fit to be employ'd in doing good, one way or other.

XXXI. It is a great Mercy of God to a *Minister*, and a thing much to be desired, that he be well moved with the *Matter* that he preaches to the People; either in his private Meditation, or in his publick Delivery, or both: Better hope there is then, that the People will be moved therewith: Which we should ever aim at.

XXXII. If the *Heart* be heavy at any time, and wounded, for any thing, shame our selves, and be humbled for our Sin, before we attempt any good Exercise or Duty.

XXXIII. It's a very good Help, and most

what a *present Remedy*, when one feels himself dull, and in an *ill Condition*, straightway to confess it to God, accuse himself, and pray for Quickning. God sends Redress.

XXXIV. There is as much need to pray to be kept in *Old Age*, and unto the *End*, as at any time. And yet a Body would think, that he that hath escaped the Danger of his *younger*, should have no great Fear in his *latter Days*, but that his Experience might prepare him against any thing. However, it is not so: For many that have done well, and very commendably for a while, have shrewdly fallen to great Hurt. This may moderate our Grief, when *young Men* of great Hopes be taken away.

Ob! how much rather had I die in Peace quickly, than live to disgrace the Gospel, and be a *Stumbling-block* to any, and live with Reproach!

XXXV. What a sweet Life is it, when every part of the Day, hath some *Work* or other allotted unto it, and this done constantly, but without *Commonness*, or *Customariness* of Spirit in the doing it.

XXXVI. When a Man is in a drowsie unprofitable Course, and is not humbled for it, God oft lets him fall into some *sensible Sin*, to shame him with, to humble his Heart, and drive him more thoroughly to God, to bewail and repent of both.

XXXVII. A true Godly Man, hath never his *Life joyful* unto him, any longer than his Conversation is holy and heavenly. Oh! let it be so with me!

XXXVIII. It is some Comfort for a Man, whose *Heart* is out of Order, if he *seeth* it, and that with *heavy Mistrake*, and cannot be content until it be bettered.

XXXIX. I have seen of others, (which I desire to die, rather than it should be verified of me!) that many Ministers did never seem grossly to depart from God, until they grew *wealthy* and *great*.

XL. How much better is it to *resist* Sin, when we be tempted thereto, than to *repent* of it after we have committed it?

XLI. Whatsoever a *justified Man* doth by Direction of *God's Word*, and for which he hath either Precept, or Promise, he pleases God in it, and may be comfortable, in whatsoever falls out thereupon. But where Ignorance, Rashness, or our own Will carry us, we offend.

XLII. Let no Man boast of the Grace he hath had; for we stand not now by that, but it must be daily nourished; or else a Man shall become as other Men, and fall into noisome Evils: For what are we but a Lump of Sin of our selves?

XLIII. If God in Mercy arm us not, and keep us not in compass, Lord what Stuff will break from us! For what a deal of Poison is in our Hearts, if it may have Issue! And therefore what need of Watchfulness continually?

XLIV. The worst Day (commonly) of him that knoweth, and endeavoureth to walk by the *Daily Direction*, is freer from danger, and passed



in greater Safety, than the *best Day* of a Godly Man, that knows not this *Direction*.

XLV. Many shew themselves *forward Christians* in *Company* abroad, that yet where they should hear most Fruits, (as at home) are too secure; either thinking they are *not marked*, or if they be, do not much regard it. *This ought not to be.*

XLVI. Be careful to mark what falls out in the *Day*, in Heart, or Life; and be sure to look over all at *Night*, that hath been amiss in the *Day*: That so I may *lie down in Peace with God*, and Conscience. The contrary were a woful thing, and would cause *Hellish Unquietness*. Be sure therefore, that none of the malicious Subtilties of the *Devil*, nor the Naughtiness of my own Heart, do carry me further than at *Night*, I may sleep with quiet to Godward.

XLVII. When God saith, *Deut. 12. 7.* That *his may rejoice before him*, in all that they put their Hands unto: It's a great Liberty, and enjoy'd of but few. No doubt, many of our *Sorrows* come through our own *Default*, which we might avoid. And as for *Godly Sorrows*, it may stand with this *Rejoicing*. If therefore we may in all things rejoice, then from one thing to another, from our *Waking* to our *Sleeping*: First, In our *first Thoughts of God* in the Morning; then in our *Prayer*; after in our *Calling*, and while we are at it; then at our *Meat*, and in *Company*, and *Alone*, at *Home*, and *Abroad*, in *Prosperity*, and *Adversity*, in *Meditation*, in *Dealings*, and *Affairs*: And Lastly, in shutting up the *Day* in *Examination*, and viewing it over. And what hinders? If we be willing and resolved to do the Will of God, throughout the *Day*, but that we may rejoice before him, in all we put our Hand unto.

XLVIII. He that makes Conscience of his Ways, and to please God his *only Way*, is to take him to a *Daily Direction*, and some *set Rules*, thereby looking constantly to his Heart all the *Day*: And thus, for the most part, he may live *comfortably*; either not falling into any thing that should much disquiet him, or soon returning by Repentance to Peace again. But if a Man tie not himself thus to Rules, his Heart will break from him, and be disguised one way or another, which will breed continual Wound unto his Conscience, and so he shall never live any time together in Peace. The Cause why many Christians also give themselves great Liberty, in not accusing themselves for many Offences, is the want of some certain *Direction* to follow in the *Day*.

XLIX. When we feel unfitness to our ordinary Duties, we either begin to be discouraged, or else yield to Corruption, and neglect our Duties: Neither of both which should be, but without Discouragement we should resist our Untowardness, and shake it off, and flee to God by *Prayer*, even force our selves to pray for Grace, and fitness to pray; and being earnest, and praying in Faith, we may be assured, that we shall obtain Life and Grace.

L. When the Mind is distracted any way, unsettled, unquiet, or out of order, then get alone and muse, and see what hath brought us to this pass; consider how irksome a State this is, and unprofitable, pray to God, and work with thy own Heart, until it be brought in frame. An Hour or two alone, shall do a Man more good, than any other Courses or Duties.

LI. Aim (if it be possible) to spend one Afternoon in a Week, in visiting the Neighbours houses, Great use there is of it: Their Love to me will be much increased: Much occasion will be ministred unto me, for *Direction* to speak the more fitly in my Ministry. I am exceedingly grieved, that I am so distracted with Journeys about, that I cannot bring this to pass.

LII. I never go abroad, (except I season my Mind with good Meditations by the way, or read, or confer) but besides the loss of my Time, neglecting my ordinary Task at home, at my Study, I come home weary in Body, unsettled in Mind, untoward to Study. So that I have small cause to rejoice in my Goings forth, and I desire God to free me more and more from them: So may I also attend my own Neighbours more diligently, which is my great desire, and the contrary hath been, and is my great Burthen.

LIII. I have ever observed, that by *Journeys* and *Distractions* of divers kinds, in these my later Times, and by too often Preaching in my younger Years, I have been held from using means to get Knowledge, and grow therein: Which I counted ever the just Punishment of God upon me, for the neglect of my young Time, when I should and might have furnished myself.

LIV. When I am in the best Estate my self, I preach most zealously and profitably for the People.

LV. It breeds an incredible Comfort and Joy, when one hath got power over some such Corruption, as in former Times hath used to get the Mastery over him. This is a good Provocation to strive hard for to do, and a Cause of great Thankfulness when it so comes to pass.

LVI. If we be at any time much dejected for Sin, or otherwise disquieted in our Minds, the best way that can be, is to settle and quiet them by private Meditation and Prayer. Probatum est.

LVII. The humble Man is the strongest Man in the World, and surest to stand, for he goes out of himself for help. The proud Man is the weakest Man, and surest to fall: For he trusts to his own strength.

LVIII. It's good in all the Changes of our Life, whatsoever they be, to hold our own, and be not changed therewith from our Goodness: As Abraham, wherefore he came (after his Calling) still built his Altar to the true God, and called upon his Name: He changed his Place, but never changed his God.

LIX. Our whole Life under the Gospel should be nothing but Thankfulness, and Fruitfulness. And if we must judge our selves for our inward

Lutes



Lustre and Corruptions of *Pride, Dulness* in good Duties, *Earthliness, Impatience*. If we make not Confession of, and be not humbled for these, God will and doth, oft give us up to *open Sins*, that Stain and Blemish our Profession.

LX. The more we Judge our selves *Daily*, the less we shall have to do on our *Sick-beds*, and when we come to *die*. Oh! That is an unfit Time for *This*! We should have nothing to do then, but bear our *Pain* wisely, and be ready to *die*. Therefore, let us be exact in our Accounts every Day!

Reader, Having thus entertained thee with the *Memorials* of the Famous Mr. *John Rogers*, I will conclude them with transcribing a Remark, which I find in a Book published by Mr. *Giles Firmin*, 1681.

Some Excellent Men at home conformed, but groaned under the Burden; as, I remember, Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*, an Eminent

Saint; tho' he did conform, I never saw him wear a *Surplice*, nor heard him use but a few *Prayers*; and those, I think, he said *memoriter*, he did not read them: But this he would do in his *Preaching*, draw his Finger about his Throat, and say, *Let them take me and hang me up, so they will but remove these Stumbling Blocks out of the Church*. But how many Thousands of Choice Christians pluck'd up their Stakes here, forsook their Dear Friends and Native Country, shut up themselves in Ships, (to whom a Prison for the time, had been more eligible) went remote into an howling Wilderness, there underwent great Hardships, Water was their common Drink, and glad if they might have had but that which they had given at their Doors here, (many of them :) and all this Suffering was to avoid your Impositions, and that they might dwell in the House of God, and enjoy all things therein, according to his own Appointment.

CHAP. XV.

*Bibliander Nov-Anglicanus. The LIFE of Mr. SAMUEL NEWMAN.*

*Nulla Tuas unquam Virtutes nesciet Aetas;  
Non fuis in Laudes Mors habet Attra Tuas.*

§ 1. NONE of the least Services, which the Pens of Ingenious and Industrious Men have done for the Church of God, hath been in the Writing of *CONCORDANCES* for that Miraculous Book, where, *Quicquid docetur est Veritas; Quicquid precipitur, Bonitas; Quicquid promittitur, Felicitas*. The Use of such Concordances is well understood by all that search the Scriptures, and think thereby to have Eternal Life: But most of all by those *Bezaleels*, whose Business 'tis (as one speaks) to cut and set in Gold the Diamonds of the Divine Word.

And therefore there have been many *Concordances* of the Bible since that *Origen* first led the way for such Complosures, and divers Languages; whereof, it may be, the *Maxima & absolutissima Concordantia*, most Compleat, have been those that were composed by the Two *Stephens*, Robert the Father and Henry the Son; these, as their Name signifies a *Crown*, so in this Work of theirs, like *Demosthenes* in his Oration, *Dei Corona*, have carried away the Garland from all that went afore them.

Now, in the Catalogue of *Concordances*, even from that of *R. Isaac Nathans*, in Hebrew, to all that have in many other derived Languages imitated it, there is none to be compared unto that of Mr. *Samuel Newman*, in English. Indeed, first *Morbeck* in a *Concordance*, which pointed unto *Chapters*, but not unto *Verses*; then *Cotton*, who though no Clergy-man himself,

yet by his more, but yet not quite perfect *Concordance* and his Diligence, obliged all Clergy-men; and afterwards *Bernard*, who yet (no more than his Name's sake) *saw not all things*; and then *Downham*, *Wickens*, *Bennet*, and how many more? have done virtuously; but *Thou*, Newman, hast excelled them all! It hath been a just Remark, sometimes, made by them, who are so wise as to observe these things; that the Lord Jesus Christ, in his Holy Providence, hath chose especially to make the Names of those Persons Honourable, who have laboured in their Works, especially to put Honour upon the Sacred Scriptures. And in Conformity to that Observation, there are Dues to be now paid unto the Memory of Mr. *Samuel Newman*, who that the Scriptures might be preserved for the Memory, as well as the Understanding of the Christian World, first compiled in England, a more Elaborate *Concordance* of the Bible, than had ever yet been seen in Europe; and after he came to New-England, made that *Concordance* yet more elaborate, by the Addition of not only many Texts, that were not in the former; but also the Marginal Readings of all the Texts that had them, and by several other Contrivances to made the whole more Expedit, for the Use of them that Consulted it.

§ 2. The Life of Mr. *Samuel Newman*, commenced with the Century now running; at *Banbury*, where he was born of a Family, more Eminent and more Ancient for the Profession



of the True Protestant Religion, than most in the Realm of England. After his Parents, who had more Piety and Honesty, than *Worldly Greatness* to signalize them, had bestowed a Good Education upon him, and after his Abode in the University of *Oxford*, had given more Perfection to that Education, he became an *Able Minister of the New Testament*. But being under the Conscientious Dispositions of *Real Christianity*, which was then called *Puritanism*, the Persecution from the Prevailing *Hierarchy*, whereto he therefore became Obnoxious, deprived him of *Liberty*, for the peaceable Exercise of his Ministry. Whence it came to pass, that although we might otherwise have termed him a *Presbyter of One Town by Ordination*, we must now call him an *Evangelist of many*, through *Persecution*: For the *Episcopal* Molestations compelled him to no less than *Seven Removes*, and as many Places may now contend for the Honour of his Ministry, as there did for *Homer's* Nativity. But an *Eighth Remove*, whereto a Weariness of the former *Seven* drove him, shall bury in Silence the Claims of all other places unto him; for after the Year 1638. (in which Year, with many others, as *Excellent Christians*, as any Breathing upon *Earth*, he cross'd the Water to *America*) he must be styled, *A New-England Man*.

§ 3. After Mr. *Newman's* Arrival at *New-England*, he spent a Year and half at *Dorchester*, Five Years at *Weymouth*, and Nineteen Years at *Rehoboth*, which Name he gave unto the Town, because his Flock, which were before *strained* for Want of Room, now might say, *The Lord hath made Room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the Land*: Nor will it be wondered at, if one so well-versed in the *Scripture*, could think of none but a *Scripture*. None, for the Place of his Habitation. How many *Straits* he afterwards underwent at *Rehoboth*, in the *Dark-Day*, when he was almost the only Minister, whose *Invincible Patience* held out, under the Scandalous Neglect and Contempt of the Ministry, which the whole Colony of *Plymouth*, was for a while *Bewitched* into, it is best known unto the Compassionate Lord, who said unto him, *I know thy Works, and how thou hast born and hast Patience, and for my Name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted*. But, no doubt, the *Straits* did but more effectually Recommend *Heaven* to him as the only *Rehoboth*; whether he went *July 5*, in the Year of our Lord 1663. when by passing through *Nine Sevens* of Years, he was come to that which we call, *The Grand Climacterical*. Nor let it be forgotten, that in this Memorable and Miserable Year, each of the *Three Colonies of New-England* was headed of the Minister from whence they had most of their Influences; *Norron* went from the *Massachusetts* Colony, *Stone* went from *Connecticut* Colony, and *Newman* from *Plymouth* Colony, within a few Weeks of one another.

§ 4. He was a very *Lively Preacher*, and a

very *Preaching Liver*. He lov'd his Church as if it had been his Family, and he taught his Family, as if it had been his Church. He was an *Hard Student*; and as much *Toyl* and *Oyl*, as his Learned Name's sake *Neander* employed in Illustrations and Commentaries, upon the Old, Greek, Pagan Poets, our *Newman* bestowed in compiling his Concordances of the *Sacred Scriptures*: And the Incomparable *Reliſh* which the *Sacred Scriptures* had with him, while he had them thus under his Continual Ruminati- on, was as well a *Mean*, as a *Sign* of his arriving to an extraordinary Measure of that *Sanctity*, which the *Truth* produces. But of his Family- Discipline there was no part more notable, than this one; That once a Year he kept a Solemn day of *Humiliation* with his Family; and once a Year, a day of *Thanksgiving*; and on these days, he would not only enquire of his Household, what they had met withal to be *Humbled*, or to be *Thankful* for, but also he would Recruit the *Memoirs of his Diary*; by being denied the Sight wherof, our *History* of him is necessarily Creeped with much Imperfection.

But whether it were entred in that *Diary* or no, there was one Remarkable which once be- fel him, worthy of a mention in this *History*. He was once on a Journey home from *Boston* to *Rehoboth*: But hearing of a Lecture at *Dorchester* by the way, he thought with himself, *Perhaps I shall not be out of my way, if I go so far out of my way, as to take that Lecture*. There he found Mr. *Mather* at Prayer; the Prayer being ended, Mr. *Mather* would not be satisfied except he would Preach. Accordingly after the singing of a Psalm, he preached an *Excellent Sermon*; and by that Sermon, a poor Sinner, well known in the Place, was remarkably converted unto God, and became a Serious and Eminent Christian.

§ 5. *Hospitality* was an *Essential* of his Character; and I can tell when he entertained *Angels* not *Unaware*s. 'Tis doubtless, a Faulty piece of *Insensibility*, among too many of the Faithful, that they do little consider the Guard of *Holy Angels*, wherewith our Lord *Jesus Christ* wonderfully supplies us against the *Mischief* and *Malice of Wicked Spirits*. Those *Holy Angels*, are, it may be, *Two Hundred and Sixty times* mentioned in the *Sacred Oracles of Heaven*; and yet we that read so much in those Oracles, are so *Earthly-minded*, as to take little Notice of them. 'Tis a marvellous thing, that as one says, *The Natives of Heaven* do not grudge to attend upon those, who are only the *Demmons* thereof; and that, as the *Ancient* expresses it, we may see the whole *Heaven* at work for our Salvation; God the *Father* sending his *Son* to Redem us, both the *Father* and the *Son* sending their *Spirit* to guide us, the *Father*, *Son* and *Spirit* sending their *Angels* to minister for us. Now of the whole *Angelical* Ministration concerned for our Good, there is, it may be, none more considerable, than the illustrious *Convey and Conduct*, which they give unto the *Spirits* of Believers, when being ex-  
pired,



pired, they pass through the Territories of the Prince of the Power of the Air, unto the Regions, where they must attend until the Resurrection. What *Elijah* had at his Translation, *A Chariot of Angels*, does, in some sort, accompany all the Saints at their Expiration; they are carried by Angels unto the Feast with Abraham, and Angels do then Receive them into Everlasting Habitations. The Faith of this matter has therefore filled the Departing Souls of many Good Men, with *A Joy unspeakable and full of Glory*: Thus, the famous Lord Mornay, when Dying, said, *I am taking my Flight to Heaven; here are Angels that stand ready to carry my Soul into the Bosom of my Saviour*; thus the famous Dr. Holland, when dying, said, *O thou Fiery Chariot, which comest down to fetch up Elijah, you Angels, that attended the Soul of Lazarus, bear me into the Bosom of my best Beloved*: Thus we know of another, that when Dying, said, *O that you had your Eyes opened to see what I see; I see Millions of Angels; God has appointed them to carry my Soul up to Heaven, where I shall behold the Lord Face to Face*. And now, let my Reader accept another Instance of this Dying and most Lively Expectation!

Our *Newman*, towards the Conclusion of his Days, advanced more and more towards the Beginning of his *Joys*: And a *Joyful* as well as a *Prayerful, Watchful, and Fruitful* Temper of Soul, observably irradiated him. At length, being yet in Health, he preached a Sermon on these Words in Job 14. 14. *All the Days of my appointed Time will I wait, until my Change come*: Which proved his *Last*. Falling sick hereupon, he did in the Afternoon of a following Lords Day ask a Deacon of his Church to pray with him; and the pious Deacon having finished his Prayer, this Excellent Man turned about, saying, *And now ye Angels of the Lord Jesus Christ, Come, do your Office!* with which Words he immediately expired his Holy Soul, into the Arms of Angels: The Spirit of this *Just Man*, was immediately with the Innumerable Company of Angels.

§ 6. The Believing Sinner, then has the Forgiveness of Sin effectually declar'd and assur'd unto him, when the Holy Spirit of God, with a Special Operation (which is call'd, *The Seal of the Holy Spirit*) produces in him a Solid, Powerful, Wonderful, and Well grounded Persuasion of it; and when he brings home the Pardoning Love of God unto the Heart, with such Immediate and Irresistible Efficacy, as marvelously moves and melts the Heart, and overwhelms it with the Inexpressible Comfortations of a Pardon. The Forgiveness of Sin, may be Hopefully, but cannot be Joyfully, evident unto us, without such a Special Operation of the Holy Spirit, giving Evidence thereunto. When we set our selves to argue our Justification, from the Marks of our Sanctification, that we can find upon our selves, we do well; we work right; we are in an orderly way of proceeding. But yet, we cannot well see our Sanctification,

except a Special Operation of the Spirit of God, help our Sight; and if we do see our Sanctification, yet our Sight of our Justification will be no more than feeble, except a Special Operation of the Spirit of God shall comfort us. Our own Argument may make us a little egly; and it is our Duty to be found in that Rational way of Arguing; but this meer Argument of our own, will not bring us to that Joyful Peace of Soul, that will carry us triumphantly thro' the Dark Valley of the Shadow of Death, and make us Triumph over our Doubts, our Fears, and all our Discouragements. At last, the Spirit of God, He will come in gloriously upon our Hearts, and cause us to receive the Pardon of our Sins, offered freely thro' Christ unto us; and then, we shall Rejoice with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory. Nevertheless, Whenever the Forgiveness of our Sins, is by a Special Operation of the Holy Spirit Reveald unto us, the Symptoms of a Regenerate Soul, do always accompany it. Tho' the Marks of Sanctification are not enough, to give us the full Joy of our Justification; yet they give us the Proof of it. When a Special Operation of the Holy Spirit, gives us to see our Justification, it will give us to see our Sanctification too.

In writing this, I have written a considerable Article of our Church-History: For it was this Article, that perhaps more than any whatsoever, exercised the Thoughts and Pens of our Churches, for many Years together. But the mention hereof, serves particularly to introduce a few more Memoirs of our Holy Newman.

All Good Christians do sometimes Examine themselves about their Interior State: And they that would be Great Christians, must often do it. Tho' the Reserv'd Papers of our Newman, are too carelessly lost, yet I have recovered one, which runs in such Terms as these.

- Notes, or Marks of Grace, I find in my self; Not wherein I desire to glory, but to take ground of Assurance; and after our Apostles Rules, To make my Election sure, tho' I find them but in weak Measure.
- 1. I find, I love God, and desire to love God, principally for himself.
- 2. A Desire to Requite Evil with Good.
- 3. A looking up to God, to see him, and his Hand, in all things that befall me.
- 4. A Greater Fear of displeasing God, than all the World.
- 5. A Love to such Christians as I never saw, or received Good from.
- 6. A Grief, When I see God's Commands broken by any Person.
- 7. A Mourning for not finding the Assurance of God's Love, and the Sense of his Favour, in that comfortable manner, at one Time, as at another; and not being Able to serve God as I should.
- 8. A Willingness to give God the Glory of any Ability to do Good.



9. A Joy, when I am in *Christian Company*, in *Godly Conference*.  
 10. A Grief, when I perceive it goes ill with *Christians*, and the contrary.  
 11. A constant Performance of *Secret Duties*, between God and my self, Morning and Evening.  
 12. A bewailing of such *Sins*, which none in the World can accuse me of.  
 13. A choosing of *Suffering* to avoid *Sin*.

But having thus mentioned the *Self-Examination*, which this holy Man accustomed himself unto, I know not; but this may be a very proper Opportunity, to observe, That the *Holiness* of our *Primitive Christians*, in this Land, was more than a little expressed and improved, by this piece of *Christianity*. And that I may serve this Design of *Christianity*, upon the devout Reader, I will take this Opportunity to digress, (if it be a *Digression*) so far, as to recite a passage I lately read in a Paper, which a *private Christian*, one of our Godly Old Men, who died not long since, (namely Mr. *Clap*, once the Captain of our Cattle) did, at his Death, leave behind him.

That Godly Man had long been labouring under Doubts and Fears, about his *inferiour State* before God. At last he was one Day considering with himself, what was his most *beloved Sin*. Herewithal he considered, whether in case the Lord would assure him, that *all Sin* should be for ever pardoned unto him, and he

should arrive safe to Heaven in the Issue, yet he should not in the mean time have that one Sin mortified, and be delivered from the Reign and Rage of that one Sin, — Whether this would content him? Hereunto he found and said, before the Lord, *That this would not content him*. And hereupon the Spirit of God immediately irradiated his Mind, with a strange and a strong Assurance of the Divine Love unto him. He was dissolved into a Flood of Tears, with assurance, That God had loved him with an everlasting Love. And from this time, the Assurance of his Pardon, conquered his Doubts and Fears, I think, all the rest of his Days.

Our too defective History of our *Newman*, I will conclude, as *Blasphosus* did in his History of *Johannes Cornu*: *Longum esset Elogia hujus viri narrare. Sed perfectior Historiâ, ut de aliis viret, ita & de isto, consummatur, & quotidie augetur in Vita eternâ; Quam da nobis, O Dominò Deus, in gloria cum gaudio legendam. Amen.*

## Epitaphium.

Mortuus est NEANDER Nov-Anglus,  
 Qui ante mortem dedit mori,  
 Et obiit eâ morte, quæ potest esse, Ars bene moriendi.

## CHAP. XVI.

Doctor Irrefragabiles. THE LIFE of Mr. SAMUEL STONE.

§ 1. IF the Church of *Rome* do boast of her *Cornelius a Lapide*, who hath published Learned Commentaries upon almost the whole Bible, the Protestant and Reformed Church of *New-England*, may boast of her *Samuel Stone*, who was better skill'd than the other in Sacred *Philology*, and whose Learned Sermons and Writings were not fluted with such *Trifles* and *Fables*, and other Impertinencies, as fill many Pages in the Compoſures of the other.

§ 2. In his Youth, after his leaving of the University of *Cambridge*, where *Emanuel-Colledge* had instructed him with the *Light*, and nourish'd him with the *Cap* of that famous University, he did, with several other Persons, that proved famous in their Generation, sit at the Feet of a most excellent *Gamaliel*; attending upon that eminently Holy Man of God, whom I will venture to call, *Saint Blackberry*. That Reverend *Richard Blackberry*, whose most Angelical sort of Life, you may read among the last of *Sam. Clark's Collections*, was a Tutor to Mr.

*Stone*; and you may reasonably expect, that such a *Scholar*, should have a double Portion of the Spirit, which there was in such a Tutor.

§ 3. Having been an accomplished, industrious, but yet persecuted Minister of the Gospel, in *England*, he came to *New-England*, in the same Ship that brought over Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Hooker*. A Ship, which in those Three Worthies, brought from *Europe* a richer Loading, than the richest that ever sail'd back from *America* in the *Spanish Flota*; even that Wreck which had on Board, among other Treasures, one entire Table of Gold, weighing above Three thousand and three hundred Pound. Indeed the Foundation of *New-England* had a precious *Jem* laid in it, when Mr. *Stone* arrived in these Regions.

But the Circumstances of this Removal, require to be related with more of Particularities. The Judicious Christians that were coming to *New-England* with Mr. *Hooker*, were desirous to obtain a Colleague for him, and being disap-

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pointed of obtaining *Mr. Cotton* for that purpose, (who nevertheless took it very kindly, that *Mr. Hooker* had sent them unto him) they began to think, that a couple of such great Men might be more serviceable *asunder*, than together. So their next Agreement was, to procure some able and godly young Man, who might be an *Assistant* unto *Mr. Hooker*, with something of a *Disciple* also; and those Three, *Mr. Shepard*, *Mr. Norton*, and *Mr. Stone*, were to this end proposed; and *Mr. Stone*, then a Lecturer at *Torchester in Northamptonshire*, was the Person upon whom at length it fell, to accompany *Mr. Hooker* into *America*.

§ 4. From the *New-English Cambridge*, he went Colleague to *Mr. Hooker*, with a chosen and a devout Company of Christians, who gathered a famous Church, at a Town which they call'd *Hartford*, upon the well-known River of *Connecticut*. There he continued feeding the Flock of our Lord, fourteen Years, with *Mr. Hooker*, and sixteen Years after him; till he that was born at *Hartford* in *England*, now on *July 20. 1663.* died in *Hartford of New-England*; and went unto the Heavenly Society, whereof he would with some Longing say, *Heaven is the more desirable, for such Company as Hooker, and Shepard, and Hains, who are got there before me.*

§ 5. His way of living was godly, sober, and righteous, and like that great Apostle who was his *Name-sake*, he could seriously and sincerely profess, *Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee.* But there were two things, wherein the *Power of Godliness* uses to be most remarkably manifested and maintained; and he was remarkable for both of these things; namely, frequent *Fastings*, and exact *Sabbaths*. He would, not rarely, set apart whole Days for *Fasting and Prayer* before the Lord, whereby he ripened his blessed Soul for the *Inheritance of the Saints in Light*. And when the Weekly Sabbath came, which he still began in the *Evening* before, he would compose himself unto a most heavenly Frame in all things, and not let fall a Word, but what should be grave, serious, pertinent. Moreover, it was his Custom, that the Sermon which he was to preach on the Lord's Day in his Assembly, he would the Night before, deliver to his own Family. A Custom which was attended with several Advantages.

§ 6. Being ordained the Teacher of the Church in *Hartford*, he apprehending himself under a particular and peculiar Obligation, to endeavour the Edification of his People, by a more *Doctrinal* way of Preaching: Accordingly, as he had the Art of keeping to his Hour, so he had an incomparable Skill at filling of that Hour with Nervous Discourses, in the way of *Common-place and Proposition*, handling the Points of Divinity, which he would conclude with a brief and close Application: And then he would in his Prayer, after Sermon, put all into such pertinent Confessions, Petitions, and Thanksgivings, as notably digested his Doctrine into Devotion: He was

a Man of Principles, and in the Management of those Principles, he was both a *Load-stone*, and a *Flint-stone*.

§ 7. He had a certain Plesancy in Conversation, which was the Effect and Symptom of his most ready Wit; and made Ingenious Men to be as *Covetous* of his Familiarity, as Admirers of his Ingenuity. Possibly he might think of what *Suidas* reports concerning *Macarius*, That by the Plesancy of his Discourses on all Occasions, he drew many to the Ways of God. He might be inclined, like *Dr. Staunton*, who said, *I have used my self to be cheerful in Company, that so Standers by might be the more in Love with Religion, seeing it consistent with Cheerfulness.* Hence facetious Turns were almost Natural to him, in his Conversation with such, as had the Sense to comprehend the Subtleties of his Reparties. But still under such a Reserve, as to escape the Sentence of the Canon of the Council of Carthage, *Clericum scurrilem & verbis turpibus jocularitatem, ab officio retrahendum esse censimus.*

§ 8. Reader, What should be the meaning of this? Our *Mr. Stone*, about, or before the Year 1650, when all things were in a profound Calm, delivered in a Sermon his Pre apprehensions, that Churches among them would come to be broken by Schism, and sudden Censures, and angry Removes: And that e'er they were aware, these Mischiefs would arise among them; in the Churches Prayers against Prayers, Hearts against Hearts, Tears against Tears, Tongues against Tongues, and Fists against Fists, and horrible Prejudices and Underminings. Many Years did not pass, before he saw in his own Church, all of this accomplished. He little thought that his own Church, must be the Stage of these Tragedies, when he told some of his Friends, *That he should never want their Love.* He did live to undergo what we are now going to signify:

Towards the latter end of his time, this present evil World, was made yet more Evil unto him, through an unhappy Difference, which arose between him and a Ruling Elder in the Church, whereof he was himself a Teaching Elder. They were both of them Godly Men; and the true Original of the Misunderstanding between Men that were of to Good an Understanding, has been rendered almost as obscure as the Nile of *Connecticut-River*. But it proved in its unhappy Consequences, too like that River in its great Annual Inundations, for it overspread the whole Colony of *Connecticut*. Such a monstrous Enchantment there was upon the Minds even of those who were Christians, and Brethren, that in all the Towns round about, the People generally made themselves Parties, either to one side, or t'other, in this Quarrel; tho' Multitudes of them, scarce ever distinctly knew, what the Quarrel was: And the Factions insinuated themselves into the smallest, as well as the greatest Affairs of those Towns. From the Fire of the Altar, there issued Thundrings and Lightnings, and Earthquakes, through the Colony. As once in *Constantinople*, a Fire that began



began in the Church consumed the *Senate-House*. Thus the Fire which began in the Church more than a little affected the *Senate-House* in *Connelicut*: And the People also were many of them as fiercely set against one another, as the *Combites* in the Poet were against the *Tentyrites*. A World of Sin was doubtless committed, even by Pious Men on this Occasion, while they permitted to many things contrary to the Law of Charity, and to much mispending of their Time, and misplacing of their Zeal, as must needs occur in their woful Variance. Alas! How many of Solomon's wife Proverbs were explained and instanced in the *Follies* of these Contests! Indeed, for the compoling of these *Brangles*, there was the Help of *Council* called in; but every *Council* fetch'd from the Neighbourhood, was thought *prejudiced*, for which Cause, at last, a *Council* was desired from the Churches about *Boston*, in the *Majachusetts Bay*, whose Messengers took the pains, thus to Travel more than an Hundred Miles for the *Pacification* of these Animosities; and a sort of *Pacification* was thereby attained; but yet not without the Diffinition and Removal of many Virtuous People, further up the *River*; whereby some other Churches came to be gathered, which are now famous in our *Israel*. 'Tis not easy to comprehend, and I with no such Faithful Servant of God may experience it; how much the Spirit of Mr. Stone, was worn by the Continual Dropping of this Contention. — *Gutta cavat Lapidem*. But the Dust of Mortality being thrown upon those Good Men, they have not only left *stinging* one another, but also they are together *Hroed* with *Unjarring Love*, in the Land that flows with what is better than *Milk and Honey*. As for Mr. Stone, if it were *Metaphorically* true (what they *Proverbially* said) of *Beza*, that he *had no Gall*, the Physicians that opened him after his Death, found it *Literally* true in this worthy Man.

§ 9. In his Church-Discipline, he was, perhaps, the exactest of that which we call *Congregational*, and being asked once to give a Description of the *Congregational Church-Government*, he replied, *It was a speaking Antifracty in the Face of a silent Democracy*.

§ 10. He was an Extraordinary Person at an Argument; and as clear, and smart a *Disputant*, as most that ever lived in the World. Hence, when any *Scholar* came to him with any *Question*, it was his Custom to bid him take which part the *Quarist* himself pleased, either *Positive* or *Negative*, and he would most

argumentatively dispute against him; whereby having disputed one another into the *Narrow* of the Case, he would then give the *Enquirer* the most judicious and satisfying Determination of his *Problem*, that could be imagined. Yea, what *Cicero* says of one, might almost be said of him, *Nullum unquam in Disputationibus rem defendit, quam non probavit; nullum oppugnavit, quem non evertit*.

§ 11. The World has not been entertained with many of his Compositions. But certain Strokes of Mr. Hudson and Mr. Cowdrey, fetch'd one Spark out of this well compacted Stone; which was, *A Discourse about the Logical Notion of a Congregational Church*; wherein some thought, that as a *Stone* from the *Sling of David*, he has mortally wounded the Head of that *Goliath*, *A National Political Church*. At least, he made an Essay, to do what was done by the *Stone of Boban*, setting the *Bounds* between Church and Church, as *That* between *Tribe* and *Tribe*.

Moreover, I find in a Book, which a late Author hath written *On Free-Grace*, this Passage; *Might the World be so happy, as to see a very Elaborate Confutation of the Antinomians, written by a very acute and solid Person, a Great Disputant, viz. Mr. Stone of New-England, a Congregational Divine, it would easily appear, that the Congregational are not Antinomian*. And Mr. Baxter, in one of his last Works, does utter his *Dying Willes*, for the Resurrection of that *buried Manuscript*.

But one of the most Elaborate things written by Mr. Stone, or indeed, in this Land, is his *Body of Divinity*; wherein the Reader has in a *Richardsonian* Method, curiously drawn up the *Doctrine* of the Protestant, and Reformed, and *New-English* Churches; and the *Marrow* of all that had been Reached, by the hard and long Studies of this Great Student in *Theology*. This *Rich Treasure* has often been Transcribed by the vast Pains of our Candidates for the Ministry, and it has made some of our most Considerable *Divines*. But all Attempts for the Printing of it, hitherto proved Abortive.

## Epitaphium.

— Quem Nubila Vita Coronant.

CHAP.



## CHAP. XVII.

## THE LIFE of Mr. WILLIAM THOMPSON.

§ 1. **T**Here is no Experienced Minister of the Gospel, who hath not in the Cases of *Tempted Souls*, often had this Experience, that the *Ill Cases* of their distempered *Bodies*, are the frequent Occasion and Original of their *Temptations*. There are many Men, who in the very Constitution of their *Bodies*, do afford a *Bed*, wherein busy and bloody *Devils*, have a fort of a Lodging provided for them. The *Mafs of Blood* in them, is disordered with some Fiery *Aids*, and their *Brains* or *Bowels* have some *Juices* or *Ferments*, or *Vapours* about them, which are most unhappy *Engines* for *Devils* to work upon their *Souls* withal. The *Vitiated Humours* in many Persons, yield the *Steams*, whereinto *Satan* does insinuate himself, till he has gained a fort of *Possession* in them, or at least, an Opportunity to shoot into the Mind, as many *Fiery Darts*, as may cause a sad Life unto them; yea, 'tis well if *Self-Murder* be not the sad end, into which these hurried People are thus precipitated. *New-England*, a Country where *Splenetic* Maladies are prevailing and pernicious, perhaps above any other, hath afforded Numberless Instances, of even *pious People*, who have contracted those *Melancholy Dispositions*, which have unhinged them from all Service or Comfort; yea, not a few Persons have been hurried thereby to lay *Violent Hands* upon themselves at the last. There are among the *unsearchable Judgments* of God!

§ 2. Mr. William Thompson was a Reverend Minister of the Gospel, who felt in himself, the Vexations of that *Melancholy*, which Persons in his Office do often see in others. He was a very powerful and successful *Preacher*; and we find his Name sometimes joined in the Title-Page of several Books, with his Countryman, Mr. Richard Mather, as a *Writer*. Nor was *New-England* the only part of *America*, where he zealously published the Messages and Mysteries of Heaven, after that the English *Hierarchy* had persecuted him from the like Labours in *Lincolshire*, over into *America*; but upon a Mission from the Churches of *New-England*, he carried the Tidings of Salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ into *Virginia*: Where he saw a Notable Fruit of his Labours, until that Faction there, which call'd it self, *The Church of England*, persecuted him from thence also. *Satan*, who had been after an extraordinary manner irritated by the Evangelic Labours of this Holy Man, obtained the Liberty to sift him; and thence, after this Worthy Man had served the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Church of our *New-England* Braintree, he fell into that *Baleum Diaboli*, a black *Melancholy*, which for divers Years almost wholly disabled him for the

Exercise of his Ministry: But the end of this *Melancholy*, was not so Tragical, as it sometimes is with some, whom yet because of their Exemplary Lives, we dare not censure for their Prodigious Deaths. It is an Observation of no little Consequence, in our Christian Warfare, That for all the fierce *Temptations* of the Devil upon us, there is a Time limited; an *Hour of Temptation*. During this Time, the Devil may grow the more furious upon us, the more we do Resist him. We must Resist until the Time, which is prefixt by God, but unknown to us, is expired: And then, we shall find it a Law in the *Invisible World* strictly kept unto, That if the Resistance be carried on to such a Period, tho' perhaps with many Intervening Foyle, the Devil will be gone; yea, whether he will or no, we must be gone. There is a Law for it, which obliges him to a Flight, and a Flight that carries a Fright in it; a Fear from an Apprehension that God, with his *Good Angels*, will come in, with terrible Chastisements upon him, if he presume to continue his *Temptations* one Moment longer, than the Time that had been allow'd unto him. All this, may be implied, in that Passage of the Apostle, Resist the Devil, and he will flee from you. And as our Lord, being Twice more furiously Tempted by the Devil, Drew near to God, with Extraordinary Prayer; but when the Time for the Temptation was out, God by his Angels then sensibly drew near unto him, with fresh Consolations: To this, no doubt, the Apostle refers, when he adds, Draw nigh to God, and he shall draw nigh to you. Accordingly, the Pastors and the Faithful, of the Churches in the Neighbourhood, kept Resisting of the Devil, in his cruel Assaults upon Mr. Thompson, by continually Drawing near to God, with ardent Supplications on his Behalf: And by praying always, without Fainting, without ceasing, they saw the Devil at length Flee from him, and God himself Draw near unto him, with unutterable Joy. The End of that Man is Peace!

§ 3. A short Flight of our Poetry shall tell the rest.

## REMARKS

On the Bright and the Dark Side,  
of that American Pillar,  
The Reverend Mr. William Thompson;  
Pastor of the Church at Braintree.  
Who Triumphed on Dec. 10. 1666.

BUT may a Rural Pen try to set forth  
Such a Great Fathers Ancient Grace and  
Worth!



I undertake a no less Arduous Theme,  
Than the Old Sages found the *Chaldee Dream*.  
'Tis more than *Tythes* of a profound Respect,  
That must be paid such a *Melchisedeck*.

Oxford this *Light*, with *Tongues* and *Arts*  
doth Trim;  
And then his *Northern Town* doth challenge him:  
His Time and Strength he center'd there in *this*;  
To do *Good Works*, and Be what *Now* he is.  
His *Eugent Vertues* there, and *Learned Strains*,  
*Tall comely Preference*, Life unfold'd with *Stains*,  
Things most on *WORTHIES*, in their *Stories*  
writ,  
Did him to moves in *Orbs of Service* fit.  
Things more peculiar yet, my *Muse*, intend,  
Say *Stranger* Things than these; to weep and  
end.

When he forsook first his *Oxonian Cell*,  
Some *Scores* at once from *Popish Darknells* fell,  
This *Reformer* studied! Rare *First Fruits*!  
Shaking a *Crab-Tree* thus by hot *Disputes*,  
The *Acid Juice* by *Miracle* turn'd *Wine*,  
And rais'd the *Spirits* of our *Young Divine*.  
Hearers, like *Doves*, flock't with contentions  
Wing,  
Who should be first, feed most, most *Homeward*  
bring.  
Laden with *Honey*, like *Hyblean Bees*,  
They knead it into *Combs* upon their *Knees*.

Why he from *Europe's* Pleasant *Garden* fled,  
In the next *Age*, will be with *Horror* said.  
*Braintree* was of this *Jewel* then possess'd,  
Until himself, he labour'd into *Rest*.  
His *Inventory* then, with *Johns*, was took;  
A *Rough Coat*, *Girdle* with the *Sacred Book*.

When *Reverend Knowles* and he, fail'd hand  
in hand,  
To *CHRIST* espousing the *Virginian Land*,  
Upon a *Ledge* of *Craggy Rocks* near stav'd,  
His *Bible* in his *Bosom* thrusting fav'd;  
The *Bible*, the best of *Cordial* of his *Heart*,  
*Come Floods*, *Come Flames*, (cry'd he) we'll ne-  
ver part.

A *Confession* of *Great Converts* there,  
Shone round him, and his *Heavenly Glory* were.  
*GOOKINS* was one of *these*: By *Thompson's*  
Pains,  
*CHRIST* and *NEW-ENGLAND*, a dear  
*GOOKINS* gains.

With a *Rare Skill* in *Hearts*, this *Doctor*  
could  
Steal into them *Words* that should do them  
Good.

His *Balsams* from the *Tree of Life* distill'd,  
*Hearts* cleans'd and heal'd, and with *Rich Com-*  
*forts* fill'd.  
But here's the *Wo!* *Balsams* which others cur'd,  
Would in his own *Turn* hardly be endur'd.

*Apollyon* owing him a cur'd *Spleen*  
Who an *Apollos* in the *Church* had been,  
Dreading his *Traffick* here would be undone  
By *Num'rous Profelytes* he daily won,  
Accus'd him of *Imaginary Faults*,  
And push'd him down to into dismal *Vaults*:  
*Vaults*, where he kept long *Ember-Weeks* of  
Grief,

Till *Heaven Alarm'd* sent him in *Relief*.  
Then was a *Daniel* in the *Lions Den*,  
A *Man*, oh, how *Belov'd* of *God* and *Men*!  
By his *Bad side* an *Hebrew Sward* there lay,  
With which at last he drove the *Devil* away.  
*Quakers* too durst not bear his keen *Replies*,  
But *Fearing* it half drawn, the *Trembler* flies.  
Like *Lazarus*, new rais'd from *Death*, appears  
The *Saint* that had been *Dead* for many *Years*.  
Our *Nehemiah* said, *Shall such as I*  
*Desert* my *Flock*, and like a *Coward fly*!  
Long had the *Churches* begg'd the *Saints* Re-  
lease,

Releas'd at last, he dies in *Glorious Peace*.  
The *Night* is not so long, but *Phosphor's Ray*  
Approaching *Glories* doth on *High* display.  
*Faith's Eye* in him discern'd the *Morning Star*,  
His *Heart* leap'd; sure the *Sun* cannot be far.  
In *Extasies* of *Joy*, he Ravish'd cries,  
*Love, love the Lamb, the Lamb!* In whom he  
dies.

Dec. 10. 1666.

But the *Churches* of *New-England* having  
had another *Instance* of *Affliction* like that  
which exercis'd our *Thompson*, I shall  
chuse this *Place* to introduce it. *Lives*  
have been sometimes best written in the  
way of *Parallel*. To *Mr. William Thomp-*  
*son*, shall now therefore be *Parallel'd*, our  
*Mr. John Warham*.

C H A P.



## CHAP. XVIII.

## THE LIFE of Mr. JOHN WARHAM.

When the Time of Reformation was come on, one of the more effectual things, done towards that Reformation in England, about the middle of the former Century, was to send about the Kingdom certain *Itinerant Preachers*, with a License to preach the *Fundamentals of Religion*, instead of the Stuff, with which the Souls of the People had been formerly furnished. Upon this occasion, 'tis a Passage mentioned by the famous Dr. Burnet: *Many Complaints were made of those that were Licensed to Preach; and that they might be able to justify themselves, they begin generally to write and read their Sermons: And thus did this Custom begin; in which, what is wanting in the Heat and Force of Delivery, is much made up by the Strength and Solidity of the Matter: And it has produced many Volumes of as excellent Sermons, as have been preached in any Age.*

The Custom of Preaching with Notes, thus introduced, has been decry'd by many good Men, besides *Fanaticks*, in the present Age, and many poor and weak *Prejudices* against it have been pretended. But hear the Words of the most accomplished Mr. Baxter, unto some *Gain-sayers*: *It is not the want of our Abilities, that makes us use our Notes; but it's a Regard unto our Work, and the Good of our Hearers. I use Notes as much as any Man, when I take Pains; and as little as any Man, when I am lazy, or busy, and have not leisure to prepare. It is easier unto us, to preach three Sermons without Notes, than one with them. He is a simple Preacher, that is not able to preach a Day, without Preparation, if his Strength would serve. Indeed I would have Distinction made between the reading of Notes, and the using of Notes. It is pity that a Minister should so read his Notes, as to take away the *Vivacity*, and *Efficacy* of his Delivery; but if he use his Notes, as a *Lawyer* do's the *Minutes* whereupon he is to plead, and carry a full *Quiver* into the Pulpit with him, from whence he may with one cast of his Eye, after the lively shooting of one Arrow, fetch out the next, it might be a thousand ways advantageous.*

I suppose the first Preacher that ever thus preach'd with Notes in our New-England, was the Reverend Warham: Who though he were sometimes faulted for it, by some Judicious

Men, who had never heard him, yet when once they came to hear him, they could not but admire the notable Energy of his Ministry. He was a more vigorous Preacher than the most of them who have been applauded for, *never looking in a Book in their Lives*. His latter Days were spent in the Pastoral Care and Charge of the Church at *Windsor*, where the whole Colony of *Connecticut* consider'd him as a principal Pillar, and Father of the Colony.

But I have one thing to relate concerning him, which I would not mention, if I did not by the mention thereof, propound and expect the advantage of some, that may be my Readers. Know then, that tho' our Warham were as pious a Man as most that were out of Heaven, yet Satan often threw him into those deadly Fangs of *Melancholly*, that made him despair of ever getting thither. Such were the terrible Temptations, and horrible Buffetings, undergone sometimes by the Soul of this holy Man, that when he has administered the *Lord's Supper* to his Flock, whom he durst not starve by omitting to administer that Ordinance; yet he has forborn himself to partake at the same time in the Ordinance, through the fearful Desjections of his Mind, which perswaded him that those blessed Souls did not belong unto him. The dreadful Darknes which overwhelmed this Child of Light in his Life, did not wholly leave him till his Death. 'Tis reported, that he did even *set in a Cloud*, when he retired unto the glorified Society of those Righteous Ones, that are to shine forth, as the Sun in the Kingdom of their Father: Tho' some have asserted, that the Cloud was dispelled, before he expired.

What was desired by *Joannes Matthesius*, may now be inscribed on our W A R H A M, for an

## EPI TAPH.

*Securus recumbo hic mundi peritus iniqui;  
Et didici & docui, vulnera, Christe, tua.*



## CHAP. XIX.

## The LIFE of Mr. HENRY FLINT.

**A**ltho' there is a most sensible and glorious Demonstration of the Divine Providence over Human Affairs, in the *stupend Variety of Human Faces*, that among so many Millions of Men, their Countenances are distinguishable enough to preserve the Order of Human Society, and Conversation thereon depending; yet there have been some notable Instances of *Resemblance* in the World. They are not only *Twins*, which have sometimes had this *Resemblance*, in such a degree, as to occasion more Diversion, than the two *Sesia's* in *Plautus's Amphytrio*, but some other Persons have been too like one another to be known asunder, without Critical Observations of Accidental Circumstances. I will not mention the several Examples of *Likeness* reported by *Pliny*, because there is frequently as much *Likeness* between a *Plinyism* and a *Fable*. But *Mersennus* gives us the Names of two Men so extremely alike, that their nearest Relations were thereby most notoriously imposed upon. Yea, this *Likeness* has proceeded so far, that *Polystratus*, and *Hippocides*, two Philosophers much alike, were both born in the same Day; they were School-Fellows, and of the same Sect; they both dy'd in a great Age, and at the very same Instant. Further yet, the two famous Brothers at *Riez*, in *France*, perfectly alike, if one of them were sick, or sad, or sleepy, the other would immediately be so too. And the Story of the three *Gordians*, the one exactly like *Augustus*, the second exactly like *Pompey*, the third exactly like *Scipio*; he that has read *Pezellius*, doubtless will remember it.

I know not whether any of these *Likenesses* are greater, than what it was the *Desire* and *Study*, and in a lesser measure the *Attainment* of

that holy and worthy Man, Mr. Henry Flint, the Teacher of *Brain-tree*, to have unto Mr. Cotton, the well-known Teacher of *Boston*. Having *Twins* once born unto him, he called the one *John*, & other *Cotton*, and his Honouring Imitation of that Great Man, was as if he had been a *Twin* to *John Cotton* himself. In his exemplary Life, he was *John Cotton* to the Life; and in all the Circumstances of his Ministry, he propounded *John Cotton* for his Pattern; as apprehending that he followed *Jesus Christ*.

You may be sure, he that Copied after such an excellent Person, must write fair, tho' he should happen to fall any thing short of the Original.

Wherefore, having already written the Life of *John Cotton*, I need say nothing more of *Henry Flint*; but they are now both of them gone, where the *Harmony* is become yet more agreeable.

He that was a Solid Stone, in the Foundations of *New-England*, is gone to be a glorious One, in the Walls of the *New Jerusalem*.

He died April 27. 1668. and at his Death deserved the *Epitaph* once allowed unto *Mentzer*.

## Epitaphium.

Flintæus semper Meditatus Gaudia Cæli,  
Nunc tandem Cæli Gaudia Letus habet.

## CHAP. XX.

## The LIFE of Mr. RICHARD MATHER.

*Florente verbo, omnia Florent in Ecclesia.*

*Luther.*

**I**T is a memorable Passage, which Doctor Hall, after a Personal Examination of it, ventures to relate, as most credible, [in his Book of *Angels*]. That a certain Cripple called *John Trelille*, having been sixteen Years a miserable Cripple, did upon three Monitions in a Dream to do so, wash himself in *S. Matern's* Well, and was immediately restored unto the use of his Limbs, and became able to walk, and work, and maintain himself.

Reader, If thou hast any Feebleness upon thy Mind, in regard either of Piety, or thy Perswasion about the Church-Order of the Gospel, I will carry thee now to a Well of a *S. Matern*; which Name, I suppose, to be the *Cornish* Pronunciation of *that*, which was worn by the good Man, whose History is now going to be offered.

In the Night whereon our Lord was born, there was a glorious Light, with an Host of Angels



gels gloriously singing over Bethlehem; and the Birth of the great and good Shepherd, was thus revealed unto the Shepherds of that Country. The Magicians in the East, whether they had by their Conversations with the *troubful World*, a readier Eye to discern such Objects, or whether it were only the Sovereign and Gracious Providence of God, which thus directed them, they probably saw that *Glory of the Lord*. Possibly to them at a distance, it might seem a new Star hanging over Judea; but after two Years of Wonder and Surprize about it, they were informed by God, what it signified; and when they came near the place of the Lord's Nativity, 'tis likely that this *Glory*, once again appeared, to their fullest Satisfaction. This, till I see a better Account, must be that which I shall take about, *The Star of the Wise Men in the East*. But I am now to add, that in all Ages, there have been Stars to lead Men unto the Lord Jesus Christ: *Angelical Men* employ'd in the Ministry of our Lord, have been those happy Stars; and *we in the West*, have been so happy, as to see some of the first Magnitude; among which one was Mr. Richard Mather.

§ 2. It was at a small Town, called *Loveton*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Anno 1596, that so great a Man, as Mr. Richard Mather was born, of Parents that were of Credible and Ancient Families. And these his Parents, tho' by some Disasters, their Estate was not a little sunk below the Means of their Ancestors, yet were willing to bestow a *Liberal Education* on him; upon occasion whereof Mr. Mather afterwards thus exprest himself: *By what Principles and Motives my Parents were chiefly induced to keep me at School, I have not to say, nor do I certainly know: But this I must needs say, that this was the singular good Providence of God towards me, (who bath the Hearts of all Men in his Hands) thus to incline the Hearts of my Parents; for in this thing the Lord of Heaven shewed me such Favour, as had not been shewed to many my Predecessors and Contemporaries in that place.* They sent him to School at *Winwick*, where they Boarded him in the *Winter*; but in the *Summer* so warm was his desire of Learning, that he travelled every Day thither, which was *four Miles* from his Father's House. Whilst he was thus at School, *Multu tultu fecitque Puer*—he met with an Extremity of Discouragement from the *Orbilius* Harshness and Fierceness of the Pedagogue; who tho' he had bred many fine Scholars, yet for the Severity of his Discipline, came not much behind the Master of *Junius*, who would beat him eight times a Day, whether he were in a Fault, or no Fault. Our young Mather, tired under this Captivity, at last frequently and earnestly importuned of his Father, that being taken from the School, he might be disposed unto some *Secular Calling*; but when he had waded through his Difficulties, he wrote this Reflection thereupon: *God intended better for me, than I could have chosen for my self; and therefore, my Father, tho' in other things indulgent enough, yet in this would never conde-*

*scend to my Request, but by putting me in hope, that by his speaking to the Master, things would be amended, would still over-rule me to go on in my Studies: And good it was for me to be over-ruled by him, and his Discretion, rather than to be left to my own Affections and Desire. But, O, that all School-Masters would learn Wisdom, Moderation, and Equity, towards their Scholars; and seek rather to win the Hearts of Children by righteous Loving, and courteous Usage, than to alienate their Minds by Partiality, and undue Severity; which had been my utter Undoing, had not the good Providence of God, and the Wisdom and Authority of my Father prevented.*

§ 3. Yea, and here Almighty God made use of his otherwise cruel School-Master, to deliver this hopeful young Man from an Apprenticeship unto a *Popish Merchant*, when he was very near falling into the woful Snares of such a Condition; which Mercy of Heaven unto him was accompanied with the further Mercy of living under the Ministry of one Mr. *Palin*, then Preacher at *Leagh*: Of whom he would long after say, *That tho' his Knowledge of that good Man was only in his Childhood, yet the Remembrance of him was even in his Old Age comfortable to him, inasmuch as he observed such a penetrating Efficacy in the Ministry of that Man, as was not in the common sort of Preachers.*

§ 4. There were at this time, in *Toxteth Park* near *Liverpool*, a well-disposed People, who were desirous to erect a School among them, for the good Education of their Posterity. This People sending unto the School-Master of *Winwick*, to know whether he had any Scholar that he could recommend for a Master of their New School. Richard Mather was by him recommended unto that Service; and at the Persuasion of his Friends to attend that Service, he laid aside his Desire, and his Design of going to the University: Not unsensible of what hath been still observed, *Scholas esse Theologie pedisse quas, ac seminario Reipublice.* Now as it cannot justly be reckoned any Blemish unto him, that at fifteen Years of Age he was a School-Master, who carried it with such Wisdom, Kindness, and grave Reservation, as to be loved and feared by his young Folks, much above the most that ever used the *Perula*; so 'twas many ways advantageous unto him, to be thus employed. Hereby he became a more accurate Grammarian, than *Droines* too often are; and at his leisure Hours he so studied, as to become a notable Proficient in the other *Liberal Arts*.

Moreover, 'twas by means hereof, that he experienced an effectual Conversion of Soul to God, in his tender Years, even before his going to *Oxford*; and thus he was preserved from the Temptations and Corruptions, which undid many of his Contemporaries in the University. That more thorough and real Conversion in him, was occasioned by observing a Difference between his own Walk, and the most exact, watchful, fruitful, and prayerful Conversation of some in the Family, of the learned and pious Mr. *Edward Aspinwall*, of *Toxteth*, where he sojournd.



jourued. This Exemplary Walk of that Holy Man, caused many sad Fears to arise in his own Soul, that he was himself out of the way; which Consideration with his hearing of Mr. Harrison, then a Famous Minister at Hyton, preach about *Regeneration*, and his reading of Mr. Perkins's Book, that shows, *How far a Reprobate may go in Religion*; were the means whereby the God of Heaven brought him into the State of a *New Creature*. The *Troubles of Soul*, which attended his *New Birth*, were so exceeding Terrible, that he would often retire from his appointed Meals unto secret Places, to lament his Miseries; but after some time, and about the *Eighteenth Year* of his Age, the Good Spirit of God healed his *Broken Heart*, by pouring thereinto the Evangelical Consolations of His Great and Precious Promises.

§ 5. After this, he became a more Eminent Blessing, in the *Calling*, wherein God had now disposed him; and such Notice was taken of him, that many Persons were sent unto him, even from Remote Places, for their Education; whereof, not a few went well accomplished, from him to the *University*. But having spent some Years in this Employment, he judged it many ways advantageous for him to go unto the *University* himself, that he might there converse with Learned Men and Books, and more improve himself in Learning, than he could have done at Home. Accordingly, at *Oxford*, and particularly at *Brazen-Nose-College in Oxford*, he now resided, where together with the Satisfaction of seeing his Old Scholars, who had by his Education, been fitted for their being there, he had the Opportunity further to enrich himself by Study, by Conference, by Disputation, and other *Academical Entertainment*: As considering, that the *Lamps* were to be lighted, before the *Incense* was to be burned in the Sanctuary. And here, he was more intimately acquainted with famous Dr. *Worral*, by whose Advice, he read the Works of *Peter Ramus*, with a singular Attention and Affection; which Advice, he did not afterwards repent that he had followed.

§ 6. But it was not very long before the People of *Toxeth* sent after him, that he would return unto them, and instruct, not their Children as a *School-master*, but themselves as a Minister: With which Invitation, he at last complied; and at *Toxeth*, Nov. 13. 1618. he preached his *First Sermon*, with great Acceptance in a vast Assembly of People: But such was the Strength of his Memory, that what he had prepared for one, contained no less than Six long Discourses. He was after this ordained, with many others, by Dr. *Morton*, the Bishop of *Chester*, who after the Ordination was over, singled out Mr. *Mather* from the rest, saying, *I have something to say betwixt you and me alone*. Mr. *Mather* was now jealous, that some Informations might have been exhibited against him for his *Puritanism*, instead of which when the Bishop had him alone, what he said unto him was, *I have an earnest Request unto*

*you, Sir, and you must not deny me: 'Tis, that you would pray for me; for I know (said he) the Prayers of Men that fear God will avail much, and you I believe are such a one*. And being so settled in *Toxeth*, he married the Daughter of *Edmund Holt*, Esq. of *Bury in Lancashire*, Sept. 29. 1624. which Vertuous Gentlewoman, God made a Rich Blessing to him, for Thirty Years together; and a Mother of Six Sons, most of whom afterwards proved famous in their Generation.

§ 7. He preached every Lord's Day twice at *Toxeth*, and every Fortnight he held a *Tuesday Lecture*, at *Prescot*: Besides which, he often preached upon the *Holy Days*, not as thinking that any Day was now *Holy*, except the Christian Weekly Sabbath, but because there was then an Opportunity to cast the Net of the Gospel among much Fisk, in Great Assemblies, which then were convened, and would otherwise have been worse employed. In this, he followed the Examples of the Apostles, who preached most in populous Places, and this also on the Jewish Sabbaths, which yet were so far abrogated, that they charged the Faithful to Let no Man judge them in imposing the Observation thereof upon them.

He preached likewise very frequently at *Funerals*, as knowing, that though *Funeral Sermons* are wholly disused in some Reformed Churches, and have been condemned by some Decrees of Councils, yet this was chiefly because of the common Error committed in the Lavish Praises of the Dead on such Occasions, which therefore he avoided, instead thereof, only giving Counsels to the Living. Indeed, the Custom of Preaching at *Funerals* may seem *Ethical* in its Original; for *Publicola* made an Excellent Oration in the Praise of *Brutus*, with which the People were so taken, that it became a Custom, for famous Men, after this, at their Death, to be so celebrated; and when the Women among the *Romans* parted with their Ornaments, for the Publick Weal, the Senate made it lawful for Women also to be in the like manner celebrated. *Hinc mortuos Laudant Mos fluxit, quem nos hodie servamus*, if *Polydorus Virgil* may, as he sometimes may be believed. But the *Magdeburgenian Centuriators* tell us that this Rite was not practised in the Church, before the Beginning of the *Apostacy*. However, this Warchful Minister of our Lord, made his *Funeral Speeches* to be but a Faithful Discharge of his Ministry in Admonitions concerning the last things, whereby the Living might be edified. But thus in his Publick Ministry, he went over the 24th Chapter in the second of *Samuel*; the first Chapter of *Proverbs*; the first and sixth Chapters of *Isaiah*; the twenty second and twenty third Chapters of *Luke*; the Eighth Chapter of the *Romans*; the second Epistle to *Timothy*; the second Epistle of *John*, and the Epistle of *Jude*.

§ 8. Having spent about Fifteen Years, thus, in the Labours of his Ministry, his Lecture at *Prescot* in fine, gave him to find the Trath of

Quintilian's



Quintilian's Observation, *Magnam Famam & Magnam Quietem, eodem Tempore, Nemo potest Acquirere.* Through the Malice of Satan, and the Envy of the *Satanical*, there were now brought against him, those Complaints for his *Non-Conformity* to the Ceremonies, which in August, 1633, procured him to be *Suspended*. The *Suspension* continued upon him, till the November following, but then by the Intercession of some Gentlemen in *Lancashire*, and the Influence of *Simon Biby*, a near Alliance of the Bishop's Visitor, he was *Restored*. After his *Restoration*, he more exactly than ever, studied the Points of *Church-Discipline*; and the Effect of his most careful Studies was, that the *Congregational* way, asserted by *Carterwright, Parker, Baines and Ames*, was the Pitch of *Reformation*, which he judged the Scriptures directed the Servants of the Lord humbly to endeavour. But this Liberty was not longer lived than the Year 1634, for the Arch-Bishop of *Tork* now was that Gentleman, whom King *James* pleasantly admonished of his *Preaching Popery*, because of some Unacceptable things in his Conduct, which taught the People to pray for a *Blessing on his Dead Predecessor*; and he now sending his Visitors, among whom the Famous *Dr. Cousins* was one, into *Lancashire*; where they kept their Court at *Wigan*, among other *Hard Things*, they passed a Sentence of *Suspension* upon Mr. Maiber, merely for his *Non-Conformity*. His Judges were not willing, that he should offer the *Reasons*, which made him *Conscientiously* so disposed, as then he was, but the *Glorious Spirit of God* enabled him with much Wisdom, to encounter what they put upon him; inso much, that in his Private Manuscripts, he entered this Memorial of it, *In the Passages of that Day, I have this to Bless the Name of God for, That the Terror of their Threatning Words, of their Pursuivants, and of the rest of their Pomp, did not terrifie my Mind, but that I could stand before them without being daunted in the least Measure, but answered for my self such Words of Truth and Soberness, as the Lord put into my Mouth, not being afraid of their Faces at all: Which supporting and comforting Presence of the Lord, I count not much less Mercy, than if I had been altogether preserved out of their Hands.* But all means used afterwards, to get off this unhappy *Suspension*, were ineffectual; for when the Visitors had been informed, that he had been a Minister *Fifteen Years*, and all that while never wore a *Surplice*, One of them swore, *It had been better for him, that he had gotten Seven Bastards.*

§ 9. He now betook himself to a private Life, without Hope of again enjoying the Liberty of doing any more publick Work, in his Native Land; but herewithal fore-seeing a Storm of Calamities like to be hastned on the Land, by the Wrath of Heaven incensed, particularly at the Injustice used in depriving the truly Conscientious of their Liberty, his Wishes became like those of the Deprived Psalmist, *O, that I had Wings like a Dove! Lo, then would I wander*

*far off, and remain in the Wilderness; I would hasten my escape from the Windy Storm and Tempest.*

*New-England* was the Retreat which now offered it self unto him; and accordingly, he drew up some Arguments for his Removal thither, which Arguments were indeed, the very Reasons, that moved the First Fathers of *New-England* unto that unparalleled Undertaking of Transporting their Families with themselves, over the *Atlantic Ocean*.

- I. A Removal from a *Corrupt Church* to a *Purer*.
- II. A Removal from a Place, where the Truth and Professors of it are persecuted, unto a Place of more *Quiet and Safety*.
- III. A Removal from a Place, where all the Ordinances of God cannot be enjoyed, unto a Place where they may.
- IV. A Removal from a Church, where the Discipline of the Lord Jesus Christ is wanting, unto a Church where it may be practised.
- V. A Removal from a Place, where the Ministers of God are unjustly inhibited from the Execution of their Functions, to a Place where they may more freely execute the same.
- VI. A Removal from a Place, where there are Fearful Signs of *Desolation*, to a Place where one may have well grounded Hope of God's Protection.

Such a Removal, he judged *That* unto *New-England* now before him.

These Considerations were presented unto many Ministers and Christians of *Lancashire*, at several Meetings, whereby they were persuaded, and even his own People of *Toxteth*, who dearly loved him and prized him, could not gain-say it, that by removing to *New-England*, he would not Go out of his way. And hereunto he was the more inclined by the Letters of some Great Persons, who had already settled in the Country; among whom the Renowned *Hooker* was one, who in his Letters thus expressed himself, *In a Word, if I may speak my own Thoughts freely and fully, though there are very many Places where Men may receive and expell more Earthly Commodities, yet do I believe there is no Place this Day upon the Face of the Earth, where a Gracious Heart and a Judicious Head, may receive more Spiritual Good to himself, and do more Temporal and Spiritual Good to others.* Wherefore being satisfied in his Design for *New-England*, after Extraordinary Supplication for the Smiles of Heaven upon him in it, he took his Leave of his Friends in *Lancashire*, with Affections on both sides like those, wherewith *Paul* bid Farewell to his in *Ephesus*; and in *April, 1635*, he made his Journey unto *Bristol*, to take Ship there; being forced as once *Brentius* was, to change his Apparel, that he might escape the



he Pursuivants, who were endeavouring to apprehend him.

§ 10. On May 23. 1635, he set Sail from *Bristol* for *New-England*: But when he came upon the Coasts of *New-England*, there arose an horrible *Hurricane*, from the Dangers whereof his Deliverance was remarkable, and well nigh miraculous. The best Account of it, will be from his own Journal; where the Relation runs in these Words:

August 15. 1635.

“The Lord had not yet done with us, nor had he let us see all his *Power* and *Goodness*, which he would have us take the knowledge of. And therefore about break of Day, he sent a most terrible Storm of Rain, and *Easterly Wind*, whereby we were, I think, in as much Danger as ever People were. When we came to Land, we found many mighty Trees rent in pieces, in the midst of the Bole, and others turned up by the Roots, by Reracens thereof. We lost in that Morning three Anchors and Cables; one having never been in the Water before; two were broken by the Violence of the Storm, and a third cut by the Sea-men in extremity of Distress, to save the Ship, and their, and our Lives. And when our Cables and Anchors were all lost, we had no outward Means of Deliverance, but by hoisting *Sail*, if so be we might get to Sea, from among the *Islands* and *Rocks*, where we were Anchored. But the Lord let us see, that our *Sails* could not help us neither, no more than the *Cables* and *Anchors*; for by the force of the Wind and Storm, the *Sails* were rent afunder, and split in pieces, as if they had been but rotten Rags; so that of divers of them, there was scarce left so much as an Hand’s-breadth, that was not rent in pieces, or blown away into the Sea; so that at that time, *all Hope* that we should be saved, in regard of any outward Appearance, was utterly taken away: and the rather, because we seemed to drive with full force of Wind, directly upon a mighty Rock, standing out in sight above Water; so that we did but continually wait, when we should hear and feel the doleful Crashing of the Ship upon the Rock. In this Extremity and Appearance of Death, as Distress and Distraction would suffer us, we cried unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have Compassion upon us; for by his over-ruling Providence, and his own immediate good Hand, he guided the Ship past the Rock, aswaged the Violence of the Sea, and of the Wind. It was a Day much to be remembered, because on that Day the Lord granted us as wonderful a Deliverance as, I think, ever any People had felt. The Sea-men confessed, they never knew the like. The Lord so imprint the Memory of it in our Hearts, that we may be the better for it, and be careful to please him, and to walk uprightly before him as long as we live. And I hope we shall not forget

the Passages of that Morning, until our Dying Day. In all this grievous Storm, my Fear was the less, when I considered the *Cleanness* of my Calling from God this way. And in some measure (the Lord’s holy Name be blessed for it) he gave us Hearts contented and willing, that he should do with us, and ours, what he pleased, and what might be most for the Glory of his Name; and in that we rested our selves. But when News was brought us into the Gun-Room, that the Danger was past, Oh! how our Hearts did then relent and melt within us! We burst out into *Tears of Joy* among our selves, in Love unto the gracious God, and Admiration of his Kindness, in granting to his poor Servants such an extraordinary and miraculous Deliverance, his Holy Name be blessed for evermore.

The Storm being thus allay’d, they came to an Anchor before *Boston*, August 17. 1635. Where Mr. Mather abode for a little while, and with his virtuous Consort, joined unto the Church in that place.

§ 11. He quickly had *Invitations* from several Towns, to bestow himself upon them; and was in a great Strait, which of those *Invitations* to accept. But applying himself unto *Counsel*, as an *Ordinance* of God, for his Direction, *Dorchester* was the place, whereto a Council, where in Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Hooker, were the principal, did advise him. Accordingly to *Dorchester* he repaired; and the Church formerly planted there, being transplanted with Mr. Warham to *Conneticut*, another Church was now gathered here, August 23. 1636. by whose Choice Mr. Mather was now become their Teacher. Here he continued a Blessing unto all the Churches in this Wilderness, until his dying Day, even for near upon Four and thirty Years together. He underwent not now so many Changes, as he did before his coming hither; and he never changed his Habitation after this, till he went unto the *House Eternal* in the Heavens; albeit his old People of *Toxet* vehemently solicited his Return unto them, when the troublesome *Hierarchy* in England was depofed.

§ 12. Nevertheless, if Luther’s three Tutors for an able Divine, Study, and Prayer, and Temptation, as Mr. Mather could not leave the two first, so the last would not leave him; the Wilderness whereinto he was come, he found not without its Temptations. He was for some Years exercised with Spiritual Distresses, and Internal Desertions, and Uncertainties about his Everlasting Happiness; which Troubles of his Mind he revealed unto that eminent Person Mr. Norton, whose well-adapted Words, comforted his weary Soul. It was in these dark Hours, that a glorious Light rose into him, with a certain Disposition of Soul, which I find in his private Papers thus expressed: My Heart relented with Tears at this Prayer, That God would not deny me an Heart to bless him, and not blaspheme him, that is so holy, just, and good; tho’ I should be excluded from his Presence, and go down into ever-

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*everlasting Darknes and Discomfort.* But when these terrible *Temptations* from within were over, there were several and successive *Afflictions*, which he did from abroad meet withal: Of all which Afflictions, the most calamitous was, the Death of his dear, good, and wise Comfort, by whose discreet Management of his Affairs, he had been so released from all Secular Incumbrances, as to be wholly at Liberty, for the Sacred Employment of his Ministry. However, after he had continued in his Widowhood a Year and half, the State of his Family made it necessary for him to apply himself unto a *Second Marriage*; which he made with the pious Widow of the most famous Mr. *John Cotton*; and her did God make a Blessing unto him the rest of his Days.

§ 13. My describing his general *Manner of Life*, after he came to New-England, shall be only a *transcribing* of those *Vows*, which tho' he made before his coming thither, yet he then renewed. In his private Papers, wherein he left some Records of the Days which he spent sometimes in secret *Humiliations*, and *Supplications*, before the God of Heaven, and of the *Assurances* which with the *Tears* of a melted Soul, in those Days, he received of Blessings obtained for himself, his Children, his People, and the whole Country, I find Recording the ensuing *Instrument*.

' *Promissiones Deo factæ,* *Psal.* 66. 13, 14.  
' *per me, Richardum* *Psal.* 119. 106.  
' *Matherum.* *Psal.* 56. 12.  
21. D. 6. M. 1633. *Neh.* 9. 33. with 10.  
29, 30, 31, &c.

### I. Touching the Ministry.

1. TO be more painful and diligent in private *Preparations* for Preaching, by *Reading, Meditation, and Prayer*; and not slightly and superficially. *Jer.* 43. 10. *Ecl.* 9. 10. 1 *Tim.* 4. 13, 15.  
2. In and after Preaching, to strive seriously against inward *Pride*, and *Vain glory*.  
3. Before and after Preaching, to beg by *Prayer* the Lord's Blessing on his *Word*, for the Good of Souls, more carefully than in time past. 1 *Cor.* 3. 6. *Ads.* 16. 14.

### II. Touching the Family.

1. To be more frequent in Religious *Discourse and Talk*, *Deut.* 6. 7.  
2. To be more careful in *Carebisbing* Children. *Gen.* 18. 19. *Prov.* 22. 6. *Eph.* 6. 4. And therefore to bestow some Pains this way, *every Week* once; and if by urgent Occasions it be sometimes omitted, to do it twice as much another Week.

### III. Touching My self.

1. To strive more against *Worldly Cares and Fears*, and against the inordinate Love of

' *Earthly Things.* *Mat.* 6. 25, &c. *Psal.* 55. 22.  
1 *Pet.* 5. 7. *Phil.* 4. 6.  
2. To be more frequent and constant in private *Prayer.* *Mat.* 6. 6. & 14. 23. *Psal.* 55. 17. *Dan.* 6. 10.  
3. To practise more carefully and seriously, and frequently the Duty of *Self-Examination.* *Lam.* 3. 40. *Psal.* 4. 4. *Psal.* 119. 59. especially before the Receiving of the Lord's Supper. 1 *Cor.* 11. 28.  
4. To strive against carnal *Securiaty*, and excessive *Sleeping.* *Prov.* 6. 9, 10. & *Prov.* 20. 13.  
5. To strive against *vain Jangling*, and mispending precious *Time.* *Eph.* 5. 16.

### IV. Touching Others.

1. To be more careful and zealous, to do good unto their *Souls*, by private Exhortations, Reproofs, Instructions, Conferences of God's Word. *Prov.* 10. 21. & 15. 17. *Lev.* 19. 17. *Psal.* 37. 30.  
2. To be ready to do Offices of *Love* and *Kindness*, not only, or principally, for the Praise of Men, to purchase Commendation for a good Neighbour, but rather out of *Conscience* to the Commandment of God. *Phil.* 2. 4. 1 *Cor.* 10. 24. *Heb.* 13. 16.  
Renewed with a Profession of Disabilities in my self, for Performance, and of Desire to fetch Power from Christ, thereunto to live upon him, and act from him, in all Spiritual Duties.

15. D. 6. M. 1636.

Richard Mather.

§ 14. His way of *Preaching* was very plain, studiously avoiding obscure and foreign Terms, and unnecessary Citation of *Latine* Sentences; and aiming to shoot his *Arrows*, not over the *Heads*, but into the *Hearts* of his Hearers. Yet so *Scripturally*, and so *Powerfully* did he preach his plain *Sermons*, that Mr. *Hoker* would say, My Brother Mather is a mighty Man; and indeed he saw a great Success of his Labours, in both *Englands*, converting many Souls unto God. His Voice was loud and big, and uttered with a deliberate Vehemency; it procured unto his Ministry an awful and very taking *Majesty*; nevertheless, the substantial and rational Matter delivered by him, caused his Ministry to take yet more, where-ever he came. Whence, even while he was a young Man, Mr. *Gellibrand*, a famous Minister in *Lancashire*, hearing him, enquired, What his Name was? When Answer was made, That his Name was Mather; he replied, *Nay, his Name shall be Matter; for believe it, this Man hath good Substance in him.* He was indeed a Person eminently *Judicious*, in the Opinion of such as were not in Controversies then managed, of his own Opinion; by the



fame Token, that when Dr. Parr, then Bishop in the life of *Man*, heard of Mr. *Mather's* being silenced, he lamented it, saying, *If Mr. Mather be silenced, I am sorry for it; for he was a Solid Man, and the Church of God hath a great Loss of him.* And it was because of his being esteemed so judicious a Person, that among the Ministers of *New-England*, he was improved more than the most, in explaining and maintaining the Points of *Church-Government* then debated. The Discourse about the *Church-Covenant*, and the Answer to the *Thirty two Questions*, both written in the Year 1639, tho' they pass under the Name of the Ministers of *New-England*, Mr. *Mather* was the sole Author of them. And when the Platform of *Church-Discipline* was agreed by a Synod of these Churches, in the Year 1647. Mr. *Mather's* Model was that out of which it was chiefly taken.

And being thereto desired, he also prepared for the Press, a very elaborate Composure, which he entituled, *A Plea for the Churches of New-England.*

Moreover, to defend the *Congregational*, in those lesser *Puritans*, wherein it seems to differ from the *Presbyterian* Way of *Church-Government*, he Printed one little Book in Answer to Mr. *Hart*, and another in Answer to Mr. *Rutherford*: And yet was he so little Brownosically affected, that besides his Apprehension of so vicious and infamous a Man, as *Brewer's* not being likely to be the Discoverer of any momentous Truth in Religion, he wrote a Treatise to prove, That whatever Priviledge and Liberty may belong to the *Fraternity*, the Rule of the Church belongs only to its *Presbytery*. Furthermore, when the Propositions of the *Synod*, in 1662, were opposed by Mr. *Davenport*, Mr. *Mather* was called upon to Answer him; which he did, and therein, as in his former Answers, he gave such Instances of a close Regard unto the *Truth*, and the *Cause*, without the least Expression of Disrespect unto the *Persons* answered, That as my Reverend Friend Mr. *Higginson* hath said sometimes to me, *He was a Pattern for all Answerers to the end of the World.*

But as he judged that a *Preacher* of the Gospel should be, he was, a very hard Student: Yea, so intent was he upon his beloved Studies, that the Morning before he died, he importuned the Friends that watched with him, to help him into the Room, where he thought his usual Works, and Books expected him; to satisfy his Importunity, they began to lead him thither; but finding himself unable to get out of his Lodging-Room, he said, *I see, I am not able, I have not been in my Study several Days; and is it not a lamentable thing, that I should lose so much time?* He was truly abundant in his Labours: For tho' he was very frequent in bearing the Word from others, riding to the Lectures in the Neighbouring Towns, till his Disease disabled him, and even to Old Age writing Notes at those Lectures, as the Renowned *Hildersham* likewise did before him; yet he preached for the most part every Lord's Day twice, and a

Lecture once a Fortnight, besides many Occasional Sermons both in publick and private; and many Cases of Conscience, which were brought unto him to be discussed. Thus his Ministry in *Dorchester*, besides innumerable other Texts of Scripture, went over the Book of *Genesis*, to Chap. 38. the *Sixteenth Psalm*; the whole Book of the Prophet *Zechariah*; *Matthew's* Gospel to Chap. 15. the *Fifth Chapter* in the First Epistle to the *Thessalonians*; and the whole Second Epistle of *Peter*; his Notes whereon he reviewed, and renewed, and fitted for the Press before his Death.

He also published a Treatise of *Justification*, whereof Mr. *Cotton* and Mr. *Wilson* gave this Testimony: *Thou shalt find this little Treatise to be like Mary's Box of Spikenard, which washing the Paths of Christ towards us, (as that did his Feet) will be fit to perfume not only the whole House of God with the Odour of his Grace, but also thy Soul with the Oyl of Gladness, above what Creature Comforts can afford. The manner of handling thou shalt find to be solid, judicious, succinct, and pithy, fit (by the Blessing of Christ) to make wise unto Salvation.* And besides these things, he published *Catechisms*, a lesser and a larger, so well formed, that a *Luther* himself would not have been ashamed of being a *Learner* from them.

Nevertheless, after all these Works, he was as *Nazianzen* saith of *Arhanasius*, *ἄνθρωπος ὁὐκ ἔστιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦ ἀποφύγεω.* As low in his Thoughts, as he was high in his Works. He never became twice a Child through *Infirmity*, but was always one, as our Saviour hath commanded us, in *Humility*.

§ 15. A *Jerom* would weep at the Death of such a Man, as portending Evil to the Place of his former, useful, holy Life: But such an occasion of Tears, the Death of Mr. *Mather* must at last give to his bereaved People. Some Years before his Death, [having sent over unto his old Flock in *LANESBIRE*, a like Testimony of his Concernment for them] he composed and published, *A Farewel Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester*, consisting of *Seven Directions*, wherein his Flock might read the Design and Spirit of his whole Ministry among them; on a certain Lord's Day, he did, by the Hands of his *Deacons*, put these little Books into the Hands of his Congregation, that to whenever he should by Death take his Farewel of them, they might still remember how they had been exhorted. But Old Age came now upon him, wherein tho' his Hearing was decay'd, and (as with Great Zachey) the Sight of one of his Eyes: Yet upon all other Accounts he enjoyed an Health both of Body and Spirit, which was very wonderful, and agreeable as well to his Hardy Constitution, as to the simple and wholesome Diet, whereto, he still accustomed himself. He never made use of any Physician all his Days; nor was he ever sick of any *Acute Disease*, nor in Fifty Years together, by any Sickness detained so much as one Lord's Day from his Publick Labours. Only the two last Years of his Life,



he felt that which has been called *Flogellum Studioforum*, namely, *The Stone* which proved the Tombstone, whereby all his Labours and Sorrows were, in fine, brought unto a Period.

§ 16. A Council of Neighbouring Churches being assembled at *Boston*, Apr. 13. 1669. to advise about some Differences arisen there; Mr. Mather, for his Age, Grace and Wisdom, was chosen the Moderator of that Reverend Assembly. For divers Days, whilst he was attending this Consultation, he enjoyed his Health better, than of some later Months; but as *Luther* was at a Synod surprized with a Violent Fit of the Stone, which caused him to Return home, with little Hope of Life, so it was with this Holy Man. On Apr. 16. lodging at the House of his Worthy Son, a Minister in *Boston*, he was taken very ill with a Total Stoppage of Urine, wherein according to *Solomon's* Expression for it, *The Wheel was broken at the Churn*. So his Lord found him about the Blessed Work of a Peace-maker; and with an Allusion to the Note of the German *Phoenix*. Mr. *Shepard* of *Charls town*, put that Stroke afterwards into his Epitaph:

*Vixerat in Synodis, Moritur Moderator in Illis.*

Returning by Coach, thus ill, unto his House in *Dorchester*, he lay patiently expecting of his Change; and, indeed was a Pattern of Patience, to all Spectators, for all Survivors. Though he lay in a Mortal Extremity of Pain, he never shrieked, he rarely groaned, with it; and when he was able, he took Delight in Reading Dr. *Goodwin's* Discourse, about Patience, in which Book he read until the very Day of his Death. When they asked him, how he did? His usual Answer was, *Far from well, yet far better than mine Iniquities deserve*. And when his Son said unto him, *Sir, God hath shewed his great Faithfulness unto you, having upheld you now for the Space of more than Fifty Years in his Service, and employed you therein without ceasing, which can be said of very few Men, on the Face of the Earth*; he Replied, *you say true*; I must acknowledge, the Mercy of God hath been great towards me, all my Days; but I must also acknowledge, that I have had many Failings, and the Thoughts of them abash me, and worketh Patience in me. So did he, like *Austin* having the Penitential Psalms before him, until he died, keep up a Spirit of Repentance, as long as he lived. Indeed this Excellent Man did not speak much in his last Sickness, to those that were about him, having spoken so much before. Only his Son perceiving the Symptoms of Death upon him, said, *Sir, if there be any special thing, which you would recommend unto me to do, in case the Lord should spare me on Earth, after you are in Heaven, I would intreat you to express it*; at which, after a little Pause, with lifted Eyes and Hands, he returned, *A special thing which I would commend to you, is, Care concern-*

cerning the Rising Generation in this Country, that they be brought under the Government of Christ in his Church; and that when grown up, and qualified, they have Baptism for their Children. I must confess, I have been Dissolute, as to Practice; yet I have publicly declared my Judgment, and manifested my Desires to praise that which I think ought to be attended; but the Dissenting of some in our Church, discouraged me. I have thought, that Persons might have Right to Baptism, and yet not to the Lord's Supper; and I see no cause to alter my Judgment, as to that particular. And I still think, that Persons Qualified, according to the Fifth Proposition of the late Synod Book, have Right to Baptism for their Children. His Dolours continued on him, till April 22. at Night, when he quietly breathed forth his last, after he had been about Seventy Three Years, a Citizen of the World, and Fifty Years a Minister in the Church of God.

§ 17. The Preface which he had upon his Mind, of his own approaching Dissolution, was like that in *Ambrose* among the Ancients, and in *Gesner*, *Melancthon*, and *Sandford*, among the Modern Divines; whence the last of the Texts, whereon he insisted, in his Public Ministry, was that in 2 Tim. 4. 6, 7, 8. *The Time of my Departure is at hand. — I have finished my Course.* And the last before that, was that in Job 14. 14. *All the Days of my appointed Time will I wait, till my Change come.* And for a Private Conference, he had prepared a Sermon on those Words, in 2 Cor. 5. 1. *For we know, that if our Earthly House of this Tabernacle were Dissolved, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, Eternal in the Heavens*; but by his Removal from this House to that, he was prevented in the Preaching of the Sermon. How ready he was for the Last End of his Days thus expected, is a little expressed in certain Passages of his Last Will; the whole, of which if I should here transcribe it, after the Example of *Beza*, writing the Life of *Calvin*, and *Bannosius* writing the Life of *Ramus*, and other such Examples, it would be no Ungrateful Entertainment, but I shall only offer that one Paragraph, wherein his Words were:

Concerning Death, as I do believe, it is appointed for all Men once to die; so because I see a great deal of Unprofitableness in my own Life, and because God hath also let me see such Vanity and Emptiness even in the best of those Comforts, which this Life can afford, that I think I may truly say, That I have seen an end of all Perfection: Therefore if it were the Will of God, I should be glad to be removed hence, where the Best, that is to be had, doth yield such little Satisfaction to my Soul, and to be brought into his Presence in Glory. That there I might find, (for there I know it is to be had) that satisfying and All sufficient Contentment, in him, which under the Sun is not to be enjoyed; in the



mean time I desire to stay the Lord's Leisure.  
But thou, O Lord, hoo long!

Thus Lived, and thus Died Richard Mather; able to make his Appeal unto an Evil World, at his leaving of it.

*Nullam Turbavi, Discordes Pacificavi:  
Læsus sustinui; nec mihi Complacui.*

§ 18. The Special Favour of God, which was granted unto some of the Ancients, that that their Sons after them succeeded in the Ministry of the Gospel; and which was particularly granted unto the Happy Fathers of Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Basil and Hilary; This was enjoyed by many of those good Men, that planted our New English Churches, but by none more comfortably, than by Mr. Mather. It is mentioned as the Felicity of the Blessed Venerable a Bohemian Pastor in the former Century, that he gave the Church no less than Four Sons, to be Worthy Ministers of the Gospel. Such was the Felicity of our Mather. Many Years before he died, he had the Comfort of seeing Four Sons that were Preachers of no mean Consideration among the People of God; It was counted the singular Happiness of the Great Roman Metellus, that he expired in the Arms of his Four Sons, who were all of them Eminent Persons; As happy was our Mather; and in a Christian Account, much more happy. And since his Death, our common Lord, has been served by Mr. Samuel Mather Pastor of a Church in Dublin, Mr. Nathaniel Mather, Pastor after him of the same Church, but before that, of Barnstable, and then of Rotterdam, and since that of a Church in London; Mr. Eleazar Mather, Pastor of a Church at our Northampton; and Mr. Increase Mather, Teacher of a Church in Boston, and President of Harvard Colledge. Now because this Mighty Man, and the youngest but one of these Arrows in his Hand, were not only Lovely and Useful in their Lives, but also, in their Deaths not divided (for he died about Three Months after his Father) it will be Pity to Divide them, in the History of their Lives: And therefore of this Mr. Eleazar Mather, we will here subjoin some small Account.

§ 19. Mr. Eleazar Mather (Born May 13. 1637.) having passed through his Education in Harvard-Colledge, and having by the Living and Lively Proofs of a Renewed Heart, as well as a well-instructed Head, recommended himself unto the Service of the Churches, the Church of Northampton became the happy Owner of his Talents. Here he laboured for Eleven Years in the Vineyard of our Lord; and then the Twelve Hours of his Days Labour did expire, not without the deep-sent Lamentations of all the Churches, as well as his own; then sitting along the River of Consolation. As he was a very zealous Preacher, and accordingly saw many Souls of his Ministry, so he was a very pious Walker; and as

he drew towards the End of his Days, he grew so remarkably Ripe for Heaven, in an Holy, Watchful, Fruitful Disposition, that many observing Persons did prognosticate his being not far from his End. He kept a Diary of his Experiences; wherein the last Words that ever he wrote were These.

July 10. 1669.

' This Evening, if my Heart deceive me not, I had some sweet Workings of Soul after God in Christ, according to the Terms of the Covenant of Grace. The General and Infinite Expression of the Promise, was an Encouragement unto me to look unto Christ, that he would do that for me, which he has promised to do for some, nor dare I exclude my self; but if the Lord will help me, I desire to lie at his Feet, and accept of Grace, in his own way, and with his own Time, through his Power enabling of me. Though I am Dead, without Strength, Help or Hope in my self, yet the Lord requirerh nothing at my Hands in my own Strength; but that by his Power, I should look to him. To work all his Works in me and for me. When I find a dead Heart, the Thoughts of this are exceeding sweet and reviving, being full of Grace, and discovering the very Heart and Love of Jesus.

He Died July 24. 1669. Aged Years, about Thirty Two.

*Sic Rosæ, sic Viola, prima Moriantur in Herba,  
Candida, nec Toto, Lilia, Mense nient.*

§ 20. The Dying Words of his Father unto his Brother, about the Rising Generation, caused him, in the few Sabbaths now left, before his own Death, to preach several Sermons upon the Methods that should be taken for the conveying and securing of Religion, with the good Presence of God unto that Generation. [on 1 Kings 8. 57.] The Notes which he left written of those pungent Sermons, were afterwards Printed, and Reprinted, with a Preface of his Brothers: And when unto the other Signs of Churches left by God, therein mentioned, namely, the People's being abandoned unto a sleighy Spirit; an ill Use made of Temporal Prosperity; A Spirit of Division and Contention, turning Religion it self into Faction; The Efficacious and Victorious Operations of the Holy Spirit, withdrawn from Ordinances; he added, the Death of such Men, as are chief means of continuing the Presence of God unto a People, he therein gave unto us too true an Interpretation, of the sad Providence, which was just going by Death to remove him, from this People unto a better World.

Epitaphium.



# Epitaphium.

RICHARDUS hic dormit MATHERUS.

Letatus Genuisse Pares.

Incertum est, Virum Doctior, an Melior.

Anima & Gloria, non queunt humari.

But that nothing may be wanting to his Epitaph, I will transcribe the Epitaph which the Reverend Old Mr. John Bishop, the Pastor of Stamford, provided for him.

In Pinum, Doctum, & Præclarum,  
Dorcestrensem Matherum.

Sincerus Terris, noster jacet ecce Matherus;  
Religionis Honor, qui tulit ejus onus.  
Quicquid erat Synodis, Sacris de rebus agendum,  
Ille (Dei adjutus) sapius Ador erat.  
Magnus hic in magnis, non parvam rebus isdem  
Temporibus Variis contribuebat opem:  
Consiliis Solidis, Doctrina, Dexteritate,  
Judicio Claro, cumq; labore gravi.  
Nam Doctus, Prudens, Pius, Impiger, atq; peritus,  
In Sacris, nec non promptus ad omne Bonum.  
Omnia per Christum potuit, credensq; precansq;  
Tanta fuit Fides, Vis quoq; tanta precum.  
Hinc mihi Sublato Charo Vi Mortis Amico,  
Hæc Amor atq; Dolor, compescere meus.

J. Episcopius.

## CHAP. XXI.

### The LIFE of Mr. ZACHARIAH SYMMES.

§ 1. THE Emperour *Probus* having an Honour for the Memory of his Friend *Aradion*, honoured him with a Tomb Two Hundred Foot broad. But our Value for the Memory of the Divines that formerly served our Churches, must not be measured by the Breadth of our History concerning them. We cannot give much Breadth to the Room, which we dedicate in this our History, unto the Memory of our *Symmes*, because we have not received very large Informations concerning him. Nevertheless, according to the French Proverb, *Un Ministre ne doit Sçavoir que sa Bible*, A Minister should know nothing but his Bible; here was one worthy the Name of a Minister; for he knew his Bible well, and he was a Preacher of what he knew, and a Sufferer for what he preached.

§ 2. Reader, We shall not confound our selves with Fables and Endless Genealogies, but we shall truly edify our selves, if we enquire so far into the Genealogy of Mr. *Zechariah Symmes*, as to recite a Passage written by Mr. *William Symmes*, the Father of our *Zechariah*, in a Book which was made by a Godly Preacher, that was hid in the House of Mr. *William Symmes*, the Father of *William*, from the Rage of the *Marion* Persecution. 'I note it as a special Mercy of God, (writes he, in a Leaf of that Book) that both my Father and Mother were Favourers of the Gospel, and hated Idolatry, under Queen *Mary's* Persecution. I came to this Book by this means: Going to *Sandwich* in *Kent*, to preach the First or Second Year, after I was ordained Minister, Anno 1587, or 88. and Preaching in Saint *Mary's*,

where Mr. *Pauson*, an Ancient Godly Preacher, was Minister, who knew my Parents well and me too, at School; he, after I had finished my Sermons, came and brought me this Book for a Present, acquainting me with the above-mentioned Circumstances. And then he adds, I charge my Sons *Zechariah* and *William*, before him, that shall judge the Quick and the Dead, that you never defile your selves with any Idolatry or Superstition whatsoever, but learn your Religion out of God's Holy Word; and worship God as he himself hath prescribed, and not after the Devices and Traditions of Men. *Scripti. Dec. 6. 1602.*

§ 3. Descended from such Ancestors, our *Zechariah*, was Born April 5. 1599. at *Canterbury*, and the Savoury Expressions in the Letters yet extant, which he wrote while he was a Youth in the University of *Cambridge*, intimate, that he was *New-Born*, while yet a Child.

After his leaving the University, he was employed for a while in the Houses of several Persons of Quality, as a Tutor to their Children, but not without Molestation from the Prelates for his Conscientious Non Conformity to certain Rites in the Worship of God, then imposed on the Consciences of the Faithful. When he had passed through these Changes, he was chosen in the Year 1621, to be a Lecturer at *Abolines*, in the City of *London*: And after many Troubles from the Bishops Courts, for his Dissent from things, whereto his Consent had never been required by the Great Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls, he removed from thence in the Year 1625, to *Dunstable*, where his Troubles from the Bishops Courts continuing



continuing, he at length transported himself, with his Family into an American Wildernesse. *New-England*, and *Charles-Town* in *New-England*, enjoy'd him all the rest of his Days, even until Feb. 4. 1670, when he retired into a better World.

§ 4. His *Epitaph* at *Charles-Town*, where he was Honourably Interr'd, mentions his having lived Forty nine Years and Seven Months with his Vertuous Consort, by whom he had Thirteen Children, Five Sons, and Eight Daughters, and annexes this Distich.

*A Prophet lies under this Stone :  
His Words shall live, tho' he be gone.*

# CHAP. XXII.

## The LIFE of Mr. JOHN ALLIN.

—Sequitur quem Vita perennis ;  
*Vivus enim Semper, qui bene vixit, erit.*

§ 1. **W**HY is the dead Relation of Father Abraham called, *His Dead*, no less than eight several times, in one short Chapter? It seems, tho' Death has dissolv'd our old Relation to our dead Friends, yet it has not releas'd us from all our Duty to them; they are still so far ours, that we owe something unto their Memory. Reader, We are entertaining our selves with *Our Dead*; but if we do nothing to keep alive their Memory with us, we may bluish to call them *ours*.

Among these, one is Mr. *John Allin*. But if there were such an Officer in use among us, as once was among the *Greeks*, to measure the Monuments of dead Persons, according to their Vertues, he would greatly complain of it, that I have been able to recover no more *Memoirs* of a Person, whose Vertues and Merits were far from the smallest size, among those who did worthily in *Israel*.

§ 2. He was born in the Year 1596.

Having passed his *Cursus*, in the *Tongues* and *Arts*, until he was, as *Theodorit* says of *Innocent*, *Aggrola & curvis usqueque*, *Ingenii & prudentie ornamentis egregie instructus*: He became a faithful Preacher of *Christ*, choosing rather to dig in that Rock of *Zion*, than in a Rock of *Diamonds*.

It is an ancient Observation, that there were three Things done by the *Holy Spirit* of God, on and for the Prophets, which were employ'd in Publick Service for him: One was to give them Courage against the Rage of Adversaries. Another was, to give them Wisdom, for to regulate their Conduct. A third was, to give them *Vertue* and *Holiness*, that their own Consciences

But as that eminent Person order'd this Clause for his own *Epitaph*, instead of other *Glories* and *Memoirs*, which use to adorn a Monument, *Here lies the Friend of Sir Philip Sidney*. Thus the *Epitaph* of this eminent Person, might have mentioned one thing more, which might have gone in the room of many other Testimonies, to the Ability, and Integrity, and Zeal, that signalized him; *Here lies the Friend of Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs*. For we have still to shew the Letters, which that great Man sent unto our *Symmes*, after his coming to *New-England*; Letters wherein he compares the Love between them, unto that between *David* and *Jonathan*; as having been a sort of *Suorn Brothers* to each other, ever since their living together at the University.

might not sting them, when they were to bestow Aculeate Rebukes upon the Vices of other Men.

This Observation, which is as useful as ancient, was made by them that considered those Words of the Prophet *Amos*: *I am full of, (1.) Power, by the Spirit of the Lord. And of, (2.) Judgement. And of, (3.) Vertue.* With all of these Excellencies, did the *Holy Spirit* of God, in a gracious Measure adorn our *Allin*. But when the *Evil Spirit* raised a Storm of Persecution upon the Puritans, in the English Nation, these Excellencies could not shelter this worthy Man, from the Injuries of it; but rather expose him thereunto. Leaving of *England*, whereof he might have taken that Farewel;

*Non careo Patria, me caret illa magis.*

He chose an *American Wildernesse*, for his Country: And cheerfully conformed his Gentle Spirit, unto the Difficulties of such a Wildernesse: Being only of *Austin's* Mind, about the banish'd Christians, *Misererunt esset, si alicui duci poterant, ubi Deum suum non invenissent.*

§ 3. He was a sufficient Scholar, and (which is the way to become so) a diligent Student; but yet his Experimental Acquaintance with Christianity, taught him to be of the Mind, which the Learned *Suarez* expressed, when he did use to say, *That he esteemed more that little Pittance of Time, which he constantly set apart every Day, for the private Examination of his own Heart, than all the other part of the Day, which he spent in Voluminous Controversies.* His

Accom-



Accomplishments were considerable; and being a very *bumble Man*, he found, that *sanctified Knowledge* grows most luxuriant in the *fat Valleys of Humility*: Being a very *patient Man*, he found that the *Dew of Heaven*, which falls not in a stormy or cloudy Night, was always falling on a Soul ever serene, with the meekest *Patience*. He was none of those low-built thatch'd Cottages, that are apt to catch *Fire*: But like an high-built *Cattle*, or *Palace*, free from the Combustions of *Passion*. He was indeed one of few sweet a Temper, that his Friends *Anagrammatized*, JOHN ALLIN, into this:

IN HONORALL

§ 4. His *Polemical Abilities*, were discovered, in a Treatise (being, *A Defence of the Nine Positions*: Wherein (called of *Calvin's Mind*, *Ink* is too dear and costly with us, if we doubt to spend *Ink* in Writing, to testify those things, which *Martyrs of old* (saled with their Blood:) He, with Mr. *Shepherd*, of Cambridge, handle the Points of *Church-Reformation*; at what rate, not my Pen, but our famous old Mr. *Cotton's*, in his Preface to a Book of Mr. *Norton's*, may describe unto us.

*Shepardus, unâ cum Allinio Fratre, (Fratrum dulce par) uti eximii pietate florent ambo, & Eruditione non mediocri, atque etiam Myſteriorum Pietatis predicatione (per Christi Gratiam) efficaci admodum, ita egregium novarum Operam in abſtraſſiſſis Diſcipline nodis ſeliciter enodandis. Verba horum Fratrum, uti ſuaviter ſpirant Pietatem, Veritatem, Charitatem Christi; ita ſperamus fore (per Christi Gratiam) ut multi, qui à Diſciplinâ Christi alieniores erant, odore horum unguentorum Christi effuſorum delebati atque delinſti, ad amorem ejus & peſſeti & pertrahſi, eam avidius arripient atque amplectentur.*

Moreover, another *Judicious Discourse* of his, in Defence of the *Synod* held at *Boston*, in the Year 1662, has declared his *Principles* about *Church-Discipline*, as well as his *Abilities* to maintain his *Principles*. The Person against whom he wrote this Defence, was that very

Person, whose *Life* shall be the very next in our History: For,

*Hi Motus Animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,  
Pulveris exigui ſaltu compreſſa quieſcunt.*

§ 5. When the holy Church of *Dedham* was gathered, in the Year 1638, he became their Pastor: And in the Pastoral Care of that Church he continued, until Aug. 26. 1671; when after ten Days of easie Sickness, he died, as *Myconius* well expreſſes it, *Vitaliter mori*; in the Seventy fifth Year of his Age.

Now, according to that of *Jerom*, *Lacryme Auditorum Tue ſunt Laudes*; behold, Reader, the *Praises* of this excellent Man. His Flock published the two last Sermons that ever he preached; one whereof was on *Cant. 8. 5. Who is this that comes up from the Wilderness, leaning on her Beloved?* The other on *John 14. 22. Peace I leave with you*. But they write their Preface with Tears; and with fearful Praises they celebrate him, as one altogether above their Praises; and a constant, faithful, diligent Steward in the House of God; a Man of Peace and Truth, and a burning and a shining Light. Adding, *The Crown is fallen from our Heads: O! that it were with us as in times past!* Which Desire of theirs, has been happily answered, in two most worthy Successors.

The Character once given to *Philippus Gallus*, may very justly be now made the Epitaph of our *John Allin*.

Epitaphium.

JOHANNES ALLINIUS.

*Vir Sincerus, Amans pacis, patiensque Laborum,*

*Perspicuus, Simplex, Doctrina purus Amator.*

CHAP. XXIII.

*Cadmus Americannus.* The LIFE of Mr. CHARLES CHANCER.

*Suadet Lingua, Fubet Vita.*

§ 1. There was a famous Person, in Times, by Chronological Computation, as ancient as the Days of *Joshua*, known by the Name of *Cadmus*; who carried not only *People*, but *Letters* also, from *Phenitia* into *Bæcia*. The Grecian Fable of a *Serpent*, in the Story of *Cadmus*, was only derived from the Name of an

*Hivite*, which by his Nation belonged unto him; for an *Hivite* signifies a *Serpent*, in the Language of *Syria*. This Renowned *Cadmus*, was indeed a *Gibeonite*, who having been well taught by *Joshua*, and by *Joshua* not only continued in the Comforts of Life, but also instructed and employed in the Service of the true

God,



God, he retained ever after most honourable Sentiments of that Great Commander. Yea, when after Ages, in their Songs, praised *Apollo* for his Victory over the Dragon *Pyrho*, they uttered but the Disguised Songs of *Canaan*, wherein this *Cadmus* had celebrated the Praises of *Jofhua*, for his Victory over *Og* the King of *Babhan*. *Cadmus* having been (as one of the Greek Poets writes of him) Educated in *Hebron* or *Debir*, the Universities of *Palestine*, was fitted thereby to be a Leader in a Great Undertaking, and when the Oppression of *Cushanrathaim*, caused a Number of People to seek out *New Seats*, there were many who under the Conduct of *Cadmus*, transported themselves into *Greece*, where the Notions and Customs of an *Israelitish* Original, were therefore a long while preserved, until they were confounded with *Pagan* Degeneracies. There is Reason to think, that a Colony of *Hebrews* themselves did now swarm out into *Peloponnesus*, where the Book of *Maccabees* will help us to find *Lacedemonians* (or *Cadmonians*, that is, the Followers of *Cadmus*, in their True Etymology) of the Stock of *Morabam*; and we know that *Strabo* tells us, That *Cadmus* had *Arabians* (and the *Israelites*, were by such Heathen Writers accounted so) in his Company. Accordingly, when we read, that a College among the Old *Greeks* was called *Academia*, we may soon inform our selves, that it was at first called *Cadmia* or *Cadmea*, in Commemoration of *Cadmus*, the *Phœnician*; to whom those Parts of the World were first beholden, for such Nurseries of good Literature and Religion.

These Researches into Antiquity, had not, in this place been laid before my Reader, if they might not have served as an Introduction unto this piece of *New-English* History; that when some Ecclesiastical Oppressions drove a Colony of the Truest *Israelites* into the Remoter Parts of the World, there was an *Academy* quickly founded in that Colony: And our *Chancery* was the *Cadmus* of that *Academy*; by whose vast Labour and Learning, the Knowledge of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, served by all the Human Sciences, hath been conveyed unto Posterity.

It is now fit, That a few *Memoirs* of that Reverend Man should fill our Pages.

§ 2. Mr. *Charles Chancery* was an *Hartfordshire* Man; born in the Year 1589, of Parents that were both Honourable and Religious. Being sent from thence to *Westminster-School*, his Hopeful Proficiency in Good Literature, within a short while, ripened him for the University. And it was one thing which caused him to have the more feeling Remembrances of the Famous *Powder-Plot*, the Report whereof would make a Noise as long as the Fifth of November is in our *Kalendar*; that at the time when that Plot should have taken its horrid Effect, he was at that School, which must also have been blown up, if the *Parliament-House* had perished. The University of *Cambridge*, was that which afterward instructed and nourished this

Eminent Person, and fitted him for the Service wherein he had Opportunity afterwards to demonstrate that he was indeed such a Person. The particular College whereof he was here a Member, was *Trinity College*; by the same Token, that in the *Lachryme Cantabrigienses*, published by the *Cantabrigians*, on the Death of *Queen Ann*, I find him in that Style composing and subscribing one of the most Witty Latin Poems in that whole Collection. Here he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity: And having an intimate Acquaintance with that Great Man Dr. *Usher*, whom all Men have confessed Worthy of the Character, wherewith *Voetius* mentions him, *Vastæ Lectionis & Eruditionis Theologus, imp. Antiquitate Ecclesiastica Veratissimus*, he had hereby an Opportunity farther to advantage himself with the Ancient Monuments in King *James's* Library.

§ 3. By the Head of the Houses he was chosen *Hebrew-Professor*; but the Vice Chancellor Dr. *Williams*, preferring a Kinsman of his own to that Place, at the same time he put our Mr. *Chancery* into the Place of *Greek Professor*; And as one well known to be an Accurate *Grecian*, 'twas he that afterwards was the C. C. the *Vir Doctissimus & Pissimus*, whose *isveneris*, you have at the Beginning of *Leigh's Critica Sacra* upon the *New-Testament*. He was indeed a Person incomparably well skill'd in all the Learned Languages; especially in the *Oriental*; and eminently in the *Hebrew*: In his obtaining whereof, his Conversation with a Jew for the space of a Year, was no little Advantage to him. I know that the *Hebrew Tongue*, as an Exception to the General Rule, *Difficilia quæ Pulchra*, is more easily Attained, than any that I have yet observed; and hence we see even our *English Women*, sometimes in a little while, and with a little pains, grown as expert at it as the Ladies *Paula* or *Blissilla*, by *Jerom* therefore celebrated; and I have wished that many in the World, were more moved by those Words of a Worthy Author, *Ausim Spondere, illos qui Studiis Hebraicis, tantum Temporis Impendent, quantum Tubulo Nicotianæ imbibendo, (quæ nunc pars bona Studiorum pro Hydrogæ uti consuevit) tum Manc, tum Vesperti, impendi solet, progressus in buisje Linguae Cognitione, haud Vulgares, brevi esse saturos, adeo at mirentur, se esse tum doctos, antequam Didicerint*. Nevertheless, this Tongue is as easily forgotten.

But being once attained, and therewithal preserved and improved, good Men will find as our Mr. *Chancery* did, that the Conjoint Profit and Pleasure of it were inexpressible; and that the Talents wherewith it would furnish them to do so many Services for the Church of God, were such as to make them join with *Luther*, in his Protestation, *That he would not part with his Knowledge of the Hebrew, for many Thousands of Pounds*; or to approve the (usual) modest Words of *Melancthon*, *Scio me vix primis Labris degustasse Hebraicæ Literæ; sed tamen, hoc Ipsum, quod didici quantumcumque est, propter Judicium de Religione, Omnibus*

Mandi



*Mandi Regnis, omniumq; opibus Longe Antepo.*

§ 4. When he left the University, he became a Diligent and Eminent Preacher of the Gospel at *Marston*; but after some time, he removed himself to *Ware*, where the *Hand of the Lord* was with him, and many believed, and turned unto the Lord. Here 'twas that the Successes of his Faithful Ministry, in the *Instructiō* of the Ignorant, and the *Conversion* of the Ungodly, became a Matter of much Observation.

But when Satan wanted a *Sibboleth* for the Discovering and Extinguishing such an Holy Ministry, throughout the Nation, the Miserable Arch-Bishop *Laud*, served him with a Licence for *Sports* on the Lord's Day; whereby the People were after an horrid manner invited unto the Profanation of that *Sacred Rest*; and indeed of every thing *Sacred* with it. Then 'twas that our Mr. *Chancey* hearing the *Drums* beat for *Dances* and *Frolics* on the Lord's Day, was, like other Good Men, afraid that God would break the *Rest* of the Kingdom, and cause *Drums* to be beaten up for *Marches* and *Battles* on that very Day. But when he was inhibited from attending of other Exercises, on the Afternoons of the Lord's Day, he set himself to *Catchise* as many as he could, both old and young; which, as the Bishop in *Sheeps Cloathing* said, was *As bad as Preaching*. And by such Methods, he still continued serving the Interests of the Gospel.

§ 5. But about this Time there arose a Storm of most Unreasonable, but Irefistible Persecution, upon those Ministers, who were Well-wishers to the Progress of the Protestant Reformation in the Kingdom; and Mr. *Chancey* was one of those who suffered in it. In Mr. *Rushworth's* Collections for the Year 1629. I find this Passage.

'Mr. *Charles Chancey*, Minister of *Ware*, using some Expressions in his Sermon, That *Idolatry* was admitted into the Church; That the *Preaching* of the Gospel would be suppressed; that there is much *Atheism*, *Poperie*, *Arminianism* and *Heresy*, crept into the Church: And this being look'd upon to raise a Fear among the People, that some Alteration of Religion would ensue; he was questioned in the *High Commission*; he was ordered of that Court, the Cause was referred to the Bishop of *London*, being his Ordinary; who ordered him to make a *Submission* in Latin.

This Worthy Man, being by the Terrors and Censures of that *Infamous Court*, suddenly surprised unto a sort of *Submission*, which gave too good an Acknowledgment of the Constitution, wherinto the *Laudian Faction* was then precipitating the Church of *England*, he no sooner got a little out of the Temptation, but he signalized his Repentance of that *Submission*, with a Zeal not unlike that of the Blessed *Cranmer*

against his own Right Hand, for subscribing his *Recantation*. Although he was not too without the Faith of his having this his too sudden Compliance with the Demands of his Persecutors, *Forgiven in Heaven*, yet he never forgave himself as long as he liv'd on Earth; he would on all Occasions express himself extremely dissatisfied, as well at the *III Things* then advanced in the Church of *England*, as at himself also for ever in the least, consenting to those things. These Memorable *Puritans* which were driven into *America*, all of them had a Dislike of the *Deformities*, which they saw yet cleaving to the Church of *England*; but I question, whether any disliked them with such fervent Expressions of Indignation, as our Mr. *Chancey*, who thus took the *Revenge* of a deep Repentance upon his own Conformity to them. And few suffered for *Non-Conformity* more than he by *Fines*, by *Gaoles*, by Necessities to *abscond*, and at last by an *Exile* from his Native Country. Yea, though he had lived a very exact Life, yet when he came to die, more than Forty Years after this, he left these Words in his last Will and Testament. In regard of *Corrupt Nature*, I do acknowledge my self to be a Child of Wrath, and sold under Sin, and one that hath been polluted with Innumerable Transgressions and Mighty Sins, which as far as I know and can call to Remembrance, I keep still fresh before me, and desire with Mourning, and self abhorring still to do, as long as Life shall last; and especially my so many sinful Compliances with and Conformity unto Vile Human Inventions, and Will-Worship and Hell-bred Superstition, and Patcheries sitch into the Service of the Lord, (which the English Mass Book, I mean, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordination of Priests, &c. are fully fraught withal.

§ 6. There was once a Parliament in *England*, whereto a Speech of no less a Man than the Lord *Digby*, made a Complaint, That Men of the best Conscience were then ready to fly into the Wilderness for Religion: And it was complained in an Elegant Speech of Sir *Benjamin Rudyard's*, A great Multitude of the King's Subjects, striving to hold Communion with us, but seeing how far we were gone, and fearing how much further we would go, were forced to fly the Land, very many into Savage Wildernesses, because the Land would not bear them: Do not they that cause these things, cast a Reproach upon the Government. And in a Notable Speech of Mr. *Vienness*, A certain Number of Ceremonies in the Judgment of some Men, Unlawful, and to be rejected of all Churches, in the Judgment of all other Reformed Churches, and in the Judgment of our own Church, but Indifferent, yet what Difference, yea what Distraction have these Indifferent Ceremonies raised among us? What hath deprived us of so many Thousands of Christians, which desired, and in all other Respects deserved to hold Communion with us; I say, what hath deprived us of them, and scattered them into I know not what Places



and Corners of the World, but these Infinit Ceremonies? It was then that Mr. Pym, in the Name of the House of Commons, impeaching A. B. Laud, before the House of Lords had these Expressions. *You have the King's Loyal Subjects banished out of the Kingdom, not as Eli-melech, to seek for Bread in Foreign Countries, by reason of the great scarcity which was in Israel, but travelling abroad for the Bread of Life, because they could not have it at home, by Reason of the Spiritual Famine of God's Word, caused by this Man, and his Portakers: And by this means you have the Industry of many Thousands of his Majesty's Subjects carried out of the Land. And at last the whole House of Commons put this Article in the Remonstrance, which they then made unto the King. The Bishops and their Courts did impoverish many Thousands; and so afflict and trouble others, that great Numbers, to avoid their Miseries, departed out of the Kingdom, some into New-England, and other parts of America.*

But it is now time to tell my Reader, That in the *Transportations*, thus Reasonably and Parliamtarily complained of, one of the most Considerable Persons removing into America, was Mr. Charles Chancy; who arrived at Plymouth in New England, a few Days before the Great Earthquake which happened Jan. 1. 1638.

§ 17. After he had spent some time in the Ministry of the Gospel, with Mr. Reynier of Plymouth, he removed unto a Town a little Northward of it, called *Scituate*, where he remained for Three and Three times Three Years, cultivating the Vineyard of the Lord in that Place. Of this his Ministry at *Scituate*, let me preserve at least, this one Remembrance: Having his Ordination Renewed at his Entrance upon this New Relation, he did at that Solemnity Preach upon those Words, in Prov. 9. 3. *Wisdom hath sent forth her Maidens; and in his Discourse, making a most affectionate Reflection upon his former Compliances with the Temptations of the High Commission-Court, he said with Tears, Alas, Christians, I am no Maiden; my Soul hath been defiled with False Worship; How wondrous is the Free-Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I should still be employ'd among the Maidens of Wisdom!*

Afterwards, upon an Invitation from his Old People at Ware, to return unto them, he purposed a Removal with his Family back to England; but when he came to Boston in order thereunto, the Overseers of Harvard-College at Cambridge, which now wanted a President, by their vehement Importunity, prevailed with him to accept the Government of that Society; wherein worthily abusing their Way, and sitting chief, and dwelling as a King in the midst of his Army, he continued unto the Day of his Death. From this time I behold him as another Elijah, shedding his Benign Influences on the School of the Prophets; and with Immense Labours instructing, directing, and Feeding the Hope of the Flock in the Wilderness. At

his Instilment, he concluded his Excellent Oration, made unto a Venerable Assembly, then filling the College-Hall with such a Passage as this unto the Students there, *Doctorem, certe Presidem, & huic Oneri ac Stationi multis Modis Aptiorem, vobis facile licet invenire sed Amantorem, & vestri Boni Studiosiorem, non invenietis.* And certainly he was as good as his Word. How Learnedly he now conveyed all the Liberal Arts unto those that sat at his Feet; how Wittily he moderated their Disputations, and other Exercises; how Constantly he expounded the Scriptures to them in the College-Hall; how Fluently he expressed himself unto them, with Latin of a Terentian Phrase, in all his Discourses; and how Carefully he Inspected their Manners; and was above all things concerned for them, that they might answer a Note which he gave them [*When you are your selves Interested in the Lord Jesus Christ, and his Righteousness, you will be fit to be Teachers of others: Isaiah cries, Now send me! When his Sins were pardoned: But without this, you are fit for nothing:*] will never be forgotten by Many of our most worthy Men, who were made such Men, by their Education under him: For we shall find as many of his Disciples in our Catalogue of Graduates, as there were in that College of Believers, at Jerusalem, whereof we read in the first Chapter, of the Acts of the Apostles. But if there were any Disadvantages of an *Hasty Temper*, sometimes in his Conduct, they still were presently corrected with his *Holy Temper*; that this did but invite Persons to think the more of that *Ethar*, to whom we have compared him; and therefore, as they were forgotten by every one, in the very Day of them, they are, at this Day, much more to be so: Mr. Urian Oakes that preached his Funeral Sermon, well said, *The mention thereof was to be wrapped up in Elijah's Mantle.* But if the whole Country were sensible of the Blessing which all New England enjoyed in our Chancy now at Cambridge; the Church of Cambridge, to whom he now joined, and Preached, had a very particular Cause to be so. And so indeed they were; by the same Token, that when he had been above a Year or two in the Town, the Church kept a whole Day of THANKSGIVING to God, for the Mercy, which they enjoy'd in his being there.

§ 8. He was a most Indefatigable Student, which with the Blessing of God, render'd him a most Incomparable Scholar. He rose very early, about Four a Clock, both Winter and Summer; and he set the Scholars an Example of Diligence, hardly to be followed. But Bene Orasle, est Bene Studuisse: By interweaving of constant Prayers into his Holy Studies, he made them indeed Holy; and my Reader shall count, if he pleases, how oft in a Day he addressed Heaven with Solemn Devotions, and judge whether it might not be said of our Charles, as it was of Charles the Great, (which is indeed the way to become Great) *Carolus plus cum Deo, quam cum Hominiibus loquitur*; when I have



I have told, that at his first getting up in a Morning, he commonly spent near an Hour in *secret Prayer*, before his minding any other Matter; then visiting the *Colledge Hall*, he Expounded a Chapter, (which was first read from the Hebrews) of the *Old Testament*, with a short *Prayer before*, and a long one after his Exposition: He then did the like upon another Chapter, with a *Prayer before*, and after, in his Family: About Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon, he retired again about Three Quarters of an Hour for *Secret Prayer*. At Four a Clock in the Afternoon he again did the like. In the Evening he Expounded a Chapter, (which was first read into the *Greek*) of the *New Testament*, in the *Colledge Hall*, with a *Prayer* in like manner before and after; the like he did also in his Family: And when the Bell rang for Nine at Night, he retired for another Hour of *Secret Prayer* before the Lord. But on the Lord's Days Morning, instead of his accustomed Exposition, he preached a Sermon upon a Text, for about Three Quarters of an Hour, in the *Colledge Hall*. Besides all this, he often set apart whole Days for *Prayer with Fasting* alone by himself, yea, and sometimes he spent whole Nights in *Prayer*, before the *heavenly Father, who sees in secret*. Many Days of *Prayer with Fasting*, he also kept with his Religious Consort: And many such Days he also kept with his Family, calling in the Company and Assistance of three or four Godly Neighbours: Besides what he did more publicly among the People of God. Behold, how near this good Man approached unto the strictest and highest Sense of *Praying always*.

*Chrysostom* tells us, That *Christ and Paul* commanded us to make our *Prayers, breviter et frequenter*, *ῥῆμα ἁπλοῦς διακινῆσαι*, Short and frequent, and with little Distances between them. And *Cassianus* mentions it, as the universal Consent of the Ancients, *Utilius censent Breves Orationes, sed creberrimas fieri*. The *Prayers* of our *Chancery* were such for their Frequency, whatever they might be sometimes for their Brevity. Moreover, 'twas his constant Practice, not only on the *Lord's Days* in the *Evenings*, but every Day, Morning and Evening, after he had Expounded a Chapter, to examine his *Children and Servants* with some fit Questions thereupon. On the *Lord's Days*, once a Fortnight, he preached publicly in the *Forenoons*. But when he did not so, he had the Morning Sermon repeated at Noon, and the Afternoon Sermon repeated at Night, and both the Sermons repeated once more in the Evening, before the next *Lord's Day*: At which times he still took occasion to reinforce the more notable Truths, occurring in the Sermons, with pertinent Applications of his own.

At this rate this eminent Person ran the Race that was set before him: And tho' one would have thought, that so laborious a Race must have been quickly run, yet if that may be an Encouragement unto diligent Followers, let them know that *Fourscore* Years of Age dispatch'd it

not; he continued a *green Olive Tree* in the *House of God*, long after he was *Gray-headed* for Age; and in his *Old Age* he did not leave off to bring forth *Fruit*, unto the *Praise of God*. I find that the *Law of Redemption*, in the last Chapter of *Leviticus*, (in *Hos.* 3. 2. alluded unto) valued a Man above *Sixty*, but at *Fifteen Shekels*; whereas a Man between *Twenty* and *Sixty*, was valued at (an *Homer of Barly*, or) no less than *Fifty Shekels*. But the worth of our *Chancery* at *Eighty*, continued much what as it was when he was under *Sixty*; and he was a Person of great *Worth* and *Use* unto the last. Indeed it was his laudable Ambition to be so. Whence, after Age had enfeebled him, the Fellows of the *Colledge* once leading this Venerable Old Man, to preach a Sermon in a Winter-Day, they, out of Affection unto him, to discourage him from so difficult an Undertaking, told him, *Sir, thou'll certainly die in the Pulpit*. But he laying hold on what they said, as if they had offered him the greatest Encouragement in the World, press'd the more vigorously through the *Snow drift*, and said, *How glad should I be, if what you say might prove true!*

§ 9. He kept a *Diary*, the loss of which I can't but mention with regret; nevertheless I can report thus much of it, that it was methodized under the Heads of *Sins* and *Mercies*. Under the Head of *Sins*, he took Notice of his Failings, as if he had spoken a *passionate Word*, or been dull and cold in his Duties, and the like. Under the Head of *Mercies*, he took Notice of the special and more signal *Favours*, which Heaven bestowed upon him. He was also very much in *Meditation*, and in that one important kind and part of it *Self-examination*; especially in his Preparations for the *Lord's Table*. From his *Diary* we have recovered a little relating thereunto; and for a *Specimen*, the Reader shall here have a few of his Notes, which he entitled,

### Self-Trials before the Sacrament.

#### Trial of my Part in Christ.

1. I Am subject to the Commandment of *Believing* on his Person.
2. I rest and rely upon *Him only* for Salvation.
3. I resolve by God's Help, to *Leave all* for *Him*.
4. All my *Hopes* are in *Him*, and he is my *Peace*.
5. By his *Spirit* given me.
6. That I walk not after the *Flesh*, but after the *Spirit*.
7. By many Tokens of *His Love* to me.

#### Trials of my Faith.

1. By the *Growth* of it.
2. By the *Life* of it.
3. By the *Fruits* of it.







That *Justification* is a Judicial Proceeding, wherein the Sentence of God *absolves*, and *acquits* the Sinner from the Guilt of Sin, and accepts him as a *just Person*, unto *Eternal Life*.

That the *Justification* of a Sinner before God, in the *Decree* of it, in the *Purchase* of it, and in the *Application* of it, is to be ascribed unto the *Free Grace* of God, and yet there is also a glorious Concurrence of strict *justice* thereunto.

That the Son of God condescending to be the *Surety* of his Chosen, took their *Debt* upon himself, and by suffering the *full Punishment* which was due for their Sins, made that *Satisfaction* unto the Justice of God, whereupon we receive the *Remission of Sins*, which without such a *Satisfaction* had been impossible.

That none of the *Afflictions* which befall the Faithful, are proper *Punishments* for Sin, but the *Corrective* Dispensations of a careful Father, and the *Sanative* Dispensations of a prudent Healer.

That yet many *Godly Men* sinart for their Boldness in Sin: And when *Paul* writing to *Saints*, tells them, *If you live after the Flesh, you shall die*: He speaks not only of *Temporal*, but of *Eternal Death*: Fortho' 'tis not possible for *Saints* to die eternally, 'tis as possible for them to die *Eternally*, as to *Sin Eternally*.

That we are not *justified* by Faith, as it is a *Work* in us, nor is our *Act* of Believing, any part of the *Matter* of that *Righteousness*, wherein we stand *righteous* before God. But Faith does only justify us relatively, or as it has reference to its *Object* the Lord Jesus Christ, and his *Righteousness*, or as it receives the *Mercy* of God in the Lord Jesus Christ; or as the Beggar's Hand receiving a Bag of Gold enricheth him: It is but a *Passive Instrument*; and the Words of *James*, *That a Man is justified by Works*, and not by Faith alone; do not oppose the other Words of *Paul*, but only assert, that a *justifying Faith*, is in this opposed unto a false and a dead Faith; it will certainly be effectual to produce *Good Works* in the Believer.

That Believers, notwithstanding the *Forgiveness* of their Sins, ought often to renew all the Expressions of *Repentance* for their Sins, and still to be fervent and instant in Prayer for Pardon; inasmuch as we have need of having Remission afresh applied unto us; and we also need the *Joys* and *Fruits* of our Pardon, and the Grace to make a *right Use* thereof.

That the whole *Obedience* of the Lord Jesus Christ, both *Active* and *Passive*, belongs to that perfect *Righteousness* which is required in order to *Justification*; and this *Righteousness* of God is conveyed unto Believers, by way of *Imputation*: It is reckoned and accounted theirs, upon their apprehending of it; which *Imputation* is a gracious Act of God the Father, whereby as a *Judge*, he accounts the Sins

of the Believer unto the *Surety*, as if he had committed the same, and the *Righteousness* of the Lord Jesus Christ unto the Believer, as if he had performed that *Obedience*.

That still it follows not, that every Believer is a *Redeemer*, and *Saviour* of others, as the Lord Jesus Christ himself is; it is the *Righteousness* of the Surety, and not the Suretyship it self, that is imputed unto the Believer: The Suretyship is proper unto our Lord, and because the *Vertue* which is in the Head, is communicated unto the Members, 'tis frivolous thence to argue, that every Member is thereby made an Head, and has the Influence of our Head upon the rest.

That as *Adam* was the *Common Root* of all Mankind, and so his *first Sin* is imputed unto all his Posterity; thus our Lord Jesus Christ is the *Common Root* of all the Faithful, and his *Obedience* is imputed unto them all.

This was the Old Faith of *New England*, about that most important Article of *Justification*; an Article wherein all the Duties and Comforts of our Holy Religion are, more than a little concerned. And I thought I could not make a fitter Present unto the *Sons* of my Mother, than by thus laying before the Scholars of *Harvard-Colledge*, an Abstract of what the Venerable Old President of that Colledge left as a *Legacy* unto them.

All that I shall add upon it, is, That as 'tis the Observation of our Dr. *Owen*, in his most Judicious Book of *Justification*: *I am not satisfied that any of those, who at present oppose this Doctrine, do in Holiness and Righteousness, and the Exercise of all Christian Graces, surpass those who in the last Ages, both in this and other Nations, firmly adhered unto it, and who constantly testified unto that effectual Influence, which it had into their Walking before God; nor do I know that any can be named amongst us in the former Ages, who were eminent in Holiness, and many such there were, who did not cordially assent unto that, which we plead for. And it doth not yet appear in general, that an Attempt to introduce a Doctrine contrary unto it, has had any great Success in the Reformation of the Lives of Men.* So our holy Chancery was an eminent Instance to confirm something of this Observation: Albeit he were so elaborately solicitous to exclude Good Works from any share in the antecedent Condition of our *Justification*; yet there were few Men in the World, who more practically and accurately acknowledged the Necessity of Good Works in all the Justined: And so afraid was he of dealing his own Soul, and of disturbing his own Peace, by the admission of any known Sin, that tho' he made so many flatted Supplications every Day, yet if he had fallen into any misbecoming Passion, or any sensible Distemper, or Disorder of Heart in the Day, it occasioned his immediate Retirement, for another Prayer extraordinary before the Lord.



§ 11. I remember, that upon the Article in the *Praises* of a Good Man, [Psalm 1. 3. *He brings forth his Fruit in his Season*, there is a notable Gloſs of *Aben Ezra*, to this purpose; *Anima Rationalis plena Sapientia, in Tempore Senectutis opportuna, ſeparatur a Corpore, ſicut Fructus ab Arbore, & non moritur ante Diem*. Such a Tree was our Chancery, and ſuch was his Fate. This Eminent Soldier of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, after he was come to be Fourſcore Years of Age, continued ſtill to Endure Hardneſs, as a good Soldier of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſtill profeſſed, with the Aged Poly carp, That he was not willing to leave the Service of the Lord, that had more than Fourſcore Years been a Good Maſter to him. When his Friends preſſed him to remit and abate his vaſt Labours, he would reply, *Oportet Imperatorem Stantem mori*; according he ſtood beyond Expectation, directing in the Learned Camp, where he had been a Commander. At length on the Commencement in the Year 1671. he made a Farewel Oration, wherein he took a Solemn Farewel of his Friends, and then ſent for his Children, upon whom he beſtowed a Solemn Bleſſing, with Feruent Prayers, commending them to the Grace of God. So like Aged R. Simeon, once 'tis by ſome thought) the Preſident of a College at *Jeruſalem*, he kept waiting and longing for his Call. To Depart in Peace! Accordingly the End of this Year proved the End of his Days: When Illneſs growing upon him, the Reverend Mr. *Urian Oakes*, after his Requeſted Supplications, asked him to give a Sign of his Hopeful and Joyful Aſſurances, if he yet had them, of his entering into Eternal Glory; whereat the Speechleſs Old Man lifted up his hands, as high towards Heaven, as he could lift them, and ſo his Renewed and Ripened Soul flew thither Feb. 19. 1671. in the Eighty Second Year of his Age, and the Seventeen Year of his Preſidentſhip, over *Harvard-College*. He left behind him no leſs than Six Sons; every of which had received the Laurels of Degrees, in the College; and ſome of them from the Hand of their Aged Father. Their Names were *Iſaac, Ichabod, Barnabas, Nathanael* and *Elnathan*, (which two were Twins) and *Elnathan*. All of theſe did, while they had opportunity, Preach the Goſpel; and moſt, if not all of them, like their Excellent Father before them, had an Eminent Skill in *Phyſick* added unto their other Accompliſhments; which like him, they uſed for the Good of many; as indeed it is well known, that until Two Hundred Years ago, *Phyſick* in England, was no Profeſſion diſtinct from Divinity; and accordingly Princes had the ſame Perſons to be their *Phyſicians* and their *Confefſors*. But only Two of them are now living; the *Fiſt* and the *Laſt*: The one in England, the other in New-England; *Yſaac* now a Paſtor of a Church in London, and an Author of ſeveral well known Treatiſes; *Iſrael* now a Paſtor of a Church in our *Stratford*, where he is, at this Day, a Rich Bleſſing to the Colony of *Connecticut*. The Happy Mother of theſe

worthy Sons, was *Catharine* the Daughter of *Robert Eyre, Eſq*, who dying a little before her Comfort, had her *Holy Life* quickly after publiſhed; namely, by the Publication of the *Directions* for an *Holy Life*, which her Pious Father left as a Legacy for his Children: *Directions*, whereof I ſhall ſay but this, That as they expreſs the True Spirit of *Puritanism*, ſo they comprize the Wiſeſt, the Fruitfulleſt, the Exacteſt, and the Holieſt Rules of Living, that ever I ſaw together in any ſhort *Human Compoſure*; and the Reprinting of them would not only give a Deſcription of the Heavenly Converſation endeavoured by our Great *Charles Chancery*, whom we have hitherto been conſidering, but alſo procure the Admiration, if not Imitation of them that read it.

§ 12. New-England having enjoyed ſuch a Privilege, and ſuch a Preſident as our Chancery, governing a Colledge, I will conclude this Account thereof with certain Paſſages which this Reverend Man publiſhed in a Sermon, on *Amos 2. 11. I raiſed up of your Sons for Prophets, and of your Young Men for Nazarites*, Preached at Cambridge the Day after one of the Commencements.

God hath wonderfully Erected Schools of Learning, and means of Education for our Children, that there might be continually ſome comfortable Supply and Succeſſion in the Miniſtry. Is it not ſo, O ye People of God in New-England! But then let me teſtify againſt you in the Lord's Name, for great Unthankfulneſs to the Lord, for ſo great a Mercy. The Great Bleſſing of a Painful Miniſtry is not regarded by Covetous Earth Worms; neither do the Schools of Learning, that afford Oyl to the Lamps, come into their Thoughts, to praife the Lord for them. Or, ſome little Good they apprehend in it, to have a Miniſter to ſpend the Sabbath, and to Baptize their Children, and Schools to teach their Children, and keep them out of Harm's Way, or teach them to Write and Read, and caſt Accounts; but they deſpiſe the Angel's Bread, and count it Light Stuff, in Compariſon of other things, yea, there be many in the Country, that account it their Happineſs to live in the Waſt, Howling Wilderneſs, without any Miniſtry, or Schools, and Means of Education for their Poſterity; they have much Liberty, they think, by this Want. Surely their Practice about their Children, is little better than the Mercileſs and Unnatural Profaneſſes of the *Iſraelites*, That ſacrificed their Sons and their Daughters unto Devils! And many make wicked Returns of theſe Bleſſings, and fearfully abuſe them, and ſeek what they can, to weary out Miniſters, and pull down Schools of Learning, or which is all one, deny or withhold Maintenance from them; as good, as to ſay, *Raſe them, Raſe them to the Foundations*! But how exceeding Hatelful unto the Lord, is this Unthankfulneſs? Do you thus requite



require the Lord, ye foolish People, and unwise!

But then let *Scholars* mainly intend, labour, and study for this; to be *Prophets* and *Nazarites*: And therefore let *Speaking* to *Edification, Exhortation, and Comfort* be aimed at in all your *Studies*: And behave your selves as being set apart in peculiar manner for the Lord. To use the *Vessels of the Temple*, to quaff and carouse in, was a *Babylonish* Practice. You should have less to do with the *World*, and *Worldly Delights*, and be less cumbered than others with the Affairs of this Life.

All that we will add of this Good Old Man, shall be the *Epitaph*, which is now to be read on his Tomb-stone in *Cambridge*.

Conditum

hic est Corpus,

CAROLI CHAUNCEI,

S. S. Theologiae Baccalaur.

E T

Collegii Harvardini Nov-Angl.

Per XVII. Annorum Spacium,

Præfidis Vigilantissimi,

Viri Plane Integerimi,

Concionatoris Eximii,

Pietate

Pariter ac Liberali Eruditione

Ornatissimi.

Qui Obiit in Domino, Feb. XIX.

An. Dom. M. DC. LXXI.

Et Etatis suæ, LXXX. II.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

#### Lucas. THE LIFE of Mr. JOHN FISK.

Ἰακώβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀποστόλου Ἰωάννου ἀδελφός.

§ 1. Among the most Famous Preachers and Writers of the Gospel, with which the Primitive Church was Blessed, there was *Luke, the Beloved Physician*; of whom *Jerom* elegantly says, *Quomodo Apostoli de Piscatoribus piscium, Piscatores Hominum facti sunt, ita de Medico Corporum in Medicum Versus est Animarum, cujus Liber quotiescung, legitur in Ecclesiis, toties Medicina non cessat*: That Blessed Scholar and Colleague, of the Apostle *Paul*, who (as *Jerom* also tells us) according to the Opinion of some, intends the Volume which had been Penned by this *Luke*, as often as he uses that Expression in his Epistles, according to my Gospel.

And among the first Preachers and Writers, which rendered the Primitive Times of New-England happy, there was one who might likewise be called, *A Beloved Physician*; one to whom there might also be given the *Eulogy*, which the Ancients think was given to *Luke*, *A Brother whose Praise was in the Gospel, throughout all Churches*.

This was Mr. John Fisk.

§ 2. Mr. John Fisk was Born in the Parish of *St. James*, (called for Distinction, *One of the Nine Parishes*) in the County of *Suffolk*, about the Year 1601. of Pious and Worthy Pa-

rents, yea, of *Grand Parents*, and *Great Grand Parents*, Eminent for Zeal in the True Religion. There were *Six Brothers* in the Infamous Reign of *Queen Mary*, whereof three were *Papists*, and three were *Protestants*, I may say, *Puritans*; and of the *Latter* (whereof none were owned by the *Former*) Two were very sorely persecuted. For one of these Brethren, the Pursivant, having a Kindness, gave him a Private and Previous Notice of his coming with an Order to seize him; whereupon the Good Man, first called his Family to Prayer, hastened away to hide himself in a Ditch, with his *Godly Wife*, which had a *Sucking Child* at her Breast. The Pursivant being near at Hand, a *Thorn* in the *Hedge* gave such a Mark to the Child's Face, as never went out; whereat the Child beginning to Roar, the Mother presently clapt it to the Breast, whereby it was quieted at once, and there was no Discovery then, or after, made of these *Confessors*. Another of these Brethren, from whom our Fisk was descended, was then (to avoid *Burning*) hid many Months in a *Wood-pile*; and afterwards, for half a Year in a *Cellar*, whereby he diligently employ'd himself in profitable Manufactures, by *Candle Light*, after such a manner as to remain likewise undiscovered; but his many Hardships brought that Excessive

Bleeding



Bleeding upon him, that shortened his Days, and added unto the Cry of the Souls under the Altar.

§ 3. Our John was the Eldest of Four Children, all of whom afterwards came to New-England with him, and left a Posterity, with whom God established his Holy Covenant. His Parents having devoted him unto the Service of the Lord Jesus Christ, they sent him first unto a Grammar-School, Two Miles from the Place of their Abode, whither his Diligent Soul was instead of Wings, every Day to carry him. His Education at the School, having fitted him for the University, he went unto Cambridge, where he was admitted, into (as I think) Emmanuel College, in which he resided, until he became a Graduate. Some time after this, being both by Art and by Heart, well prepared for it, he applied himself unto the Work to which he had been devoted; namely, the Preaching of the Gospel: But the Silencers grew so hard upon him for his Non-Conformity, that upon the Advice of his Friends, he set himself to study Physick, and upon a thorough Examination, he obtained a Licence for Publick Practice. When he was about Eight and Twenty Years of Age, he married a Virtuous Young Gentlewoman; several Hundreds of Pounds of whose Patrimony were denied her upon the Displeasure of her Father, at her coming to New-England.

But upon the Death of his Father, who had committed unto him the Care of his Mother and his two Sisters, and his youngest Brother, he thought it his Duty to Remove unto New-England, where he saw an Opportunity of returning unto the Quiet Exercise of his Ministry. He, and that Excellent Man Mr. John Allyn, came aboard in a Disguise, to avoid the Fury of their Persecutors; but after they were past the Lands-End, they entertained the Passengers with Two Sermons every Day, besides other Agreeable Devotions, which filled the Voyage with so much of Religion, that one of the Passengers being examined about his going to divert himself with an Hook and Line, on the Lord's Day, he protested, That he did not know when the Lord's Day was; he thought every Day was a Sabbath Day; for, he said, they did nothing but pray and preach all the Week long.

§ 4. Mr. Fisk arrived at New-England in the Year 1637. having had nothing to render the Voyage uncomfortable, but only that his Aged Mother died quickly after he came aboard, and his only Infant quickly after he came ashore. He came well stocked with Servants, and all sorts of Tools for Husbandry and Carpentry, and with Provisions to support his Family in a Wilderness for Three Years together; out of which, he charitably lent a considerable Quantity to the Country, which he then found in the Distresses of a War with the Pequod-Indians. He now sojourned about Three Years at Salem, where he was both a Preacher to the Church, and a Tutor unto divers young Scho-

lars (whereof the well known Sir George Downing was one) as he was afterwards unto his own Children, when the want of Grammar-Schools at Hand made it necessary. From thence he removed unto a Place adjoining thereto, which is now called Wenham: Where on Octob. 8. 1644. a Church was gathered, of which he continued the Pastor, in that Place, for more than Twice Seven Years: Contented with a very mean Salary, and consuming his own fair Estate for the Welfare of the New-Plantation.

§ 5. About the Year 1656. he Removed, with the major part of his Church, to another New Town, called Chelmsford; and there he spent the Remainder of his Days. Of the Afflictions which now Disciplin'd him, one of the saddest was the Loss of his Concordance; I mean, of his Godly and Worthy Consort, who by her incomparable Expertness in the Scriptures, had rendered any other Concordance of the Bible useless unto his Library. This Virtuous Woman lost her Sight for some Years before she died; under which Disaster a most Exemplary Patience was produced in her, by her View of, The things which are not seen, and are Eternal: And at length, after many Admonitions unto her Friends to Improve their Sight well whilst they had it, she had on Feb. 14. 1671. her Eyes opened, by their being closed; and was by Death carried from Faith unto Immediate and Everlasting Sight: After which he married again.

§ 6. Twenty Years did he shine in the Golden Candlestick of Chelmsford; a plain, but an Able, Painful, and Useful Preacher of the Gospel; rarely, it ever, by Sickness hindered from the Exercise of his Ministry. As Marcellus Ficinus having written one Book, De Sanitate Tuenda, and another Book, De Valetudine Restituenda, concluded his Course with writing his Book, De Vita Celitus Comparanda: Thus, our Mr. Fisk, now superseded his Care and Skill of dispensing Medicines for the Body, by doing it for the Soul. But although he did in his Ministry, go through an Exposition of almost all the Scripture in both Testaments, and unto his Lord's Day Sermons, added a Monthly Lecture on the Week-Day, besides his Discourses at the Private Meetings of the Faithful, and his exact and Faithful Cares to keep up Church-Discipline, yet none of his Labours were more Considerable than his Catechetical. It is by the Excellent Owen excellently well observed, That unless a Man has some Good Satisfaction concerning the Spiritual Condition of those that are committed unto his Charge, he can never approve himself among them, a Workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth: And the Work of the Ministry is not by any means more evacuated, and rendered Ineffectual, than when Men have not a certain Design to deal with their Hearers according to what they are persuaded, that their Spiritual Estate doth require. Our Fisk therefore, did by most laborious Catechizing, endeavour to know the State of



of his Flock, and make it good : And hence, altho' he did himself compose and publish a most useful *Catechism*, which he entituled, *The Olive Plant watered*; yet he chose the *Assembly's Catechism* for his Publick Expositions, wherewith he twice went over it, in Discourses before his Afternoon-Sermons on the Sabbath.

§ 7. Towards the end of his Life, he began to labour especially under two Maladies, either of which were enough to try the most consummate Patience of any Man living; these were, first the *Stone*, and then the *Gout*; which at last were followed with *Convulsions*, that brought his laborious Life unto an end : And gave him the Experience of *Streitbergerius's* Motto, *Qui non est Crucianus non est Christianus*. Yea, for a Complication of Maladies, his Condition became not unlike the blessed *Calvin's*, of whom the Historian relates, *That he was troubled with as many Infirmities, as indifferent Subjects might have supplied an Hospital*.

On the Second Lord's Day of his Confinement by Illness, after he had been many Lord's Days carried unto the Church in a Chair, and preached, as in the Primitive Times they still treated, fitting, he was taken with *Convulsions*, which renewed so fast upon him, that within a few Days he died, on *January 14. 1676.* See a

*Rest from his Labours* : Having first, after this manner blessed his Four Children, two Sons and two Daughters, who were by his Bed-side waiting for his Blessing : *You are as a Shock of Corn bound up, or as Twins made beautiful by the Covenant of Grace. You have an Interest in the sure Mercies of David; those you have to tread upon. Study to emulate one another; but in the best, in the best. Provoked one another to Love. The God of your Forefathers bless you all.* And added unto his younger Son, the present worthy Pastor of *Braintree*, concerning his Wife and his two Children, then absent, *The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, bless you, and your Posterity after you.*

We will now leave him uttering the Words of *Weinrichius*, in his

# E P I T A P H.

*Vixi, & quem dederas cursum mihi, Christe; peregi :  
Perpetuus Vitæ, suaviter opto mori.*

## C H A P. XXV.

### Scholasticus. The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS PARKER.

§ 1. IT may without any ungrateful Comparisons be asserted, that one of the greatest Scholars in the *English* Nation, was that Renowned *Robert Parker*, who was driven out of the Nation for his *Non Conformity* to its unhappy Ceremonies in the Worship of God. It was the Honour of that Great Man, to be the Father of such Learned Books, as that of his *De Politia Ecclesiastica*, and that *Of the Cross*; as well as Foster Father to that of *Sandford's De Descensu Christi ad Inferos*; yea, to be in some sort the Father of all the *Non Conformists* in our Age, who yet would not call any Man their Father. But let it not be counted any Dishonour unto him, that he was also the Natural Father of our *Thomas Parker*.

§ 2. This *Mr. Thomas Parker* was the only Son of his Father, who being very desirous to have him a Scholar, committed him unto perhaps a godly, but a very severe Master. Under this hard Master, tho' he was well nigh discouraged by the *Dulness*, which he apprehended in his own Capacity, yet the Consideration of his Father's Desire, made him, with an Early Piety, to join his Prayers unto his Pains, that he might have his Education prospered; and God so prospered him, that he arrived unto a desirable Degree of Knowledge, both in the *Tongues*, and in the *Arts*.

§ 3. He had been admitted into *Magdalen* Colledge, in *Oxford*; but after the Exile of his Father, he removed unto *Dublin*, in *Ireland*; where he found from *Dr. Usher* the same favourable Aspect, which that eminent Person did use to cast upon young Students that were ingenious : And from thence he went after his Father into *Holland*, where *Dr. Ames* favoured him with his Encouragements and Assistances, in the Prosecution of his honest Studies now at *Leyden*.

§ 4. As his Diligence was indefatigable, so his Proficiency was proportionable : And he was particularly considerable there, for his Disputations upon the Points then most considerably controverted. It was at the Age of Twenty two, that he drew up his most Judicious and Approved *Theses, De Traditione Peccatoris* : Which are bound up with *Dr. Ames's Opuscula*, in some Editions of his Answer to *Greovincianus*. Those most accurate *Theses*, being thus published, as the Composure of another, our humble *Parker*, tho' instigated thereunto, did yet refuse to do himself the Justice, of publishing himself some other way, to be the Author of them. This neglect of his, he said, was, to chastize the Vanity of his own young Mind, which had been too much plesed with the Accuracy of his own early Performance in those *Theses*. But



the Author of the *Theſes* afterwards came to be well known, by the Providence of God, when whole *Books* came to be written by learned Men upon them; whereof one was entituled, *Parkerus Illustratus*.

But before this Age of Twenty two, he proceeded *Maſter*, with the general Applauſe of all, and the ſpecial Esteem of *Maccovius*, a man Renowned in the *Belgick* Universities. In the *Diploma* then given him, they teſtifie, *Illum non ſine magni Admiratione audierimus*.—And *Sc Philoſophæ Ariſtæque liberalium peritiſſimum declaraverit*.

§ 5. *Maccovius* would hereupon have had *ſi- brandus Lubbertus*, the Moderator of the *Clasſis* there, to have ordained our *Parker* a *Preſbyter*, as an Acknowledgment of his exceeding worth; but *tho' Lubbertus* could not but acknowledge it, yet out of a ſecret Grudge, he would not allow of the Ordination. Whereupon *Maccovius* rode unto the States at *Leodin*, with Complaints of *Lubbertus* for ſo ill a thing, as letting ſuch a Perſon as this *Parker* go away under any Cloud of Diſreſpect; and the States thereupon wrote unto *Lubbertus* to admit him: But the haſt of his return into *England* prevented it.

§ 6. Reſiding at *Newberry* in *England*, he applied himſelf with an invincible Induſtry unto the Study of *School-Divinity*: In which profound and knotty Study, he found ſuch enſnaring Temptations, that he afterwards laid it all aſide, for the Knowledge of *Jeſus Chriſt crucified*. The wiſe *Bullinger* would with too much Reaſon ſay, *Unus Seneca plus ſinceritæ Theologie poſteritate reliquit, quam omnes ſere omnium Scholaſticorum Libri*. The great *Cramer* would with a like Reaſon ſay, *Solere ſe Scholaſticos conſulere, non aliter, quam ſi quis aliquando potatum inſenſem, poſt Aulærum, cubiculorum & cœnacularum magnificentiam etiam Latrinas non dedignetur inſpicere, ſed paucis, ob ſectorem*. The learned *Whitaker* would ſay of the *School-men*, *Plus habent Argutiarum quam Scientiæ, plus Scientiæ quam Doctrinæ, plus Doctrinæ quam uſus, plus uſus quam ad ſalutem*. Our *Parker* converted indeed with the *School-men*, until he almoſt became one of them himſelf: But not ſuch an one as *Luther* meant, when he ſaid, *Qui Theologum Scholaſticum videt, videt Septem peccata mortalia*: For he grew ſick of all the Learning that he had got from the *School-men*, and would often ſay, *All the uſe I now make of all my School-Learning is this: I have ſo much to deny for the ſake of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. Nor was he inſenſible of what *Sir Walter Raleigh* obſerved concerning the *School-men*, That they taught their Followers rather to *ſhift*, than to reſolve by their *Diſtinctions*.

§ 7. From thence removing, with ſeveral devout Chriſtians out of *Wiltſhire* into *New-England*, he was Ordained their *Paſtor*, at a Town, on his, and their Account, called *Newberry*; where he lived many Years, by the Holineſs, the *Humbleneſs*, the Charity of his Life, giving his People a perpetual and moſt lively Commentary upon his *Doctrinæ*.

§ 8. The Strains which his immoderate Studies gave unto his Organs of Sight, brought a miſerable Deſluxion of *Rheum* upon his Eyes; which proceeded ſo far, that one of them ſwell'd until it came out of his Head, and the other grew altogether dim ſome Years before his Death. Under this extreme Loſs he would, after a Chriſtian and pleaſant manner, give himſelf that Conſolation: *Well, they'll be reſtored ſhortly, at the Reſurrection*.

The Jews, upon the dim ſight of *Eli*, have an Obſervation, That none are mentioned in the Scripture, as afflicted with Failure of Sight, but ſuch as were afflicted either in their Children, or in their Pupils. Our *Parker* had no Children to afflict him, and his Pupils were ſuch as to comfort him; yet Failure of Sight was his Calamity.

§ 9. In the latter part of his Life, he bent himſelf unto the Study of the *Scripture Prophecies*; being, as has been ſaid by *Dr. Uſher*, inflamed thereunto. 'Twas with an affiduous Conjunction of *Meditations*, and Supplications, that he followed this delightful Study, till he had written ſeveral Volumes, a great part of them in *Latin*; whereof no part was ever publiſh'd, but one upon *Daniel*, which he wrote in *Engliſh*. It ſome of his Expoſitions upon thoſe difficult parts of the Scripture, have been ſince conſuted by ſome great Authors, who diſliked them, we may, on more Accounts than one, conſider him, as the *Elomer* of *New-England*; and add,

*Aliquando Bonus Dormitat Homerus.*

§ 10. He went unto the *Immortals*, in the Month of *April* 1677, about the Eighty ſecond Year of his Age: And after he had lived all his Days a *ſingle Man*, but a great part of his Days engaged in *Apocalyptical Studies*, he went unto the *Apocalyptical Virgins*, who follow the *Lamb* whithersoever he goes.

He was a Perſon of a moſt extenſive Charity; which Grain of his Temper, might contribute unto that Largeneſs in his Principles, about *Church Government*, which expoſed him unto many Temptations, amongst his Neighbours, who were not ſo Principled. He would, indeed, expreſs himſelf diſtaſtiſhed at the Edge, which there was in the Writings of his Father, againſt the *Biſhops*; and he did himſelf write a Preface unto a Book; whereupon *Mr. Charles Chancy* beſtow'd a *ſhort Answer*, which begins with this ſhorter *Cenſure*.

'Let it not be an Offence to any Chriſtian, that there hath been found one like to *Urijah* the *Prieſt*, that would ſet up the *Altar* of *Damaſcus* among us, to thruſt out the *Brazen Altar* of the Lord's Inſtitution; viz. *Mr. Thomas Parker*, who has publiſhed a Book, pleading for *Episcopacy*; wherein is found, *nā& nā& nā&*, a *Colt* kicking againſt his *Dam*.

Such a Difference in Apprehenſion, and in Affection too, did on that occaſion diſcover it ſelf, be-



between those Good Men, who are now joyfully met, *Ubi Lubti Lutheri cum Zuinglio, optime jam Conventit.*

Yet the Alienation between them, was not so great as that between *Theoclus*, and *Pollinis*, who being burnt in one Funeral Fire, after they had kill'd one another, the very Flame of that Fire divided it self, the Flame of their Funeral Fire would not be united. *Chancey* and *Parker* are united in our *Church-History*; the Funeral Respects which are here paid unto both of them, agree very well together. Now,

That which the Learned, Pious, and Sweet-spirited *Bucholtzer*, provided for himself, we will now assign unto this our Sweet-spirited

*Parker* (who spent his Life much in Chronological Studies, like that Great *Bucholtzer*), for an

## E P I T A P H.

*Hic, Pie Christe! Tuo recubat quæstia cruce,*  
*Ing. Tuo Gremio, Parvula dormit Ovis.*  
*Reddidit hæc Animam balanti Voce Eidelem:*  
*Huic Pastor dices, Intret Ovile meum.*

An APPENDIX Containing MEMOIRS  
of Mr. James Noyes.

WHEN we had thus finished our *Memoirs* of Mr. *Parker*, our *Second Thoughts* told us, that some of Mr. *Noyes* must accompany them. Sending therefore to my Excellent Friend, Mr. *Nicolas Noyes*, the present Minister of *Salem*, for some Account, concerning a Person so nearly related unto him, he favoured me with the following Relation. And tho' he were pleased in his Letters to tell me,

That he had sent me only a Rude Immetho-  
dical Jumble of things, intending that I  
should serve my Occasions out of them, for a  
Composition of my own. Yet I find, that I  
shall not give my Readers a better Satisfaction,  
any way, than by transcribing the Words of  
my Friend. The Account in his own Words,  
is too Elegant, and Expressive, to need any  
Alteration.

Mr. James Noyes was Born, 1668. at *Choul-  
deron* in *Wiltshire*, of Godly and Worthy  
Parents. His Father was Minister of the same  
Town, a very Learned Man, the School-Ma-  
ster of Mr. *Thomas Parker*. His Mother was  
Sister to the Learned Mr. *Robert Parker*, and  
he had much of his Education and Tutorage  
under Mr. *Thomas Parker*. He was called  
by him, from *Brasen Nose College* in *Oxford*,  
to help him in teaching the Free School at  
*Newberry*, where they taught School toge-  
ther, till the Time they came to *New Eng-  
land*. He was converted in his Youth, by the  
Ministry of Dr. *Twiss*, and Mr. *Thomas Par-  
ker*, and was admired for his Piety and his  
Vertue in his younger Years. The Reason of  
his coming to *New-England*, was, because he  
could not comply with the Ceremonies of the  
Church of *England*. He was married in *Eng-  
land* to Mrs. *Sarah Brown*, the Eldest Daugh-  
ter of Mr. *Joseph Brown* of *Southampton*, not  
long before he came to *New-England*, which

was in the Year 1634. In the same Ship  
came Mr. *Thomas Parker*, Mr. *James Noyes*,  
and a Younger Brother of his, Mr. *Nicolas  
Noyes*, who then was a single Man: Between  
which Three, was a more than ordinary En-  
dearment of Affection, which was never sha-  
ken or broken, but by Death Mr. *Parker* and  
Mr. *James Noyes*, and others that came over  
with them, Fasted and Prayed together many  
times, before they undertook this Voyage;  
and on the Sea, Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Noyes*  
preached or expounded; one in the Forenoon,  
other in the Afternoon, every Day during the  
Voyage, unless some extraordinary thing in-  
tervened, and were abundant in Prayer.

When they arrived, Mr. *Parker* was at  
first called to preach at *Ipswich*, and Mr.  
*Noyes* at *Millick*, at which Places they con-  
tinued nigh a Year. He had a Motion made  
unto him to be Minister at *Watertown*; but  
Mr. *Parker* and others of his Brethren and  
Acquaintance, settling at *Newberry*, and ga-  
thering the Tenth of the Churches in the Co-  
lony, and calling Mr. *Noyes* to be the Tea-  
cher of it, he preferred that place, being  
lothe to be separated from Mr. *Parker*, and  
Brethren that had so often Fasted and Prayed  
together, both in *England* and on the *Atlant-  
ic Sea*. So he became the Teacher of that  
Church, and continued painful and successful  
in that Station something above Twenty  
Years, without any considerable Trouble in  
the Church. Notwithstanding his Principles  
as to Discipline, were something differing  
from many of the Brethren, there was such  
Condescension on both Parts, that Peace and  
Order was not Interrupted. He was very  
much loved and Honour'd in *Newberry*; his  
Memory is precious there to this Day, and  
his *Catechism* (which is a publick and  
standing Testimony of his Understanding and



Orthodoxy in the Principles of Religion) is publicly and privately used in that Church and Town hitherto. He was very well Learned in the *Tongues*, and in *Greek* excelled most. He was much Read in the *Fathers* and the *Schoolmen*. And he was much esteemed by his Brethren in the Ministry. Twice he was called by Mr. *Wilson* and others, to preach, in the Time when the *Antinomian* Principles were in danger of prevailing; which he did with good Success, and to the Satisfaction of those that invited him. Mr. *Wilson* dearly loved him; and it so happened once at *Newbury*, that he preached in the Forenoon about *Holiness* to *Holily* and *Ably*, that Mr. *Wilson* was so affected with it, as to change his own Text, and pitch upon Mr. *Noyes's*, for the Afternoon; prefacing his Discourse, with telling the Auditor, that his Brother *Noyes's* Discourse about *Holiness* in the Forenoon had so much Impression upon his mind, he knew not how in the Afternoon to pursue any other Argument. His Conversation was so unquestionably Godly, that they who differed from him in smaller Matters as to Discipline, held a most amicable Correspondence with him, and had an high Estimation of him. Altho' he was very averse to the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, accounting them needless, many Ways offensive and hurtful to the best, and the rigorous Imposition of them Abominable and intolerable, so that he left *England* for their sake, yet he was not equally averse to *Episcopacy*, but was in Opinion for *Episcopos Presides*, tho' not for *Episcopos Principes*. His own Words testify this, for so he wrote; *It seemeth he that was called, Antistes Prepositus, the Bishop, in a Presbytery, by Process of Time was only called Bishop, tho' all Elders are also according to their Office Essentially Bishops, and differing only in Gradual Jurisdiction*. He no ways approved of a *Governing Vote*, in the *Fraternity*, but took their Consent in a *Silential* way. He held *Ecclesiastical Councils* so far Authoritative and Binding, that no particular Elder, or Society, might seem to have *Independency* and *Sovereignty*, or the *Major Part* of them have Liberty to sin with Impunity. He was equally afraid of *Ceremonies* and of *Schism*; and when he fled from *Ceremonies* he was afraid of being guilty of *Schism*. For that Reason he was jealous (if not too jealous) of particular *Church-Covenants*; yet he accounted them *Adjuncts of the Covenant of Grace*. He held Profession of *Faith*, and *Repentance*, and *Subjection* to the *Ordinances*, to be the *Rule of Admission into Church-Fellowship*; and that such as show a Willingness to *Repent*, and be *Baptized* in the Name of the Lord Jesus, without known Diffimulation, are to be admitted thereto; and that it depended more on *God's Providence*, than his *Ordinances*, to render *Church-Members* found in the Faith; and that *God* took into *Covenant* some that

were Vessels of Wrath, as for other Ends, so to facilitate the Conversion of their Elect Children. He was as Religious at Home as Abroad, in his Family and in secret, as he was publicly; and they that best knew him, most loved and esteemed him, and Mr. *Parker* and he kept a *Private Fast* once a Month, so long as they lived together, and Mr. *Parker* after his own Death, till his own Departure. Mr. *Noyes* bitterly lamented the Death of *K. Charles I.* and both he and Mr. *Parker* too had too great Expectations of *K. Charles II.* but Mr. *Parker* lived to see his Expectations of *Charles* the Second frustrated. He had a long and tedious Sickness, which he bore patiently and cheerfully; and he died joyfully in the Forty Eighth Year of his Age, Oct. 22. 1656. He left Six Sons and Two Daughters, all of which lived to be married, and have Children, tho' since one Son and one Daughter be dead. He hath now living Fifty Six Children, Grand Children, and Great Grand-Children. And his Brother that came over with him a single Man, is thro' the Mercy of God, yet living; and hath of Children, Grand Children, and Great Grand-Children, above an Hundred: Which is an Instance of Divine Favour, in making the Families of his Servants in the Wilderness like a Flock. There was the greatest Amity, Intimacy, Unanimity, yea, Unity imaginable between Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Noyes*. So unshaken was their Friendship, nothing but Death was able to part them. They taught in one School, came over in one Ship; were Pastor and Teacher of one Church; and Mr. *Parker* continuing always in *Celibacy*, they lived in one House, till Death separated them for a Time; but they are both now together in one Heaven, as they that best knew them have all possible Reason to be persuaded.

Mr. *Parker* continued in his House, as long as he lived; and as he received a great deal of Kindness and Respect there, so he shew'd a great deal of Kindness in the Educating of his Children, and was very Liberal to that Family during his Life, and at his Death. He never forgot the Old Friendship, but shew'd Kindness to the Dead, in shewing Kindness to the Living.

Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Noyes*, were Excellent Singers, both of them; and were extraordinary delighted in Singing of *Psalms*. They sang Four times a Day in the Publick Worship, and always just after Evening Prayer in the Family, where reading the Scripture, expounding, and Praying, were the other constant Exercises. Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Noyes*, were of the same Opinion with Dr. *Owen*, about the Sabbath; yet in Practice, were strict Observers of the Evening after it. Mr. *Parker*, whose Practice I my self remember, was the strictest Observer of the Sabbath, that ever I knew. I once asked him, seeing his Opinion was otherwise, as to the Evening belonging to the Sabbath, why his Practice



*Uice* differed from his *Opinion*! He answered me, *Because he dare not depart from the Foot-steps of the Flock, for his private Opinion.*

Being got into some Passages of Mr. Parker's Life before I am aware, I will insert a few more: And you may make what use of them you please. He kept a *School*, as well as preached, at *Newbury in New-England*. He ordinarily had about Twelve or Fourteen Scholars. He took no pay for his pains, unless any present were freely sent him. He used to say, *He lived for the Churches sake*, and begrudg'd no pains that were for its Benefit; and by his Good Will he was not free to teach any but such as were designed for the Ministry by their Parents; for he would say, *He could not bestow his Time and Pains unless it were for the Benefit of the Church.* Tho' he were blind, yet such was his Memory, that he could in his Old Age, teach *Latin, Greek, and Hebrew*, very Artificially. He seldom corrected a Scholar, unless for *Lying and Fighting*, which were unpardonable Crimes in our School. He promoted Learning in his Scholars, by something an unusual way; encouraging them to learn Lessons, and make Verses, besides and above their stinted Tasks, for which they had *Pardons* in Store, that were kept on Record in the School, and were for lesser *School-Faults*, such as were not Immoralities, and Sins against God, cross'd out; but he always told them, they must not think to escape unpunished for Sin against God, by reason of them; tho' for some lesser Defects about their Lessons, they were accepted. I heard him tell Mr. Millar the Minister, that the great Changes of his Life had been signified to him before-hand by *Dreams*. And I heard him say, That before a Fiery Temptation of the Devil beset him, he had a very Terrible Representation in a Dream, of the Devil assailing of him, and he wrestled with him, and had more than once like to have prevailed against him; but that when he was most likely and most near to be overcome, he was afresh animated and strengthened to resist him; till at length the Devil seemed to break abroad like a Flash of Lightning, and then disappeared; and that not long after, the most Dismal Temptation of Satan beset him that ever he was sensible of, and that all the Passages of that Temptation answered the forementioned Representation; and that the Hazards of it, and his fresh Supplies when almost vanquished, and his Deliverance was so remarkable, that every Day he had lived since that Time, he had given Thanks to God particularly for his Assistance of him in that Temptation, and his Deliverance out of it: Tho' it were Twenty Years before the time of his now telling me concerning it. Mr. Parker excell'd in Liberty of Speech, in Praying, Preaching and Singing, having a most delicate sweet Voice; yet he had all along an Impulse upon his Spirit, that he should have the *Pal-*

*sey* in his *Tongue*, before he died. His Voice held extraordinarily, until very Old Age; and I think the more, because his Teeth held sound and good until then; his Custom being to wash his Mouth, and rub his Teeth every Morning. Some few Years before his Death, he began to complain of the *Tooth-ach*, and then he quickly began to lose his Teeth; and now he said, *The Daughters of his Musick began to sail him*. And about a Year and half before he Died, *That* which he had long feared beset him, viz. *The Palsy in his Tongue*; and so he became Speechless, and thus continued until Death; having this only help left him, that he could pronounce *Letters*, but not *Syllables*, or *Words*. He signified his Mind, by spelling his Words, which was indeed a tedious way, but yet a Mercy so far to him and others. During that Time, which was in our first *Indian War*, when the *Indians* broke in upon many Towns, and committed horrible outrages, and tormented such as they took Captives, one Night he fell into a dreadful Tentation, lest the *Indians* should break in upon *Newbury*, and the Inhabitants might generally escape by fighting or flying, but he being Old and Blind, and grown Deceperit, he must of Necessity fall into their hands; and that being a Minister, they would urge him by Torture to Blaspheme Christ, and that he should not have Grace to hold out against the Tentation of *Indian Torture*; and with the very fear of this, he was for the most part of the Night in such Agonies of Soul, that he was on the very Brink of Desparation; but at length, God help him, by bringing to his Mind, Two Places of Scripture: That in Isa. 51. 12, 13. *I, even I, am he that comforts thee; who art thou, that thou shouldest be afraid of a Man that shall die, and forgettest the Lord thy Maker! And that in Rom. 8. 35, 36. Who shall separate us from the Love of Christ? Shall Tribulation or Distress, or Persecution, or Famine, or Nakedness, or Peril, or Sword! — For thy Sake we are killed all-the Day long; — Nay in all these things, we are more than Conquerors thro' him that hath loved us.* Sleep departed from him that Night, by reason of the Horror of that Tentation; and the Joy that came towards Morning he was wonderfully affected with, and in the Morning early, he pronounced all this to me Letter by Letter, and glorified God. Once hearing some of us *laughing* very freely, while I suppose, he was better busied in his Chamber above us, he came down, and gravely said to us, *Cousins, I wonder you can be so merry, unless you are sure of your Salvation!* He was a very Holy and Heavenly-minded Man, and as much mortified to the World, as almost any in it. He scarce called any thing his *own*; but his *Books* and his *Cloaths*. When he was urged, to vindicate himself to be the Author of the *Testes de Traditione Peccatoris ad Vitam*, he utterly refused it; saying, being young at



the Time when he made them, he was afraid he had not so fully aimed at the Glory of God, as he ought to have done. But a while after, one unbeknown to him in Holland, Reprinted them, with the Name of the Author, and set him forth with more advantage, than would have been modest or proper for himself to have done; giving him his Parental as well as Personal Honour; and saying, That his Father was, *Pater dignus tali Filio*; and that he was, *Filius dignus tali Patre*. Thus he that humbly himself shall be exalted.

Mr. Wilson once, on occasion of his Celibacy, said to him, That if there could be Anger in Heaven, his Father would chide him, when he came there, because he had not, like him, a Son to follow him. But he had many Spiritual Children, that were the 'Seals of his Ministry; He was also a Father to the Fatherless; and many Scholars were little less he holden to him for their Education, than they were to their Parents for their Generation.

The Occasion of his Celibacy was this: At the time that he meditated Marriage, he was assailed with violent Temptations to Infidelity, which made him regardless of every thing, in comparison of confirming his Faith, about the Truth of the Scriptures. This occasion'd his falling into the Study of the Prophecies, which proved a means of Confirming his Faith; but he fell so in Love with that Study, that he never got out of it, until his Death: And the Church had doubtless had much Benefit by his profound Studies in that kind, could the Bishops have been perswaded to License his Books; which they refused, because he found the Pope to be prophesied of, where they could not understand it. His whole Life, besides what was necessary for the Support of it, by Food, and Sleep, was Prayer, Study, Preaching, and teaching School. I once heard

him say, He felt the whole Frame of his Nature giving way, which threatened his Dissolution to be at hand: But he thank'd God, he was not amaz'd at it.

\* To conclude, all I intend concerning Mr. Parker, or Mr. Noyes, I shall give you Mr. Parker's Character of Mr. Noyes, who best knew him, and whose Testimony of him is very credible.

Mr. James Noyes, my worthy Colleague in the Ministry of the Gospel, was a Man of singular Qualifications, in Piety excelling, an implacable Enemy to all Heresie and Schism, and a most able Warriour against the same. He was of a reaching and ready Apprehension, a large Invention, a most profound Judgement, a rare and tenacious and comprehensive Memory, fixed and unmovable in his grounded Conceptions, sure in Words and Speech, without Rashness, gentle and mild in all Expressions, without all Passion, or provoking Language. And as he was a notable Disputant, so he never would provoke his Adversary, saving by the short Knocks, and heavy Weights of Argument. He was of so loving, and compassionate, and humble Carriage, that I believe never any were acquainted with him, but did desire the Continuance of his Society and Acquaintance. He was resolute for Truth, and in defence thereof, had no respect to any Persons. He was a most excellent Counsellor in Doubts, and could strike at an Hair's-breadth, like the Benjamites, and expedite the Entangled, out of the Briars. He was Courageous in Dangers, and still was apt to believe the best, and made fair Weather in a Storm. He was much honoured and esteemed in the Country, and his Death was much bewailed. I think he may be reckoned among the greatest Worthies of this Age.

# CHAP. XXVI.

## The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS THACHER.

*Virtutem Virtus pariat; De lumine Lumen prodeat.*

§ 1. *A*thanafius writing the Life of his Antonius, describes him as propounding to his own Observation and Imitation, the various Excellencies of the Good Men whom he conversed withal: The *παιδεία*, or Good Carriage of One; the *πείρα* *τῆς ἐνδοξίας αἰσῆς*, or Prayerfulness, of Another; the *ἀσκήσις*, or Lenity, of a Third; the *ἐνδοξία*, or Humanity, of a Fourth; attending to one *τῶν ἀγαθῶν*, or keeping of his Watchfulness; to another *τῶν ἐλεεινῶν*, or loving of Learning; to another *τῶν ἐνστάσεων*, in his Patience; of Another, *τῶν ἐνστάσεων* *ἐν ταπεινότητι*, in his Fastings and Hardships; Regarding the *τῶν ἐλεεινῶν*, or Manly-

tude, of One; the *τῶν μακροθυμίας*, or Longanimity of Another: But, *καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶν τῶν ἐν ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς* *τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκείνων*, the Piety of them All, toward the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Charity of them All, towards One another.

Such Excellencies of Good Men have been set before my Reader, in the Lives that we have written of several such Good Men, who were the Excellent on the Earth. But if my Reader would see a many of those Excellencies meeting together in one Man, there are not many, in whom I could more hopefully promise him such a Sight, than in our Excellent Mr. Thomas Thacher:



*Thacher* : Who is now, therefore, to be considered.

§ 2. *Mr. Thomas Thacher* was born May 1. 1620. the Son of *Mr. Peter Thacher*, a Reverend Minister at *Salisbury*, in *England* : One, whom, in a Letter of *Dr. Twiss* to *Mr. Mede*, at the end of his Works, we find joined with famous *Mr. White of Dorchester*, in a Conversation, wherein the Learned Exercises of that Great Man, made a grateful Entertainment. And because it may be some Satisfaction unto Good Men, to see Instances multiplied, for the Confirmation of a Matter mentioned by *Mr. Baxter*, in his Proof of *Infant-Baptism*, where he says, *As large Experience as I have had in my Ministry, of the State of Souls, and the Way of Conversion, I dare say, I have met not with one of very many, that would say, That they knew the time when they were converted : And of those that would say so, by reason that they then found some more remarkable Change, yet they discovered such Stirrings and Workings before, that many, I had cause to think, were themselves mistaken. I was once in a Meeting of very many Christians, the most eminent for Zeal and Holiness of most in the Land, of whom divers were Ministers, and some at this Day as famous, and as much followed as any I know in England ; and it was there desired, that every one should give in the Manner of their Conversion, that it might be observed, what was God's ordinary way ; and there was but one, that I remember, of them all, that could conjecture at the Time of their first Conversion. It shall here be noted, That this was the Experience of our *Thacher*. The Regenerating and Verticordious Grace of Heaven, took advantage from his Religious Education, insensibly, as it were, to steal into the Heart of this young Disciple.*

He afterwards affirmed, That he was never able to determine the Time, when the Spirit of God first began to convince him, and renew him ; only he could say with the Reverend Blind Man, *I was blind, but now I see*. When *Thacher* was a Child, the Lord loved him, and this Child also loved the Lord : He was an *Abijah*, that while he was a Child, had many Good Things in him towards the Lord God of his Father : He was a *Timothy*, that while he was a Child, knew the Holy Scriptures. He was a *Samuel*, that in his Childhood was visited by the Holy Spirit : He was a *Josiah*, that while he was yet young, sought after the Lord ; and so much remarked was his Early Piety, that while he was in his Earliest Minority, they would say of him, *There goes a Puritan*. It might indeed be said of him, as they report of *St. Nicholas*, That he led a Life, *Sandissime ab ipsi Incunabulis Incubantem*. And it might be said by him, as it was by the Blessed Ancient in his Confessions, *Domine, puer capere rogare te Auxilium & Refugium meum, & rogavi parvum, non parvo affectu*.

§ 3. Having been well Educated at the *Grammar School*, he had the Offer of his Father to perfect his Education at the University, either of

*Cambridge* or *Oxford*. But considering the Impositions of Things, to him appearing *unaccountable*, whereto he then must have exposed himself, he Conscientiously declined his Father's Offer, and chose rather to venture over the *Atlantic Ocean*, and content himself with the Meanellies of *America*, than to wound his own Conscience for the Academical Privileges of *England*.

When his Parents discerned his Inclination, they permitted his Removal to *New-England* : Intending themselves, within a Year or two, with their Family, to have removed thither after him : Which Intention was prevented by the Death of his Mother, before it could be effected.

He arrived at *Boston*, June 4. 1635. In which Year he was wonderfully preserved from a Shipwreck, with his Uncle, wherein a worthy Minister, one *Mr. Avery*, lost his Life, as elsewhere we have related. A Day or two before that fatal Voyage from *Newbury* to *Mablehead*, our young *Thacher* had such a strong, and sad Impression upon his Mind, about the Issue of the Voyage, that he, with another, would needs go the Journey by Land, and so he escaped perishing with some of his pious and precious Friends by Sea.

§ 4. 'Tis well known, that in the early Days of Christianity, there were no Colleges, (except we'll say the *Catechetick Lecture* at *Alexandria* was one) for the breeding of young Ministers ; but the Bishop of every Church took the Care to educate and elevate some young Men, who might be prepared thereby to succeed in their place, when they should be dead and gone. And in the early Days of *New-England*, they were for a little while obliged unto such a Method of providing young Men for the Service of the Churches. Thus our *Thacher*, by the good Providence of God, was now cast into the Family, and under the Tuition of that Reverend Man, *Mr. Charles Chauncy* ; who was afterwards the President of *Harvard College*, in our *Cambridge*. Under the Conduct of that eminent Scholar, he became such an one himself, and his indefatigable Studies were so professed, that he became *Altiqus in Omnibus*, without the Blame usually, but sometimes unjustly annexed unto it, *Nullus in Singulis*. He was not unskill'd in the Tongues, especially in the *Hebrew*, whereof he did compose a *Lexicon* ; but so comprize it, that within One Sheet of Paper, he had every considerable Word of the Language. And he was as well skill'd in the *Arts*, especially in *Logic*, whereof he gave Demonstration, in his being a most *inrefragable* Disputant, on some great Occasions.

Moreover, it was his Custom, once in three or four Years time, at *Jubilee Hours*, to go over the *Tongues*, and *Arts*, at such a Rate, that his good Skill in them continued fresh unto the last. And to add his other Accomplishments, there was this added, that he was a most incomparable *Scribe* : He not only wrote all the sorts of Hands in the best *Copy-Books* then extant,



tant, with a singular Exactness and Acuteness, but there are yet extant Monuments of *Syriac*, and other Oriental Characters of his Writing, which are hardly to be imitated. He had likewise a certain *Mechanic Genius*, which disposed him in his Recreations unto a Thousand *Curiosities*, especially the Ingenuity of *Clock-work*, wherein at his Leisure, he did things to Admiration.

§ 5. On May 11. 1643. he was married unto the Daughter of that Venerable Man Mr. Ralph Partridge, the Minister of *Duxbury*. The Comfort, whom the Favour of Heaven, thus bestowed upon him, was a Person of a most amiable Temper; one Pious, and Prudent, and every way worthy of the Man to whom she became a *Glorious*. By her he received *Three Sons and One Daughter*; and when she had continued *Three Score and Seven Years* with him, she went after a very Triumphant manner to be for ever with the Lord, June 2. 1664. uttering those for her Dying Words, *Come, Lord Jesus, Come quickly: Why are thy Chariot-Wheels so long a coming?*

§ 6. Having, as a Candidate of the Ministry, by his most commendable *Preaching and Living*, abundantly Recommended himself unto the Service of the Churches, he was invited by the Church of *Weymouth* to take the Pastoral Charge of them; whereto he was Ordained, Jan. 2. 1644. And here he did for many Years fulfil his Ministry, not only with Elaborate and Affectionate *Sermons*, twice every *Lord's Day*, and in a Lecture once a Fortnight; but also in *Catechising* the *Lambs* of his Flock, for which he likewise made a *Catechism*. These, also, he would at fit Seasons call to an Account, concerning their *Proficiency* under the means of *Grace*; and such as he found *Ripe* for an Admission unto the *Highest Mysteries*, at the Table of the Lord, he would encourage to put themselves upon the Publick and Usual *Probation*, in order thereunto, but such as he found *short*, he would suitably, faithfully, and fervently advise unto the *Preparations*, wherein they appeared hitherto defective. And God crowned these Methods and Labours of his Holy Servant, with observable Successes; which were seen in the great Growth of the Church, wherof he had the Oversight. But one Excellency that shined above the other Glories of his Ministry, was that *Excellent Spirit of Prayer*, which continually breathed in him. It has been used among the Arguments for Men to be much in Prayer, that the Dignity of the Person praying is thereby much augmented; and *Chrysostom*, in his Book, *De Deo Orando*, says, *The very Angels cannot but honour him, whom they see familiarly, and frequently to be admitted unto the Audience, and as it were, discourse with the Divine Majesty*. Now, though this Honour have all the Saints, yet our *Thacher* had more than ordinary share of this Honour; he was a Person much in Prayer, and as he was much in Prayer, so he had an Eminency above most Men living for his *Copious, his Fluent,*

his *Fervent* manner of performing that Sacred Exercise.

It was an *Heaven upon Earth*, to be present at the Notable Salleys of a Raised Soul, a Livecy Faith, and a Tongue toucht with a *Coal* from the Altar, with which, in his Prayers, he did *Calum Tundere, & Misericordiam Exterquere*.

§ 7. After the Death of his *First Wife*, he married a *Second* in *Boston*, which, with a Concurrence of many obliging Circumstances, occasioned his Removal *thither*. And it was afterwards found, that *He who holds the Stars in his Right Hand*, had a Purpose of Service to be done for his Name, in that Populous Town, by the Talents of this his *Good and Faithful Servant*. For in the Month of *May*, 1669. A *Third Church* springing out from the *First* in *Boston*, which afterwards made one of the most considerable Congregations in the Colony, this Worthy Person was chosen the Pastor of that Church: And Entailed in the Pastoral Charge thereof, Feb. 16. 1669. wherein he continued until he died. From this Time, I behold him in the Metropolis of the English America, not only dispensing both *Light and Warmth*, unto his own particular Flock, but also as he had Opportunity, expressing a *Care of all the Churches*. And for the Comfort of those Worthy Ministers, who commonly have their Spirits *Buffeted* with strong *Temptations* and sore *Dejections*, before their performing any special Service of their Ministry, I'll mention one Passage, that may a little describe how this Worthy Man became so useful: He would say to his Son; *Son, I never preach a Sermon, till I cannot preach at all!*

§ 8. As he was in his whole Behaviour a Serious, Holy, and Useful Man, so in his Government of his Family, he so well *Rul'd* his own House, as to give particular Demonstrations of his Abilities to Take Care of the Church of God. His Domesticks both *loved* him, and *feared* him; and he was most Conscientiously and Exemplarily Careful, about their *Intérieur* as well as *Temporal* Welfare. This appeared especially in the Management of his Family *Worship*; wherein he usually read a Portion of the *Scriptures*, both *Morning and Evening*, and he would Raise *Doctrines* from every Verbe with Brief *Confirmations*, and close *Applications* thereof as he went along. Yea, sometimes one might hear from him thus, in *One Family Exposition*, as entertaining a Variety of Truth, notably and pungently exprest, as in several publick *Sermons*: And he has told his Worthy Son, for his Encouragement unto such Exercises, that he had found as much Advantage by them, as by most of his other Studies of *Divinity*; adding that he looked upon it as the Lord's Gracious Accomplishment of that Word, *Shall I hide any thing from Abraham? I know Abraham, that he will Teach his House!*

§ 9. He was one very *Watchful* over the Souls of his People, and *Careful* to preserve them from



from Errors as well as Vices: But of all Errors, he discovered an Antipathy unto none more, than that Sink of all Errors, *QUAKERISM*. It was in his Time, namely, about the Year 1652. that there appeared a New Sort of People in the World, which from the odd Motions of their Bodies, that attended especially their First Perfection, were called *QUAKERS*; and it was not long after their first Appearance, that New-England began to be troubled with them. Their *Spirit of the Hut*, and their Fopperies of *Thou and Thee*, in their Language to a Single Person, were the least of those things which gave our *Thacher* a Disaffection at them; that which caused him to employ a most fervent Zeal against those Hereticks, was the Horrible End of their Heresies, to lead Men into a Pit of *Darkness*, under a Pretence of the Light, and *Annihilate* all the *Sensible* Objects of our Holy Religion, under a Pretence of advancing the *Spiritual*; so that we must have no Bible, no *Jesús*, no *Baptism*, no *Eucharist*, no *Ordinances*, but what shall be Evaporated into *Dispensations*, *Allegories*, and mere *Mystical Notions*: When he saw that quite contrary to the Tendency and Character of every Truth, which is to *Abuse* the Creature, the Main Design of *Quakerism* is to Exalt Man, and find that in Man himself, which may be instead of Saviour, Scripture, Heaven, Righteousness and all Institutions unto him, he could not but adore the Justice and Vengeance of God, in permitting such a *Spiritual Plague* to be inflicted on Places, where the Gospel had been more eminently sinned against; but he set himself with the more of a Pastoral Diligence to defend his own Flock from the Contagion: And hence, when he heard of any Books left by the *Quakers* in any Houses of his Neighbourhood, he would presently repair to the Houses, and obtain those Venomous Pamphlets from them: For which, that the *Wolves* barked more at him than at many other Men, and would sometimes come with their Faces hideously Black'd, and their Garments fearfully Torn, into his Congregation, whereby the Neighbours were frighted unto the Danger of their Lives, is not at all to be wondered at. In this his Pastoral Care, he met with some Experiments, that were extraordinary; whereof one shall here be related. It has here sometimes been Remark'd, That a very sensible Possession of the Devil has attended the First Arrit of *Quakerism*, on the Minds of Men, and the Seducers, have with a Real and Proper Witchcraft, by certain Ceremonies conveyed it unto them. Agreeably hereunto, an Inhabitant of Weymouth having bought certain Bibles at Boston, lodg'd the Night following at a Tavern, where two *Quakers* lodged with him. The *Quakers* fell to dissembling and degrading the Bibles, wherewith he had furnished himself, as a Dead Letter, and advised him to hearken to the Light within, which would sufficiently direct him to Heaven; and the Effect of their Enchantments was, that before Morning, this poor Man was as very a

*Quaker* as the best of them. In the Morning he was carrying back his Bibles to the Book-sellers, as Books now become altogether useless; and resolving to keep no Dead Letter any longer in his hands; but in the way, he was met by Mr. *Thacher*, who seeing the Man look Wild and Strange, and of an *Enragement* Countenance, over-periwaded him to go aside with him; that he might enquire a little further to his Condition. He carried the poor Man into a Neighbour's House, and privately there Talked with him, and prayed with him, and by the Wonderful Blessing of Heaven, immediately recovered him from the Error of his Way: The Man was never any more a *Quaker*, but ever after this, wonderfully thankful unto God, and unto this his Servant, for his Recovery.

§ 10. The last that I shall mention of the Excellencies that signalized this Worthy Man shall be his Claim to the Accomplishments of an Excellent Physician. He that for his Lively Ministry was justly reckoned among The Angels of the Churches, might for his Medical Acquaintances, Experiences, and Performances, be truly called a *Raphael*. Ever since the Days of *Luke* the Evangelist, Skill in *Physick* has been frequently professed and practised, by Persons whose more declared Business was the Study of Divinity. To say nothing of such Monks as *Agidius Abbeniensis*, or *Constantinus Afer*, or *Johannes Damascenus*, or *Tristanus Florentinus*, and to say nothing of *Henry Boehet*, a Bishop, or of *Abicus*, an Arch Bishop, or of *Ludovicus Patavinus*, a Cardinal, or of *John 22*. a Pope, all of whom were Notable Physicians, our English Nation has commonly afforded Eminent Physicians, who were also Ministers of the Gospel.

But I suppose the Greatest Frequency of the Angelical Conjunction, has been seen in these Parts of America, where they are mostly the Poor to whom the Gospel is preached, by Pastors whose Compassion to them in their Poverty, invites them to supply the Want of Able Physicians among them, and such an Universally Serviceable Pastor was our *Thacher*. They were the Priests of Egypt, of Greece, and of Rome, who reserved in the Archives of their Temples the Stories and Methods of the Cures, wrought on the Recovered Persons, who brought thither their Thankful Sacrifices; and by the Priests were Directions hence communicated unto such as wanted Cures for the like Distempers. As the Art of Healing was first brought into some Order by the Hands of Officers that have been set apart for the Cure of Souls; thus, that Art has been happily exercised by the Hands of Church Officers in all Ages, who have administered unto the Souls of People the more effectually, for being Able to Administer unto their Bodies. And a Singular Arrist herein was our *Thacher*; who, knowing that every Rank of Generous Men had at some time or other afforded Persons Eminent for Skill in *Physick*; yea, that it had been studied by no less than such Crowned Head as *Antiriodates* and *Hadrianus*, and *Constantinus Pogonatus*, he



thought it no ways misbecoming him, to follow the Example. How many Hundreds in this way fared the better for him, I cannot say; but this I can say, That as King *Zalmoxes* of *Thracia*, who was of Old a Renowned Physician, would give this as the Reason why the *Greeks* had the Diseases among them, so much uncur'd, *Because they neglected their Souls*, the Chief thing of all: So our *Teacher* was Blessed of God, in his Faithful Endeavours to make *Natural* and *Spiritual* Health accompany each other in those that were about him.

§ 11. But, *Contra Vim Mortis* — Nothing will exempt from the Arrest of Death. It happened that this Excellent M. n. preached for my Father, a Sermon on the 1 Pet. 4. 18. *The Righteous scarcely saved*; the last Words of which Sermon were, *When a Saint comes to die, then often it is the Hour and Power of Darkness with him; then is the last Opportunity that the Devil has to vex the People of God; and hence they then sometimes have the greatest of their Distresses. Don't think him no Godly Man, that then meets with Doubts and Fears; our Lord Jesus Christ then cries out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? God help us, that as we live by Faith, so we may Walk in it.* And these proved the *Last Words* that ever he uttered in any Sermon whatsoever. For visiting a Sick Person, after his going out of the Assembly, he got some Harm, which turned into a Fever, whereof he died, without any Hour and Power of Darkness upon his own Holy Mind, expire on October 15. 1678. He left behind him Two Worthy Sons, Mr. *Peter Thacher*, who is at this time the Pastor of the Church at *Milton*, and one from whose pious Labours, not the *English* only, but even the *Indians* also receive the Glad Tidings of Salvation; and Mr. *Ralph Thacher*, Minister of the Word at *Martha's Vineyard*. And he likewise left one Printed Offspring of his Mind; for as the Reverend Prefacer thereto observes, *When the Lord knew that Boston, yea that New-England would have cause for many Days of Humiliation, he therefore stirred up the Heart of his Servant aforehand to give Instructions and Directions, concerning the Acceptable Performance of so great a Duty, he did in the Year 1674. preach on the Nature of a Sacred Fast; and some of his Hearers, who wrote after him, when he preached, afterwards published it under the Title of, A Fast of God's Chusing.*

§ 12. The Church of this Worthy Man at *Weymouth*, has been entertained with one *Christy*, which by way of Appendix to his *Life*, is not unworthy to be related.

One *Matthew Prat*, whose Religious Parents had well instructed him in his Minority, when he was Twelve Years of Age, became totally *Deaf thro' Sickness*, and so hath ever since continued. He was taught after this to *Write*, as he had been before to *Read*; and both his *Reading* and his *Writing* he retaineth perfectly, but he has almost forgotten to *speak*; speaking

but *Imperfectly*, and scarce *Intelligibly*, and very *feldom*. He is yet a very Judicious Christian, and being admitted into the Communion of the Church, he has therein for many Years behaved himself, unto the extremest Satisfaction of Good People, in the Neighbourhood. *Sarah Prat*, the Wife of this Man, is one also who was altogether deprived of her Hearing, by Sickness, when she was about the Third Year of her Age; but having utterly lost her Hearing, she has utterly lost her Speech also, and no doubt, all Remembrance of every thing that refers to Language. Mr. *Thacher* made an Essay to teach her the Use of Letters, but it succeeded not: However, she has a most quick Apprehension of things, by her Eye, and she discourses by Signs, whereat some of her Friends are so expert, as to maintain a Conversation with her upon any point whatever, with as much Freedom and Finesse, as if she wanted neither Tongue, nor Ear, for Conference. Her Children do learn her Signs from the Breast: And speak sooner by her Eyes and Hands, than by their Lips. From her Infancy, she was very sober and modest; but she had no Knowledge of a Deity, nor of any thing that concerns another Life, and World. Nevertheless, God of his Infinite Mercy has Revealed the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Great Mysteries of Salvation by him, unto her, by a more Extraordinary and Immediate Operation of his own Spirit upon her. An Account of her Experiences was written from her, by her Husband; and the Elders of the Church employing her Husband, with two of her Sisters, who are notably skilled in her Way of Communication, examined her strictly hereabout; and and they found that she understood the Unity of the Divine Essence, the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, the Personal Union in our Lord, the Mystical Union between our Lord and his Church; and that she was acquainted with the Impressions of Grace upon a Regenerate Soul. She was under great Exercise of Mind, about her Internal and Eternal State; the expressed unto her Friends desire of Help; and the made use of the Bible, and other Good Books, and with Tears, remark'd such Passages as were suitable to her own Condition. Yea, she once, in her Exercise, wrote with a Pin upon a Trencher, three times over, *Oh, Poor Soul!* and therewith before divers Persons, burst into Tears. At a Sermon she would enquire after the Text, which being shewn her, she would look and muse upon it: And she strangely knows the Names of those with whom she is acquainted; insomuch that if they be Names found in the Scripture, she will turn and find, and point them there. It seems that *Written Words* are a sort of Hieroglyphicks unto her.

She was admitted into the Church with the General Approbation of the Faithful, nor would the most Judicious Casuists in the World, a *Luther*, a *Melancthon*, a *Gerhard*, an *Ailing*, a *Baldwin*, have scrupled her Admission to the Sacred Mysteries: And her Carriage



riage is that of a Grave, Gracious, Holy Woman.

The wonderful Circumstances of this Couple, may justly be added unto the *Entertainments for the Curious*, which we have in the young Man and Maid, mentioned by *Camerarius*, who tho' Deaf and Dumb, could Read and Write, and Cypher, and know a Man's Meaning by the Motion of his Lips. And the Person mentioned by *Platerus*, who tho' born Deaf as well as Dumb, yet could express his Thoughts in a Table-Book, and comprehend what was written by others in it, and with Edification attend upon the Ministry of *Oecolampadius*: And both Mr. *Crist* of London, and *Gennet Lowes* of Edinburgh, who tho' naturally Deaf, and by consequence Dumb, could yet see what People spoke, by seeing them when they spoke: And in a word, the exquisite Sense of the Mutes in the Ottoman Court, related by *Rycaut*, in his History of that Empire.

An Epitaph must now be sought for this Worthy Man: And because the Nation and Quality of the *Author*, will make the Composure to become a Curiosity, I will here, for an Epitaph, insert an Elegy, which was composed upon this Occasion, by an Indian Youth, who was then a Student of *Harvard Colledge*. (His Name was, *Elezazar*.)

In obitum Viri verè Reverendi

D. THOMÆ THACHERI,

QUI AD

Dom. ex hac Vitâ migravit, 18. 8. 1678.

**T**Entabo Illastrem, tristis memorare dolore  
Quem Lacrymis repetunt Tempora, nostra;  
Virum.

Memnona sic Mater, Mater ploravit Achillem;  
Iustus cum Lacrymis, cumque Dolorè gravi.

Mens stupet, ora silent, justum nunc palmo re-  
cusat

Officium: Quid? Opem Tristis Apollo negat?

Ast Thachere Tuus conabor dicere laudes,

Laudes Virtutis, quæ super Astra volat.

Consultis Rerum Dominis, Gentique togatæ

Nota fuit virtus, ac tua Sancta Fides.

Vivis post Funus; Felix post Fata, Jaces Tu?

Sed Stellæ inter Gloria nempe Partes.

Mens Tua jam celos reperit; Victoria parca est:

Jam Tuus est Christus, quod meruitque tuum.

Illic Finis Crucis; magnorum hæc mæra malorum;

Uterius non quo progrediatu eris.

Crux jam casta manes; requiescent ossa Sepulchro;

Mors moritur; Vita Vita Beata redit.

Quum tuba per Densas sonitum dabit ultima

Nubes,

Cum Domino Rediens Ferrea Sceptra geres.

Cæles tum scandes, ubi Patria Vero piorum;

Præviis hanc Patriam nunc tibi Jæsus adit.

Illic vera Quies; illic sine fine voluptas;

Gaudia & Humanis non referenda Jouis.

Σάμ' ἔχει ἡ πόλις, ὅτι γὰρ τ' ἐσθλὸν ἔμει' ἐδίδου,

Κλεινὸν ἐν ἡμετέροις κ' ἐκκομίσαντο γένεσις.

Τοῦτο δ' ἐν γένεσις ἡμετέροις, πᾶσι γένεσις ἀνθρώπων,

Μνηστὴρ ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρώπων.

Elezazar, Judus Senior Sophista.

CHAP. XXVII.

The LIFE of Mr. PETER HOBART.

§ 1. IT was a Saying of *Alphonfus* (whom they Sir-named, *The Wise*, King of *Arragon*) That among so many Things as are by Men possessed or pursued, in the Course of their Lives, all the rest are Baubles, besides, Old Wood to burn, Old Wine to drink, Old Friends to converse with, and Old Books to read. Now there having been Protestant and Reformed Colonies here formed, in a New World, and those Colonies now growing Old, it will certainly be no unwise thing for them to converse with some of their Old Friends,

among which one was Mr. Peter Hobart, whom therefore a New Book shall now present unto my Readers.

§ 2. Mr. Peter Hobart was born at, or near Hingham, a Market-Town, in the County of Norfolk, about the latter end of the Year 1604. His Parents were eminent for Piety, and even from their Youth feared God above many; wherein their Zeal was more conspicuous, by the Impiety of the Neighbourhood, among whom there were but three or four in the whole



Town, that minded serious Religion, and these were sufficiently maligned by the Irreligious for their *Puritanism*. These Parents of our *Hobart*, were such as had obtained each other from the God of Heaven, by *Isaac*-like Prayers unto him, and such as afterwards beseged Heaven with a continual Importunity for a Blessing upon their Children; whereof the Second was this our *Peter*. This their Son was like another *Samuel*, from his Infancy dedicated by them unto the Ministry, and in order thereunto, sent berimes unto a Grammar School; whereto, such was his desire of Learning, that he went several Miles on foot, every Morning, and by his early Appearance there, still shamed the Sloth of others. He went afterwards unto the *Free-School* at *Lyn*, from whence when he was by his Master judged fit for it, he was admitted into a Colledge in the University of *Cambridge*; where he remained, studied, profited, until he proceeded *Bachelior of Arts*: Giving all along an Example of Sobriety, Gravity, Aversion from all Vice, and Inclination to the Service of God.

§ 3. Retiring then from the University, he taught a *Grammar School*; but he lodg'd in the House of a Conformist Minister, who tho' he were no Friend unto *Puritans*, yet he employed this our young *Hobart* sometimes to preach for him, and when ask'd, *What his Opinion of this young Man was?* He said, *I do highly approve his Abilities; he will make an able Preacher: But I fear he will be too precise.* When the time for it came, he returned unto the University, and proceeded *Master of Arts*: But the rest of his time in *England* was attended with much Unsettlement of his Condition. He was employed here and there, as Godly People could obtain Permission from the Parson of the Parish, who upon any little Disgust would recal that Permission: And yet all this while, by the Blessing of God upon his own Diligence and Discretion, and the Frugality of his Vertuous Confort, he lived comfortably. The last place of his Residence in *England*, was the Town of *Haverhill*, where he was a Lecturer, laborious and successful in the Vineyard of our Lord.

§ 4. His Parents, his Brethren, his Sisters, had not without a great Affliction to him, embarked for *New-England*; but some time after this, the Cloud of Prelatical Impositions and Persecutions grew too black upon him, that the Solicitations of his Friends, obtained from him a Resolution for *New-England* also, where he hoped for a more fertile Abode, which was most agreeable to his Inclination. Accordingly in the Summer of the Year 1635, he took Ship, with his Wife and four Children, and after a Voyage by constant Sicknes rendered very tedious to him, he arrived at *Charles-Town*, where he found his desired Relations got safe before him. Several Towns now addressed him to become their Minister; but he chose with his Father's Family, and some other Christians, to form a new Plantation, which they called *Hingham*; and there gathering a Church, he continued a faithful Pastor, and an able Preacher, for

many Years. And his old People at *Haverhill* indeed, in some time after, sent most importunate Letters unto him, to invite his Return for *England*: And he had certainly returned, if the Letters had not so miscarried, that before his Advice to them, there fell out some Remarkable, and Invincible Hindrances of his Removal.

§ 6. Not long after this, he had (as his own Expression for it was) his *Hart rent out of his Breast*, by the Death of his Confort; but his Christian, Patient, and Submissive Resignation, was rewarded by his Marriage to a Second, that proved a rich Blessing unto him. His Hoofe was also edified and beautified with many Children, on whom, when he look'd, he would say sometimes with much Thankfulness; *Behold, thus shall the Man be blessed, that feareth the Lord!* And for whom he employ'd many Tears in his Prayers to God, that they might be happy, and like another *Job*, offered up his daily Supplications.

His Love to Learning, made him strive hard that his hopeful Sons might not go without a Learned Education; and accordingly we find four or five of them wearing Laurels in the Catalogue of our Graduates; and several of them are, at this Day, worthy Preachers of the Gospel in our Churches.

§ 7. He was mostly a Morning Student, not meriting the Name of *Homo Lethifimus*, as he in the witty Epigrammatist, from his long lying a Bed; and yet he would improve the Darknes of the Evening also, for solemn, fixed, and illuminating Meditations. He was much admired for well studied Sermons; and even in the midst of Secular Diversions and Distractions, his active Mind would be buie at providing Materials for the Composure of them. He much valued that Rule, *Study Standing*; and until Old Age, and Weakness compelled him, he rarely would *Study sitting*: Which Practice of his he would recommend unto other Students, as an excellent Preventive of that *Flagellum Studioforum*, the Stone. And when he had an opportunity to hear a Sermon from any other Minister, he did it with such a diligent and reverent Attention, as made it manifest that he worshipped God in doing of it: And he was very careful to be present still at the beginning of the Exercises, counting it a Recreation, to sit and wait for the Worship of God.

Moreover, his Heart was knit in a most fierce and hearty Love towards pious Men, tho' they were not in all things of his own Perswasion. He would admire the Grace of God in Good Men, tho' they were of Sentiments contrary unto his; and he would say, *I can carry them in my Bosome*: Nor was he by them otherwise respected.

§ 8. There was deeply rooted in him a strong Antipathy to all *Prophanities*, whereof he was a faithful Reprover, both in publick and in private; and when his Reproofs prevailed not, he would weep in secret Places.



*Drinking to Excess, and Mispende of precious Time, in Tipling or Talking with vain Persons, which he saw grown too common, was an Evil so extremely offensive to him, that he would call it, Sitting at Meat in an Idol's Temple; and when he saw that Vanity grow upon the more high Professors of Religion, it was yet more distastful to him, who in his own Behaviour was a great Example of Temperance.*

*Pride, expell'd in a Gaity, and Bravery of Apparel, would also cause him with much Compassion to address the young Persons with whom he saw it Budding, and advise them to correct it, with more Care to adorn their Souls with such things as were of great Price before God: And here likewise his own Example, joined Handsomness with Gravity, and a Moderation that could not endure a show. But there was no sort of Men from whom he more turned away than those, who under a Pretence of Zeal for Church Discipline, were very pragmatical in Controversies, and furiously set upon having all things carried their Way, which they would call, The Rule; but at the same time, were most infidel Creatures, destitute of the Life and Power of Godliness, and perhaps Immoral in their Conversations. To these he would apply a Saying of Mr. Cotton's, That some Men are all Church, and no Christ.*

§ 9. He was a Person that met with many Temptations and Afflictions, which are better forgotten than remembered; but he was internally, and is now eternally a Gainer by them. It is remark'd of the Patriarch Jacob, that when he was a very Old Man, and much older than the most that lived after him, he complained, Few and evil have been the Days of the Years of my Life: In which Complaint, the few is explained by the evil; his Days were Winter-days, and spent in the Darknests of sore Calamity. Winter-days are Twenty four Hours long as well as other Days; yea, longer, if the Equation of Time should be Mathematically considered; yet we count them the shorter Days. Thus altho' our Hobart lived unto Old Age, he might call his Days few, because they had been Evil. But mark this perfect Man, and behold this upright one; for the end of this Man was Peace. In the Spring of the Year 1670, he was visited with a Sickness that seemed the Messenger of Death; but it was his humble Desire, that by having his Life prolonged a little further, he might see the Education of his own younger Children perfected, and bestow more Labour also upon the Conversion of the young People in his Congregation: I have travelled in the Ministry in this place, Thirty five Years, and might it please God so far to lengthen out my Days, as to make it up Forty, I should not, I think, desire any more. Now the Lord heard this Desire of his praying Servant, and added no less than Eight Years more unto his Days. The most part of which time, except the last Three Quarters of a Year, he was employed in the Publick Services of his Ministry.

Being recovered from his Illness, he proved that he did not flatter with his Lips, in the Vows that he had made for his Recovery; for he now set himself with great Fervour to gather the Children of his Church, under the saving Wings of the Lord Jesus Christ; and in order thereunto he preached many pungent Sermons, on Eccles. 11. 9, 10. and Eccl. 12. 1. and used many other successful Endeavours.

§ 10. Tho' his Labours were not without Success, yet the Success was not so general, and notable, but that he would complain, *Alas, for the Barrenness of my Ministry!* And when he found his Lungs decay by Old Age, and Fever, he would clap his Hands on his Breast and say, *The Bellows are burnt, the Founder has melted in vain!* At length Infirmities grew so fast upon this painful Servant of our Lord, that in the Summer of the Year 1678, he seemed apace drawing on to his End; but after some Revivals he again got abroad; however, he seldom, if ever preached after it, but only administered the Sacraments. In this time his Humility, and consequently all the other Graces which God gives unto the Humble, grow exceedingly, and observably; and hence he took delight in hearing the Commendations of other Men, tho' sometimes they were so unwisely uttered, as to carry some Diminutions unto himself; and he let himself particularly to put all Respect and Honour upon the Ministers that came in the time of his Weakness to supply his place. After and under his Confinement, the singing of Psalms was an Exercise wherein he took a particular delight; saying, *That it was the Work of Heaven, which he was willing to anticipate.* But about Eight Weeks before his Expiration, he did with his Aged Hand Ordain a Successor; which when he had performed with much Solemnity, he did afterwards with an Assembly of Ministers, and other Christians, at his own House, joyfully sing the Song of Aged Simeon, *Thy Servant now leave thee depart in Peace.* He had now nothing to do, but to die; and he spent his Hours accordingly, in assiduous Preparations; not without some dark Intervals of Temptation; but at last with Light arising in Darknests unto him. While his Exterior was decaying, his Interior was renewing, every Day, until the Twentieth Day of January, 1678. When he quietly and silently resigned his holy Soul, unto its faithful Creator.

### Epitaphium.

D. PETRI HOBARTI,

*Offa sub hoc Saxo, Latitant desossa Sepulchro,  
Spiritus in Cælo, carcere missus agit.*



## C H A P. XXVIII.

A Man of God, and an Honourable Man. The LIFE of Mr. SAMUEL WHITING.

*Hi mihi Doctores semper placere, docenda  
Qui faciunt, plus, quam qui facienda docent.*

§ 1. **W**HEN the miserable *Saul* applied himself to the Witch of *Endor*, for the Invoking of, and Consulting with, some Spirit in the *Invisible World*, he chose that the Spirit should rather appear in the Shape of the Venerable *Samuel*, than in any other. A Dispute is raised among Learned Men, on the Occasion of the Spirit thus raised, *Who it should be?* For while some think, that beyond the Expectation, and unto the Astonishment of the Witch, it was the True *Samuel*, which now appeared; in as much as the Apparition is five times over called by the Name of *Samuel*, and the Apocryphal *Ecclesiasticus* affirms of *Samuel*, that after his Death he prophesied: And several of the Fathers and of the School-men, herein followed by *Mendoza*, *Delrio*, *Dr. More*, *Mr. Glamvil*, and others, are of this Opinion: They imagine with *Lyra*, that God then sent in the Real *Samuel*, unlook'd for, as he came upon *Balaam*, when employed about his *Magical Impostures*: There are more, who judge that it was a Spirit of the same kind with that, which is described by *Porphyrius*, *μεταμορφωσας τε ες ουδς γερων changing themselves into multifarious Forms, one while ading the Parts of Demons, another while of Angels, and another while the Souls of the Deceased*: Of which Opinion was *Tertullian*, and the Author of the *Quest. & Resp.* ascribed unto *Justin Martyr*, and the Generality of Protestants: Who cannot perfwade themselves, that the Lord would have to far countenanced *Necromancy*, or *Pyromancy*, as to have let the Real *Samuel* come, upon the Solicitations of an *Enchantress*; and that the Real *Samuel* would not have disfigur'd at the Rate of the Spectre now exhibited.

Let the Disputants, upon this Question, wrangle on; while we by a very Lawful and Laudable Art, will fetch another *Samuel* from the Dead: And by the Happy Magic of our Pen, Reader, we will bring into the View of the World, a Venerable Old Man, a *Samuel* who shall entertain us with none but Comfortable and Profitable Tidings.

§ 2. Mr. *Samuel Whiting* drew his first Breath at *Boston*, in *Lincolnshire*, Nov. 20. A.D. 1597. His Father a Person of good Repute there, the Eldest Son among many Brethren, an Alderman, and sometimes a Mayor of the Town, had three Sons; the Second of these was our *Samuel*, who had a Learned Education by his Father bestowed upon him, first at *Boston School*, and

then at the University of *Cambridge*. He had for his Companion in his Education, his Countryman, the very Renowned *Anthony Tuckney*, afterwards Doctor, and Master of *St. John's College*: They were School-Fellows at *Boston*, and Chamber-Mates, at *Cambridge*; they both belonged unto *Immanuel-Colledge*, and they continued an Intimate Friendship, when they left the Seats of the *Muses*, which indeed was not quenched by the many Waters of the *Atlantic*, when they were a Thousand Leagues asunder. It was while he was thus at the University, that the good Spirit of God made early Impressions of Grace upon his young Soul, and the Cares of his pious Tutor, (I think Mr. *Tates*) to instruct him in Matters of Religion, as well as of Literature, were blessed for the Imbuing of his Mind, with a Tincture of Early Piety; which was further advanced by the Ministry of such Preachers as Dr. *Sibs* and Dr. *Preston*: So that in his Age he would give Thanks to God for the Divine Favours which he thus received in his Youth, and when he was entering into his Rest, where he expected the most Intimate Communion with our Glorious *Immanuel*, and with the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, he could with Joy reflect upon the Anticipations of it, which he enjoyed in the Retired Walk of *Immanuel-Colledge*.

§ 3. Having proceeded Master of Arts, he removed from *Cambridge*, and became a Chaplain to Sir *Nathanael Bacon*, and Sir *Roger Townsend*, where he did for Three Years together, with Prayers, with Sermons, with Catechising, and with a Grave and Wise Deportment, serve the Interest of Religion, in a Family, which had no less than Two Knights and Five Ladies in it. He next removed unto *Lyn*, in the County of *Norfolk*, and spent another Three Years, as a Colleague in the Ministry of the Gospel, with a Reverend and Excellent Man, Mr. *Price*. But the Great Content which he took in his present Situation, and Society, and Service, was interrupted at length by Complaints made unto the Bishop of *Norwich*, for his Non-Conformity unto those Rites, which never were of any Use in the Church of God, but only to be Tools, by which the Worst of Men might thrust out the Best from serving it. Being Cited unto the High Commission Court, he expected that he should lose the most of his Estate, for his being a Non-Conformist; but before the Time for his Appearance, according



to the Citation, came, King *James* died; and to his Trouble at this Time was diverted. The Earl of *Lincoln* afterwards interceding for him, the Bishop was willing to promise, that he would no farther *Worry* him, in case he would be gone out of his *Diocese*, where he could not reach him; and therefore leaving *Lyn*, he exercised his Ministry at *Skirbick*, near *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, for a considerable while, with no Inconsiderable *Evail*; refreshed with the Delightful Neighbourhood of his Old Friends and especially those Eminent Persons Mr. *Cotton* and Mr. *Tuckney*, to both of whom he had some Affinity, as from both of them, no little Affection.

§ 4. Having buried his First Wife, by whom he had Three Children, Two Sons, who died in *England*, and one Daughter afterwards matched with one Mr. *Thomas Weld*, in another Land; he married the Daughter of Mr. *Oliver St. John*, a *Bedfordshire* Gentleman, of an Honourable Family, nearly related unto the Lord *St. John of Bleisac*. This Mr. *St. John*, was a Person of Incomparable Breeding, Virtue and Piety; such, that Mr. *Cotton*, who was well acquainted with him, said of him, *He was one of the Completest Gentlemen, without Affection, that ever he knew.* And this his Daughter was a Person of singular Piety and Gravity; one who by his Discretion freed her Husband from all *Secular Avocations*; one who upheld a daily and constant Communion with God, in the Devotions of her Closet; one, who not only wrote the Sermons that he heard on the Lord's Days with much Dexterity, but *Liv'd* them, and *Liv'd* on them all the Week. The usual Phrase for an Excellent Woman, among the Ancient Jews was, *One who deserves to marry a Priest*: Even such an Excellent Woman was now married unto Mr. *Whiting*. This Gentlewoman having stay'd with her worthy Consort Forty Seven Years, went in the Seventy Third Year of his Age, unto him to whom her Soul had been some Scores of Years espoused. Mr. *Whiting* had by her four Sons and two Daughters. Three of the Sons lived unto the Estate and Stature of Men; and had a Learned Education. *Samuel* is at this Day a Reverend, Holy and Faithful Minister of the Gospel, in the New-Englsh Town of *Billerica*: *John* was intended for a Physician, but became a Preacher, first at *Butterweich*, then at *Leverton* in *Lincolnshire*, where he died a Godly Conformist: *Joseph* is, at this Day, a Worthy and Painful Minister of the Gospel, at *Southampton* upon *Long Island*.

§ 5. After he had abode several Years at *Skirbick*, soon after Mr. *Cotton's* Removal, he fell into such Trouble, for his Non-Conformity to the Vanities, which Men had received by Tradition from their Popish Fathers, and this through the Complaint of the same unhappy Man, tis said, who procured the Trouble of Mr. *Cotton*, that he found he must be gone: But New-England offered it self as the most Hopeful and Quiet, and indeed the only Place

that he could be gone unto. The Ecclesiastical *Sharks* then drove this *Whiting* over the *Atlantic Sea*, unto the *American Strand*. Let it not be a matter of Wonder, That Persons of a Conscience rightly informed and inclined, chose rather to undergo an uncomfortable Exile from the best Island under Heaven, to as hard a Desert as any upon *Earth*, rather than to Conform to the Ceremonies of the English Liturgy. If the things had been as Lawful in the Judgment of the Sufferers, as they were in the Pretences of the Imposers, they were not so fond of Miseries as to have refused Conformity. But it was of old observed, that when Sinful Things were commanded, *Nihil obstinacius Christiano*, nothing is more Obstinate than a Christian Dissenter: And it is a Commendable Obstinacy! The Faithful in *Tertullian's* Time, would undergo any thing rather than use the Ceremonies of Idolaters, though they might have us'd them to another End, and with another Mind than they. The First Planters of New-England knew, that the Ceremonies retained in the Church of *England*, had been first Invented and Practis'd by Idolaters; And knowing that all the Abominations of the Popish Mass, originally sprang from an Imposed Liturgy, they thought it no Nicety to have declined all Compliance with such a thing, though they should not have had as they had, numberless Objections against it. The very Words us'd in the Rites then required, were fear'd by those good Men, as Dangerous; after they read those Words of the Rhemists, *While they say, Ministers, let us say, Priests, When they call it, A Communion Table, Let us call it, An Altar. Let us keep our Old Words, and we shall keep our Old Things, our Religion.* But much more did these good Men fear the Rites of Things themselves; especially when they saw them to be not only Unscriptural and Uninstituted, but also of Pernicious Consequence to the very Vitals of Religion. For this they had the Example of *Peter Martyr*, who wished, that the Reformed Churches, keeping up these things would be sensible, *Evangelium is manentibus, non satis esse firmum*; That the Gospel can't be secure, while the Ceremonies continue: They had the Example of *Martin Bucer*, who complained, That the Ceremonies and the Preaching of the Word, mutually expel one another. Where Knowledge through the Preaching of the Gospel prevails, there the Love of these withers, and where the Love of these prevails, there Knowledge decays: They had the Example of the Divines of *Hamburg*, who looked upon such Ceremonies to be the *Coniculi*, the Secret Mines by which the Papists would convert themselves under our Foundations, and overthrow our Churches. And if they did then entertain *Austin's* Fear, *In Multitudine Ceremoniarum perichlitatur Fides*; I wish the Event had less confirmed it. It is very certain, in the English Nation, they serv'd only as *Gileadites*, to keep the Passages of the Church, to that no Minister, how able or worthy



thy öever could pass, unless he could pronounce that *Shibboleth*. And if the Man of *Bern*, mentioned by *Melancthon*, who would rather be *Martyred* than observe one *Fall* in the Popish manner, were to be commended for his Fidelity to Christ, tho' it seem'd such a little matter, these good Men must not be reproached for this, that they would rather be *Exiled* than conform to those things, which were like the pretended indifferent Things, imposed in the Old *German* Instrument called the *Interim*, namely *Semina Corruptele*, the Seeds of *Romish* Corruption. 'Tis time for me now, without any further Observation, to add concerning our *Whiting*. His Vertuous Confort was far from discouraging him, through any unwillingness in her to forsake her *Native Country*, or expose her own Person first unto the Hazards of the *Ocean*, and then unto the *Sorrows* of a *Wilderness*: But tho' some of her Friends were much against it, yet she rather forwarded than hindered her Husband's Inclination for *America*. When he ship'd himself, he took with him all that he had; and whereas he might have reserved his Lands in *England*, which would have yielded him a considerable Annual Revenue, and notable Accession to the *small Salary*, which he was afterwards put off withal; yet judging that he never should return to *England* any more, he fold all, saying, *I am going into the Wilderness to a Sacrifice unto the Lord, and I will not leave an Hoof behind me*.

He took Shipping about the beginning of *April*, 1636. and arrived *May* 26. after he had been so very sick all the way, that he could preach but one Sermon all the while; and he would say, *That he had much rather have undergone six Weeks Imprisonment for a good Cause, than to undergo six Weeks of such terrible Sickness as he had now been tried withal*.

But in a Sermon after his Arrival, he thus expressed his Apprehensions and Consolations:

'We in this Country have left our near and our dear Friends: But if we can get nearer to God here, he will be instead of all, and more than all unto us: He hath all the Fulness of all the sweetest Relations bound up in him. We may take off of God, which we forsook in Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, Friends that hath been as near, and as dear as our own Soul.

§ 6. When he came ashore, his Friends at the *New English Boston*, with many of whom he had been acquainted in *Lincolnshire*, let him know how glad they were to see him: and having lodged about a Month with his Kinsman, *Mr. Adderton Haugh*, he removed unto *Lyn*, the Church there inviting him to be their Pastor; and in the Pastoral Care of that Flock, he spent all the rest of his Days. The Year following *Mr. Thomas Cobbet* followed him: And soon after his Arrival at *New-England*, became his Colleague, in the Service of the Church at *Lyn*. Great was the Love that sweetened the Labours, and whole Conversation and Vicinity of these *Yellow-Labourers*; the Rays with which they il-

luminated the House of God, sweetly united; they were almost every Day together, and thought it a long Day if they were not so: One rarely travelling abroad without the other: And these two Angelick Men seem'd willing to give one another as little solace, as the Angels upon *Jacob's Ladder* did unto one another, while one was descending, and another ascending there. How little *Stipends* these great great Servants of the Church, were oppress'd, but yet contented withal, may be gathered from this one Story.

The ungrateful Inhabitants of *Lyn*, one Year pass'd a Town Vote, That they could not allow their Ministers above Thirty Pounds apiece, that Year, for their Salary: And behold, the God who will not be mocked, immediately caused the Town to lose Three hundred Pounds, in that one Specie of their Cattel, by one Disaster.

However, *Mr. Whiting* found such a Blessing of God upon his Little, that he would cheerfully say, *He question'd whether, if he had abode in England, where his Means were much more considerable, he could have brought up three Sons at the University there, as he did at Harvard-Colledge here*. But after they had lived about a Score of Years together, *Mr. Cobbet* was, up on the Death of *Mr. Rogers*, translated unto *Ipswich*; from this time was *Mr. Whiting* mostly alone in his Ministry; and yet not alone, because the Heavenly Father was with him. And as he drew near his End, he had his youngest Son for his Assistant.

In the Sixty Third Year of his Age, *A.D.* 1659. he began to be visited with the grinding and painful Disease of the Stone in the Bladder, with which he was much exercised, [and the Reader that knows any thing of it, will say it was Exercise enough] until he came to be, where the *Weary are at rest*. He bore his Affliction with incomparable Patience; and he had one Favour which he much ask'd of God, that tho' small Stones, with great Pains, often proceeded from him, and he scarce enjoy'd one Day of perfect Ease, after this, until he died; yet it is not remembered, that he was ever hindered thereby one Day from his Publick Services. And whereas it was expected, both by himself and others, that as he grew in Years, the Torments of his Malady would grow upon him, it proved much otherwise; the Torments and Complaints of his Distemper abated, as his Age increased. At length a *Senile Atrophy* came upon him, with a wasting *Diarrhea*, which brought *Lyn* into *Darkness*, *Decemb.* 11. 1679. in the Eighty third Year of his *Peregrination*.

§ 7. For his Learning he was many ways well accomplished: Especially he was accurate in *Hebrew*, in which Primitive and Expressive Language, he took much delight: And he was elegant in *Latin*, whereof among other Demonstrations he gave one, in an Oration at one of our Commencements: And much of his vacant Hours he employ'd in History: History, which made good unto him her ancient Character:

*Omnis nunc nostro pendet Prudentia Senis.*  
*Riteque nil, nostris, qui caret Arte, sapit.*

He



History, whose great Votary Polybius, truly asserts, *Nulla hominibus facilius ad Vitæ Institutionem via est, quam Rerum antè sefarum Cognitio.* And he was no less a Man of Temper, than of Learning: The peculiar Sweetness and Goodness of his Temper, must be an essential Stroke in his Character: He was wonderfully happy in his meek, his composed, his peaceable Disposition: And his Meekness of Wisdom outshone all his other Attainments in Learning; for there is no Humane Literature so hardly attained, as the Discretion of a Man to regulate his Anger. His very Countenance had an amiable Smile continually sweetening of it: And his Face herein was but the true Image of his Mind, which like the upper Regions was marvellously free from the Storms of Passions.

In Prosperity he was not much elated, in Adversity he was not much dejected; under Provocations he would scorn to be provoked. When the Lord would not express himself unto *Elijah* in the Wind, nor in the Earthquake, nor in the Fire, but in the still Voice, I suspect, lest one thing intended among others, might be an Admonition unto the Prophet himself, to beware of the boisterous, uneven, inflamed Efforts, where to his Natural Constitution might be ready to betray him.

This worthy Man, as taking that Admonition, was for doing every thing with a still Voice: He knew himself to be born, as all Men are, with at least a Dozen Passions; but being also *new born*, he did not allow himself to be Haggard with the Enchantments thereof. The Philosopher of old, call'd our Passions, by the just Name of *unnatural Dogs*; but these Dogs do often worry the Children of God themselves; even a Great *Luther*, who removed the foulest Abominations out of the House of God, could not hinder these Dogs from infecting of his own Heart: However, this excellent (because cool, therefore excellent) Spirited Person, kept these Dogs with a strong Chain upon them; and since Man was created with a Dominion over the Beasts of the Field, he would not let the *Beasts* hold him in any Slavery. He liv'd as under the Eye and Awe of the Great God; and as *Basil* noted, *Potest Miles coram Rege suo non trahere, ob solum Regie majestatis Eminentiam.* Thus the Fear of God still restrained him from those Ebullitions of Wrath which other Men are too fearless of. As virulent a Pen as ever blotted Paper in the English Nation, pretends to observe, *That some Men will pray with the Ardours of an Angel, love God with Raptures of Joy and Delight, be transported with deep and pathetic Devotions, talk of nothing but the unspeakable Pleasures of Communion with the Lord Jesus, be ravish'd with devout and seraphick Meditations of Heaven, and like the blessed Spirits there, seem to relish nothing but Spiritual Delights and Entertainments: Who when they return from their Transfiguration, to their ordinary converse with Men, are churlish as a Cynick, passionate as an angry Wasp, envious as a fludi-*

*ous Dunce, and insolent as a Female Tyrant; proud and haughty in their Deportment; peevish, petulant, and self-willed, impatient of Contradiction, implacable in their Anger, rude and impetuous in all their Conversation, and made up of nothing but Pride, Malice, and Peruvishness.* But if any have ever given occasion for this Observation, there was none given by our *Whiting*, who would have thought himself a Fifth out of his Element, if he had ever been at any time any where but in the *Pacifick Sea*. And from this Account of his Temper, I may now venture to proceed unto his Virtue; by which I intend the Holiness of his renewed Heart and Life, and the Change made by the supernatural Grace of Christ upon him, without which all Virtue is but a Name, a Sham, a Fiction. He was a very Holy Man: As the Ancients hath assured us, *Ana Scientiam Scripturarum & Vitæ Corinis non Amabis:* Thus by reading daily several Chapters in both Testaments of the Scriptures, with serious and gracious Reflections thereupon, which he still followed with secret Prayers he grew more holy continually, until in a flourishing Old Age, he was found fit for Transplantation.

His Worship in his Family, was that which argued him a true Child of *Abraham*; and his Counsel to his Children, was grave, watchful, useful, favoury, and very memorable. And if Meditation (which was one of *Luther's* Great Things to make a Divine) be a thing of no little consequence to make a *Christian*, this must be numbred among the Exercises whereby our *Whiting* became very much improved in *Christianity*. Meditation (which is *Mentis-Ditatio*) daily enriched his Mind with the Dispositions of Heaven; and having a *Walk* for that purpose in his Orchard, some of his Flock that saw him constantly taking his *Turns* in that *Walk*, with Hand, and Eye, and Soul, often directed Heavenward, would say, *There does our dear Pastor walk with God every Day.*

In fine, as the Apostle *Peter* says, *They that obey not the Word, yet with Fear behold the chaste Conversation of them who do.* And as *Ignatius* describes the Pastor of the *Traditors*, for one of such a *Sanctity of Life*, that the greatest *Atreists* would have been afraid to have look'd upon him: Even to the Natural Conscience in the worst of Men, paid an Homage of Reverence to this Holy Man, where-ever he came.

§ 8. Tho' he spent his Time chiefly in his beloved Study, yet he would sometimes Visit his Flock; but in his Visit, he made Conscience of entertaining his Neighbours with no *Discourse* but what should be grave, and wise, and profitable; as knowing that, *Quæ sunt in Ore Populi Nugie, sunt in Ore Pastoris Blasphemie.* And sometimes an Occasional Word let fall by him, hath had a notable Effect: Once particularly, in a Journey being at an Inn upon the Road, he over-heard certain People in the next Room, to merry, as to be too loud and rude in their *Mirth*; wherefore, as he pass'd by the Door, he look'd in upon them, and with a sweet Majesty, only dropt those Words: *Friends, if you are sure that*



your Sins are pardoned, you may be wisely merry. And these Words not only still'd all their Noise for the present, but also had a great Effect afterwards upon some of the Company. Indeed, his Conversation preached where-ever he was; as being sensible of the Jewish Proverb, *Propheta qui transgreditur Prophetiam suam propriam, Mors ejus est in Manibus Dei*: But in the Pulpit he laboured especially to approve himself a Preacher. In his *Preaching* his Design was, *Prodesse magis quam placere*: And his Practice was, *Non alta sed apta proferre*. But what a proper and useful *Speaker* he was, we may gather from what we find him, when a *Writer*.

There are especially two *Books*, wherein we have him yet living among us. In the Fate and Fire of *Sodom*, there was a notable *Type* of the *Conflagration*, that will arrest this polluted *World* at the Day of *Judgment*: And the famous Prayer of *Abraham*, (who as *R. Bechai* imagines, had some hope, when he deprecated that Ruine for the sake of *Ten Righteous Ones*, that *Lot*, and his Wife, and the Four Daughters, which Tradition hath assigned him, and his four Sons-in-Law, would have made up the Number) on that occasion, is indeed a very rich Portion of Scripture. Now our *Whiting* published a Volume of *Sermons* upon that Prayer of *Abraham*; wherein he does raise, confirm, and apply *Thirty two Doctrines*, which he offered unto the Publick (as he says in his Preface) as the Words of a dying Man; hoping, that as *Constantine* the Great would stoop to low, as to kiss *Paphnutus's* maimed Eye, so the Lord *Jesus Christ* would condescend to put Marks of his Favour, on (that which he humbly calls), *A Maimed Work*. But that which encouraged him unto this Publication, was the Acceptance which it had, before this, been found by another Treatise of his upon *The Day of Judgment* it self. In the *Fifty eighth* Chapter of *Isaiah*, the Lord promises a Time of wondrous *Light* and *Joy*, unto his restored People, and the Consolations of a lasting *Sabbatism*: Things to be accomplished at the *Second Coming* of our Lord. Now to prepare for that *Blessedness*, those very things be required which our Lord *Jesus Christ* afterwards mentioned, in the *Twenty fifth* Chapter of *Matthew*, as the Qualifications of those whom he will admit into his *blessed Kingdom*. There seems, at least, a little Reason for it, that at the *Second Coming* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, one of the first things will be a glorious Translation, wherein the Members of *Christian Churches* will be call'd before him, and be Examined, in order to the Determination of their State under the *New Jerusalem*, that is to follow: Either to take their part in the Glories of that City, and Kingdom, for the *Thousand Years* to come, and by consequence what ensues thereupon; or to be exiled into the Confusions of them that are to be without. Now tho' 'tis possible, that whole Discourse of our Lord, may nextly refer to no no more than this Transaction, yet inasmuch as the generality of Interpreters have carried it unto the more general, and ultimate Proceedings of the last *Judg-*

ment, our *Whiting* did so too; and he has given us *Forty two Doctrines* thereupon, so handled as to suit the Edification of all Readers. The Notes are short, and but the concise Heads of what the Author prepared for his Weekly Exercises; nevertheless Mr. *Wilson*, and Mr. *Mitchel*, observe in their Preface thereunto: That the Reader by having much in a little Room, is the better furnished with variety of Matter, worthy of Meditation, for want of which many a Man does digest little of what he reads. They say, 'Tis a good Saying of one, *That the Reading of many diverse Heads, without some interlaced Meditation, is like eating of Marrow without Bread*. But he that shall take time to pause upon what he reads (where great Truths are but in few Words hinted at) with intermixed Meditations and Ejaculations, suitable to the Matter in hand, will find such Truths concisely delivered, to be like *Marrow and Fatness*, whereof a little does go far, and feed much.

But a little Poetry must now wait upon the Memory of this Worthy Man.

Upon the very Reverend

SAMUEL WHITING.

Mount Fame, the glorious Chariot of the Sun;  
Through the World's Cirque, all you, her Herald's, run:  
And let this Great Saint's Merits be reveal'd,  
Which, during Life, he studiously conceal'd.  
Cite all the Levites, fetch the Sons of Arr,  
In these our Dolours to sustain a part.  
Warn all that value Worth, and every one  
Within their Eyes to bring an Helicon.  
For in this single Person we have lost  
More Riches, than an India has engroft.

When *Wilson*, that Plerophory of Love,  
Did from our Banks, up to his Center move,  
Rare *Whiting* quotes *Columbus* on this Coast,  
Producing *Gems*, of which a King might boast.  
More splendid far than ever *Aaron* wore,  
Within his Breast, this Sacred *Rather* bore.  
Sound Doctrine *Urim*, in his Holy Cell,  
And all Perfections *Thummim* there did dwell.  
His Holy Vesture was his Innocence,  
His Speech, Embroideries of curious Sense.  
Such awful Gravity this Doctor us'd,  
As if an Angel every Word infus'd.  
No Turgent Stile, but *Asiatic* Store;  
Conduits were almost full, seldom run o're  
The Banks of Time: Come Vist when you will,  
The Streams of *Nectar* were descending still:  
Much like Septentrional *Nilus*, rising so,  
He watered Christians round, and made them grow.

His



His modest *Whispers* could the *Conscience* reach,  
As well as *Whirlwinds*, which some others  
preach;

No *Boanerges*, yet could touch the Heart,  
And clench his *Dctrine* by the meekest Art.  
His *Learning* and his *Language*, might become  
A Province not inferior to Rome.  
Glorious was *Europe's* Heaven, when such as  
these  
Stars of his Size, shone in each *Dioceſs*.

Who writ the *Fathers* Lives, either make  
Room,  
Or with his Name begin your *Second Tome*.  
Ag'd *Polycarp*, Deep *Origen*, and such  
Whose *Worth* your *Quills*, your *Wits* not them,  
enrich;  
*Lactantius*, *Cyprian*. *Basil* too the Great,  
Quaint *Jerom*, *Auſtin* of the foremost Seat,  
With *Ambroſe*, and more of the Highest Claſs,  
In *CHRIST's* great *School*, with Honour, I let  
paſs;  
And humbly pay my Debt to *Whiting's* Ghost,  
Of whom both *Englands*, may with Reason  
boast.  
Nations for Men of Leſſer Worth have ſtrove,  
To have the *Fame*, and, in Transports of Love,  
Built *Temples*, or fix'd *Statues* of pure Gold,  
And their vaſt Worth to After-Ages told.  
His Modesty forbade to fair a *Tomb*,  
Who in Ten Thousand *Hearts* obtain'd a Room.

What ſweet *Compoſures* in his *Angels* Face!  
What ſoft Affections, Melting Gleams of  
Grace!

How mildly pleaſant! By his cloſed Lips,  
*Rhetoricks* Bright Body ſuffers an *Eclipse*.  
Should half his *Sentences* be truly *Numbred*,  
And weigh'd in Wiſdom's Scales, twould ſpoil a  
*Lombard*:

And Churches *Homilies*, but *Homily* be,  
If Venerable *WHITING*, ſet by thee.  
Profoundeſt Judgement, with a Meekneſs rare,  
Preferr'd him to the *Moderator's* Chair;  
Where like *Truth's Champion*, with his piercing  
Eye,

He ſilenc'd *Errors*, and made *Hellors* fly.  
Soft *Answers* quell hot *Paſſions*; ne'er too ſoft  
Where ſolid Judgment is enthron'd aloft.  
Church *Dollors* are my Witneſſes, that here  
Affections always kept their proper *Sphere*,

Without thoſe Wilder *Eccentricities*,  
Which ſpot the faireſt Fields of Men moſt  
Wiſe.

In pleaſant Places fall that Peoples *Line*,  
Who have but *Shadows* of Men thus Divine.  
Much more their *Preſence*, and Heaven pierce-  
ing *Prayers*,  
Thus many Years, to mind our Soul Affairs.  
A pooreſt Soil oſt has the Riccheſt *Mine*;  
This Weighty Oar, poor *Lyn* was lately thine.  
O Wondrous Mercy! But this Glorious Light  
Hath left thee in the Terrors of the Night.  
New *England*, diſt thou know this Mighty  
One.

His Weight and Worth, thou'dſt think thy ſelf  
undone:  
One of thy Golden Chariots, which among  
The *Clergy*, render'd thee a *Thouſand* ſtrong:  
One, who for Learning, Wiſdom, Grace, and  
Years,  
Among the *Levites* hath not many Peers:  
One, yet with God a Kind of *Heavenly Band*,  
Who did whole *Regiments* of *Woes* withſtand:  
One, that prevail'd with *Heaven*; One greatly  
miſt  
On *Earth*; he gain'd of *Chriſt* what e'er he liſt:  
One of a World; who was both born and bred  
At *Wiſdom's Feet*, hard by the *Fountain's Head*.  
The *Loſs* of ſuch an One, would fetch a Tear,  
From *Niobe* her ſelf if ſhe were here.

What qualifies our *Grief*, centers in *This*,  
Be our *Loſs* near to Great, the *Gain* is *his*.

B. Thompson.

We will now leave him, with ſuch a Diſtich,  
as *Wigandus* provided for his own

## E P I T A P H.

In *Chriſto* Vixi, Morior, Vtroq; *WHITINGUS*;

Do *Sordes Morti*, cætera, *Chriſte*, *Tibi*.

X x x 2 CHAP.



## CHAPTER XXIX.

## The LIFE of Mr. JOHN SHERMAN.

*Vetusas judicavit Honestum, ut Mortui Laudarentur. Thucid.*

§ 1. THAT Great Athanasius, whom some of the Ancients justly called, *Propugnaculum Veritatis*, others *Lumen Ecclesie*, others *Orbis Oraculum*, is in the Funeral Oration of Gregory Nazianzen, on him to set forth: *To Commend Athanasius, is to praise Virtue it self.* My Pen is now falling upon the Memory of a Person, whom, if I should not commend unto the Church of God, I should refuse to praise Virtue it self, with Learning, Wisdom, and all the Qualities that would render any Person Amiable. I shall proceed then with the Endeavour of my Pen, to *Immortalize his Memory*, that the Signification of the Name Athanasius, may belong unto him, as much as the Grace for which that great Man was Exemplary.

§ 2. Mr. John Sherman was born of Godly and Worthy Parents, Decemb. 26. 1613. in the Town of Dedham, in the County of Essex. While he was yet a Child, the Instruction of his Parents, joined with the Ministry of the Famous Rogers, produced in him, that *Early Remembrance of his Creator*, which more than a little encourag'd them to pursue and expect the Good Effects of the Dedication, which they had made of him, unto the Service of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Work of the Gospel. His Education at School was under a Learned Master, who so much admired his Youthful Piety, Industry and Ingenuity, that he never bestowed any *Chastisement* upon; except once for his giving the *Heads of Sermons* to his Idle School-Mates, when an Account thereof was demanded from them. So studious was he, that next unto Communion with his God, he delighted in Communion with his Book, and he studied nothing more, than to be an Exception unto that Ancient and General Complaint, *Quem mihi dovis, qui Diem aestimet?*

§ 3. Early Ripe for it, he went into the University of Cambridge, where being admitted into Emmanuel-College, and instructed successfully by two very Considerable Tutors, his Proficiency still bore Proportion to his Means, but out-went the Proportion of his Years. When his Turn came to be a Graduate, he seriously considered the Subscription required of him: And upon Invincible Arguments, became so dissatisfied therewithal, that advising with Mr. Rogers, Dr. Preston, and other eminent Persons, who commending his Conscientious Consideration, counselled his Remove, he went away under the Persecuted Character of a College-Pariah. The same that occasioned his Remo-

val from the Collodge, in a little time occasioned also his Removal from the Kingdom; for upon Mature Deliberation, after extraordinary Addresses to Heaven for Direction, he embark'd himself, with several Famous Divines, who came over in the Year 1634. hoping that by going over the Water, they should in this be like Men going under the Earth, lodg'd where the Wicked would cease from Troubling and the Weary be at Rest.

§ 4. So much was Religion the First sought, of the First come, into this Country, that they solemnly offer'd up their Praises unto him that Inhabits the Pines of Israel, before they had provided Habitations, wherein to offer those Praises. A Day of Thanksgiving was now kept by the Christians of a New Haven, here called Water-Town, under a Tree; on which Thanksgiving, Mr. Sherman preached his First Sermon, as an Assistant unto Mr. Philips: There being present many other Divines, who wondred exceedingly to hear a Subject so accurately and excellently handled by one that had never before performed any such publick Exercise.

§ 5. He continued not many Weeks at Water-town, before he removed, upon Mature Advice, unto New-Haven; where he preached occasionally in most of the Towns then belonging to that Colony: But with such deferred Acceptance, that Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone being in an Assembly of Ministers, that met after a sermon of our Young Sherman, pleasantly said, *Brethren, we must look to our selves, and our Ministry; for this Young Divine will out-do us all.*

Here, though he had an Importunate Invitation unto a Settlement in Milford, yet he not only declined it out of an Ingenuous Feelsness, lest the Worthy Person, who must have been his Colleague, should have thereby suffered some Inconveniencies, but also for a little while, upon that, and some other such Accounts, he wholly suspended the Exercise of his Ministry. Hereupon the Zealous Affection of the People to him appeared, in their chusing him a Magistrate of the Colony; in which Capacity, he served the Publick, with an Exemplary Discretion and Fidelity, until a fresh Opportunity for the Exercise of his Ministry, within Two or Three Years, offered it self; and then all the Importunity used by the Governour and Assistants, to fasten him among themselves, could not prevail with him to Look back from that Place.



Our Land has enjoyed the Influences of many accomplished Men, who from Candidates of the Ministry, have become our *Magistrates*; but this Excellent Man, is the only Example among us, who left a Bench of our *Magistrates*, to become a painful Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ in the Work of the Ministry. Nevertheless, he that beholds *Joseph of Arimathea*, a Counsellour of State, *Ambrose* the Consul of *Milain*, *George* the Prince of *Anhalt*, *Chrysostom*, a Noble *Antiochian*, *John a Lasco*, a Noble *Polonian*, all becoming the plain Preachers of the Gospel, will not think that Mr. Sherman herein either suffered a Degradation, or was without a Pattern.

§ 6. Upon the Death of Mr. Philips at Waverston, Mr. Sherman was addressed by the Church there, to succeed him; and he accepted the Charge of that Church, although at the same time, one of the Churches at Boston, used their Endeavours to become the Owner of so well Talented a Person, and several Churches in London also, by Letters much urged him to Come over and help them. And now, being in the Neighbourhood of Cambridge, he was likewise chosen a Fellow of *Harvard College* there; in which place he continued unto his Death, doing many Good Offices for that Society. Nor was it only as a Fellow of the College, that he was a Blessing, but also as he was in some sort a Preacher to it: For his Lectures being held for the most part once a Fortnight, in the Vicinage, for more than Thirty Years together, many of the Scholars attending thereon, did justly acknowledge the Durable and Abundant Advantage which they had from those Lectures.

§ 7. His Intellectual Abilities, whether Natural or Acquired, were such as to render him a First-Rate Scholar; the Skill of Tongues and Arts, beyond the common rate adorned him. He was a Great Reader, and as *Athanasius* reports of his *Antonius*, *εργαζομενος τω νη διαλεγειν, ος παρθε τον προσημασμενον εν τω αυτω χρονω, οτι διαλεγει, ες τοντα αυτου τον προσημασμενον βιβλον ιουδα:* He read with such Intention, as to lose nothing, but keep every thing, of all that he read, and his Mind became his Library: Even such was the Felicity of our Sherman; he read with an unusual Dispatch, and whatever he Read became his own. From such a Strength of Invention and Memory it was, that albeit he was a curious Preacher; nevertheless, he could preach without any Preparatory Notes, of what he was to utter. He ordinarily wrote but about half a Page in *Octavo*, of what he was to preach; and he would as ordinarily preach, without writing of one Word at all. And he made himself wonderfully acceptable and serviceable unto his Friends, by the Homelical Accomplishments, which were produced by his Abilities, in his Conversation. For though he were not a Man of much Discourse, but ever thought, *εν ταπεινοτατη και παύση:* And when some have told him, That he had Learned the Art of Silence, he hath, with a very

becoming Ingenuity, given them to understand, That it was an Art, which it would hurt none of them to learn, yet his Discourse had a rare Conjunction of Profit and Pleasure in it.

He was Witty and yet Wise, and Grave, carrying a Majesty in his very Countenance; and much visited for Council, in weighty Cases; and when he delivered his Judgment in any Matter, there was little or nothing to be spoken by others after him.

§ 8. It is a Remark, which *Melchior Adam* has in the Life of his Excellent *Pitiscus*; *Illud mirandum, quod Homo Theologus, in Mathematicum studium, nullo nisi se Magistro, eo usque progressus esset, ut Editis Scriptis, Disciplina illius Gloriam, magnis Matheseos Professoribus praeiperuisset*: And it might be well applied unto our Eminent Sherman, who though he were a Consummate Divine, and a Continual Preacher, yet making the Mathematics his Diversion, did attain unto such an Incomparable Skill therein, that he was undoubtedly one of the best Mathematicians that ever lived in this Hemisphere of the World, and it is great Pity that the World should be deprived of the Astronomical Calculations, which he has left in Manuscript behind him. It seems, that Men of great Parts may, as it is observed by that great Instance thereof, Mr. Boyle, successively apply themselves to more than one Study. Thus *Copernicus* the Astronomer, eternized like the very Stars, by his New System of them, was a Church-man; and his Learned Champion *Lenbergius*, was a Minister. *Gessendus* was a Doctor of Divinity; *Clavius* too was a Doctor of Divinity; nor will the Names of those English Doctors, *Wallis*, *Wilkins*, and *Barrow*, be forgotten so long as that Learning which is to be called Real, has any Friends in the English Nation: And *Ricciolus* himself, the Compiler of that Voluminous and Judicious Work, the *Almagestum Novum*, was a Professor of Theology.

Into the Number of these Heroes, is our Sherman to be admitted; who, if any one had enquired, how he could find the Leisure for his Mathematical Speculations? Would have given the Excuse of the Famous *Pitiscus* for his Answer; — *Alii Scholastica Ludant, & Talis: Ego Regnala & Circino, si quando Ludere datur.*

And from the View of the Effects, which the Mathematical Contemplations of our Sherman, produced in his Temper, I cannot but utter the Wish of the Noble *Ischo Brache* upon that Blessed *Pitiscus*, *Optarem plures ejusmodi Concionatores reperiri, qui Geometria gnoscitur calerent: forte plus esset in iis Circumspetti & solidi Judicii, Rixarum inonitum & Logomachiarum minus*: For among other things very valuable to me, in the Temper of this Great Man, one was a certain Largeness of Soul, which particularly disposed him to embrace the Congregational Way of Church Government, without those Rigid and Narrow Principles of Uncharitable Separation, where with some Good Men have been Leavened.



§ 9. But as our mentioned *Pitiscus*, when his Friends congratulated unto him the Glory of his *Mathematical Excellencies*, with an humble and holy Ingenuity replied, *Let us rejoice rather that our Names be written in Heaven.* Thus our *Sberman* was more concerned for, and more employed in an Acquaintance with the *Heavenly Seats of the Blessed*, than with the *Motions of the Heavenly Bodies*. He did not so much use a *Jacob's Staff* in Observations, as he was in Supplications a true *Jacob* himself. He was a Person of a most *Heavenly Disposition and Conversation*; *Heavenly* in his Words, *Heavenly* in his Thoughts, *Heavenly* in his Designs and Desires; few in the World had so much of *Heaven* upon *Earth*. He was a most Practical Commentary upon those Words of the Psalmist, *Alone Eyes are ever towards the Lord*: And those of the Apostle, *Keep your selves in the Love of God*.

As the *Scriptures* are the *Firmament*, which God hath expanded over the *Spiritual World*, so this good Man usually spent an Hour every Morning, in entertaining himself with the *Lights* that are shining there. Besides this, with Meditations on *God, Christ, and Heaven*, he fell asleep at Night; and with the like Meditations he woke and rose in the Morning; and Prayer was therefore the first and last of his Daily Works. Yea, had any one cast a Look upon him, not only abroad in Company, but also in his closest Retirement, they would have seen scarce a Minute pass him, without a Turn of his Eye towards *Heaven*, whereto his *Heaven-touch'd Heart* was carrying of him, with its continual Vengencies. And as the *Stars*, they say, may be seen from the bottom of a Well, when the Day-light in higher places hinders the sight thereof; so this worthy Man, who saw more not only of the *Stars in Heaven*, but also of the *Heaven* beyond the *Stars*, than most other Men, was one, who, in his Humility, laid himself low, even to a Fault; and he had buried himself in the Obscurity of his Retreats and Retirements, if others that knew his worth, had not sometimes fetch'd him forth to more publick Action.

The Name *Descensus*, which I found worn by an eminent Person, among the Primitive Christians, I thought proper for this eminent Person, when I have considered the Condescension of his whole Deportment. And, methought it was an Instance of this Condescension, that this Great Man would sometimes give the Country an *Almanack*, which yet he made an Opportunity to do good, by adding at the end of the Compoasures those *Holy Reflections*, which taught good Men how to recover that *little*, but spreading thing, the *Almanack*, from that common Abuse, of being an Engine to convey only silly *Impertinencies*, or sinful *Superstitions*, into almost every Cottage of the Wilderness. One of those *Reflections* I will recite, because it lively exprest the holy Sense of Death, in which the Author itself lived:

*Let me intreat one thing of thee, and I will ad*

*venture to promise thee a good Year; the Request is in it self reasonable, and may to thee be eternally profitable. It's only this: Duty to prize, and diligently to improve Time, for obtaining the blessed End it was given for, and is yet graciously continued unto thee, by the Eternal God. Of Three hundred sixty five Days, allowed by the making up of this Year, which shall be thy last, thou knowest not; but that any of them may be it, thou oughtest to know, and so consider, that thou mayest pass the Time of thy Sojourning here with ease.*

§ 10. Behold him either in the *Lord's House*, or in his own, of both which a *Well Government* is joined in the Demands of the Apostle, and we may behold both of them after an exemplary manner ordered. In his Ministry he was *Judicious, Industrious, Faithful*; a most curious Expolitor of Scripture, and one that fed us with the *fattest Marrow* of Divinity. And there was one thing in his Preaching, which procured it a singular admiration; this was a natural, and not affected *Leftiness of Style*; which with an easy Fluency bespangled his Discourses with such glittering Figures of Oratory, as caused his ablest Hearers, to call him a Second *Isaiah*, the *Honey-dropping, and Golden-mouthed Preacher*. But among the Successes of his Conduct in his Ministry, there was none more notable than the Peace, which by God's Blessing upon his Wisdom and Meekness, more than any other things was preserved in his populous Town, as long as he lived, notwithstanding many Temptations unto Differences, among the good People there. From thence let us follow him to his Family, and there we saw him with much Discretion, maintaining both Fear and Love, in those that belong'd unto him, and a zealous Care to uphold Religion among them. The Duties of *Reading, Praying, Singing, and Catechising*, were constantly observed, and *Sermons* repeated. And he was, above all, a great Lover, and strict Keeper of the *Christian Sabbath*; in the very Evening of which approaching, he would not allow any Worldly Matter to disturb, or divert the Exercises of Piety within his Gates.

§ 11. He was twice married. By his First Wife, the Vertuous Daughter of Parents therein resembled by her, he had Six Children. But his next Wife was a young Gentlewoman whom he chose from under the Guardianship, and with the Countenance of *Edward Hopkins*, Esq; the excellent Governour of *Connecticut*. She was a Person of good Education, and Reputation, and honourably descended; being the Daughter of a Puritan Gentleman, whose Name was *Lance*, and whose Lands in *Cornwall* yielded him Fourteen hundred Pounds a Year. He was a Parliament-man, a Man learned and pious, and a notable Disputant; but once disputing against the *English Episcopacy* (as not being ignorant of what is affirmed by *Contra* the Jesuite, in his Politics, *That were all England brought once to approve of Bishops, it were easy to reduce it unto the Church of Rome*;) he was worried by such a way of maintaining the Argument, as was thought



thought agreeable; that is, by a Wound in the Side, from his furious Antagonist; of which Wound at last he died. The Wife of that Gentleman was Daughter to the Lord Darcy, who was Earl of Rivers; a Person of a Protestant, and Puritan Religion, tho' of a Popish Family, and one that after the Murder of her former Husband, Mr. Lawrence, had for her Second Husband the famous Mr. Symphon. But by the Daughter of that Mr. Lawrence, who is yet living among us, Mr. Sherman had no less than twenty Children added unto the Number of six, which he had before.

I remember John Helwigius of late, besides what has been related formerly by other Authors, brings undeniable Attestations of a Married Couple, who in one Wedlock were Parents to Fifty three Children, at Thirty five Births brought into the World: Somewhat short of that, but not short of Wonder, is a late Instance of one Mother, that has brought forth no less than Thirty nine Children, the Thirty fifth of whom, was lately discomfited by Persons of Honour and Credit, from whom I had it. Altho' New-England has no Instances of such a Polytokie, yet it has had Instances of what has been remarkable: One Woman has had not less than Twenty two Children; whereof she buried Fourteen Sons, and Six Daughters. Another Woman has had no less than Twenty three Children, by one Husband; whereof Nineteen lived unto Mens and Womens Estate. A third was Mother to Seven and twenty Children: And she that was Mother to Six William Phips, the late Governour of New-England, had no less than Twenty five Children besides him; she had One and twenty Sons, and Five Daughters. Now into the Catalogue of such fruitful Vines by the sides of the House, is this Gentlewoman, Mrs. Sherman, that enumerated. Behold, thus was our Sherman, that Eminent Fearer of the Lord, Blessed of him.

§ 12. He had the rare Felicity to grow like the Lily, as long as he lived; and enjoy a flourishing, and perhaps increasing Liveliness of his Faculties, until he died. Such Keenness of Wit, such Soundness of Judgment, such Fulsness of Matter, and such Vigour of Language, is rarely seen in Old Age, as was to be seen in him, when he was old.

The last Sermon which he ever preached, was at Sudbury, from Eph. 2. 8. By Grace ye are saved: Wherein he so displayed the Riches of the Free Grace expressed in our Salvation, as to fill his Hearers with admiration. Being thus at Sudbury, he was taken sick of an Intermitting, but malignant Fever; which yet abated, that he found opportunity to return unto his own House at Water-Town. But his Fever then renewing upon him, it prevailed so far, that he soon expired his holy Soul; which he did with Expressions of abundant Faith, Joy, and Resignation, on a Saturday-Evening, entering on his Eternal Sabbath, August 8. 1685. Aged Seventy two.

### Epitaphium.

For an Epitaph upon this Worthy Man, I'll presume a little to alter the Epitaph by Seneca, below'd upon Pitscus.

*De Pauli Pietas, sic Euclidea Matheſis,  
Uno, Shermani, conditur, in Tumulo.*

And annex that of Altenburg upon Cæsius.

*Qui cursum Alstrorum vivens Indagine  
multâ  
Quæſivit, coram nunc ea cernit ovane.*

### CHAP. XXX.

#### Eusebius The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS COBBET.

*Et Eruditis Pietate, Et Præ Eruditione Laude entecellens, ita Secundas Doctrinæ ferens,  
ut Pietatis primas obtineret.*

Nazianz. de Basilio.

§ 1. IN the Old Church of Israel we find a considerable Sort and Sett of Men, that were called, The Scribes of the People: Whose Office it was, not only to Copy out the Bible, for such as desired a Copy thereof, with such Exactness, that the Mysteries occurring, even in the least Vowels and Accents of it, might not be lost, but also to be the more Publick Preachers of the Law, and common and constant Pulpit-Men; taking upon them to be the Ex-

pounders, as well as the Preservers of the Scripture. But one of the principle Scribes enjoy'd by the People of New-England, was Mr. Thomas Cobbet, who wrote more Books than the most of the Divines, which did their parts to make a Kirjath-Sepher of this Wildernels; in every one of which he approv'd himself one of the Scribes mention'd by our Saviour, from his rich Treasure bringing forth Instructions, both out of the New Testament, and out of the Old.

§ 2. Out



§ 2. Our Mr. Thomas Cobbet was born at Newbury, long enough before our New England had a Town of that Name, or indeed had any such thing as a Town at all; namely, in the Year 1608. And altho his Parents, who afterwards came also to New-England, were so destitute of Worldly Grandure, that he might say, as divers of the Jewish Rabbis tell us, the Words of Gideon may be Read, Behold, my Father is Poor, yet this their Son was Greatness enough to render one Family memorable. Reader, we are to describe,

*Ingenua de plebe Virum, sed Vita Fideq;  
Inculcata fuit.*

And remember the Words of Seneca, *ex cava etiam Virum magnum prodire posse.*

When Cicero was jeerd, for the mean Signification of his Name, he said, *However he would not change it, but by his Actions render the Name of Cicero more Illustrous than that of Cato:* And our Cobbet has done enough to make the Name of Cobbet Venerable, in these American Parts of the World, whether there were the Actions of any Ancestors or no, to signalize it. A Good Education having prepared him for it, he became an Oxford Scholar, and removing from Oxford in the Time of a Plague raging there, he did, with other young Men, become a Pupil to Famous Dr. Twiss at Newbury. He was, after this, a Preacher at a small Place in Lincolnshire; from whence, being driven by a Storm of Persecution upon the Reforming and Puritan Part of the Nation, he came over unto New-England, in the same Vessel with Mr. Davenport coming to New-England, his Old Friend Mr. Whiting of Lyn expressed his Friendship, with Endeavours to obtain and to enjoy his Assistance, as a Colleague, in the Pastoral Charge of the Church there; where they continued *Fratrum Dulce Par*, until upon the Removal of Mr. Norton to Boston, and of Mr. Rogers to Heaven, he was Translated unto the Church of Ipswich; with which he continued in the Faithful Discharge of his Ministry, until his Reception of the Crown of Life at his Death, about the Beginning of the Year 1686. Then 'twas, that he was (to speak Jewishly) *Treasure'd up*.

§ 3. The Witty Epigrammatist hath told us.

*Qui dignos Ipsi Vita scripsere Libellos,  
Illorum Vitam scribere non Opus est.*

And we might therefore make the Story of this Worthy Man's Life, to be but an Account of the Immortal Books, wherein he lives after he is Dead. What Mr. Cobbet was, the Reader may gather by Reading a very Savoury Treatise of his, upon the Fifth Commandment. But that he might serve both Tables of the Law, he was willing to write something upon the first

Commandment, as well as the Fifth; and this he did in a Large, Nervous, Golden Discourse Of Prayer. But that the Second Commandment, as well as the First might not be unfeared by him, there were divers *Disciplinary Tracts*, which he publicly offered unto the Church of God. He Printed upon the Duty of the Civil Magistrate, in the Point of Toleration; a Point then much Debated, and not yet every where Decided; whereto he annexed a Vindication of the Government of New-England, from the Aspersions of some, who thought themselves persecuted under it.

He was likewise a Learned and a Lively Defender of Infant-Baptism, and he gave the World an Elaborate Composure, on that Subject, on the Occasion whereof, Mr. Cotton, in his Incomparable Preface to a Book of Mr. Norton's, has these Passages. *COVETUS compertisceret aliquot ex Oribus Christi sibi commissis, Antipadobaptismi Laqueis atq; Dumetis irretitis, Zelo Dei accensus (& Zelo quidem secundum Scientiam) imo, & Misericordia etiam Christi Commotus, erga Errantes Oculis; Libros quos potuit, ex Anabaptistarum penu, congestit; Rationum Momenta (Qualia fuerant) in Lance Santuarum trutinavit; Testimoniorum Planstra, quae ab aliis congesta fuerant, sedulo perquisivit; & pro eo, quo floret, Disputandi Acumine, Djudicandi solertia, solida multa, paucis Complectendi Dexteritate atq; Indefesso Labore, nihil pene latentatum reliquit, quod vel ad Veritatem, in hac Causa Illustrandam, vel ad Errorum Nebulas Disscutiendas, atq; Disspellendas, conducere.*

Reader, To receive so much Commendation from so Reverend and Renowned a Pen, is to have One's Life, sufficiently written: It is needless for me to proceed any further, in serving the Memory of Mr. Cobbet.

§ 4. And yet there is one thing, which my poor Pen may not leave unmentioned. Of all the Books written by Mr. Cobbet, none deserves more to be Read by the World, or to Live till the General Burning of the World, than that Of Prayer: And indeed Prayer, the Subject so Experimentally, and therefore Judiciously, therefore Profitably, therein handled, was not the least of those things, for which Mr. Cobbet was Remarkable. He was a very Praying Man, and his Prayers were not more observable throughout New-England for the Argumentative, the Importunate, and I had almost said, Filially Familiar, Strains of them, than for the wonderful Successes that attended them. It was a Good Saying of the Ancient, *Homine proba Orante nihil potentius*; and it was a Great Saying of the Reformer, *Est quaedam Precum Omnipotentia*. Our Cobbet might certainly make a considerable Figure in the Catalogue of those Eminent Saints, whose Experiences having notably Exemplified, The Power of Prayer, unto the World. That Golden Chain, one End whereof is tied unto the Tongue of Man, the other End unto the Ear of God (which is as Just, as Old, a Resembling



of Prayer) our Cobbet was always pulling at, and he often pull'd unto such Marvellous purpose, that the Neighbours were almost ready to sing of him, as *Claudian* did upon the prosperous Prayers of Theodosius.

— O Nimum Dilecto Deo.

A Son of this *Man of Prayer* was taken into Captivity by the Barbarous, Treacherous *Indian* Salvages, and a Captivity from whence there could be little Expectation of Redemption: Whereupon Mr. Cobbet called about Thirty, as many as could suddenly convene, of the Christians in the Neighbourhood unto his House; and there, they together pray'd for the Young Man's Deliverance. The Old Man's Heart was now no more sad; he believed that the God of Heaven had accepted of their Supplications, and because he Believed, therefore he spake as much, to those that were about him, who when they heard him speak did Believe too. Now within a few Days after this, the Prayers were all answered, in the Return of the Young Man unto his Father, with Circumstances little short of Miracle! But indeed the Instances of surprizing Effects following upon the Prayers of this Gracious Man, were so many, that I must supersede all Relation of them, with only noting thus much, That it was generally supposed among the pious People in the

Land, that the Enemies of *New-England* owed the wondrous Disasters and Confusions that still followed them, as much to the Prayers of this *True Israelite*, as perhaps to any one Occasion. Mr. Knox's Prayers were sometimes more feared, than an Army of Ten Thousand Men; and Mr. Cobbet's Prayers were esteemed of no little Significancy to the Welfare of the Country, which is now therefore Bereaved of its *Chariots* and its *Horsemen*. If *New-England* had its *Noah*, *Daniel* and *Job*, to pray wonderfully for it, Cobbet was one of them!

### Epitaphium.

STA VIATOR; *Thesaurus hic Jacet,*

THOMAS COBBETUS;

cajus,

*Nosti Preces Potentissimas, ac Mores Probatissimos,*  
Si es Nov-Anglus.

Mirare, Si Pietatem Colas;

Sequere, Si Felicitatem Optes.

## CHAP. XXXI.

### The LIFE of Mr. JOHN WARD.

§ 1 Some famous Persons of old, thought it a Greater Glory, to have it enquired; *Why such a one had not a Statue erected for him?* Than to have it enquired, *Why he had?* Mr. Nathanael Ward, born at *Haverhill*, in *Essex*, about 1570. was bred a Scholar, and was first Intended and Employed for the Study of the Law. But afterwards travelling with certain Merchants into *Prussia* and *Denmark*, and having Discourse with *David Pareus*, at *Heidelberg*, from whom he received much Direction; at his return into *England*, he became a Minister of the Gospel, and had a Living at *Stendon*. In the Year 1634. he was driven out of *England*, for his *Non-Conformity*; and coming to *New-England*, he continued serving the Church of *Ipswich*, till the Year 1645. When returning back to *England*, he settled at *Sherfield*, near *Brentwood*; and there he ended his Days, when he was about Eighty Three Years of Age. He was the Author of many Compositures full of Wit, and Sense; among which, that Entituled, *The Simple Cöbler* (which demonstrated him to be a *Subtil Statefman*) was most considered. If it

be enquired, *Why this our St. Hilary hath among our Lives no Statue erected for him?* Let that Enquiry go for part of one. And we will pay our Debt unto his Worthy Son.

§ 2. Mr. John Ward was Born, I think, at *Haverhill*, — on Nov. 5. — 1606. His Grandfather was that *John Ward*, the Worthy Minister of *Haverhill*, whom we find among *The Worthies of England*; and his Father was the Celebrated *Nathanael Ward*, whose Wit made him known to more *Englands* than one. Where his Education was, I have not been informed; the first Notice of him that occurs to me, being in the Year 1639. When he came over into these Parts of *America*; and settled there in the Year 1641. in a Town also called *Haverhill*. But What it was, every Body that saw him, saw it in the Effects of it, that it was Learned, Ingenious, and Religious. He was a Person of a Quick Apprehension, a clear Understanding, a strong Memory, a facetious Conversation; he was an exact *Grammarian*, an expert *Physician*, and which was the Top of all, a thorough *Divine*: But, which rarely happens, these



these Endowments of his *Mind*, were accompanied with a most Healthy, Hardy, and Agile Constitution of *Body*, which enabled him to make nothing of walking on foot, a Journey as long as *Thirty Miles together*.

§ 3. Such was the Blessing of God upon his Religious Education, that he was not only *Refrained* from the Vices of Immorality in all his younger Years, but also *Inclined* unto all Virtuous Actions. Of young Persons, he would himself give this Advice; *Whatever you do, be sure to maintain Shame in them; for if that be once gone, there is no Hope that they'll ever come to good*. Accordingly, our *Ward* was always *ashamed* of doing any ill thing. He was of a *Modest and Bashful* Disposition, and very sparing of *Speaking*, especially before *Strangers*, or such as he thought his *Betters*. He was wonderfully Temperate, in Meat, in *Drink*, in *Sleep*, and he was always *Expressed*, I had almost said, *Asted*, a peculiar Societry of *Apparel*. He was a Son most Exemplarily *Dutiful* unto his *Parents*, and having paid some considerable *Debts* for his *Father*, he would afterwards humbly observe and confess, that God had abundantly *Recompensed* this his Dutifulness.

§ 4. Tho' he had great Offers of Rich Matches, in *England*, yet he chose to marry a meaner Person, whom *Exemplary Piety* had recommended. He lived with her for more than Forty Years, in such an *Happy Harmony*, that when she died, he professed, that in all this Time, he never had received one *Displeasing Word* or *Look* from her. Altho' she would so faithfully tell him of every thing that might seem *Amendable* in him, that he would pleasantly compare her to an *Accusing Conscience*, yet she ever *pleased* him wonderfully: And she would often put him upon the Duties of *secret Fasts*, and when she met with any thing in Reading that she counted singularly agreeable, she would still impart it unto him. For which Causes, when he lost this his Mate, he caused those Words to be fairly written on his Table-Board,

*In Lugenda Compare, Vita Spacium Compleat Orbis.*

And there is this memorable Passage to be added. While she was a Maid, there was ensured unto her, the Revenue of a Parsonage worth two Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, in case that she married a Minister. And all this had been given to our *Ward*, in case he had conformed, unto the *Doubtful Matters* in the Church of *England*: But he left all the Allurements and Enjoyments of *England*, *choosing* rather to suffer *Affliction* with the *People of God* in a *Wilderness*.

§ 5. Altho' he would say, *There is no place for Fishing like the Sea, and the more Heavens a Minister has, the more Hope there is that some of them will be catch'd in the Nets of the Gospel*; nevertheless, thro' his Humility and

Reservation, it came to pass, that as he chose to begin his Ministry in *Old England*, at a very small Place, thus when he came to *New England* he chose to settle with a *New Plantation*, where he could expect none but small Circumstances all his Days. He did not love to appear upon the *Publick Stage* himself, and there appeared few there, whom he did not prefer above himself: But when he was there, every one might see how conscientiously he sought the *Edification* of the Souls of the plainest Auditors, before the *Offentation* of his own Abilities. And from the like *Self-Disfidence* it was, that he would never manage any *Ecclesiastical Affairs* in his Church, without previous and prudent *Consultations* with the best *Advisers* that he knew: He would say, *He had rather always follow Advice, tho' sometimes the Advice might mislead him, than ever act without Advice, tho' he might happen to do well by no Advice but his own*.

§ 6. This Diligent Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, continued under and against many Temptations, watching over his Flock at *Haverhill*, more than twice as long as *Jacob* continued with his Uncle; yea, for as many Years as there are *Sabbaths* in the Year. On Nov. 19. 1693. he preached an Excellent Sermon, entering the *Eighty Eighth* Year of his Age; the only Sermon that ever was, or perhaps ever will be preached in this Country at such an Age. He was then smitten with a *Paralytic Indisposition* upon the Organs of his Speech, which continuing about a Month upon him, not without Evident Proofs of his *Understanding*, and his *Heavenliness*, continuing firm with him to the last; at last, on Dec. 27. he went off, bringing up the Rear of our First Generation.

## Epitaphium.

*Bonorum Ultimus, at inter Bonos non Ultimus.*

## Mantissa

The Church of God is wrong'd, in that the Life of the Great *John Owen* is not written. He was by his Intention, so much a *New-England* Man, that a *New-English* Book affords no Improper Station for him. Let him that once would have chose to die among the Worthies of *New-England*, be counted worthy to live among them. The most Expressive *Memorials* of his Life, that we at *Boston* can yet procure, are Incribed on his Grave at *London*. These must be then Transcribed; Behold, the Language of his

## E P I T A P H.

Johannes Owen, S. T. P.

A Gro Oxoniens, Patre Insigni Theologo. Matre Pia Matriona, Oriundus:

Mortui



*Morum Elegantia, & Lepore Innocuo,*  
 Omnibus quibuscum conversatus est, *Gra-*  
*tissimus* :  
 Donorum pari, *Gratiarumque* Eminentia  
 Iis potissimum in *Pretio* habitus, & *Delicia,*  
 Quibus, sincera, *Cura* erat, *Cordis*; Religio :  
*Literis* natus, *Literis* innutritus, *To-*  
*tusque* Deditus,  
 Donec *Animata* plane evasit *Bibliotheca* :  
 Authoribus *Classicis*, quæ *Græcis*, quæ *Latinis*,  
 Sub *Edu. Sive* *Scholæ Private* *Oxonii* *Mo-*  
*deratore,*  
 Operam navavit satis *Felicem* ;  
*Feliciter* adhuc *Studiis Philosophicis*,  
 Magno sub *Barlœvio*, Coll. *Reginæ* id tempus  
*Socio*;  
 ( *Ædis Christi* ibidem, temporis *Decursu*, *Ipse* *Decanus*,  
 Et *quingennalis* *Academice Vice-Cancellarius* : )  
 Theologiæ demum longe *felicissimus* incubuit ;  
 Artibus  
*Pedisequis*, *Duce*, & *Auspice*, Sancto *Christi*  
*Spiritu*;  
 ( Cujus omnes, in *Partâ* à *Christo* *Redemptione*  
 Applicanda, *Partes* *Theologorum* *solus* *Ex-*  
*posuit* )  
 Triumque, quæ *Dolle* præsertim audiunt,  
 ( Alias præter *Orientalis* ) *Linguarum* *Peritus*;  
 Paginas *Sacras* *Inius*, & in *Cute*,  
*Spiritus*, & *Litera*, sibi habuit notissimas ;  
 In *Magnis* verò *Nascentis* *Ecclesiæ* *Luminibus*  
 Veratissimus ;  
 Primis longum *Degeneris* *Restitutoribus* neuti-  
 quam neglectis ;  
 Nec *melioris* *Notæ* *Scholasticis* *Contemptui*  
 habitis ;  
 Tam in *Palestrâ*, quam *Pulpito*, *Domi-*  
 natus est  
 In *Palestrâ* ; *Pontificios*, *Remonstrantes*, *Socinistas*,  
*Nostrosque*  
 In *Momentoso* *Justificationis* *Apice* *Novatur-*  
*entes*,  
 Scriptis *Nervosissimis* *Prostravit*, *Proculcavit* :  
 In *Pulpito*, maxime *Infirmi* *Corporis*,  
*Præsentis* minime *Infirmâ* :  
*Gestis*, *Theatricali* *procul* *Gesticulatione*,  
 Ad *Optimas* *Decoris* *Regulas* *Composito* :  
*Sermone*, à *Contempnibili* *remotissimo* ; *Canovo*,  
 Sed non *Stridulo* ; *Suavi*, sed *profusus* *Virili* ;  
 Et *Authoritatæ* quiddam *Sonante* :

*Pari*, si non & *Superiore*, *Animi* *Præsentia* ;  
 Concionum, quas, ad *Verbum*, *totas* *Chartis*  
 commisit,  
 Ne *verbum* quidem vel *carpitur*, & *stringente* *oculo*  
 Inter *Prædicandum* *Leſit* *ovis* :  
 Sed omnia, *Suo* *primùm* *Impressa* *altius* *Pectori*,  
*Auditorum* *Animis*, *Cordibusque*, potentius *ingessit* :  
 Nec *Orandi*, minus, quam *Perorandi*, *Donis* *In-*  
 structus ;  
 Ministri verè *Evangelici* *Omnes* *complevit* *Num-*  
 meros ;  
 Cultus & *Regiminis* *Instituti* ( unâ cum *Doctrinâ*  
*Revelatâ* )  
 Magnus *Ipsemet* *Zelotes*, & *Affertor* *strenuus* ;  
 Amplissima denique, cui, *Spiritus* *S. Eum* *præ-*  
*fecerat*, *Ecclesiæ*  
*Prudentissimis* *pariter*, ac *Vigilantissimus*  
*Pastor*.  
 Cujus *Prelustri* è *Multis* *Unum* *sufficiat* *Epita-*  
*phio*  
*Author* *Quadripartiti* in *Ep. ad* *Hebr. Commen-*  
*tarii*.  
 Peracto in *Terris* *Curſu*, & quod acceperat,  
 Ministerio,  
 Ad *Christi* in *Cælo* *Statum*, quem *Sero* *Vitz* *Ve-*  
 sere,  
*Clarius*, licet *eminis*, *Proſpectum* *Graphicè*  
*lineârat*,  
*Propius*, *Penitusque* *contuendum* *Anhelus*  
 Deceſſit.  
 Mensis *Augusti* ( *Non-Conformistis* id magis  
 adhuc *Fatali* ) *Die* *xxiv. Anno* *Sal.*  
*MDCLXXXIII. Ætatis* *LXVII.*

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*Epitaphium istud ab Indigno Symmista Compositum*  
*Uti* *Latius*, quam *ut* *infra* *breves*  
*Tabula* *Marmorea* *Cancellis* *clauderetur* ;  
*Ita* *etiam* *Angustius*, quam *ut* *Iustum*  
*Dri* *Admodum* *Reverendi* *adimpleret* *Characte-*  
*rem* ;  
*Nobiliorem*, quam *nervit*, *tortum* *est*,  
*Sedem*,  
 A *Fronte* *Operis* *Hujus* *Operosissimi*  
*Chartacei* *Marmereo* *Perenniori* *Monu-*  
*menti*.



Ὀμνησίαι. Διηγήματα: Sive, UTILES NARRATIONES.

THE  
 TRIUMPHS of the Reformed Religion in AMERICA:  
 OR, THE  
 LIFE of the Renowned *John Eliot*;  
 A  
 Person justly Famous in the Church of GOD;  
 NOT ONLY

As an Eminent Christian, and an Excellent Minister among the *English*;  
 but also, as a Memorable Evangelist among the *Indians* of New-England.

WITH

Some Account concerning the late and strange Success of the Gospel in those Parts of  
 the World, which for many Ages have lain buried in *Pagan Ignorance*.

Essay'd by COTTON MATHER.

Ὁ ὁ Θεὸς ὡς ὄντων, λαμπροτάτων ἔργων ἔ, ὑποπόρου δαγματων τὸ ἐλπί. παρ' ἑν ἑνὸς ἡ λήθης  
 συλλέμενος: i. e. Exultimavi, haud sine scelere fieri potuisse, ut factorum splendori  
 morum, & utilium Narrationum gloria, Oblivioni traderetur. Theodorit.

Blessed is that Servant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing.

The Third Part.

To the Right Honourable PHILIP Lord Wharton; a no less Noble, than  
 Aged Patron of Learning and Vertue.

May it please your Lordship,

IF it be considered that some *Evangelical* and *Apostolical* Histories of the New Testament, were by the Direction of the Holy Spirit himself, Dedicated unto a Person of Quality, and that the Noble Person address'd with *One* such Dedication, entertained it with *Reverent*ments that encouraged his dear *Lucius* to make a *Second*, the World will be satisfy'd that I do a thing but reasonable and agreeable, when unto a Narrative of many *Evangelical* and *Apostolical* Affairs, I presume to prefix the Name of one so excellent for Love to God, as your Lordship is known to be: And one upon this Account only, an unmeet Subject for the Praises of the obscure Pen which now writes, that *Quis Vituperat*? I do not, I dare not, so far intrude upon your Honour, as to ask your Patronage unto all the *New English* Principles and Practices, which are found in the Character of our Celebrated *Eliot*; for as the distance of a thousand Leagues, has made it impossible for me to attend the (*usual*) Orders and Manners of asking



first your Allowance for what I have openly entitled you unto; so the Renowned *Eliot* is gone beyond any Occasions for the greatest Humane Patronage.

But that which has procured unto your Lordship, the Trouble of this Dedication, is, my Desire to give you the Picture of one Aged Saint, lately gone to that General Assembly, which the Eternal King of Heaven, by the Advances of your own Age in the way of Righteousness, does quickly Summon your self unto the profound Respect which our *Eliot* had for your Honour, will doubtless be answered and requited with your own Value for the Memory of such a memorable Christian, Minister, and Evangelist; in as much as your Affections, like his, take not their Measures from these or those Matters of doubtful Disputation, but from such an universal Piety and Charity, and Holiness, as he was an Instance of.

No Man ever complained of it, that in the Works of *Chrysostom*, we find seven Orations not far asunder, in Commendation of *Paul*: Nor is it any Fault that I have now written One, in Commendation of a Man whom a *Pauline* Spirit had made Illustrious. In describing him, I have made but little Touches upon his Parentage and Family, because as the truly Great *Basil* excuses his Omission of those Things, in his Oration upon *Gordius* the Martyr, *Ecclesiastica tangamur supervacua dimittit*. But I have related those Things of him, which cannot but create a good Esteem for him, in the Breast of your Lordship, who are a faithful and Ancient Witness against those Distempers of the World, whereby (as the blessed *Sabaian* lamented it) *Cogimur esse Viles, ut Nobiles habeamur*: And raise the Sweetness of your Thoughts upon your Approaches; which may our God make both slow and sure, unto that State which cannot be moved. But if I may more ingeniously confess the whole Ground and Cause of this Dedication, I must own, 'Tis to pay a part of a Debt: A Debt under which you have laid my Country, when you did with your own Honourable Hand, present unto His Majesty, the same Account, which I have here again published, Concerning

the Success of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England.

My Lord,

In one *Eliot* you see what a People 'tis, that you have counted worthy of your Notice, and what a People 'tis, that with ardent Prayers bespeak the Mercies of Heaven for your Noble Family. Indeed it is impossible that a Country so full as New-England is, of what is truly Primitive, should not be exposed unto the bitterest Enmity and Calumny of those, that will strive to entangle the Church in a *Sardian* Unreformedness, until our Lord Jesus do thordly make them know, that he has loved, what they have hated, maligned, persecuted. But if the God of New-England have inclined any Great Personage, to intercede, or interpose, for the prevention of the Ruines which ill Men have designed for such a Country; or to procure for a People of an *Eliot's* Complexion in Religion, the undisturbed Enjoyment and Exercise of that Religion: It is a thing that calls for our most sensible Acknowledgments.

It is an odd Superstition which the Indians of this Country have among them, that they count it (on the Penalty of otherwise never prospering more) necessary for them, never to pass by the Graves of certain famous Persons among them, without laying and leaving some Token of Regard thereupon. But we hope, that all true Protestants, will count it no more than what is equal and proper, that the Land which has in it, the Grave of such a remarkable Preacher to the Indians, as our *ELIOT*, should be Treated with such a Love, as a *Jerusalem* uses to find from them that are to prosper.

Upon that Score then, let my Lord accept a Present, from, and for a remote Corner in the New World, where God is praised on your behalf; a small Present made by the Hand of a rude American, who has nothing to recommend him unto your Lordship, except this, That he is the Son of one whom you have admitted unto your Favours; and that he is ambitious to wear the Title of,

My LORD;

Your Lordship's most Humble,  
and most Obedient Servant,

COTTON MATHER.



# THE INTRODUCTION.

**T**WAS a very surprising as well as an undoubted Accident which happen'd with-in the Memory of Millions yet alive, when (as the Learned Hornius has given us the Relation), certain Shepherds upon Mount Nebo, following part of their straggling Flock, at length came to a Valley, the prodigious Depths and Rocks whereof, rendred it almost inaccessible; in which there was a Cave of inexpressible Sweetness, and in that Cave was a Sepulchre, that had very difficult Characters upon it. The Patriarchs of the Maronites thereabouts inhabiting, procured some Learned Persons to take Notice, and make Report of this Curiosity, who found the Inscription of the Grave-stone to be in the Hebrew Language and Letter; Moses, the Servant of the Lord.

The Jews, the Greeks, and the Roman Catholics thereabouts, were all together by the Ears, for the Possession of this Rority, but the Turks as quickly laid Claim unto it, and strongly guarded it. Nevertheless, the Jesuits found a way by Tricks and Bribes, to engage the Turkish Guards into a Conspiracy with them, for the transporting of the inclosed and renowned Ashes into Europe; but when they opened the Grave, there was no Body, nor so much as a Relick there. While they were under the Confusion of this Disappointment, a Turkish General came upon them, and cut them all to pieces; therewithal taking a Course never to have that place visited any more. But the Scholars of the Orient presently made this a Theme which they talk'd and wrote much upon: And whether this were the true Sepulchre of Moses, was a Question upon which many Books were published.

The World would now count me very absurd, if after this I should say, that I had found the Sepulchre of Moses, in America: But I have certainly here found Moses himself; we have had

among us, one appearing in the Spirit of a Moses, and it is not the Grave, but the Life of such a Moses, that we value our selves upon being the Owners of.

Having implored the Assistance and Acceptance of that God, whose Blessed Word has told us, The Righteous shall be had in everlasting Remembrance: I am attempting to write the Life of a Righteous Person, concerning whom all things, but the meanness of the Writer, invite the Reader to expect nothing save what is truly extraordinary. 'Tis the Life of One who has better and greater Things to be affirmed of him, than could ever be reported concerning any of those famous Men, which have been celebrated by the Pens of a Plutarch, a Pliny, a Laertius, an Eunapius, or in any Pagan Histories. 'Tis the Life of one whose Character might very agreeably be look'd for, among the Collections of a Dorotheus, or the Orations of a Nazianzen; or is worthy at least of nothing less than the exquisite Stile of a Melchior Adam, to eternize it.

If it be, as it is, a true Assertion, That the least Exercise of true Faith, or Love, towards God, in Christ, is a more glorious thing than all the Triumphs of a Caesar, there must be something very considerable, in the Life of one who spent several Scores of Years in such Exercises; and of one, in the mention of whose Achievements, we may also recount, that he fought the Devil in (once) his American Territories, till he had recovered no small Party of his old Subjects and Vassals out of his cruel Hands; it would be as unreasonable, as unprofitable, for Posterity to bury the Memory of such a Person in the Dust of that Obscurity and Oblivion, which has cover'd the Names of the Hero's, who dy'd before the Days of Agamemnon.



## PRELIMINARY I.

*The BIRTH, AGE, and FAMILY of Mr. ELIOT.*

**T**HE Inspired *Moser*, relating the Lives of those Anti Diluvian Patriarchs, in whom the Church of God, and Line of Christ was continued, through the first Sixteen hundred Years of Time, recites little but their *Birth*, and their *Age*, and their *Death*, and their *Sons* and *Daughters*. If those Articles would satisfy the Appetites and Enquiries of such as come to read the Life of our *Eliot*, we shall soon have dispatch'd the Work now upon our Hands.

The *Age*, with the *Death* of this Worthy Man, has been already terminated, in the Ninthieth Year of the present Century, and the Eighty sixth Year of his own Pilgrimage. And for his *Birth*, it was at a Town in *England*; the Name whereof I cannot presently recover, nor is it necessary for me to look back so far as the place of his *Nativity*; any more than 'tis for me to recite the *Vertues* of his *Parentage*, of which he said, *Vix ea nostra voco*: Tho' indeed the pious Education which they gave him, caus'd him in his Age, to write these Words: *I do see that it was a great Favour of God unto me, to season my first Times with the Fear of God, the Word, and Prayer.*

The *Atlantick Ocean*, like a River of *Lethe*, may easily cause us to forget many of the things that happened on the other side. Indeed the *Nativity* of such a Man, were an Honour worthy the Contention of as many *Places*, as laid their Claims unto the famous *Homer's*: But wherever *Places* may challenge a share in the Reputation of having enjoy'd the first *Breath* of our *Eliot*, it is *New England* that with most Right can call him *Hers*; his *best Breath*, and afterwards his *last Breath* was here; and here 'twas, that God bellow'd upon him *Sons* and *Daughters*.

He came to *New England* in the Month of *November*, A. D. 1631. among those blessed old Planters, which laid the Foundations of a remarkable Country, devoted unto the Exercise of the Protestant Religion, in its purest and highest Reformation. He left behind him in *England*, a Vertuous young Gentlewoman, whom he had purified and purposed a *Marriage* unto; and the coming hither the Year following, that *Marriage* was consummated in the Month of *October*, A. D. 1632.

This *Wife* of his *Youth* lived with him until she became to him also the *Staff* of his *Age*; and the left him not until about three or four Years before his own Departure to those Heavenly Regions, where they now together see *Light*.

She was a Woman very eminent, both for *Holiness* and *Usefulness*, and she excelled most of the *Daughters* that have done *vertuously*. Her Name was *Anne*, and *Gracious* was her Nature. God made her a rich Blessing, not only to her *Family*, but also to her *Neighbourhood*; and when at last she died, I heard and saw her Aged Husband, who else very rarely wept, yet now with Tears over the Coffin, before the Good People, a vast Confluence of which were come to her Funeral, say, *Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful Wife; I shall go to her, and she not return to me.* My Reader will of his own accord excuse me, from bestowing any further *Epitaphs* upon that *gracious* Woman.

By her did God give him six worthy Children, Children of a Character which may forever stop the Mouths of those *Antichristian Blaspheemers*, who have set a false Brand of *Disaffection* and *Infamy*, on the Offspring of a *Married Clergy*. His First-born was a Daughter, born *Sept. 17. A. C. 1633*. This Gentlewoman is yet alive, and one well approved for her *Piety* and *Gravity*. His next was a Son; born *Aug. 31. A. C. 1636*. He bore his *Father's Name*, and had his *Father's Grace*. He was a Person of notable Accomplishments, and a lively, zealous, acute, Preacher, not only to the *English* at *New Cambridge*, but also to the *Indians* thereabout. He grew so fast, that he was found ripe for Heaven, many Years ago; and upon his Death-bed uttered such penetrating things as could proceed from none, but one upon the Borders and Confines of *Eternal Glory*. 'Tis pity that so many of them are forgotten; but one of them, I think, we have cause to remember: *Well, (said he) my dear Friends; There is a dark Day coming upon New-England; and in so dark a Day, I pray how will you provide for your own Security! My Counsel to you is, get an Interest in the blessed Lord Jesus Christ; and that will carry you to the World's end.* His Third was also a Son, born *Decemb. 20. A. C. 1638*. him he call'd *Joseph*. This Person hath been a Pastor to the Church at *Guilford*. His Fourth was a *Samuel*, born *June 22. A. C. 1641*. who dy'd a most lovely young Man, eminent for Learning and Goodness, a *Fellow* of the College, and a *Candidate* of the Ministry. His Fifth was an *Aaron*, born *Feb. 19. A. C. 1643*. who tho' he dy'd very young, yet first manifested many good things towards the Lord God of *Israel*. His Last was a *Benjamin*, born *Jan. 29. A. C. 1646*. Of all these three, it may be said, as it was of *Maran*, *They dy'd before*



before their Father; but it may also be written over their Graves, *All these died in Faith.* By the pious Design of their Father, they were all Consecrated unto the Service of God, in the Ministry of the Gospel; but God saw meet rather to fetch them away, by a Death, which (therefore) I dare not call *Premature*, to glorify him in another and a better World. They all gave such Demonstrations of their Conversion to God, that the good old Man would sometimes comfortably say, *I have had six Children, and I bless God for his Free Grace, they are all either with Christ, or in Christ; and my Mind is now at rest concerning them.* And when some asked him, how he could bear the Death of such excellent Children, his humble Reply thereto was this, *My Desire was that*

*they should have served God on Earth; but if God will chuse to have them rather serve him in Heaven, I have nothing to object against it, but his Will be done!* His Benjamin was made the Son of his Right-Hand; for the Invitation of the good People at Roxbury, placed him in the same Pulpit with his Father, where he was his Assistant for many Years; there they had a Proof of him, that as a Son with his Father, he served with him in the Gospel. But his Fate was like that which the great Gregory Nazianzen describes in his Discourse upon the Death of his honourable Brother, his Aged Father being now alive and present; *My Father having laid up in a better World, a Rich Inheritance for his Children, sent a Son of his before, to take Possession of it.*

## PRELIMINARY II.

### Mr. Eliot's Early Conversion, Sacred Employment, and Just Removal into America.

BUT all that I have hitherto said, is no more than an entrance into the History of our Eliot. Such an *Enoch* as he, must have something more than these things recorded of him; his *Walk with God*, must be more largely laid before the World, as a thing that would bespeak us all to be Followers no less than we shall be Admirers of it.

He had not passed many Turns in the World, before he knew the meaning of a saving Turn from the Vanities of an Unregenerate State, unto God in Christ, by a true Repentance; he had the singular Happiness and Privilege of an early Conversion from the Ways, which Original Sin disposes all Men unto. One of the principal Instruments which the God of Heaven used in tingeing, and filling the Mind of this chosen Vessel, with good Principles, was that Venerable Thomas Hooker, whose Name in the Churches of the Lord Jesus, is, *As an Ointment poured forth*; even that Hooker, who having Angled many Scores of Souls into the Kingdom of Heaven, at last laid his Bones in our New-England; it was an Acquaintance with him, that contributed more than a little to the Accomplishment of our *Elisha*, for that Work unto which the most High designed him. His liberal Education, having now the Addition of Religion to direct it, and improve it, it gave such a Bias to his young Soul, as quickly discovered it self in very signal Instances. His first Appearance in the World after his Education in the University, was in the too difficult and unthankful but very necessary Employment of a School-Master, which Employment he discharged with a good Fidelity. And as this first Essay of his Improvement was no more Dif-

ference unto him, than it was unto the famous Hieron, Whitaker, Vines, and others, that they thus began to be serviceable; so it rather prepared him, for the further Service, which his Mind was now set upon. He was of worthy Mr. Thomas Wilson's Mind, that the calling of a Minister was the only one wherein a Man might be more serviceable to the Church of God, than in that of a School-Master: And with Melchior Adam, he reckoned, the Calling of a School-Master, *Puerovalentiam, ac Molestissimam quidem, sed Deo longe gratissimam Functionem.* Wherefore having dedicated himself unto God betimes, he could not reconcile himself to any lesser way of serving his Creator and Redeemer, than the Sacred Ministry of the Gospel; but alas, where should he have Opportunities for the Exercising of it? The Laudian, Grotian, and Arminian Faction in the Church of England, in the Prosecution of their Grand Plot, for the reducing of England unto a moderate sort of Popery, had pitched upon this as one of their Methods for it; namely, to creep as fast as they could, all the Learned, Godly, Painful Ministers of the Nation; and invent certain Shibboleths for the detecting and the destroying of such Men as were cordial Friends to the Reformation. 'Twas now a time when there were every day multiplied and imposed those unwarrantable Ceremonies in the Worship of God, by which the Conscience of our Confidate Eliot counted the second Commandment notoriously violated; 'twas now also a time, when some Hundreds of those Good People which had the Nick name of Puritans put upon them, transported themselves, with their whole Families and Interests, into



the Defarts of *America*, that they might here peaceably erect *Congregational Churches*, and therein attend and maintain all the pure Institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ; having the Encouragement of *Royal Charters*, that they should never have any Interruption in the Enjoyment of those *precious and pleasant things*. Here was a Prospect which quickly determined the devout Soul of our young *Eliot*, unto a Remove into *New-England*, while it was yet a *Land not sown*; he quickly lifted himself among those valiant Souldiers of the Lord Jesus Christ, who cheerfully encountered first the Perils of the *Atlantick Ocean*, and then the Fatigues of the *New-Englilh Wilderiness*, that they might have an undisturbed Communion with him in his Appointments here. And thus did he betimes procure himself the Consolation of having afterwards and for ever a Room in that Remembrance of God, *I remember thee, the Kindness of thy Youth, and the Love of thine Espousals, when thou wentest after me into the Wilderiness.*

On his first Arrival into *New-England*, he soon joined himself unto the Church at *Boston*;

'twas *Church-work* that was his Errand hither, Mr. *Wilson*, the Pastor of that Church, was gone back into *England*, that he might perfect the Settlement of his Affairs; and in his Absence, young Mr. *Eliot* was he that supplied his place. Upon the Return of Mr. *Wilson*, that Church was intending to have made Mr. *Eliot* his Colleague, and their Teacher; but it was diverted. Mr. *Eliot* had engaged unto a select Number of his Pious and Christian Friends in *England*, that if they should come into these Parts before he should be in the Pastoral Care of any other People, he would give himself to *Them*, and be for *Their Service*. It happened, that these Friends transported themselves hither, the Year after him; and chose their Habitation at the Town which they called *Roxbury*. A Church being now gathered at this place, he was in a little while *Ordained* unto the Teaching and Ruling of that Holy Society. So, 'twas in the Orb of that Church that we had him as a *Star fixed* for very near *Threescore Years*; it only remains that we now observe what was his *Magnitude* all this while, and how he performed his *Revolution*.

## PART I.

## Or, ELIOT as a CHRISTIAN.

## ARTICLE I.

## His Eminent PIETY.

SUCH was the Piety of our *Eliot*, that like another *Moses*, he had upon his Face a continual shine, arising from his uninterrupted Communion with the Father of Spirits. He was indeed a *Man of Prayer*, and might say after the *Psalms*, *I Prayer*, as being in a manner made up of it. Could the Walls of his Old *Study* speak, they would even Ravish us with a Relation of the many Hundred and Thousand fervent *Prayers* which he there poured out before the Lord. He not only made it his daily Practice to enter into that *Closet*, and shut his Door, and pray to his Father in Secret, but he would not rarely set apart whole Days for Prayer with Fasting, in secret Places before the God of Heaven. Prayer solemnized with Fasting was indeed so agreeable unto him, that I have sometimes thought he might justly inherit the Name of *Johanness Jejunator*, or *John the Faster*, which for the like Reason was put upon one of the Renowned Ancients. Especially, when there was any remarkable Difficulty before him, he took this way to encounter and overcome it; being of Dr. *Freston's* Mind, *That when we would have any great things to be accomplished,*

*the best Policy is to work by an Engine which the World sees nothing of.* He could say as the pious *Robertson* did upon his Death-bed, *I thank God, I have loved Fasting and Prayer, with all my heart!* If one would have known what that Sacred thing, *The Spirit of Prayer*, intends, in him there might have been seen a most luculent and Practical Exposition of it. He kept his Heart in a Frame for Prayer, with a marvellous Constancy; and was continually provoking all that were about him thereunto. When he heard any considerable News, his usual and speedy Reflection thereupon would be, *Brethren, let us turn all this into Prayer!* And he was perpetually jogging the *Wheel of Prayer*, both more privately in the Meetings, and more publicly in the Churches of his Neighbourhood. When he came to an House that he was intimately acquainted with, he would often say, *Come, let us not have a Visit without a Prayer; let us pray down the Blessing of Heaven on your Family before we go.* Especially when he came into a Society of Ministers, before he had sat long with them, they would look to hear him urging, *Brethren, the Lord*

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Jesus



*Jesus takes much notice of what is done and said among his Ministers when they are together; come, let us pray before we part!* And hence also, his whole *Breath* seemed in a sort made up of *Ejaculatory Prayers*, many fcores of which winged Messengers he dispatched away to Heaven, upon pious Errands every Day. By them he bespoke Blessings upon almost every Person or Affair that he was concerned with; and he carried every thing to God with some pertinent *Hosannah's* or *Hallelujah's* over it. He was a mighty and an happy Man, that had his *Quiver* full of these Heavenly *Arrows*! And when he was never so straitly besieged by Humane Occurrences, yet he fastned the Wishes of his devout Soul unto them, and very dexterously shot them up to Heaven over the head of all.

As he took thus delight in speaking to the Almighty God, no less did he in speaking of him; but in serious and savoury Discourses, he fill'd had his *Tongue like the Pen of a ready Writer*. The *Jesus* once at *Nola* made a no less profane than severe Order, *That no Man should speak of God at all*; but this Excellent Person almost made it an Order wherever he came, *to speak of nothing but God*. He was indeed sufficiently pleasant and witty in Company, and he was affable and facetious rather than morose in Conversation; but he had a Remarkable Gravity mixed with it, and a singular Skill of raising some *Holy Observation* out of whatever matter of Discourse lay before him; nor would he ordinarily dismiss any Theme without some Gracious, Divine, pithy Sentence thereupon. Doubtless, he imposed it as a Law upon himself, that he would leave something of God and Heaven, and Religion, with all that should come a near him; so that in all places, his Company was attended with Majesty and Reverence; and it was no sooner proper for him to speak, but like *Mary's* opened Box of Ointment, he fill'd the whole Room with the Perfumes of the *Graces* in his Lips, and the Christian Hearers tasted a greater sweetness in his well-seasoned Speeches, than the illustrious *Homer* ascrib'd unto the Orations of his Nestor.

*Whose Lip dropt Language than sweet Honey,*  
*Whose voice sweeter abundance.*

His Conferences were like those which *Tertullian* affirms to have been common among the Saints in his Days, *Ut qui sciret Dominum audire*, as knowing that the Ear of God was open to them all; and he managed his Rudder so as to manifest that he was bound Heaven-ward, in his whole Communication. He had a particular Art at *Spiritualizing* of Earthly Objects, and raising of high Thoughts from very mean things. As, once going with some Feebleness and Weariness up the Hill on which his Meeting House now stands, he said unto the Person that led him, *This is very like the way to Heaven, 'tis up Hill!* The Lord by his Grace fetches us up! And instantly spying a Bush near him,

he as nimbly added, *And truly there are Thorns and Briars in the way too!* Which Instance I would not have singled out from the many Thousands of his *Occasional Reflections*, but only that I might suggest unto the good People of *Roxbury*, something for them to think upon, when they are going up to the House of the Lord. It is enough, that as the Friend of the famous *Ursin* could profess that he never went unto him without coming away, *aut dolior aut melior*, either the wiser or the better from him; so, 'tis an acknowledgment which more than one Friend of our *Eliot's* has made concerning him, *I was never with him but I got, or might have got some good from him*.

And hearing from the great God, was an Exercise of like Satisfaction unto the Soul of this good Man, with speaking either to him, or of him. He was a mighty Student of the Sacred Bible; and it was unto him as his necessary food. He made the Bible his Companion, and his Counsellor, and the Holy Lines of Scripture more Enamoured him than the profane ones of *Tully*, ever did the famous *Italian Cardinal*. He would nor upon easy Terms, have gone one Day together, without using a Portion of the Bible as an Antidote against the infection of Temptation. And he would prescribe it unto others, with his *probatum est* upon it; as once particularly a pious Woman, vexed with a wicked Husband, complaining to him, *That bad Company was all the day still infesting of her House, and what should she do?* He advised her, *Take the Holy Bible into your Hand, when the bad Company comes, and you'll soon drive them out of the House*; the Woman made the Experiment, and thereby cleared her House from the Haunts that had molested it. By the like way 'twas that he cleared his Heart of what he was loth to have Nesting there. Moreover, if ever any Man could, he might pretend unto that Evidence of Uprightness, *Lord, I have loved the Habitation of thine House*; for he not only gave something more than his Presence there, twice on the Lord's Days, and once a Fortnight besides on the Lectures, in his own Congregation, but he made his weekly Visits unto the Lectures in the Neighbouring Towns; how often was he seen at *Boston*, *Charlstown*, *Cambridge*, *Dorchester*, waiting upon the Word of God, in Recurring Opportunities, and counting a Day in the Courts of the Lord better than a Thousand? It is hardly conceivable, how in the midst of so many Studies and Labours, as he was at home engaged in, he could possibly repair to so many Lectures abroad; and herein he aimed, not only at his own Education, but at the Countenancing and Encouraging of the Lectures which he went unto.

Thus he took heed, that he might Hear, and he took as much heed how he Heard; he set himself as in the Presence of the Eternal God, as the great Constantine used of old, in the Assemblies where he came, and said, *I will hear what God the Lord will speak*; he expressed a diligent attention, by a watchful and wakeful Posture, and



by turning to the Texts quoted by the Preacher; he expressed a suitable *Affection* by feeding on what was delivered, and accompanying it with Hands and Eyes devoutly elevated; and they whose good hap twas to go home with him, were sure of having another Sermon by the way, until their very Hearts burned in them. *Lactantius* truly said, *Non est vera Religio, quæ cum Templo relinquatur*; but our *Eliot* always carried much of Religion with him; from the House of God.

In a word, he was one, who *Liv'd in Heaven* while he was on Earth; and there is no more than pure Justice in our Endeavours that he should Live on Earth after he is in Heaven. We cannot say that we ever saw him walking any whither but he was therein walking with God; wherever he *sat*, he had God by him, and it was in the Everlasting Arms of God that he Slept at Night. Methoughts he a little discovered his Heavenly way of living, when walking one day in his Garden, he pluck'd up a Weed that he saw now and then growing there, at which a Friend pleasantly said unto him, *Sir, you tell us, we must be Heavenly-minded*; but he immediately reply'd, *It is true; and this is no Impediment unto that, for were I sure to go to Heaven to-morrow, I would do what I do to Day*. From such a Frame of Spirit it was that once in a Visit, finding a Merchant in his Counting House, where he saw Books of *Business*, only on his Table, but all his Books of Devotion on the Shelf, he gave this Advice unto him, *Sir, Here's Earth on the Table, and Heaven on the Shelf*; pray don't sit so much at the Table as altogether to forget the Shelf; let not Earth by any means thrust Heaven out of your mind.

Indeed I cannot give a fuller Description of him, than what was in a Paraphrase that I have heard himself to make upon that Scripture, *our Conversation is in Heaven*. I writ from him as he uttered it.

'Behold, said he, the Ancient and Excellent Character of a true Christian; 'tis that which Peter calls *Holiness* in all manner of Conversation; you shall not find a Christian out of the way of Godly Conversation. For, first, a Seventh part of our time is all spent in Heaven, when we are duly zealous for, and zealous on the Sabbath of God. Besides, God has written on the Head of the Sabbath Remembrance; which looks both forwards and backwards; and thus a good part of the Week will be spent in Sabbatizing. Well, but for the rest of our Time! Why, we shall have that spent in Heaven, e'er we have done. For, Secondly, we have many Days for both Fasting and Thanksgiving, in our Pilgrimage; and here are so many Sabbaths more. Moreover, Thirdly, we have our Lectures every Week; and pious People won't miss them, if they can help it. Furthermore, Fourthly, We

have our private Meetings wherein we pray, and sing, and repeat Sermons, and confer together about the things of God; and being now come thus far, we are in Heaven almost every Day. But a little farther, Fifthly, We perform Family Duties every Day; we have our Morning and Evening Sacrifices, wherein having read the Scriptures to our Families, we call upon the Name of God, and ever now and then carefully Catechize those that are under our Charge. Sixthly, We shall also have our daily Devotions in our Closets; wherein unto Supplication before the Lord, we shall add some serious Meditation upon his Word, a David will be at this Work no less than thrice a Day. Seventhly, We have likewise many scores of Ejaculations in a day; and these we have, like *Nehemiah*, in whatever place we come into. Eighthly, We have our Occasional Thoughts, and our Occasional Talks, upon Spiritual Matters; and we have our Occasional Acts of Charity, wherein we do like the Inhabitants of Heaven every day. Ninthly, In our Callings, in our Civil Callings, we keep up Heavenly Frames; we buy and sell, and toil; yea, we eat and drink, with some Eye both to the Command and the Honour of God in all. Behold, I have not now left an Inch of Time to be Carnal; it is all Engross'd for Heaven! And yet, left here should not be enough. Lastly, We have our Spiritual Warfare. We are always encountering the Enemies of our Souls, which continually raises our Hearts unto our Helper and Leader in the Heavens. Let no Man say, 'Tis impossible to live at this rate; for we have known some live thus; and others that have written of such a Life, have but spun a Web out of their own blessed Experiences. New-England has Example of this Life; tho' alas, 'tis to be lamented, that the Distractions of the World, in too many Professors, do becloud the Beauty of an Heavenly Conversation. In fine, our Employment lies in Heaven. In the Morning, if we ask, *Where am I to be to Day?* Our Souls must answer, *In Heaven*. In the Evening, if we ask, *Where have I been to Day?* Our Souls may answer, *In Heaven*. If thou art a Believer, thou art no Stranger to Heaven while thou livest; and when thou diest, Heaven will be no strange Place to thee; no, thou hast been there a Thousand times before.

In this Language have I heard him express himself; and he did what he said; he was a *Boniface* as well as *Benedict*; and he was one of those.

*Qui faciendo docent, quæ faciendæ docent.*

It might be said of him, as that Writer characterizes *Origen*, *Quemadmodum docuit, sic vixit, & quemadmodum vixit sic docuit.*



## ARTICLE II.

## His Particular Care and Zeal about the Lord's Day.

THIS was the *Piety*, this the *Holiness* of our *Eliot*, but among the many Instances in which his *Holiness* was remarkable, I must not omit his exact *Remembrance of the Sabbath Day, to keep it holy*.

It has been truly and justly observed, That our whole Religion fares according to our *Sabbaths*, that poor *Sabbaths* make poor *Christians*, and that a *Strictness* in our *Sabbaths* inspires a *Vigour* into all our other *Duties*. Our *Eliot* knew this, and it was a most *Exemplary Zeal* that he acknowledged the *Sabbath* of our Lord *Jesus Christ* withal. Had he been asked, *Servasti Dominicum?* He could have made a right *Christian* primitive Answer therunto. The *Sun* did not set, the *Evening* before the *Sabbath*, till he had begun his *Preparation* for it; and when the *Lord's Day* came, you might have seen *John* in the *Spirit*, every *Week*. Every *Day* was a *fort of Sabbath* to him; but the *Sabbath-day* was a *Kind*, a *Type*, a *Taft* of *Heaven* with him. He laboured, that he might on this *High Day*, have no *Words* or *Thoughts* but such as were agreeable therunto; he then allow'd in himself no *Actions*, but those of a *Raised Soul*. One should hear nothing dropping from his *Lips* on this *Day*, but the *Milk* and *Honey* of the *Country*, in which there yet remains a *Rest* for the *People of God*; and if he beheld in any *Person* whatsoever, whether old or young, any *Profanation* of this *Day*, he would be sure to bestow lively *Rebukes* upon it. And hence also unto the general Engagements of a *Covenant* with *God*, which 'twas his *Desire* to bring the *Indians* into, he added a particular *Article*, wherein they bind themselves, *mebquontamunai Sabbath, pahketeaunai tolsobke ponantamog*; i.e. *To Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy, as long as we live*.

The mention of this, gives me an Opportunity, not only to *Recommend* our *Departed Eliot*, but also to *Vindicate* another great Man, unto the *Churches* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*. The *Reverend* and *Renowned Owen* in his *Elaborate Exercitations* on the *Lord's Day*, had let fall such a *Passage* as this:

I judge, That the *Observation* of the *Lord's Day* is to be *Commenfurate* unto the *use* of our *natural Strength*, on any other *Day*; from *Morning* to *Night*. The *Lord's Day* is to be set apart unto the ends of an holy *Rest* unto *God*, by every one according as his *natural Strength* will enable him to employ himself in his *lawful Occupations* any other *Day* of the *Week*.

This *Passage* gave some scandal unto several very *Learned* and *Pious Men*; among whom,

our *Eliot* was one; whereupon with his usual *Zeal*, *Gravity* and *Sanctity*, he wrote unto the *Doctor*, his *Opinion* thereabout; who returned unto him an *Answer* full of *Respect*, some part whereof I shall here transcribe.

As to what concerns the *Natural Strength of Man* (saith he) Either I was 'under some Mistake in my *Expression*, or you seem to be so, in your *Apprehension*. I never thought, and I hope, I have not said, for I cannot find it, that the *Continuance of the Sabbath* is to be *commenfurate* unto the *Natural Strength of Man*, but only that it is an *Allowable Mean* of *Mens Continuance* in *Sabbath Duties*, which I suppose you will not deny, lest you should cast the *Consciences* of *Professors* into inextricable *Difficulties*.

When first I engaged in that *Work*, I intended not to have spoken one word about the *Practical Observation* of the *Day*; but only to have endeavoured the *Revival* of a *Truth*, which at present is despised and contemned among us, and strenuously opposed by sundry *Divines of the United Province*, who call the *Doctrine* of the *Sabbath*, *Egimentum Anglicanum*. Upon the *Desire* of some *Learned Men* in these *Parts*, it was, that I undertook the *Vindication* of it. Having now discharged the *Debt*, which in this matter I owed unto the *Truth* and *Church* of *God*, tho' not as I ought, yet with such a *Composition* as I hope, thro' the *Interposition* of our Lord *Jesus Christ* might find *Acceptance* with *God* and his *Saints*, I suppose I shall not again engage on that *Subject*.

I suppose there is scarce any one alive in the *World*, who hath more *Reproaches* cast upon him than I have; tho' hitherto *God* has been pleased in some measure to support my spirit under them. I still relieved my self by this. That my poor *Endeavours* have found *Acceptance* with the *Churches* of *Christ*: But my *holy*, *wife*, and *gracious Father*, sees it needful to try me in this matter also; and what I have received from you (which it may be contains not your *sense alone*) hath printed deeper, and left a greater *Impression* upon my *Mind*, than all the virulent *Revilings*, and false *Accusations* I have met withal, from my professed *verfaries*. I do acknowledge unto you, that I have a dry and barren *Spirit*, and I do heartily beg your *Prayers*, that the *Holy One* would, notwithstanding all my sinful *Provocations*, water me from above; but that I should now be apprehended to have given a *Wound* unto *Holiness* in the *Churches*, 'tis one of the saddest frowns in the *cloudy Brows* of *Divine Providence*.



The Doctrine of the Sabbath, I have asserted, tho' not as it should be done, yet as well as I could; the *Observation* of it in Holy Duties unto the utmost of the strength for them, which God shall be pleased to give us, I have pleaded for, the necessity also of a serious Preparation for it in sundry previous Duties, I have declared. But now to meet with severe Expressions—it may be 'tis the Will of God, that Vigour should hereby be given to my former

Discouragements, and that there is a Call in it, to surcease from these kinds of Labours.

I have transcribed the more of this Letter, because it not only discovers the concern which our *Eliot* had for the Sabbath of God, but also it may contribute unto the Worlds good Reception and Perusal of a *Golden Book* on that Subject, written by one of the most Eminent Persons which the English Nation has been adorned with.

## ARTICLE III.

*His Exemplary Mortification.*

THUS did *Eliot* endeavour to live unto God; but how much at the same time did he die unto all the World?

'Twere impossible to finish the lively Picture of this Pious and Holy *Eliot*, without some Touches upon that *Mortification*, which accompanied him all his Days; for never did I see a Person more mortify'd unto all the Pleasures of this Life, or more unwilling to maul the Wings of an Heaven-born Soul, in the dirty Puddles of carnal and sensual Delights. We are all of us compounded of those two things, the *Man*, and the *Beast*; but so powerful was the *Man*, in this Holy Person, that it kept the *Beast* every ty'd with a short Tedder, and suppressed the irregular Calculations of it. He became so nailed unto the *Cross* of the Lord Jesus Christ, that the Grandeurs of this World were unto him just what they would be to a dying *Man*; and he maintained an almost unparallel'd Indifference towards all the *Pomps*, which Mankind is too generally flattered and enchanted with.

The *Lust* of the *Flesh* he could not reconcile himself to the least pampering or indulging of: But he persecuted it with a continual Antipathy, being upon higher Principles than *Tully* was acquainted withal, of his Mind, *Non est dignus nomine hominis, qui unum diem totum velit esse in isto genere voluptatis*. The Sleep that he allowed himself, cheered him not of his Morning Hours; but he reckoned the Morning no less a Friend unto the *Graces*, than the *Muses*. He would call upon Students, *I pray look to it that you be Morning Birds*? And for many more than a score of Years before he died, he removed his Lodging into his Study, on purpose that being there alone, he might enjoy his early Mornings, without giving the Disturbance of the least noise to any of his Friends, whose Affections to him else might have been ready to have called, *Master, spare thyself*. The Meat upon which he lived was a *Cibus Simplex*, an homely but an wholesome Diet. Rich Varieties, costly Viands, and poyant Sauces, came

not upon his own Table, and when he found them on other Mens, he rarely tasted of them. One Dish, and a plain one, was his Dinner; and when invited unto a Feast, I have seen him sit Magnifying of God, for the Plenty which his People in this Wilderness were within a few Years arisen to; but not more than a Bit or two of all the Dainties taken into his own Mouth all the while. And for a Supper, he had learm'd of his loved and blessed Patron, old Mr. *Carton*, either wholly to omit it, or to make a small sup or two the utmost of it. The Drink which he still used was very small; he cared not for Wines or Drams, and I believe he never once in all his Life, knew what it was to feel so much as a noxious Fume in his Head, from any of them; good, clear Water was more precious, as well as more usual with him, than any of those Liquors with which Men do so frequently spoil their own Healths, while perhaps they drink those of other Men. When at a Strangers House in the Summer time, he has been entertained with a Glass, which they told him was, *Of Water and Wine*, he has with a complaisant Gravity reply'd unto this purpose, *Wine, tis a noble generous Liquor, and we should be humbly thankful for it; but as I remember, Water was made before it*. So abstemious was he; and he found, that *Cavere suavitatis istis*, his Abstinence had more Sweetness in it, than any of the *Sweets* which he abstained from; and so willing he was to have others partake with him in that Sweetness, that when he has thought the Countenance of a Minister has look'd, as if he had made much of himself, he has gone to him with that Speech, *Study Mortification Brother, Study Mortification!* And he made all his Addresses with a becoming Majesty.

The *Lust* of the Eye, he was put out by him in such a manner, that it was in a manner all one with him to be Rich or Poor. It could not be said of him, that he sought great things for himself; but what Estate he became Owner of, was from the Blessing of God upon the Husbandry and Industry of some in his Family, rather



rather than from any Endeavours of his own. Once when there stood several King of his own before his Door, his Wife, to try him, asked him, *Whose they were?* And the found that he knew nothing of them. He could not endure to plunge himself into secular Delights and Affairs, but accounted *Sacerdos in foro* as worthy of Calfication as *Mercator in Templo*; he thought that *Minister* and *Market man*, were not *Unisons*, and that the Earth was no Place for *Aaron's* Holy Mitre to be laid upon. It was the Usage of most Parishes in the Country, to have an annual Rate for the Maintenance of the Ministry, adjusted commonly by the Select Men of the Towns; which tho' it raised not any exuberant Salaries for the Ministers, who also seldom received all that the People had contracted for, nevertheless in many places it prevented fore Temptations from befalling those that were labouring in the Word and Doctrine; who must else often have experienced the Truth of *Luther's* Observation, *Duriter profecto & misere virocent Evangelii Ministri, si ex Libera populi contributione essent sustentandi*. However, for his part, he propounded that what Stipend he had, should be raised by *Contribution*; and from the same Temper it was, that a few Years before his Dissolution, being left without an Assistant in his Ministry, he pressed his Congregation to furnish themselves with another *Pastor*; and in his Application to them, he told them, *'Tis possible, you may think the burden of maintaining two Ministers may be too heavy for you; but deliver you from that fear; I do here give back my Salary to the Lord Jesus Christ, and now, Brethren, you may fix that upon any Man that God shall make a Pastor for you.* But his Church with an handsome Reply, assured him, That they would count his very Presence worth a Salary, when he should be so superannuated as to do no further Service for them.

And as for the *Pride of Life*, the *Life* of it was most exemplarily extinguish'd in him. The *Humility of his Heart* made him *Higher by the Head than the rest of the People*. His *Habit and Spirit* were both such as declared him to be among the *Lowly*, whom God has most *Respect* unto. His *Apparel* was without any Ornament, except that of *Humility*, which the Apostle Elegantly compares to a Knot of Comely Ribbons, in the Text where he bids us to be clothed with it; any other flanting Ribbons on those that came in his way he would ingeniously animad-

vert upon; and seeing some Scholars once, he thought a little too gaudy in their Cloaths, *Humilissimi, Juvencus, Humilissimi*, was his immediate Complement unto them. Had you seen him with his *Leathern Girdle* (for such an one he wore) about his Loins, you would almost have thought what *Herod* fear'd, That *John Baptist* was come to Life again. In short, he was in all Regards *A Nazarite* indeed; unless in this one, that long Hair was always very loathsome to him; he was an acute *Ramist*, but yet he professed himself a Lover of a *Trichotomy*. Doubtless, it may be lawful for us to accommodate the length of our Hair unto the modest Customs which vary in the Churches of God; and it may be lawful for them that have not enough of their own Hair for their own Health, to supply themselves according to the sober Modes of the Places they live. But the Apostle tells us, *Nature teaches us, that if a Man have long Hair, 'tis a Shame to him*; where, by *Nature* can be meant, no other than The difference of Sex; as the Word elsewhere is used.

Thus Mr. Eliot thought that for Men to wear their Hair with a Luxurious, Delicate, Famine Prolixity; or for them to preserve no plain Distinction of their Sex, by the Hair of their Head and Face; and much more, for Men thus to disfigure themselves with Hair that is None of their own; and most of all, for Ministers of the Gospel to ruffle it in Excesses of this kind; may prove more than we are well aware, displeasing to the Holy Spirit of God. The Hair of them that professed Religion, long before his Death, grew too long for him to swallow; and he would express himself continually with a boiling Zeal concerning it, until at last he gave over, with some Regret complaining, *The Lust is become Insuperable!* I know not whether that horrible Dittemper prevailing in some European Countries known by the Name of *Plica Polonica*, wherein the Hair of People matted into ugly and filthy Forms, like Snakes upon their Heads, which whosever cut off, presently fell blind or mad; I say, I know not whether this Disease was more odious in it self, than the sweeter, neater, but prolix Locks of many People were to our Eliot. He was indeed one *præcis moribus*, as well as *Antiqua fide*; and he might be allow'd somewhat even of *Severity* in this matter, on that account.



## ARTICLE IV.

## His Exquisite Charity.

HE that will write of *Eliot*, must write of his *Charity*, or say nothing. His *Charity* was a Star of the *First Magnitude* in the bright Constellation of his *Vertues*; and the Rays of it were wonderfully various and extensive.

His *Liberalty* to pious Uses whether publick or private, went much beyond the Proportions of his little Estate in the World. Many Hundreds of Pounds did he freely bestow upon the *Poor*; and he would, with a very forcible importunity, press his Neighbours to join with him in such Beneficences. 'Twas a marvellous *Alacrity* with which he embraced all Opportunities of relieving any that were miserable; and the good People of *Roxbury* doubtless, cannot remember (but the *Righteous God will*!) how often, and with what *Ardores*, with what *Arguments*, he became a Beggar to them for Collections in their Assemblies, to support such needy Objects, as had fallen under his Observation. The poor counted him their *Father*, and repaired still unto him, with a filial Confidence in their Necessities; and they were more than *seven or eight*, or indeed than so many *scores*, who received their *Portions* of his Bounty. Like that worthy and famous *English General*, he could not persuade himself, *That he had any thing but what he gave away*; but he drove a mighty Trade at such Exercises as he thought would furnish him with *Bills of Exchange*, which he hoped after many days to find the Comfort of; and yet after all, he would say like one of the most charitable Souls that ever lived in the World, *That looking over his Accounts, he could no where find the God of Heaven charged a Debtor there*. He did not put off his *Charity*, to be put in his *last Will*, as many who therein shew that their *Charity is against their Will*; but he was his own *Administrator*; he made his own Hands his *Executors*, and his own Eyes his *Overseers*. It has been remark'd, That liberal Men are often *long-lived Men*; so do they after many days find the *Bread* with which they have been willing to keep other Men alive. The great Age of our *Eliot* was but agreeable to this Remark; and when his Age had unfitted him for almost all Employments, and bereaved him of those Gifts and Parts which once he had been accomplished with, being asked, *How he did?* He would sometimes answer, *Alas, I have lost every thing; my Understanding leaves me, my Memory fails me, my Utterance fails me; but I thank God, my Charity holds out still; I find that rather grows than fails!* And I make no question, That at his Death, his happy Soul was received, and welcomed into the *everlasting Habitations*, by many scores got thither be-

fore him, of such as his *Charity* had been liberal unto.

But besides these more *Substantial Expressions* of his *Charity*, he made the Odours of that *Grace* yet more fragrant unto all that were about him, by that *Pietyfulness* and that *Peaceableness*, which render'd him yet further Amiable. If any of his Neighbourhood were in distress, he was like a *Brother born for their Adversity*; he would visit them, and comfort them with a most *Fraternal Sympathy*; yea, 'tis not easy to recount how many whole Days of *Prayer and Fasting* he has got his Neighbours to keep with him, on the Behalf of those whose Calamities he found himself touch'd withal. It was an extreme Satisfaction to him, that his Wife had attained unto a considerable Skill in *Physick and Chyrurgery*, which enabled her to dispense many safe, good, and useful Medicines unto the *Poor* that had occasion for them; and some Hundreds of Sick and Weak and Maimed People owed Praises to God, for the Benefit, which therein they freely received of her. The good Gentleman her Husband, would still be casting *Oyl* into the *Flame* of that *Charity*, wherein the was of her own accord abundantly forward thus to be *doing of good unto all*; and he would urge her to be serviceable unto the worst *Enemies* that he had in the World. Never had any Man fewer Enemies than he! But once having delivered something in his Ministry, which displeased one of his Hearers, the Man did passionately abuse him for it, and this both with *Speeches* and with *Writings*, that reviled him. Yet it happening not long after, that this Man gave himself a very dangerous *Wound*, Mr. *Eliot* immediately sends his Wife to cure him, who did accordingly. When the Man was well he came to thank her; but she took no Rewards; and this good Man made him stay and eat with him, taking no notice of all the Calumnies with which he had loaded him; but by this Carriage he mollified and conquered the *Stomach* of his Reviler.

He was also a great Enemy to all *Contention*, and would ring aloud *Courfeu-Bell*, wherever he saw the *Fires* of Animosity. When he heard any Ministers complain, that such and such in their Flocks were too difficult for them, the strain of his Answer still was, *Brother, Compas them!* And *Brother, Learn the meaning of those three little Words, Bear, Forbear, Forgive*. Yea, his Inclinations for *Peace*, indeed sometimes almost made him to sacrifice *Right* it self. When there was laid before an Assembly of Ministers a bundle of Papers, which contained certain Matters of Difference and Contention, between

some



some People which our *Eliot* thought should rather unite, with an *Amnesty* upon all their former Quarrels, (with some Imitation of what *Constantine* did upon the like occasion) hastily threw the Papers into the Fire before them all, and with a Zeal for Peace as hot as that Fire, said immediately, *Brethren, wonder not at what I have done, I did it on my knees this Morning, before I came among you.* Such an Excess (if it were one) flowed from his Charitable Inclinations to be found among those *Peace makers*, which by following the Example of that Man who is *our Peace*, come to be called, *The Children of God*. Very worthily might he be called an *Irenæus*, as being all for *Peace*; and the Commendation which *Epiphanius* gives unto the Ancient of that *Name*, did belong unto our *Eliot*, he was a *most Blessed* and a *most Holy Man*. He disliked all sorts of *Bravery*; but yet with an ingenious Note upon

the Greek Word in *Col. 3. 15.* he propounded, *That Peace might brave it among us.* In short, wherever he came, it was like another old *John*, with solemn and earnest Periwawises to *love*, and when he could say little else, he would give that Charge, *My Children, love one another!*

Finally, 'Twas his *Charity* which disposed him to continual *Appreciations* for, and *Benedictions* on those that he met withal; he had an *Heart* full of good *Wishes*, and a *Mouth* full of kind *Blessings* for them. And he often made his *Expressions* very wittily agreeable to the Circumstances which he saw the Persons in. Sometimes when he came into a *Family*, he would call for all the Young People in it, that so he might very *Distinctly* lay his Holy Hands upon every one of them, and bespeak the Mercies of Heaven for them all.

#### ARTICLE V.

##### *Some Special Attainments, that were the Effects of his Piety and Charity.*

**B**UT what was the Effect of this Exemplary *Piety* and *Charity* in our *Eliot*? It will be no wonder to my Reader, if I tell him, That this good Man walked in the *Light of God's Countenance all the day long*. I believe he had a continual Assurance of the Divine Love, marvellously Sealing, Strengthening, and Refreshing of him, for many Lustrums of Years before he died; and for this Cause, the *Fear of Death* was extirpated out of his Heavenly Soul, more than out of most Men alive. Had our Blessed *Jesus* at any time sent his Waggons to fetch this old *Jacob* away, he would have gone without the least Reluctancies. Labouring once under a *Fever* and *Ague*, a Visitor asked him, *How he did?* And he reply'd, *Very well, but anon I expect a Paroxysm.* Said the Visitor, *Sir, fear not;* but unto that he answered, *Fear! No, no, I beent afraid, I thank God, I beent afraid to die!* Dying would not have been any more to him, than Sleeping to a weary Man.

And another Excellency, which accompanied this Courage and Comfort in him was, *A wonderful Resignation to the Will of God in all events.* There were fore *Afflictions* that sometimes beset him; especially when he follow'd some of his hopeful and worthy Sons two or three desirable Preachers of the Gospel, to their Graves. But he sacrificed them, like another *Abraham*; with such a sacred Indifference, as made all the Spectators to say, *This could not be done without the Fear of God.* Yea, he bore all his Trials with an admirable Patience, and seemed loth to have any *Will* of his own, that should not be wholly melted and moulded into the *Will* of his

Heavenly Father. Once being in a Boat at Sea, a larger Vessel unhappily over run, and over set that little one which had no small concerns, because *Eliot's* in the Bottom of it; he immediately sunk without any Expectation of ever going to Heaven any other way; and when he imagined that he had but one Breath more to draw in the World, it was this, *The Will of the Lord be done!* But it was the *Will of the Lord*, that he should survive the danger; for he was rescued by the help that was then at hand, and he that had long been like *Moses* in every thing else, was now drawn out of the Waters. Which gives me opportunity to mention one Remarkable that had some Relation hereunto. This Accident happened in the time of our *Indian Wars*, when some furious *English* People that clamoured for the Extirpation of the *Praying Indians*, which were in Subjection unto us, as well as the *Pagan Indians* that were in Hostility against us, vented a very wicked Rage at our Holy *Eliot*, because of his Concernment for the *Indians*, and one profane Monster hearing how narrowly Mr. *Eliot* escap'd from Drowning, 'tis said, he wish'd this Man of God had then been Drowned. But withing a few Days, that woful Man by a strange Disaster, was Drowned in that very place where Mr. *Eliot* had received his Deliverance.

There was indeed a certain *Health of Soul* which he arriv'd unto; and he kept in a blessed measure clear of those *Distempers* which too often disorder the most of Men. But the God of Heaven favoured him with something that was yet more *Extraordinary!* By getting and



and keeping near to God, and by dwelling under the Shadow of the Almighty, he contracted a more *exquisite sense* of Mind, than what is usual among other Professors of Christianity; he sometimes felt a *lively touch* of God upon his refined and exalted Spirit, which were not in any paper of ours *lausful or easy* to be uttered; and he was admitted unto a singular *Familiarity* with the *Holy One of Israel*. Hence 'twas, that as Bodies of a rare and fine Constitution, will forebode the Changes of the Weather, so the sublimed Soul of our *Eliot* often had strange *Forebodings* of things that were to come. I have been astonished at some of his *Predictions*, that were both of a more *Personal*, and of a more general Application, and were follow'd with exact Accomplishments. If he said of any Affair, *I cannot bless it!* it was a worse Omen to it, than the most inauspicious Prefages in the World; but sometimes after he had been with God in Prayer about a thing, he was able successfully to foretell, *I have set a mark upon it, it will do well!* I shall never forget, That when *England* and *Holland* were plunged into the *unhappy War*, which the more sensible Protestants every where had but sorrowful Apprehensions of, our *Eliot* being in the height and heat of the War, privately asked, *What News we might look for next?* Answered unto the Suprize of the Enquirer, *Our next News will be, a Peace between the two Protestant Nations, God knows, I pray for it every Day; and I am verily persuaded, we shall hear of it speedily!* And it came to pass accordingly.

It is to be confessed, That the written Word of God, is to be regarded as the perfect and only Rule of our Lives; that in all Articles of Religion, if Men *speak not according to this Word*, there is *no light in them*; and that it is no warrantable or convenient thing for Christians ordinarily to look for such Inspirations as directed the *Prophets* that were the Pen-men of the Scriptures. Nevertheless, there are some uncommon *Instances* of Communion and Fri-

tion, which in our Days the Sovereign God here and there favours a good Man withal; and they are very *Heavenly Persons*, Persons well purify'd from the *Faculties* of Sensuality, and Persons better purged from the *Leaven* of Envy and Malice, and intolerable Pride, than usually those vain Pretenders to Revelations, the *Quakers* are, that are made Parallels of these Divine Daunties. Now such an one was our *Eliot*; and for this, *worthy to be had in Everlasting Remembrance*.

It would not be improper, under this Title to lodge the singular and surprizing Successes of his *Prayers*! For they were such, that in our Distresses we still repair'd unto him, under that Encouragement, *He is a Prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live*. I shall single out but one, from the many that might be mentioned.

There was a Godly Gentleman of *Charlston*, one Mr. *Foster*, who with his Son, was taken Captive by *Turkish Enemies*. Much Prayer was employed, both privately and publicly, by the good People here, for the Redemption of that Gentleman; but we were at last informed, that the *Bloody Prince*, in whose Dominions he was now a Slave, was resolved that in his Life-time no Prisoner should be released; and so the Distressed Friends of this Prisoner now concluded, *Our Hope is lost!* Well, upon this, Mr. *Eliot*, in some of his next Prayers, before a very solemn Congregation, very broadly beg'd, *Heavenly Father, work for the Redemption of thy poor Servant Foster, and if the Prince which detains him will not, as they say, dismiss him as long himself lives, Lord, we pray thee to kill that Cruel Prince, kill him, and glorify thy self upon him*. And now behold the Answer: The poor Captiv'd Gentleman quickly returns to us that had been mourning for him as a lost Man, and brings us *News*, that the Prince which had hitherto held him, was come to an *Untimely Death*, by which means he was now set at Liberty.

## PART II.

## Or, ELIOT as a MINISTER.

## ARTICLE I.

*His Ministerial Accomplishments.*

THE Grace of God, which we have seen so illustriously Endowing and Adorning of our *Eliot*, as well qualify'd him for, as dispos'd him to the Employment wherein he spent about Six Decades of his Years; which was, *The Service of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Ministry*

*of the Gospel*. This was the Work to which he apply'd himself; and he undertook it, I believe, with as Right *Thoughts* of it, and as *Good Ends* in it, as ever any Man in our Days was act'd with. He look'd upon the Conduct of a Church, as a thing no less *Dangerous* than Im-

A a a a *portant*.



portant, and attended with so many Difficulties, Temptations, and Humiliations, as that nothing but a Call from the Son of God, could have encouraged him unto the Succession of it. He saw that *Flesh and Blood* would find it no very pleasant thing, to be oblig'd unto the Oversight of a Number, that by a solemn Covenant should be list'd among the *Voluntiers* of the Lord Jesus Christ; that it was no easy thing to feed the Souls of such a People, and of the Children and the Neighbours, which were to be brought into the same *Sheepfold* with them; to bear their manners with all Patience, not being by any of their Infirmities discouraged from *Teaching* of them, and from *Watching and Praying* over them; to value them highly as the *Flock* which God has purchased with his own Blood, notwithstanding all their Miscarriages; and in all to examine the *Rule of Scripture* for the Warrant of whatever shall be done; and to remember the *Duty of Judgment*, wherein an account must be given of all that has been done; having in the mean time no Expectation of the Riches and Grandeurs which accompany a worldly *Domination*. It was herewithal his Opinion, That (as the great *Owen* expresses it) notwithstanding all the countenance that is given to any Church by the publick Magistracy, yet whilst we are in this World, those who will faithfully discharge their Duty, as Ministers of the Gospel, shall have need to be prepared for Sufferings; and it was in a sense of these things that he gave himself up to the sacred Ministry. A Stranger to *Regeneration* can be but poorly accomplished, for such a Ministry; very truly says the incomparable *Asted*, *Impi quidam Homines egregie videntur callere in theologia, revera tamen illa Cognitio Rerum Theologicarum est æthiops, quia fieri non potest ut Cognitio vere Theologica, habitet in Corde non Theologo*: And however God may prosper the Sermons of such a Man for the Advantage of his Church: However the Building of the Ark may be help'd on by such Carpenters as perish in the Flood; and the Tyrians may do some Work about the Temple, who arrive to no Worship in the Inner-Courts thereof, and as *Austin* expressed it, a *Stone-Cutter* may convey Water into a Garden, without having himself any advantage of it; Nevertheless, the Unsanctify'd Minister, how Gifted, how Able forever he may be, must have it still said unto him, *Thou lackest one thing!*

And that *One Thing* our *Eliot* had. But the *One Thing* was not *All!* As indeed, it would not have been enough. God furnished him with a good measure of *Learning* too, which made him capable to divide the Word aright. He was a most Acute *Grammarian*; and understood very well, the Languages which God first wrote his Holy Bible in. He had a good Insight into all the other *Liberal Arts*, and made little Systems of them, for the use of certain *Indians*, whose exacter Education he was desirous of. But, above all, he had a most eminent Skill in *Theology*; and that which profane Scoffers reproached, as the *Disgrace* of the Blessed *Atling*, all of whose Works always weigh down the purest Gold, was the Honour of our *Eliot*, namely to be *Scripturarius Theologus*, or *One mighty in the Word*; which enabled him to convince *Gainsayers*, and on many occasions to shew himself, *A Workman that needed not be ashamed*.

In short, He came in some Degree, like another *Bezaleel*, or *Aholiab*, unto the Service of the *Tabernacle*. And from one Particularity in that part of his Learning, which lay in the Affairs of the *Tabernacle*, it was, that in a little Book of his we have those Lines, which for a certain Cause I now transcribe; Oh that the Lord would put it (says he) into the Heart of some of his Religious and Learned Servants, to take such pains about the Hebrew Language, as to fit it for universal Use! Considering that above all Languages spoken by the Lip of Man it is most capable to be enlarged, and fitted to express all things, and Motions, and Notions, that our Humane Intellect is capable of in this mortal Life; considering also, that it is the Invention of God himself; and what one is fitter to be the universal Language, than that which it pleased our Lord Jesus to make use of, when he spake from Heaven unto Paul!

In fine, Tho' we have had Greater Scholars than he, yet he hath often made me think of Mr. Samuel Ward's Observation. In observing I have observed and found, that divers Great Clerks have had but little Fruit of their Ministry, but hardly any truly zealous Man of God (bo' of Lesser Gifts) but have had much Comfort of their Labours in their own, and bordering Parishes; being in this likened by Gregory, to the Iron on the Smiths Anvil, sparkling round about.



## ARTICLE II.

*His Family-Government.*

THE Apostle *Paul*, reciting and requiring Qualifications of a *Gospel-Minister*, gives Order, that he be *The Husband of one Wife*, and *one that ruleth well his own House*, having his *Children in subjection with all gravity*. It seems, that a Man's Carriage in his own House is a part, or at least a *sign*, of his due Deportment in the House of God; and then, I am sure, our *Eliot*'s was very Exemplary. That *one Wife* which was given to him truly from the Lord, he loved, prized, cherished, with a *Kindness* that notably represented the Compassion which he (thereby) taught his Church to expect from the Lord Jesus Christ; and after he had lived with her for more than half an Hundred Years, he followed her to the Grave with *Lamentations* beyond those, which the Jews from the figure of a Letter in the Text, affirm, that *Abraham* deplored his aged *Sarah* with; her Departure made a deeper Impression upon him than what any common Affliction could. His whole Conversation with her, had that *Sweetness*, and that *Gravity* and *Modesty* beautifying of it, that every one called them *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*. His Family was

a little *Bethel*, for the Worship of God constantly and exactly maintained in it; and unto the daily Prayers of the Family, his manner was to prenex the Reading of the *Scripture*; which being done, 'twas also his manner to make his young People to chuse a certain Passage in the Chapter, and give him some Observation of their own upon it. By this Method he did mightily *sharpen and improve*, as well as *try*, their Understandings, and endeavour to make them *wise unto Salvation*. He was likewise very strict in the Education of his Children, and more careful to mend any error in their Hearts and Lives, than he could have been to cure a *Blemish* in their Bodies. No *Exorbitancies* or *Extravagancies* could find a Room under his Roof, nor was his House any other than a *School of Piety*; one might have there seen a perpetual mixture of a *Spartan* and a *Christian* Disciple. Whatever Decay there might be upon *Family-Religion* among us, as for our *Eliot*, we knew him, that he would command his Children, and his Household after him, that they should keep the Way of the Lord.

## ARTICLE III.

*His Way of Preaching.*

SUCH was he in his *lesser Family*: And in his *greater Family*, he manifested still more of his Regards to the Rule of a *Gospel-Ministry*. To his Congregation, he was a *Preacher* that made it his Care, to give everyone their Meat in due Season. It was Food and not Froth, which in his publick Sermons, he entertained the Souls of his People with, he did not *surfe* them with empty and windy Speculations, or with such things as *Animum non dant, quia non habent*; much less did he kill them with such *Poyson* as is too commonly expoted by the *Arminian* and *Socinian* Doctors that have too often sat in *Moses*'s Chair. His way of Preaching was very plain; so that the very Lambs might wade into his Discourses on those Texts and Themes, wherein *Elephants* might swim; and herewithal, it was very powerful, his Delivery was always very graceful and grateful; but when he was to use reproofs and warnings against any *Sin*, his Voice would rise into a *Warmth* which had in it very much of *Energy* as well as *Decency*; he would sound the *Trumpets* of

God against all *Vice*, with a most penetrating Liveliness, and make his Pulpit another Mount *Sinai*, for the Flashes of Lightning therein displayed against the Breaches of the Law given upon that *Burning Mountain*. And I observed, that there was usually a special Fervour in the Rebukes which he bestowed upon *Carnality*, a carnal Frame and Life in Professors of Religion; when he was to brand the Earthly-mindedness of *Church-Members*, and the Allowance and the Indulgence which they often gave unto themselves in sensual Delights, here he was a right *Boanerges*; he then spoke, as 'twas said one of the Ancients did, *Quot verba tot Fulmina*, as many *Thunderbolts* as Words.

It was another Property of his Preaching, that there was evermore much of CHRIST in it; and with *Paul*, he could say, *I determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ*; having that Blessed Name in his Discourses, with a Frequency like that, with which *Paul* mentions it in his *Epistles*. As 'twas noted of *Dr. Bodley*, that whatever Subject he were upon, in the Ap-



plication still his Use of it would be, to drive Men unto the Lord Jesus Christ; in like manner, the Lord Jesus Christ was the Loadstone which gave a touch to all the Sermons of our *Eliot*; a Glorious, Precious, Lovely Christ was the Point of Heaven which they still verged unto. From this Inclination it was, that altho' he Printed several English Books before he dy'd, yet his Heart seemed not so much in any of them, as in that serious and favourite Book of his, Entituled, *The Harmony of the Gospels, in the Holy History of Jesus Christ*. From hence also 'twas, that he would give that Advice to young Preachers, *Pray let there be much of Christ in your Ministry*; and when he had heard a Sermon, which had any special Relish of a Blessed Jesus in it, he would say thereupon, *O blessed be God, that we have Christ so much and so well preached in poor New-England!*

Moreover, he lik'd no Preaching, but what had been well studied for; and he would very much commend a Sermon which he could per-

ceive had required some good Thinking and Reading in the Author of it. I have been present, when he has unto a Preacher then just come home from the Assembly with him, thus exprest himself, *Brother, there was Oyl required for the Service of the Sanctuary; but it must be beaten Oyl; I praise God, that I saw your Oyl so well beaten to day; the Lord helps us always by good Study to beat our Oyl; that there may be no knots in our Sermons left undissolved, and that there may a clear light be thereby given in the House of God!* And yet he likewise look'd for something in a Sermon beside and beyond the meer Study of Man; he was for having the Spirit of God, breathing in it and with it; and he was for speaking these things, from those Impressions and with those Affections, which might compel the Hearer to say, *The Spirit of God was here!* I have heard him complain, *It is a sad thing, when a Sermon shall have that one thing, The Spirit of God wanting in it.*

## ARTICLE IV.

## His Cares about the Children of his People.

**B**UT he remembered, that he had Lambs in his Flock, and like another David he could not endure to see the Lion seize upon any of them. He always had a mighty concern upon his Mind for little Children; 'twas an Affectionate Stroke in of the little Papers which he published for them, *Sure Christ is not willing to lose his Lambs*; and I have cause to remember with what an hearty, fervent, zealous Application, he address'd himself, when in the Name of the Neighbour Pastors and Churches he gave me, *The Right Hand of their Fellowship*, at my Ordination, and said, *Brother, Art thou a Lover of the Lord Jesus Christ? Then, I pray Feed his Lambs.*

One thing whereof he was very desirous for poor Children, was the Covenanting of them; he was very solicitous, that the Lambs might pass under the Lord's Tything Rod, and be brought under the Bond of the Covenant. He very openly and earnestly maintained the cause of Infant-Baptism, against a sort of Persons risen since the Reformation, (among which indeed there are many godly Men, that were dear to the Soul of our *Eliot*) who forget that in the Gospel Church-state as well as in the Jewish, *The Promise is to Believers and their Children*: And are unwilling to reckon Children among the Disciples of Jesus Christ: Or to grant, *That of such is the Kingdom of Heaven*: Or to know, *That the most undoubted Records*

of Antiquity affirm Infant Baptism to have been an Usage in all the Primitive Churches; That even before the early Days of Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Basil, Athanasius, Epiphanius, in the Greek, and Ambrose, Jerom, Austin, in the Latin Church, all of which give Glorious Testimonies for Infant Baptism, even Cyprian, before these assures us, that in his Days there was no doubt of it; and Origen before him could say, *'Twas from the Apostles that the Church took up the Baptism of Infants*; and Clemens Romanus before him could say, *That Children should be Recipients of the Discipline of Christ*, besides what plain Evidence we have in *Irenaeus* and *Iustin Martyr*; and that the very Arguments with which some of the Ancients did superstitiously advise the Delay of Baptism, do at the same time testify the Divine Right of Infants in it. Our *Eliot* could by no means look upon the Infants of Godly Men; as *Unboly*, and *Unbelievers*, and unfit Subjects to have upon them a Mark of Dedication to the Lord.

Wherefore, when there was brought among us a Book of Pious Mr. Norcor's, whereby some became disposed to, or confirmed in, a Prejudice against Pædo Baptism, it was not long before Mr. *Eliot* published a little Answer therunto, the first Lines whereof presently discover what a Temper he writ it with; says he, *I think the Author is a Godly, though Erring Brother; but he acts the Cause of a Roaring Lion,*



who by all crafty ways, seeketh to devour the poor Lambs of the Flock of Christ. And to he goes on to plead the Cause of them that cannot speak for themselves. No Man could entertain a Person of a different Perswasion from himself, with more Sweetness and Kindness than he, when he saw, *Alikind Christ*, or the Fear of God prevailing in them; he could uphold a most intimate Correspondence with such a Man, as Mr. Jessey, as long as he lived; and yet he knew how to be an Hammer upon their unhappy Errors.

But having once Baptized the Children of his Neighbours, he did not as too many Ministers do, think, that he had now done with them. No, another thing wherein he was very laborious for poor Children was, the *Catechizing* of them; he kept up the great Ordinance of *Catechizing*, both publicly and privately, and spent in it a World of time. About the end of the *Second Century*, before there had in the least begun to start up *New Officers* in the Church of God, we find there were Persons called unto the Office of *Publick Teaching*, who were not Pastors, nor Rulers, not called unto the Administration of other Ordinances; those in the Church of *Alexandria*, were of a special Remark and Renown for their Abilities this way; and their Employment was to *Explain and Defend* the Principles of the Christian Religion, unto all with whom they could be concerned. Here was the *Catechist*, with reference unto whom the Apostle says, *Let the Catechized communicate unto him in all good things*. Now tho' some think, a *Teacher* purely as such, hath no Right unto further Church Administrations, any more than the *Rabbi's* or *Doctors* among the Jews, had to *Offer Sacrifices in the Temple*; yet, he who is called to be a *Teacher*, may at the same time also be called to be an *Elder*, and being now a *Teaching Elder*, he becomes interested in the whole Government of the Church, he has the Power of all Sacred Administrations. 'Tis the latter and more compleat and perfect Character, which the Churches of *New-England* have still acknowledged in their *Teachers*; and such a *Teaching Elder* did our *Eliot* remember himself to be. He thought himself under a particular Obligation to be that *Officer*, which the Apostle calls in 1 Cor. 4. 15. *An Instructor of the Young*; nor was he ashamed, any more than some of the Worthiest Men among the Ancients were, to be called, *A Catechist*. He would observe upon Joh. 21. 15. *That the care of the Lambs, is one third part of the charge over the Church of God*. It would be incredible if I should relate what pains he took to keep up the Blessed *Echo's* of Truth, between himself and the young People of his Congregation; and what Prudence he used, in suiting of his *Catechisms* to the Age and Strength of his little *Catechumens*. But one thing I must observe, which is, That altho' there may be (as one has computed) no less than five Hundred *Catechisms* extant, yet Mr. *Eliot* gave himself the Travail

of adding to their Number, by composing of some further *Catechisms*, which were more particularly designed as an Antidote for his own People, against the Contagion of such Errors as might threaten any peculiar Danger to them. And the *Effect and Success of this Catechizing*, bore Proportion to the indefatigable Industry with which he prosecuted it; it is a well principled People that he has left behind him. As when certain *Jesuits* were sent among the *Waldenses* to corrupt their Children, they returned with much Disappointment and Confusion, because the Children of seven Years old were well-principled enough to encounter the most Learned of them all; so, if any *Seducers* were let loose to *walk* it among the good People of *Roxbury*, I am confident, they would find as little Prey in that well-instructed Place, as in any part of all the Country; no *Civil Penalties* would signify so much to save any People from the Snares of *busy Hereticks*, as the unwearied *Catechizing* of one *Eliot* has done to preserve his People from the Gangren of ill Opinions.

There is a Third Instance of his Regards to the Welfare of the poor Children under his Charge; and that is, his perpetual Resolution and Activity to support a good School in the Town that belond' unto him. A Grammar-School he would always have, upon the Place, whatever it cost him; and he importun'd all other Places to have the like. I can't forget the *Arduous* with which I once heard him pray, in a Synod of these Churches, which met at *Boston* to consider, *How the Misdemeanors which were among us might be prevented*; I say, with what Fervour he uttered an Expression to this purpose, *Lord, for Schools every where among us! That our Schools may flourish! That every Member of this Assembly may go home and procure a good School to be encouraged in the Town where he lives! That before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good School encouraged in every Plantation of the Country*. God so blessed his Endeavours, that *Roxbury* could not live quietly without a *Free School* in the Town; and the Issue of it has been one thing, which has made me almost put the Title of *Schola Illustris* upon that little Nursery; that is, that *Roxbury* has afforded more Scholars, first for the College, and then for the *Publick*, than any Town of its Bigness, or if I mistake not, of twice its Bigness in all *New-England*. From the Spring of the School at *Roxbury*, there have run a large Number of the Streams, which have made glad this whole City of God. I persuade myself, that the good People of *Roxbury*, will for ever scorn to begrudge the Cost, or to permit the Death of a School which God has made such an Honour to them; and this the rather, because their Deceased *Eliot* has left them a fair part of his own Estate, for the maintaining of the School in *Roxbury*; and I hope, or at least, I wish, that the Ministers of *New-England* may be as ungainfully importunate



tunate with their People, as Mr. Eliot was with his, for *Schools* which may seasonably tinge the Young Souls of the *Rising Genera-*

*tion*. A Want of Education for them, is the blackest and saddest of all the bad *Omens* that are upon us.

## ARTICLE V.

*His Church-Discipline.*

IT yet more endears unto us the Memory of our *Eliot*, that he was not only an *Evangelical* Minister, but also a true *New-English* one; he was a *Protestant*, and a *Parian*, and one very full of that Spirit which acted the first Planters of this Country, in their *peaceable Succession* from the unwarrantable things elsewhere imposed upon their Consciences. The *Judgment* and *Practice* of one that readily underwent all the Misery attending the Infancy of this Plantation, for the sake of a true *Church Order*, is a thing which we young People should count worthy to be enquired after; and since we saw him so well behaving himself in the *House of God*, it cannot but be worth while to know what he thought about the *Frame and Form*, and *Constitution* of that Blessed *House*.

He was a modest, humble, but very reasonable *Nonconformist* unto the *Ceremonies*, which have been such unhappy Apples of Sift in the Church of *England*; otherwise the dismal Thickets of *America*, had never seen such a Person in them.

It afflicted him to see these, and more such as these, things continued in the Church of *England*, by the Artifice of certain Persons who were loth to have the Reformation carried on unto those further Degrees which the most Eminent of the first Reformers had in their Holy Designs.

We see what was not his Opinion! But let us hear what it was. It was his as well as his Master, the great *Ramus's* Principle, that in the Reformation of Churches, to be now endeavoured, things ought to be reduced unto the Order where in we find them at their *Primitive, Original, Apostolical Institution*. And in pursuance of this Principle, he justly espoused that way of Church-Government, which we call the *Congregational*; he was fully persuaded, that the *Church state* which our Lord Christ hath instituted in the New-Testament, is, In a *Congregation* or *Society of Professed Believers, Agreeing and Assembling together among themselves, with Officers, of Divine Appointment, for the Celebration of Evangelical Ordinances, and their own mutual Edification*; for he saw it must be a cruel Hardship used upon the Scriptures, to make them so much as *His* the least Intimation of any other *Church state* prescribed unto us; and he could assert, That no *Approved Writers*, for the Space of two Hundred Years after Christ,

make any mention of any other *Organical, Visible, Professing Church*, but that only which is *Congregational*. He look'd upon the *Congregational way* as a Targets of Divine Bounty bestow'd by the Lord Jesus Christ on his People, that followed him into this Wilderness, with a peculiar Zeal for Communion with him, in his pure Worship here. He perceived in it, a sweet sort of *Temperament*, between *Rigid Presbyterianism*, and *Levelling Brownism*; so that on the one side, the *Liberties* of the People are not oppressed and overlaid; on the other side, the Authority of the Elders is not rendred insignificant, but a due Ballance is herein kept upon them both; and hence he clofed with our *Platform of Church-Discipline*, as being the nearest of what he had yet seen, to the *Directions of Heaven*.

He could not comprehend, that this *Church state* can arise from any other *Formal Cause*, but the Consent, Concurrence, Confederation of those concerned in it; he looked upon a Relation unto a Church, as not a *Natural*, or a *Violent*, but a *Voluntary* thing, and so that it is to be entered no otherwise than by an *Holy Covenant*, or as the Scripture speaks, by giving our selves first unto the Lord, and then one unto another. He could not think, that *Baptism* alone was to be accounted the *Cause*, but rather the *Effect*, of Church Membership; inasmuch as upon the Dissolution of the Church to which a Man belongs, his *Baptism* would not become a Nullity: Nor that meet *Profession* would render Men *Members* of this or that Church; for then it would be impossible to cut off a corrupt Member from that Body Politic: Nor that meet *Cohabitation* would make *Church-Members*; for then the vilest Infidels would be actually incorporated with us. And a *Covenant*, was all that he now saw remaining in the Inventory.

But for the *Subjects* to be admitted by Churches unto all the Privileges of this Fellowship with them he thought, they ought to be such as a trying Charity, or a charitable Tryal, should pronounce *Regenerate*. He found the first Churches of the Gospel mentioned in the Scripture, to be Churches of *Saints*; and that the Apostles writing to them, still acknowledge them to be *Holy Brethren*, and such as were made meet for to be partakers of the Inheritance of the *Saints in Light*; and that a main end of Church fellowship,



lowship, is to represent unto the World, the Qualifications of those that shall *Ascend into the Hill of the Lord, and stand in his Holy Place for ever*. He would therefore have *Bona Mens, and Purum pectus, and Vita Innocens*, required, as *Lactantius* tells us, they were in his Days, of all Communicants at the Table of the Lord: And with Holy *Chrysostom*, he would sooner have given his *Heart-blood*, than the *Cap of the Lord*, unto such as had not the hopeful Marks of our Lord's Disciples on them. The Churches of New-England still retain a Custom which the Great *Justin Martyr*, in the Second Century, assures us to have been in the Primitive Churches of his Time; namely, To *Examine those they Receive, not only about their Perswasion, but also whether they have attained unto a Work of Grace upon their Souls*. In the Profession hereof, besides the Enquiries of the Elders into the *Knowledge, and Belief, and Conversation* of them that offer themselves unto Church-fellowship, it is expected, tho' I hope not with any Severity of Imposition, that in the Addresses which they make to the Churches, they give *Written*, if not *Oral Account*, of what Impressions the Regenerating Word of God has had upon their Souls. This was a *Custom* which this Holy Man had a marvellous Esteem and Value for; and I have taken from his Mouth such as these Expressions very publicly delivered thereabout.

"It is matter (said he) of great Thankfulness, that we have *Christ Confessed* in our Churches, by such as we receive to full Communion there. They open the Works of *Christ* in their Hearts, and the Relation thereof is an eminent *Confession* of our Lord, experienced Saints can gather more than a little from it. It is indeed an Ordinance of wonderful Benefit, the Lord planted many *Vineyards* in the first Settlement of this County, and there were many *Noble Vines* in them; it was their *Heavenly mindedness* which dispos'd them to this Exercise, and by the upholding of it, the Churches are still filled with *Noble Vines*; it mightily maintains Purity of Churches. 'Tis the Duty of every Christian, *With the Mouth Confession* is made *unto Salvation*. As among the Jews, usually most Men did *once* in their Life, celebrate a *Jubilee*; thus, this Confession of Christ, is methinks, a sort of *Jubilee*; and every good Man among us, is at least *once* in his Life call'd unto it. It is a thing that gives great *Glory* to the Lord Jesus Christ; and *younger Converts* are thereby exceedingly edify'd; and the Souls of *Devout Christians* are hereby very much ingratiated one unto another. The Devil knows what he does, when he thrusts to hard to get this Custom out of our Churches. For my part, I would say in this Case, *Get thee behind me Satan; thou givest an horrible Offence unto the Lord Jesus Christ*. Let us keep up this Ordinance with all *Gentleness*; and where we see the least spark of *Grace* held forth, let us prize it more than all the *Wit* in the World.

There were especially two things, which he was loth to see, and yet fear'd he saw, falling in the Churches of New-England. One was, A thorough Establishment of *Ruling Elders* in our Churches; which he thought sufficiently warranted by the Apostles mention of, *Elders that rule well, who yet labour not in Word and Doctrine*. He was very desirous to have prudent and gracious Men set over our Churches, for the Assistance of their *Pastors*, in the Church acts that concern the *Admission and Exclusion* of Members, and the *Inspection* of the Conversation led by the Communicant, and the *Infrustration* of their several Families, and the *Visitation* of the Afflicted in their Flock, over which they should preside. Such *Helps in Governments* had he himself been blessed withal; the last of which was the well-deserving Elder *Bowles*; and of him, did this good Man, in a Speech to a *Synod* of all the Churches in this Colony, take occasion to say, *There is my Brother Bowles, the godly Elder of our Church at Roxbury, God helps him to do great things among us!* Had all our *Pastors* been so well accommodated, it is possible there would be more Encouragement given to such an Office as that of *Ruling Elders*.

But the mention of a *Synod* takes to mind another thing, which he was concerned, that we might never want; and that is, a frequent *Repetition of Needful Synods* in our Churches. For tho' he had a deep and a due Care to preserve the *Rights of particular Churches*, yet he thought all the Churches of the Lord Jesus by their *Union* in what they *profess*, in what they *intend*, and in what they *enjoy*, so compacted into one *Body Mystical*, as that all the several *particular Churches* every where should all with a regard unto the good of the whole, and unto the common *Advice and Council* of the Neighbourhood; which cannot be done always by *Letters missive*, like those that passed between *Corinth and Rome* in the early days of Christianity; but it requires a Convention of the Churches in *Synods*, by their *Delegates and Messengers*. He did not count Churches to be so *Independent*, as that they can always discharge their whole Duty, and yet not act in a Conjunction with Neighbour Churches; nor would he be of any Church that will not acknowledge it self *accountable* to rightly composed *Synods*, which may have occasion to enquire into the Circumstances of it; he saw the main *Interest and Business* of Churches might quickly come to be utterly lost, if *Synods* were not often called for the Repairing of Inconveniences, and he was much in contriving for the regular and repeated meeting of such Assemblies.

He with'd for *Councils* to suppress all damnable Heresies, or pernicious Opinions, that might ever arise among us; for *Councils* to extinguish all dangerous Divisions, and scandalous Contentions which might ever begin to flame in our Borders; for *Councils* to rectify all Male-Administrations in the midst of us, or to Recover any particular Churches out of any Disorders which they may be plung'd into; For



For Councils to enquire into the Love, the Peace, the Holiness maintained by the several Churches; in fine, for Councils to send forth fit Labourers into those Parts of our Lord's Harvest, which are without the Gospel of God. He beheld an Apostolical Precept and Pattern for such Councils; and when such Councils convened in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, by the consent of several Churches concerned in mutual Communion, have Declared, Explained, Recommended the Mind of God from his word unto us, he reckoned a Truth so delivered, challenged an Observation from the particular Churches, with a very great Authority.

He therefore Printed a little Book wearing this Title, *The Divine Management of Gospel-Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, constituted in order according to the Scriptures, which may be a means of uniting those two holy and eminent Parties, the Presbyterians and the Congregational.* It is a Remarkable Concession made by the Incomparable *Furieu* who is not reckoned a Congregational Man, in his *Traite*

*de L'Unité de L'Eglise*, That the Apostolical Churches lived not in any Confederation for mutual Dependence. The grand Equipage of Metropolitans, of Primates, of Exarchs, of Patriarchs, was yet unknown; nor does it any more appear to us, that the Churches then had their Provincial, National, and Oecumenical Synods; every Church was its own Mistress, and independent on any other. But on the other side, our *Eliot*, who was no Presbyterian, conceived Synods to be the Institutions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Apostolical Churches themselves acknowledging a Stamp of Divine Right upon them.

Such as these were the Sentiments of our *Eliot*; and his deserved Reputation in the Churches of New-England, is that which has caused me to foresee some Advantage and Benefit arising unto the Concerns of the Gospel, by so large a Recitation as I have now made thereof.

The Reader has now seen, *An Able Minister of the New-Testament.*

## PART III.

### Or, ELIOT as an EVANGELIST.

THE Titles of a *Christian* and of a *Minister*, have rendered our *Eliot* considerable; but there is one memorable Title more, by which he has been signalized unto us. An Honourable Person did once in Print put the Name of an *Evangelist* upon him; whereupon in a Letter of his to that Person afterwards Printed, his Expressions were, 'There is a Redundancy, where you put the Title of *Evangelist* upon me; I beseech you to suppress all such things; let us do and speak and carry all things with Humility; it is the Lord who hath done what is done; and it is most becoming the Spirit of Jesus Christ to lift up him, and lay our selves low; I wish that Word could be obliterated. My Reader sees what a Caution Mr. *Eliot* long since entred against our giving him the Title of an *Evangelist*; but his Death has now made it safe, and his Life had long made it just, for us to acknowledge him with such a Title. I know not whether that of an *Evangelist*, or one separated for the Employment of Preaching the Gospel in such Places whereunto Churches have hitherto been gathered, be not an Office that should be continued in our Days; but this I know, that our *Eliot* very notably did the Service and Business of such an Officer.

*Camden* could not reach the Height of his Concept, who bore in his Shield a Salvage of

America, with his Hand pointing to the Sun, and this Motto, *Mibi Accessu, Tibi Recessu*. Reader, Prepare to behold this Device illustrated!

The Natives of the Country now Possessed by the New-Englanders, had been forlorn and wretched Heavens ever since their first heading here; and tho' we know not When or how those Indians first became Inhabitants of this mighty Continent, yet we may guess that probably the Devil decoy'd those miserable Salvages hither, in hopes that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his Absolute Empire over them. But our *Eliot* was in such ill Terms with the Devil, as to alarm him with sounding the Silver Trumpets of Heaven in his Territories, and make some Noble and Zealous Attempts towards ousting him of his Ancient Possessions here. There were, I think, Twenty several Nations (if I may call them so) of Indians upon that spot of Ground, which fell under the Influence of our Three United Colonies; and our *Eliot* was willing to rescue as many of them as he could, from that old usurping Lord of America, who is by the Wrath of God, the Prince of this World.

I cannot find that any besides the Holy Spirit of God, first moved him to the blessed Work



of Evangelizing these perishing Indians; 'twas that Holy Spirit which laid before his Mind the Idea of that which was on the *Seat* of the Massachusetts Colony; *A poor Indian having a Label going from his Mouth, with a, COME OVER AND HELP US.* It was the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, which enkindled in him a *Pity* for the dark Souls of these Natives, whom the God of this World had blinded, through all the By-past Ages. He was none of those that make, *The Salvation of the Heathen*, an Article of their *Creed*; but (setting aside the unrevealed and extraordinary Steps which the Holy one of Israel may take out of his *usual Paths*) he thought men to be *lost* if our Gospel be hidden from them; and he was of the same Opinion with one of the Ancients, who said, *Some have endeavoured to prove Plato to a Christian, till they prove themselves little better than Heathens.* It is indeed a Principle in the Turkish Alcoran, That Let a Man's Religion be what it will, he shall be saved, if he conscientiously live up to the Rules of it: But our Eliot was no Mahometan. He could most heartily subscribe to that Passage in the Articles of the Church of England. 'They are to be held accursed, who presume to say, that every Man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and Light of Nature; for Holy Scripture doth set out unto us, only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby Men must be saved. And it astonished him to see many dissembling Subscribers of those Articles, while they have grown up to such a Phrensy, as to deny peremptorily all Church-state, and all Salvation to all that are not under *Diocesan Bishops*, yet at the same time to grant that the *Heathen* might be saved without the Knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ.

But when this Charitable Pity had once begun to flame, there was a Concurrence of many things to cast Oil into it. All the good Men in the Country were glad of his Engagement in such an Undertaking; the Ministers especially encouraged him, and those in the Neighbourhood kindly supply'd his place, and perform'd his Work in part, for him at Roxbury, while he was *Abroad* labouring among them that were *without*. Hereunto, he was further awakened by those Expressions in the *Royal Charter*, in the Assurance and Protection whereof this Wilderness was first Peopled; namely, *To win and incite the Natives of that Country to the Knowledge and Obedience of the only true God and Saviour of Mankind, and the Christian Faith, in our Royal Intention, and the Adventurers free Profession is the principal end of the Plantation.* And the Remarkable Zeal of the Romish Missionaries compassing Sea and Land, that they might make *Proselytes*, made his Devout Soul think of it with a further Disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our Care to Evangelize the Indians, whom

we dwelt among. Lastly, when he had well begun this *Evangelical Business*, the good God, in an Answer to his Prayers, mercifully stirred up a liberal Contribution among the Godly People in England for the promoting of it; by means whereof, a considerable *Estate* and Income was at length entrusted in the hands of an Honourable Corporation, by whom 'tis to this Day very carefully employ'd in the Christian Service, which it was designed for. And then, in short, inasmuch as our Lord Jesus had bestow'd on us, our Eliot was gratefully and generously desirous to obtain for him, *The Heaven for an Inheritance, and the utmost parts of the Earth for a Possession.*

The exemplary Charity of this excellent Person in this important Affair, will not be seen in its due Lustrus, unless we make some Reflections upon several Circumstances which he beheld these forlorn Indians in. Know then, that these doleful Creatures are the veriest *Ruines of Mankind*, which are to be found any where upon the Face of the Earth. No such *Estates* are to be expected among them, as have been the *Baits* which the pretended *Converters* in other Countries have snapp'd at. One might see among them, what an *hard Master* the Devil is, to the most devoted of his *Vassals*! These abject Creatures, live in a Country full of *Mines*; we have already made entrance upon our *Iron*; and in the very Surface of the Ground among us, 'tis thought there lies *Copper* enough to supply all this World; besides other *Mines* hereafter to be expost; but our shiftless Indians were never Owners of so much as a *Knife*, till we come among them; their Name for an *English-man* was a *Knife-man*; Stone was instead of Metal for their *Tools*; and for their *Coins*, they have only little *Beads* with Holes in them to string them upon a *Bracelet*, whereof some are *white*; and of these there go six for a Penny, some are *black* or *blew*; and of these, go three for a Penny; this *Wampum*, as they call it, is made of the *Shell-fish*, which lies upon the Sea Coast continually.

The Live in a Country, where we now have all the Conveniences of human Life: But as for them, their housing is nothing but a few Mats ty'd about Poles fastened in the Earth, where a good Fire is their *Bed Clothes* in the coldest Seasons; their Clothing is but a Skin of a Beast, covering their *Hind-parts*, their *Fore-parts* having but a little Apron, where Nature calls for Secrecy; their Diet has not a greater Dainty than their *Nokebeck*, that is a spoonful of their *par'd'd meal*, with a spoonful of *Water*, which will strengthen them to travel a Day together; except we should mention the Fleth of *Deers*, *Bears*, *Moose*, *Rackoon*, and the like, which they have when they can catch them; as also a little *Fish*, which if they would preserve, 'twas by *drying*, not by *salt*ing; for they had not a grain of *Salt* in the World, I think, till we bestow'd it on them. Their *Physick* is, excepting a few odd *Specifics*, which some of them Encounter certain Cases with, nothing hardly, but an *Hot-House*, or a



*Powaw*; their *Hot-House* is a little *Cave* about eight foot over, where after they have terribly heated it, a Crew of them go fit and sweat and smoke for an Hour together, and then immediately run into some very cold adjacent Brook, without the least *Milchief* to them; 'tis this way they recover themselves from some Dis-eases, particularly from the *French*; but in most of their dangerous Distempers, 'tis a *Powaw* that must be sent for; that is, a *Priest*, who has more Familiarity with Satan than his Neighbours; this Conjuror comes and Roars, and Howls, and uses Magical Ceremonies over the Sick Man, and will be well paid for it, when he has done; if this don't effect the Cure, the *Man's Time is come, and there's an end*.

They live in a Country full of the best *Ship-Timber* under Heaven: But never saw a *Ship*, till some came from *Europe* hither; and then they were scared out of their Wits, to see the *Monster* come sailing in, and spitting Fire with a mighty noise, out of her floating side; they cross the Water in *Canoes*, made sometimes of *Trees*, which they burn and hew, till they have hollow'd them; and sometimes of *Barks*, which they fitch into a light sort of a Vessel, to be easily carried over Land; if they over-set, it is but a little paddling like a Dog, and they are soon where they were.

Their way of living, is infinitely Barbarous: The Men are most abominably *stupid*; making their poor *Squaws*, or Wives, to plant and dress, and barn, and beat their Corn, and build their *Wigwams* for them, which perhaps may be the reason of their extraordinary Ease in Child-birth. In the mean time, their chief Employment, when they'll *condescend* unto any, is that of *Hunting*; wherein they'll go out some fcores, if not Hundreds of them in a Company, driving all before them.

They continue in a Place, till they have burnt up all the *Wood* thereabouts, and then they pluck up *Snakes*, to follow the *Wood*, which they cannot fetch home unto themselves; hence when they enquire about the *English*, *Why come they hither!* They have themselves very Learnedly determined the Cause, *'Twas because we wanted Firing*. No *Arts* are understood among them, unless just so far as to maintain their Brutish Conversation, which is little more than is to be found among the very *Beyers* upon our Streams.

Their Division of Time is by *Sleeps*, and *Moons*, and *Winters*; and by lodging abroad, they have somewhat observed the Motions of the *Stars*; among which it has been surprizing unto me to find, that they have always call'd *Charles's Wain* by the Name of *Paukunnawac*, or *The Bear*, which is the Name whereby *Europeans* also have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little, if any *Traditions* among them worthy of our Notice; and *Reading* and *Writing* is altogether unknown to them, tho' there is a Rock or two in the Country that has unaccountable Characters Engrav'd upon it. All the Religion they have amounts unto thus much; they believe, that there are many *Gods*, who made and

own the several Nations of the World; of which a certain *Great God* in the South-West Regions of Heaven bears the greatest Figure. They believe, that every remarkable Creature has a peculiar *God* within it, or about it: There is with them, a *Sun God*, a *Moon God*, and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the Fire must be a kind of a *God*, inasmuch as a *Spark* of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe that when any Good or Ill happens to them, there is the Favour or Ill Anger of a *God* express'd in it; and hence as in a Time of Calamity, they keep a *Dance*, or a Day of extravagant ridiculous Devotions to their God, so in a Time of Prosperity they likewise have a *Fest*, wherein they also make Presents one unto another. Finally, they believe, that their chief God *Kautantowit*, made a Man and Woman of a *Stone*; which, upon Dislike, he broke to pieces, and made another Man and Woman of a *Tree*, which were the Fountains of all Mankind; and that we all have in us Immortal Souls, which if we were godly, shall go to a splendid Entertainment with *Kautantowit*, but otherwise must wander about in a restless Horror for ever. But if you say to them any thing of a *Resurrection*, they will reply upon you, *I shall never believe it!* And when they have any weighty Undertaking before them, 'tis an usual thing for them to have their Assemblies, wherein after the usage of some Diabolical *Rites*, a *Devil* appears unto them, to inform them and advise them about their Circumstances; and sometimes there are odd Events of their making these Applications to the *Devil*. For instance, 'tis particularly affirmed, That the *Indians* in their Wars with us, finding a fore Inconvenience by our *Dogs*, which would make a sad yelling if in the Night they scented the Approaches of them, they sacrific'd a *Dog* to the *Devil*; after which no *English* Dog would bark at an *Indian* for divers Months ensuing. This was the miserable People, which our *Eliot* propounded unto himself, to teach and save! And he had a double Work incumbent on him; he was to make Men of them, e'er he could hope to see them *Saints*; they must be *civilized* e'er they could be *Christianized*; he could not, as *Gregory* once of our Nation, see any thing *Angelical* to bespeak his Labours for their Eternal Welfare, all among them was *Diabolical*. To think on raising a Number of these hideous Creatures, unto the Elevations of our Holy Religion, must argue more than common or little Sentiments in the Undertaker; but the Faith of an *Eliot* could encounter it!

I confess, that was one, I cannot call it so much *guess* as *wish*, wherein he was willing a little to indulge himself; and that was, That our *Indians* are the Posterity of the *dispersed* and *rejected* Israelites, concerning whom our God has promised that they shall yet be saved, by the *Deliverer* coming to turn away Ungodliness from them. He saw the *Indians* using many *Parables* in their Discourses; much given to anointing of their *Heads*; much delighted in *Dancing*, especially after



after Victories, computing their Times by *Nights and Months*, giving *Dowries* for Wives, and causing their Women to *dwell by themselves*, at certain Seasons, for secret Causes; and accustoming themselves to grievous *Mourning*s and *Tellings* for the Dead; all which were usual things among the *Israelites*. They have too a great unkindness for our *Swine*; but I suppose that is because our *Hogs* devour the *Corns* which are a Dainty with them. He also saw some learned Men, looking for the lost *Israelites* among the *Indians in America*, and counting that they had *thorow good Reasons* for doing so. And a few small *Arguments*, or indeed but *Conjectures*, meeting with a favourable Disposition in the Hearer, will carry some Conviction with them; especially, if a Report of a *Messiah ben Israel* be to back them. He saw likewise the *Judgments* threatened unto the *Israelites* of old, strangely fulfilled upon our *Indians*; particularly that *Thou shalt eat the flesh of your sons*, which is done with exquisite Cruelties upon the Prisoners that they take from one another in their Battels. Moreover, 'tis a Prophecy in Deut. 28. 68. *The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with Ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again; and there shall ye be sold unto your Enemies, and no Man shall buy you.* This did our *Eliot* imagine accomplished, when the Captives taken by us in our late Wars upon them, were sent to be sold, in the Coasts lying not very remote from *Egypt* on the *Mediterranean Sea*, and scarce any Chapmen would offer to take them off. Being upon such as these accounts not unwilling, if it were possible, to have the *Indians* found *Israelites*, they were, you may be sure, not a whit the less *Beloved for their* (supposed) *Fathers sake*; and the Fatigues of his Travails went on the more *cheerfully*, or at least, the more *hopefully*, because of such Possibilities.

The *First Step* which he judg'd necessary now to be taken by him, was to learn the *Indian Language*; for he saw them so stupid and senseless, that they would never do so much as enquire after the Religion of the Strangers now come into their Country, much less would they so far imitate us; as to leave off their beastly way of living, that they might be Partakers of any Spiritual Advantage by us: Unless we could first address them in a *Language* of their own. Behold, new Difficulties to be surmounted by our indefatigable *Eliot*! He hires a Native to teach him this exotick Language, and with a laborious Care and Skill, reduces it into a *Grammar* which afterwards he published. There is a Letter or two of our Alphabet, which the *Indians* never had in theirs; tho' there were enough of the *Dog* in their *Temper*, there can scarce be found an R in their *Language*; (any more than in the Language of the *Chinese*, or of the *Greenlanders*) save that the *Indians* to the Northward, who have a peculiar *Dialect*, pronounce an R where an N is pronounced by our *Indians*; but if their Alphabet be short, I am sure the Words compo-

sed of it are long enough to tire the Patience of any Scholar in the World; they are *Sesquipedalia Verba*, of which their *Lingo* is composed; one would think, they had been growing ever since *Babel*, unto the Dimensions to which they are now extended. For instance, if my Reader will count how many Letters there are in this one Word, *Nunnamkocodan-tamoooganunnonash*, when he has done, for his Reward I'll tell him, it signifies no more in *English*, than our *Lusts*, and if I were to translate, *our Loves*; it must be nothing shorter than *Nunsoomantammooonkanunnonash*. Or, to give my Reader a longer Word than either of these, *Kummogkodanatotummooseteeangannunnonash*, is in *English*, *Our Question*: But I pray, Sir, count the Letters! Nor do we find in all this Language the least Affinity to, or Derivation from any *European Speech* that we are acquainted with. I know not what Thoughts it will produce in my Reader, when I inform him, that once finding that the *Demons* in a possessed young Woman, understood the *Latin* and *Greek* and *Hebrew Languages*, my Curiosity led me to make Trial of this *Indian Language*, and the *Demons* did seem as if they did not understand it. This tedious Language our *Eliot* (the Anagram of whose Name was *TOILE*) quickly became a Matter of; he employ'd a pregnant and witty *Indian*, who also spoke *English* well, for his Assistance in it; and compiling some Discourses by his Help, he would single out a *Word*, a *Noun*, a *Verb*, and pursue it through all its Variations: Having finished his Grammar, at the close he writes, *Prayers and Pains thro' Faith in Christ Jesus will do any thing!* And being by his *Prayers and Pains* thus furnished, he set himself in the Year 1646. to preach the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, among these Desolate Outcasts.

¶ It remains, That I lay before the World, the Remarkable Conduct and Success of this Famous Man, in his great Affair; and I shall endeavour to do it, by Englishing and Re-printing a Letter, sent a while since by my Father, unto his Learned and Renowned correspondent, the Venerable Dr. *Leschen* at *Utrecht*: Which Letter has already been published, if I mistake not, in Four or Five divers Languages. I find it particularly published by the most Excellent *Jurieu*, at the end of a *Pastoral Letter*; and this Reflection then worthily made upon it, *Cette Lettre doit apporter une tres grande Consolation, a toutes les bonnes ames, qui sont alterees de Justice, & qui sont enflammées du zele de la gloire de Dieu.* I therefore perswade my self that the Republication of it will not be ungrateful unto many good Souls in our Nation, who have a due *Thirst* and *Zeal* for such things as are mention'd in it; and when that is done, I shall presume to make some Annotations for the Illustration of sundry memorable things therein Pointed at.



# A LETTER concerning the Success of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New-England.

Written by Mr. Increase Matther, Minister of the Word of God at Boston, and Rector of the College at Cambridge in New-England, to Dr. John Leusden, Hebrew Professor in the University of Utrecht.

Translated out of Latin into English.

Worthy and much Honoured Sir,

**Y**OUR Letters were very Grateful to me, (a) by which I understand that you and others in your Famous University of Utrecht are informed concerning the converted Indians in America: Take therefore a true Account of them in a few Words.

It is above Forty Years since that truly Godly Man, Mr. John Eliot, Pastor of the Church at Roxborough, (about a Mile from Boston in New-England) being warmed with a Holy Zeal of Converting the Americans, set himself to learn the Indian Tongue, that he might more easily and successfully (b) open to them the Mysteries of the Gospel, upon account of which he has been (and not undeservedly) called, The Apostle of the American Indians. This Reverend Person, not without very great Labour, Translated the whole Bible into the Indian Tongue; (c) he Translated also several English Treatises of Practical Divinity and Catechisms into their Language. Above 26 Years ago he gathered a Church of Converted Indians in a Town called (d) Natick, these Indians confessed their Sins with Tears, and professed their Faith in Christ, and afterwards they and their Children were Baptized, and they were solemnly joined together in a Church-Covenant; the said Mr. Eliot was the first that Administred the Lord's Supper to them. The Pastor of that Church now is an Indian, his Name is Daniel. Besides this Church at Natick, among our Inhabitants in the Massachusetts Colony there are Four Indian Assemblies, (e) where the Name of the true God and Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon; these Assemblies have some American Preachers, Mr. Eliot formerly used to Preach to them once every Fortnight, but now he is weakened with Labours and Old-Age, being in the Eighty Fourth Year of his Age, and Preacheth not to the Indians oftner than once in two Months.

There is another Church, consisting only of Converted Indians, about fifty Miles from hence in an Indian Town called Mashippaug: The first Pastor of that Church was an English Man, who being skilful in the American Language, Preached the Gospel to them in their own Tongue. (f) This English Pastor is Dead, and

instead of him, that Church has an Indian Preacher.

There are besides that, five Assemblies of Indians professing the Name of Christ, not far distant from Mashippaug, which have Indian Preachers: (g) John Cotton, Pastor of the Church at Plymouth (Son of my Venerable Father-in-Law John Cotton, formerly the Famous Teacher of the Church at Boston) both made very great Progress in Learning the Indian Tongue, and is very skilful in it; he Preaches in their own Language to the last five mentioned Congregations every Week. Moreover of the Inhabitants of Saconet in Plymouth Colony, there is a great Congregation of those who for Distinction sake are called Praying Indians, because they pray to God in Christ.

Not far from a Promontory called Cape Cod, there are six Assemblies of Heathens who are to be reckoned as Catechumens, amongst whom there are six Indian Preachers: Samuel Treat, Pastor of a Church at Eastham, Preacheth to these Congregations in their own Language. There are likewise amongst the Islanders of Nantacket a Church, with a Pastor who was lately a Heathen, and several Meetings of Catechumens, who are instructed by the Converted Indians. There is also another Island about seven Leagues long (called Martha's Vineyard) where are two American Churches planted, which are more famous than the rest, over one of which there presides an ancient Indian as Pastor, called Hiaccoms: John Hiaccoms, Son of the Indian Pastor, also Preacheth the Gospel to his Countrymen. In another Church in that Place, John Tockinoth, a Converted Indian, teaches. In these Churches Ruling Elders of the Indians are joined to the Pastors: The Pastors were chosen by the People, and when they had fasted and prayed, Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton laid their Hands on them, so that they were solemnly ordained. All the Congregations (h) of the Converted Indians (both the Catechumens and those in Church Order) every Lord's Day meet together; the Pastor or Preacher always begins with Prayer, and without a Form, because from the Heart; when the Ruler of the Assembly has ended Prayer,



Prayer, the whole Congregation of Indians praise God with singing; some of them are excellent Singers: After the Psalm, he that preaches reads a Place of Scripture (some or more Verses as he will) and expounds it, gathers Doctrines from it, proves them by Scriptures and Reasons, and infers Uses from them after the manner of the English, of whom they have been taught; then another Prayer to God in the Name of Christ concludes the whole Service. Thus do they meet together twice every Lord's Day. They observe no Holy-days but the Lord's Day, except upon some extraordinary Occasion; and then they solemnly set apart whole Days, either in giving Thanks or Fasting and Praying with great Reverour of Mind.

Before the English came into these Coasts these Barbarous Nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is that in their Prayers and Sermons they use English Words and Terms, be that calls upon the most Holy Name of God, says, Jehovah, or God, or Lord, and also they have learned and borrowed many other Theological Phrases from us.

In short, There are six Churches of Baptized Indians in New-England, and Eighteen Assemblies of Catechumens, professing the Name

of Christ: Of the Indians there are four and Twenty who are Preachers of the Word of God, and besides these there are four English Ministers, who preach the Gospel in the Indian Tongue. (1) I am now my self weary with writing, and I fear lest if I should add more, I should also be tedious to you; yet one thing I must add (which I had almost forgot) that there are many of the Indians Children, who have learned by Heart the Catechism, either of that Famous Divine William Perkins, or that put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and in their own Mother Tongue can answer to all the Questions in it.

But I must end, I salute the Famous Professors in your University, to whom I desire you to communicate this Letter, as written to them also.

Farewel, Worthy Sir; the Lord preserve your Health for the Benefit of your Country, his Church, and of Learning.

Boston in New-England,  
July 12. 1687.

Yours ever,

INCREASE MATHER.

(a) *The Success of the Gospel in the East-Indies.*

After the Writing of this Letter, there came one to my Hands from the Famous Dr. Leighton, together with a New and Fair Edition of his Hebrew Psalter, Dedicated unto the Name of my Absent Parent. He therein informs me, That our Example had awakened the Dutch to make some Noble Attempts for the Furtherance of the Gospel in the East-Indies; besides what memorable things were done by the Excellent Robert Junius, in Formosa fifty

utterly ignorant of their Language, yet there are School-Masters who teach them, The Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, a Morning Prayer, an Evening Prayer, a Blessing before Meat, and another after; and the Minister in his Visits being assured by the Master, who of them has learned all of them seven things, he thereupon counts they have such a perfect Number of Attainments that he presently Baptizes them.

He also informs me, That in and near the Island of Ceylon, the Dutch Pastors have Baptized about Three Hundred Thousand of the Eastern Indians; for altho' the Ministers are

The Pious Reader will doublets, bless God for this; but he will easily see that one of our Converted Indians has cost more Pains than many of those; more thorough Work has been made with them.

(b) Mr.



## (b) Mr. Eliot's Way of Opening the Mysteries of the Gospel, to our Indians.

“T Was in the Year 1646, that Mr. Eliot, accompanied by three more, gave a Visit unto an Assembly of Indians, of whom he desired a Meeting at such a Time and Place, that he might lay before them the Things of their Eternal Peace. After a serious Prayer, he gave them a Sermon which continued about a Quarter above an Hour, and contained the principal Articles of the Christian Religion, applying all to the Condition of the Indians present. Having done, he asked of them, Whether they understood? And with a General Reply they answered, *They understood all.* He then began what was his usual Method afterwards in treating with them; that is, he caused them to propound such Questions as they pleas'd unto himself; and he gave wife and good Answers to them all. Their Questions would often, tho' not always, refer to what he had newly preached; and he this way not only made a Proof of their profiting by his Ministry, but also gave an Edge to what he delivered unto them. Some of their Questions would be a little Philosophical, and required a good Measure of Learning in the Minister concerned with them; but for this our Eliot wanted not. He would also put proper Questions unto them, and at one of his first Exercises with them, he made the Young Ones capable of regarding those three Questions,

Q 1. Who made you and all the World?

Q 2. Who do you look should save you from Sin and Hell?

Q 3. How many Commandments has the Lord given you to keep?

It was his Wisdom that he began with them upon such Principles as they themselves had already some Notions of; such as that of an Heaven for good, and Hell for bad People, when they dy'd. It broke his gracious Heart within him to see, what Floods of Tears fell from the

Eyes of several among those degenerate Salvages; at the first Addresles which he made unto them; yea, from the very worst of them all. He was very inquisitive to learn who were the *Powatoes*, that is, the *Sorcerers*, and *Seducers*, that maintained the Worship of the Devil in any of their Societies; and having in one of his first Journeys to them, found out one of those Wretches, he made the Indian come unto him, and said, *Whether do you suppose God, or Chiepan (i.e. the Devil) to be the Author of all Good?* The Conjurter answered, *God.* Upon this he added with a stern Countenance, *Why do you pray to Chiepan then?* And the poor Man was not able to stand or speak before him; but at last made Promises of Reformation.

The Text which he first preach'd upon, was that in Ezek. 37. 9, 10. *That by Prophecy to the Wind, the Wind came, and the dry Bones lived:* And it was an Observation made by one, who then justly confessed, there was not much weight in it; that the Word which the Indians use for Wind is *Wauban*, and an Indian of that Name was one of the first that here zealously promoted the Conversion of his Neighbours. But having thus entred upon the Teaching of these poor Creatures, 'tis incredible how much Time, Toil, and Hardship, he underwent in the Prosecution of this Undertaking; how many weary Days and Nights rolled over him; how many tiresome Journeys he endured; and how many terrible Dangers he had experience of. If you briefly would know what he felt, and what carried him through all, take it in his own words in a Letter to the Honourable Mr. Winslow, says he, *I have not been dry Night nor Day, from the third Day of the Week unto the sixth, but so travelled, and at Night pull off my Boots, wearing my Stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered the Word of God in 2 Tim. 2. 3. Endure Hardship as a good Soldier of Christ.*

## (c) His Translating the Bible, and other Books of Piety, into the Indian Tongue.

ONE of his remarkable Cares for these illiterate Indians, was to bring them into the use of Schools and Books. He quickly procured the benefit of Schools for them; wherein they profited so much, that not only very many of them quickly came to Read and Write; but also several arrived unto a Liberal Education in our College, and one or two of them took their Degree with the rest of our Graduates. And for Books, 'twas his chief Desire that the Sacred

Scriptures might not in an unknown Tongue be locked or hidden from them; very hateful and hellish did the Policy of Popery appear to him on this Account: Our Ehor was very unlike to that Franciscan, who writing into Europe, gloried much how many Thoulands of Indians he had converted; but added, *That he desired his Friends would send him the Book called the Bible; for he had heard of there being such a Book in Europe, which might be of some use to him.* No,



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our *Eliot* found he could not live without a Bible himself; he would have parted with all his Estate, sooner than have lost a Leaf of it; and he knew it would be of more than *some use* unto the *Indians* too; he therefore with a vast Labour translated the Holy Bible into the *Indian Language*. Behold, *ye Americans*, the greatest Honour that ever you were Partakers of! This Bible was Printed here at our *Cambridge*; and it is the only Bible that ever was Printed in all *America*, from the very Foundation of the World. The whole Translation he writ with but *one Pen*; which *Pen*, had it not been lost, would have certainly deserved a richer Case than was bestow'd

upon that *Pen*, with which *Holland* writ his Translation of *Plutarch*. The Bible being justly made the Leader of all the rest, a little *Indian Library* quickly followed: For besides *Primers*, and *Grammars*, and some other such Compo-  
sures, we quickly had *The Practice of Piety* in the *Indian Tongue*, and the Reverend *Richard Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*. He also translated some of *Mr. Shepherd's* Compo-  
sures; and such *Catechisms* likewise as there was occasion for. It cannot but be hoped that some *Fish* were to be made alive, since the *Waters of the Sanctuary* thus came unto them.

(d) *His Gathering of a Church at Natick.*

THE *Indians* that had felt the Impressions of his Ministry, were quickly distinguished by the Name of *Praying Indians*; and these *Praying Indians* as quickly were for a more Decent and *English-way* of Living, and they desired a more fixed *Cohabitation*. At several Places did they now combine and settle; but the Place of greatest Name among their Towns, is that of *Natick*.

Here 'twas, that in the Year 1691. those that had heretofore lived like the *wild Beasts* in the Wilderness, now compacted themselves into a Town; and they first apply'd themselves to the forming of their *Civil Government*. Our *General Court*, notwithstanding their exact Study to keep these *Indians* very sensible of their being subject unto the *English Empire*, yet had allowed them their smaller Courts, wherein they might govern their own smaller Cares and Concerns, after their own particular Modes, and might have their Town-Orders, if I may call them so, peculiar to themselves. With respect hereunto, Mr. *Eliot* on a Solemn Fast, made a Publick Vow, *That seeing these Indians were not prepossessed with any Form of Government, he would instruct them into such a Form, as we had written in the Word of God, that so they might be a People in all things ruled by the Lord*. Accordingly he expounded unto them the Eighteenth Chapter of *Exodus*; and then they chose Rulers of *Hundreds*, of *Fifties*, of *Tens*; and therewithal entered into this Covenant.

' We are the Sons of *Adam*; We and our Forefathers have a long time been lost in our Sins; but now the Mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again; therefore the Grace of Christ helping us, we do give our selves, and our Children unto God, to be his People. He shall Rule us in all our Affairs; the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord is our King; he will save us; and the Wisdom which God has taught us in his Book shall guide us. Oh *Jehovah*, teach us Wisdom; send thy Spirit into our Hearts; take

us to be thy People, and let us take thee to be our God.

Such an Opinion about the Perfection of the Scripture which had heretofore been common among them; they thus expressed himself upon this occasion, *God will bring Nations into Distress and Perplexity, that so they may be forced unto the Scriptures; all Governments will be shaken, that Men may be forced at length to pitch upon that firm Foundation, The Word of God*.

The little Towns of these *Indians* being pitched upon this Foundation, they utterly abandon'd that *Polygamy* which had heretofore been common among them; they made severe Laws against *Fornication*, *Drunkenness*, and *Sabbath-breaking*, and other Immoralities; and they next began to Lament after the Establishment of a *Church-Order* among them, and after the several Ordinances and Privileges of a *Church-Communion*. The Churches of *New-England* have usually been very strict in their Admissions to *Church-Fellowship*, and required very signal Demonstrations of a *Repenting* and a *Believing Soul*, before they thought Men fit Subjects to be entrusted with the *Rights of the Kingdom of Heaven*. But they seem'd rather to augment than abate their usual *Strictness*, when the Examination of the *Indians* was to be perform'd. A Day was therefore set apart, which they called, *Naticombteachefuk*, or a Day of *Asking Questions*, when the Ministers of the adjacent Churches, assisted with all the best Interpreters that could be had, publicly examined a good Number of these *Indians*, about their Attainments both in *Knowledge* and in *Vertue*. And notwithstanding the great Satisfaction then received, our Churches being willing to proceed surely, and therefore slowly, in raising them up to a *Church-State*, which might be comprehended in our *Associations*, the *Indians* were afterwards called in considerable Assemblies convened for that purpose, to make open *Confessions* of their Faith in God and Christ, and of the Efficacy which his Word had upon them for their *Conversion* to him;



him; which Confessions being taken in writing from their Mouths by able Interpreters, were scanned by the People of God, and found much Acceptance with them.

I need pass no further Censure upon them, than what is given by my Grand-father, the well-known *Richard Mather*, in an Epistle of his Published on this occasion; says he, 'There is 'so much of God's Work among them, as that I 'cannot but count it a great Evil, yea a great 'Injury to God and his Goodness, for any to 'make light of it. To see and hear *Indians* opening their Mouths, and lifting up their hands and eyes, in Prayer to the Living God, calling on him by his Name *Jehovah*, in the Mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them Exhorting one another from the Word of God; to see and hear them confessing the Name of Christ Jesus, and their own sinfulness; sure this is more than usual! And tho' they spoke in a Language, of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that Day,

'we saw and heard them perform the Duties 'mentioned with such grave and sober Countenances, with such comely Reverence in their 'Gesture, and their whole Carriage, and with 'such plenty of tears trickling down the Cheeks 'of some of them, as did argue to us that they 'spake with the Holy Fear of God, and it 'much affected our Hearts.

At length was a *Church-state* settled among them: They entered, as our Churches do, into an holy Covenant, wherein they gave themselves, first unto the Lord, and then unto one another, to attend the Rules, and Helps, and expect the Blessing of the *Everlasting Gospel*; and Mr. *Eliot*, having a Mission from the Church of *Roxbury*, unto the Work of the Lord Christ among the *Indians*, conceived himself sufficiently Authorized unto the performing of all *Church-work* about them; grounding it on *Act* 13. 1, 2, 3, 4. and he accordingly Administered, first the *Baptism*, and then the Supper of the Lord unto them.

### (c.) The Hindrances and Obstructions that the Devil gave unto him.

WE find four Assemblies of *Praying Indians* besides that of *Natick*, in our Neighbourhood. But why no more? Truly, not because our *Eliot* was wanting in his *Offers* and *Labours* for their good; but because many of the obdurate Infidels would not receive the *Gospel of Salvation*. In one of his Letters, I find him giving this *ill Report*, with such a good Reason for it; *Lyn-Indians are all naughty, save one, who sometimes comes to hear the Word; and the Reason why they are bad, is principally because their Sachim is naughty, and careth not to pray unto God.* Indeed the *Sachims*, or the *Princes*, of the *Indians* generally did all they could that their Subjects might not entertain the *Gospel*; the *Devils* having the *Sachims* on their side, thereby kept their Possession of the People too. Their *Pawwas* or *Clergy-men*, did much to maintain the Interest of the *Devils* in this Wilderness; those *Children of the Devil*, and *Enemies of all Righteousness*, did not cease to pervert the *Right ways of the Lord*, but their *Sachims* or *Magistrates* did more towards it; for they would presently raise a Storm of *Persecution* upon any of their Vassals that should Pray unto the Eternal God.

The ground of this Conduct in them, was an odd Fear, that Religion would abridge them of the *Tyranny* which they had been used unto; they always like the Devil held their People in a most absolute Servitude, and rul'd by no Law but their Will, which left the poor Slaves nothing that they could call their own. They

now suspected that Religion would put a Bridle upon such Usurpations, and oblige them to a more Equal and Humane Way of Government; they therefore some of them, had the Impudence to Address the English, that no Motions about the *Christian Religion* might ever be made unto them; and Mr. *Eliot* sometimes in the Wilderness, without the Company or Assistance of any other English-man, has been treated in a very Threatening and Barbarous manner by some of these Tyrants; but God inspir'd him with so much Resolution as to tell them, *I am about the Work of the Great God, and my God is with me; so that I fear neither you, nor all the Sachims in the Country; I'll go on, and do you touch me, if you dare!* Upon which the stoutest of them have shrunk and fell before him. And one of them, he at length conquered by Preaching unto him a Sermon upon the *Temptations* of our Lord; particularly, the *Temptation* fetch'd from the *Kingdoms and Glories of the World*.

The little *Kingdoms and Glories* of the Great Men among the *Indians*, was a Powerful Obstacle to the Success of Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry; and it is observable, that several of those Nations which thus refused the *Gospel*, quickly afterwards were so Devil-driven as to begin an unjust and bloody War upon the English, which issued in their speedy and utter Extirpation from the Face of God's Earth. It was particularly Remark'd in *Philip* the Ring-Leader of the most Calamitous War that ever they made upon



upon us; our *Eliot* made a Tender of the *Everlasting Salvation* to that King; but the Monster entertained it with Contempt and Anger, and after the *Indian* Mode of joining *Signs* with Words, he took a *Button* upon the Coat of the Reverend Man, adding, *That he cared for his Gospel, just as much as he cared for that Button*. The World has heard what a Terrible Ruine soon came upon that Monarch, and upon all his People. It was not long before the Hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion took off the Jaw from the exposed Skull of that Blasphemous *Leviathan*; and the Renowned *Samuel Lee* hath since been a Pastor to an *English* Congregation, founding and showing the Praises of Heaven, upon that very spot of Ground, where *Philip* and his *Indians* were lately worshipping of the Devil.

Sometimes the more immediate Hand of God, by cutting off the Principal Opposers of the Gospel among the *Indians* made way for Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry. As I remember, he relates that an Affiliation of profane *Indians* near our *Weymouth*, set themselves to deter and seduce the Neighbour *Indians* from the Right Ways of the Lord. But God quickly sent the *Small-Pox* among them, which like a great Plague soon swept them away, and thereby engaged the rest unto himself. I need only to add, That one Attempt made by the Devil, to prejudice the Pagans against the Gospel, had something in it extraordinary. While Mr. *Eliot* was Preaching of *Christ* unto the other *Indians*, a *Demon* ap-

peared unto a Prince of the *Eastern-Indians*, in a shape that had some Resemblance of Mr. *Eliot* or of an *English* Minister, pretending to be, *The English-man's God*. The Spectre commanded him, *To forbear the drinking of Rum*, and *To observe the Sabbath Day*, and *To deal justly with his Neighbours*, all which things had been inculcated in Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry; promising therewithal unto him, *That if he did so, at his Death his Soul should Ascend unto an happy place; otherwise Descend unto miseries*; but the Apparition all the while, never said one word about *Christ*, which was the main subject of Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry. The *Sacbin* received such an Impression from the Apparition, that he dealt justly with all Men, except in the Bloody Tragedies and Cruelties he afterwards committed on the *English* in our Wars; he kept the *Sabbath-Day* like a *Fast*, frequently attending in our Congregations; he would not meddle with any *Rum*, tho' usually his Country-men, had rather die than undergo such a piece of Self-denial; that Liquor has merely Enchanted them. At last, and not long since this *Demon* appear'd again unto this *Pagan*, requiring him to kill himself, and assuring him that he should revive in a Day or two, never to die any more. He thereupon divers times attempted it, but his Friends very carefully prevented it; however at length he found a fair Opportunity, for this foul Business, and hanged himself; you may be sure, without he expected *Resurrection*. But it is easy to see what a stumbling Block was here laid before the miserable *Indians*.

(f) *The Indian-Churches at Malhippang, and elsewhere.*

THE same Spirit which acted Mr. *Eliot*, quickly inspired others elsewhere to prosecute the Work of rescuing the poor *Indians* out of their worse than *Egyptian* Darkeness, in which Evil Angels had been so long preying upon them. One of these was the Godly and Gracious *Richard Bourn*, who soon saw a great effect of his holy Labours. In the Year 1666, Mr. *Eliot* accompany'd by the Honourable Governor, and several Magistrates and Ministers of *Plymouth* Colony, procured a vast Assembly at *Malhippang*; and there a good Number of *Indians*, made Confessions touching the Knowledge and Belief, and Regeneration of their Souls, with such Understanding and Affection as was extremely grateful to the Pious Auditor. Yet such was the Strictness of the good People in this Affair, that before they would countenance the Advancement of these *Indians* unto Church Fellowship, they ordered their Confessions to be written and sent unto all the Churches in the Colony, for their Approbation; but for approv'd they were, that afterwards the Messengers of all the Churches giving their

Presence and Consent, they became a Church, and chose Mr. *Bourn* to be their Pastor, who was then by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* ordain'd unto that Office over them. From hence Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* went over to an Island called *Martha's Vineyard*, where God had so succeeded the honest Labours of some, and particularly of the *Mayhew's* as that a Church was gathered.

This Church, after Fasting and Prayer, chose one *Hiacombs* to be their Pastor, *John Tucknoss*, an able and a discreet Christian to be their Teacher; *Joshua Mummeecheegs*; and *John Nanso* to be Ruling Elders; and these were then ordained by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* thereunto. Distance of Habitation, caus'd this one Church by mutual Agreement afterwards to become two; the Pastor and one Ruling Elder taking one part, and the Teacher and one Ruling Elder, another; and at *Nantucket* another adjacent Island, was another Church of *Indians* quickly gathered, who chose an Indian, *John Gibs*, to be their Minister. These Churches are so exact in their Admission, and so solemn in their Discipline, and so serious in their Communion,

Cccc that



that some of the Christian *English* in the Neighbourhood, which would have been loth to have mixed with them in a *civil* Relation, yet have gladly done it in a *Sacred* one.

'Tis needless for me to repeat what my Father has written about the other *Indian* Congregations; only there having been made mention of one *Hiacooms*, I am willing to annex a Passage or two concerning that memorable *Indian*. That *Indian* was a very great Instrument of bringing his Pagan and wretched Neighbours, to a saving Acquaintance with our Lord Jesus Christ; and God gave him the Honour, not only of so doing much for some, but also of *suffering* much from others, of those unhappy Salvages. Once particularly, this *Hiacooms* received a cruel blow from an *Indian* Prince, which if some *English* had not been there, might have killed him, for his *Praying* unto God. And afterwards he gave this account of his Trial in it; said he, *I have two Hands; I had one Hand for Injuries, and the other for God; while I did*

*receive Wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God.*

Moreover, the *Powawes* did use to hector and abuse the *Praying Indians* at such a rate, as terrify'd others from joining with them; but once when those *Witches* were bragging, that they could kill all the *Praying Indians*, if they would; *Hiacooms* reply'd, *Let all the Powawes in the Island come together, I'll venture my self in the midst of them; let them use all their Witchcrafts, with the help of God, I'll tread upon them all.* By this Courage, he silenced the *Powawes*: But at the same time also he heartned the People at such a rate as was truly wonderful; nor could any of them ever harm this Eminent Confessor afterward; nor indeed any *Profelyte* which had been by his means brought home to God; yea, 'twas observed after this, that they rather *kill'd* than *cured* all such of the Heathen, as would yet make use of their *Enchantments* for help against their *Sicknesses*.

### (g) Of Mr. Eliot's Fellow-Labourers in the Indian-Work.

SO little was the Soul of our *Eliot* infected with any Envy, as that he long'd for nothing more than *Fellow-Labourers*, that might move and shine in the same *Orb* with himself; he made his Cries both to God and Man, for more *Labourers* to be *thrust* forth into the *Indian* Harvest; and indeed it was an *Harvest* of so few secular Advantages and Encouragements, that it must be nothing less than a *Divine Thrust*, which could make any to *Labour* in it. He saw the Answer of his Prayers, in the Generous and Vigorous Attempts made by several other most worthy Preachers of the Gospel, to *Gospelize* our perishing *Indians*. At the Writing of my Father's Letter there were *Four*; but the Number of them increases apace among us. At *Martha's* Vineyard, the old Mr. *Mayhew*, and several of his Sons, or Grandsons have done very worthily for the Souls of the *Indians*; there were fifteen Years ago, by Computation, about fifteen Hundred *Seals* of their Ministry upon that one Island. In *Connecticut*, the holy and acute Mr. *Fitch*, has made noble Effays towards the Conversion of the *Indians*; but, I think, the *Prince* he has to deal withal, being an obstinate Infidel, gives unhappy Remora's to the Successes of his Ministry. And godly Mr. *Prieston*, has in that Colony deserved well, if I mistake not, upon the same account. In *Massachusetts* we see at this Day, the Pious Mr. *Daniel Gookin*, the Gracious Mr. *Peter Thacher*, the well accomplished and industrious Mr. *Grindal Rawson*, all of them hard at Work, to turn these Poor Creatures from *Darkness* unto *Light*, and from *Satan* unto *God*. In *Plymouth* we have the most Active Mr. *Samuel*

*Treat* laying out himself to save this Generation; and there is one Mr. *Tupper*, who uses his laudable Endeavours for the Instruction of them.

'Tis my Relation to him, that causes me to defer unto the last place, the mention of Mr. *John Cotton*, who hath address'd the *Indians* in their own Language with some Dexterity. He hired an *Indian*, after the rate of Twelve-pence per Day for *Fifty* Days, to teach him the *Indian* Tongue; but his Knavish Tutor having received his whole Pay too soon, ran away before *Twenty* Days were out; however, in this time he had profited so far, that he could quickly Preach unto the *Natives*.

Having told my Reader, that the *Second Edition* of the *Indian Bible* was wholly of his Correction and Amendment; because it is not proper for me to say much of him, I shall only add this Remarkable Story. An *English* Minister accompany'd by the Governour and Major-General, and sundry Persons of Quality, belonging to *Plymouth*, made a Journey to a Nation of *Indians* in the Neighbourhood, with a free Offer of the Words whereby they might be saved. The *Prince* took time to consider of it, and according to the true *English* of Taking Time in such cases, at length he told them, He did not accept the *Tender* which they made him. They then took their Leaves of him, not without first giving him this plain and short Admonition. If God have any Mercy for your miserable People, He will quickly find a way to take you out of the way. 'Twas presently after this, that this *Prince* going forth to a *Battel* against another



another Nation of *Indians*, was killed in the Fight; and the young Prince being in his *Minority*, the Government fell into the Hands of *Protectors*, which favoured the Interest of the Gospel. The *English* being advised of it, speedily and prosperously renewed the Tidings of an Eternal Saviour to the *Salvages*, who have ever since attended upon the Gospel: And the young *Sachin*, after he came to Age, expressed his Approbation of the Christian Religion; especially when a while since, he lay a Dying of a tedious Distemper, and would keep Reading of Mr. *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*, with Floods of Tears in his Eyes, while he had any Strength to do it.

Such as these are the Persons, whom our E-

lior left engag'd in the *Indian-Work*, when he departed from his *Employment* unto his *Recompence*. And these Gentlemen are so indefatigable in their Labours among the *Indians*, as that the most equal *Judges* must acknowledge them worthy of much greater *Salaries* than they are generously contented with. But one may see then, who inspired that clamorous (tho' contemptible) Persecutor of this Country, who very zealously addressed the A. B. of *Canterbury*, that these Ministers might be deprived of their little *Stipends*, and that the said *Stipends* might go to maintain that Worship among us, which the Plantation was Erected on purpose for the peaceable Avoiding of.

(h) *The Sacred and Solemn Exercises performed in the Indian Congregations.*

MY Father's Account of the Exercises performed in the *Indian Congregations*, will tell us what a Blessed Fruit our *Eltor* saw of his Labours, before he went unto those Rewards which God had reserv'd in the Heavens for him. Some of the *Indians* quickly built for themselves good and large Meeting Houses after the *English Mode*, in which also after the *English Mode*, they attended the Things of the Kingdom of Heaven. And some of the *English* were helpful to them upon this account; among whom I ought particularly to mention that Learned, Pious and Charitable Gentleman, the Worshipful *Samuel Sewal*, Esq; who at his own Charge built a Meeting House for one of the *Indian Congregations*, and gave those *Indians* cause to pray for him under that Character, *He loveth our Nation, for he hath built us a Synagogue*.

It only remains that I give a touch or two upon the Worship which is attended in the *Synagogues* of the *Indians*. And first, the very Name of *Praying Indians* will assure us that *Prayer* is one of their Devotions; be sure, they could not be our *Eltor's* Disciples if it were not so. But how do they *Pray*? We are told, it is *Without a Form*, because from the Heart; which is as I remember, *Tertullian's* Expression concerning the Prayers in the Assemblies of the Primitive Christians; namely, *sine monitore quia de pectore*. It is evident, that the Primitive Christians had no stated *Liturgies* among them; that no *Forms of Prayers* were in their time imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel, that even about the Platform of Prayer given us by our Lord, it was the Opinion of *Austin* himself, notwithstanding the Advances made in his Age towards what we count *Superstitions*, that our Lord therein Taught not what Words we should use in Prayer, but what things we should pray for. And whatever Scoffs the Profanity of our Days,

has abused that *Phrase* and Thing withal, *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Days, counted it the Honour of his Fathers publick Prayers, *That he had them from, and made them by the Holy Spirit*. Our *Indians* accordingly find, that if they study the Words of God, and their own Sins and Wants, they shall soon come to that Attainment, *Behold they pray!* They can play with much Pertinence and Enlargement; and would much wonder at it, if they should hear of an *English* Clergy, that should Read their Prayers out of a Book, when they should pour out their Souls before the God of Heaven.

Their Preaching has much of *Eltor*, and therefore you may be sure much of *Scripture*, but perhaps more of the *Christian* than of the *Secular* in it. I know not how to describe it better than by reciting the Heads of a Sermon, uttered by an *Indian* on a Day of Humiliation kept by them, at a time when great Rains had given much Damage to their Fruits and Fields; 'twas on this wise.

A little I shall say, according to that little I know.

Gen. 8. 20, 21.

And Noah built an Altar unto *Jehovah*; and he took of every clean Beast, and of every clean Fowl, and offered Burnt-Offerings on the Altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savour, and the Lord said in his Heart, I will not again curse the Ground.

In that Noah sacrificed, he shew'd himself Thankful; in that Noah worshipped, he shew'd himself Godly. In that he offered Clean Beasts, he shew'd that God is an Holy God. And all that come to God, must be pure and clean. Know, that we must by Repentance, purge.

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purge our selves; which is the Work we are to do this Day.

Noah sacrificed and so worshipped. This was the manner of old time. But what Sacrifices have we now to offer? I shall answer by that in Psal. 4. 5. *Offer to God the Sacrifice of Righteousness, and put your Trust in the Lord.* These are the true Spiritual Sacrifices which God requireth at our hands, the Sacrifices of Righteousness; that is, we must look to our Hearts and Ways that they be Righteous; and then we shall be acceptable to God when we Worship him. But if we be unrighteous, unholty, ungodly, we shall not be accepted, our Sacrifices will be stark naught. Again, We are to put our Trust in the Lord. Who else is there for us to trust in? We must believe in the Word of God; if we doubt of God, or doubt of his Word, our Sacrifices are little worth; but if we trust stedfastly in God, our Sacrifices will be good.

Once more, What Sacrifices must we offer? My Answer is, we must offer such as Abraham offered. And what a Sacrifice was that? We are told in Gen. 22. 12. *Now I know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not withheld thy Son, thy only Son from me.* It seems he had but one dearly Beloved Son, and he offered that Son to God; and so God said, *I know thou fearest me!* Behold, a Sacrifice in Deed and in Truth! such an one must we offer. Only, God requires not us to Sacrifice our Sons, but our Sins, our dearest Sins. God calls us this Day to part with all our Sins, tho' never so beloved, and we must not withhold any of them from him. If we will not part with all, the Sacrifice is not right. Let us part with such Sins as we love best, and it will be a good Sacrifice!

God smelt a sweet savour in Noah's Sacrifice, and so will God receive our Sacrifices, when we worship him aright. But how did God manifest his Acceptance of Noah's Offering? 'twas by promising to Drown the World no more, but give us Fruitful Seasons. God has chastised us of late, as if he would utterly Drown us; and he has Drowned and Spoiled and Ruin'd a great deal of our Hay, and threatens to kill our Cattel. 'Tis for this that we Fast and Pray this Day. Let us then offer a clean and pure Sacrifice, as Noah did; so God will smelt a favour of Rest, and he will withhold the Rain, and bless us with such Fruitful Seasons as we are desiring of him.

Thus preached an Indian called Nipokon, above Thirty Years ago; and since that I suppose, they have grown a little further into the New-English way of Preaching: You may have in their Sermons, a *Kukkoosomwehteanok*, that is, a Doctrine, *Nabootomwehteanok*, or Question, a *Sampsooanok*, or an Answer, *Witcheaycuonok*, or a Reason, with an *Ouwoteanok*, or an Use for the Close of all.

As for Holy-days, you may take it for granted, our Eliot would not persuade his Indians to any Stated ones. Even the Christian-Festival it self, he knew to be a Stranger unto the Apostolical Times; that the exquisite *Vossius* himself acknowledges, 'twas not celebrated in the first or second Century: And that there is a Truth in the Words of the Great *Clementius*, *Anniversarium Diem Natalis Christi, celebratum fuisse, apud verissimos nunquam legitur.* He knew that if the Day of our Lord's Nativity were to be observed, it should not be in December: That many Churches for divers Ages kept it not in December, but in January; that *Chrysostom* himself, about four Hundred Years after our Saviour, excuses the Novelty of the December Season for it, and confesses it had not been kept above Ten Years at *Constantinople*: No, that it should be rather in September, in which Month the Jews kept the Feast that was a Type of our Lord's Incarnation; and *Solomon* also brought the Ark into the Temple; for our Lord was Thirty Years old when he entered upon his Publick Ministry; and he continued in it Three Years and an half: Now his Death was in March, and it is easy then to calculate when his Birth ought to be. He knew, that indeed God had hid this Day as he did the Body of *Moses*, to prevent Idolatry; but that *Antichrist* had chose this Day, to accommodate the Pagans in their Licentious and their Debauched *Saturnalia*; and that a *Tertullian* would not stick to say, *Shall we Christians who have nothing to do with the Festivals of the Jews, which were once of Divine Institution, embrace the Saturnalia, of the Heathen? How do the Gentiles shame us, who are more true to their Religion, than we are to ours? None of them will observe the Lord's-day, for fear lest they should be Christians; and shall not we then by observing their Festivals, fear lest we be made Ethnicks?* In fine, it was his Opinion, That for us to have stated Holy Days which are not appointed by the Lord Jesus Christ, is a deep Reflection upon the Wisdom of that glorious Lord; and he brought up his Indians in the Principles which the old *Waldenses* had about such unwarrantable Holy Days.

Nevertheless, he taught them to set apart their Days for both Fasting and Prayer, and for Fasting and Prayer, when there should be Extraordinary Occasions for them; and they perform the Duties of these Days with a very laborious Piety. One Party of the Indians long since of their own accord, kept a Day of Supplication together, wherein one of them discoursed upon Psal. 66. 7. *He rules by his Power for ever, his Eyes behold the Nations, let not the Rebellious exalt themselves.* And when one asked them afterwards, what was the Reason of their keeping of such a Day, they reply'd, *It was to obtain five Mercies of God.*

First, That God would slay the Rebellion of their Hearts. Next, That they might love God and one another. Thirdly, That they might



' might withstand the Temptations of wicked Men, so that they might not be drawn back from God. Fourthly, That they might be Obedient unto the Councils and Commands of their Rulers. Fifthly, That they might have their Sins done away by the Redemption of Jesus Christ: And lastly, That they might walk in the good Ways of the Lord. I must here embrace my Opportunity to tell the World, that our Cautious Eliot was far from the Opinion of those who have thought it not only warrantable, but also commendable to Adopt some Heathenish Usages into the Worship of God, for the more easy and speedy gaining of the Heathen to that Worship. The Policy of treating the Pagan Rites as the *Jesuits* were to do *Captives*, before they married them, to shave their Hair, and pare their Nails, our Eliot counted as *ridiculous* as *pernicious*. He knew that the Idolatries and Abominations of Popery, were founded in this way of *Profelyting* the barbarous Nations, which made their Descent upon the Roman Empire; and he look'd upon the like Methods which the *Protestants* have used, that they might ingratiate themselves with the *Papists*, and that our Separation from

them should become the less dangerous and sensible, to be the most sensible and dangerous Wound of the Reformation. Wherefore as no less a Man than Dr. Henry Moor says about our Compliances with the *Papists*, which are a sort of Pagans, *Their Conversion and Salvation being not to be compassed by needless Symbolizing with them in any thing, I conceive our best Policy is studiously to imitate them in nothing, but for all indifferent things, to think rather the worse of them for their using of them.* As no Person of Honour would willingly go in the known Garb of infamous Persons. Whatsoever we court them in, they do but turn it to our Scorn and Contempt, and are the more hardened in their own Wickedness. To act upon this Principle, is the Design and Glory of New-England! And our Eliot was of this Perswasion, when he brought his Indians to a pure, plain Scripture Worship. He would not gratify them with a Samaritan sort of blended, mixed Worship; and he imagined, as well he might, that the Apostle Paul's first Epistle to the *Corinthians* had enough in it, for ever to deter us all from such Unchristian and unhappy Temporizing.

(i) A Comparison between what the New-Englanders have done for the Conversion of the Indians, and what has been done elsewhere by the Roman Catholics.

IT is to be confessed, That the Roman Catholics have a Clergy so very numerous, and so little encumbered, and are Masters of such prodigious Ecclesiastical Revenues, as renders it very easy for them to exceed the Protestants in their Endeavours to Christianize the Pagan Salvages. Nor would I Reproach, but rather Applaud their Industry in this matter, wishing that we were all touched with an Emulation of it. Nevertheless, while I commend their Industry, they do by their Clamours against the Reformed Churches upon this account, oblige me to tax divers very scandalous things in the *Missions* which they make *pro propaganda fide* throughout the World; and therewithal to compare what has been done by that little Handful of Reformed Churches in this Country, which has in divers Regards out done the furthest Efforts of Popery.

The Attainments which with God's help we have carried up our Indians unto, are the chief Honour and Glory of our Labours with them. The Reader will smile perhaps, when I tell him, that by an odd Accident there are lately fallen into my hands, the Manuscripts of a *Jesuite*, whom the French employ'd as a *Missionary* among the Western Indians; in which Papers there are, both a Catechism, containing

the Principles which those Heathens are to be instructed in; and *Cases of Conscience*, referring to their Conversations. The Catechism which is in the *Troquoise* Language (a Language remarkable for this, that there is not so much as one *Labial* in it) with a Translation annexed, has one Chapter about Heaven, and another about Hell, wherein are such *Thick Skull'd* Passages as these.

- ' Q. How is the Soyl made in Heaven?
- ' A. 'Tis a very fair Soyl, they want neither for Meats nor Cloths: 'Tis but Wishing and we have them.
- ' Q. Are they employ'd in Heaven?
- ' A. No, they do nothing; the Fields yield Corn, Beans, Pumpkins, and the like, without any Tillage.
- ' Q. What sort of Trees are there?
- ' A. Always Green, Full, and Flourishing.
- ' Q. Have they in Heaven the same Sun, the same Wind, the same Thunder that we have here?
- ' A. No, the Sun ever shines; 'tis always fair Weather.
- ' Q. But how their Fruits?
- ' A. In this one Quality they exceed ours; that they are never wasted; you have no foot



ner pluckt one, but you see another presently going in its Room. And after this rate goes on the *Catechism* concerning *Heaven*. Concerning *Hell*, it thus discourses.

Q. *What sort of a Soyl is that of Hell?*

A. A very wretched Soyl; 'tis a *Fiery Pit*, in the Center of the Earth.

Q. *Have they any Light in Hell?*

A. No. 'Tis always dark, there's always *Smoke* there; their Eyes are always in Pain with it; they can see nothing but the Devils.

Q. *What shap'd things are the Devils?*

A. Very ill shap'd things; they go about with *Vizards* on, and they terrify Men.

Q. *What do they Eat in Hell?*

A. They are always *Hungry*, but the Damned feed on hot *Aspes* and *Serpents* there.

Q. *What Water have they to drink?*

A. Horrid Water, nothing but melted Lead.

Q. *Don't they die in Hell?*

A. No: Yet they eat one another, every Day; but anon, God restores and renews the Man that was eaten, as a crop Plant in a little time repullulates.

It seems, they have not thought this Divinity too *Grofs* for the Barbarians. But I shall make no Reflections on it; only add one or two *Cases of Conscience*, from their Directory.

'Tis one of their weighty Cases, 'Whether a Christian be bound to pay his Whore her Hire or no? To this Father *Brutar* answers, *Tho' he be bound in Justice to do it, yet inasmuch as the Barbarians* [you must suppose their Whores to be such] *Use to keep no Faith in such matters, the Christians may chuse whether they will keep any too.* But Father *Pierron*, with a most profound Learning answers, *He is not bound unto it all; inasmuch as no Man thinks himself bound to pay a Witch, that has Enchanted him; and this business is pretty much a kin to that.* Another of their difficult Cases is, 'Whether an Indian stealing an Hatchet from a Dutch-man, be bound to make Restitution? And it is very conscientiously determined, That if the Dutch-man be one that has used any Trade with other Indians, the Thief is not bound unto any Restitution; for 'tis certain, he gains more by such a Trade than the Value of many Hatchets in a Year.

I'll tire my Reader with no more of this wretched stuff. But let him understand, that the proselyted Indians of New-England have been instructed at a more Noble Rate; we have helped them at the *sincere Milk of the Word*; we have given them the whole Bible in their own Language; we have laid before them such a Creed as the Primitive Believers had, with such Explications as we embark our own Souls upon the Assurance of. And God has blessed our Education of these poor Creatures in such a measure, that they can *Pray and Preach* to better Edification (give me leave to say it) than Multitudes of the *Romish Clergymen*. We could

have Baptized many Troops of *Indians*, if we would have used no other measures with them, than the *Roman Catholics* did upon theirs at *Maryland*, where they Baptized a great Crew of *Indians*, in some *New Shirts*, bellow'd upon them to encourage them thereunto; but the *Indians* in a Week or two, not knowing how to wash their Shirts when they were grown foul, came and made a Motion, that the *Roman Catholics* would give more *Shirts* to them, or else they would renounce their Baptism. No, 'tis a *Thorough-paced Christianity*, without which we have not imagined our *Indians* Christianized.

Nor have we been aſted with a *Roman Catholick Avarice*, and *Falsity*, and *Crueity* in prosecuting of our Conversions; 'tis the Spirit of an *ELLIOT*, that has all along directed us. 'Tis a *Specimen of the Popish Avarice* that their Missionaries are very rarely employ'd but where *Beaver* and *Silver* and vast *Riches* are to be thereby gained; their Ministry is but a sort of Engine, to enrich *Europeans* with the Treasures of the *Indies*; thus one escaped from Captivity among the *Spaniards* told me, that the *Spanish* Friars had carried their Gospel into the spacious Country of *California*, but finding the *Indians* there to be extremely poor, they quickly gave over the Work, because sofooth such a poor Nation was not worth *Converting*. Whereas the *New-Englanders* could expect nothing from their *Indians*. We are to Feed them and Cloath them, rather than receive any thing from them, when we bring them home to God. Again, the Popish *Kafsty* disposes them to so much *Legerdemain* in their Applications, as is very disagreeable to the Spirit and Progress of the Gospel. My Worthy Friend, Mynheer *Dellius*, who has been sedulous and successful in his Ministry among the *Magua's*, assures me, that a *French* Predicator, having been attempting to bring over those *Indians* unto the latest (not of our Saviour so much as) of *Canda*, at last, for a Cure of their Infidelity, told them, he would give them a sign of God's Displeasure at them for it; The *Sun* should such a Day be put out. This terrified them at a sad rate, and with great Admiration and Expectation they told the Dutch of what was to come to pass; the Dutch reply'd, *This was no more than every Child among them could foretel; they all knew there would then be an Eclipse of the Sun*; but (said they) speak to Monheer, that he would get the *Sun* extinguish'd a day before, or a day after what he spoke of, and if he can do that, believe him. When the *Indians* thus understood what a Trick the *French* man would have put upon them, they became irreconcilably prejudiced against all his Offers; nor have the *French* been since able to gain much upon that considerable People. The *New-Englanders* have used no such *Stratagems* and *Knaavery's*; 'tis the pure *Light of Truth*, which is all that has been used for the affecting of the rude People, whom 'twas easy to have cheated into our Profession. Much less have we used that *Popish*



pish Cruelty, which the Natives of *America*, have by some other People been treated with. Even a *Bishop of their own*, hath published very Tragical Histories of the *Spanish Cruelties* upon the *Indians* of this Western World. Such were those Cruelties, that the *Indians* at length declared, *They had rather go to Hell with their ancestors, than to the same Heaven which the Spaniards pretended unto*; 'tis indeed impossible to reckon up the various and exquisite Barbarities, with which these execrable *Spaniards* murdered in less than fifty Years no less than fifty Millions of the *Indians*; it seems this was their way of bringing them into the *Sheepfold* of our Merciful Jesus! But on the other side, the good People of *New-England* have carried it with so much Tenderness towards the tawny Creatures among whom we live, that they would not own so much as one Foot of Land in the Country, without a fair Purchase and Consent from the Natives that laid claim unto it; albeit, we had a *Royal Charter* from the King of Great Britain, to Protect us in our Settlement upon this Continent. I suppose 'twas in revenge upon us for this *Conscientiousness*, that the late Oppressors of *New-England* acknowledged no Man to have any Title at all unto one Foot of Land in all our Colony. But we did and we do, think, notwithstanding the Banters of those Tories, that the *Indians* had not by their *Paganism* forsoaked all Right unto any of their Possessions, that the first pretended *Christians* that could, might Violently and yet Honestly seize upon them. Instead of this, the People of *New-England*, knowing that some of the *English* were sufficiently covetous and encroaching, and that the *Indians* in straits are easily prevailed upon, to sell their Lands, made a Law, That none should purchase, or so much as receive any Land of the *Indians*, without the Allowance of the Court. Yea, and some Lands which were peculiarly convenient for the *Indians*, our People who were more careful of them than they were of themselves, made a Law, That they should never be bought out of their hands. I suppose after this it would suprise Mankind, if they should hear such wonderful Creatures as our late Secretary *Randolph* affirming, *That Barbarous People were never civilly treated by the late Government, who made it their Business to encroach upon their Lands, and by degrees to drive them out of all*. But, how many other Laws we made in Favour of the *Indians*, 'tis not easy to reckon up.

'Twas one of our Laws, That for the further Encouragement of the hopeful Work among them, for the Civilizing and Christianizing of them, any *Indian* that should be brought unto Civility, and come to live orderly in any *English* Plantation, should have such Allowments among the *English*, as the *English* had themselves. And that if a competent number of them, should so come on to Civility, as to be capable of a Township, the General Court should grant them Lands for a Plantation as they do unto the *English*. Altho' we had al-

ready brought up their Claims unto our Lands. We likewise had our Laws, That if any of our *Cattle* did any damage to their Corn, we should make them ample Satisfaction, and that we should give them all manner of Assistance, in Fencing of their Fields. And because the *Indians* are excessively given unto the Vice of Drunkenness, which was a Vice unknown to them, until the *English* brought Strong-drink in their way, we have had a severe Law against all selling or giving any Intoxicating Liquors to them. It were well, if this Law were more severely Executed.

By this time I hope, I have stop'd the Calumnious Exclamations of the *Roman Catholics* against the Churches of the Reformation, for neglecting to Evangelize the Natives of the *Indies*. But let me take this occasion to address the *Christian Indians* of my own Country, into some of whose Hands, 'tis likely, this little Book may come.

¶ Behold, ye *Indians*, what Love, what Care, what Cost, has been used by the *English* here, for the Salvation of your precious and immortal Souls. It is not because we have expected any Temporal Advantage from you, that we have been thus concerned for your good; nor, 'tis God that has caused us to desire his Glory in your Salvation; and our Hearts have bled with Pity over you, when we have seen how horribly the Devil oppress'd you in this, and destroy'd you in another World. It is much that has been done for you; we have put you into a way to be happy both on Earth while you live, and in Heaven when you die. What can you think will become of you, if you flight all these Glorious Offers! Methinks you should say to your selves, *Vitob web kirtinne peb quoh bannan 'nshannamog ne mohsag wadchanittank!* You all believe that your Teacher *Eliot*, was a Good and a Brave Man, and you would count it your Blessedness to be forever with him. Nevertheless, I am to tell you, that if you don't become Real, and Thorough, and Holy *Christians*, you shall never have a comfortable Sight of him any more. You know how he has Fed you, and Cloath'd you, as well as Taught you; you know how his Bowels yerned over you, even as tho' had you had been his Children, when he saw any Afflictions come upon you; but if he find you among the wicked, in the Day of Judgement, which he so often warn'd you of, he will then be a Dreadful Witness against you, and when the Lord Jesus passes that Sentence on you, *Depart ye Cursed into Everlasting Fire with the Devil and his Angels*, even your own *Eliot* will then say *Amen*, unto it all. Now to deal plainly with you, there are two Vices, which many of you are too prone unto, and which are utterly inconsistent with a True Christianity. One of those Vices, is that of Idleness. If you had a Disposition to follow an Honest Calling, which should hinder you from growing as Confi-



'rable in your Estates, as many of your *English Neighbours*: Whereas, you are now poor, mean, ragged, starved, contemptible and miserable; and instead of being able, as your *English Neighbours* do, to support the Ordinances of God, you are beholden to them, not only for maintaining of those Blessed Ordinances among you, but for many other Kindnesses. And have you indeed forgot the Commandment of God, which has been so often laid before you, *Six Days shalt thou labour*? For shame, apply your selves to such *Labour*, as may bring you into more Handsome Circumstances. But the other of these Vices, is that of *Drunkenness*. There are godly *English Neighbours*, of whom you should learn to Pray; but there are some of you that

learn to *Drink*, of other profane, debauch'd *English Neighbours*. Poor Creatures, tis by this Iniquity that *Satan* still keeps Possession of many Souls among you, as much as if you were still in all your woful *Heavens*; and how often have you been told, *Drunards shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*? I beseech you to be sensible of the Mischief to which this thing exposes you, and never dream of escaping the *Vengeance of Eternal Fire*, if you indulge your selves in this *accursed thing*.

'I have done, when I have with'd, That the Gospel of the Lord Jesus may always Run and be Glorify'd among you!

### The CONCLUSION: Or, Eliot Expiring.

BY this time, I have doubtless made my Readers loth to have me tell what now remains of this little History; doubtless they are wishing that this *John* might have *Tarried unto the Second Coming of our Lord*. But, alas, All-devouring Death at last snatch'd him from us, and lighted all those Lamentations of ours, *My Father, My Father, the Chariots of Israel, and the Horsemen thereof*!

When he was become a sort of *Miles Emeritus*, and began to draw near his End, he grew still more Heavenly, more Savoury, more Divine, and scented more of the Spicy Country at which he was ready to put ashore. As the Historian observes of *Tiberius*, That when his *Life and Strength* were going from him, his *Life* yet remained with him; on the contrary, the *Grace* of this Excellent Man rather increased than abated, when every thing else was dying with him. 'Tis too usual with *Old Men*, that when they are past *Work*, they are least sensible of their Inabilities and Incapacities, and can scarce endure to see another succeeding them in any part of their Office. But our *Eliot* was of a Temper quite contrary thereunto; for finding many Months before his Expiration, That he had not Strength enough to Edify his Congregation with Publick *Prayers*, and *Sermons*, he importun'd his People with some Impatience to call another Minister; professing himself unable to die with Comfort, until he could see a good Successor ordained, settled, fixed among them. For this Cause, he also cry'd mightily unto the Lord Jesus Christ our *Ascended Lord*, that he would give such a Gift unto *Roxbury*, and he sometimes call'd his whole Town together to join with him in a Fast for such a Blessing. As the Return of their Supplications, our Lord quickly bestow'd upon

them, a Person young in Years, but old in Discretion, Gravity, and Experience; and one whom the Church of *Roxbury* hopes to find, *A Pastor after God's own Heart*.

It was Mr. *Nehemiah Walter*, who being by the Unanimous Vote and Choice of the Church there, become the *Pastor of Roxbury*, immediately found the Venerable *Eliot* Embracing and Cherishing of him, with the tender Affections of a Father. The good Old Man like Old *Aaron*, as it were disrobed himself, with an unspeakable Satisfaction, when he beheld his Garments put upon a Son so dear unto him. After this, he for a Year or two before his Translation, could scarce be perswaded unto any Publick Service, but humbly pleaded, what none but he would ever have said, *It would be a Wrong to the Souls of the People, for him to do any thing among them, when they were supply'd so much to their Advantage otherwise*. If I mistake not, the last that ever he Preached was on a Publick Fast; when he fed his People with a very distinct and useful Exposition upon the Eighty Third Psalm; and he concluded with an Apology, begging his Hearers to pardon the *Poornesse*, and *Mearnesse*, and *Brokenness*, (as he called it) of his Meditations; but added he, *My dear Brother here, will by'nd by mend all*.

But altho' he thus dismissed himself as one fo near to the Age of *Ninety*, might well have done, from his Publick Labours; yet he would not give over his Endeavours, in a more private Sphere, to *Do good unto all*. He had always been an Enemy to *Idleness*; any one that should look into the little *Diary* that he kept in his *Almanacks*, would see that there was with him, *No Day without a Line*; and he was troubled particularly, when he saw how much Time was devoured by that Slavery to *Tobacco*, which



which too many debase themselves unto; and now he grew old, he was desirous that his Works should hold pace with his Life; the less Time he saw left, the less was he willing to have lost. He imagined that he could now do nothing to any purpose in any Service for God; and sometimes he would say with an Air peculiar to himself, *I wonder for what the Lord Jesus Christ lets me live; he knows that now I can do nothing for him!* And yet he could not forbear Effaying to Do something for his Lord; he conceived, that tho' the English could not be benefited by any Gifts which he now fancied himself to have only the Ruines of, yet who can tell but the Negro's might! He had long lamented it with a Bleeding and a Burning Passion, that the English used their Negro's but as their Horses or their Oxen, and that so little Care was taken about their immortal Souls; he look'd upon it as a Prodigy, that any wearing the Name of Christians, should so much have the Heart of Devils in them, as to prevent and hinder the Instruction of the poor Blackamores, and confine the Souls of their miserable Slaves to a Destroying Ignorance, merely for fear of thereby losing the Benefit of their Vassalage; but now he made a Motion to the English within two or three Miles of him, that at such a time and Place they would send their Negro's once a Week unto him: For he would then Catechise them, and Enlighten them, to the utmost of his Power in the Things of their Everlasting Peace; however, he did not live to make much Progress in this Undertaking.

At length, when he was able to do Little without Doors, he try'd then to do something within; and one thing was this. A young Boy in the Neighbourhood, had in his Infancy fallen into a Fire, so as to burn himself into a perfect Blindness; but this Boy being now grown to some Bigness, the good old Man took him home to his House, with some Intentions to make a Scholar of him. He first informed him of and from the Scripture, in which the Boy profited, that in a little time he could even Repeat many whole Chapters Verbatim, and if any other in Reading missed a Word, he would mind them of it; yea, and an ordinary piece of Latin was become easy to the Lad; but having his own Eyes closed by Death, he could no longer help the poor Child against the want of his.

Thus, As the Aged Polycarp could say, *These Eighty Six Years have I served my Lord Jesus Christ; and he has been such a good Master to me all this while, that I will not now forsake him.* Such a Polycarp was our Eliot; he had been to many Years engaged in the sweet Service of the Lord Jesus Christ, that he could not now give it over: 'Twas his Ambition, and his Privilege, to bring forth Fruit in old Age; and what Veneration the Church of Smyrna paid unto that Angel of theirs, we were upon the like Accounts willing to give unto this Man of God.

While he was thus making his Retreat out of this evil World, his Discourses from time to time ran upon, *The Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ*; it was the Theme which he still had Recourse unto, and we were sure to have something of this, whatever other Subject he were upon. On this he talk'd, of this he pray'd, for this he long'd, and especially when any bad News arriv'd, his usual Reflection thereupon would be, *Behold, some of the Clouds, in which we must look for the Coming of the Son of Man.* At last, his Lord, for whom he had been long wishing, Lord, come! I have been a great while ready for thy Coming! At last, I say, his Lord came and fetched him away into the Joy of his Lord.

He fell into some Languishments attended with a Fever, which in a few days brought him into the Pangs (may I say? or Joys) of Death; and while he lay in these, Mr. Walter coming to him, he said unto him, Brother, *Thou art welcome to my very Soul. Pray retire to thy Study for me, and give me leave to be gone;* meaning that he should not, by Petitions to Heaven for his Life, detain him here. It was in these Languishments, that speaking about the Work of the Gospel among the Indians, he did after this Heavenly manner express himself, *There is a Cloud (said he) a dark Cloud upon the Work of the Gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that Work, and grant it may live when I am Dead. It is a Work, which I have been doing much and long about. But what was the Word I spoke last? I recal that Word, My Doings Alas, they have been poor and small, and lean Doings, and I'll be the Man that shall throw the first Stone at them all.*

It has been observed, That they who have spoke many considerable things in their Lives, usually speak few at their Deaths. But it was otherwise with our Eliot, who after much Speech of and for God in his Life-time, uttered some things little short of Oracles on his Death-Bed, which, 'tis a thousand Pities, they were not more exactly regarded and recorded. Those Authors that have taken the pains to Collect, *Apophthegmata Morientum*, have not therein been unserviceable to the Living; but the *Apophthegms* of a Dying Eliot must have had in them a Grace and a Strain truly extraordinary; and indeed the vulgar Error of the signal sweetness in the Song of a Dying Swan, was a very Truth in our Expiring Eliot; his last Breath smelt strong of Heaven, and was Articled into none but very gracious Notes, one of the last whereof, was, *Welcome Joy!* and at last it went away calling upon the standers by, to Pray, pray, pray! Which was the thing in which to vast a Portion of it, had been before Employ'd.

This was the Peace in the End of this Perfect and upright Man; thus was there another Star fetched away to be placed among the rest that



the third Heaven is now enriched with. He had once, I think, a pleasant Fear, that the Old Saints of his Acquaintance, especially those two dearest Neighbours of his, *Cotton of Boston*, and *Mather of Dorchester*, which were got safe to Heaven before him, would suspect him to be gone the wrong way, because he staid so long behind them. But they are now together with a Blessed Jesus, beholding of his Glory, and celebrating the high Praises of him that has call'd them into his marvellous Light. Whether Heaven was any more Heaven to him, because of his finding there, so many Saints, with whom he once had his Desirable Intimacies, yea, and so many Saints which had been the Seals of his own Ministry in this lower World, I cannot say; but it would be Heaven enough unto him, to go unto that Jesus, whom he had lov'd, preach'd, serv'd, and in whom he had been long assured, there does *All Fullness dwell*. In that Heaven I now leave him: Not without *Gryphus's* Pathetical Exclamations [*O beatum illum diem!*] 'Blessed will be the Day, O 'Blessed the Day of our Arrival to the Glorious 'Assembly of Spirits, which this great Saint is 'now rejoicing with!

Bereaved New-England, where are thy Tears, at this ill boding Funeral? We had a Tradition among us, 'That the Country could never perish, as long as *Eliot* was alive. But into whose Hands must this *Hippo* fall, now the *Austin* of it is taken away? Our *Elisba* is gone, and now who must next Year invade the Land? The Jews have a Saying, *Quando Luminaria patiuntur Eclipsin, malum signum est mundo*; But I am sure, 'tis a dismal Eclipse that has now befallen our New-English World. I confess, many of the Ancients fell into the Vanity of esteeming the Reliques of the Dead Saints, to be the Towers and Ramparts of the Places that enjoy'd them; and the Dead Bodies of two Apostles in the City, made the Poet cry out,

*A Facie Hostili duo propugnacula præsunt.*

If the Dust of dead Saints could give us any Protection, we are not without it; here is a Spot of American Soyl that will afford a rich Crop of it, at the Resurrection of the Just. Poor New-England has been as *Glastenbury* of Old was called, *A Burying place of Saints*. But we cannot see a more terrible Prognostick, than Tombs filling apace with such Bones, as those of the Renowned *Eliot's*; the whole Building of this Country trembles at the Fall of such a Pillar.

For many Months before he dy'd, he would often cheerfully tell us, 'That he was shortly going to Heaven, and that he would carry a deal of good News thither with him; he said, he would carry Tidings to the Old Founders of New-England, which were now in Glory, that Church-Work was yet carried on among us: That the Number of our Churches

was continually encreasing: And that the Churches were still kept as big as they were, by the Daily Additions of those that shall be saved. But the going of such as be from us, will apace diminish the Occasions of such happy Tidings.

What shall we now say? Our *Eliot* himself us'd most affectionately to bewail the Death of all Useful Men; yet if one brought him the notice of such a thing, with any Dependancies, or said, *O Sir, such an one is Dead, what shall we do?* He would answer, *Well, but God lives, Christ lives, the Old Saviour of New-England yet lives, and he will Reign till all his Enemies are made his Footstool*. This, and only this, Consideration have we to relieve us; and let it be accompanied with our Addresses to the God of the Spirits of all Flesh, that there may be *Timothies* raised up in the room of our Departed *Pauls*; and that when our *Moses's* are gone, the Spirit which was in those Brave Men, may be put upon the surviving Elders of our Israel.

The last Thing that ever our *Eliot* put off, was, *The Care of all the Churches*, which with a most Apostolical and Evangelical Temper he was continually sollicitous about. When the Churches of New-England were under a very uncomfortable Prospect, by the advantage which Men that sought the Ruine of those Golden and Holy and Reformed Societies, had obtained against them. God put it into the Heart of one well known in these Churches, to take a Voyage into England, that he might by his Meditations at *Whitehall*, divert the Storms that were impending over us. 'Tis not easy to express what Affection our Aged *Eliot* prosecuted this Undertaking with; and what *Thanksgiving* he rendered unto God for any hopeful Successes of it. But because one of the last Times, and for ought I know, the last of his ever setting Pen to Paper in the World, was upon this occasion; I shall transcribe a short Letter, which was written by the shaking hand, that had heretofore by Writing deserved so well from the Church of God, but was now taking its leave of Writing for ever. It was written to the Person that was Engaging for us, and thus it ran.

Reverend and Beloved Mr. Increase Mather,

I Cannot write. Read *Neh. 2. 10*. When *Sanballat* the Horonite, and *Tobijah* the Servant, the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly, that there was come a Man to seek the Welfare of the Children of Israel.

Let thy blessed Soul, feed full and fat upon this and other Scriptures. All other things I leave to other Men; and rest,

Your Loving Brother,

JOHN ELIOT.

These



These Two or Three Lines manifest the Care of the Churches which breath'd in this great Old Man, as long as he had a Breath to draw in the World. And since he has left few like him for a Comprehensive and Universal Regard upon the Prosperity of all the Flocks in this Wilderness, we have little now to comfort us in the Loss of one so like a Patriarch among us, but only this, That our poor Churches, it may be hop'd, have still some Interest in the Cares of our Lord Jesus Christ, *Who walks in the midst of the Golden Candlesticks.* Lord! make our Churches and keep them, yet *Golden Candlesticks!* Amen.

BUT I have not obtained the End of this History, nor may I let this History come to an End, until I do with some Importunity bespeak the Endeavours of good Men every where, to labour in that Harvest which the Blessed *Eliot* justly counted worthy of his utmost Pains and Cares. It was the Confession of *Themistocles*, that the Victory of *Miltiades* would not let him sleep in Quietness; may those of our *Eliot* raise a like Emulation in those that have now seen the Life of this Evangelical Hero! One *Robert Baile* (a true Son of *Epiphanius*) many Years ago published a Book, wherein several *Gross Lies*, by which the Name of that *John Cotton*, who was known to be one of the Holiest Men then alive, was most injuriously made odious unto the Churches abroad, were accompanied with some Reflections upon poor *New-England*, whereof this was one; *The way of their Churches hath most exceedingly hindered the Conversion of the poor Pagans: Of all that ever cross'd the American Seas, they are noted as most neglectful of the Work of Conversion.* We have now seen those Aspersions and Calumnies abundantly wip'd away. But let that which has been the Vindication of *New-England*, be also the Emulation of the World: Let not poor little *New-England*, be the only Protestant Country that shall do any Notable thing for the Propagation of the Faith, unto those *Dark Corners of the Earth which are full of cruel Habitations.* But the Addresses of so mean a Person as my self, are like to prevail but little abroad with Men of Learning and Figure in the World. However, I shall presume to utter my *Wishes* in the sight of my Readers; and it is possible that the Great God who *despises not the Prayer of the poor*, may by the Influences of his Holy Spirit, upon the Hearts of some whose Eyes are upon these Lines, give a Blessed Answer thereto.

Wherefore, May the People of *New-England*, who have seen so sensible a Difference between the Estates of those that sell *Drink*, and of those that preach *Truth*, unto the miserable Salvages among them, as that even *this* alone might inspire them, yet from a nobler Consideration than that of their own outward Prosperity thereby advanced, be encouraged still to profe-

cute, first the *Civilizing*, and then the *Christianizing* of the *Barbarians*, in their Neighbourhood; and may the *New-Englanders* be so far *Politick* as well as *Religious*, as particularly to make a Mission of the Gospel unto the Mighty Nations of the *Western Indians*, whom the *French* have been of late so studiously, but so unsuccessfully Tampering with; lest those horrid Pagans, who lately (as 'tis credibly affirmed) had such a Measure of *Devilish* and *Influence* in them, as to shoot a Volley of great and small Shot against the Heavens, in Revenge upon *The Man in the Heavens*, as they called our Lord, whom they counted the Author of the Heavy Calamities which newly have distressed them; be found spared by our Long-suffering Lord, [who then indeed presently tore the Ground asunder, with immediate and horrible Thunders from Heaven round about them, but kill'd them not!] for a Scourge to us, that have not us'd our Advantages to make a *virtuous People* of them. If a King of the *West Saxons* long since ascribed all the Disasters on any of their Affairs, to Negligencies in this Point, methinks the *New-Englanders* may not count it unreasonable in this way to seek their own Prosperity. Shall we do what we can that our Lord Jesus Christ may bestow upon *America*, (which may more justly be call'd *Columba*) that Salutation, *O my Dove!*

May the several Plantations, that live upon the Labours of their *Negro's*, no more be guilty of such a prodigious Wickedness, as to deride, neglect, and oppose all due means of bringing their poor *Negro's* unto our Lord; but may the *Masters* of whom God will one Day require the Souls of the *Slaves* committed unto them, see to it, that like *Abraham*, they have *Catechised Servants*; and not imagine that the Almighty God made so many Thousands of Reasonable Creatures for nothing, but only to serve the Lufts of *Epicures*, or the Gains of *Mammonists*; lest the God of Heaven out of meer Pity, if not *Justice*, unto those unhappy *Blacks*, be provoked unto a Vengeance which may not without Horror, be thought upon. Lord, when shall we see *Ethiopians read thy Scriptures with Understanding!*

May the *English* Nation do what may be done, that the *Welsh* may not be destroyed for the lack of Knowledge, lest our Indisposition to do for their Souls, bring upon us all those Judgments of Heaven, which *Gildas* their Country-man, once told them, that they suffered for their Disregards unto *our*, and may the nefarious Massacres of the *English* by the *Irish*, awaken the *English* to consider, whether they have done enough to reclaim the *Irish*, from the Popish Bigottries and Abominations, with which they have been intoxicated.

May the several *Factories* and *Companies*, whose Concerns lie in *Africa*, or *America*, be persuaded, as *Jacob* once, and before him

D d d d 2 his



his Grandfather *Abraham* was, That they always owe unto God certain *Proportions* of their *Possessions*, by the honest *Payments* of which little *Quit-Rents*, they would certainly *secure* and *enlarge* their Enjoyment of the Principal; but that they are under a very particular Obligation to communicate of our *Spiritual Things*, unto those Heathens, by whose *Carnal Things* they are Enriched: And may they therefore make it their Study, to employ some able and pious *Ministers*, for the Instruction of those *Infidels* with whom they have to deal, and honourably support such *Ministers* in that Employment.

May the Poor *Greeks, Armenians, Muscovites*, and others, in the Eastern Countries, wearing the Name of *Christians*, that have little *Preaching* and no *Printing*, and few Bibles or good Books, now at last be furnished with Bibles, Orthodox Catechisms, and Practical Treatises by the Charity of *England*; and may our *Presses* provide good store of good Books for them, in their own Tongues, to be scattered among them. Who knows what Convulsions might be hastened upon the whole *Mahometan World* by such an extensive Charity!

May sufficient Numbers of great, wise, rich, learned, and godly Men in the Three Kingdoms, procure well-composed *Societies*, by whose united Councils, the Noble Design of *Evangelizing* the World, may be more effectually carried on; and if some generous Persons will of their own Accord combine for such Consultations, who can tell, but like some other *Celebrated Societies* heretofore formed from such small Beginnings, they may soon have that Countenance of Authority, which may produce very Glorious Effects, and give Opportunity to gather vast *Contributions* from all well-disposed People, to Assist and Advance this Progress of Christianity. God forbid, that *Papery* should expend upon *cheating*, more than ten

times what we do upon *saving* the Immortal Souls of Men.

Lastly, May many Worthy Men, who find their Circumstances will allow of it, get the *Language* of some Nations that are not yet brought home to God; and wait upon the Divine Providence, for God's leading them to, and owning them in their *Apostolical Undertakings*. When they remember what *Rossinus* relates concerning the Conversion of the *iberians*, and what *Socrates*, with other Authors, relates concerning the Conversion wrought by occasion of *Fruventius* and *Adesius*, in the *Inner India*, all as it were by *Accident*, surely 'twill make them try, what may be done by *Design* for such things now in our Day! Thus, let them see, whether while we at home in the midst of wearisome Temptations, are Angling with *Rods*, which now and then catch one Soul for our Lord, they shall not be Fishing with *Nets*, which will bring in many Thousands of those, concerning whom with *unspeakable Joy* in the Day of the Lord, they may say, *Behold, I and the Children which God has given me!* Let them see, whether, supposing they should prosper no farther than to *Preach the Gospel of the Kingdom in all the World for a Witness unto all Nations*, yet the *End* which is then to *come*, will not bring to them the more happy *Lot*, wherein they shall stand, that are found so doing.

Let no Man be discouraged by the *Difficulties*, which the Devil will be ready to elog such Attempts against his Kingdom with; for I will take leave so to Translate the Words of the Wise Man, in *Prov. 27. 4. What is able to stand before Zeal? I am well satisfy'd*, that if Men had the Wisdom, To discern the *Signs of the Times*, they would be all Hands at Work, to spread the Name of our Jesus into all the Corners of the Earth. *Grant it, O my God; and Lord Jesus, Come quickly.*

### A Copy of a LETTER from the very Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter, to Mr. Increase Mather (then in London.)

Written upon the Sight of Mr. Eliot's LIFE, in a Former Edition.

Dear Brother,

I Thought I had been near Dying at 12 a Clock, in Bed; but your Book reviv'd me: I lay Reading it, until between One and Two. I knew much of Mr. Eliot's Opi-

mions, by many Letters, which I had from him. There was no Man on Earth, whom I Honour'd above him. It is his *Evangelical Work*, that is the *Apostolical Succession* that I plead



Men, who find  
of its great  
that are not yet  
wait upon the  
leading them on  
falsely upon  
what Refug-  
ion of the Re-  
other Assur-  
ion wronged  
Talefise, in the  
Accident, finally  
may be done by  
our Day! Thus  
we at home in  
ations, are ag-  
then can one  
not be Filling  
in many Days  
m with affec-  
d, they may say,  
eb God has great  
Supporting they  
n to Press the  
the World for a  
the End which is  
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Education

which I had from  
Earth, when  
his Evangelical  
Successor that  
I plead

## Book III. The History of New-England.

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' I plead for. I am now Dying, I hope, as  
he did. It pleased me to Read from him,  
my Case, [My Understanding faileth, my Me-  
mory faileth, my Tongue faileth, (and my  
Hand and Pen fail) but my Charity faileth  
not.] That Word much comforted me. I  
am as Zealous a Lover of the New-England  
(Churches, as any Man, according to Mr.  
Aoyes, Mr. Norrison, Mr. Mitchels, and the  
Synods Model.

August 3.  
1691.

' I loved your Father, upon the Letters I re-  
ceived from him. I love you better for your  
Learning, Labours, and peaceable Modera-  
tion. I love your Son better than either of  
you, for the Excellent Temper that appear-  
eth in his Writings. O that Godliness and  
Wisdom thus Increase in all Families!  
He hath Honour'd himself Half as much as  
Mr. Eliot: I say, but Half as much; for  
Deeds excel Words. God preserve you, and  
New-England! Pray for,

Your Fainting,

Languishing Friend,

R. I. BAXTER.

REMAINS



## REMAINS:

OR,

Shorter Accounts of Sundry Divines,

Useful in the

Churches of New-England.

Gathered by COTTON MATHER.

The Fourth Part.

Where to is more Largely Added,

The LIFE and DEATH of the Reverend  
MR. JOHN BAILY.

## INTRODUCTION.

READER,

**P***Erase, I pray, and ponder these Words of the Incomparable Turretine.*

Singularem Dei Gratiam, non possumus, quin Aternis Laudibus, Celebremus, quod Novissimis hinc seculis, restituta Evangelii Luce, tot tantisque Viros, Doctrinâ & Insigni Pietate Praeditos, ad Opus Reformationis Inchoandum & Promovendum Vocaverit, qui uberrimâ Rerum Sacrarum Scientiâ imbuti, & Heroico Spiritu donati, tanquam [אנשי מופת] Viri Prodigis, Tubæ Evangelicæ Sonitu, & Veritatis Divinæ Fulgore, Tenebras Erroris Crassissimas felicissime fugarunt, Antichristi Regnum Concusserunt, & Ecclesiam a Multis seculis misere Captivam, & Tyrannidis Jugo plusquam ferreo tantum non oppressam, à Babylone Mystica gloriose Evocarunt.

*Thou art prepared then to proceed, in what Remains of our History.*

Reader, *Thou knowest the way for a Man to become Wise, was thus declared by an Oracle, fit concolor fieret Mortuis.*

*And thou wilt not forget that Lesson sometimes given,*

*' Since we have lived here, and since we are to die, and yet live after Death, and others will succeed us when we are Dead, We are greatly concerned, to send before us a very Good Treasure, to carry with us a very Good Conscience, and to leave behind us a very Good Example.*

Behold



Behold some of them, who did so!

It hath been Remark'd, That when Sarah call'd her Husband Lord; her Speech was all an heap of Sinful Infidelity; there was but one Good Word in it: Yet the Spirit of God, long after takes notice of that Word. And why should

not we then take notice, of many a Good Works occurring in the Lives of these, concerning whom yet we do not pretend to suppose, that they lived altogether free from Infirmities? Their Infirmities were but Humanities.

## CHAP. I.

## REMAINS of the First Classis.

THE surviving Friends of the Rest, mentioned in the *First Catalogue of Confessors*, by whom the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ was brought into this Wilderness, having supplied me with so few and small Informations concerning them, that I am of the Opinion, *Præstat nulla quam Paucæ dicere*. Let all their Virtues then be Galaxied into this one Indistinct Lustre, they were Faithful Servants of Christ, and Sufferers for their being so.

Nor is it unlikely that there might be some among those good Men, who yet might be, in so little Extraordinary, that there might be the same Account given of them, that there was of a certain Bishop of Rome, in the Second Century, *Nihil præclari de Gubernatione & factis ejus commemorari potest*; and although we New-Englanders do dwell in so Cold, and so Clear an Air, that more of the smaller Stars may be seen by our Considerers than in many other Places, yea, and not only the Nebulosa of Cancer it self, but even the Lesser Stars which compose that Cloud, are Considered among us; nevertheless, for us to attempt the Writing of their Lives, would carry too much Fondness in it: Nor do we forget, that *Suum est cuique, ordi vulgus*.

Moreover, there were divers of these Worthy Men, who by removing back to England upon the Turn of the Times, have almost revealed us from such a Large Account of them, as otherwise might have been expected from us: And yet some Good Account of not a few among them, is to be reported. I remember, Dr. Patin in his Travels, tells us, That in a certain Museum at Vienna, he saw a Cherry-stone, on which were engraven above an Hundred Portraitsures, with different Ornaments of the Head upon them. I must now endeavour a Tenth part of an Hundred Fourtraitsures, with different Ornaments of the Mind upon each of them; nevertheless I am to take up almost as much as little room as a Cherry-stone for them all. Particularly,

Mr. RICHARD BLINMAN. After a Faithful Discharge of his Ministry, at Gloucester, and at New-*London*, he returned into England, and living to a good Old Age, he, who wherever he came, did set himself to Do Good, concluded

his Life at the City of Bristol, where one of the last Things he did, was to defend in Print the Cause of Infant Baptism.

Mr. SAMUEL EATON. He was the Son of Mr. Richard Eaton, the Vicar of Great Burdworth in Cheshire, and the Brother of Mr. Theophilus Eaton, the Renowned Governour of New-Haven. His Education was at the University of Oxford: And because it will doubtless recommend him to find such a Pen, as that which wrote the *Athene Oxonienses* thus Characterizing of him, Reader, thou shalt have the very Words of that Writer, concerning him: After he had left the University, he entered into the Sacred Function, took Orders according to the Church of England, and was Beneficed in his Country: But having been puritanically Educated, he did dissent in some Particulars thereof: Whereupon finding his Place too warm for him, he Revolted, and went into New-England, and Preached among the Brethren there. But let us have no more of this Wood! Mr. Eaton was a very Holy Man, and a Person of great Learning and Judgment, and a most Incomparable Preacher. But upon his Dissent from Mr. Davenport, about the Narrow Terms, and Forms of Civil Government, by Mr. Davenport, then forced upon that Infant Colony, his Brother advised him to a Removal: And calling at Boston by the way, when he was on his Removal, the Church there were so highly affected with his Labours, thus occasionally enjoyed among them, that they would fain have engaged him unto a Settlement in that Place. But the Lord Jesus Christ had more Service for him in Old-England, than he could have done in New; and therefore arriving in England, he became the Pastor of a Church at Duckfield, in the Parish of Stockport, in Cheshire, and afterwards at Stockport; and a Person of Eminent Note and Use, not only in that, but also in the Neighbour-County.

After the Restoration of K. Charles II. he underwent first Silencing, and then much other Suffering, from the Persecution, which yet calls for a National Repentance. He was the Author of many Books, and especially of some in Defence of the Christian Faith, about the God-Head of Christ, against the Socinian Blasphemies:



mies: And his Help was joined unto Mr. Timothy Tailors, in writing some Treatises entitled, *The Congregational Way Justified*. By these he Outlives his Death, which fell out at Denton, in the Parish of Manchester in Lancashire (where lays our Friend Rabbakeb Wood, he had beltered himself among the Brethren after his Ejection) on the Ninth Day of January, 1664. and he was Buried in the Chapel there.

Mr. WILLIAM HOOK. This Learned, Holy, and Humble Man, was born about 1600. and was for some time a Colleague with Mr. Davenport, in the Pastoral Charge of the Church at our New-Haven; on the Day of his Ordination, whereto he humbly chose for his Text, those Words in *Judg. 7. 10.* *Go thou, with Pbarah thy Servant;* and as humbly rais'd his Doctrine, *That in Great Services a little Help is better than none;* which he gave, as the Reason of his own being joined with so considerable a Gideon as Mr. Davenport. After this returning into England, he was for some while, Minister at *Asmuth* in *Devonshire*, and then Master of the *Schoo* on the *Strand*, near *London*, and so Chaplain to the Greatest Man, then in the Nation. He was the Author of divers Compositures that saw the Light; whereof perhaps one of the most memorable is that about, *The Privileges of the Saints on Earth above those in Heaven*. But there was one of his Compositures, which did more nearly concern himself, than perhaps his Persecutors did imagine; and that was about, *The Slaughter of the Witnesses*: For he bore a part in that *Slaughter*, when his Testimony to the Kingly Office of the Lord Jesus Christ, in his Church, procured him the Condition of a silenced Non-Conformist, from May 24. 1662. to March 21. 1677. when he died in, or near *London*, and went from the *Priviledges* of Labours among the *Saints on Earth*, to those of Rewards among the *Saints in Heaven*. He lies buried in the *Sleeping-Place* on the North-side of the *New Artillery Garden*.

Mr. ROBERT PECK. This Light having been by the Persecuting Prelates, put under a Bushel, was, by the good Providence of Heaven, fetch'd away unto *New-England*, about the Year 1638. where the Good People of our *Hingham* did Rejoice in the Light for a Season. But within Two or Three Years, the Invitation of his Friends at *Hingham* in *England*, perswaded him to a Return unto them; where, being though a Great Person for *Stature*, yet a Greater for *Spirit*, he was greatly serviceable for the Good of the Church.

Mr. HUGH PETERS. A Brief Narrative of his Life, both before and after his Abode,

for about Seven Years, in the Charge of the Church at *Salem*, the Reader may find at the Conclusion of his *Advice to his Daughter*, published under the Title of, *A Dying Father's last Legacy to an only Child*: And indeed, I heartily Recommend it unto his Reading. The Narrative of his Death has also been long since published unto the World: And it reports those to have been amongst his Last Words, *Oh! This is a Good Day! He is come that I have long looked for, and I shall be with him in Glory!*

Mr. THOMAS PETERS. He came over unto *New-England*, in the Time of the *Civil War*; and staying but about Three Years, he returned into *England*. A Worthy Man, and a Writer of certain Pieces, which will, I suppose, preserve his Memory among those that are Strangers, as I am thereunto.

Mr. SAXTON. He was a *Torshire* Man; a Studious and a Learned Person, a great Hebrician. The unsettled Condition of the Colony, and some unhappy Contention in the Plantation, where he Lived, put him upon removing from *Scituate*, first unto *Boston*, and so unto *England*, in his Reduced Age. I find in honest Mr. Ryther's Devout Book, Entitled, *A Plat for Mariners*, this Passage relating concerning him. 'An Old Puritan Minister, [Mr. Saxton of *Leeds*, in *Torshire*,] in a Storm, coming from *New-England*, when they were all expecting the Vessel to sink, he said, *Oh! who is now for Heaven, who is bound for Heaven!*

I say nothing, because I know nothing of Mr. Brey; but this, he also returned into *England*. But the less of him, the more might be written of Mr. GILES FIRMIN, who visited *New-England* in his younger Years, but afterwards became, in *England*, an Eminent Preacher of the Gospel, and a Writer, as well as a Preacher of it. Among the rest of his Books, that Golden one, which is Entitled, *The Real Christian*, does Really prove the Title to be his own Character; and the rest, as well as that, prove him to be an Able Scholar, as well as a Real Christian. I suppose him to be yet living in a Fruitful Old Age, at *Ridgewell* in *Essex*: But such Demonstrations, he hath still given of his Affections to *New-England*, on all occasions, that he might have justly resentment it, as an Injury, if he had been wholly omitted in the Catalogue of them that have deserved well of that Country.

Besides these Persons, there are some others, of whom a larger Account might be endeavoured.

Three shall be All that we will offer.



## CHAP. II.

## The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS ALLEN.

IT was a Computation made in that Year, when our Colony was just *Forty Years Old*, and our Land had *seen Rest Forty Years*, that of Ministers which had then come from England unto us, chiefly in the *Ten First Years*, there were *Ninety Four*: Of which Number, *Thirty One* were then *Alive*; *Thirty Six* had retired unto *Heaven*; *Twenty Seven* had returned back to *Europe*.

Of those *First Comers*, who again left the Country, soon after their *First Coming*, one was that Worthy Man Mr. *Thomas Allen*, who after he had for some time approved himself a Pious and Painful Minister of the Gospel, in our *Charlestown*, saw Cause to return back into England; where he lived unto a good Old Age, in the City of *Norwich*.

The Name of *Allen* being but our Pronunciation of the Saxon Word, *Alwine*, which is as much as to say *Beloved of All*, expressed the Fate of this our *Allen*, among the Generality of the well-disposed. And being a *Man greatly Beloved*, he applied himself to enquire much into the *Times*, wherein his Predecessor *Daniel*, was an *Hard Student*, when the Angel came to call him *so*.

Though he staid not very long in this Country, yet this Country lays claim especially to Two of his Compositures, which have been Serviceable unto the World. The former of these was printed here; namely, *An Invitation unto Thirty Sinners to come unto their Saviour*; prefaced and assisted into the Light by our Worthy *Higginson*. But the latter was Printed beyond Sea; and Entituled, *A Chain of Scripture Chronology*: Wherein the Author was disposed like the Illustrious *Bacholizer*, who being weary of *Controversy*, betook himself to *Chronology*, saying, *Malle se Computare quam Disputare*. This is a most Learned and useful Piece; and all my further Account of the Author shall be in the Words of the Famous *Greenhill*, in his Epistle before it. Says he;

' This Work having had its Conception in a Remote Quarter of the World, it was latent in his Closet, the greatest part of Seven Years; as *Joash* sometimes was kept secret in a Chamber of the Temple, before he was brought to publick View, by the Means of *Jehojadab*: that good Old High Priest: And it had still been suppressed had not the Author been pressed, and charged with hiding of a *Talent* in a Napkin, by such another as *Jehojadab* was [Mr. *John Cotton*] whose Soul is now amongst the Saints in Heaven, resting from its manifold Labours, and whose Name both is and ever will be precious in all the Gates of the Daughters of *Sion*, through all Ages. When *Moses*, *Daniel*, and *John* were in suffering Conditions, they had much Light from God, and gave forth much Truth concerning the Church and the Times: And many of our Reverend, Learned, and Godly Brethren, being through the Iniquity of the Times driven into *America*, by looking up unto God, and by searching of the Scriptures, received and found much Light concerning the Church and the Times; and have made us, and Ages to come, beholden to them, by communicating the same; amongst whom now, is this Learned and Judicious Author.

From the Epitaph of *Heloicus*, the Great Chronologist, we will presume to borrow a *Tetrastich*, for this great Student in Chronology.

## Epitaphium.

Angelicos inter cætos, Animasq; Beatas,  
Spiritus ALLENI Gaudia Mille Capit:  
Ad Litui Sonitum dum Corpus & Ossa resurgant,  
Torus ut ALLENUM Vivificatus eras.

Eccc CHAP.



## CHAP. III.

## The LIFE of Mr. JOHN KNOWLES.

OUR Blessed Saviour has denounced that Righteous and Fearful Curse, upon those, who despise the Offers of his Glorious Gospel, *Whosoever shall not receive you, nor bear your Words, it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah, in the Day of Judgment, than for that City.* And the Excellent Knowles, was an Eminent Person among those *Embassadors of Heaven*, in the Quarrel of whose Entertainment, the King of Heaven, wonderfully accomplished that Prediction. If *New-England* hath been in some Respects *Immanuel's Land*, it is well; but this I am sure of, *Immanuel College* contributed more than a little to make it so, a Fellow whereof once was our Mr. John Knowles.

He was among the *First Comers* into *New-England*, joined as a Colleague with Mr. Philips at *Watertown*. But as he began, so he ended his pious Days in *England*; between which there occurred one very Remarkable Providence, now to be Related.

In the Year 1641. One Mr. Bennet, a Gentleman from *Virginia*, arrived at *Boston*, with Letters from well-disposed People there, unto the Ministers of *New-England*, bewailing their sad Condition, for the want of the Glorious Gospel, and entreating that they might hence be supplied with Ministers of that Gospel. These Letters were openly Read at *Boston* upon a *Lecture-Day*; Whereupon the Ministers agreed upon setting apart a Day for *Fasting and Prayer*, to implore the Direction of God about this Business; and then the Churches of *Watertown*, *Braintree*, and *Roxbury*, having each of them two Ministers apiece, Mr. Philips of *Watertown*, Mr. Thompson of *Braintree*, and Mr. Miller of *Roxbury*, were pitched upon for the intended Service; whereof the General Court so approved, that it was ordered, the Governour should Recommend these Persons by his Letters to the Governour and Council at *Virginia*.

Mr. Philips being Indisposed for the Voyage, Mr. Knowles went in his Room; and Mr. Miller's Bodily Weaknesses, caused him also to Decline the Voyage. But the Two Churches of *Watertown* and *Braintree*, though they loved their Ministers very well, yet cheerfully dismissed them unto this great Concern; accounting it their Honour that they had such Desirable Persons, by whom they might make a Mission of the Gospel, unto a People that sat in the Region and Shadow of Death.

On Oct. 7. 1642. They began their Voyage: At *Rhode-Island*, they lay long Wind-bound;

and they met with so many other Difficulties, that they made it Eleven Weeks of dangerous Passage, before they arrived at *Virginia*: Nevertheless, they had this Advantage in the way, that they took in a Third Minister for their Assistance; namely, Mr. James, then at *New-Haven*.

Though their hazardous Retardations in their Voyage, made them sometimes to suspect, whether they had a clear Call of God unto their Undertaking, yet the Success of their Ministry, when they came to *Virginia*, did sufficiently extinguish that Suspicion. They had little Encouragement from the Rulers of the Place, but they had a kind Entertainment with the People; and in the several parts of the Country where they were bestowed, there were many Persons by their Ministry brought home to God.

But as *Austin* told Mankind, *The Devil was never turned Christian yet*: the Powers of Darkness could not count it for their Interest, that the Light of the Gospel powerfully preached, should reach those Dark Places of the Earth. The Rulers of that Province did not allow of their publick Preaching; but instead thereof, an Order was made, *That such as would not conform to the Ceremonies of the Church of England, should by such a Day, depart the Country.* By which Order, these Holy, Faithful, Painful Ministers, were driven away from the *Virginia Coast*: But when they return'd, as they Left behind them, not a few Seals of their Ministry, so they Brought with them some, who afterwards proved Blessings to *New-England*.

Well, before the Day fixed for the Departure of these Ministers came, the *Indians* far and near having entred into a Conspiracy, to cut off the *English* in those Territories, executed it in an Horrible Massacre, whereby at least Three Hundred poor *English Virginians*, were at once Barbarously Butchered, which Massacre was also accompanied with a Grievous Mortality, that caused many sober Persons to Remove out of that Colony, and others to acknowledge the Justice of God upon them, for the *Ill-Treats*, which had been given to the Ministers of his Gospel, and the Gospel brought by those Ministers.

After this, did Mr. Knowles remove back to *England*, where he was a Preacher at the Cathedral, in the City of *Bristol*, and Lived in Great Credit and Service for divers Years.

But



But when the Act of Uniformity, made such a Slaughter of *Non-Conformists*, Mr. Knowles was one of the Ministers which were silenced by that Act. And after that *Civil Death*, he lived in London a Colleague to the famous Mr. *Kentish*, and a Blessing to the Church of God.

Exercising his Ministry in the City of London, he underwent many *Grievous Persecutions*, and received as many *Glorious Deliverances*. But when some of his Friends discouraged him, with Fears of his being thrown into Prison, if he did not affect more of Privacy, he Reply'd, *In Truth, I had rather be in a Gaol, where I might have a Number of Souls, to whom I might Preach the Truths of my Blessed Master, than live Idle in my own House, without any such Opportunities.*

He lived unto a very Great Age, and staid longer out of Heaven, than the most of them that *Live in Heaven upon Earth*. But in his great Age, he continued still to do *Great Good*; wherein his Labours were so fervent and eager, that he would sometimes *Preach till he fell down*; and yet have a *Toutful Reading*, in the *Matter and Spirit* of his Preaching. His last *Falling Down* was a *Flying up*; and an *Escape* to that Land where *The Weary are at Rest*.

## Epitaphium.

Vis Scire, Quis Sim? Nomen est KNOLESIUS  
Dixi Satis!

## CHAP. IV.

### Eliza's Bones. The LIFE of Mr. HENRY WHITFIELD.

*Capiditatem Imitandi fecit; Spem abstulit.*

There has been a *Trite Proverb*, which I with indeed were so *Thread-bare* as to be never used more;

*Angelus Juvenis, senibus Satanizat in Annis.*

which, though 'twere pity it should ever speak *English*, has been *Englisht*, *A Young Saint, an Old Devil*. I remember *Erasmus* believes, the *Devil* himself was the Author of that *Proverb*. This I am sure, the *Proverb* was none of *Solomon's*, who says, *Train up a Child in the way that he should go, and when he is old, he will not leave it*. Indeed a *Young Sinner* may make an *Old Devil*; a *Young Hypocrite*, a *Young Disssembler*, pretending to *Sainthood*, may do so; but a *Young Saint* will certainly make an *Old Angel*.

And so did our Blessed *Whitfield*. He was a Gentleman of Good Extraction by his Birth; but of a Better by his *New-Birth*: Nor did his *New-Birth* come very long after his Birth. He did betimes begin his Journey *Heavenwards*; but he did not soon *Tire* in that Journey; nor did the *Serpent* by the way, the *Adder in the Path*, prevail to make him come short home at last.

His Father being an Eminent *Lawyer*, designed this his youngest Son, to be a *Lawyer* also, and therefore afforded him a Liberal Education, first at the *University*, and then at the

*Inns of Court*. But the Gracious and early Operations of the Holy Spirit, on his Heart, inclined him rather to be Preacher of the Gospel, and in his Inclinations he was encouraged by such Eminent Ministers, as Dr. *Stanton*, Mr. *Byfield*, and others.

He was very pious in his Childhood, and because pious, therefore *Prayerful*; yea, fo addicted unto Prayer, that in the very School it self, he would be sometimes *Praying*, when the *Scholars* about him imagined by his Postures, that he had only been intent upon his Book.

As he grew up, he grew exceedingly in his Acquaintance with God, with Christ, and with the exceeding Riches of *Grace* display'd in the *New Covenant*. And he gained such a grounded Assurance of his own saving Interest, in that Covenant, that he had not for Forty Years together, fallen into any *Miscarriage*, which made any Considerable Breach upon that Assurance.

Oakely in Surrey, was the Place where the Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ now *Station'd* him; where his Labours were blessed unto the Good of many, nor only in his own Town, but in all the Circumjacent Country, from whence on *Holy-Days*, the People would flock to hear him. At length, observing that he did more Good, by Preaching sometimes

Eccc 2

Abroad,



Abroad, than by preaching always at Home, and enjoying then a *Church-Living* of the first Magnitude, besides a fair Estate of his own, he procured and maintained another Godly Minister at *Okely*; and by means thereof, he had the Liberty to preach in many Places, which were destitute of Ministers, where his Labours were successful in the Conversion of many Souls unto God.

He was one who abounded in *Liberality* and *Hospitality*; and his House was always much Resorted unto. He was for Twenty Years, a *Conformist*; but yet a pious *Non-Conformist* was all this while very dear unto him: And such persecuted Servants of Christ, as Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Nye, then molested for their *Non-Conformity*, were sheltered under his Roof. At last, being present at the Conference between Mr. Cotton, and some other Famous Divines, upon the Controversies of *Church-Discipline*, there appeared so much of *Scripture* and *Reason* on that side, that Mr. Whitfield also became a *Non-Conformist*. But now, finding it impossible for him, to proceed in the Publick Exercise of his Ministry, he obtained a *Godly Successor*, he embraced a *Modest Secession*, and he Resigned his Place with the true Spirit of *Self-Denial*.

He now sold his *Personal Estate*, and came over to *New-England*, in the Year 1639, with a Multitude of poor People, out of *Surrey*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*, who could not live without his Ministry. With these, he began a New Plantation, about Twenty Miles from *New-Haven*, and called it *Guilford*: Where he mightily encouraged the People to bear with a Christian Patience and Fortitude, the Difficulties of the Wilderness, which they were come into; not only by his *Exhortations*, but also by his own Exemplary Contentment, with low and mean Things, after he had once lived in a more splendid manner, than most other Ministers.

His way of Preaching was much like Dr. Sibbs's; and there was a marvellous Majesty

and Sanctity, observable in it. He carried much *Authority* with him; and using frequently to *Visit* the particular Families of his Flock, with Profitable Discourses on the Great Concerns of their *Intiour State*, it is not easy to describe the Reverence with which they entertained him.

He sojourned Eleven Years at *Guilford*, living with his large Family of Ten Children, mostly on his own Estate, which was thereby exceedingly exhausted. But the *Inconveniencies* of *New-England*, and *Invitations* to *Old*, at length overcame him, to return into his Native Country: And at the Time of parting, the whole Town accompanied him unto the *Water-side*, with a Spring Tide of Tears, because they should see his Face no more.

This was in the Year 1650.

How highly his Ancient Friends then welcomed him; how highly the greatest Persons in the Nation then respected him; how faithfully he then discharged his Ministry in the City of *Winchester*; how many Services he occasionally did for *New-England*; and how Triumphantly at last he flew away to Heaven; must be no part of this History.

But let the Excellent Words of *Lupichius* in his *Epitaph*, be borrow'd for an *Epitaph* to this Rare Person; inasmuch as no Words can more *lively* express the very Spirit of all his *Life*.

*Dum mihi Vita fuit, Tibi, CHRISTE, Fidelis ut essem,*

*Mente Pia Studui, Dogma Sonando Tuum.*

*Tu mihi Deditis, — Tu Divitibus, fuisi;*

*Tu mihi Defuncto, Gloria, Vita, Salus.*



## CHAP. V.

## REMAINS of the Second Classis.

OF our Second Catalogue are now fallen asleep, ARNOLD, the Author of a Savoury Discourse, published under the Title of *David serving his Generation*: BISHOP, BULKLEY, CARTER, DEAN, HANFORD [for which Worthy Man, let the Reader, here in a *Crabber*, as we go along, refresh himself with one *Crotchety Passage*: He was near Forty Years a Faithful, Painful, and Pious Minister at Norwalk, even from the first Settlement of that Plantation: But though he had the Comfort of seeing a Good and Great Success to his Ministry there, yet there were Times wherein the Fire of Contention annoy'd the Affairs of that Church exceedingly: And in this Fire, there once happened such a Smoke, that the People made this one of their Articles to the Council against him, that in a certain Paper of his, he had opprobriously called them *Indian Devils*: The Council thereupon with Wonder, calling for the Paper, wherein the Reproachful Terms was to be look'd for, found his Expression to have been only this, *Every Individual among them*: Which occasioned a very Joto-ferious Reflection upon the Ridiculous Errors and Follies that attend a Quarrelsome Disposition: ] HOUGH, NEWTON. And into this Catalogue I am content that there should be received (for the Saints of this Catalogue already departed, have received him) Honelt Mr. Nicholas Baker of Scituate; who, tho' he had but a Private Education, yet being a Pious and Zealous Man; or as Dr. *Arrowsmith* expresses it, so Good a *Logician*, that he could offer up to God a *Reasonable Service*, so Good an *Arithmetician*, that he could wisely Number his Days; and so Good an *Orator*, that he persuaded himself to be a *Good Christian*; and being also one of good Natural Parts, especially of a strong Memory, was chosen Pastor of the Church there; and in the Pastoral Charge of that Church, he continued about Eighteen Years, until that Horror of Mankind, and Reproach of Medicine, the STONE (under which he preached Patience, by a very memorable Example of it; never letting fall any Word worse than this, which was an usual Word with him, *A Mercy of God it is no worse!*) put an end unto his Days.

But he that brings up the Rear, is Mr. JOHN WOODBRIDGE, of whom we are able to speak a little more particularly.

He was Born at Stanton, near Highworth, in Wiltshire, about the Year 1613. of which Pa-

trish his Father was Minister; and a Minister so Able and Faithful, as to obtain an high Esteem among those that at all knew the Invaluable Worth of such a Minister. His Mother was Daughter to Mr. Robert Parker, and a Daughter who did so *Virtuously*, that her own Personal Character would have made her highly esteemed, if a Relation to such a Father had not farther added unto the Lustre of her Character.

Our JOHN was, by his Worthy Parents, trained up in the Way that he should go, and sent unto Oxford, when his Education and Proficiency at School had ripened him for the University; and kept at Oxford, until the Oath of Conformity came to be required of him; which neither his Father, nor his Conscience approving, he removed from thence unto a Course of more Private Studies. The Rigorous Enforcing of the Unhappy Ceremonies, then causing many that understood, and regarded the Second Commandment in the Laws of Heaven, to seek a peaceable Recess for the pure Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ in an American Desert; our young Woodbridge, with the Consent of his Parents, undertook a Voyage to New-England about the Year 1634. and the Company and Assistance of his Worthy Uncle Mr. Thomas Parker, was not the least Encouragement of his Voyage.

He had not been long in the Country, before Newberry began to be planted; where he accordingly took up Lands, and so seated himself, that he Comfortably and Industiously studied on, until the Advice of his Father's Death obliged him to Return into England; where, having settled his Affairs, he Returned again unto New-England, bringing with him his Two Brothers; whereof one died by the way. He had married the Daughter of the Honourable Thomas Dudley, Esq. and the Town of Andover then first peeping into the World, he was by the Hands of Mr. Wilken and Mr. Worcester, Sept. 16. 1644. ordained the Teacher of the Congregation there.

Here he continued with Good Reputation, discharging the Duties of his Ministry, until upon the Invitation of his Friends, he went once more to England, in the Year 1647. where he soon found Employment (besides his being a Chaplain to the Commissioners treating with the King at the Isle of Wight) first at the Considerable Town of Andover, and afterwards at Burford



Burford St. Martins, in Wiltshire; at the last of which Places, he continued until the Return of *Episcopacy* first sequestered him, and they being out of the School, at *Newberry*, the infamous *Bartholomew-Ath*, caused him, in the Year 1663, (with his now Numerous Family) to come once more unto *New-England*. Here it was not long before the Church of *Newberry* solicited him, to become an Assistant unto his Aged Uncle Mr. *Parker*; and in answer to their Solicitations, he bestowed his Constant, Learned and Holy Labours upon them.

At last, there arose little Differences between him and some of the People upon certain Points of *Church-Discipline*, wherein his *Largeness* and their *Straints*; might perhaps better have met in a *Temper*; and these Differences ended not, without his putting an end unto his own Ministry among them; after which, the Remarkable Blessing of God upon his own private Estate, abundantly made up to him the Publick Stipend which he had parted withal. The Country hereupon in Token of their Value for him, chose him a *Magistrate* of the Colony, that so he might in yet a more extensive Capacity, be *A Minister of God unto them for Good*; and upon the Alteration of the Government, he was made a *Justice of Peace*, in which Office he continued unto the last.

He had Issue Twelve Children, whereof Eleven lived unto the Age of Men and Women: And he had the Consolation of seeing Three Sons, with Two Sons-in-Law, Improved in the Ministry of the Gospel, and Four Grandsons happily advancing thereunto. A Person he was, truly of an Excellent Spirit; a Pious Disposition accompanied him from his Early Childhood, and as he grew in Years, he grew in the Proofs and Fruits of his having been sanctified from his Infancy. He spent much of his Time in Holy Meditations, by which the Forecasts of Heaven, were continually Feeding of his Devout Soul; and he abounded in all other Devotions of Serious, Heavenly, Experimental Christianity.

He was by Nature wonderfully Composed, Patient, and Pleasant; and he was, by Grace,

much more so: He had a great Command of his Passions, and could, and would, and often did forgive Injuries, at a rate that hardly can be imitated. It was rarely or never observed, that Worldly Disappointments made any Grievous Impressions upon his Mind; but as once, when Word was brought him, that a fore Disaster had befallen many of his Cattel, the Messenger was exceedingly surprized, on his beholding the only Relentsments of this Good Man thereupon to be in these Humble Expressions, which were the first he utter'd, *What a Mercy it is, that this is the first Time that ever I met with such a Disaster!*

This was the Frame of Mind with which he still entertain'd all Disastrous Occurrences. Only he was observably overwhelmed by the Death of his most Religious, Prudent and Faithful Consort, when he was July 1. 1691. Fifty Years after his first Marriage unto her, torn away from the Desire of his Eyes. His Value for the whole World, was, after a manner, extinguished in this Loss, of what was to him the best part of it; and he sometimes declared himself desirous to be gone, whenever the Lord of Heaven should please to call him thither.

At last, about the Beginning of March, 1695, the Strangury arrested him; and he, who had been a Great Reader, a Great Scholar, a Great Christian, and a Pattern of Goodness in all the Successive Stations, wherein the Lord of Hosts had placed him, on March 17. the Day of the Christian Sabbath, after much Pain, went unto his Everlasting Rest; having a few Minutes before it, refused a Glass of offered Wine, saying, *I am going where I shall have better!*

His Age was about Eighty Two.

Let him now report the rest himself, in a Epitaph, like that on the Tomb of *Christianus Macabaeus*.

*Quam Vivens Potui tantum Sperare, Quies  
Mortuus in Solida nunc Statione fruor.*

CHAP.



## CHAP. VI.

## REMAINS of the Third Classis.

Several, in our Third Catalogue, have upon the late Revolutions, returned back to Europe, and several are yet living in Service and Esteem among our selves.

Article (I.) But of those that are gone unto the better World, we have cause particularly to remember Mr. THOMAS GILBERT, whose *History* is, it may be, sufficiently related in his *Epitaph*, which is at this Day to be read on his Tomb in *Charlestown*.

*Here is Interred the Body of that Reverend, Sincere, Zealous, Devout and Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. THOMAS GILBERT, sometime Pastor of the Church of Christ, at Cheddle in Cheshire: Also, sometime Pastor of the Church of Christ at Eling, in Old-England: Who was the Proto-Martyr, the first of the Ministers that suffered Deprivation, in the Cause of Non-Conformity in England: And after, betaking himself to New-England, became Pastor of the Church of Christ, in Topsfield; and at Sixty Three Years of Age, departed this Life. Interred Oct. 28. 1673.*

*Omnia praterunt, prater amare Deum.*

*These Things pass for ever, Vain World, away;  
But Love to God, This, This endures for ay.*

*Gilberti hic renuem, Lectores, Ceruitis, Ulmbran,  
Longè hac Clara Magis Stella Micaufq; fuit.  
Sic fuit in Vita Gilbertus, sicq; Recellit,  
Stecce detur nobis Vivere, sicq; Mori.*

*Lo here of Gilbert, but a Shadow sight;  
He was a Star of more illustrious Light.  
Such Gilbert was in Life, such in his Death;  
God grant we may so live, so yield our Breath.*

Article (II.) On Dec. 28. 1674. Died Mr. John Oxenbridge, a Successor to four Famous JOHNS, in the Pastoral Charge, of the First Church in Boston. He was Born in Davenport, Norhamptonshire, Jan. 30. 1608. Both Cambridge and Oxford contributed unto his Liberal Education; and in one of those Universities he proceeded *Master of Arts*, in the Year 1631.

The Year following, he became a Publick Preacher of the Gospel; and after this, taking successively Two Voyages to *Barmudaz*, he at length returned into *England*, and in the Year 1644. became a Pastor to a Church in *Bevery*. I find him after this, a Fellow of *Eaton College*: But in the General *Synod* that befel the *Non-Conformists*, A. C. 1662. I find him swimming away to *Surrinam*, in *America*. From thence he came to *Barbados*, in the Year 1667. and to *New-England* in the Year 1669. where he succeeded Mr. *Davenport*, and continued until his last Remove, which was to the City of God.

The Abilities and Inclinations of this Worthy Man, are discovered in several of his published Compositures. In *England* he published several Discourses on, *The Duty of Watchfulness*. He also published, *A Proposition of propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies, in the Continent of Guiana being some Gleanings of a larger Discourse*. That larger Discourse is yet sleeping: But upon Perusal of the M. S. I am sensible, that there is in it a grateful Variety of Entertainment. After he came to *New-England*, he published a *Sermon*, preached at the Anniversary Election of our Governor and Assistants. And he likewise published a *Sermon* about *Seasonable seeking of God*.

The Piety which breathed in these Compositures, was but what he maintained in his *Daily Walk*: And sometimes he found the Leisure to Articulate the Breathing of it in Writing. We read concerning *Balaam*, *The Lord put a Word in his Mouth*: It should seem, his heart was not holily affected with what was expressed by his Mouth. But the Word was in the Heart, as well as in the Mouth of our *Oxenbridge*; and his Pen also sometimes transcribed his Heart. Once thus particularly,

‘ Certain late Experiments of the Grace of  
‘ God in Christ, to J. O. a poor Worm, who  
‘ desires to Record them, to the Praise of his  
‘ Grace.

‘ Nov. 19. 1666. was a Dark Day; my Bo-  
‘ dily Spirits being very low (tho’ without  
‘ Pain) and my Heart shut up, that I could  
‘ not look up to God. This made me to ap-  
‘ prehend the sad Condition of a Soul deserted  
‘ of God in a Time of Affliction; but the  
‘ Lord suffered not this Dark Maze to continue.  
‘ For that Night he thawed my Heart, and  
‘ opened it with some Freedom to himself.

But



But what shall I say for the strange and strong Consolations; with which he filled my Soul, on the 20 and the 21 of November? No Words can express what I have felt in my Heart. I was wholly taken up with the Thoughts of the Kindness of God. I said, *What Love is like this Love? And who is a God like unto thee? and what remains for me, but to love and to praise thee for ever?* Now Death was no Dark Thing to me, neither was any Concern of this Life considerable. And now I have said, *Who can lay any thing to my Charge, since Christ hath satisfied by his Death, and hath gotten a Release by his Resurrection, and lives for ever to perfect my Salvation?* This hath been a great Stay to me in my *Solitary Condition*; tho' bereft of such Relations, a precious Wife, and two such Children. But the Lord Jesus liveth for ever, to do all for me, and be all to me. And I do the more admire and adore the Great God, in his condescending so much to so vile a Worm, that hath been so full of Fears and Doubts, and hath so much displeased my Lord Jesus and his Holy Spirit. That which grieved me most, of late Months, is, the *Unfixedness* of my Thoughts on God: And Oh, that the Lord may, by his *Establishing Spirit*, confirm these Comforts on me, so that I may enjoy them in *Death*, and improve them for the good of others in *Life*. I know *Satan* is a Wrangler; but my *Advocate* is able to silence him!

When the Lord of this *Faithful Servant* came to call for him, he was found in his Master's Work. Towards the Close of a Sermon, which he was preaching at Boston-Lecture, he was taken with a Degree of an *Apoplexy* (as *John Cyril*, the *Worthy Bohemian Pastor* was in the Beginning of the former Century, *Apoplexia in media ad populum concione correptus*) which in two or three Days, ended his Pilgrimage. Thus he had the Wish of some great Men, *Oportet Concionatorem, aut Precantem aut Precdicantem, Mori.*

## Epitaphium.

*Vixi, Et quem dederas Cursum, in Te Christe, peregi.*

Article (III.) On March 24. 1672. Expired that Excellent Man, Mr. THOMAS WALLEY, about the Age of Sixty one. I can't recover the Day of his Birth, Let it content my Reader, that the Primitive Christians did happily confound the Distinction of the Two Times mention'd by the Wise Man, *A Time to be Born, and a Time to Die*, calling the Day of a Saint's Death, by the Name of their *Natalitia*.

This Man of a Thousand, was a well accomplished Scholar; but his Accomplishments especially lay in that which the Great Gregory asserts to be, *Ars Artium, et Scientia Scientiarum*, namely, *Animarum Regimen*.

He was a Christian in whom the Graces of Christ very richly adorned, but most of all, that which has most of Christianity in it, HUMILITY; the Happy Virtue which we may address, with the Acknowledgment once made unto Felix, *By thee we enjoy great Quietness*: and by that Virtue he was eminently Serviceable to make all Quiet, wherever he came. He was a Divine, well furnished with the Knowledge necessary to Master Builder in the Church of God, and particularly knowing in those Points of Divinity, which *Non Latio docet, sed Unlio, non Litera, sed Spiritus, non Eruditio, sed Exercentia*.

He was a Preacher, who made CHRIST the main Subject of his Preaching; and who had such a Regard for Souls, that he thought much of nothing, by which he might recommend a CHRIST unto the Souls even of the meanest, as well as of the greatest: Being disposed, like that Great King of France, who being found instructing his Kitchen-Boy in the Matters of Religion, and being as'd with Wonder the Reason of it, answered, *The meanest has a Soul as precious as my own, and bought by the Blood of Christ as well as mine!* It may be I cannot give a Truer Description of this our WALLEY, than in the Words of him that writes the Life of the Famous Belgic WALLEYUS; 'He was diligent in Visiting his Parishioners, whereby he Reformed many which were given to Viciousness, he satisfied Doubting Consciences, and extricated them out of the Snares of Satan. He comforted those that were cast down, with the Apprehension of God's Wrath for their Sins. He ministered Relief to Widows, Orphans, and such as were destitute of Humane Help. His Company was never Grievous.

His being such a one, did but render him the more likely to be found a Non-Conformist, when the Act of Uniformity struck Dead to many Faithful Ministers of the Gospel in the English Nation. When the Church of England under the New Form, which its Canons after the Year 1660, depraved it into, was pressing its Unscriptural Rites, our Walley replied, with Tertullian, *si ideo dicitur, licere, quia non prohibet Scriptura, æque retorqueretur, ideo non licere, quia Scriptura non jubet.*

If the Church of England, in the Days of New-England's first planting, did so want Reformation, that these Colonies must be planned for the sake thereof, how much more would the Second Model of it afford such Conscientious Dissenters as our Walley, unto Congregations



tions that were more thoroughly Reformed? For, as one writes, 'Tho' the Church of England was never so Reformed, as Geneva, France, Holland, and other Reformed Churches; yet there is as vast a difference between the Old Church of England and the New one, as between Nebuchadnezzar, when sitting on his Throne and glittering in his Glory, and Nebuchadnezzar when grazing among Beasts in the Field, with his Hair like Birds Feathers, and Nails like Eagle's Claws. The Effect of all was, that Mr. Wallley was driven from the Exercise of his Ministry in London, to New England; where he arrived about the Year 1663.

Here he had a Great Service to do; for if the Apostle Paul thought it becoming an Apostle, to write a part of Canonical Scripture, about the Agreement of no more than Two Godly Persons [Phil. 4. 2.] certainly it must be a Great Service to bring a Divided Church of Godly Persons unto a Good Agreement. In Thebes, he that could reconcile any Quarrelsome Neighbours, was honoured with a Garland. The Honour of a Garland, was on that score, highly due to our Wallley.

The Church of Barnstable had been miserably broken with Divisions, until this Prudent, Patient, and Holy WALLLEY appeared among them: And,

*Quam Pietate Gravem, ac Meritis hunc Forte Virum jam Confessere, Silent.* —

As among the Suevians it was a Law, That in a Fray, where Swords were drawn, if any one did but cry Peace, they must end the Quarrel; or else he died that struck the next Blow after Peace was named. Thus, after our WALLLEY, with his charming Wisdom, cried Peace, that Flock was happily united; and he continued in much Peace, and with much Fame, Feeding of it, all the rest of his Days.

I will now go far discover *myself*, as to applaud this Worthy Man, for Two Things, which it may be, many Good Men will count worthy rather of Reproach than Applause.

One is this: In my Father's Preface to his Discourses on the New Jerusalem, I meet with this Passage. *Tho' it hath been generally thought, that the First Resurrection spoken of in the Apocalypse, is to be understood only in a Mystical Sense; yet some of the First, and Eminent Teachers in these Churches, believed the First Resurrection to be Corporal. So did Mr. Davenport, Mr. Hook, and of later Years, that Man of an Excellent Spirit, Mr. Thomas Wallley, Pastor of the Church in Barnstable.* Thus did our Pious Chiliasm, Wallley, it seems, come to his Thoughts, as Joseph Mede before him did; and as in the Times of more Illumination Learned Men must and will: *Postquam alta om-*

*nia frustra tentassem, tandem Rei ipsius Claritudine perstridulus, paradoxo Succubui.*

Another is this: On a Great Occasion, our Wallley declared himself in these Words, *It would not consist with our Profession of Love to Christ or Saints, to trouble those that peaceably differ from the Generality of God's People, in lesser Things; those that are like to live in Heaven with us at last, we should endeavour they might live peaceably with us here. A well bounded Toleration were very desirable in all Christian Commonwealths, that there may be no just Occasion for any to complain of Cruelty or Persecution; but it must be such a Toleration, that God may not be publicly Blasphemed, nor Idolatry praised.* With such Candor did he express himself against the way well decryed by Gerhard, *A Verbo ad Ferrum, ab Armento ad Armenta, a Pennis, ad Bipennes, confingere.*

I cannot find any more than one published Composure left behind; which is Entitled, *Balm in Gilead, to heal Zion's Wounds*: Being a Sermon preached before the General Court of the Colony of New-Plymouth, — Jun. 1. 1669. the Day of Election there: In which, Let it be remembered, he expressly foretels, That New-England, would *ever long, lose her Holiness, her Righteousness, her Peace, and her Liberty.*

## Epitaphium.

*O Mors, Qualem Virum Extinxisti!*

*Sed bene habes;*

*Virtus WALLÆI Immortalis est.*

Article (IV.) The *small Stay* of the Reverend Mr. SAMUEL LEE in this Country, where he was Pastor of the Church at New Bristol [from the Year 1686. to the Year 1691.] will excuse me, if I say little of him; and yet the Great Worth of that Renowned Man, will render it inexcusable to say Nothing at all.

All that I shall say is, That if Learning ever merited a Statue, this Great Man, has as Rich an one due to him, as can be erected; for it must be granted, That hardly ever a more Universally Learned Person trod the American Strand.

Live, O Rare LEE, Live, if not in our Works, yet in thy own; Ten or Twelve of which, that have seen the Light, will immortalize thee. But above all, thy Book *De Excecidio Antichristi*, shall survive and assist the

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Funeral



*Funeral of the Monster, whose Naiviny is therein, with such Exquisite Study calculated; and thy Book, Entituled, Orbis Miraculum; or The Temple of Solomon, shall proclaim thee to be a Miracle for thy vast Knowledge, and a Pillar in the Temple of thy God!*

In his Return for England, the French took him a Prisoner, and uncivilly detaining him, he died in France; where he found the Grave of an Heretic, and was therein (after some sort, like Wickliff and Bucer) made a Martyr after his Death.

## CHAPTER VII.

*A Good Man making a Good End.* The LIFE and DEATH of the Reverend Mr. JOHN BAILY, Comprised and Expressed in a Sermon, on the Day of his Funeral. Thursday 16 D. 10. M. 1697.

*Pulchra sunt Verba ex Ore  
Ea Facientium. Adag. Judaic.*

## READER,

**W**E are not so Wise, as the Miserable Papists! Among them, a Person of Merit shall, at his Death, be Celebrated and Canonized by all Men agreeing in it, as in their Common Interest, for to applaud his Life. Among us, let there be Dues paid unto the Memory of the most Meritorious Person after his Decease; many of the Survivors are offended, I had almost said enraged at it: They seem to take it as a Reproach unto themselves (and it may be, so it is!) That so much Good should be told of any Man, and that all the little Frailties and Errors of that Man, (and whereof no meer Man was ever free!) be not also told with all the Unjust Aggravations that Envy might put upon them. This Folly is as Inexpressible an Injury to us all; as it cannot but be an Advantage unto Mankind in General, for Interred Vertue to be Rewarded with a Statue.

If ever I deserved well of my Country, it has been when I have given to the World the Histories and Characters of Eminent Persons, which have adorned it. Malice will call some of those things Romances; but that Malice it self may never hiss with the least Colour of Reason any more, I do here declare, Let any Man living evince any one Material Mistake in any one of those Compsures, it shall have the most Publick Recantation that can be desired. In the mean time, while some Impotent Cavils, nibbling at the Statues which we have erected for our Worthies, take pains to prove themselves, The Enemies of New-England, and of Religion, the Statues will out-live all their Idle Nibbles; The Righteous will be had in Everlasting Remembrance, when the Wicked who see it and are grieved, shall gnash with their Teeth and melt away.

*A GOOD MAN making a GOOD END.*

Uttered, Thursday 16 D. 10 M. 1697.

**I** Bring you this Day a Text of Sacred Scripture, which a Faithful Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, lately gone unto him, did before his going, order for you as his Legacy. Give your Attention.

*Tis That in Psal. XXXI. 5.  
Into Thine Hand I Commit my Spirit.*

**T**HAT Holy and Worthy Minister of the Gospel, whose Funeral is this Day to be attended, having laboured for the Conversion

of Men unto God, at length grew very Presageous that his Labours in the Evangelical Ministry, drew near unto an End. While he was yet in Health, and not got beyond the Fifty Fourth Year of his Age, he did, with such a Presage upon his Mind (having first written on this wise in his Diary, Oh! that Christ's Death might fit me for my own!) begin to study a Sermon on this very Text, *Into thine Hand I commit my Spirit.* But his Great Master, who favoured him with such a Presage, never gave him an Opportunity to finish and utter, what he



he had began to study. His Life had all this while, been a *Practical Commentary* upon his *Doctrine*; yea, 'twas an Endeavour to imitate our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ, who is said [Act 1. 1.] *sitt to Do, and then to Teach*: And now, Behold! His *Death* must Expound and Apply the *Doctrine* which he would have preached unto us. He must show us, how to do that Important Work of *Committing a Departing Spirit into the Hands of God*, no other-wise than by the Actual doing of that Work himself. While therefore he lay a Dying, he ask'd one of his dearest Relations, *Dost thou know what I am doing!* She said, *No*; He then added, *I am Rendring, I am Rendring!* Meaning, I suppose, his own *Spirit* unto the Lord. But while he was doing of that Work, and with Humble Resignation *Committing his own Spirit into the Hands of God*, he desired of me, that I would preach upon the Text, about which he had been under such Intentions. Wherefore [If at least I may be thought worthy of such a Character] You are now to consider me, shall I say, as *Executing the Will of the Dead?* Or, as *Representing a Man of God, whom God hath taken*. The Truths which we shall now inculcate, will be such, as you are all along to think, *These are the things which a Saint now in Glory would have to be inculcated*. And when we have briefly set those Truths before you, we will describe a little that *Excellent Saint*, as from whom you have them Recommended: We will describe him chiefly, with *Strokes* fetch'd from his own *Diaries*, out of which, in the little Time I have had since his Death, I have collected a few Remarkables.

Our Psalmist, the Illustrious David, now, as we may judge, drew near unto his End: And we may say of the Psalm here composed by him, *These are among the last Words of David, the Man who was Raised up on High*. The Signs of the Psalmist here collected, seem to have been occasion'd by the *Sufferings*, which he underwent, when his own Subjects took up Arms against him. Nevertheless, as our Plar-ter is all over *The Book of the Messiah*, to this particular Hymn in it, is contriv'd Elegantly to point out the *Sufferings* of our Lord Jesus Christ unto us. In the Text now before us, the Psalmist apprehending himself in danger of Death, does the Great Work of a *Dying Man*: Which is, *To Commit a Surviving Spirit, into the Hand of God*. But in doing this, he entertains a special Consideration of God, for his Encouragement in doing it: This is, *Thou hast Redeemed me, O Lord God of Truth*. It is the *Messiah* that hath Redeemed us: It is the *Messiah* whose Name is the *Truth*: David upon a View of the *Messiah*, said, *This is the Man, who is the Lord God*. Wherefore. In *Committing our Spirits unto God*, our Lord Christ is to be distinctly considered; and he was, no doubt, by David considered. The Power of God is called his *Hand*; The Wisdom of God is called his *Hand*: But above all, the

Christ of God, who is the *Power of God*, and the *Wisdom of God*, he is the *Hand of God*; By Him 'tis, that the God of Heaven doth, what he doth in the World: And he is, for that Cause also styled, *The Arm of the Lord*. It is therefore to the *Power and Wisdom and Goodness of God*, in Christ, that our Expiring Spirits are to be committed.

There was indeed a wonderful Time, when our Lord Jesus Christ himself made a wonderful Use of this very Text. We read in Luke 23. 46. *When Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*; and having said thus, he gave up the Ghost. Sirs, God uttered his Voice, at this rate, and the Earth trembled at it! And well it might, for never did there such an amazing thing occur upon the Earth before. Now, our Lord having said, *Into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, stop'd at those Words; for he was himself the Redeemer, the Lord God of Truth. But as for us, we are to consider God, as in our Lord Jesus Christ, when we *Commit our Spirits* into his Hands. As Luther could say, *Nolo Deum Absolutum*, I tremble to have to do, with an *Absolute God*; that is to say, a God without a Christ: So, we may all tremble to think of *Committing our Spirits into the Hands of God*, any otherwise than as he is, in Christ Reconciling the World unto himself. We are truly told in Heb. 10. 31. *It is a fearful thing to fall into the Hands of the Living God*. Our Spirits are by Sin become obnoxious to the *Fearful Wrath of God*; and two to us, if our Spirits fall into his Hands, not having his Wrath appeased! Sirs, we *Commit* Briars and Thorns, and wretched Strubble to infinite Flames, if we *Commit our Spirits into the Hands of God*, not in a Christ, become our Friend. We deliver up our Spirits unto a *Devouring Fire*, and unto *Everlasting Burnings*, if we approach the *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God Almighty* any otherwise than thro' the Immanuel, our Mediator. We are to *Commit our Souls* unto our Faithful Creator: But if he be not our Merciful Redeemer too, then He that made us will not have Mercy on us. When Hezekiah was, as he thought, a Dying, he turn'd his Face to the Wall: I suppose it was to that side of the Upper Chamber, the *Praying Chamber*, where he lay, that had God's Window in it, the Window that opened it self towards the Ark in the Temple. When we *Commit our Spirits into the Hand of God*, we are to turn our Face towards that Ark of God, our Lord Jesus Christ. We have this Matter well directed by the Words of the Dying Martyr Stephen, in Acts 7. 59. He said, *Lord Jesus, Receive my Spirit*.

And now there is a weighty CASE, that lies before us;

*After what manner should we commit our Spirits unto our Lord Jesus Christ, that so the Eternal Safety and Welfare of our Spirits, may be effectually provided for?*



If our Faithful *BAILY* were now *Alive*, I do not know any one *CASE*, that he would more *Lively* have discoursed among you : But I know, that he would have Discour'd on this, with a *Soul* full of Inexpressible Agonies. He was a Man, who had from a Child, been full of solicitous Cares about his own Soul ; and from hence in part it was, that when he became a *Preacher* of the Gospel, he preach'd nothing so much, as the Cares that all Men should have, about the Conversion of their Souls unto God, and the Sincerity of their Souls before him. There were many Great Points of our *Christian Faith*, which he still treated with shorter Touches, because his Thoughts were continually swallowed up with the *Vast Concern* of not being deceived, about the Marks of a Regenerate and Sanctified Soul, and Hopes of being *found in Christ* at a Dying Hour. He was none of those Preachers, *Qui ludant in Cathedra, & lugent in Gehenna*. Those two Words, *A Soul* and *Eternity*, were Great Words unto him ; and his very *Soul* was greatly, and always under the Awe of them. Hence the very Spirit of his Preaching lay in the Points of turning from Sin to God in Christ, and the Trial of our doing so, and the Peril of our not doing it. Wherefore, as far as alas, one of my sinful Coldness in those dreadful Points can do it, I will set before you in a few Minutes, what I apprehend, my dead Friend would have to be spoken, upon these Points, in Relation to the Case that is now to be considered.

I. Let every mortal Man be very sensible, that he hath an *Immortal Spirit* in him, and prize that Spirit exceedingly. How shall we *Commit a Spirit* into the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, if this thing be not Realized unto us, *That we have a Spirit, which will be horribly miserable to all Eternity, if the Lord Jesus Christ look not after it !*

Could that Mouth, which is this Day to be laid in the Dust, once more be opened among us, I know what Voice would issue from it : With a very zealous Vivacity, I know this Voice would be uttered, *Man, Thou hast a Soul, a Soul within thee ; a Soul that is to exist throughout Eternal Ages, Oh ! Prize that Soul of thine at the greatest rate imaginable.* I say then ; we must be sensible, That we have *Spirits* which are distinct from our Bodies, and which will out-live them : *Spirits* which are *Incorporeal Substances, endued with Rational Faculties, and tho' inclined unto our Humane Bodies, yet surviving after them.* An Infidel Pope of Rome, once lying on his Death-Bed, had such a Speech as this ; *I shall now quickly be certified and satisfied, whether I have an Immortal Soul or no !* Woful Man, if he were not until then certified and satisfied ! God forbid, that there should be so much as one *Epicurean Swine* among us, dreaming, That *Man* is nothing but a *meer Lump of Matter, put into Motion.* Shall a Man dare to think, that he has not a *Rational Soul*

in him, which is of a very different Nature from his *Body* ? Truly, his very *Thinking* is enough to confute his monstrous *Unreasonable* ; Meer *Body* cannot *Think* ; and I pray, of what Figure is a *Rational Atom* ? The Oracles of God have therefore assured us, That the *Fathers* of our *Bodies*, are not the *Fathers* of *Spirits* ; No, these have another *Father* ! And, That the *Spirits* of Men may go from their *Bodies* ; and be caught up to the *Third Heaven* too ! Well ; But when our *Bodies* crumble and tumble before the Strokes of Death, are not our *Spirits* overwhelmed in the Ruines of our *Bodies*, like *Sampson*, when the *Philistine Temple* fell upon him ? No ; they are *Sparks of Immortality*, that shall never be extinguished ; they must live, and move, and think, until the very Heavens be no more. Among other Evidences, *That our Spirits are Immortal*, there is no contemptible one, in the *Presages*, which the *Spirits* of such good Men, as he which is anon to be inter'd, have had of their speedy Passage in a *World of Spirits.* Our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave his own Blood for the Purchase of our Souls, and can tell, sure ! what it is that he has purchased ; he has expressly told us in *Matth. 10. 28. They which kill the Body, are not able to kill the Soul.* Our Blessed Apostle *Paul*, a mighty Student and Worker for Souls, was not ted with Fancies, when he took it for granted, in *Phil. 1. 21. That when he should be dissolved, he should be with Christ immediately.* Do, try thou Fool-hardy Creature, to persuade thy self, *That thou hast not an Immortal Soul* : Thou canst not, for thy Soul, render thy self altogether, and evermore persuaded of it : With very dreadful Suspensions, of its Immortality, will thy own Conscience, a certain Faculty of thy Soul terrify thee, when God awakens it. I have known a sturdy Disputer against the Immortality of the Soul, go out of the World with this Lamentable Out cry, *Oh ! my Soul, my Soul ; what shall I do for my poor Soul ?* Sirs, let this Principle stand like the very Pillars of Heaven with every one of us, *That we have Immortal Souls to be provided for.* But if a Man have an Immortal Soul within him, what will be the Natural Consequence of it ? The Consequence is plainly this ; That since the Soul is Immortal, it should be very precious. It was infinitely Reasonable for the Soul to be called, as it was in *Psalm 22. 20. My Soul, my Darling !* Oh ! There should be nothing so dear to a Man as that Soul of his, that shall endure when all other things are changed : For, *O my Soul, of thy Years there shall be no end.* The Interests of our *Spirits* are to be much greater things unto us, than the Interests of our Bodies. What will become of our Souls ? That, that is a thing that should be much nearer to our Hearts, than what will become of our Lives, our Names, our Estates. We should fix an high Value on our *Spirit*, and often meditate on the Text, which was once given to a Great Man, for his daily Meditation in *Matth. 16. 26. What is a Man pro-*



*fit, if he gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul.*

II. Let every Man in this World that hath an Immortal Spirit, be above all Things, thoughtful for the Welfare of that Spirit in another World. When we *Commit a Spirit* into the *Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ*, it is, that so it may escape that Wretchedness, and attain that Blessedness in another World, where of our Lord hath in his Word advised us. When that *Embassador of Christ*, who is lately gone back unto him, was Resident among us, there was no one thing that he more vigorously insisted on than this; *Ob! there is nothing so dreadful, as that Hell, which every wicked Soul shall be turned into: There is nothing so joyful as that Heaven which is prepared for every good Soul: And there is nothing so much Concernment for you, as to flee from that Wrath to come, and lay hold on that Life Eternal.* I say accordingly; there are astonishing Dangers, whereto our Souls are exposed by our Sins. Our Spirits are in Danger of being for ever banished from the Communion of the Lord Jesus Christ, into a State of Eternity and Endless Horror; our Spirits are in Danger to be plunged into doleful Torments, among the Devils that have been our Tempters: Our Spirits are in Danger to be seiz'd by the Justice of that God against whom we have sinn'd, and laid under Everlasting Impressions of his Indignation. There are *Spirits in Prison*, there is Danger lest the Vengeance of God chain up our Spirits in that fiery Prison. (It was but a little before he went unto Heaven, that our *Baile* in Twenty Six Discourses on Rev. 6. 8. opened the Treasures of that Wrath among us.) And we should now be so thoughtful of nothing upon Earth, as how to get our Spirits delivered from this Formidable Hell. The truest Language for us, would be like that in Psal. 116. 3, 4. *The pains of Hell are getting hold on me; O Lord, I beseech thee to deliver my Soul.* But then there is a Great Salvation, which our Lord Jesus Christ has wrought for us; and that Salvation is, *The Salvation of the Soul.* Our Spirits may be released from the Bonds, which the Sentence of Death, by the Law of God passed upon them, has laid them under. Our Lord Jesus Christ, satisfying of the Law, by his Death in our stead, hath procured this Release for the Spirits of his chosen. There are the *Spirits of Just Men made perfect*; and there is perfect Light, and perfect Love, and perfect Joy, among those glorified Spirits. Our Spirits may be advanced into the Society of *Angels*; and be with our Lord Jesus Christ in Heaven, the Spectators and Partakers of his Heavenly Glory. Now, we should be more thoughtful to make sure of such a Heaven for our Spirits, than to ensure any thing on Earth. We should wish for nothing so much as that in 1 Sam. 25. 29. *A Soul bound up in the Bundle of Life.* There are Souls which our Lord Jesus Christ has bundled like to many Slips, to be transplanted into the

sweet Garden of Heaven; say now, O Man, with all possible Ardour of Soul, *Ob! may my Soul be one of them!*

When our Father Jacob was a Dying, he seems, upon the Occasion of mentioning a Serpent, immediately to call to mind the Mischief which had been done by the old Serpent unto our Spirits: Whereupon he cried out, Gen. 49. 18. *I have waited for thy Salvation [for thy JESUS!] O Lord.* That our Spirits may not be destroy'd in our Dying, This, this is the Thing that we should be concerned for; That they may be saved by a *Jesus*, from the Mischief, which the old Serpent has brought upon them.

III. When we *Commit our Spirits* into the Hands of our Lord Jesus Christ, we must believe in him, as fully able to *save our Spirits unto the uttermost.* It is by Faith acted unto the uttermost, that we are to *Commit our Spirits* into the Hands of our Lord Jesus Christ: Now the Acts of this Faith are admirably express'd in 2 Tim. 1. 12. *I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded, That he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him.* We would have our Spirits preserved from the Direful Anger of God, which threatens to swallow them up: Say now, *Lord Jesus, I am persuaded, Thou art able to preserve me.* We would have our Spirits enriched with the Knowledge and Image, and Favour of God, in his Kingdom: Say now, *Lord Jesus, I am persuaded, Thou art able to enrich me.* We are therefore to place our Faith on the Sacrifice which our Lord Jesus Christ hath offered unto God, on the behalf of his People. We read in Job 33. 22. *When a Soul draws near unto the Grave, If there be a Messenger with him, an Interpreter, then he says, Deliver him from going down to the Pit, I have found a Ransome.* Some of the Ancients take that, *Angelus Interpres*, to be Christ the Mediator. Sirs, when yours Souls are drawing near unto the Grave, 'tis high time to believe on that Ransome, which One among a Thousand has paid unto God for us. We must believe, That the *Sacrifice of the Soul of the Messiah*, when He was cut off, but not for himself, is a valuable Sacrifice, a sufficient Sacrifice, and a Sacrifice which the wondrous Grace of God invites us to depend upon; and with a firm Dependence on that Sacrifice, we must plead, *O let my Soul be delivered from going down to the Pit, since God has found such a Ransome for me!* But while we rely on our Lord Jesus Christ, as he has been sacrificed for us here below, we must also reply upon him, as he is now above, in the Holy of Holies, interceding for us. And that our Faith in committing our Spirits unto our Lord Jesus Christ, may be a truly *Christian Faith.* We must believe him to be no less than *The Lord God of Truth*; to be God as well as Man; to be God and Man in one Person. That Man is a very Foolish Man, who will trust his own Soul with



with any one less than the God who made our Soul, and who alone can save it. Our Belief must pronounce our Lord Jesus Christ, the same that his Bible has pronounced him; *The True God, the Great God, and God over all*; one who is every where, and who knows every thing. This Article of our Faith, which the modern *Jews* deny, is indeed so incontestable, that I could presently overwhelm them with an Army of Testimonies, from the Rabbin among the Ancient *Jews*, confessing, That the *Messiah* must be very *Jehovah* himself. I beseech you, let no Man dare to die in any Doubt, whether the Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom he commits his own Soul, be not more than a meer Man. Believing him to be God, let us believe, that his Blood is Price enough to obtain for us the Everlasting Happiness of our Spirits; what can our Spirits want that the Blood of God can't obtain? Let us believe, that his Holy Spirit can fit our Spirits for, and fill our Spirits with Eternal Glories; the Spirit of Christ is the Spirit of God: What can't he do for us? Let us believe, that he has Legions and Myriads, and Millions of Blessed Spirits to be our Convey, and Safeguard from those Evil Spirits, which are waiting to arrest our Spirits at our Dissolution: He is God among the *Thousands* of his Angels, in his *Holy Place*: They'll fly like swift Flashes of Lightning to succour us, when ever he shall command them so to do. What shall we say? When *Jacob* fell asleep with his Head lying upon a Stone, he had a Vision of *Angels* concerned for him. Truly, our Lord Jesus Christ is, *The Stone of Israel*. If you don't fall asleep, till you have laid your Heads and Hopes on that Stone, you shall then see Armies of Angels about you, to secure you.

IV. When we commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, we must submit unto all his Gracious Operations upon our Spirits. We commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, we say: Well, he then demands of us, as in Mark 10. 51. *What wilt thou, that I should do unto thee?* And, I pray, mark it; If there be any *Article of Grace* always wrought by the Lord Jesus Christ, for the Spirits of his Elect, which you do not Content unto, he will not receive your Spirits; no, he will destroy them dreadfully. Some commit their Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, they say; but they are not willing that the *Hand* of the Lord Jesus Christ should ever do for them, all that must done, in all that are brought Home unto God. Perhaps they would have their Spirit rescued from the Hands of the Devils hereafter; but they don't heartily commit their Spirits into the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, for to have all the Lusts that make their Spirits like Devils, here embittered, and Eradicated. They would have easy Spirits, it may be, but Oh! they are loth to have Holy Spirits. This Halving of it, thou Hypocrite, this Halving of a Christ, will hang the Millstones of Damnation about the Neck of thy

Soul for ever. The Lord Jesus Christ puts this Question unto us, *Poor Sinner what shall I do for thy Spirit?* No Man can aright commit a Spirit into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, until he have seriously pondered on that Question. Ponder it Sirs, in the Fear of God! But then let our Answer to it, be according to that in 2 Thes. 1. 11. *That he would fulfil all the good pleasure of his Goodness in you, and the Work of Faith with Power.* In committing your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, Oh! Let your Hearts, being made willing in the Day of his Power, declare themselves willing to have him do for you, all that he is willing to do. 'Tis the Proposal of the Lord Jesus Christ, *shall my Obedience to my Father furnish thee with that Atonement, and that Righteousness whereby thy Spirit shall stand without Fault before the Throne of God?* Reply, Lord, I commit my Spirit into thy Hand, for thee to justify it. The Proposal of the Lord Jesus Christ unto us is, *All the Maladies of thy Spirit, shall I heal them all?* Reply, Lord, I commit my Spirit into thy Hand, as into the Hand of the Lord my Healer, O let that hand of thine open this Blind Mind, and subdue this base Will, and rectify all these depraved Affections; and on all Accounts receive a right Spirit within me. Man, commit thy Spirit into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, with such a Disposition; and then rest assured, That Spirit shall never be lost.

V. If you would successfully commit your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, when you die, you are to do it for your Spirits before you die. Indeed, what should all our Life be, but a Preparation for Death? And all of our Life truly is little enough. So thought our Devout *Baile*. It was the Counsel which he often gave to his Friends, *Let not one Day pass you, without an earnest Prayer, that you may have a Christ for to stand by you in a Dying Hour.* And his own Practice was according to that Counsel, as is well known to them that lived with him in his Family. Sirs, you are not sure, that when the *Decretory Hour* of Death overtakes you, you shall have one Minute of an Hour allow'd you, to commit your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ. Is not a *Sudden Death* a *Frequent Sight*? There are very many so suddenly snatched away by the Whirlwind of the Vengeance of the Almighty, that they have not opportunity so much as to say, *Lord have Mercy upon me!* And let me tell you, That a *Sudden Death* is most likely to be the Portion of those who most presumptuously put off to a *Deathbed*, the Work of committing their Spirits into the Hand, that can alone best friend them. I have Read, That of old, according to the Laws of *Persia*, a Malefactor had Liberty, for an Hour before his Execution, to ask what he would, and what he ask'd was granted him. One that was under Sentence of Death, being admitted unto the use of this Liberty, desired neither one thing nor another, but only, *That he might see*



the King's Face; which being allow'd him, he fo pled the King in that Hour, that he obtained his Pardon: Whereupon the *Perfians* altered their Custom, and covered the Face of the Malefactor, that he might never fee the King any more. I will not now Enquire, how far this Passage, will illuftrate the Story of *Haman*; but I will obferve, That the Face of God is the Name of the *Mefiah*; and in this Obfervation, I have given you a Golden Key to come at New Treafures in fcores of Scriptures. And I will apply it, with faying, you have it may be an Hour and no more allow'd you to addrefs the Face of God in the Lord *Jesus Chrift*. In this Hour you may obtain his Favour and Mercy, and Pardon. Don't flip this Hour, left it be too late. Or, peradventure (and alas, 'tis but a peradventure) you fhould upon a *Death-bed* have fpace enough to commit your Spirits into the Hands of the Lord, are you fure that you fhall then have the Grace to do it? It is a folemn Caution that is given us, in *Phil. 2. 12. 13. Work out your own Salvation with Fear and Trembling; for it is God that works in you, both to will and to do of his own good Pleafure*. Even to fear and tremble, to delay committing your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord, fo much as one Day longer; you don't know, that God will pleafe to work in you, for the doing of it, when your laft Moments are upon you.

I have read it, as the Obfervation of fome very Experienced Minifters, that they never handled in their Miniftry any Subjects more fuccelffully than thofe which led them to difcourfe againft Proflititiation in the Concerns of their Souls. Our *Baily* was much in making of this Experiment. Many a Man inferts that Clause in his *Laft Will, I bequeath my Soul unto God that gave it*. But in the Name of God, art thou certain that he will accept of it? The Law fays, *Legato renunciari potest, et Legatum accipere nemo nolens cogitur*; one may refufe a Legacy, there's no compelling one to accept it. It is true, our Compaffionate Lord will ever accept a poor Soul, whenever 'tis with a true Faith brought unto him. Yea, but it may be, he will not accept of thy Soul, inafmuch as thou haft no true Faith to bring it withal; Faith, which is not of our felves, 'tis the Gift of God! Wherefore, O Man, if thou haft any Regard unto thy never dying Soul, go thy ways prefently, and earnestly commit it unto the Lord before a Dying Hour. As the Apoftle faid, *This I fay, Brethren, the Time is fhort*: Even fo, this I fay, My friend, thy Time it may be fhorter than thou art well aware of. What fhall I fay? I fay, *Boaft not thy felf of to Morrow*. I fay, *This Night thy Soul may be required*.

And if thy Faithlefs Heart, have the Affurances of the Divine Grace witheld from it, when the damp Sweats of Death are upon thee, there is yet another Objection, with which the

God of Heaven will Thunder-ftrike thy Attempts to commit thy Spirit into his Hand. That is this: *Thar Spirit of thine, is it thy own to difpofe of? Haft thou not already otherwife difpofed of it?* It is a Rule in Law, *Nemo potest legare, quod suum jam non est*. No Man can by Will, Demife, Devife, Difpofe of that, of which he had made Sale before. It is faid of a very Ungodly Man, in 1 King. 21. 25. *He fold himself to work Wickednefs, in the fight of the Lord*. Ungodly Sinner, the Devil has often bargain'd with thee, about thy Soul; he hath faid, *By deliberate finning againft Heaven, do thou make over thy Soul to me, and thou fhalt have the fhort Pleafures of Sin for it*: God knows how often thou haft thus bargain'd away thy Soul to the Devil; and fince thou haft not in all thy Life revok'd that Bargain, then though thou do at thy Death cry unto him, *Lord, Receive this poor Soul of mine*: How juftly may he fay, *No, not I! Thou haft fold that Soul to another; and let him keep it for ever!* There will alfo be this further to be faid, *What Power haft thou to difpofe of thy Spirit? haft thou any thing at all at thy own Difpofal?*

It is a Rule in Law, *Servus non potest Condere Testamentum*; a Slave can't make a Will: He has nothing of his own to difpofe of. It is faid in *Joh. 8. 34. Whosoever praeftitit Sin, is the Slave of Sin*. It may be, thou haft all this while been a very Slave; thy Luft is thy Lord, a Luft of Uncleannes, of Drunkennefs, of Worldlinefs, it hath utterly enflaved thee. And, What? Not got out of that Slavery before thy Dim Eyes, and Cold Lips, and Faltering Tongue, and Failing Breath, hath put over thy Soul into the Hand of the Lord! How juftly may he fay, *Slave, Thou art not able to do for thy wretched Soul, what thou doft now pretend unto*. The Lord *Jesus Chrift* will not caft off thy Soul with fuch Objections, if thou Seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near. I earnestly teftify unto you, The vileft and the Oldeft Sinner among you all, may Come and be Welcome unto the Lord *Jesus Chrift*, if you will come now, while it is the Acceptable Time, now while it is the Day of Salvation. Though thou art never fo bad, yet come and heartily complain to him of all thy Badnefs, and he will do good unto thy Soul!

I am fure my *BAILY*, would have faid nothing more heartily than this among you; you heard him often fay it, *Come in to the Mercy of my Lord, for yet there is Room!* But it is to be feared, That if thou ftay till the laft Affaults of Death are made upon thee, the Door of Mercy will be fhut, and fo when the Shrieks are, *Lord, Lord, Open to me!* all the Answers will be Rebukes and Fiery Thunders.

VI. Often committing our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord *Jesus Chrift* while we live, Let us endeavour after fuch Characters upon



our Spirits, as may afford us, that he will receive us when we die.

Indeed when we first commit our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, we are to bring them with no other Characters but those of Sin and Hell upon them. If we then commit our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the Encouragement of any Laudable Qualifications and Recommendations in them, *Ah! Lord, thou wilt abhor us and cast us off!* In our first Believing on the Lord Jesus Christ, he enquires of us, *What Spirit is that which thou dost now commit into my Hand?* Our Answer must be, *Lord, I am a guilty Spirit, a filthy Spirit, a Spirit full of Sin and Hell, as ever it can hold, and a Spirit horribly under the Curse of God.*

Sirs, If you answer any otherwise than so, the Redeemer of Spirits will not receive your Spirits. But when we commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the last Actions of our Life, it is to be supposed, That we only repeat what we have done before, and that our Lord Jesus Christ has already received our Spirits on our doing of it. Oh! 'Tis a dreadful thing for a Dying Man to think, *The Lord never yet received this poor Soul of mine; for I never till now committed it unto the Lord!* When such Persons commit their Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the Dimmes of the Anguish of Death, 'tis as one says, *As if one should bequeath unto an Honourable Person some greasy Dish-cloth, or some dirty Shoe-cloth.*

It is of unutterable Concernment, for every Man to get the Symptoms of a Received Soul upon him, now before his last surrender of a Distressed Soul: And for a Man to be able to say at the last, *Lord, I commit a poor sinful Spirit now into thy Hand; but it is a Spirit upon which thy Blood has been sprinkled, and it is a Spirit which thy Spirit has long since taken Possession of.* Now to render this unquestionable, we are to examine our selves, *Whether our Spirits have been renewed by the Holy Spirit of God?* And be Reflexive in our own Spirits, till we are sure of such a Renovation. The Apostle once concluded, That when our Spirits depart from hence, the Lord Jesus Christ will receive them into an House not made with Hands, *Eternal in the Heavens:* And upon what was it, that he raised this Conclusion? He says, in 2 Cor. 5. 5. *For he that wrought us, for this self same Thing is God.* The Greek Word used there, is the same that the LXX use for the Curious Works about the Tabernacle.

When Bezaleel had neatly wrought a Board, for to be set up in the Silver Sockets of the Tabernacle, he would not throw it away among the Rubbish. Man! If thou hast a well wrought Soul within thee, God will receive it, and advance and improve it, in his House for ever.

A Work of Grace produced by the Spirit of God, upon the Spirits of Men, is a sure Token of his purpose to bestow a State of Glory upon them, at their Departure from their Bodies. The Primitive Martyrs were bidden in 1 Pet. 4. 19. *To Commit the keeping of their Souls unto God, as unto a Faithful Creator.* But it is probable, the New Creation experienced by Renewed Souls, is especially therein referred unto. Has the Spirit of God made a New Creature of thy Spirit? This will be a Demonstration, that the Lord Jesus Christ has already received thy Spirit, and that when thou dost again commit thy Spirit unto him, he will receive it. When we do, in our last Actions, commit a Spirit into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, what is it for? It is that he may put an upper Garment of Glory upon that Spirit. But he will demand, *Where is the under Garment of Grace upon it?* If thou art without that Garment, he will doom thy Spirit unto Outer Darkness, that is to say (for Outer Darkness was the Name of the Prison among the Jews) he will make a perpetual Imprisonment, the Portion of thy Soul. Wherefore, let us enquire diligently into the Signs of a *Newborn Soul* upon us before we come to die. Wo to us, if we are not *Born Twice* before we *Die Once!* Why should we incur this Desolation upon our Souls, That when at last we go to commit them into the Hand of the Lord, he shall reject them and say, *No, I know them not; they are none of mine; they are the Workers of Iniquity!*

The more certainly to prevent this Desolation, let this one Comprehensive Duty of the New Creature, be often renewed with you. Receive the Lord Jesus Christ into thy Soul, when he does command it of thee, and the Lord Jesus Christ will receive thy Soul into Heaven, when thou dost at last commit it unto him. As *Isaiah* said, in *Judg. 9. 7.* *Hearken to me, that God may hearken to you:* Even this do I now say to you; and I carry it on to this Issue: Do you hearken to the Lord Jesus Christ, when he bids you to receive him, and when you pray him to receive you. He will then hearken to you.

The Lord Jesus Christ is often knocking at the Door of thy Soul: There would he enter, with all his Gracious Influences: Open to the Lord, by resigning up thy Soul to the sweet Influences of his Grace: Reply, *O come in, thou Blessed of the Lord, why standest thou without?* So when my last Sands are running, thou mayst joyfully think, *My Lord Jesus Christ will now receive me, more heartily than ever I received him:* If I have had an Heart, alas a vile Heart! for him. I am sure he has an Heaven for me! Lord, I now commit into thy Hand, a Spirit into which thou hast been received, when thy wondrous Grace demanded it for an Habitation: And thou wilt now receive this unworthy Spirit of mine into a better-Habitation.



itation. Think thus, and Rejoice with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory!

VII. When we come to commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, at and for our last Resignation, let us do it very Humbly, but very Willingly, but very Chearfully.

How humbly ought we to commit our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ! With how much Loathing and Judging of our selves, and with what shameful Reflections on all our past Behaviours. We are bitterly to acknowledge the Disorders and Corruptions of our own Spirits, when we commit them unto the Lord, and acknowledge the numberless Errors wherewith our Spirits have betray'd us. When we lift up our Soul unto the Lord, let it be in Terms like those in Ezra 9. 6. O my God, I am ashamed, and blush to lift up my Face to thee, my God! And therefore, whatever Blessings we expect for our Souls, let us with all possible Self-Abhorrence found our Expectations on the pure Mercy of God, in our Lord Jesus Christ. Most sweetly did our Dying Hooker express the Frame of Spirit, wherewith a Spirit is to be committed into the Hand of the Lord: When one that stood weeping by his Bed-side said unto him, *Sir, You are going to receive the Reward of all your Labours*, he replied, *Brother, I am going to receive Mercy! What shall I say? The Frame of Spirit necessary in this Glorious Transaction, I cannot better paint out unto you, than by reciting the Words, which I remember I once had, from an Eminent old Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, at my taking Leave of him: Said he, 'Sir, I am every Day expecting my Death; but I desire to die like the Thief, crying to the Crucified Jesus for Mercy. I am nothing, I have nothing, I can do nothing, except what is unworthy. My Eye, and Hope, and Faith, is to Christ on his Cross. I bring an Unworthiness, like that of the poor Dying Thief unto him, and have no more to plead than he. Like the poor Thief Crucified with him, I am waiting to be received by the Infinite Grace of my Lord, into his Kingdom. And pray tell me, did not aged Paul mean something of this, when he said, I am Crucified with Christ?*

Sirs, This is the Frame wherewith we are to do what we do: But then how Willingly, how Chearfully! God forbid, That we should commit our Spirits into his Hand, as only drag'd and forc'd unto it by unavoidable Death. Our dying Lord said, *Father, Into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*. When God calls for our Spirit, we are to think, *'Tis my Father that calls for me, and shall not I go to my Father?*

It was a good Speech even of an Heathen, *Bene Mori est Libenter Mori*, one thing in well dying, is to die willingly. 'Tis a dismal thing

for the Spirit of a Man to be torn from him, and be pull'd away with roaring Reluctances, with Horrid Convulsions! Where would be the sense of it, if a dying Man should say, *Lord, Into thy Hand I commit my Spirit, but if I could have my choice, my Spirit should never come there!* When we perceive that Call from our Lord Jesus Christ, *Go up and die!* Let us freely surrender our Spirits unto our Great Lord, and *Go up and die!* He is the Lord of our Lives. Freely, did I say? Yea, and gladly too. When we have aright committed our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord, then take up that Conclusion in Psal. 49. 15. *God will receive my Soul*. And then, let us wonderfully comfort our selves, in the Thoughts of that Spiritual World which we are going into. Think, *I shall quickly rest from Sin and all Temptations, and all Affections, and all the carful Effects of Sin, and all the Annoyances of Ill Spirits for ever. I shall quickly be lodg'd among the pure Spirits that see God, and serve him Day and Night in his Temple, and God shall wipe away all Tears from my Eyes. Yea, I shall quickly be with my Lord Jesus Christ, which is by far the best of all. Oh! Rejoice in the Hope of this Glory of God!* And let not your Joy be interrupted by any Fear of what may become of your Friends, when you shall be dead and gone. The Lord that calls you to commit your Spirits into his Hand, calls you at the same time, to commit your Widows, your Orphans, and all your Friends, unto that Omnipotent Hand: He says, *Leave them all with me, and I'll take the Care of them all!*

It was noted of the *English Martyrs*, which dy'd at the Stake in the Bloody Marian Persecution; *That none of them went more joyfully to the Stake, than those that had the largest and the dearest Families then to commit unto the Lord: And afterwards those large Families, were wondrously provided for. The Excellent Mr. Heron, a Minister, that had a Family of many small Children in it, when he lay a dying, his poor Wife said with Tears, Alas, what will become of all these Children?* He presently and pleasantly replied, *Never fear, he that feeds the young Ravens, won't starve the young Herons!* And it came to pass accordingly.

Sirs, Thus you are to commit your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ.

My Reverend *BAILL* did so, and it is as from him, that I do this Day bespeak your doing like him; yea, not from him only, but from the Lord Jesus Christ, the God, *whose he was, and whom he served*. If you would more particularly be told after what manner he did commit his own Spirit into the Hands of the Lord, I can faithfully recite you his own Account of the Transaction. He gives it thus,

*I spent half the Day alone in seeking of God; desiring to give up my self unto God in*  
G g g g Christ



Christ wholly, and to be his in Soul and Body. The Particulars I omit. I hope, God in Christ, will accept of me, and enable me by his Spirit to keep touch with him: For I owned my self wholly unworthy to enter into Covenant, and also unable to keep it; but Jesus Christ is both worthy and able.

'Tis from one who thus did it, that you are now call'd upon to do likewise.

When you see the Coffin of this Man of God, anon carried along the Streets, imagine it a mournful Pulpit, from whence, *Being Dead he yet speaks* thus unto you; *Whatever you do, commit your perishing Souls into the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, as you have been advised.*

That these Admonitions may have the more of Emphasis, a short Account of this worthy Man must now be given you.

He was Born on Febr. 24. 1643. near Blackbourn in Lancashire; of a very Pious Mother, who even before he was Born, often as *Hannah her Samuel*, Dedicated him unto the Service of the Lord.

Of this his *Birth-day*, in the Return of every Year, he still took much Notice in his *Diaries*: And made his humble and useful Reflections thereupon.

Once particularly, I find him thus entertaining it.

'This is my *Birth-day*, I am ready to say of it, as *Job* doth of his: But I forbear any unadvised Words about it; Only, I have done little for God, and much against him; for which I am sorry.

When this Day, last arrived unto him, he thus wrote upon it.

'I may say with a great Sigh, *This was my Birth-day!* O how little Good have I done all this while! O what Reason have I to stand amazed at the Riches of God's Forbearance! Much may happen this Year! *Lord, Carry me through it!*

From a Child he did know the Holy Scriptures, yea, From a Child he was wise unto Salvation. In his very Childhood he discovered the Fear of God, upon his young Heart; and Prayer to God was one of his early Exercises.

There was one very Remarkable Effect of it. His Father was a Man of a very Licentious Conversation; a Gamester, a Dancer, a very Lewd Company-keeper. The Mother of this Elect Vessel, one Day took him, while he was yet a Child, and calling the Family together, made him to pray with them. His Father coming to understand, at what a rate, the Child

had pray'd with his Family, it smote the Soul of him with a great Conviction, and provid the Beginning of his Conversion unto God. God left not off working on his Heart, until he proved one of the most Eminent Christians in all that Neighbourhood. So he lived; to he died; a Man of more than ordinary Piety. And it was his manner sometimes to retire unto those very Places of his former Lewdnesses, where having this his little Son in his Company, he would pour out Floods of Tears in repenting Prayers before the Lord.

This Hopeful Youth having been educated in Grammar-Learning under a worthy Schoolmaster, one Mr. Sager, and in further Learning, under the Famous Dr. Harrison, at length, about the Age of Twenty Two, he entred on the Publick Employment of Preaching the Gospel. In so doing, he was not one of those, of whom even the great Papist *Bellarmine* complains, *Qui non valde solliciti esse solent, in ea qua par est preparatione accedant, cum tamen eorum magis sit cibus Corporis, quam Animæ.* He began at *Chester*; but afterwards went over to *Ireland*, where his Labours were so frequent, and fervent, that they gave those Wounds unto his Health, which could never be recovered. About Fourteen Years of his Time, in *Ireland*, he spent at *Limerick*, and saw so many Seals of his Ministry, in that Country, that he seem'd rather to fish with a Net, than with an Hook, for the Kingdom of God.

I am not willing to relate, how grievously, and yet how patiently he suffered, long and hard Imprisonments, from those Men, concerning whom a conformable Divine of the Church of England, very truly says, *That they were Atheists, with the Inventions of Ceremonies habited like Christians, for the Service of the Devil, to corrupt and destroy true Christianity*: I should relate but little of this, because that Spirit of Persecution, has been repented by an happy Act of Parliament.

And yet for the Admonition of our Inexcusable Young Men, *The Sin of which Young Men is very great before the Lord!* above that of those, who have been brought up, as many very Godly Christians have in those ways of the Church of England, for a Secession from which, this Country was first planted: Young Men, who notwithstanding their Descent from Fathers and Grandfathers, that were great Sufferers for their Non-Conformity to an Uninstituted Worship of Christ, and notwithstanding their Education in the Knowledge of what is Required, and what is Forbidden in the Second Commandment, and notwithstanding their being urged by no Temptation of Persecution, or being tempted by any thing, but the Vanity of their own Minds, do yet so Rebel against the Light, as to turn Apostates from the First Principles of New-England; it may be seasonable to repeat so much of the History



History of this Worthy Man, as a little further to illustrate this Article.

He no sooner began to preach the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, but his Fidelity to that Gospel, was tried by an hard Imprisonment, which he underwent because his Conscience could not conform to Humane Inventions in the Sacred Service of Heaven. Yea, while he was yet a Young Man, he often travelled far by Night in the Winter, as well as in the Summer, that so he might enjoy the Ordinances purely administered in the Meetings of the Faithful; and was laid up sometimes in *Launcehote Gaol*, for being found at those Meetings. When he was at *Limrick*, the Attendance of a Person of Great Quality, and his Lady, (who were nearly related unto the Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) upon his Ministry, provoked the Bishop to complain unto the Lord Lieutenant. This Gentleman then profered unto Mr. *Baile*, that if he would conform, he would procure his being made Chaplain to the Duke, and having a Deanery immediately, and a Bishoprick upon the first Vacancy: But he refused the Profer. Albeit, another Eminent Non-Conformist Minister, not far from *Limrick*, a Godly and an able Man, and one who had appeared much against Conformity at the first pressing thereof, did afterwards accept of the aforesaid Chaplainship, and by degrees conformed, and arrived unto several Places of Preferment: Pretending, *That he did it for the sake of Opportunities to preach the Gospel*. But it was remarkable! God so disabled him with Distempers after this, that he was very seldom, if ever able to preach at all.

Mr. *Baile* went on in the Exercise of his Ministry, not pursuing any Factions Designs, but merely the Conversion of Men to Christ, and Faith, and Holiness, which the Devil counts the worst of all Designs. And now, although he were so harmless and blameless in his whole Conversation, that he was always much beloved wherever he came, yet another long Imprisonment was inflicted on him, while the Papists in the Neighbourhood, had all manner of Liberty and Countenance. When he was before the Judges, he told them, *If I had been drinking and gaming and carousing at a Tavern with my Company, my Lords, I presume that would not have procured my being thus treated as an Offender*. Must praying to God, and preaching of Christ, with a Company of Christians, that are *as Peaceable and Inoffensive, and Serviceable to his Majesty and the Government as any of his Subjects*, must this be a greater Crime? The Recorder answered, *We will have you to know, this is a greater Crime*.

While he was imprisoned, his Church being divided into Seven Parts, visited him one part a Day, to that preaching to them, and praying with them every Day, he once in a Week ser-

ved them all. But this, in a little while gave such Offence, that a Violent Obstruction was given thereunto; and though his Flock, particularly his Dear Young Men (as he call'd them) did pray without ceasing, and humble Applications were also made unto the Judges at the Alizes for it, yet no Release could be granted him, without his giving Security, to depart the Land, within a little time then limited unto him.

It was not long, before a Wrath unto the uttermost came upon the City, which had thus persecuted this Faithful Minister of God; and that Person particularly, who had been the chief Instrument of his Persecution, was (as we have been told) within a while, upon other Accounts, himself run into Prison, where he cried out with Horror, of the Wrongs done by him to Mr. *Baile*, and then running Distracted, he died miserably. But *New England*, a Country originally a Retreat for persecuted Non-Conformists, hereupon afforded unto our *Baile* an Opportunity of labouring near Fourteen Years more, in the Work which he loved above all things in the World; the Work of *Turning the Souls of Men from Darkness to Light, and from Satan to God*: Wherein for some time, his Younger and Godly, and sweet natur'd Brother, who came over with him, was his comfortable Companion and Assistant; until he got the start of him in his Departure to the Glories of the better World. They were indeed, *Fratrum dulces par*; a *David* and a *Jonathan*. *Deary*, which for a while parted them, has now again brought them together. This Mr. *Thomas Baile*, died *January 21. 1689.* as this his Brother and Colleague notes in his Diary; *He died well, which is a great Word; so sweetly as I never saw the like before!* But as for this Elder Brother, he was a Man of Great Holiness, and of so tender a Conscience, that if he had been at any time innocently cheerful, in the Company of his Friends, it cost him afterwards abundance of sad Reflection, through Fear, lest e'er he had been aware, he might have grieved the *Holy Spirit of Christ*. A Savoury Book of his about *The Chief End of Man*, published among us, has fully described unto us, that Saviour of Spirit, which was in his daily Walk maintained.

*Sic Oculos, Sic ille manus, Sic ora ferebat.*

The Desire of this Holy Man, was (as himself expressed it) to get up unto Three things: To Patience under the Calamities of Life; To Impatience under the Infirmities of Life; and to earnest Longings for the next Life.

And his Desire at another Time, he thus expressed. *Oh! that I might not be of the Number of them, that live without Love, speak without Feeling, and sit without Life!* Oh! that

G g g g z God



God would make me his Humble and Upright and Faithful Servant!

From this Holy Temper it was, that when some kind Presents were made unto him, he wrote in his Diary thereupon; *I have my Wages quickly; But Oh! that God may not put me off, with a Reward here! Oh! that God may be my Reward!*

We will more particularly note a few Notable, wherein the Holiness which irradiated him, will be described unto us.

We might begin with observing, That the Holy Word of God was very dear to him, as indeed it is to every Holy Man. Hence, I find this Passage in his Diary, Jan. 11. *I finished the Reading of the Bible, in my Family (as formerly) Oh! it's a Dear Book; it's always New.* In the Beginning of every Chapter it's good to say, *Lord, open my Eyes, that I may see Wonders out of thy Law; And when we shut it up to say, I have seen an end of all Perfection, but thy Law is exceeding Broad.* Oh! how terrible are the Threatning; how precious are the Promises; how serious are the Precepts; how deep are the Prophecies of this Book! But we will pass on to some further Observations.

What is Holiness but a Dedication to the Lord Jesus Christ? This Holy Man was often breathing in himself, and pressing on others, that great Point of dedicating every thing to the Service of the Lord. Thus in his Diary, there frequently occur such Strains as these. *Oh! that I may glorify God with all I am, or have; even with all the Faculties of my Soul, all the Members of my Body, and in all the Places and Relations that I stand in, as Man, Master, Minister, Husband, Kinman, and Neighbour. Oh! I stand in need both of a justifying Christ, and a Sanctifying Christ. When shall I sensibly find a Christ swaying his Scepter in my Soul! Thus whatever House he came to live in, it came under a Dedication; and once upon a Remove, he wrote this Passage in his Diary. 'I could not but leave my Old House, with a Prayer in every Room of it, for pardoning Mercy.*

But it was particularly expressed, when one of his Children was to be Baptized. He thus wrote upon it. *I spent some time in offering up my self, and my Child unto the Lord, and in taking hold of the Covenant for my self and him. It is actually to be done to Morrow, [in Baptism.] I prayed hard this Day, all this Day, that I might be able in much Faith, and Love, and New-Covenant Obedience to do it to-morrow. It is not easy, tho' common to offer a Child unto God in Baptism. Oh! that's a sweet Word, *I will be a God to thee, and thy seed after thee.* No marvel Abraham fell on his Face at the hearing of it!*

Hence, when he parted with the greatest Enjoyment he had in this World, he thus wrote upon it, in his Diary;

*'If I can but Exchange outward Comforts for inward Graces, 'tis well enough: Oh! for an Heart to Glorify God in the Fire!*

From this Holiness proceeded that Watchfulness, which discovered a singular Fear of God, in his whole Conversation. I find him entering in his Diary such Passages as these.

At one Time.

*'I did not watch my Tongue so as I ought; which cost me much Trouble afterwards, and made me walk heavily. 'Tis a mad thing to Sin!*

At another Time.

*'I spoke two unadvised Words to Day. Tho' there was no great harm in them, yet I was rebuked by my Conscience for them. Let the Lord forgive them; and for the future, set a watch before the Door of my Lips. Let my Thoughts and Words be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord.*

At another Time.

*'That a serious Word, methinks, in Eph. 5. 30. I have grieved the Holy Spirit. by my unedifying Communication. Oh! that in speaking, I might administer Grace to the Hearer! Oh! that Honey and Milk were under my Tongue continually.*

At another Time.

*'I was too forgetful of God, and exceeding in Tobacco. The Lord pardon that, and all other Sins, and heal this Nature, and humble this Heart.*

At another Time.

*'This Day I have been more chearful than I have been of a long time. It hath afflicted me hence, fearing it was not suitable. Oh! I ought to walk in the midst of my House, in a perfect way. I ought every Day to be writing Copies; and to leave a Stock behind me that others may trade for God withal, when I am dead. And behold, you see this Day, that he did so.*

And as Holy Men use to be full of Hearty Prayers and Wishes for the Good of other Men, thus this Holy Man has fill'd many Places in his Diaries, with his Prayers for the Welfare of those, with whom he was concerned; from whence we may gather how full his Heart was of Blessings for his Neighbours.

Once



Once particularly I find him thus writing.

'I desired to know of Dr. O. what I was indebted to him for those many rich things I have had from him: He told me, *Nothing*; [which was a great Favour!] only desired my Prayers for him. Oh! that I could pray! Whenever I can pray, I will heartily say to God in the Name of Christ for him, *The Lord bless him indeed! Let thy Hand be with him, and keep him from all Evil, that it may not grieve him.*

Moreover, It was not only among the great Signs, but also among the great Means of his Holiness, that he was very sollicitous, as well in his Preparation for the Table of the Lord, as in his Observation of what Communion he enjoyed with the Lord Jesus Christ, at his Table.

His Diary abounds with Passages of this Importance, the Expressions of a Careful Soul.

The last time of his being at the Lord's Table, he wrote the ensuing Passages.

'I was encouraged to carry my late bad Frame to the Crois of Christ, and to bewail there my late Prayerlessness and Unthankfulness. Of late it hath troubled me, to think how little I have admired Christ for bringing me out of some late Plunges of Temptation. I now come to him for two things, namely, for Pardon, and also for double Power, both to receive him, and to shew forth his Praises.

Let me add; Sometimes, as he was able, he would set a part half a Day for extraordinary Prayers: He still did so, when there were any extraordinary Cares upon him. Thus he Records in his Diaries.

At one Time.

'Being of late in so ill a Frame, I spent some time, to seek the fair Face of Jesus Christ; and I did, on purpose, address my self to him, who is the most Admirable Saviour. I left my self with him; my Mind, Heart, Mouth; especially my *Conscience*. Oh! how many Wonders are to be wrought in me! I know, the Loving and Wonder-working *Jesus* can do them all.

At another Time.

'I spent some time alone in Prayer, from 8 to 3. I was much tired. Oh! that I might wait for Returns, and never more turn to Folly. I can't tell how God should admit me near him, considering how I have grieved his Spirit. Having pray'd in the Morning in the Family, I retired; and first sought at large unto God for help to go through the

Day: Especially begging Repentance, and not only so, but Faith; that I might not rest in the bare Works; that Satan might get no Advantage after it; that I might have Reason to desire more such days. Then after a little Meditation and Breathing, I went to Prayer again, only to confess my Sin before God, and to set my Soul as before the Lord; labouring to judge and loath myself, for all my Sin, from first to last. God helped a little; but Oh! that my Heart was broken in pieces, and humbled to the Dust. After a little more Meditation, I went to Prayer in way of Petition, and that at large. Oh! Lord, hear me, and give me the Wisdom that I want. I hope God will hear, pity, pardon, and help me. After a little more Meditation, I fell to praise and bless God for my Mercies, by Sea and Land; but was somewhat short in this part, for which I am sorry. At last I concluded all, in praying for the Church of God in general, for London, Lancashire, and Linrick; and for New-England also. Here I brought all my Relations to the Lord. Oh, Lord, accept of me, and my poor Services in Christ. Oh! that I may watch afterward, and never more be sensual, unbelieving, proud, nor hypocritical. Lord, say Amen.

And that Praises, as well as Prayers might not be forgotten with him, I find him once particularly in his Diary, thus expressing himself.

December 15. 1691.

'I resolved, through the Grace and Strength of Jesus Christ, even in the midst of all my Sorrows and Sinkings, Despairings and Distractions, to keep as much of this Day as I could in Thanksgiving; which I did; but could not go thorough with it, through bodily Faintness. I spent Five Hours somewhat comfortably; but after that I flagged. I resolved to do three things. First, to spend some time in praising God for his Excellencies. God was with me, I hope, in that part of it, and I spent my self so much therein, that I was disabled for the rest. To help it forward God brought to hand Mr. Burroughs, of the Nature of God; I bless God for it. After that, I went to Prayer; labouring to exalt God; (it was a good Time!) after that I sang the 148th. Psalm. Secondly, after that, I set my self to bless God for his Benefits and Kindness to me. But being spent, I did not much; only going to Prayer, I made mention of some Mercies; such as these, *viz.* for Christ; his Covenant of Grace; and the Promises of it (some of which, were particularly mentioned and pressed:) also my Education; my manifold Preservations by Land and Sea; (especially that in Ipswich Bay;) and manifold tedious Sickneses since, for the long Day of God's Patience, notwithstanding many Sins: For my comfortable Provisions all along;



along; for preserving his great Name, that I have in nothing openly dishonoured it; for my Success and Acceptance in my Work; for my dear Wife, that I had her so long; and that my Brother and my dear Wife died both of them glorifying of God: They are in Heaven, and I am out of Hell! that I have hitherto been kept from Distraction and Despair, and kept to my Work: That I have any Friends (in this strange Land) and any in my Family to mind me and tend me: That I have Work here, and Opportunities of Service: For my fore Crosses and Losses of late Afflictions and Temptations, hoping they may work for Good. *Thirdly*, To conclude all, with a cheerful accepting of Christ, and devoting my self to his Service: To do for him, that had done all this for me: Saying, If God would help me to study, he should have all the Glory of it. Thus did he walk with God.

His Ministry was very Acceptable to the People, whose Good he most aimed at, wherever he came: Great Auditories usually flocking thereunto, proclaimed it. But that he might not be *Lifted up*, it seemed meet unto the Wisdom of Heaven, to humble him with fore and long *Temptations*, often Recurring to *Buffer* him. In his *Days*, he saw many Disconsolate *Hours*; he was fill'd with Desponding Jealousies, lest after he had preached unto others, he should be himself a *Cast-away*: And he often intrusted those, who saw the Distresses of his Mind, That they would by no means take up any *Prejudice* against the *swifter* and good Ways of *Religion*, from what they saw of his Disconsolate *Uneasinesses*.

It may be, 'twill be profitable unto some Discouraged Minds, to understand how he expresses himself on such Occasions. In Sermons on those Words, *I am oppressed, undertake for me*, he much described it unto us. But in his Diaries 'twas thus:

At one Time.

'I was almost in the *Suburbs of Hell* all Day; a meer *Magor Miffibab*. I saw *Death* and *Sin* full of Terror. I thought I never fought the Glory of God: Ah! What a matchless Wretch am I! Oh! That I could love above all things, and seek the Glory of God, and live contentedly on him alone! Oh! that I could see the Blood of Christ on my Soul, and at the Bottom of my Profession. Oh! for a Sight of the Mystery and Majesty of the Grace and Love of Jesus Christ; so that all Excellencies might fall down before it!

At another Time.

'I am in a woful Frame; far from saying, with Dr. Avery, *Here I lie, not knowing what God will do with me, but this I know*

*lie, God doth not terrify me, either with my Sin, or with my Death, or with himself.*

At another Time.

'If God should yet save my Soul, and his Work in my Hand, it would be amazing. There is a *May be!* If these inward Troubles hold, I shall be forced to lay down my Work. O Lord, step in for my Relief! O the Worth of the Sense of God's Love in Christ!

At another Time.

'I am oppressed unto Death, and fill'd with the Angry Arrows of God: It ariseth not at present from any particular Cause, but the Sense of my woful Estate in general. Oh! that the Issue may yet be Peace, and that I may not fetch Comfort unto my self, but by Faith in Jesus Christ.

At another Time.

'Oh! That Jesus Christ would undertake for me! If God marvellously prevent not, I shall lay down my Work. O Lord, appear. Oh! for one saving Sight of the Love, and Loveliness of Jesus Christ. I wish I could say, as my dear Tutor Dr. Harrison said, That he could not live a Day, without a fresh Manifestation of God unto his Soul!

At another Time.

'The Eclipse of the Moon last Night, made one think, Oh! that I could mourn bitterly, *we have sinned my self into Darkness*. How is the Earth interpoling! Lord, Remove it. Let the Son of Righteousness in his Glory and Strength yet be seen by me!

At another Time.

'I have much Reason to bless God, for Rebuking of Satan. I have been many a Time ready to give up all, and lay down my Ministry, thinking that God had utterly forsaken me, and hid Jesus Christ from me; which I would justify him in. But by the Consideration of the Brazen Serpent, I was somewhat Recovered.

At another Time.

'I was now supported by the Thoughts of a Precious JESUS. I should for ever sink, but for him! When I look backward or forward, upward or downward, I die, I sink; but when I look at the sweet JESUS, I live. I may resolve with Dr. Preston, (O that I could!) saying, *I have often try'd God, and now I'll trust him*. It's a good Resolution; Lord, help me to it!



At another Time, I thought on

'I would gladly think, *That God is my Father.* And if so, Oh! what Glory is due to the Riches of Free Grace! Oh! how glorious is that Grace, and how will it shine through all Eternity! If ever I see my self safe at last, I must for ever cry out, *I am wonderfully saved!*

In fine, One thing that much relieved him in his internal Troubles, was what he had occasion (thus) to write in his Diary, a little before his End.

'I do more see into the great Mystery of our Justification by Faith, merely of Grace. There is no respect in it, unto this or that; but Jesus Christ having wrought out a Redemption for us, and by his Active and Passive Obedience procured a sufficient Righteousness, and making a *Tender* of it in the Gospel, it becomes mine, by my accepting of it, and relying on it alone for Salvation. And shall I not accept of it? God forbid!

'I see (saith he) there are two things, wherein I can't easily exceed, *viz.* In ascribing to the Grace of God, the Freeness and Richness of it in Man's Salvation; and in ascribing to the Righteousness of Christ in Man's Justification.

At length, dismal Pains of the Gout, with a Complication of other Maladies, confined him for a Quarter of a Year together. Under the Pains of his Confinement, he took an extraordinary Contentment in the Fifty Third Chapter of *Isaiah*, which represents the Sorrows of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby all our Sorrows are sanctified: And he would often roll over those Words of our Saviour, elsewhere occurring, *They pierced my Hands and my Feet.* When the Reminders of his Flock, which waited on him to New-England, visited him, his usual and solemn Charge to them was, *I charge you, That I find you all safe at last!* My Brethren, God make the Charge of your dead Pastor abide upon you. For some time in his last Sickness, his Heavenly Soul was harassed with terrible Discouragements: Under all of which, it was yet a common Expression with him, *The Master hath done all things well!* But at last, he arrived unto a Blessed Satisfaction, That the Lord Jesus Christ had made his Peace in Heaven, and that he was going into Eternal Peace. Yea, at the worst, he would say, *That his Fear was not so much about the End of all as about what he might meet withal in the way to that End.* He had begun to prepare a Sermon for our South-Church, upon those Words, *Who is this that comes up from the Wilderness, leaning on her Beloved?* And he now spoke of it, as expressing his own Condition; *Thus am I going (said he) out of the Wilderness of all my Temptations, leaning on my Blessed*

*Jesus!* When his Affectionate Friends were weeping about him, he bestowed this Rebuke upon them, *Away with your Idols! Away with your Idols!* It was not very long before he fell sick; that he wrote this Passage in his Diary. *I was affected with what I read of Mr. Sewall of Coccytus, who died in the Pulpit. Lord, Let not me die meanly, but in dying bring much Glory to thee.* And now it shall be so! At last, just as he was going to expire, he seem'd as if he had some extraordinary Apprehensions of the Glory, in which our Lord Jesus Christ is above enthroned: He strove to speak unto his Vertuous Consort, and anon spoke thus much, *Oh! What shall I say? He is altogether lovely: His Worthy Sister-in-Law, then coming to him, he said, Oh! All our Praises of him here, are poor and too things! And then added, His Glorious Angels are come for me!* Upon the saying whereof he closed his own Eyes, about the time when he still opened his Bible for his Publick Labours: On the Lord's Day, about three in the Afternoon; and he never opened them any more.

This was he whom you are now going to Bury; but I pray you, Bury not with him all the Holy Comends and Warnings, that we have heard from him; *Remember how you have received and heard.*

He was one, who took much Notice of what was from the Oracles of God, spoken to him, in the Sermons of other Men. He has much replenished his Diaries, with Remarks of this Importance; *I have heard a good Word to-day!* And he would often decline going to Feasts, whereto his Friends invited him, that he might go to *Private Meetings* in some other Parts of the Town, where he might at the same time Feast on the Word of God. Thus, more particularly.

At one Time.

'I heard a very good Word. *Are ye not Carnal?* Ah, Lord, I am Carnal. The Lord gave me his Spirit to make me Spiritual! I was in many things justly reprov'd: Let me take it, and be wrought into the Likeness of this good Word.

At another Time.

'To day I heard a most precious Word, with which I was much edified and refreshed, *viz.* *Christ is all.* Oh! that I might never forget it! Oh! that it might be written upon the Table of my Heart! Let my Soul feed upon it for ever. It was very seasonable. Though it was a Day most intolerably cold; so cold, that there was little writing it; yet it heartily warmed me. I needed a Christ: Oh! that I could get him, and keep him for ever! I would make him my All, and count him my All. I need a whole Christ: Oh! that I may prize a whole Christ, and improve a whole Christ



Christ. I have of late thought, that this may be one Evidence of my Right unto Glory, that Christ is more precious to me than ever.

What I say upon it, is, Imitate him in a point to Imitable. This Preacher is well worthy to be imitated, as he was an Hearer.

You can all testify, that he was none of those *Cold Preachers*, whereof one complains, *Verba vite in quorundam Doctorum Labiis, quantum ad Virtutem, & Efficaciam Moriuntur: Adeo enim repide, adeo remisse, verba Dei annunciant, ut Extincta in Labiis eorum penitus videantur, unde Sicut ipse Frigidus sunt, & Extincti, sic Frigidus & Extinctus reliquunt, & utinam non facerent Auditores.*

For his Preaching, he particularly prescribed unto himself, according to a Memorandum, which I found thus entred in his Diary.

Old Mr. Thomas Shepheard, when on his Death-bed, said unto the young Ministers about him, *That their Work was great, and called for great Seriousness.* For his own part, he told them three things. First, That the studying of every Sermon cost him Tears; he wept in the studying of every Sermon. Secondly, Before he preach'd any Sermon, he got Good by it himself. Thirdly, He always went up into the Pulpit, as if he were to give up his Accounts unto his Master. *Oh! that my Soul (adds our Baily) may remember and praise accordingly!*

To this his Preaching, when he saw God gave any Success, he would still in his private Papers, take as Thankful a Notice, as if great

Riches had been heaped in upon him. And yet he would add [such Passages I sometimes find.]

Let my Soul rejoice. But, Lord, keep me from Pride. I desire to be humbled for it. Do I not know that God makes use of whom he pleases, and usually of the *Weakest!* No *Kleish shall glory!*

But if the Word preached by this lively Dispenfer of it, live not in our Lives, after he is Dead, he will himself be, which he often told you, he fear'd he should be in the Day of God, a Witness against many of you.

That we may then meet him with Joy, *Let us remember them, who have spoken to us the Word of God, and follow their Faith, considering the End of their Conversation.*

But be thou sensible, O all my Country of New-England, how much thou art weakened, by the Departure of such Blessings to the World of the Blessed.

Thy Baily could sometimes write such Passages as this, (I find) in his Reserved Papers.

There was a Day of Prayer. God was with me in Prayer, helping me to plead with him an Hour and half, for this poor Land, and in some measure to Believe for it. I hope, God will hear and help.

Such an one taking Flight from thee, Let thy Lamentations thereupon be heard; *My Father, my Father!*

## The End of the THIRD BOOK.



*SAL GENTIUM.*

THE  
Fourth BOOK  
OF THE  
**New = English History.**  
CONTAINING  
An ACCOUNT of the  
**UNIVERSITY.**

From whence the Churches of *NEW-ENGLAND*, ( and many other  
Churches ) have been *Illuminated*.

Its *LAWS*, its *BENEFACTORS*, its *VICIS-  
SITUDES*, and a *CATALOGUE* of such  
as have been therein *Educated* and *Graduated*.

Whereto are *ADDED*,

The *LIVES* of some Eminent Persons, who were *Plants of Renown*  
growing in that *NURSERY*.

Offered unto the Publick

By *COTTON MATHER.*

Here, as in Furnaces of Boiling Gold  
Stars Dipt, Come back, full as their Orbs can hold  
Of Glit'ring Light ! —

*AB. COULÆUS, de AMERICA.*

*Ingenium, Pietas, Artes, ac Bellica Virtus,  
Huc profuge venient, et Regna Illustris condent ;  
Et Domina his Virtus erit, et Fortuna Ministra.*  
*Plantar. Lib. 5.*

*L O N D O N,*

Printed for *Tbo. Parkhurst.* 1702.



2ND EDITION.

# FOURTH BOOK

NEW-ENGLISH HISTORY.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

## UNIVERSITY

THE LAWS, ITS BENEFITORS, ITS VICES, ITS STUDES, and a CATALOGUE of such as have been therein Educated and Graduated.

THE LIVES of some Eminent Persons, who were Pupils of RAYMOND growing in that NURSERY.

By COTTON MATHER.

Here, as in Furnaces of Boiling Gold, Stars Dip, Comets back, till as their Ours can hold Of shining Light!

AN COLLIGES DE AMERICA.  
Ingenuum Fictum, ubi, ac Bellum Librum  
Hinc profectus exiens et Regem illiusque constant  
Et Domus hic Librum esse et Fortuna Maffius  
Pamph. in.

LONDON.  
Printed for Tho. Parkhurst. 1702.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
Harvard-Colledge.

INTRODUCTION.

**I**F there have been Universities in the World, which a Beza would call Flabella Satanæ, and a Luther would call Cathedras Pestilentiz, & Antichristi Luminaria, and a Third ventures to style, Synagogas Perditionis & Puteos Abyssî; the Excellent Arrowsmith has truly observed, That it is no more to inferred from hence that all are so, than that all Books are to be burnt, because the Christians did burn the Magical Ones at Ephesus. The New-Englanders have not been Weigelians: or the Disciples of the Furious Fanatick, who held forth [ Reader, Let it never be translated into English! ] Nollam esse in Univerſo Terrarum Orbe Academiam, in quâ Christus inveniat; In Academijs ne tantillam quidem Christi Cognitionem reperiri posse: Noluissè Christum Evangelium predicari per Diabolos; ergo non per Academicos. Least all the Hellebore of New-England (a Countrey abounding with Hellebore) should not suffice to restore such Dreamers unto their Wits, it hath produced an University also, for their better Information, their utter Confutation. Behold, an American University, presenting her self, with her Sons, before her European Mothers for their Blessing. An University, which hath been to these Plantations, as Livy saith of Greece, for the good Literature there cultivated, *Sal Centium*; An University, which may make her boast unto the Circumjacent Regions, like that of the Orator on the behalf of the English Cambridge, *Fecimus (abijt Verbo Invidia, cui abest Falſitas) ne in Demagorij Lapis federet super Lapidem, ne deesset in Templis Theologi, in Foris Jurisperiti, in Oppidis Medici; Rempublicam, Ecclesiam, Sedatum, Exercitum, Viris Doctis replevimus, eoque melius bono publico intervire comparatis, quò magis eruditi fuerint*: Finally, An University which has been what Stangius made his Abbey, when he turn'd it into a Protestant Colledge; Τὸ Θρησκευτικὸν καὶ Πνευματικὸν Δυναστεῖον. And a River, without the Streams whereof, these Regions would have been meer, Unwatered Places, for the Devil!

PART I.

*Its Laws, Benefactors, Viceſtudes, and its Graduates.*

**T**HE Nations of Mankind, that have shaken off Barbarity, have not more Differed in the Languages, than they have Agreed in this One Principle, That Schools for the Institution of Young Men, in all other Liberal Sciences, as well as that of Languages, are necessary to procure, and preserve, that Learning amongst them, which

*Emollit Mores, nec sunt esse feros.*

To relate the Thousandth Part of the Brave Things, which have been done by the Nations

of Asia, in former, or the Nations of Europe, in later Ages, pursuant to this Principle, would be to fill huge Folio Volumes, with Transcribing from *Hospius* or *Middendorpius*, from *Asted*, from *Junius*, and from *Leigh*, and from very many other Authors. America is the part of the World, whereto our History is confined; and one little Part of America, where the First Academy, that ever adorned any English Plantation in America was erected; and an Academy, which if *Majores nostri* Academijs signato vocabulo appellavere Universitates, quod Universarum Divinarum Humanarumque Rerum Cognitione, in ijs, at *thesauro conservata aperiatur*, it may, though



it have otherwise wanted many Privileges, from the very Foundation of it, pretend upon the Name of an *University*. The Primitive *Christians* were not more prudently careful, to settle *Schools* for the Education of Persons, to succeed the more immediately Inspired Ministry of the Apostles, and such as had been Ordained by the Apostles; (and the Apostate *Julian*, truly imagined, that he could not sooner undo *Christianity*, than by putting of them down!) than the *Christians* in the most Early Times of *New-England* were to form a *College*, wherein a Succession of a Learned and Able Ministry might be Educated. And, indeed, they foresaw that without such a Provision for a Sufficient Ministry, the Churches of *New-England* must have been less than a *Business* of One Age, and soon have come to Nothing: The Other Hemisphere of the World, would never have sent us over *Men* enough to have answered our Necessities; but without a Nursery for such *Men* among our selves *Darkness* must have soon covered the Land, and Gross *Darkness* the People. For some little while, indeed, there very Hopeful Effects of the *Pains* taken by certain particular Men of Great Worth and Skill, to bring up some in their own Private Families, for Publick Services; but much of Uncertainty and of Inconveniency in this Way, was in that little while discovered; and when Wise Men considered the Question handled by *Quintilian*, *Utilius ne sit Domi, atq; intra privatos Parietes studentem continere, an frequentius Scolaarum, & velut publicis Præceptoribus tradere?* they soon determined it as He did, That *Set-Schools* are so necessary, there is no Doing without them. Wherefore a *College* must now be thought upon: A *College*, the best Thing that ever *New-England* thought upon! As the Admirable *Vacuus* could happily boast of it, that whereas there are no less than Ten Provinces in the *Papish* *Belgium*, and there are no more than Two *Universities* in them, there are but Seven Provinces in the *Reformed* *Belgium*, and there are Five *Universities* therein, besides other Academical Societies; thus the First Possessors of this Protestant and Puritan Country, were zealous for an *University*, that should be more significant than the Seminaries of *Canada* and *Mexico*; *New-England* compared with other Places, might lay Claim to the Character that *Strabo* gives of *Tarsus*, the City of our Apostle *Paul's* first Education; They had so great a Love to Philosophy, [ *ἡ μάθησις αὐτῶν ἦν ἀνεκδιαιρέτη* ] and all the Liberal Sciences, that they excelled Athens, Alexandria, and if there were any other Place worth Naming where the Schools, and Disputes of Philosophy, and all Humane Arts maintained. And although this Country did chiefly consist of such as by the Difficulties of Subduing a Wretched Wilderness, were brought into such a Condition of Poverty, that they might have gone by the Title, by which the modestly-clad Noblemen and Gentlemen, that first petitioned against the *Inquisition* in the Low-Countries, were distinguished, namely, A Troop of Beggars, yet these *Gentle* were willing to let the Richer Colonies, which

retained the Ways of the Church of England, see How much True Religion was a Friend unto good Literature. The Reader knows that in every Town among the Jews, there was a School, whereat Children were taught the Reading of the Law; and, if there were any Town destitute of a School, the Men of the Place did stand excommunicate, until One were erected: Besides and beyond which they had *Midrashoth*, or Divinity-Schools, in which they expounded the Law to their Disciples. Whether the Churches of *New-England* have been duly careful or no, about their other Schools, they have not been altogether careless about their *Midrashoth*; and it is well for them that they have not.

§. 2. A General Court held at Boston, Sept. 8. 1630. advanced a Small Sum (and it was then a Day of Small Things) namely, Four Hundred Pounds, by way of Essay towards the Building of something to begin a College; and *New-Town* being the *Kiriath Sepher* appointed for the Seat of it, the Name of the Town was for the sake of somewhat now founding here, which might hereafter grow into an University, changed into Cambridge. 'Tis true, the University of *Upsal* in Sweden, hath ordinarily about seven or eight Hundred Students belonging to it, which do none of them live Collegiately, but board all of them here and there at Private Houses; nevertheless the Government of *New-England*, was for having their Students brought up in a more Collegiate Way of Living. But that which laid the most significant Stone in the Foundation, was the Last Will of Mr. John Harvard, a Reverend, and Excellent Minister of the Gospel, who dying at *Charlstown*, of a Consumption, quickly after his Arrival here, bequeathed the Sum of Seven Hundred, seventy nine Pounds, seventeen Shillings and two Pence, towards the Pious Work of building a College, which was now set a foot. A Committee then being chosen, to prosecute an Affair, so happily commenced, it soon found Encouragement from several other Benefactors: The other Colonies sent some small Help to the Undertaking, and several particular Gentlemen did more, than whole Colonies to support and forward it: But because the Memorable Mr. John Harvard, led the Way by a Generosity exceeding the most of them, that followed His Name was justly Eternized, by its having the Name of Harvard-College imposed upon it. While these Things were a doing, a Society of Scholars, to Lodge in the New Nests, were forming under the Conduct of one Mr. Nathanael Eaton [or, if thou wilt, Reader, Orbilius Eaton] a Blade, who marvellously deceived the Expectations of Good Men concerning him; for he was One fitter to be Master of a *Bridemaid* than a College: And though his *Avarice* was notorious, enough to get the Name of a *Phylargyrus* fixed upon him, yet his Cruelty was more scandalous than his *Avarice*. He was a Rare Scholar himself, and he made many more such; but their Education truly was In the School of Tyranny. Among many other Instances of his Cruelty



Cruelty, he gave One in casting two Men to hold a young Gentleman, while he so unmercifully beat him with a *Cudgel*, that upon Complaint of it, unto the Court in September, 1639. he was fined an Hundred Marks, besides a Convenient Sum to be paid unto the young Gentleman, that had suffered by his Unmercifulness; and for his Inhumane Severities towards the Scholars, he was removed from his Trust. After this, being first Excommunicated by the Church of Cambridge, he did himself Excommunicate all our Churches, going first into Virginia, then into England, where he lived privately until the Restauration of King Charles II. Then Conforming to the Ceremonies of the Church of England, he was fixed at Biddford, where he became (as *Apostata est Olor sui Ordinis*) a bitter Persecutor of the Christians, that kept faithful to the Way of Worship, from which he was himself an *Apostate*; until he who had cast so many into Prison for Conscience, was himself cast into Prison for Debt; where he did, at length, pay One Debt, namely, that unto Nature, by Death,

§. 3. On August 27. 1640. The Magistrates, with the Ministers, of the Colony, chose Mr. Henry Dunster, to be the President of their New Harvard-College. And in time convenient, the General Court ended the College with a Charter, which made it a Corporation, consisting of a President, two Fellows, and a Treasurer to all proper Intent and Purposes: Only with Powers reserved unto the Governor, Deputy-Governour, and all the Magistrates of the Colony, and the Ministers of the six next Towns for the Time being, to act as Overseers, or Visitors of the Society. The Tongues and Arts were now taught in the College, and Piety was maintained with so Laudable a Discipline, that many Eminent Persons went forth from hence, adorned with Accomplishments, that rendered them formidable to other Parts of the World, as well as to this Country, and Persons of good Quality sent their Sons, from other Parts of the World, for such an Education, as this Country could give unto them. The Number of Benefactors to the College, did herewithal increase to such a Degree of Benefit, that although the President were supported still by a Salary, from the Treasury of the Colony, yet the Treasury of the College it self was able to pay many of its Expences; especially after the Incomes of Charlstown Ferry, were by an Act of the General Court settled thereupon. To Enumerate these Benefactors would be a piece of Justice to their Memory, and the Catalogue of their Names, and Works preserved in the College, has done them that Justice. But as I find One Article in that Catalogue to run thus, *A Gentleman not willing his Name should be put upon Record, gave fifty Pounds*; thus, I am so willing to believe, that the most of those Good Men that are mentioned were content with a Record of their Good Deeds in the Book of God's Remembrance, that I shall Excuse this Book of our Church-History from swelling with a particular Mention of them: albeit for us to leave unmentioned in this

place a *MOULSON*, a *SALTONSTAL*, an *ASHURST*, a *PENNOYER*, a *DODDRIDGE*, an *HOPKINS*, a *WEB*, an *USHER*, an *HULL*, a *RICHARDS*, an *HULTON*, a *GUNSTON*, would hardly be excusable. And while these made their Liberal Contributions, either to the Edifice or to the Revenue of the College, there were others that enrich'd its Library, by presenting of Choice Books with Mathematical Instruments, thereunto, among whom Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir John Maynard, Mr. Richard Baxter and Mr. Joseph Hill, ought always to be remembered. But the most Considerable Accession to this Library was, when the Reverend Mr. Theophilus Gale, a well known Writer of many Books, and Owner of more, bequeathed what he had, unto this New-Englsh Treasury of Learning; whereof I find in an Oration of Mr. Increase Mathers, at the Commencement in the Year 1681. this Commemoration, — *Libris quam plurimis suis, Lectū dignissimis Bibliotheca Harvardiana locupletatur, quos THEOPHILUS GALEUS (ò pateris!) Theologus nunquam satis Laudatus, legavit; quosq; Novanglorum Moses, Dominum Gullelmum Stoughtonum volo, precoravit, eosq; se primarium Hujus Academiæ Curatorem præbuit, atq; Harvardianos omnes fidei in perpetuum devinctos habet.* — Indeed this Library is at this Day, far from a Vatican, or a Bodleian Dimension, and sufficiently short of that, made by *Plutony* at Alexandria, in which Fame hath placed Seven Hundred Thousand Volumes, and of that made by *Theodosius* at Constantinople, in which a more certain Fame hath told us of Ten *Myriads*: Nevertheless, 'tis I suppose the best furnished that can be shewn any where, in all the American Regions; and when I have the Honour to walk in it, I cannot but think on the Satisfaction, which *Heinsius* reports himself to be fill'd withal, when shut up in the Library at Leyden; *Plerumq; in eâ simulacrum pedem posui, foribus Pessulum obdo, et in ipso Aeternitatis Grænio, inter tot Illustras Animas sedem mihi Sumo: cum ingenti quidem Animo, et subinde Magnatum me miserat, qui Felicitatem hanc ignorant.*

§. 4. When Scholars had so far profited at the Grammar Schools, that they could Read any *Classical Author* into English, and readily make, and speak true Latin, and Write it in Verse as well as Prose; and perfectly Decline the Paradigms of Nouns and Verbs in the Greek Tongue, they were judged capable of Admission in Harvard-College; and upon the Examination, were accordingly Admitted by the President and Fellows; who, in Testimony thereof, signed a Copy of the College Laws, which the Scholars were each of them to Transcribe and Preserve, as the continual Remembrancers of the Duties, where-to their Privileges obliged them. While the President inspected the Manners of the Students thus Entertained in the College, and unto his Morning and Evening Prayers in the Hall, joined an Exposition upon the Chapters; which they Read out of Hebrew into Greek, from the Old Testa-



Testament in the Morning, and out of *English* into *Greek*, from the *New Testament* in the Evening; besides what *Sermons* he saw cause to Preach in publick Assemblies on the *Lord's-Day* at *Cambridge*, where the Students have a particular *Gallerie* allotted unto them; the *Fellows* Resident on the Place, became *Tutors* to the several *Classes*, and after they had Instructed them into the *Hebrew Language*, led them through all the *Liberal Arts*, ere their first *Four Years* expired. And in this Time, they had their Weekly *Declamations*, on *Fridays* in the Colledge-Hall, besides publick *Disputations*, which either the *President* or the *Fellows* moderated. Those who then stood *Candidates* to be *Graduates*, were to attend in the *Hall* for certain Hours, on *Mondays*, and on *Tuesdays*, Three Weeks together towards the Middle of *June*, which were called *Weeks of Visitation*; so that all Comers that pleased, might examine their Skill in the *Languages* and *Sciences*, which they now pretended unto; and usually, some or other of the *Overseers* of the Colledge, would on purpose *Visit* them, whilst they were thus doing what they called, *sitting of Sossites*: When the Commencement arrived, which was formerly the *Second Tuesday* in *August*, but since, the *First Wednesday* in *July*; they that were to proceed *Bachelors*, held their *Act* publicly in *Cambridge*; whither the *Magistrates* and *Ministers*, and other *Gentlemen* then came, to put Respect upon their Exercises: And these Exercises were besides an *Oration* usually made by the *President*, *Oration* both *Salutatory* and *Valedictory*, made by some or other of the Commencers, wherein all *Persons* and *Orders* of any fashion then present, were Addressed with proper Complements, and Reflections were made on the most Remarkable Occurrences of the preceeding Year; and these *Oration*s were made not only in *Latin*, but sometimes in *Greek* and in *Hebrew* also; and some of them were in *Verse*, and even in *Greek Verse*, as well as others in *Prose*. But the main Exercises were *Disputations* upon *Questions*, wherein the *Respondents* first made their *Thefts*: For according to *Positiv*, the very Essence of the *Baccalaureat* seems to lye in the Thing: *Baccalaureus* being but a Name Corrupted of *Batualus*, which *Batualus* (as well as the French *Bataille*) comes a *Batendo*, a Buiness that carries Beating in it: So that, *Batualus fuerunt vocati, quia iam quasi, Batulissent cum Adversario, ac Manus conseruissent; hoc est, PUBLICE DISPUTASSENT, atque ita Peritiae suae Specimen dedissent*. In the Close of the Day, the *President*, with the Formality of Delivering a Book into their Hands, gave them their *First Degree*: But such of them as had Studied Three Years after their *First Degree*, to Answer the *Honorarium* Character of an *Artist*,

Qui Studii Amos Septem dedit insenuitque Libris et Curis.

And besides their Exhibiting *Synopses* of the *Liberal Arts*, by themselves composed, now again publicly disputed on some *Questions*, of perhaps

a little higher Elevation; These now, with a like Formality, received their *Second Degree*, proceeding *Masters of Art*. — *Quis enim Doctrinam amplectitur ipsam, premia si tollas?* The Words used by the *President*, in this Action, were

For the Bachelours.

Admitto Te ad Primum Gradum in Artibus, scilicet, ad Respondendum Questioni, pro more Academicum in Anglia.

Tibi, Trado hunc Librum, una cum Potestate publice Praelegendi, in aliqua Artium (quam proferis) quotiescumq; ad hoc Munus evocatus fueris.

For the Masters.

Admitto Te ad Secundum Gradum in Artibus, pro more Academicum in Anglia.

Tradoque Tibi hunc Librum, una cum Potestate Profutendi, ubiquecumq; ad hoc Munus publice evocatus fueris.

§. 5. Mr. Henry Dunster, continued the *President* of *Harvard-Colledge*, until his unhappy Entanglement in the Snares of *Anabaptism*; sild the *Overseers* with uneasie Fears, lest the Students by his means, should come to be Ensnared: Which Uneasiness was at length so signified unto him, that on *October 24. 1654*. He presented unto the *Overseers*, an Instrument under his Hands; wherein he Resigned his *Presidentship*, and they accepted his *Resignation*. That brave Old Man *Johannes Amos COMENIUS*, the Fame of whose Worth hath been Trumpeted as far as more than Three Languages (whereof every one is Indebted unto his *Imma*) could carry it was indeed agreed withall, by our Mr. *Wimbrop* in his Travels through the Low Countries, to come over into *New-England*, and illuminate this Colledge and Country, in the Quality of a *President*: But the Solicitations of the *Swedish* Ambaflador, diverting him another way, that Incomparable *Moravian* became not an *American*. On November 2, 1654. Mr. *Richard Mather* and Mr. *Norton*, were employed by the *Overseers*, to tender unto Mr. *Charles Chancy* the Place of *President*, which was now become Vacant; who on the Twenty Seventh Day of that Month, had a Solemn Inauguration thereunto. A Person he was, of whom 'tis not easie to say too much; but let it here be enough, to Recite the Words of Mr. *Increase Mather* (who now succeeds him) in one of his *Oration*s.

Cl. Ille Chancelius quem CAROLUM magnam, jure optimo nominare possumus: Fuit ille Senex Venerandus, Linguarum et Artium praesidiis Insuperabilissimus, Gymnasarcha praeclarè Doctus; qui in filiis Proprietarum Erudiendis fidem navavit operam omnemque diligentiam adhibuit. Avitus et Obivus tanti Viri, Collegium quasi truncatum, ac tantum non emecatam reliquerunt. After the Death of Mr. *Chancy*, which was at the latter End of the Year 1701. The *Anna Mater Academia*, must look among her own Sons, to find a *President* for the rest of her Children; and accordingly the

Fellows



Fellows of the College with the Approbation of the Overseers, July 13. 1672. elected Mr. Leonard Hoar, unto that Office; whereto, on the Tenth of September following he was Inaugurated.

This Gentleman, after his Education in Harvard-College, travelled over into England; where he was not only a Preacher of the Gospel in divers Places, but also received from the University in Cambridge, the Degree of A Doctor of Physick. The Doctor, upon some Invitations, relating to a Settlement, in the Pastoral Charge with the South Church at Boston, returned into New-England; having first married a Virtuous Daughter of the Lord Lisle, a Great Example of Piety and Patience, who now cross'd the Atlantic with him; and quickly after his Arrival here, his Invitation to *Preside* over the College at Cambridge, superseded those from the Church at Boston. Were he considered either as a Scholar, or as a Christian, he was truly a Worthy Man; and he was generally reputed such, until happening, I can scarce tell how, to fall under the Displeasure of some that made a Figure in the Neighbourhood, the Young Men in the College, took Advantage therefrom, to ruine his Reputation, as far as they were able. He then found the *Rectorship* of a College to be as troublesome a Thing, as ever *Antigenus* did his *Role*; and he could subscribe to *Metebior Adam's* Account of it, *Scriptum illud Sobolasticum, plus habet sollicitudinis quam pulchritudinis, plus curæ quam Auris, plus Impedimenti quam Argentum.* The young Plants turned *Cud-weeds*, and with great Violations of the Fifth Commandment; set themselves to *Transgress* whatever he did and said, and aggravate every thing in his Behaviour disagreeable to them, with a Design to make him *Odious*; and in a Day of Temptation, which was now upon them, several very Good Men did unhappily countenance the Ungoverned Youths, in their Ungovernableness. Things were at length driven to such a pass, that the Students deserted the College, and the Doctor on March 15. 1675. resigned his *Præsidship*. But the *Hard* and *Ill* Usage, which he met withal made so deep an Impression upon his Mind, that his Grief threw him into a Consumption, whereof he dyed Novemb. 28. The Winter following, in Boston; and he lies now interr'd at *Braintree*: Where he might properly enough have this Line inscribed over him for his

## EPITAPH,

*Malus celeris sancius Affricio.*

The Fate of this Ingenious Man, was not altogether without a Parallel, in what long since beel Dr. Metcalf, the Master of St. John's College in Cambridge; who, as Dr. Fuller has related it, was injuriously driven from the College, and expired soon after his going out of his Office: But I would not have my Reader go too far, in Contriving the Remark, which the Great Caus made thereupon, *Omnes qui Metcalfi excludendi Auctores existerunt, multis Adverse Fortune*

*procellis, fove Divina Ultione, seu Fato suo, jactati, mortem obierunt Exempli Memorabili.* All that I shall farther add concerning our Doctor, is, that in his Time, there being Occasion for the College to be recruited with New-Edifices, there was a Contribution made for it through the Colony, which, in the whole, amounted unto One Thousand, Eight Hundred, Ninety Five Pounds, Two Shillings and Nine Pence; and of this, there was Eight Hundred Pounds given by the One Town of Boston; and of that, there was One Hundred Pounds given by the One Hand of Sir Thomas Temple, as True a Gentleman, as ever set foot on the American Strand; and this Contribution with some other Assistances, quickly produced a New College, wearing still the Name of the Old One, which Old One is now so mouldred away, that

— Jam Seges eff ubi Troja fuit.

After the Death of Dr. Hoar, the Place of President pro Tempore, was put upon Mr. Drinan Oakes, the Excellent Pastor of the Church at Cambridge; who did so, and would no otherwise accept of the Place; though the Offer of a Full Settlement in the Place, was afterwards importunately made unto him. He did the Services of a President, even, as he did all other Services, Faithfully, Learnedly, Indefatigably; and by a New Choice of him thereunto, on Feb. 2. 1679. was, at last, prevailed withal to take the full Charge upon him. We all know, that *Britania* knew nothing more Famous, than their Ancient Sect of *DRUIDS*; the Philosophers, whose Order, they say, was instituted by One *Samothres*, which is in English, as much as to say, An Heavenly Man. The Celtic Name, *Dern* for an Oak, was that from whence, they received their Denomination; as at this very Day, the Welsh call this Tree *Dern*, and this Order of Men *Dernydion*. But there are no small Antiquaries, who derive this *Oaken Religion* and Philosophy, from the Oaks of *Mamre*, where the Patriarch *Abraham* had as well a Dwelling as an Altar. That *Oaken-Plain*, and the Eminent Oak under which *Abraham* lodged, was extant in the Days of *Constantine*, as *Isidore*, *Jerom* and *Sozomen* have assured us. Yea, there are shrew'd Probabilities, that *Noah* himself had lived in this very Oak-plain before him; for this very Place was called *Ogryon*, which was the Name of *Noah*, so styled from the *Oggyan* (subcineritibus panibus) Sacrifices, which he did use to offer, in this Renowned Grove: And it was from this Example that the Ancients, and particularly that the *Druids* of the Nations, chose *Oaken* Retirements for their Studies. Reader, Let us now upon another Account, behold the Students of Harvard-College, as a Rendezvous of Happy *Druids*, under the Influences of so Rare a President: But alas! our Joy must be short lived; for, on July 25. 1681. the Stroke of a sudden Death fell'd the Trees

— Qui tantum inter Caput extulit Omnes,  
Quantum Lenta solent, inter Vrbura Cypressi.

Mr. Oaki, thus being Transplanted into the Better



Better World, the Præsidethip was immediately tendered unto Mr. Increase Mather; but his Church upon the Application of the Overseers unto them, to dismiss him unto the Place, where to he was now chosen, refusing to do it, he declined the Motion. Wherefore, on April 10. 1682. Mr. John Rogers was Elected unto that Place; and on August 12. 1683. he was Installed into it. This Worthy Person was the Son of the Renowned Mr. Nathanael Rogers, the Pastor to the Church of Ipswich; and he was himself a Preacher at Ipswich, until his Disposition for Medicinal Studies caused him to abate of his Labours in the Pulpit. He was one of so sweet a Temper, that the Title of *Delicie humani Generis* might have on that Score been given him; and his Real Piety fit off with the Accomplishments of a Gentleman, as a Gem set in Gold. In his Præsidethip, there fell out one thing particularly, for which the Colledge has cause to remember him. It was his Custom to be somewhat Long in his Daily Prayers (which our Presidents use to make) with the Scholars in the Colledge-Hall. But one Day, without being able to give Reason for it, he was not so Long, it may be by Half as he used to be. Heaven knew the Reason! The Scholars returning to their Chambers, found one of them on fire, and the Fire had proceeded so far, that if the Devotions had held three Minutes longer, the Colledge had been irrecoverably laid in Ashes, which now was happily preserved. But him also a Premature Death, on July 2. 1684. the Day after the Commencement, snatched away, from a Society, that hoped for a much longer Enjoyment of him, and counted themselves under as Black an Eclipse as the Sun did happen to be, at the Hour of his Expiration.

But that the Character of this Gentleman may be more perfectly exhibited, we will here take the Leave to transcribe the Epitaph engraved on his Tomb, in God's Acre, at Cambridge. It is the Desire of Immortality in wrought into the very Nature of Man, that produced the Invention of Epitaphs, and while some will ascribe the Invention unto the Scholars of *Linos*, who so signified their Affection to their slain Master, others will that it may be asend as high as the Great Stone of *Ael*, mentioned in the first Book of *Samuel*, which they'll tell us, was Erected as a Memorial to *Ael*, by his Father *Adam*, with that Inscription upon it, *Here was shed the Blood of the Righteous Ael*.

Now to Immortalize this their Master, one of the Scholars in Harvard-Colledge, gave to the Great Stone, of R.O.G.E.R.S. the ensuing Lines to be now read there, for his Memorial; which for the same Cause, we make a part of our History, not being most of them yet too fresh in the Memory of the Living.

Mandatum huic Terræ & Tumulo,  
Humanitatis Ararum,

Theologiae Horreum,

Optimum Librarum Bibliotheca,

Rei Medicinalis Systema,

Integratæ Domicilium,

1682-84

Fidei Repositorium,  
Christianæ Simplicitatis Exemplar,  
modis suis à totius Hæmæque.

Sc. Domini Reverendissimi,  
D. JOANNIS ROGERSII,  
Rogerij Doltissimi Ipsuicensis in  
Nov-Anglicâ, Filij,  
Dedhamensis, in Veteri Angliâ, per  
Orbem Terrarum Clarissimi, Nepotis,  
Collegij Harvardini  
Letissimi, ac Merito dilectissimi Præsidis,  
Pars Terrestrior.  
Celestior, a nobis Erepta fuit,  
Julij 2º. A. D. M. DC. LXXX. IV.  
Ætatis sue, LIV.

Quia est pars restans nobis, & quando cadaver.

§. 6. The Colledge was now again by Universal choice, cast into the Hands of Mr. Increase Mather, who had already in other Capacities, been serving of it; and he accordingly, without leaving either his House or his Church at Boston, made his continual Visits to the Colledge at Cambridge, managing as well the Weekly Disputations, as the Annual Commencements, and inspecting the whole Affairs of the Society; and by Preaching often at Cambridge, he made his Visits yet more profitable unto them.

Reader, the Interest and Figure which the World knows this my PARENT hath had, in the Ecclesiastical Concerns of this Country, ever since his first Return from England in the Twenty Second, until his next Return from England in the Fifty Third Year of his Age; makes it a Difficult thing for me to Write the Church-History of the Country: Should I Infer every where, the Relation which he hath had unto the Publick Matters, it will be thought by the Envious, that I had undertaken this Work, with an Eye to such a Motto as the Son of the Memorable Prince of Orange took his Device, PATRIÆQUE PATRIQUE: Should I on the other side bury in utter silence, all the Effects of that Care and Zeal wherewith he hath Employed in his peculiar Opportunities, with which the Free Grace of Heaven hath Touched him to do Good unto the Publick; I must cut off some Essentials of my Story: I will however Bowle nearer to the latter Mark than the former; and if no Body blame Sir Henry Wotton for still mentioning his Father with so much Veneration, as that best of Men; my Father, I hope I shall not be blamed for saying thus much, my Father hath been desirous to do some Good. Wherefore I will not only add in this Place, that when the Honourable Joseph Dudley Esq; was by the King's Commission made President of the Territory of New-England; this Gentleman, among other Expressions of his hearty Desire to secure the Prosperity of his Mother, whose Breasts himself had suckled; continued the Government of the Colledge in the Hands of Mr. Mather, and altered his Title into that of a R.E.C.T.O.R. But, when Wife Persons apprehend



hend that the Constitution of *Men and Things*, which followed after the Arrival of another Governor, threatened all the Churches with Quick Ruines, wherein the *College* could not but be comprehended. Mr. *Mather*, did by their Advice, repair to *Whitehall*; where being Remarkably favoured by *Three Crowned Heads*, in Successive and Personal Applications unto them, on the behalf of his distressed Countrey, and having obtained several Kindnesses for the *College* in particular, he returned into *New-England*, in the Beginning of the Year, 1692. with a *Royal Charter*, full of most ample Priviledges. By that *Royal Charter* under the Seal of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, the Country had its *English*, and its *Christian* Liberties, as well as its Titles to its *Lands* (formerly contested) secured to it; and the *Province* being particularly enabled hereby to incorporate the *College* (which was the Reason, that he did not stay to sollicite a particular Charter for it) immediately upon his Arrival, the *General Assembly* gratified his Desire, in Granting a Charter to this *University*. Mr. *Mather* now reassuming the Quality of *President* over the *College*, which in his Absence had flourished for divers Years, under the Prudent Government of Two Tutors, Mr. *John Leveret*, and Mr. *William Brattle*, he does to this Day continue his Endeavours to keep alive that *River*, the Streams whereof have made glad this *City of God*. Unto this brief Recitation of Occurrences relating to the *College*, I shall only annex a few Passages, used by Mr. *Mather*, when he gave the *Degrees*, at the first Commencement, after his Arrival; because they are Expresive of Things purely *Academic*.

Gradus Academicus est Honor ob Virtutem potissimum Intellectualem, merentibus, collatus: Estque Baccalaureatus, Magisterium, ac Doctoratus. Doctoratus in Nostro Athenæo plane ignotus; Et quod supra nos, nihil ad nos. De verâ Nominis Baccalaurei Notatione, inter Periculosissimos ambigitur. Nonnulli Verbum à Bacculo, derivari volunt; unde Scholasticis hanc Baccalaurei Descriptionem formantur, Baccalaureus est Persona habens Dignitatem Bajulandi; Baculum, premobilis in Magistro. Ridiculum Animal Baccalaureus sit oportet, si hæc Definitio, suo Definito per Omnia quadraret! A Baccâ Laurus Vocem desumi verisimiliss est; Caveant artem Baccalaurei, ne *Lanceolos*, in *Muscæco* quærant. Ad Magisterii Gradum quod attinet, eo decorari solent, qui absoluto Liberalium Artium studio istâ Laureâ, se dignos præbent. Magister Artium, in quibusdam Academiis Philosophiæ Doctor audit: Sic apud *Belgas*, et sic etiam, in fallor, apud Nonnullos *Germanos*; quamvis *Anglis*, *Gallis*, *Hispanis*, *Italio*, *Polonis*, iste Titulus sit Ignotus. De Antiquitate et Utilitate Graduum Academicorum, Multi multa scripserunt, præ cæteris *Altingius* ac *Comingius*. Honos alit Artes. Ea quidem Virtutis Perfectio est, ut propter se expecti debeat; Ea tamen est Humani Ingenii Pervertitas, quod nisi Honoribus Erigantur Artes, Neglecti habentur.

Vix facile invenies multis in Millibus Unum, Virtutem Pretium, qui putet esse sui.

De Jure Conferendi Academicos Honores, Juvenis Doctissimus *Christianus Iterius*, Librum pereruditum nuper edidit: Atque alterum de Jure Erigendi Academiæ, *Zeiglerus* publici Juris fecit. Mitto *Rotmarum*, qui Collegia Corpora Ecclesiastica esse vult ac igitur pro Academiis non habendas, quæ Privilegiis Pontificiorum non sunt Donatæ. Jus Constituenti Academiæ, omnibus & solis, qui in rebus habent in Republica tributur. Oggerent forsitan aliqui, si hæc Potestas inter Regalia numeretur, quid Novanglia cum Academiâ? Quid Cantabrigia Novanglorum cum Gradu Academicis? Ejusmodi Objectiones sciant velim, nostram Academiæ Regis Autoritate jam firmatam & munitam esse. Notius est quam ut meâ Narratione egeat, quod non solum Summæ Potestates, sed alii, eorum Nomine, hos Honores dispensant, quod, Exempli gratiâ, in Imperio Romano *Germanico*, Archiduces *Austriæ*, etiam et *Comites Palatini*; quod, in *Fœderato Belgio*, singuli Ordines, id unaquæque Provincia, hanc Potestatem habent & exerceant. Imo, et REX ipse. Magnus *Gulielmus*, magnæ Britanniæ Imperator, mihi dicere Dignatus est, se scire, quod apud suos in Novanglia subditos esset Academiâ: Quæ Academiâ (aiebat, *Letitium Humani Genitrix*, Rex noster Potentissimus) mihi erit in Gratia. Quid Verbis Regiis Gratiusius esse poterit? Deinde verò Summa Provincia *Massachusettsensis* Curia, Gubernator, Senatus, Populusque. Notæ, *Anglicanus*, Collegium *Harvardianum*, Academiæ, cum Autoritate Conferendi Grads pro more Academicarum Angliâ nominantur & instituerunt. Adfunt denique Illustres *Dumwiri*. D. *Gulielmus PHIPPS* US, Hujus Territorii Gubernator Amplissimus, Regis Mandato delegatus; nec non D. *Gulielmus STOUTON* US, Pro-Gubernator, *Mæcenus* noster æternum Honorandus; quos equidem tanquam *Cancellarium* & *Vice-Cancellarium*, hujus Academiæ veneror, Animo, Mentemque, suspicio. Hæc cum istâ se habeant, ad Gradus Academicos sine morâ, ac solito more, cur non procederemus, nullus video.

§. 7 At the Commencement, it has been the Annual Custom for the Bachelors to publish a Sheet of *Theses*, pro virili Defendendæ, upon all or most of the *Liberal Arts*; among which they do, with a particular Character, distinguish those that are to be the Subjects of the Publick Disputations then before them; and those *Theses* they dedicate as handsomely as they can, to the Persons of Quality, but especially the Countenance of the Province, whose Patronage the College would be recommended unto. The Masters do, in an half-sheet, without any Dedication, publish only the *Questions* pro Modulo discutiendæ, which they purpose either Affirmatively or Negatively to maintain as *Respondents*, in the Disputations, which are by them to be managed. They that peruse the *Theses* of the Bachelors of later Years published, will find that though the



Roman Discipline be in this Colledge preferred unto the *Aristotelean*, yet they not so confine themselves unto That neither, as to deprive themselves of that *Libera Philosophia*, which the Good Spirits of the Age have embraced, ever since the Great Lord Bacon shew'd 'em the way to *Thy Advancement of Learning*; but they seem to be rather of the *Self*, begun by *Potamon*, called *taxidius*, who adhering to no former *Self*, chose out of them all, what they lik'd best in any of them: At least, I am sure, they do not show such a Veneration for *Aristotle* as is express'd at *Queens-Colledge* in *Oxford*; where they read *Aristotle* on their *Knees*, and those who take *Degrees* are sworn to defend his Philosophy. A *Venetian* Writer pretends to enumerate no less than Twelve Thousand Volumes published in the Fourteenth Age, about the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, none of ours will add unto the Number. For this let the Learned Reader, accept the Excuse, which their present *President*, in one of his Orations, at the Close of their Exercises, has help'd us unto.

Mihi quidem maxime aridet, quod vos qui estis in Artibus Liberalibus Initia, Liberum Philosophandi Modum, potius quam *Peripateticismum* sapere videmini. Nullus addubito quin *Cl. Cassendi* Exercitationes vobis non sunt ignotæ, in quibus, quod apud *Aristotelem* multa deficiant, multa superfluant, multa fallant, pluribus Ostendit. Tritum est illud, *Qui non vult Intelligi debet negligi*; Nonnulla autem in Libris *Aristotelis*, Nemo mortalium potest Intelligere. Fertur itaque de *Hernulo Barbaro*, quod *Dæmonem* ab Inferis Excitaverit, ut quid *Aristoteles* pro sua *Intellectu* voluit, exponeret. En. Egregium *Aristotelis* Interpretem! Quam plurima in ejus Scriptis, Authoris Paganismum redolent: Mundum facit Increatum: Mortuorum Resurrectionem possibilem negat: Animam mortalem. Nonnulli *Pyrrhonem*, qui fuit Pater *Scepticismi*: Alii *Zenonem*, qui fuit Pater *Stoicorum*; Multi *Platonem*, qui fuit Pater *Academicorum*; *Aristotelis* præferunt. Vos autem quibus *Liberæ Philosophiæ* contigit, in Nullius jurare Verba Magistris, estis additi: Ast unicum *Aristotelis* Dictum verè Aureum, memoria teneatis, *Amicus Plato, Amicus Socrates* (addo ego *Amicus Aristoteles*) sed magis *Amica Veritas*.

They likewise which peruse the *Questiones* published by the *Masters*, will find, that as these, now and then presume to fly as high as *Divinity*; so their *Divinity* is of that *Reformed Stamp*, which carries as frequent Confutations of *Arminianism* with it, as are possible: Herein condemning those *Protestant Universities*, abroad in the World, which have not preserved the Glorious *Doctrines of Grace*, in such Purity, as that great Party among the *Romanists* themselves, which go under the Name of *Jansenists*. But for this also let their present *President* be Accountable, whose Orations at the End of their Exercises, have uttered such Passages as these unto them.

Gravis illa fuit *Profundi Doctoris* Querela, totum pene *Mundum* post *Pelagium* in *Errorum abire*. Cuius in promptu est; nam propter *Adæ*,

et in eo *Peccantis Humani Generis*, *Naufragium*, mortales prout *Res* sunt, nec sentiunt, nec iudicant. Toti, toti, quanti quique; sunt, a Bono & Vero averſi, converſi ad Malum & Errorē. *Pelagianismus* itaq; Homini in Statu lapſo Naturalis est, nec unquam fici avelli poteſt, quod non iterum tanquam infelix Lolium, in Fundo Naturæ corruptæ exoriatur. Videmus *Papiſtas*, *Socinianistas*, nec non *Armini* Sequaces, *Pelagii de Liberi Arbitrii* Viribus, virus Abſorbentes ac Devorantes; tametſi eorum Error, non tantum ab *Auguſtino*, jamdudum, & a *Lutbero*, in Libro Inſigni cui Titulus est, *De ſervo Arbitrio*, ſed etiam ab Innumeris hujus ſeculi Viris perquam Eruditis, reſutatur. Sed facillat jam *Arminianismus*, cum ſit *Neo-pelagianismus*. Mihi in Mentem venit Anagramma, five Ingenioſi Nominis *Armini* Interpretatio, ex Literarum Trajectione. *Jacobus Arminius, averyequalis* est, *Vani Orbis Amicus*; At nobis ergo non fit *Amicus*. Habemus autem in *Amyraldo*, *Arminium Redivivum*; parum enim, aut nihil afferunt *Amyraldiſtæ*, quos *Novatores* & *Methodiſtas* vocant, nili quæ ab *Arminianis* acceperunt, uti Multis *Cl. Moineus* evicit. Facillat igitur *Novatores*, et in Noſtra Academia, nec Vola, nec Veſtigium *Arminiani* unquam inveniat. In quantum vero *Inceptores* noſtri veram contra *Arminianismum* Sententiam pro virili propugnârunt, eos Laureâ Dignos habeamus.

And now, I hope, that the *European Churches of the Faithful*, will caſt an Eye of ſome Reſpect upon a little Univerſity in *America*, recommended by the Character that has been thus given of it. Certainly they muſt be none but Enemies to the Reformation, the Sons of *Edom* (which the *Jewiſh* Rabbins very truly tell us, is the Name of *Rome* in the Sacred Oracles) that ſhall ſay of ſuch an Univerſity, *Raſe it! Raſe it!*

§. 8. But our Account of *Harvard-Colledge*, will be rendered more compleat, if we do here tranſcribe the Laws of it; which *Latus*, now, Reader, do beſpeak thy Patience.

Statuta, Leges, & Privilegia, a *Præſide & Sociis*, Collegij *HARVARDINI*, apud *Cantabrigiæ* in *Novâ Angliâ*, approbata & ſancita; quibus Scholares ſive *Studentes*, et *Admiſſi & Admittendi*, ad Literas & bonos Mores, promovendum, ſubjicere tenentur.

1. Cuicunque fuerit Peritia *Legendi Ciceronem*, aut quemvis alium ejusmodi *Clafſicum Autorem* ex tempore, et congruè Loquendi ac *ſcribendi* *Latine* Facultas, Oratione tant ſolûtâ quàm Ligatâ, ſuo (ut aiunt) Marte, & ad unquam inſectendi *Græcorum* Nominum, & Verborum *Paradigmata*; Hic *Admiſſionem* in Collegium jure poteſt expetere: Quicunque vero deſtitutus fuerit hac Peritia, *Admiſſionem* ſibi Neutiquam vendicet.

2. Quicunque in Collegium admittuntur, iidem etiam *Contubernio* expiendi ſunt; et *Unusquisque* *Scholarium* *Oeconomum* tres Libras cum *Hofpitio*



Hospitio accipitur, numerabit; Eidem ad finem cuiusq; Trimestris quod debitum erit, solvet: Nec licet Ului Academico, nondum Gradu Orato, Convictum extra Collegium querere, nisi venia impetrata a Præside, aut suo Tutore. Si quis autem hanc Prædis aut Tutoris Indulgentiam obinebit, Conscientiam ultatam, fideliter observabit; sin autem aliquis a Collegio Descedendo, privatam Institutionem quaesierit; copia a Præside, vel a Tutoribus illi non facta, nullo Privilegio Academico patietur.

3. Dum hic egerint, Tempus studiose Redimunt; tam Communes Omnium Scholarium horas, quam suis Prælectionibus destinatas, Observando.

4. Unusquisque Scholarium Exercitia omnia Scholastica & Religiosa, tam publica quam privata sibi propria præstabit. Adhuc in Statu pupillari degentes, Sexies quotannis Rostra Oratoria ascendunt. Unaque Septimana bis Disputationibus publicis Sophistæ interesse debent: Cum Baccalaurei tum Sophistæ, Analysis in aliquam S. Litterarum partem, insunt: Baccalaurei singulis semestribus, publice Quaestiones Philosophicas vel Prædis Moderamine discutunt: Absente vero Præside, duo Seniores Tutores Moderatoris partes alternatim agunt.

5. Ne quis sub quovis Prætextu, Hominum, quorum Perdit ad Discendi sunt Mores, Consuetudine utitor.

6. Nemo in statu pupillari degens, nisi concessa prius a Præside, vel a Tutoribus, venia ex Oppido exeat: Nec quis quam Cuiuscunque Gradus aut Ordinis fuerit, Tabernas aut Diversoria, ad Comestandum, aut Bibendum, accedat, nisi ad Parentes, Curatores, Nutricios, aut huiusmodi, accersitus fuerit.

7. Nullus Scholaris, nullo Parentum, Curatorum, aut Tutorum approbante, quicumq; emitto, vendito, aut commutato qui autem fecis fecerit, a Præside aut Tutore, pro Delicti Ratione Multabitur.

8. Omnes Scholares a Vestibus, quæ Fastum aut Luxum præ se ferunt, abstineant; nec Ului Studenti extra Limites Academiæ, sine Toga, Tunica, vel Penula, exire liceat.

9. Omnis Scholaris non Graduatus, solo Cognomine vocetur, nisi sit Commensalis, aut Equitis Primogenitus, vel insigni Genere natus.

10. Omnis Commensalis, quinque Libras, in perpetuum Academiæ Usum solvet, priusquam in Collegium admittatur.

11. Unusquisque Scholaris in Statu pupillari degens, Tutori suo duas Libras, at si Commensalis, tres Libras, per Annum dinumerare tenebitur.

12. Nulli ex Scholaribus Senioribus, solis Tutoribus & Collegii sociis exceptis, Recentem sive Juniorem, ad Itinerandum, aut ad aliud quodvis faciendum, Minis, Verberibus, vel aliis Verbis impellere licebit. Et si quis non Graduatus, in hanc Legem peccaverit, Castigatione Corporali, Expulsionem, vel aliter, prout Prædis cum Sociis, visum fuerit punietur.

13. Scholares, cuiuscunque Conditionis, a Lusu Alearum vel Chartarum pictarum, nec non ab

omni Lusu Genere, in quo de pecuniâ concertatur, abstineant, sub pœna viginti Solidorum toties, quoties, si sit Graduatus, vel aliter, pro Arbitrio Prædis & Tutoris, si non sit Graduatus.

14. Siquis Scholarium a Præbibus, aut Prælectionibus abuerit, nisi necessitate Coactus, aut Prædis aut Tutoris nactus veniam; Admonitioni, aut aliusmodi, pro Prædis aut Tutoris, prudentia, pœna, si pliusquam semel, in Hebdomade peccaverit, erit obnoxius.

15. Nullus Scholaris quævis de Causa (nisi præmonstrata & approbata, Prædis & Tutori suo) a Studiis, stativæ Exercitiis abesto: Excepta semihora Jentaculo, Prandio vero sesquihora, concessa; nec non Cœnæ usq; ad horam nonam.

16. Siquis Scholarium ullam Deo aut huius Collegii Legem, sive Animo perverso, sive ex supina Negligentia violarit, postquam fuerit bis admonitus, gravius pro Prædis aut Tutoris prudentia, pœnis, coarcestr. In Atrocioribus autem Delictis, ut adeo gradatim procedatur, Nemo expectet.

17. Quicunque Scholaris, probatione habita, poterit sacris utriusq; Instrumenti Scripturas, de Textu Originali Latine Interpretari; & Logice resolvere; fuerit; Naturalis & Moralis Philosophiæ Principis Imbutus; Vitaq; & Moribus inculpatus; et publicis quibusve Comitibus a Præside & Sociis Collegii, approbatus, primo quo Gradu possit Ornari. Aliter Nemo, nisi post Triennium et decem Menses ab Admissionem in Collegium, ad primum, in Artibus Gradum admittetur.

18. Quicunque Scholaris Locum habuit Communem, scriptamq; Synopsin, vel Compendium Logicæ, Naturalis & Moralis Philosophiæ, Arithmetice, aut Geometrice, aut Astronomiæ, exhibuerit, fueritq; ad Theses suas defendendas paratus; nec non Originalium, vel supra dictum, Liogiarum, peritus; quem etiamnam Morum Integritas ac Studiorum Diligentia cohonescaverint, publicis quibusve Comitibus probatione facta, secundi Gradus, Magisterii nimirum, capax erit.

19. Statutum est, quod qui Theologiæ dat Operam, antequam Baccalaureatum, in illa Facultate Consecratur, Gradum Magisterii in Artibus, suscipiat, ac sedulo Theologicis & Hebraicis Lectionibus incumbat; quibus Annorum septem dabit Operam: quo Spatio, bis Disputabit contra Theologiæ Baccalaureum, semelq; Respondit in Theologia; concionabitur Latine semel, & semel Anglice, vel in Templo, vel in Aula Academiæ: Et si, in hoc Tempore, in Theologia profecerit, per solennem Inaugurationem, Baccalaureus fiet: Hac tamen Cautione servata, ne quis ante quinquennium completum a suscepro Magistrali Gradu, Concionem huiusmodi habere permittetur.

20. Statutum est, quod qui cupit in Ordinem Doctorem Theologiæ cooptari, per Integrum Quinquennium, post susceptum Baccalaurei gradum, Lectionibus & Studiis Theologicis dabit Operam, et antequam Incipendum, in eadem



Facultate admittatur, in Quæstionibus Theologicis his Opponet, semel Respondebit, idq; Doctori, si commode fieri poterit; Latine semel, Anglicè semel, concionabitur in Templo, vel in Aula Academiæ; solenniter sexies Legat, et Explicet aliquam Scripturæ partem, et post solennem Inceptionem, semel infra Annum ipse sibi Quæstionem proponere, tenebitur in Aula Academiæ, cujus Ambigua & Dubitationes, in utramq; partem, enucleabit, definit & determinabit.

21. Statutum est, quod præter cætera Exercitia, pro Gradibus Theologicis prestanda, unusquisq; tam pro Theologiæ Baccalaureatu, quam pro Doctoratu Candidatu, Tractatum quandam contra Hæresim vel Errorem aliquem Grassantem, aut in aliud utile quoddam Argumentum (dirigentibus id Præsidæ & Collegii Sociis) pro Comuni Ecclesiarum commodo, in Lucem emittere, tenebitur.

22. Gradus Academiæ, qui à Præsidæ & Curatoribus Collegii Harvardiani, antehac Collati sunt, pro Validis habeantur.

23. Unusquisq; Scholaris harum Legum Exemplar, à Præsidæ, & Aliquo Tutorum Subscriptum, sibi comparabit, priusquam in Collegium admittatur.

§. 9. Among the Laws of *Harvard-Colledge* thus recited, the Reader will find the Degrees of a *Baccalaureate* and a *Doctorate*, in *Divinity*, provided for those, that by coming up to Terms, beyond those required, in any one *European* University, shall merit them. Now tho' there are Divines in the Country, whose Abilities would fully answer the Terms thus proposed; yet partly from the *Novelty* of the Matter it self, which under the former *Charter* was never pretended unto, and partly from the *Modesty* of the Persons most worthy to have this Respect put upon them, there was yet never made among us any of these *Promotions*. 'Tis true, these Titles, are of no very Early Original; for the Occasion of them first arose, about the Year of our Lord, 1135. *Lotharius* the Emperor, having found in *Italy*, a Copy of the *Roman Civil Law*, which he was greatly taken withal, he ordained, that it should be Publickly expounded in the Schools; and that he might give Encouragement unto this Employment, it was Ordained, that the Publick Professors of this Law should be Dignified with the Style of *Doctors*, whereof *Bulgarius Hugolinus*, with Others, was the First. Not long after, this Rite of Creating *Doctors*, was borrowed of the Lawyers, by *Divines*, who in their Schools publickly taught *Divinity*; and the Imitation took place, first in *Bononia*, *Paris* and *Oxford*. But I see not, why such Marks of Honour may not be properly given by an *American* University, as well as an *European* to them, who by such Capacity and Affinity for the Service of the Churches, do deserve to be so distinguished. Indeed, this University did present their President with a *Diploma*, for a *Doctorate* under the Seal of the *Colledge* with the Hands of the Fellows annexed; which, because it is the First and the Sole Instance of such a Thing done in the whole English *America*, I will here transcribe it.

Quum Gradus Academicas, tam in Theologiâ, quam in Philosophiâ, pro more Academicarum in Angliâ, Conferendi Potestas, ab Amplissimo Gubernatore, et a Summa Mallichussetensis Provincia: Curia, secundum Sere-niss. Regis ac Regina: *Galitimi & Mariae*, illis Concessum Diploma, sit ad nobis Com-missa: et quoniam Vir Clarissimus, D. CRESCENTUS MATHERUS, Collegii Harvardiani in Novâ Angliâ Præses Reverendus, Libros quam plurimos tam Angli-cè quam Latine edidit, Omnigenâ Lite-raturâ Refertos, multisq; Præterea modis, non solum in Linguis et in Artibus Libe-ralibus peritissimum, verum etiam in S. S. Scripturis et in Theologiâ se offendit verâ-mentissimum; Atq; per Studia & Merita vere extraordinaria, non tantum apud *America-nas*, sed et *Europæas* Ecclesiis commen-datissimum se reddidit; propterea dictum D. CRESCENTIO M. MATHERO, Doctorali Cathedrâ dignum, iudicamus, idque pro Authoritate nobis Commis-sa, S. Theologiæ DOCTOREM, Nominamus ac Renunciamus. In cujus Rei Testimonium, Academiæ Sigillum Hicse Literis affiximus; Nos, quorum hic sunt subscripta Nomina, Datum Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum Die Novembris Septimo, Anno Domini Millesimo, Sexcentesimo, Nonagesimo; Secundo.

Nevertheless, whatever Use he may hereafter, see Cause to make of this *Instrument*, he hath hitherto been willing to wear no other Title, than what formerly he had, in the *Catalogue* of our Graduates, which is the Next Thing, that my Reader is to be entertained withal.

§. 10. Reader, The Sons of HARVARD are going to present themselves in Order before thee. The *Catalogue* pretends not unto such Numbers, as *Osander* will find for us in his Academy of *Tubinga*, which yielded more than Four Thousand Masters, Inter quos erant magna Nomina & Lumina; nor such Numbers, as *Hamel* reports of *Paris*, where there have been known, at One Time, Twenty Thousand, yea, Thirty Thousand Students; nor such Numbers as *Asied* reports of *Prague*, where the University had at Once, Forty Four Thousand Foreigners, that were Students in it, besides the Native *Bohemians*. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged, That here are pretty Competent Numbers, for a poor *Wilderness* in its Infancy; and a poor *Wilderness* indeed it had been, if the Cultivations of such a Colledge had not been bestowed upon it. In the perusal of this *Catalogue*, it will be found, that, besides a Supply of Ministers for our Churches from this Happy Seminary, we have hence had a Supply of Magistrates, as well as Physicians and other Gentlemen, to serve the Common-wealth with their Capacities. Yea, the Considerable Names of STOUTHTON and DUDLEY, in this List, have been advanced unto the Chief Place in Government: Nor has the Country sent over



over Agents to appear at Whitehall, for any of its Interests upon any Occasion for more than these Thirty Years, but what had their Education in this Nursery. It will be also found that Europe as well as America, has from this Learned Seminary, been enriched with some Worthy Men; among whom I will rather chuse to omit the mention of Sir George Downing, who occurs in the first Class of our Graduates, than reckon him with a Company so disagreeable to him, as the Rest, that were many of them afterwards Famous Ministers of the Gospel in England and Ireland. *Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur.* It will be likewise found, that not a few of these Harvardians, have by their Published Writings been useful unto the World. That Excellent Man, who is the Leader of this whole Company, and who was a Star of the first Magnitude in his Constellation, to wit, Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge; an Eminent Herald of Heaven at Salisbury, and afterwards at Newbury in England, and (after the *All of Uniformity* and the Persecution following hereupon crept him) in several other Places, as he had Opportunity: He wrote several Considerable Treatises about Justification; as also, *Against the Unwarrantable Practice of Private Christians, in Usurping the Office of Public Preaching*; and as the Scolding Word acknowledges, He was accounted among the Brethren a Learned and a Mighty Man. After Him we have had, besides those, whose Lives are anon to be Written, many others that by Writing have made themselves to Live; and not only have we had a Danforth, a Nathanael Mather, an Hoar, a Rowlandson, a Novel, a Whiting, an Hooker, a Moody, an Eleazar Mather, a Richardson, a Thacher, an Adams, a Saltonstall, a Walter, the Authors of Lesser Compositures, out of their modest Studies, even as with a *Cæsarean Scissors*, forced into Light; but also we have had an Hubbard, an Isaac Chancy, a Willard, a Stoddard, the Authors of larger Compositures. Yea, the Present President of the College has obliged the Publick with more than Thirty several Treatises of Diverse Matters, and Figures, and in Diverse Languages. 'Tis true, there is One more among the Sons of this College, that might already bring in a Catalogue of more than Threescore several Books, which the *Præcis* has had from him; nevertheless as *Ronsard* the French Poet upon Reading of Du-Bartas's WEEKS, would say, *Monfieur Du Bartas a fait plus en une Semaine, que Je n'ay fait en toute ma Vie*; Du-Bartas has done more in One Week, than I have done all the Days of my Life: So it must be acknowledged, That Three Compositures of One Writer may be more valuable than Threescore of another. Nor indeed, must it be Enumerated among the least Blessings of New-England, that it has been above all the rest of the English America, furnished with Presses, from which it has had a Thousand Ways, the Benefits of that Art of Printing; a Gift of Heaven, whereof Beroaldus well sang;

*Quo nil Sotius dedit Vestigias,  
Istros Viribz que docet premeando.*

Finally, if Harvard be now asked, as once Jesse was, *are there any Sons*? It must be answered, *no*; for upon a Dissatisfaction, about an Hardship which they thought put upon themselves, in making themselves a good part of a Year of the Time, whereupon they Claimed their Degree (about the Year 1655) there was a Considerable Number, even Seventeen, of the Scholars, which went away from the College without any Degree at all. Nevertheless, this Disaster hindered not their future fertility in the Churches of the Faithful, and some of them indeed proved extraordinary Serviceable: Among whom it would be Criminal for me to forget Mr. William Erismead, Pastor at this Day to the Church of Malborough; and Mr. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth, (of whose there are published Three Sermons, which at so many several times were Preached, at the Anniversary Elections of Magistrate:) And unto these I may add Mr. Samuel Watman, the Pastor to the Church of Fairfield, of whom we have Three or Four several Sermons published.

What now Remains, is to look over our Catalogue; and then single out some Subjects for a more particular Biography. Only, while I carry in my Reader to speak with them, the Writer himself, (solicitions, that the Name which *Philo Judæus* puts upon a Colledge; Namely, *Academy*, *not academe*, *or, a School of all Virtue*, may ever and justly be the Name of Harvard Colledge) will take the Leave to Address their Successors, with certain Admonitions, translated from no less than a National Synod of the Protestant Churches in France. The last National Synod, that sat before the Dissipation of those Renowned Churches, after the Other, and many, Cares; which the former most Venerable Assemblies took of their Universities, by their Decree, earnestly exhorted the Governors of the Universities, to exert all their Power, *For the Suppression of Abuses crept in among them, redounding to the Disgrace of Religion, and opening the Flood-gates to the Deluge of Profaneness, to break in upon the Sanctuary*; and under Severe Penalties enjoined the Scholars, but most especially the Students in Divinity, *To keep themselves at the greatest Distance from such Things, as are contrary to Christian Modesty and Sanctity, and to perfume the House of God, betimes with the sweet Odours of an Early Religious Conversation, every way becoming the Sacred Employment, whereto they be designed.* Now when we have transcribed some of the Excellent Words, used by Monsieur Guillon, at the presenting of this Decree to the University of Saumur, we will, without any further Delay give our Catalogue Leave to appear before us.

"You have Consecrated your Labours, your Time, your whole Man, unto the Service of the Sovereign Monarch of the Whole World; that Lord, who is ador'd by all the Angels. Your own Consciences, Sirs, as well as mine, must needs tell you, you cannot bring with you, too much Humility, nor too much Self-Dissatisfaction, nor too much Self-Annihilation. nor too much

"*Simlicity*



"*Simplicity and Sincerity*, when you come into  
 "His Presence, whole Eyes are as a *Flaming*  
 "Fire, and who *searcheth your Hearts and trieth*  
 "your *Reins*; and offer your selves to be Enroll'd  
 "in the Number of his *Mental Servants*, and  
 "Gospel-Ministers.

"To be forth, Sirs, you are destined unto  
 "an Employment, in which there be no *Advances*  
 "made, but by *Prayers*; and *Prayers* are  
 "never Heard, nor Answered by God, further  
 "than they be *Sincere*; and they be not in the  
 "least *Sincere*, where the *Hearts* are not guided  
 "and purified by the Truth of God's Holy  
 "Word and Spirit, who dictateth our *Prayers*  
 "and quickneth and sanctifieth our *Affections*.  
 "Do you imagine, Sirs, that God will give you  
 "His *Holy Spirit*, without whom you are Nothing  
 "and *can do Nothing*, unless you ask Him of  
 "God? And are you then Qualified and Fitted  
 "for *Prayer*, a most Holy Duty, when as your  
 "Spirit is stuffed up, occupied and distracted,  
 "with your *Townish Lusts*, and replenished with  
 "the Provoking Objects of your *Vanity*? Or  
 "can you bring unto this Sacred Ordinance,  
 "unto this most Religious Exercise, that *Attention*,  
 "*Assiduity* and *Perseverance*, which is need-  
 "ful to the Getting of Gracious Answers, and  
 "Returns from Heaven, whereas the Better and  
 "far Greater Part of your *Time*, is consumed in  
 "Worldly *Companies* and *Conversations*? Cer-  
 "tainly, Sirs, You will find it exceeding Diffi-  
 "cult to disentangle your selves from those Im-  
 "pressions you have *first* received, and to empty  
 "your selves of the *Vanities* you have imbibed,  
 "that you may be at Liberty to Reflect and Me-  
 "ditate upon God's *Holy Word*.

"My Dear Brethren, Honour and Adorn that  
 "Profession, whereto you are Devoted, and it

"will Reflect Beams of Honour again upon you.  
 "Consider, Sirs, what is *Becoming* you, and God  
 "will communicate what is needful for you, to  
 "every one of you. Let His *Name and Glory*  
 "be the Principal Mark and Batt of your Con-  
 "ditions and Studies, and it will bring down  
 "the Choiceest and Chiefest of Blessings of God  
 "upon you. Let your *Lives and Conversations*  
 "be Accompanied and Crowned with all the  
 "Virtues and Graces of *Reformed Christians*; with  
 "that *Humility*, which becometh the Servants of  
 "God; with that Universal *Modersty and Simplicity*,  
 "which God requireth from the *Ministers* of His  
 "Sanctuary, in their *Lives, Actions, Habits,*  
 "Language, Behaviour, and in your whole Con-  
 "dition. And then, Sirs, this your *Sanctification* will be  
 "most Acceptable unto God, and saving unto  
 "your selves; it will bring your *Profession* into  
 "Credit and Reputation; it will attract upon  
 "you the Best *Blessings* of Heaven; it will ren-  
 "der your Studies, and Employments prosperous,  
 "successful and edifying; the *Churches* will be  
 "the Better for you, and the Kingdom of our  
 "Lord Jesus Christ will be by you Promoted  
 "and Advanced.

To these Admonitions of Monsieur Cuitton, I  
 will only for a Farewell, unto every Scholar now  
 address'd, subjoin *That* wherewith Mr. Carter  
 took his Leave of a Scholar, *Fuge Fastum, Ignavia-*  
*nam & Antichristum.*

Our CATALOGUE is now, without any  
 further Ceremony to be produced; A *Catalogue*  
 of *Christian Students*, instructed in those, which  
 the other Day were *Pagan Regimens*; A *Catalogue*,  
 whereof I may therefore say as the Historian does  
 of the Temples built by Constantine, It is *non*  
*exornatio, & mirabilium signum, To all Good Men, a*  
*delectabile Spectaculo.*

## CATALOGUS,

Forum qui in COLLEGIO HARVARDINO, quod est CANTA-  
 BRIGIÆ Nov-Anglorum, ab Anno 1642. ad Annum 1698. alicujus  
 gradus Laurea donati sunt.

1642.  
 \* Benjamin Woodbridge.  
 \* Georgius Downing.  
 \* Johannes Bulklaus Mr.  
 \* Gulielmus Hubbard Mr.  
 \* Samuel Bellingham Mr. M. D.  
 Ludg.  
 \* Johannes Willsonus Mr.  
 \* Henricus Saltonstall.  
 \* Tobias Barnardus.  
 \* Nathanael Brufferus. Th. Bac.  
 Dub. Hib.  
 1643.  
 \* Johannes Jonesius. Mr.  
 \* Samuel Matherus Mr. Socius.  
 \* Samuel Danforth Mr. Socius.  
 \* Johannes Allin.

1644.  
 \* Johannes Oliverus.  
 1645.  
 \* Jeremias Hollandus.  
 \* Gulielmus Amelius.  
 \* Johannes Ruffellus. Mr.  
 Samuel Stow, Mr.  
 \* Jacobus Ward.  
 \* Robertus Johnson.  
 1646.  
 \* Johannes Alcock Mr.  
 \* Johannes Brock Mr.  
 \* Georgius Strick.  
 \* Nathaniel White. Mr.  
 1647.  
 \* Jonathan Mitchel Mr. Socius  
 \* Nathaniel Matherus Mr.  
 Consolantius Star Mr. Socius.

\* Johannes Barden.  
 \* Abrahamus Walver.  
 \* Georgius Haddenus Mr.  
 \* Gulielmus Mildmay Mr.  
 1648.  
 1649.  
 \* Johannes Rogerius Mr. Preses  
 \* Samuel Eaton, Mr. Socius.  
 \* Urianus Oakes Mr. Socius,  
 Preses.  
 \* Johannes Collins Mr. Socius  
 \* Johannes Bowers.  
 1650.  
 Gulielmus Stoughton Mr. Oxonii.  
 \* Johannes Gloverus M.D. Aet 4  
 Joshua Hobartus. Mr.  
 Jeremias Hobartus. Mr.  
 \* Edmundus Weld.

\* Samuel



\* Samuel Philipus Mr.  
 \* Leonardus Hoar *Mr. M. D.*  
*Cantabr. Profess.*  
 \* Isaac Allertons  
 \* Jonathan Inceus Mr.  
 1651.

Michael Wiggleworth Mr. *Socius*.  
 \* Marigena Cortonus Mr.  
 \* Thomas Dudlaeus Mr. *Socius*  
 \* Johannes Gloverus Mr.  
 Henricus Butlerus Mr.  
 \* Nathaniel Pelhamus.  
 \* Johannes Davifius Mr.  
 Ilaacus Chauncæus Mr.  
 \* Ichabod Chauncæus Mr.  
 \* Jonathan Burræus Mr.  
 1652.

\* Josephus Rowlandfonus.  
 1653. Aug. 9.  
 Samuel Willis.  
 \* Johannes Angier Mr.  
 \* Thomas Shepardus Mr. *Socius*.  
 \* Samuel Nowel Mr. *Socius*.  
 \* Richardus Hubbard Mr.  
 \* Johannes Whiting Mr.  
 \* Samuel Hookerus Mr. *Socius*  
 \* Johannes Stone *Mr. Cantab.*  
*Angl.*

Guilielmus Thomfonus  
*Qui ad secundum Gradum ad-*  
*missi fuerit 1655. Dies sequentis*  
*Baccalaurei, ad secundum Gradum*  
*admissi ut moris est. 1656.*

1653. Aug. 10.  
 \* Edwardus Rawfonus.  
 \* Samuel Bradstreet Mr. *Socius*.  
 \* Joshua Long Mr.  
 Samuel Whiting Mr.  
 \* Joshua Moodye Mr. *Socius*.  
 Joshua Ambrosius Mr. *Oxonii*.  
 \* Nehemiah Ambrosius Mr.  
*Socius*.  
 Thomas Crosbæus.  
 1654.

\* Philippus Nelson.  
 1655.

Gershom Bulkræus Mr. *Socius*  
 Mordecai Matthewfus.  
 1656.

\* Eleazarus Matherus.  
 Crecentius Matherus *Mr. Dubl.*  
*Hib. Socius, Rector. Præfess.*  
*S. T. D.*

Robertus Painæus Mr.  
 \* Subael Dammurus.  
 \* Johannes Haynesius Mr. *Cantab.*  
 \* Johannes Eliotus Mr.  
 \* Thomas Gravelius Mr. *Socius*.  
 Johannes Emmerfonus Mr.  
 1657.

Zecharias Symmes Mr. *Socius*  
 \* Zecharias Bridgen Mr. *Socius*

Johannes Cottonus Mr.  
 Johannes Hale Mr.  
 Elifha Cookæus Mr.  
 \* Johannes Whiting.  
 \* Barnabas Chauncæus Mr.  
 1658.

\* Josephus Eliotus Mr.  
 \* Josephus Haynes.  
 \* Benjamin Bunker M.  
 Jonah Fordhamus.  
 \* Johannes Barham.  
 \* Samuel Talcot.  
 \* Samuel Shepardus Mr. *Socius*  
 1659.

Nathaniel Saltonfall.  
 \* Samuel Alcock.  
 P Abijah Savagius.  
 Samuel Willard Mr. *Socius*.  
 Thomas Parish.  
 Samuel Cheverus.  
 \* Ezekiel Rogerus.  
 Samuel Belcherus.  
 Jacobus Noyes.  
 Moses Noyes.  
 1660.

\* Simon Bradstreet Mr.  
 \* Nathaniel Collins Mr.  
 \* Samuel Eliotus Mr. *Socius*.  
 \* Guilielmus Whittingham.  
 \* Josephus Cookæus.  
 Samuel Carterus.  
 \* Manasseh Armitagius.  
 \* Petrus Bulkræus Mr. *Socius*  
 1661.

\* Johannes Bellingham Mr.  
 \* Nathaniel Chauncæus Mr.  
*Socius*.  
 \* El Nathan Chauncæus Mr.  
 Irael Chauncæus Mr.  
 \* Compenfantius Osborn.  
 Daniel Weld.

\* Josephus Cookæus.  
 Josephus Whiting Mr. *Socius*  
 Caleb Watfonus Mr.  
 \* Johannes Parkerus  
 \* Thomas Johnfonus  
 \* Bezaleel Shermanus  
 1662.

Johannes Holiokus  
 Benjamin Thomfonus  
 Solomon Stodardus Mr. *Socius*  
 Moses Fiskæus Mr.  
 Ephraim Savagius  
 Thomas Oakes  
 1663.

\* Samuel Symondus  
 Samuel Cobbet  
 \* Johannes Reynerus Mr.  
 Benjamin Blackman  
 \* Thomas Mighill Mr.  
 \* Nathaniel Cutler.  
 1664.

\* Alexander Nowellus Mr. *Socius*.  
 \* Josiah Flintæus Mr.

\* Josephus Pyncheonus Mr. *Socius*.  
 \* Samuel Brackenburius Mr.  
 \* Johannes Woodbridge  
 Josephus Easterbrookæus Mr.  
 Samuel Street.  
 1665.

\* Benjamin Eliotus Mr.  
 Josephus Dudlaeus Mr.  
 \* Samuel Bishop  
 \* Edwardus Mitchelfonus  
 Samuel Mannæus  
 \* Sperantius Athertonus  
 Jabez Foxius Mr.  
 \* Caleb Cheeschaumuk Indus  
 1666.

\* Josephus Brownæus Mr. *Socius*.  
 \* Johannes Richardfonus Mr. *Socius*.  
 \* Daniel Mafonus  
 Johannes Filerus  
 1667.

Johannes Harriman Mr.  
 \* Nathaniel Atkinfonus  
 \* Johannes Fosterus  
 Gershom Hobartus Mr.  
 \* Japheth Hobartus  
 Nehemiah Hobartus Mr. *Socius*  
 Nicholas Noyes.  
 1668.

Adamus Winthrop  
 \* Johannes Cullick  
 Zecharias Whitmannus  
 Abramus Pierfonus  
 Johannes Prudden  
 1669.

\* Samuel Epps Mr.  
 Daniel Epps  
 Jeremias Shephardus Mr.  
 Daniel Gookin Mr. *Socius*  
 Johannes Bridghamus Mr.  
 \* Daniel Ruffellus Mr.  
 \* Josephus Taylorus Mr.  
 Jacobus Bayley Mr.  
 Josephus Gerrish  
 Samuel Treat Mr.  
 1670.

Nathaniel Higginfon Mr.  
 \* Ammi Ruhamah Corlet Mr. *Socius*.  
 Thomas Clarke Mr.  
 \* Georgius Burrrough  
 1671.

\* Ilaacus Fosterus Mr. *Socius*.  
 Samuel Phips Mr.  
 Samuel Sewall Mr. *Socius*.  
 Samuel Matherus  
 \* Samuel Danforth Mr. *Socius*  
 Petrus Thacherus Mr. *Socius*  
 \* Guilielmus Adamus Mr.  
 Thomas Weld Mr.  
 \* Johannes Bowles Mr.  
 Johannes Nortontus  
 Edwardus Taylorus.  
 1672.



1672.  
1673.  
Edwardus Pelhamus  
\* Georgius Alcock  
Samuel Angier Mr.  
Johannes Wife Mr.

1674.  
\* Edmundus Davie *M.D. Padua.*  
\* Thomas Sergeant.

1675.  
Josephus Hanley  
Johannes Pike Mr.  
Jonathan Russellus Mr.  
\* Petrus Oliverus Mr.  
Samuel Andrew Mr. *Socius.*  
Jacobus Minor  
Timotheus Woodbridge Mr.  
\* Daniel Allin Mr.  
Johannes Emmerfonus Mr.  
\* Nathaniel Gookin Mr. *Socius.*

1676.  
\* Thomas Shepardus Mr.  
Thomas Brattle Mr.  
Jeremiah Cushing.  
1677.  
Thomas Chevers Mr.  
Johannes Danforth Mr. *Socius.*  
Edwardus Payson Mr.  
Samuel Sweetman  
Josephus Capen Mr.  
Thomas Scottow.

1678.  
Johannes Cottonus Mr. *Socius.*  
Cottonus Matherus Mr. *Socius.*  
Grindallus Rawfonus Mr.  
\* Urianus Oakes.

1679.  
\* Jonathan Danforth Mr.  
\* Edwardus Oakes Mr.  
\* Jacobus Alling Mr.  
Thomas Barnardus Mr.

1680.  
\* Richardus Martin  
Johannes Leveretus Mr. *Socius.*  
Jacobus Oliver Mr.  
Gulielmus Brattle Mr. *Socius.*  
\* Percivallus Green Mr.

1681.  
\* Samuel Mitchel Mr. *Socius.*  
Johannes Cottonus Mr.  
Johannes Hafting Mr.  
Noadiah Russellus Mr.  
Jacobus Pierpont Mr.  
Johannes Davie  
Samuel Russellus Mr.  
Gulielmus Denifon Mr.  
Josephus Eliot Mr.

1682.  
1683.  
Samuel Danforth Mr.  
Johannes Williams Mr.  
Gulielmus Williams Mr.

1684.  
\* Johannes Denifon Mr.  
Johannes Rogerifus Mr.  
Gordonius Saltonfall Mr.

\* Richardus Wenlaeus  
Samuel Mylefius Mr.  
Nehemiah Walterus Mr. *Socius.*  
Josephus Webb M.  
Edwardus Thompofus  
Benjamin Rolf Mr.

1685.  
\* Thomas Dudlaeus Mr.  
Warhamus Matherus Mr.  
\* Nathaniel Matherus Mr.  
Roulandus Cortonus Mr.  
Henricus Gibs Mr.  
\* Thomas Berrius Mr.  
\* Johannes Whiting Mr.  
Edwardus Mills Mr.  
Johannes Eliotus Mr.  
Samuel Shepardus  
\* Petrus Ruck  
Ifaacus Greenwood.  
Johannes White Mr. *Socius.*  
Jonathan Pierpont Mr.

1686.  
Francifcus Wainwright  
Benjamin Lynde Mr.  
Daniel Rogerifus Mr.  
Georgius Phillippus Mr.  
Robertus Hale  
Carolus Chauncaus  
\* Nicolaus Mortonus.

1687.  
Johannes Davenport Mr.  
Johannes Clark Mr.  
Nathaniel Rogers Mr.  
\* Jonathan Mitchel Mr.  
Daniel Brewer Mr.  
Timotheus Stevens Mr.  
\* Nathaniel Welth  
\* Josephus Daffett Mr.  
Henricus Newman Mr.  
Jofias Dwight  
Sethus Shove Mr.

1688.  
1689.

\* Jacobus Allen Mr.  
Samuel Moody Mr.  
Gulielmus Payn Mr.  
Addingtonus Davenport  
Johannes Haynes  
\* Gulielmus Partrigg  
Richardus Whittingham Mr.  
Johannes Emerfonus Mr.  
Johannes Sparhawk Mr.  
\* Benjamin Marfion  
Johannes Eveleth  
\* Benjamin Pierpont Mr.  
Johannes Hancock Mr.  
Thomas Swan Mr.

1690.  
Paulus Dudlaeus Mr. *Socius.*  
Samuel Matherus Mr.  
Johannes Willard Mr.  
\* Daniel Denifon  
Johannes Jonesus Mr.  
Josephus Whiting Mr.  
Nathaniel Clap.  
Josephus Belcherus Mr.  
Nathaniel Stone.

Johannes Clark Mr.  
Thomas Buckinghamus  
Samuel Mensfield Mr.  
Petrus Burr Mr.  
\* Johannes Selleck  
Johannes Newmarch Mr.  
Thomas Greenwood Mr.  
Benjamin Wadsworth Mr. *Socius.*  
Thomas Ruggles Mr.  
Stephanus Mix Mr.  
Edmundus Goffe Mr.  
Nicholaus Lynde  
\* Benjamin Eafterbrookus Mr.

1691.  
Johannes Tyng Mr.  
Ebenezer Pemberton Mr. *Socius.*  
\* Thomas Mackarty Mr.  
Josephus Lord Mr.  
Chriftopherus Tappan Mr.  
Samuel Emery Mr.  
\* Thomas Atkinfonus  
Timotheus Edwards Mr.

1692.  
Benjamin Colman Mr.  
Zecharias Alden  
Ebenezer White Mr.  
Jacobus Townfend  
Johannes Mors Mr.  
Caleb Cufhing Mr.

1693.  
Ifaacus Chauncaus Mr.  
Stephanus Buckinghamus  
Henricus Flintzus Mr.  
Simon Bradstreet Mr.  
Johannes Wadeus Mr.  
Nathanael Hodfon  
Penn Townfend  
Nathanael Williams Mr.  
Georgius Denifon  
Johannes Woodward Mr.  
Josephus Baxter Mr.  
Gulielmus Veazie  
Nathanael Hunting Mr.  
Benjamin Ruggles Mr.  
Gulielmus Grofvenor Mr.

1694.  
Adamus Winthrop Mr.  
Johannes Woodbridge  
Dudlaeus Woodbridge  
Eliphaleet Adamus Mr.  
Johannes Savage  
Johannes Ballantine Mr.  
Salmon Treat  
Jabez Fitch Mr. *Socius.*

1695.  
Samuel Vaffil  
Gualterus Price Mr.  
Richardus Saltonfall Mr.  
Nathaniel Saltonfall Mr.  
Johannes Hubbard Mr.  
Simon Willard Mr.  
Habibah Savage Mr.  
Oliver Noife Mr.  
Thomas Phips

Timo-



Timotheus Lindal

Jonathan Law

Ezekiel Lewis

Thomas Blowers Mr.

Thomas Little

Ephraim Little

Johannes Perkins Mr.

Jedediah Andrews Mr.

Jolephus Smith

Johannes Robinson Mr.

Jolephus Green Mr.

Jolephus Mors Mr.

Nicolaus Webster.

1696.

Georgius Vaughan

Petrus Thacherus

Dudlaeus Woodbridge

Jonathan Remington

Samuel Whitman

Samuel Estabrookus

Andreas Gardner

Samuel Melyen.

1697.

Eliha Cookus

Antonius Stoddardus

Antonius Stoddardus

Jabez Wakeman

Nathaniel Collins

Samuel Burr

Johannes Read

Samuel Moodey

Richardus Brown

Hugo Adams

Johannes Swift

Johannes Southmayd

Jolephus Coit

Jolephus Parsonus.

1698.

Thomas Symmes

Josias Cottonus

Samuel Matherus

Josias Willard

Dudlaeus Bradstreet

Petrus Cutler

Johannes Foxius

Nathanael Hubbard

Hesarius Swan

Johannes White

Josias Torrey

Oxenbridge Thacherus

Richardus Billings.

*Illic quorum Nominibus hac No-  
ta Praefigatur, & Votis esserunt.*

# CANTABRIGIÆ NOV-ANGLORUM Sexto Quintilis. M DC XC VIII.

We will conclude our Catalogue of the Graduates in this Colledge, with the Elegy, which the Venerable Mr. JOHN WILSON, made upon its Founder.

In Pientissimum Reverendissimumq; Virum,  
JOHANNEM HARVARDUM,  
me fuggito Sacre Carolensis ad Caelos Evectum,  
Ad Alumnos Cantabrigiensis Literatos, Poema.

Johannes Harvardus.

Anagr.

Si non (ah!) furda Aure.

En, mihi fert Animus, Patroni Nomine Vestri  
(Si non (ab!) furda spernitur Ate) loqui.

Sic ait.

Me Deus, immenso per Christum Mosis amore,  
Ad Caelos servum jussit abire sinus.

Parebam; monuit; Dei praeunte Arabam  
Quicquid ad Optatum sufficere Opus.

Me (Licet Indignum) Selegit patia Christi,  
Fundarem Mihi, qui pia Test pijs.

(Non quod vel Chara, moriens Loxore carerem,  
Aut Hares alius quod mihi illius erat:)

Heredes vos ipse meos, sed liquere suasit,  
Uti, ad Dimidium fortis optima, Deus.

Me commune Bonum, praescrip Gloria Christi,  
Impulsi et chara Posteritis Amor:

Sat ratus esse mihi Sobolis, pietatis Amore  
Educet Illustres si Schola nostra Viros.

Hæc mihi Spes (Vita Morienti dulcor olim)  
Me ferrebat, Cæli dum Requies fruer.

At si degeneres liqueat vos esse (quod absit!)  
Ora si Studiis sint potiora bonis:

Si nec Doctrina, nec Moribus ipsis Honestis  
Imbuti, (Festu non leviori tamen)

Grata sit aut Vobis, si scia vel Hæresis ulla,  
Vos simul inficiens, Vos, Dominiq; grem:

Hæc mihi Patrono quam sunt contraria vestro!  
Atq; magis summo Displacitura Deo!

Nec tamen ista meo sic Nominis dicer opto,  
Mens quasi promittat non meliora mihi!

Gaudia Cælorum vix me satiare valerent,  
Si tanta Orbatus, Spq; Fideq; forem.

Ille Deus Vobis, Vestrisq; Laboribus, aliam,  
Et dedit, et porro suppeditabit opem.

Ejus in Obsequio, sic, O! sic, pergit cuncti,  
Ut fiat hinc major Gloria Lausq; Deo.

At si quis recto male sit de Tramite gressus  
(Quod David, et Solomon? et Petrus ipse queat.)

Hic sibi ne placeat, Monitus neq; ferre reculet,  
In rectam possint qui revocare viam.

Sic Grati Vos esse Deo! Vestrig; Labores  
Quos olim in Christo suscipietis erunt.

Utq; Petrus meruit sibi Cantabria Nomen,  
Sic Nomen fiet dulce Feraxq; Nova.

Johannes Wilsonus.

Verba Doct. Arrowsmith, in Orat. Antiweigeliana.

Faxit Deus Optimus, Maximus, tenacem adeo Veritatis hanc Academiam, ut deinceps in Angliâ Lu-  
gam, in Hibernia Bursam, invenire facilius sit, quam aut Socinianum, aut Arminianum in Cantabrigiâ.



# THE HISTORY OF

## Harvard-Colledge.

### PART II.

#### The LIVES of some Eminent Persons therein Educated.

Discant ergo rabidi adversus Christum canes, discant eorum Sectatores, qui putant Ecclesiam nullos Philosophos et Eloquentes, nullos habuisse Doctores, quanti et quales Viri eam extruxerint et ornaverint, et delinant Fidem nostram Rutilicæ tantum Simplicitatæ arguere, suamque potius Imperitiâ agnoscant. *Hieron. Pref. ad Catul. de Script. Ecclie.*

§ 1. **T**HE Great *Rabbi* mentions a Certain *Art*, of Drawing many *Doves*, by anointing the Wings of a *Few* with a Fragrant Ointment, and so sending them abroad that by the Fragrancy of the Ointment they may allure others unto the House, whereof they are themselves the Domesticks. I know not how far it may have any Tendency to draw others unto the Religion hitherto professed and maintained in *Harvard-Colledge*: But I have here sent forth some of the *Doves* belonging to that House, with the Ointment of a Good Name upon them. And yet I should not have bestow'd the Ointment of their Embalmed Name, as I have done, if the God of Heaven by first bestowing the Ointment of His Heavenly Grace upon them, had not given them to deserve it. *Socrates* being asked, which was the most Beautiful Creature in the World, answered, *A Man garnished with Learning*. But, with

this Lave, a more Beautiful Creature is, *A Man garnished with Vertue*. Reader, I will now show thee Ten Men garnished with *Bob*.

§ 2. The Death of those Brave Men that first planted *New-England*, would have rendered a fit Emblem for the Country. A *Beech-Tree* with its Top lopt off, and the Motto, *Ruina Relinquo*; (which Tree withers when its Top is lopt off!) If *Harvard-Colledge* had not prevented it. But now, upon the Lops of Mortality, *Uno avulsio non adest Alter*. We have Opportunity to Write the Eyes of another Set, who indeed had their Whole Growth in the Soyl of *New-England*; Person, whom I may call *Cedars* and *Fir-Trees*; as *Jerom* did *Cyprian* and *Hilary*, and other Holy Men in his Comment on that Passage, *Isa. 60. 13*, *The Glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the Fir-Tree, and the Pine-Tree, to beautifie the Place of my Sanctuary*.

CHAP.



## CHAP. I.

## FIDES IN VITA:

OR, THE

## L I F E

O F

## Mr. John Brock.

*Olim Fides erat in Vita, magis quam in Articulorum Professione. Erasim. Epist.*

S. 1. **D**esigning to Write the *Lives* of some *Learned Men*, who have been the *Issue* and the *Honour* of *Harvard-Colledge*, let my Reader be rather *Admonished* than *Scandalized* by it, if the First of these *Lives*, exhibit One, whose *Goodness* was above his *Learning*, and whose *Chief Learning* was his *Goodness*. If One had asked Mr. JOHN BROCK, that Question in *Antoninus*, *Tu es a ryzens*. Of what *Art* hast thou proceeded *Master*? He might have truly answered, *Azabdy Awei*. My *Art* is to be Good. He was a Good *Grammarian*, chiefly in this, that he *Still spoke the Truth* from his *Heart*. He was a Good *Logician*, chiefly in this, that he *Presented himself unto God with a Reasonable Service*. He was a Good *Arithmetician*, chiefly in this, that he *So numbred his Days* as to apply his *Heart unto Wisdom*. He was a Good *Astronomer*, chiefly in this, that his *Conversation* was in *Heaven*. It was chiefly by being a Good *Christian*, that he proved himself a Good *Artist*. The Elogy which *Gregory* the Great bestow'd on *Steven* the Monk, *Erat huius Lingua Rustica, sed Docta Vita*; so much belong'd unto this Good Man, that so *Learned a Life*, may well be judg'd worthy of being a *Written One*.

S. 2. He was Born at the Town of *Stradbroke*, in the County of *Suffolk*. A. D. 1620. And from his own Trial of *Early Piety* in himself, while he was yet a *Youth*, he was qualified, in a more Significant and Efficacious Manner, to Recommend it unto *Young People*, as he very much did, when he came to be *Old*. When he was about seventeen Years of Age, he came to *New-England*, as to a Nursery of *Piety*, with his Parents: And here, no sooner was he recovered of the *Small Pox*, wherein he was very nigh unto

Death, but another Fit of Sickness held him for no less than Thirty Weeks together; whereby the Hand of Heaven ordering the *Funerace*, prepared him for the Services that he afterwards performed.

S. 3. He was admitted into *Harvard-Colledge*, A. D. 1643. where he studied for several Years, with an Exemplary Diligence; being of the Opinion, that as *Caleb* said unto his Men, *I bestow my Daughter upon one of you, but he that will have her, must first win Kiriath-Sepher*; i. e. *A City of Books*: thus, One is not worthy to have a Church bestow'd upon him, until he hath some time lain before *Kiriath-Sepher*, and staid at some *University*. After five Years lying here (as loth to be one of the *Sacerdotes Momentardi*, or, *Modi Idiotæ mox Clerici*, sometimes by the Ancients complained of) he entred upon the Work of the Evangelical Ministry; first at *Roxby*, and then at the *Isle of Sholes*. Here *Scaliger* might have indeed found *Wisdom* inhabiting the Rocks; and here a *Spiritual Fisherman*, did more than a little Good among a Rude Company of *Livial* Ones.

S. 4. In the Year, 1662. he became a Pastor to the Church at *Reading*. And here he continued in the Faithful Discharge of his Ministry, until the Time, that (as the Ancients expressed it) He took his Journey a little before his Body, into another Country. He wholly devoted himself, unto his Beloved Employment; preaching on *Lords Days*, and on *Lectures* at *Private Church-Meetings*, and at *Meetings* of *Young Persons* for the Exercises of Religion, which he mightily encouraged, as Great Engines, to render his more Publick Labours effectual on the *Rising Generation*. His *Parish Visits*, to Water what had been Sown in his



*Publick Labours*, were also very sedulous and assiduous; and in these he managed a peculiar Talent, which he had at *Christian Conference*, whereby he did more Good, than some Able Preachers did in the Pulpit. He was herewithal so Exemplary for his *Holiness*, that our Famous Mr. Mitchell would say of him, *He dwelt as near Heaven, as any Man upon Earth*.

§. 5. About Three or Four Years before his Death, he was visited with a Long and Sore Fit of Sickness: But upon his Restoration from that Sickness, he enjoy'd a more *Wonderful Presence* of God with him in his Ministry than ever before, and a more *Wonderful Success* of it. At length, he told One in his Family, that he had beought this Favour of Heaven; *To live but fourteen Days after the Publick Labours of his Ministry should be finished*: And he was in this thing most particularly favoured. He fell sick, and after a Sickness of just *Fourteen Days*, on June 18. 1688. his Friends full of Sorrow for their Loss, might use *Nazianzen's* Words concerning him, *Agonizans, He is flown away*. But their Sorrow, *Quid talem amiserint*, was (to use the Words of *Jerom to Nepotian*) accompanied with Gladness, *Quid talem habuerint*.

§. 6. Good Men, that labour and abound in Prayer to the Great God, sometimes arrive to the Assurance of a *Particular Faith*, for the Good Success of their Prayer. 'Tis not a Thing that never happens, That the Children of God, in the midst of their Supplications for this or that *Particular Mercy*: find their Hearts very Comfortably, but Unaccountably carried forth to a strange Perswasion, that they shall receive this *Particular Mercy* from the Lord; and this Perswasion is not a meer Notion and Fancy but a special Impression from Heaven, upon the Minds of the Saints that are made Partakers of it. This *Particular Faith* is not the Attainment of Every *Christian*, much less an Endowment of Every Prayer. There is no *Real Christian*, but what Prays in Faith; his Prayer hath a General Faith in the Power, and Wisdom, and Goodness of God, and the Mediation of Christ. But there is many a *Real Christian*, who is a Stranger to the Meaning of this Thing: A *particular Faith* for such Mercies, without which a Man may get safe to Heaven at the last. It is here and there a *Christian*, whom the Sovereign Grace of Heaven, does Favour, with the Conso-lations of a *Particular Faith*: Nor if a *Christian* taste of these Joys, may he expect more than a Taste of them; they are Dainties that are not every Day to be Feasted on: 'Tis not in every Prayer, that the King of Heaven will admit every one to so much of Intimacy with himself. Indeed, such a *Particular Faith*, is not so much the Duty of a *Christian*, as his Comfort, his Honour, his Privilege. There is a Praying in Faith, incumbent on every *Christian* in every Prayer; but this *Particular Faith* for the bestowal of such and such desired Mercies, is not incumbent on a *Christian*; 'tis not required of him. 'Tis a vast Privilege, for a *Christian* to be Assured, that the Lord will

do this or that individual Thing for him; however, 'tis no Sin for a *Christian* to break off not Assured of it. But it is the *Holy Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, that with a Singular Operation, does produce in a *Christian* this *Particular Faith*; which indeed is near akin to the Faith of Miracles. Nor does the Principal Efficiency of the *Holy Spirit*, in these Illapses, exclude and hinder, the Instrumentality of the *Holy Angels* in them: They are no doubt the *Holy Angels*, that with an Inexpressible Impulse, bear in upon the Mind, the *Particular Faith*, wherewith some Saints are at some Times irradiated. The *Wonderous Meetings*, the *Mighty Wrestlings*, the *Quiet Waitings*, and the *Holy Resolves*, that are Characters of a *Particular Faith*, which is no Delusion, are the Works of the *Holy Spirit*, wherein his *Holy Angels* may be Instruments.

Eminent was Mr. Brock, for this *Assyrian* Excellency. This Good Man, was One Fall of the *Holy Spirit*, and Faith. He had many of those Things, which we may call (as the Martyr *Cyprian* call'd, those Communications from Heaven, which often directed him in his Exigencies.) *Divine Condescensions*. And there were many Notable Effects of his Faithful and fervent Prayers, whereof the Exact History is now lost, because it was not in the proper Season thereof composed and preserved.

Some few Remarkables, are not only still remembered, but also well Attested.

One *Thomas Bancroft* lay very sick of the Small Pox, his distressed Mother came drowned in Tears to Mr. Brock; he told him, She left her Son so sick, that she did not imagine ever to see him alive again; he replied, Sister, Be of good Cheer; the Lord has told me nothing of your Son's dying, I'll again go with his Case unto the Lord. The Young Man recovered, and is at this Day a Deacon of the Church in Reading.

A Child of one *Arnold*, about six Years old, lay sick, so near dead, that they judg'd it really dead. Mr. Brock perceiving some Life in it, goes to Prayer; and in his Prayer used this Expression, Lord, wilt thou not grant some Sign, before we leave Prayer, that thou wilt spare and heal this Child? We cannot leave thee till we have it! The Child sneez'd immediately, Mr. Brock then gives Thanks, and breaks off. The very next Day, the Child visited Him, and carried him a Present.

When Mr. Brock lived in the Isle of Sholes, he brought the People into an Agreement, that, besides the Lord's-Days, they would spend one Day every Month together in the Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ. On a certain Day, which by their Agreement belong'd unto the Exercises of Religion, being arrived, the Fishermen came to Mr. Brock, and ask'd him, that they might Put by their Meeting, and go a Fishing, because they had lost many Days by the Foulness of the Weather. He seeing, that without and against his Consent, they resolved upon doing what they had asked of him, replied, If you will go away, I say unto you, catch Fish; if you can! But as for you,



you, that will carry, and worship the Lord Jesus Christ this Day, I will pray unto Him for you, that you may take Vsh till you are weary. Thirty Men went away from the Meeting, and Five tarried. The Thirty which went away from the Meeting, with all their Skill could catch but Four Fishes; the Five which tarried, went forth afterwards, and they took Five Hundred. The Fishermen after this readily attended, whatever Meetings Mr. Brock appointed them.

A Fisher-man, who had with his Boat, been very Helpful, to carry a People over a River, for the Worship of God, on the Lord's-Day, in the Isle of Sholes, lost his Boat in a Storm. The poor Man laments his Loss to Mr. Brock; who tells him, Go home, Honest Man, I'll mention the Matter to the Lord, you'll have your Boat again to-morrow. Mr. Brock now considering, of what a Consequence this Matter, that seem'd so small otherwise, might be among the untractable Fishermen, made the Boat an Article of his Prayers; and behold, on the Morrow, the poor Man comes rejoicing to him, That his Boat was found, the Anchor of another Vessel, that was

undesignedly cast upon it, having strangely brought it up, from the Unknown Bottom, where it had been sunk.

When K. Charles II. sent One of his Infamous Creatures, whose Name was Cranfield, for to be Governor of Hamphshire, a Northern Province of New-England, one of the Illegal Outrages committed by that Cranfield was, the Imprisoning of Mr. Moody, the Minister of Portsmouth. One, who then lived with Mr. Brock, seeing him one Morning very sorrowful, ask'd him the Reason of his present Sorrow. Said he, I am very much troubled for my Dear Brother Moody, who is imprisoned by Cranfield: but I will this day seek to the Lord on his behalf, and I believe my God will hear me! And on that very Day was Mr. Moody (forty Miles off) by a marvellous Disposal of Providence, delivered out of his Imprisonment.

Multitudes of such Passages, whereof these are but some few Gleanings, caused our Mr. John Allin of Dedham, to say concerning Mr. Brock; I scarce ever knew any Man so Familiar with the Great God, as His Dear Servant Brock!

## CHAP. II.

## FRUCTUOSUS.

OR, THE

## L I F E

OF

## Mr. Samuel Mather.

*Hæc casti maneant in Religione Nepotes.*

*Et Nati Natorum, et qui nascuntur ab illis.*

§. 1. IT is a Thing truly, and justly thought among the Churches of God, *Felix illa Anima, quæ Aliis est Forma Sanctitatis*: Thrice and Four Times Happy that Man, from whose Example, other Men may learn to be Holy and Happy. Now, for this Happiness, not only were many among the first Fathers of New-England, with the History of whose Exemplary Lives, the Faithful have been entertained, considerable; but some among the Sons of those Fathers also, have bin so exemplary for their Holiness, that their Lives also deserve to fill the Pages of an Ecclesiastical History. One

of those is now going to be set before my Reader; and one, who, whether we consider his Early Sanctity, or his fervent Ministry, will appear so much of a John Baptist unto us, that I choose the Confession of, *Josephus the Jewish Historian* (who, if he were admitted into the Discipline of *Banius*, a Disciple of *John*, as, he says, he was, he might well make such a Confession) concerning that *John*, to express the Character of this Worthy Man; *He was an Excellent Man, and One that stirred up the People to Piety and Virtue, Holiness and Purity.* This was Mr. Samuel Mather.

§. 2. Mr.



§. 2. Mr. Samuel Mather, was Born May 13. A. D. 1626. at Much-Wootton in Lancashire. But was the Question of Saul concerning David, *Whose Son is this Youth?* About the Meaning of which Question, there may be some Wonder, because David had already been serviceable, at the Court of Saul, some while before: And therefore some take the Meaning of the Question to be, *What Manner of Man's Son is this?* It was Observed, that some of the Notablest Men in the Land, were of this Family, and, among the rest, *Joab* was of it, *Joab*, who for his Valour was made *General* of the Field, *Joab*, who never once in his Life mis'd of the Victory; He was the Son of *Jesse's* Daughter. Now *Saul* was inquisitive, *What manner of Man this Jesse was*, that all his Children prov'd so Eminent. If my Reader, thereto excited by the Figure, which as well this Person, as divers of his Brothers have made in the Church of God, shall accordingly enquire *Whose Son was this Youth?* It must be answered, that his Father was the famous Mr. Richard Mather, whose Life has been already a Considerable Part not only in our own Church-History, but also in the last Volume of Mr. Clark's Collections. Brought up, and brought over by this his Father, our Samuel came to New-England, in the Year 1635. delivered with the rest of his Family, from as Eminent Danger of Death, as ever was escaped by Mortal Men, in a Fierce and Sore Hurricane on the New-English Coast.

§. 3. Let the Silly Romanist please himself with his Romance of St. Rumbald, who as soon as he drew his First Breath, cry'd Three Times *I am a Christian!* and then making a plain Confession of his Faith, desired, that he might be baptized: It is most certainly True, that Samuel Mather, did not suffer two Times Three Years to pass him after his First Breath, before he had, many times, manifested himself to be a Christian, under the Regenerating Impressions of that Spirit, into whose Name and Faith, he had been baptized. The Holy Spirit of God made Early Visits unto our Samuel, who from his Childhood was devoted unto the Tabernacle. He was in his Early Childhood, an Extraordinary Instance of Discretion, Gravity, Seriousness, Prayerfulness, and Watchfulness, which accompanied with a certain Generosity of Temper, and an usual Proficiency in Learning, wherein

*Rerum Prædientia Velox,*

*Ante Pilos venit;* reader'd him the Delight of all that part of Mankind, that know him; and as the Name of *Placidus*, was of Old given to *Macarius*, thus this Blessed Young Man, was commonly called, *The Young Old Man*, by those that mentioned him. R. Eliezer, the Son of R. Azariah, when made President of the *Jewish Sanhedrin*, at sixteen Years of Age, was not one of a more composed Behaviour. A certain Arabian Commentary upon the *Alchoran* reports, That when *John Baptist* was a Child, other Boys asked him to play with them; which he refused, saying, *I*

*was not sent into the World for Sport.* Such great Thoughts inspired our Samuel Mather, while he was yet a Child! To Demonstrate and Illustrate this Part of his Character, I shall only recite an Extract of a Letter; which he wrote from his Lodging in Cambridge, to his Father in Dorchester, when he was no more than Twelve Years of Age.

— Though (saith he) I am thus well in my Body, yet I question whether my Soul doth prosper as my Body doth; for I perceive, yet to this very Day little Growth in Grace; and this makes me question, whether Grace be in my Heart or no. I feel also daily Great Unmillingness to good Duties, and the Great Ruling of Sin in my Heart; and that God is angry with me, and gives me no Answers to my Prayers, but many times, He even throws them down as Dust in my Face; and He does not Grant my Continual Requests for the Spiritual Blessing of the Softening of my Hard Heart. And in all this I could yet take some Comfort, but that it makes me to Wonder, What God's Secret Decree concerning me may be, for I doubt whether ever God is wont to deny Grace and Mercy to His Chosen (though Unwield) when they seek unto Him, by Prayer, for it; and therefore, seeing he doth thus deny it to me, I think, that the Reason of it is most like to be, because I belong not unto the Election of Grace. I desire that you would let me have your Prayers, as I doubt not but I have them; and rest

Your Son,

Samuel Mather.

Behold the Language of One, more able than the famous *Cornelius Mus*, to have been a Preacher (as they say he was) when Twelve Years of Age! Now albeit, such Early Accomplishments, use to be threatned with *Cicero's*, *Non potest in eo succus esse diuturnus, quod nimis celeriter maturitatem est assecutus:* And with *Quintilian's*, *Ingeniorum præcox Genius, non temere unquam proficit ad Frugem;* and with *Curtius's*, *Nullus est ei Diuturnus & Præcox Fructus;* which our Proverb has Englished, *Soon Ripe, soon Rotten;* there was no such Observation to be made of our Samuel, who still continually grew in his Accomplishments, and instead of losing them, like the *Hermogenes* mentioned by C. Rodignus, he kept advancing in all Wisdom and Goodness, till he was found *Ripe* for Eternal Glory.

§. 4. In the Catalogue of the Graduates proceeding from Harvard-Colledge, our Samuel Mather, was the First, who appears as a Fellow of that Happy Society; wherein his careful Instruction, and exact Government of the Scholars under his Tuition, caus'd as many of them as were so, to mention him afterwards with Honour, as long as they lived; and such was the Love of all the Scholars to him, that; not only when he read his *Last Philosophy-Lecture*, in the Colledge-Hall, they heard him with Tears, because of it's being



being his *Last*, but also, when he went away from the College, they put on the Tokens of *Mourning* in their very Garments for it. But by this his Living at *Cambridge*, under the Ministry of Mr. *Shepard*, he had the Advantage to conform himself, in his younger Years, more than a little, unto the *Spirit* and *Preaching* of that Renowned Man; (of whose Life, he afterwards published certain *Memoirs* unto the World) Of which Thing the Famous Mr. *Cotton* Speaking to our young *Mather*, did Congratulate his Hap-piness therein; adding, that in like manner, one Great Reason, why there came so many Excellent Preachers out of *Cambridge*, in *England*, more than out of *Oxford*, in some former Days, was the Ministry of Mr. *Perkins*, in that Univer-sity. Our *Mather* being not only by Notable Parts, both *Natural* and *Acquired*, and by an Eminently Gracious Disposition of Soul, but also by a certain Florid and Sparkling *Liveliness* of Expresion, admirably fitted for the Service of the Gospel, several Congregations in this Wil-derness, applied themselves unto him, for the Enjoyment of his Labours among them. In An-swer to their Applications, he spent some time with the Church of *Rowley*, as an Assistant unto Old Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*; where the Zeal of the People to have him settled, was the Cause of his not settling there at all; but when the Tem-pations arising from the Zeal of the People, caused him to choole a Removal from thence, it went so near unto the Hearts of some Good Men there, that it contributed, as 'twas thought, even unto shortning of their Days, in the World. Here, although in his Rich Furniture of Learning, from the Schools, the Lamps were lighted, before he did venture to bring his *Incense* unto the Al-tar, yet his Great Learning did not make his *Preaching* so obscure, as to give the plain Coun-try-People Occasion for the Complaint, which they sometimes made of another; *This Man may be a Great Scholar, but he wants Beetle and Wedges to hew our knotty Timber withal*. Afterwards a Church being to be gathered, in the North Part of *Boston*, they had their Eyes upon Him to be their Pastor, and accordingly He entertained a Vast Auditory of Christians, with so incompa-rable a Sermon upon the Day, when that People publicly embodied themselves into their Eccle-siastical State, that Old Mr. *Cotton*, with whom he then sojourned, said upon it, *Such a Sermon from so young a Man as this, is a Matter of much more Satisfaction, than such an One from One of us Elder Men*; for this young Man is, *Spes Cre-tis*. And with this People he continued the Winter following; among whom, he was long after succeeded, by One of his Worthy Bre-thren.

S. 5. Having in him, the true Spirit of a Witness for our Lord Jesus Christ, he did, even while he was a Young Man, in this Country set himself, with a prudent, but yet fervent Zeal; up-on all Occasions to bear a just Witness, against every thing which he judged contrary unto the Interests of *Faithfulness*. But there was hardly any

one thing, against which he uttered more of *Thunderbolt*, than that *Unholy Spirit of Antinomianism*, wherewith many People in those Days were led aside. It was with a particular Agony of Disaffection, that he would still speak of those *Ungodly Men, who turned the Grace of God into Wantonness*. He would speak of them in such Words as these; *I Reader, they are of his own Words, in a Sermon about Hardness of Heart*: The same Word is used for *Blindness*; and *Hardness* (Eph. 4. 18. & Rom. 11. 7, 8.) when *Absolmers* was offended with *Haman*, his Face was covered; and amongst us, when the Cloath is pulled over the Face, at an Execution, the Wretch is presently to be turn'd off. Thus, when the Eyes of the Soul are covered, and the God of this World blinds them, and they are Given over to believe a Lye, this is the Begin-ning of their utter Hardness, and Eternal Per-dition. There are now many Principles of Darknes, whereby Mens Hearts are Hardened in Sin; whereof One is, The Abrogation of the Moral Law, as a Rule of Life unto a Christian: A Conceit that came out of Hell; and is di-rectly against the Clearest Light of Scripture; *Mat. 5. 17, 18, 19*. And blasphemously injuri-ous to the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ; who dyed for this End, to make his People Zealous of good Works, and therefore it makes him to Dye in vain. This Principle works extream Hardness of Heart; for when a Man hath drunk in this Poison, he may sin without Sorrow, yea, and without any Check of Con-science for it. If he be not bound to Keep to the Rule, why should he be troubled for Breaking of it? What are such Errors but as *Calvin* speaks, *Exundantis in Mundum Furoris Dei Flagella*, the Scourges of the Over-flowing Fury of an Angry God against this Wicked World? Hence also there comes to be such Extreme Blindness and Blockiness, and Blackness of Hell, upon the Spirits of some, as to Deny the Necessity of a Broken Heart, and Sorrow for Sin, in these Times. Ministers must preach Old Errors, and call them by the Name of New Light. Why, because they are Gospel Times, as if it were the Work of the Gospel to Harden Mens Hearts, and make them Stocks or Stones, or like the Sturdy Oaks of *Babylon*, before the Words of the God of Is-rael.

Nor could he with easier Terms, at any time, speak of the *Licentious Disposition*, engendered by the *Antinomianism* broached and Rampant, at that time, among many Professors of *Christi-anity*.

S. 6. But he that Holds the Stars in his Right Hand, intending that a Star of this Magnitude, should move in an Orb, where his Influences might be more Extended than they could have been by any Opportunities, to be enjoyed and improved in an American Wilderness, He in-spired our *Mather* with a strong Desire to pass over into *England*, and by the Wisdom of Hea-ven, there fell out several Temptations in this

Wildere



*Wilderness*, which occasioned him to be yet more desirous of such a Removal. To England then he went, in the Year 1650. Where the Right Honourable *Thomas Andrews*, Esq; then Lord Mayor of the City of London, quickly took such Notice of his Abilities, as to make Choice of him, for his *Chaplain*; and by the Advantage of the Post, where he was now placed in that Chaplainship, he came into an Acquaintance, with the most Eminent Ministers in the Kingdom; who much Honoured and Valued him, and, though of different Persuasions, Loved, *Christum habitantem in Mathero*. Here his Inclination To do Good, produced Good and Great Effects; but yet One that had like to have proved fatal unto himself: For being a Man of such Excellent Accomplishments, he was Courted so often to preach in the Biggest Assemblies, that by *Overdoing* therein, he had like to have undone his Friends, and lost his Life. The Famous Mr. *Sydrach Symphon*, observing this Inconvenience, did with a *Brotherly*, yea, with a *Fatherly* Care, obtain of him a *Promise*, that he would not Preach abroad at all, except when He should give his Consent; and accordingly when any public Sermons were asked of him, he would refer those that asked unto Mr. *Symphon*, who with a Wife and Kind Consideration of this his Friend's Health, would give his Consent, but when it should be convenient.

§. 7. Mr. *Mather*, was after this, invited unto a Settlement, in several Places; and in Answer to those Invitations, he did preach for a while, at *Graves-End*, and after that, at the *Cathedral*, in the City of *Exeter*. But having from his Childhood, a Natural and Vehement Affection to a College-Life, he retired unto *Oxford*, where he became a Chaplain in *Magdalen-College*; and he had therewithal an Opportunity, sometimes at *St. Maries*, to preach the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, which for the Sake of the Lord Redeemer, whom he loved always to preach, he gladly took. And having before this, proceeded *Master of Arts* in the only Protestant College of *America*, he was now admitted, *Ad Eundem*, not only in the Renowned University of *Oxford*, but in that of *Cambridge* also. But having been some time resident in *Oxford*, the English Commissioners, then going into *Scotland*, were willing to carry with them some English Ministers, whose Eminent Learning, Wisdom, Goodness and Reputation, might be serviceable unto the Interests of Truth and Peace in that Nation. Accordingly Mr. *Mather* was one of the Persons chosen for that Service; and there he continued at *Leigh*, preaching the Gospel of God our Saviour, for Two Years together.

§. 8. In the Year 1655, he returned into England: And the Lord *Henry Cromwell*, then going over Lord-Deputy for *Ireland*, there were several Ministers of great Note pitched upon to go over with him, for the Service of the Christian Religion there, whereof was Dr. *Harrison*, Dr. *Winter*, Mr. *Charnock* and our Mr. *Mather*.

When Mr. *Mather* came to *Dublin*, he was made a Senior Fellow of *Trinity-College*; and from that University he had the Office of a *Baccalaureatus in Theologia*, but he modestly declined it, and seemed inclinable to the *Jewish Rule*, about the Rabbinate, *Love the Work*, but Hate the Rabbiship; yet he that had already proceeded *Master of Arts*, in so many Universities, did here again proceed *Ad Eundem*. Of any further Degrees our *Mather* was ready to say with the Great *Melancthon*, who would not accept an Higher Title than that of *Master*; *Plures meum Exemplum*; *Nemo me percellere potuit, ut illum quilibet Honorificum Titulum Doctoris: mihi decerni sinerem. Nec ego Gradus illos parviscisco, sed idcirco, quod judico esse magna Onera, et necessaria Republicae, evincendum petendos esse, et conferendos festino*. But now in preaching to that Renowned City, and in the *Pastoral* Charge of the Church there, he was joined as a Colleague with Dr. *Winter*; and here preached every Lord's Day Morning at *St. Nichol's Church*; besides his Turn which he took once in six Weeks, to preach before the Lord Deputy and Council. A Preacher he now was of Extraordinary *Eloem* and Success; and as the whole Kingdom took Notice of him, so he did Service for the whole Kingdom, in the Eminent Station, where God had placed him. The more special Excellencies for which his Ministry was here observed, were, First, A most Evangelical Endeavour to make the Lord Jesus Christ the Scope and Sum of all that he said. Secondly, A most Angelical Majesty, wherewith his Messages were still uttered, as coming from the Throne of God; And Thirdly, Such a Clearness of Reason and Method, that it was commonly remark'd, Mr. *Charnock's* Invention, Dr. *Harrison's* Expression, and Mr. *Mather's* Logic, meeting together, would have made the Perfectest Preacher in the World. And if the Sloathful Man in *Prov.* 19. 24. who *Will not so much as bring his Hand unto his Mouth*, were by the Ancients understood concerning the Unholy Minister, who will not bring *Poci sue Vitam suam*, our Mr. *Mather* was no Sloathful Preacher; for besides his being a Preacher, who, as *Melchior Adam* describes *Jacobus Andrea*, *Si quando opus erat, mera sonabat Tonitrua*, he was also a Preacher very Eminent for Holiness, and he Taught the People at other Times, besides when he Opened his Mouth.

§. 9. A certain Writer, who does continually serve the Romanizing Faction in the Church of England, with all manner of Malice and Slander against the best Men in the World, that were in any measure free from the Spirit of that Faction, yet mentioning our *Samuel Mather*, in his *Athenae Oxonienses*, gives this Account of him: 'Tho' he was a Congregational Man, and in his Principles an High Non-Conformist, yet he was observed by some to be Civil to those of the Episcopal Persuasion, when it was in his Power to do them a Displeasure. And when the Lord Deputy gave a Commission to him, and others, in Order unto the Displacing of Episcopal Ministers, in the Province of Munster, he declined

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ned it; as he did afterwards to do the like Matter in Dublin; alledging, that he was called into that Country, To Preach the Gospel; and not to hinder others from doing it. He was a Religious Man in the Way he profest, [This Author confesses] and was valued by some, who differed from him as to Opinion in Lessor, and Circumstantial Points of Religion. Thus One of themselves, even a Bigot of their own, has reported, and his Report is true! For which Cause when the Storm of Persecution, fell upon the Non-Conformists in Ireland, Mr. Mather, in his Address to the Lord-Chancellor for his Liberty, used these, among many other Passages; I can truly say, I desire no more, nor so much Favour for my self now, as I have shewed unto others formerly, when they stood in need of it. But I will not say, how much cause I have to resent it, and to take it a little unkindly, that I have met with so much of Molestation from those of that Judgment, whom I have not provoked unto it, by my Example, but rather have obliged by sparing their Consciences, to another manner of Deportment. For indeed, I have always thought, that it is an Irksome Work, to punish or trouble any Man, so it is an Evil and Sinful Work, to trouble any Good Man with Temporal Coercions, for such Errors in Religion, as are consistent with the Foundation of Faith and Holiness. It is no Good Spirit in any Form, to fight with Carnal Weapons; I mean, by External Violence, to impose and propagate it self, and seek by such means, the suppressing of Contrary Ways, which by Argument it is not able to subdue. But let the Merits of Mr. Mather have bin what they will, he could not avoid the Hardships, which the Historian proceeds to relate in these Terms. After his Majesty's Restauration, which he was suspended from Preaching, till his Majesty's Pleasure should be known for Two Sermons, which were judged Seditions. Thus writes the veriest Zosimus, that ever set Pen to Paper; even that Zosimus the Younger, who cannot mention any Well-wisher to the Reformation of the Church of England, without giving One Occasion to think on Dr. Howel's Observations upon the Old Zosimus; We know it to be the Practice, in all Reforms, of those who are added unto the Old Way, to render Infamous such, as have bin Instruments in the Alteration; and by a Prejudice against the Persons most violently to inculpate an ill Opinion of the Thing, or Cause it self.

§. 10. One Principal Character upon the Spirit of Mr. Mather, and One Remarkable in the Studies and Sufferings of his Life, will be given to my Reader, in an Account of the Two Sermons, which were the pretended Occasions of his being silenced. Know then, that the Episcopal Party in Ireland, immediately upon the King's Restauration, hasting to restore their Spiritual Courts, and summon the Ministers of the Gospel to appear before them, and submit unto those Unscriptural Impositions, which many Years had bin laid aside *Ratione Belli* (as they exprest it) Rabies, Hereticorum & Schismaticorum, and answer for the Breach of Canons, which (as the

Others answered) We bless God, we have never kept, to His Praise we speak it, and we hope through His Grace, we never shall: It was thought necessary on this Occasion, that a Publick Testimony should be born against the Revival of those Dead Superstitions. Accordingly Mr. Mather, being the fittest Person on many Accounts to be put upon that Service, He did in the Capital City of the Kingdom, in a Great Auditory, preach Two Sermons upon K. Hzekiah's breaking in pieces the Brazen Serpent, and calling it *Nebusban*, and thence advance this Assertion, That it is a Thing, very pleasing in the Sight of God, when the Sin of Idolatry, and all the Monuments, all the Remembrances and Reminders of it, are quite destroyed and rooted out from among His People: Wherein his Note upon the Text, was indeed but the very same with what his Adversaries, who are usually Great Admirers of every thing said by *Grotius*, might have read in the Commentary of that admirably Learned (though frequently Socinizing, and at last Romanizing) Interpreter, upon the very same Text; *Egregium Documentum Religiosum, ut quomodo bene Instituta, sed non Necessaria, ubi iam se non, male sursum, et Conspicua tollant, ne ponant Offendiculum Cæcis*. In the Prosecution of this Assertion, he offered many Arguments, why the Ceremonies of the Church of England; which were but the Old Leaven of Humane Inventions and Popish Corruptions remaining in the Worship of a Church, whose Doctrine he yet approv'd, as generally owned by Good Men, should not be re-assumed, and by the Old Cruel Methods of Penal Laws, reinforced. Against the Ceremonies in General, he argued, That the Preface to the Common-Prayer-Book, expressly declared them to be *Mystical and Significant*, and so they differed nothing from Sacraments, but that they wanted a Divine Institution; and, said he, The Promoters of them do pretend only the Authority of the Church; but if the Second Commandment was given to the Church, Thou shalt not make any Graven Image, or Form of Worship to thy self; They are a manifest Breach of that Commandment. He added, That, as they were the Monuments of the Old Papal and Pagan Idolatry, and Men did therein, but Symbolize with Idolaters, thus, by the Greater Weight almost perpetually laid upon them, than upon Greater Things, they were still made further Idols. Particularly, he argued against the Surplice, That it was a Continuation of the Superstitious Garments, wherein the False Worshipers did use to officiate; That the Aeronical Garments being Typical of the Graces attending the Lord Jesus Christ, they are by His Coming antiquated; That the Scriptures give not the least Intimation of any Garments, whereby Ministers are to be distinguished. He added, That among the First Reformers, the most Eminent were in their Undistressed Judgments, against the *Felicitum*; and that when the Canons of 1571. forbid the Gray Amice, or Any other Garment decked with the like Superstition, the Equity of that Canon would exclude This also. He argued against the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, That whatever was so to be said against Oyl, Cream, Salt, Spittle, therein, as to be



faid against the *Cross*, which indeed never had bin used, in the Worship of God, as *Oyl* had bin of Old. That there is as much Cause to worship the *Spear* that pierced our Lord, as the *Cross* which hanged him, or that it were as Reasonable, to scratch a Child's Forehead with a *Thorn*, to shew that it must suffer for him, who wore a *Crown of Thorns*: That the *Cross* thus employed is a Breach of the *Second Commandment* in the very Letter of it, being an *Image* in the Service of God of *Mm's Devising*, and fetch'd, as Mr. Parker says, *From the Brothel-House of God's greatest Enemy*. He argued against *Kneeling* at the *Lord's-Supper*, That it is contrary to the *First Institution*, which had in it none but a *Table-Gesture*; That it is gross *Hypocrisie* to pretend unto more Devotion, Holiness, and Reverence, in the Act of Receiving, than the *Apostles* did, when our Lord was there *Bodily* present with them; That it countenanced the Error of the *Papists*, who *Kneel* before their *Breaden God*, and profess; that They would be sooner torn in pieces than do it, if they did not believe that *Christ* is there *Bodily* present: And, That since it was a Rule in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, set forth in K. Edward's Time, 1549. *As touching Kneeling and other Gestures, they may be used or left, as every Man's Devotion serveth*, it was a shameful Thing to be so retrograde in Religion, as now to establish that Gesture. He argued against *Bowing* at the *Altar*, and setting the *Communion-Table* *Altarwise*, That the *Communion-Table* is in the Sacred Oracles called a *Table* still, and, no where, an *Altar*; and if it were an *Altar*, it would imply a *Sacrifice*, which the *Lord's Supper* is not; yea, it would be Greater and Better, than the *Lord's Supper* it self, and sanctifie it; That if it were an *Altar*, yet it should not be fastned unto the Wall, *Dresser-Fashion*; but so stand, as that it might be *Compass'd about*; That the placing of it at the *East-End* of the Church, with *Steps* going up to it, and especially the Setting of *Images*, or other *Melancholly Apparurances* over it, smells rank of *Paganism*: And, That, whereas in the very Beginning of the Reformation, this Abuse, was One of the *First Things* put down, it were a most *Ronish* Vengency, Now to Conjure it up again. He argued against *Bowing* at the Name of *Jesus*, That the Phrase of *Bowing* is so usual, in the Text, wrested unto this purpose, is but very unworshipfully translated, *AT the Name of Jesus*, instead of *IN the Name*; and it were as proper to speak of, *Baptizing AT the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit*, and of *Believing AT God the Father*, and *AT Jesus Christ his Son our Lord*, and *AT the Holy Ghost*. That by the Name of *JESUS*, is not meant the Sound of the Syllables in the Word *JESUS*, but the Power, Majesty, Dominion and Authority of the Person of the Lord *Jesus*; and it is a Piece of Cabalistical Magic, to make an *Incantation* at the Sound of this Name, without paying the like Respect unto other Names of the Blessed God, or particularly the Name *Christ*, which is more distinguishing for our Lord, than that of *JESUS*; or, why not at the Sight as well as the Sound? That

the *Apostle* speaks of such a Name to be acknowledged with *Bowing*, as was given to our Lord after His *Resurrection*, and as the Effect and Reward of his *Lumination*, which the Name *JESUS* was not; it is the Name of *Christ Exalted*, or *Christ the Lord*; and by *Bowing the Knee*, is meant the Universal Subjection of all Creatures unto his Lordship, especially at the Day of Judgment. He argued against The *State-Holidays*, That being Feasts which the *Jeroboam* of Rome had devised of his own Heart, yea some of them, especially the *December-Festival*, an Imitation of an *Heathenish Original*, if the *Apostle* forbid the Observation of the *Jewish Festivals*, because they were a Shadow of Good Things to come, it could not but be amiss in us, to observe the *Papish Ones*, which were *Ethnic* also; That it was a deep Reflection upon the Wisdom of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, our *Lawgiver*, the Lord of Time, and of the Sabbath, to add unto His Appointments, and it is an Infringement of our *Christian Liberty*; That an Occasional Designation of Time for *Lectures*, for *Prayings*, for *Thanksgivings*, which are Duties required by God, is vastly different from the Setting of Times for Holy, so that the Duties are then to be done for the sake of the Times. He added, the With of *Luther*, then seven score years ago, in his Book, *De Bonis Operibus*; That there were no other *Festivals* among *Christians*, but only the *Lord's Day*: And the Speech of K. James, to a National Assembly in Scotland, wherein, He praised God, that he was King in the Sincerest Church in the World; *sincerer than the Church of England*, for their Service was an *Ill-faird Mass* in English; *sincerer than Geneva* it self, for they observed *Pasche* and *Yool*, that is *Easter* and *Christmas*; and (said the King) *What Warrant have they for that?* Against Holiness of Places, he argued, That they were the standing Symbols of God's Presence, which made *Placed Holy Places* under the Law, and those Places were Holy because of their Typical Relation to the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and there was a further Institution of God, which did make them to be Parts of His Worship, and Ways and Means of Men's Communion with Himself, and to Sanctifie the Persons and Actions approaching to them; which cannot be said of any Places under the *New-Testament*; That under the *New-Testament*, God has declared Himself to be, both no Respector of Persons, and no Respector of Places; and our Meeting-Places are no more sacred, than the *Antient Synagogues*: That some Excellent Men of the *Episcopal Way* it self, have been above the Conceit of any Difference in Places; Dr. *Ott*, more particularly, who says, *In Times of Perfection*, the Godly did often meet in *Barres*, and such Obscure Places, which indeed were publick, because of the Church of God there; the House or Place availing nothing to make it Public or Private; even, as where-ever the Prince is, there is the Court, although it were in a poor Cottage: He added, That yet the Churches (as they were Metonymically, and almost Catechetically called) in the English Nation, were not for the sake of Old Abuses to be demolished, as were the Temples of the *Canaanites*, inasmuch



as they were built for the *Worship of God*; and those Places are no longer polluted, when they are no longer so *Abused*. He argued against *Organs and Cathedral Music*. That there was a *Warrant of Heaven for Instrumental Music* in the Service of God under the Law, when also this was not a Part of their *Synagogue-Worship*, which was *Moral*, but of their Ceremonial Temple-Worship, whereas there is no such *Warrant* under the Gospel: That the *Instrumental Music* under the Law, was intended for a *Shadow of good Things to come*, which being now come, it was abolished; That even *Aquinas* himself, as late as four Hundred Years ago, pleaded against this *Instrumental Music*, as being used among the *Jews*, *Quia Populus erat magis Durus & Carnalis*; the Church of Rome it self, it seems, had not then generally introduced it, as he says, *Nō videatur iudicare*. Finally, against the *Book of Common-Prayer*, he argued, That it is a *Setting of Mens Poets* by God's, to introduce into the Public Worship of God, as a *standing Part* thereof, and impose by Force, another Book besides the Books of God; nor is there any *Precept or Promise* in the Book of God, for the Encouragement of it, nor any *Example* that any Ordinary Church-Officers, imposed any *fixed Liturgies* upon the Church: That *K. Edward VI.* in his Declaration acknowledged, *It seemeth unto you a New-Service*, but is indeed no other, but the *Old, the self-same Words in English*, that were in *Latin*, saving a few things taken out, which were so fond, that it had bin a shame to have heard them in *English*: Yea, some of the *Bishops* themselves have reported, that *Pope Paul IV.* did offer *Q. Elizabeth* to ratify it by his Authority, *Ut Sacra b'e omnia, hoc ipso, quo nunc sunt apud nos modo, procerius fas esset*; Now inasmuch as the Church of Rome is the *Mother of Harlots*, let any *Protestant* judge, whether it be fit for us, to fetch the Form of our Worship from thence, and indeed a great part of the Form from that *Old Conjuror* *Nema Pomplinus*: That for Ministers, instead of using their own *Ministerial Gifts*, to discharge the Work of their Ministry, by the *Prescriptions of others*, is as bad as carrying the *Ark* upon a Cart, which was to have bin carried upon the *Shoulders of the Levites*; and it is a Sin against the Spirit of Prayer, for Ministers in these Days to be diverted from the *Primitive Way of Praying*, which was according to *Tertullian's* Account, *Sine Monitorio, quia de Peliore*, in Opposition to the *Prescript Forms of Prayer* amongst the *Pagans*. He also touched upon the *Corruptions* in the very *Matter of the Common-Prayer*; the grievous Preference therein given unto the *Apocryphal* above the *Cannical Writings*; the Complementing of the Almighty *To give us those things, which for our Unworthiness we dare not presume to ask*; the *Novelty* of calling the *Leisours* out of the *Prophets, Esay*; and many more such Passages, which he but briefly touched, though, he said, *It would fill a Volume to reckon them*. He concluded these Discourses with an Admonition to the *Bishops* and *Episcopal Party*, that they would not now *Revive*, or, at least, not *Impose*, the *Superstitions* of the former Times: But among *Adary things* which be

*speak in his Exhortation*, I shall only transcribe these Words, 'When you have stopt our Mouths from Preaching, yet we shall Pray; and not only We, but all the Souls that have bin converted, or Comforted and Edified by our Ministry, They will all cry to the Lord against you for Want of Bread, because you deprive them of those that should Break the Bread of Life unto them. Now I had rather be environed with Armies of Armed Men, and compassed round about with Drawn Swords, and Instruments of Death, than that the least Praying Saint should bend the Edge of his Prayers against me, for there is no standing before the Prayers of the Saints. Yea, I testify unto you, that as the Saints will pray, so the Lord Himself will Fight against you, and will take you into His own Revenging Hand: I speak it Conditionally, in Case you Persecute, and I wish all the Bishops in Ireland heard me! For in the Name, and in the Love of Christ, I speak it to you, and I beseech you so to take it. I say, if once you fall to the Old Trade of Persecution, the Lord Jesus will never bear it at your Hands, but He will bring upon you a Swift Destruction. And your Second Fall will be worse than the First; for, *Dagon*, the first Time, did only Fall before the Ark of God; but when the Men of Ashdod had set him up in his Place again the Second Time, than he Brake himself to pieces by his Second Fall, inasmuch that there was Nothing but the Stump of *Dagon* left. Persecution is a very Ripening Sin; and therefore if once you superadd the Sin of Persecution, to the Sin of Superstition, you will be quickly ripe for final Ruine; and in the Day, when God shall visit you, the Guilt of all the *Righteous Blood*, that hath bin shed upon the Face of the Earth, from the Blood of *Abel*, to the Blood of *Udal*, and unto this Day, will come down the Hill upon your Heads, even upon the Persecutors of this Generation. The Lord Jesus, when the Day of Vengeance is in his Heart, and when the Year of His Redeemed is come, which is not far off, He will then Require all that Blood, and Revenge it all upon your Heads, if you justify the Ways of former Persecutors, by Walking in the same Steps of Blood and Violence.

Mr. Mather having thus faithfully born his Testimony, his Persecutors yet let him live quietly for more than Five Months after it; but Then they thought it their Time to call these Two Sermons (though there were not one Word therein, directly, or indirectly against the King, or His Government) *Seditious Preaching*; and thereupon they slewed him, though with so much Noise, that both *English* and *French Gazets* took Notice of it: But all the Notice, which he took of that Charge himself, was to say, 'If it be Seditious to disturb the *Deen's Kingdom*, who rules by his Antichristian Ceremonies, in the Kingdom of Darkness, as the Lord Jesus Christ doth by His own Ordinances, in His Church, which is the Kingdom of Heaven, I may say, I did it before the Lord, who hath chosen me to be a Minister, and if this to be vile, I will yet be;



more File than thus. Indeed there belong'd unto him the Character once given of *Erasmus Sarcerius*; *Lucebat in hoc Virò commemorabilis Gravitas & Constantia; non Minas, non Ecclia, non ullam nullius Hominis Potentiam aut vim pertimescebat: pene dixeram, solum facilius de Cursu dimoveri potuisset, quam Matherum, à Veritatis Professione.*

§. 11. Mr. Mather being so silenced by those Dwellers on the Earth, who had bin thus tormented by him, he did with the Consent of his Church, in the latter End of the Year 1660. go over to England; where he continued a Publick Preacher in great Reputation, at Barton-Wood in Lancashire, until the General Death upon the Ministry of the Non-Conformists, at the Black Bartholomew-Day, August 24. 1662. The Añ of which Day doubtless made the Presbyterians think on the Bartholomew-Day, which had been in another Kingdom Ninety Years before; after which, the Deputies of the Reformed Religion, treated with the French King, and the Queen Mother, and some others of the Council, for a Peace, and Articles were on both sides agreed; but there was a Question upon the Security for the Performance of those Articles; whereupon the Queen said, *Is not the Word of a King a sufficient Security?* but one of the Deputies answered, No, by St. Bartholomew, Madam, *It is not!* Mr. Mather being one of the Twenty Hundred Ministers, expelled from all Public Places, by that Añ, which was completed by the Active Concurrence (as that Excellent and Renowned Person, Dr. Bates, has truly observed) of the Old Clergy from Wrath and Revenge, and the Young Gentry from their Servile Compliance with the Court, and their Dislike of Serious Religion; His Church in Dublin sent unto him, to Return unto his Charge of them; having, by this time, Opportunity to use that Argument with him, for his Return, *The Men are dead that fought thy Life.* Accordingly, he spent all the Rest of his Days with his Church in Dublin; but he preached only in his Own Hired House, which being a very large One, was well fitted for that purpose. And there was This Remarkable concerning it; That although no Man living used a more Open and Generous Freedom, in Declaring against the Corruptions of Worship, reintroduced into the Nation, yet such was the true Loyalty of his whole Carriage towards the Government, that he lived without much further Molestation; yea, the God of Heaven recompensed the Integrity of this his Faithful Servant, wherein he exposed himself above most other Men for the Truth by granting him a Protection above most other Men, from the Adversaries of it. For which Cause he did in the Year 1668. thus write unto his Aged Father in New-England. *I have enjoyed a Wonderful Protecting Providence in the Work of my Ministry. I pray Remember me daily in your Prayers, that I may Walk worthy of this Goodness of God, and be made useful by him, for the Good of the Souls of his People. If any had told me in April 1660. that I should have exercised the Liberty of my Ministry, and Confidence, either in England or Ireland, and that without conforming to the Corruptions of*

the Times; and this for seven or eight Years together; I should not have believed it, I should have thought it next to an Impossibility; but With God all Things are possible.

§. 12. Although Mr. Mather was thus full of Zeal against Corruptions in the Worship of God, and in that just Zeal, he also wrote a Treatise containing Reasons against Stinted Living, and the English One in particular, and Answers to the Lamentable Concessions, which a Reverend Person (whose Name, for Honours sake he yet spared) had made, in his Disputations, for them; nevertheless, like the Apostle John, whom he had, long before, imitated, when he was a Young Disciple, upon other Accounts, he was full of Love towards the Persons of Good Men, that were too much led away with those Corruptions. Hence he carried it with all possible Respect unto God, and Worthy Men of that Way, which he so much disliked; the Episcopal: However, while they excluded the Scripture from being the Rule of Church-Administrations, and made Unscriptural Rites, with promiscuous Admissions to the Lord's Table, and the Denial of Church-Power unto the proper Pastors of the Churches, to be the Terms of Communion, he thought it impossible for Non-Conformists to coalesce, in the same Ecclesiastical Communion with them. Albeit he had the Union of Charity and Affection, with all Pious Conformists, of whom his Words were, *There is Christian Love and Esteem due to such, as personally considered, and we should be willing and ready to receive them in the Lord; yet for the Union of an Ecclesiastical Combination, with Men that were of such Principles, and by such Principles, became the Authors of a Schism, he said, Unto their Assembly, my Glory, be not thou United; and he added, The best Way for Union with them, is to labour to reduce them from the Error of their Way.* Nevertheless, Mr. Mather beholding, that they who appeared studious of Reformation in the Nations, were unhappily subdivided into Three Forms, or Parties, commonly known by the Name of Presbyterians, Independents, and Antipædo-Baptists, he set himself to endeavour an Union among all the Good Men, of these three Periwals. To this purpose, he did Compose a most Judicious Itinerary (afterwards Printed) wherein he stated the Agreement of these Parties: He found, That they were agreed in all the Fundamental Points of the Christian Faith, and Rules of a Christian Life: That they were agreed in the Main Añs of Natural Worship, namely Prayer, and Preaching, and Hearing of the Word; and in the Special Time for Publick Worship, namely, The Lord's Days: That as to Matters of Institution, they were agreed in Declaring for the Scriptures, as the Direction of all; they were agreed, that the Lord hath appointed a Ministry in the Church, who are bound by Office to publish the Gospel, and in His Name therewith to dispense Sacraments, and the Disciplines of the Gospel, and that all Ignorant and Ungodly Persons, are to be debarred from the Holy Mysteries; and finally, that the Humane Inventions used and urged in the Service of the Church of England, are unlawful. He proceeded then to Consider the Articles of

Difference



Difference, which were betwixt them; and he found those Articles to be mostly so merely *Circumstantial*, that if the several *Sides* would but patiently understand one another, or Act according to the *Concessions* and *Confessions* which are made in their most *Allowed Writings*, they might easily *Walk together*, wherein they were of *One Mind*, and wherein they were not so, they might willingly bear with One another, *Until God reveal unto them*. Only such as *Onchurch* all others besides themselves, he found by the Severity of their own *Disuniting Principle*, rendered incapable of Coming into this *Union*: But unto all the Societies of these Christians, that made *Union* and *Communion* with the Lord Jesus Christ, the Foundation of *Church-Communion*, he did, with a most *Evangelical Spirit*, offer, First, That they should mutually give the *Right Hand of Fellowship*, unto each other, as true Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ. Secondly, That they should kindly *Advise* and *Assist* each other in their Affairs, as there should be Occasion for it: Thirdly, That they should admit the *Members* of each other's Congregations, unto *Occasional Communion*, at the Table of the Lord. In this *Uniting Scheme* of his, as there was a due *Tenderness* towards *Various Apprehensions*, without *Scepticism* in Religion, so there was a *Blessed Effort* to remove the *Greatest Stumbling-Blocks* of Christianity. Indeed such a *Generous Largeness* of Soul there was in our *Mother*, that he could with the *Excellent-spirited*, Mr. Burroughs, have written it as the *Motto*, upon his Study-Door, *Opinionum Varietas, et Opinitantum Unitas, non sunt Asynalla*.

§. 13. While Mr. Mather was fulfilling his Ministry in *Dublin*, as One, who might justly have claimed the Name of the *Spanish Bishop*, *Fructuosus*, there were many *Sallies* to the *Doing of Good*, which he added unto the *Weekly* and *Constant Services* of his Ministry; whereof One was this. A certain *Roman Catholick* having published a short, but subtil Discourse, Entitled, *Of the One, Only, Catholick and Roman Faith*, whereby the Faith of some *Uncatechized Protestants* was not a little endangered. Mr. Mather was desired by Persons of Quality, to give the World an Answer to this Discourse. And in Answer to their Desire, he Composed and Emited, a most Elaborate, Pertinent, Judicious, though Brief Treatise, Entitled, *A Defence of the Protestant, Christian Religion against Popery*, wherein the manifold *Apostasies, Heresies, and Schisms* of the Church of Rome, as also the *Weakness* of their Pretensions from the *Scriptures* and the *Fathers*, are briefly laid open. But there was another Thing, which gave the Studies of this Learned and Holy Man, a Considerable Exercise. There was one Mr. *Valentine Greatcraze*, who felt a vehement Impression, or Suggestion upon his Mind, of this Import; [ *I have given thee the Gift of Curing the Evil!* ] In Compliance with which Impulse, he stroked a Neighbour grievously afflicted with the *Kings-Evil*, and a Cure succeeded. For about a Twelve-month he pretended unto the Cure of no other Dilemper; but then, the *Age* being rise in the Neighbour-

hood, the same sort of Impulse told him [ *I have given thee the Gift of Curing the Age!* ] After which, when he laid his Hand, on People in their Fits, the *Age* would leave them. About half a Year after this, the Impulse became yet more General, and laid [ *I have given thee the Gift of Healing* ] and then our *Stroker* attempted the Relief of all Diseases indifferently: But frequently with such violent *Rubbing*, as from any One, would have had a Tendency to disperse *Pains* arising from *Flatulencies*. All this while, he doubted, whether there were any thing more in the Cause of the Cure, that followed this *Erstion*, than the strong *Fancy* of the feeble People that addressed him; Wherefore to convince his Incredulity, as he lay in his Bed, he had one *Hand Truck* dead, and the usual Impulse then bid him to make a Trial of his Virtue upon himself; which he did with his other Hand, and immediately it returned unto its former *Liveliness*: This happened for two or three Mornings together. But after this, there were Thousands of Persons, who flock from all Parts of *Ireland*, unto this Gentleman, for the Cure of their various Maladies, among whom there were some *Noble*, some *Learned*, and some very *Pious* Persons, and even *Ministers* of the Gospel; and although it was observed, That a Cure seldom succeeded without *Reiterating Touches*; That the Patients often *relapsed*; That sometimes he utterly fail'd of doing any thing at all, especially, when there was a Decay of *Nature*; and that there were many *Dilempers*, that were not at all Obedient unto the Hand of this Famous *Practitioner*: Nevertheless his Touches had Thousands of Wonderful Effects. There were some *Philosophical Heads*, who refer'd all this Virtue in the Hand of our New sort of Chyrurgion, unto a particular Complexion in him, or a sort of *Sanative* or *Balsamic Ferment*, which was in the *Spirits* of the Man; and who conceived the Impulse upon him to be, but a *Result* of his Temper, and like *Dreams*, that are usually according to our Constitution; or perhaps, there might be something of a *Genius* they thought, also in the Case. But Mr. Mather apprehended the Hand of *Joab* in all this; and a Plot of *Satan*, that *Murthering*, *Genius Humani Hostis*, lying at the Bottom of all. Mr. Greatcraze had confessed unto him, that before these things, he had bin a Student in *Cornelius Agrippa*, and had essay'd the Cure of Dilempers, by his *Aura kat Abra*: And Mr. Mather now feared, that the Devil, with whom he had bin so far familiar, did not only now *Impose* upon the Man himself, but also *Design* upon multitudes of other People. Wherefore to rectifie the Thoughts of People, about the Danger of *Unaccountable Impulses*, which had precipitated Greatcraze into his present Way of Cures; and about the Nature and Intent of *Real Miracles*, whereof 'twas evident there were none in the Cures by Greatcraze pretended unto; and moreover, to prevent the *Superstitious Neglect of God*, and of *Means*, which People were apt, on this Occasion, *Profanely*, to run into; and finally, to prevent the Hazards, which might arise unto our Sacred Religion by our Popular *Apottheizing* of a Blade, who made *Scepticism* in Religion, one part of his



his Character; Mr. Mather drew up a Discourse relating thereunto. This Discourse, being shown to some of the King's Privy-Council in Ireland, was approved and applauded, as most worthy to be printed; but the Primate's Chaplain, at last, obstructed it, because forthwith; the Geneva Notes, and Dr. Ames, were quoted in it, and it was not convenient, that there should be any Book printed, wherein any Quotations were made from such Dangerous Fanatics. However, God blessed this Manuscript, for the selling of many Unhappy Minds, and the stopping of Mischief that were threatened.

§. 14. It is reported, in the Life of Mr. Robt. mel, that being advised by a Clergy-man more Great than Wise, to forbear meddling with the Types, as Themes not convenient for him to study upon, he made that very Prohibition, but as an Irritation, to expect something of an extraordinary Concernment in them; and accordingly falling upon the Study of the Types, he found no part of his Ministry more advantageously employed for himself or others. Our Mr. Mather on the other Hand, was earnestly desired by the Non-Conformist Ministers, in the City of Dublin, to preach upon the Types of Evangelical Ministries, in the Dispensations of the Old Testament; in Compliance with which, he had not proceeded very far, before he saw Cause to Write unto One of his Brothers, *The Types and Shadows of the Old Testament, if but a little understood, how full are they of Gospel-Light and Glory! Having gone through diverse of them, I must acknowledge, with Thankfulness to the Praise of the Freeness of the Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I have seen more of Him, than I saw before.* With much Labour and Judgment, at length, he finished his Undertaking, and in a Course of Sermons, from March 1666. to Feb. 1668. on first the Personal Types, and then the Real Ones, whether first, the more Occasional Types, and, then, the more Perpetual Ones. And his Church after his Death, calling another of his Worthy Brothers, namely, Mr. Nathanael Mather, to succeed him, that Brother of his, in Imitation of what Ludovicus Capellus, did for His Brother, and what Mr. Dyke, Mr. Calverwel, and others have done for theirs, in Publishing the profitable Works of the Deceased, Published this Course of Sermons unto the World; with some Judicious Discourses, against Modern Superstitions, intermixed. Here, the Waxen Combs of the Ancient and Typical Cells, being melted down is (as One expresses it) Rolled up into shining Tapers, to illuminate the Students of those Mysteries. In finding out the Honey, that conceals in the Carcase of the slain Lion of the Tribe of Judah. All the Talents which Cato spent in Erecting a Tomb of Thracian Marble for his Dead Brother Cæpio, turned not unto so much Account, as the Care used by Mr. Nathanael Mather, thus to bring into the Light the Meditations of his Excellent Brother Samuel upon a Subject wherein but few had ever waded before him. And if there be a Truth in that Opinion of some Divines, *That the Glory and Gladness of the Saints in Heaven, receives Additions, as the Good*

*Effects of what they formerly did, on Earth are there increasing; his Action herein, was yet more Worthy, the Relation of a Brother.* But Mr. Mather did not so converse with one more Obscure Part of the Sacred Scripture, as to leave Another Uncultivated with his Industrious, and Inquisitive Studies thereupon: The Difficulties in the Prophetical Part of the New-Testament, as well as in the Figurative Part of the Old, were happily assailed by his Learned Contemplations. When he had made a considerable Progress herein, he wrote unto his Youngest Brother, who was then a Minister in New-England, and since President of the Colledge there; *I must needs tell you, how much I do rejoyce, that it hath pleased God to stir up your Spirit, to search into the Prophetical Parts of the Scripture; of which I have often thought and still do, That it is great pity, they are so little minded and seen into, by many, both Ministers and others, who do deprive themselves of much Satisfaction, which they might receive thereby. It is not good, to despise any part of the Mind and Counsel of God, revealed in his Word; there are Unknown Treasures and Pleasures there stored up, more precious than Gold and Silver; and shall we not, in the Strength of His Spirit search for them? And as the Brother to whom he thus wrote, gave in sundry Treatises, and in diverse Languages, unto the Church of God, several Happy Fruits of his Enquiries into the Inspired Prophecies, which Blessed are they that read and bear; so our Mr. Mather himself arrived unto such Attainments herein, that he had no Cause to make the Confession (tho' such was his Modesty, that he was ready enough to do it) of some Eminent Persons, *Nihilum sum in Prophecis.* When 'tis said, *Blessed are they that keep the things written in this Prophecy,* a Mathematician will tell us, that what we render Keep, is rather to be rendered Observe, or Watch, or Mind; for *legis*, is used by the Greeks, as a Term of Art, expressing the Astronomical Observation of Eclipses, Planetary Aspects, and other Celestial Phenomena. Mr. Mather accordingly counted it his Blessedness, to take an Observation of what Fulfillment the Divine Books of Prophecy already had received, and thence make a Computation of the Times, that were yet before us, and of the Things to be done in those Times. But of all his Apocalyptical Explications, or Expectations, I shall here take the Liberty to insert no more, than this One, which may deserve perhaps a little thinking on. *That whenever God sets up in any of the ten Kingdoms, which made the ten Horns of the Papal Empire, such an Establishment, Sovereign and Independent, wherein Antichrist shall have neither an Ecclesie, nor a Kingdom, neither Power of Laws, nor Force of Arms, to defend him and his Corruptions; Doubtless, then, the Witnesses of our Lord, are no more trodden down, to prophesy in Sackcloth, any longer. Then therefore expires the 1260 Years, and since that such a Kingdom well may be called The Lord's, then will the seventh Trumpet begin to sound. Which, that it is Near, even, at the Door, I may say, through Grace I doubt not.**

§. 15. While Mr. Mather was thus employed, it pleas'd the God of Heaven, to Take away from him



him the Desire of his Eyes. He had in the Year 1656. married a most Accomplished Gentlewoman, the Sister of Sir John Stevens, by whom he had Four or Five Children, whereof there lived but One, which was a Daughter. But in the Year 1668. this Gentlewoman fell into a Sickness, that lasted Five or Six Weeks; at which Time she continued full of Divine Peace and Joy, and uttered many extraordinary Expressions of Grace, wherewith her pious Friends were extremely satisfied. When she drew near her End, her Husband, seeing her in much Pain, said, *You are going where there will be no more Pain, Sighing or Sorrow: Where to she answered, Ay, my Dear, and where there will be no more Sin!* And her Sister saying to her, *You are going to Heaven*, she answered, *I am there already!* So she went away, having those for her last Words, *Come, Lord, Come, Lord Jesus!* Not very long after this did Mr. Mather fall ill himself, of an Impostume in his Liver: But as in the Time of his Health and Strength, he had maintained an *Even Walk with God*, without such Raptures of Soul, as many Christians have bin carried forth unto, so now in the Time of his Illness, he enjoyed a certain Tranquility of Soul, without any Approaches toward Rapturous Extasy. He never was a *Man of Words*, but of a Silent, and a *Thinking Temper*, a little tinged with Melancholly; and now he lay sick, he did not speak much to those that were about him; yet, what he did speak, was full of Weight and Worth, nor will his Friends ever forget, with what Solemnity, he then told them; *That he had preached unto them the Truths of the Great God, and that he now charged them to adhere unto those Truths, in the firm and full Faith whercof, he was now entering into Glory: and that he did particularly exhort them to wash every Day, in the precious Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by Faith apply His perfect and spotless Righteousness unto their own Souls.* It has indeed bin commonly observed, that Children, Who honour their Father and their Mother, according to the First Commandment, in the Second Table of the Law, which has a peculiar Promise annexed unto

it, have the Recompence of a *Long Life upon Earth*. And I take Notice, that in the Commandment, what we Translate, *That thy Days may be long*, is to be Read, *That they may prolong thy Days*; that is, *Thy Father and thy Mother, They shall prolong thy Days*, by Blessing of thee, in the Name of God, if thou carry it well unto them. But when the Sovereign Providence of Heaven makes Exceptions unto this General Rule, we may believe, that what is not fulfilled in the Letter, is fulfilled in the Better; and some, that *Live long in a little time*, also have their *Days prolonged* in the Enjoyment of Life with the Lord Jesus Christ, our Life, throughout Eternal Ages. Thus our Mr. Mather had bin as Dutiful a *Josaph*, as perhaps ever any Parents had; and by his Yearly and Costly Presents to his Aged Father, after he came to be a *Master* of Possessions in Ireland, he continued the Expressions of his Dutifulness unto the last; nevertheless he now dyed, *Octob. 29. 1671.* When he wanted about six Months of being Six and Forty Years Old: And yet as they, who have gone to prove *Adam*, a longer-lived Person than *Metuselah*, use to urge, that *Adam*, was to be supposed Fifty or Sixty Years old, being in the Perfect *Stature of Man*, at his First Creation, so, if it be considered how much of a Man, our *Mather* was, while he was yet a Child, and if it be further considered how much *Work* he did for the Lord Jesus Christ, after he came to the Perfect *Stature of Man*, he must be reckoned, *An Old Man full of Grace, though not full of Days*; and that *Epitaph*, which was once the Great *JEWELL'S*, may be Written on his Grave, in the Church of St. Nicholas, in the City of Dublin, where his Ashes lye covered,

*Dū vixit, licet non dū fuit.*

But now,

*Gone where the Wicked cease from  
Troubling, and where the Weary are  
at Rest.*

## CHAP. III.

THE

L I F E

OF

Mr. Samuel Danforth.

S. 1. **M**OR Christian and Candid, is the Speech of a Certain Author, who yet writes himself, *A Beneficed Minister, and Regular Son of the Church of England*, when he lays, *I never thought them good*

*Painters, who draw the Pictures of the Dissenting Brethren with Dirt and Soot; but I, knowing them to be unlike those Pictures, have with just Offence bevelled their Injuries, and would have been pleased to have seen them described by some Impartial and Ingenious*

*Master,*



*Master, as fit to adorn the Palaces of Princes. Reader, I am going to draw the Picture of another Minister, who was a Nonconformist unto Emendables, in the Church of England; wherein tho' I am not Ingenious, yet I will be Impartial, and therefore instead of the Dirt and Soot, which the Persecuting Bigots for a few Ceremonies, would employ upon the Memory of such Men, I will with an Honest and Modest Report of his Character cause him to be remembered next unto the First Fellow of that Colledge, whereof He was the Next.*

§. 2. This was Mr. Samuel Danforth, Son to Mr. N. Danforth; a Gentleman of such Estate and Reputation in the World, that it cost him a Considerable Sum to escape the Knighthood, which K. Charles I. imposed on all of so much *Per Annum*; and of such Figure and Esteem in the Church, that he procured that Famous Lecture at Framlingham in Suffolk, where he had a fine Mannour; which Lecture was kept by Mr. Burroughs, and many other Noted Ministers in their Turns; to whom, and especially to Mr. Shepard, he prov'd a *Gaius*, and then especially when the *Laudan* Fury scorched them. This Person had Three Sons, whereof the Second was our Samuel, born in September in the Year 1626, and by the Desire of his Mother, who died Three Years after his Birth, earnestly Dedicated unto the Schools of the Prophets. His Father brought him to New-England in the Year 1634, and at his Death, about four Years after his Arrival here, he committed this Hopeful Son of many Cares and Prayers, unto the Paternal Oversight of Mr. Shepard, who prov'd a kind Patron unto him. His Early Piety, answered the pious Education bestowed upon him; and there was One Instance of it somewhat singularly circumstanced: When he was reciting to his Tutor, out of the *Heavenly Poets*, he still made some Ingenious Addition and Correction, upon those Passages, which ascribed those Things unto the *False Gods of the Gentiles*, that could not without *Blasphemy* be ascribed unto any, but the *Holy One of Israel*: His Tutor gave him a sharp Reprehension for this, as for a meer Impertinency; but this Conscientious Child reply'd, *Sir, I can't in Conscience recite the Blasphemies of these Wretches, without Washing my Mouth upon it!* Nevertheless, a fresh Occasion occurring, his Tutor gave him another sharp Reprehension, for his doing once again as he had formerly done; but the Tutor to the Amazement of them all, was terribly and suddenly seized with a Violent *Convulsion-Fit*; out of which when he at last recovered, he acknowledg'd it as an Hand of God upon him, for his Harbours to his Pupil, whose *Conscientiousness* he now applauded.

§. 3. His Learning with his Virtue, e're long brought Him into the Station of a Tutor; being made the Second Fellow of Harvard-Colledge, that appears in the Catalogue of our Graduates. The Diary, which even in those Early Times, he began to keep of Passages belonging to his In-

terior State, gave great Proof of his Proficiency in Godliness, under the Various Ordinances and Providences of the Lord Jesus Christ; the Watchfulness, Tenderness and Conscientiousness of Aged Christianity accompanied him, while he was yet but Young in Years. His Manner was to Rise before the Sun, for the Exercises which Isaac attended in the Evening; and in the Evening likewise he withdrew, not only from the Conversation then usually maintained, which he thought hurtful to his Mind by its *Infectious Levity*, but from Supper it self also, for the like Exercises of Devotion. Although he was preferred free from every Thing Scandalous, or Immoral, yet he seem'd as Tertullian speaks, *Nulli Rei natus nisi Penitentia*; and the Sin of Unfruitfulness gave as much Perplexity to him, as more Scandalous and Immoral Practices do to other Men; for which Comprehensive Sin, keeping a Secret Fast, once before the Lord, the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ so powerfully and rapturously comforted him, with those Words, *He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much Fruit; without me ye can do nothing*: That the Remembrance thereof, was all his Days, afterwards Comfortable unto him.

§. 4. Mr. Welds returning for England, the Church at Roxbury invited Mr. Danforth, to become a Colleague to Mr. Eliot, whose Evangelical Employments abroad among the Indians, made a Colleague at Home to be necessary for him. The Pastoral Charge of that Church he undertook in the Year 1650. and no Temptations arising, either from the Incompetency of the Salary, allow'd him to support an Hospitable Family, or from the Provocation, which unworthy Men in the Neighbourhood sometimes tried him withal, could persuade him to accept of Motions, which were made unto him, to remove unto more Comfortable Settlements; but keeping his Eye upon the Great Man's Motto, *Prudens, qui patiens*, he continued in his Roxbury Station, for Three Years more than Twice seven together. All this time, as he studied Ofe, by Endeavours to Do good, not only in that particular Town, but with Influences more General and Extensive, so he did endeavour to signalize himself, by studying of Peace, with a Moderating and Interpoling Sort of Temper, in rising Differences; being of the Opinion, *That usually they have little Peace of Conscience, who do not make much Conscience of Peace*. And when he then came to Die, spending one whole Sleepless Night, in a Survey of his past Life, he said, *He could find no Remarkable Mischance (through the Grace of Christ) in all this time, to charge himself withal, but that with Hezekiah, he had served the Lord with a perfect Heart all his Days*.

§. 5. The Sermons with which he fed his Flock, were Elaborate and Substantial; He was a Notable Text-Man, and one who had more than Forty or Fifty Scriptures distinctly quoted in One Discourse; but he much recommended himself by keeping close to his Main Text, and



avoiding of all remote Excursions and Vagaries; and there was much Notice taken of it, that though he were a very judicious Preacher, yet he was therewithal so *Affectionate*, that he rarely, if ever ended a Sermon without Weeping. On the Lord's Days in the Forenoons, he expounded the Books of the Old-Testament; in the Afternoons, he discoursed on the Body of Divinity, and many Occasional Subjects, and some Chapters in the Epistle to the Romans, until the Year 1661; and then he began to handle the *Harmony of the Four Evangelists*, proceeding therein to those Words of our Lord Jesus Christ, in Luke 14. 14. *Thou shalt be recompensed at the Resurrection of the Just*. On which, having preached his *Last Sermon*, it proved indeed his *Last*; and from thence he had no more to do, but now *Waits all the Days* of his appointed time, until his Change come, at that *Resurrection*, when our Lord Jesus Christ shall Call, and he shall Answer that Call, and the Lord shall have a *Desire to the Work of His Hands*. He also preach'd a *Monthly Lecture*, and on many *Private* Occasions, at Meetings of Christians, in the Families of the Faithful. But instead of ever venturing upon any *Extemporaneous Performances*, it was his Manner to write his Sermons twice over; and it was in a fair long Hand that he wrote them. His *Utterance* was free, clear, and giving much in a little time; his *Memory* very retentive, and never known to fail him, though he allow'd it no Assiliences. And unto all the other Commendable Things observed in the Discharge of his Ministry; he added that of a most Pastoral Watchfulness over his Flock. Hence he not only visited the Sick, as a Messenger from Heaven to them, *One among a Thousand*, but when he met Persons recovered from Sickness, he would, at this Rate accost them, *Well, you have been in God's School, but what have you learnt? What Good have you got?* And notable were the Effects of these his Applications. Hence also he took much Care, that none should keep an *House of Publick Entertainment* in his Town, but such as would keep Good Orders and Manners in their House; and the Tavern being in View of his own Study-Window, when he saw any Town-Dwellers tripling there, he would go over and chide them away. Hence likewise he would animadvert upon Miscarriages that came in his Way, with all Watchful and Zealous Faithfulness, and One Instance of his doing so, had something peculiar in it. A *Day of Humiliation* was to be attended, and a Man of another Town, by unseasonable Driving a Cart through the Street, caused this good Man to come out and reprove him, for the Affront he thereby put upon the Devotions of the People in the Neighbourhood. The Man made him an Obdinate and Malapert Answer, but when he came home, he found One of his Children suddenly Dead; upon this he could have no Rest in his Mind, until he came to this *Reprouer in the Gate*, with Humble and many Tokens of Repentance.

S. 6. After his *Contrition*, according to the *Old Usage of New-England*, unto the *Virtuous*

Daughter of Mr. *Wison* (whereat Mr. Cotton preached the Sermon) he was married unto that Gentlewoman, in the Year 1651. Of Twelve Children by her, there are Four now at this Day, surviving; whereof Two are now Worthy Ministers of the Gospel. When his Wife was under Discouragements at any time, through Domestick Straits, he would reply, *Beit you discouraged; if you undergo more Difficulties than other Gentlemen, still we have the Lord's part, and at last you shall have an Ample Recompence, a Propbet's Recompence!* As his End approached he had strong Apprehensions of its Approach; and the very Night before he fell sick, he told his Wife, *He had been much concerned, how she with her Children would subsist, if he should be removed; but now he had got over it, and firmly believed in the Covenant of God for them, that they should be, by the Divine Providence, as well provided for, as they could be, if he were alive: Which has been since accomplished unto Admiration! Immediately after this, he fell sick of a putred Fever, occasioned by a Damp, Cold, Nocturnal Air, on a Journey; and in the Space of six Days, passed from Natural Health, to Eternal Peace, Nov. 19. 1674. Of his Dying Prayers for his Comfort, one of the most Lively was, that her Daughter (now the Wife of Edward Bromfield, Esq;) might be made a Rich Blessing and Comfort unto her; and this also hath not been without its Observable Accomplishment! But if we now Enquire after an *Epitaph*, to be Incribed on the Tomb, where his Ashes now lye, with those of our Governour Dudley, for whose Honourable Family he always had a Great Friendship, I know not, whether One might not be taken out of the Words of his Venerable Old Colleague Mr. Eliot, who would say, *My Brother Danforth made the most Glorious End, that ever I saw!* Or, from a Poem of Mr. Weld's upon him, which had a Clause to this purpose.*

*Mighty in Scripture, searching out the Sense,  
All the Hard Things of it, unfolding thence:  
He Liv'd Each Truth; His Faith, Love, Tenderness  
None can to th' Life, as did his Life express:  
Our Minds with Gospel, his Rich Lectures fed;  
Luke, and his Life, at once are finish'd:  
Our New Built Church now suffers too by this,  
Larger its Windows, but its Lights are less.*

S. 7. The least Pupils in *Astronomy*, cannot now without some Diversion, reflect upon the *Astronomy of the Ancients*, when we read them declaiming against the *Spherical Figure of the Heavens*: The many Passages to this purpose in *Justin Martyr*, and *Ambrose*, and *Theodoret*, and *Theophylact*, and the Great *Anstsin* himself, I will not recite, least, Reader, we should, before we are aware, play too much with the *Beards of the Fathers*: Nor would we lay aside our Value for Good Old *Chrysostom's* Theology, because we we find him in a Confident and a Triumphant Manner upbraiding the World with such an Opinion as, *the Firm is conquered by the liquid and immovable; Where are those Men that imagine, that the Heavens*  
E c c e h a v e



have a Spherical Form? Since the Scripture saith, God stretched forth the Heavens as a Curtain, and be spread them as a Tent to dwell in, which are not Spherical. We will not call them Fools for these Harangues; but leave it unto One of themselves, even Jerom, to pass his Censure upon them, *Est in Ecclesiâ stultiloquium, si quis Cælum patet formicis modo curvatum, Elata, quem non intelligit, Sermonem deceptus.* 'Tis Foolish Speaking in the Church, if any through Misapprehensions of the Words of Isaiah, shall affirm, That the Heavens are not round. The Divines of the Latter Ages, are (though to our Surprize, the Voluminous Tostatus was not!) better Astronomers, than those of the former; and among the Divines that have been Astronomers, our Mr. Samuel Danforth, comes in with a Claim of some Consideration. Several of his Astronomical Compositions have seen the Light of the Sun; but one especially on this Occasion. Among the Four Hundred and Odd Comets, the Histories whereof have preserved in the Records of Learned Men, a special Notice was taken of that, which Alarum'd the Whole World in the Year 1664. Now although our Danforth had not the Advantages of Hevelius, to discover how many Odd Clots, compact and lucid, there were in the Head of that Blazing-Star, with One thicker than the rest, until it was grown to Twenty four Minutes Diameter, nor to determine that it was, at least, six Times as big as the Earth, and that its Parallax rendered it at length, as Remote from the Earth, as Mars himself; nevertheless, he diligently observed the Motions of it, from its first Appearance in Corvus, whence it made a Descent, crossing the Tropick of Capricorn, till it arrived unto the Main Top-sail of the Ship, and then it returned through Canis Major, and again crossed the Tropick of Capricorn, passing through Lepus, Eridanus; and the Equinoctial, and entered into the Mouth of the Whale, and so into Aries; where it retired not leaving any Philosopher able to fulfil the famous Prophecy of Seneca, in predicting the New Appearance of it. He therefore published a little Treatise, Entitled, *An Astronomical Description of the late Comet, with a Brief Theological Application thereof*; In which Treatise he not only proves, that a Comet can be no other than a Celestial Luminary moving in the Starry Heavens, whereof especially the Largeness of the Circle, in which it moves is a Mathematical and Irrefragable Demonstration, but also he improves the Opinion of a Comet's being portentous, endeavouring as it became a Devout Preacher, to awaken Mankind by this Portent, out of a sinful Security. Now, though for my own part, I am sometimes ready to say, with a Learned Man, *Tedet me Divinationis in Re tam incerta*; yet when I consider, how many Learned Men have made Laborious Collections of Remarkable and Calamitous Events, to render Comets ominous, I cannot reproach the Essays of Pious Men, to persuade us, That when the Hand of Heaven is thus writing MENE TEKELE, it is not amiss for us Mortals to make serious Reflections thereupon. But besides this, there are Two other Discourses of this Worthy Man printed among us. One is,

*The Cry of Sodom, enquired into, or, a Testimony against the Sins of Uncleanness,* which with much Wonder and Sorrow, he saw too many of the Rising Generation, in the Country carried away withal. Another is, *A Recognition of New-England's Errand into the Wilderness, or a Sermon preached unto the General Assembly of the Colony, at their Anniversary Election*; the Design of which was to remind them, of what he summarily thus expresses, *You have solemnly expressed before God, Angels and Men, that the Cause of your leaving your Country, Kindred and Father's House, and transporting your selves, with your Wives, Little Ones, and Substance over the Vast Ocean, into this Waste and Howling Wilderness, was your Liberty to walk in the Faith of the Gospel with all good Conscience, according to the Order of the Gospel, and your Enjoyment of the pure Worship of God, according to his Institution, without Humane Mixtures and Impositions.*

#### EPITAPHIUM.

*Non dubiam esse, quin et ierit, quod Stellæ eunt,  
DANFORTHUS, qui Stellis semper se associavit.*

In December 1659. the (until then unknown) Malady of Bladders in the Windpipe, invaded and removed many Children; by Opening of one of them the Malady and Remedy (too late for very many) were discovered. Among those many that thereby expired, were the Three Children of the Reverend Mr. S. D. the Eldest of whom (being upward of five Years and half, so Gracious and Intelligent were her Expressions and Behaviour both living and dying, and so Evident her Faith in Christ) was a Luculent Commentary on that Marvellous Prophecy, that the Child should dye an Hundred Years old. How the Sorrowful Father entertained this Solemn Providence may be partly gathered from what he expressed unto such as came to attend his Branches unto their Graves; of which may be said, as was said of Job, *In all this he sinned not* He saw meet to pen down the Minutes of what he spake, and they are faithfully taken out of his own Manuscript.

#### My Friends,

If any that see my Grief should say unto me as the Danites unto Micah, *What aileth thee?* I thank God, I cannot answer as he did, *They have taken away my Gods.* My Heart was indeed somewhat set upon my Children, especially the Eldest; but they were none of my Gods, none of my Portion; my Portion is whole and untouched unto this Day. To understand my self, and to communicate unto my Hearers, the Spiritual Meaning and Compass of the Law and Rule, and the Nature of Gospel Obedience hath been my Design and Work, upon which I have employ'd much Reading and Study, and what Faith, Hope, Love, Patience, &c. the Glorious Wisdom, Power and Mercy of God do oblige us to render. I have endeavour'd to set forth before you, what if God will now try whether

they



they were meet Notions and Speculations that I spake, or whether I believed as I spake, and whether there be any Divine Spark in my Heart? I remember him that said to *Abraham, Hereby I know that thou fearest me, in that thou hast not withheld from me thy Son, thine only Son.* It is the Pleasure of God, that (besides all that may be gain'd by Reading, and Studying, and Preaching) I should learn and teach Obedience by the Things that I suffer. The Holy Fire is not to be fetcht for you, out of such a Flint, as I am, without striking. Nor long before these Stroaks light upon us, it pleased God marvellously to quicken our Hearts (both Mine and my Wife's) and to stir up in us most Earnest Desires after Himself: And now he hath taken our Children, will he accept us unto freer and fuller Communion with Himself, Blessed be his Holy Name. I trust the Lord hath done, what he hath done in Wisdom, and Faithfulness, and Dear Love, and that in taking these pleasant Things from me, He exerciseth and expelleth as Tender Affection unto me, as I now express towards them in Mourning for the Loss of them. I desire with *Ephraim, to bemoan my self, &c.* Jer. 31. 18, 19. O that I might hear the Lord answering me, as he did *Jer. 20.* It is meet to be said to God, *We have born Chastisement, we will not offend; What we see not, teach thou us; and if we have done Iniquity, we will do so no more.* We know, and God much more knows enough in us, and by us to Justifie his repeated Stroaks, tho' we cannot tax our selves with any known Way of Disobedience. My Desire is, that none may be overmuch dismayed at what hath befallen us; and let no Man by any means be offended. Who may say to the Lord, *What dost Thou?* I can say from my Heart, tho' what is come upon us is very dreadful and amazing, yet I consent unto the Will of God that it is good. Doth not the Goldsmith cast His Metal into the Furnace? And you Husbandmen, do you not cause the Flail to pass over your Grain, not that you

hate your Wheat, but that you desire Pure Bread? Had our Children replied when we Corrected them, we could not have born it: But, poor Hearts, they did us Reverence; how much rather should we be subject to the Father of Spirits and live. You know, that Nine Years since, I was in a desolate Condition without Father, without Mother, without Wife, without Children: But what a Father, and Mother, and Wife have been bestow'd upon me, and are still continued tho' my Children are removed. And above all, although I cannot deny, but that it pierceth the Voice of my Dear Children, calling *Father, Father!* a Voice, now not heard: Yet I bless God, it doth far more abundantly refresh and rejoice me, to hear the Lord continually calling unto me, *My Son, my Son!* *My Son, despite not the Chastening of the Lord, nor faint thou when thou art corrected of Him.* And blessed be God, that doth not despise the Affliction of the Afflicted, nor hides his Face from Him. 'Twas the Consideration that God had sanctify'd and glorify'd Himself, by striking an Holy Awe and Dread of his Majesty unto the Hearts of his People, that made *Aaron* hold his Peace: And if the Lord will glorifie himself by my Family, by these Awful Stroaks upon me, quickning Parents unto their Duty, and awakening their Children to seek after the Lord, I shall desire to be content, tho' my Name be cut off: And I beseech you be earnest with the Lord for us, that he would keep us from sinning against him; and that he would teach us to sanctifie his Name, and tho' our Dear Branches have forsaken us, yet that He that hath promised to be with his Children in six Troubles and in seven, would not forsake us. My Heart truly would be consumed, and would even dye within me, but that the Good Will of Him that dwelt in the Burning Bush, and His good Word of Promise are my *Trust and Stay.*



# CHAP. IV. ECCLESIASTES.

The LIFE of the Reverend and Excellent Jonathan Mitchel; a Pastor of the Church, and a Glory of the Colledge, in Cambridge, New-England.

Written by COTTON MATHER.

— Simul et jucunda et Idonea  
dicere Vitz,  
Lectorem Delectando Simul atque monendo.

The Second Edition.

## The EPISTLE Dedicatory.

To the Church at Cambridge in New-England, and to the Students of the Colledge there.

Right Worshipful, Reverend, and Dearly Beloved,

**T**HERE have been few Churches in the World so Lifted up to Heaven, in respect of a Succession of Supereminent Ministers of the Gospel, as the Church in Cambridge has been. Hooker, Shepard, Mitchell, Oakes (all of them yours) were Great Lights. You know that if Light has been brought into a Room, when it is removed, the Place becomes Darker, than if never any such Light had been there. A Learned Pen in an Epistle Dedicatory to the Inhabitants of Boston in Lincolnshire, puts them in Mind what an Happy People they once were, while under the Teaching of Mr. Cotton, who was from them removed to plant Churches for Christ, in this American Desert: And prays them to consider, 'That as Empires and Kingdoms, so particular Churches have had their Periods. Bethel has provid' a Beth-haven: In after times we find young profane Mockers in Bethel, and scornful Neuters in Pennel. Go to Shiloh; think of the sometimes Glorious Churches in Asia, says he. And he adds, That he had on purpose visited some Places, where God had before planted his Church, and a Faithful Ministry, to see, if He could discern any Footsteps and Remembrances of such a Mercy, and Lo, they were were all overgrown with Thorns, and Nettles had over-covered the Face thereof, and the Stone-wall thereof is broken down. And as he further well observes, when the Lord has

Dr. Tuckey's  
Epistle prefixed  
to Mr. Cotton  
on Ecclesiastes.

been provoked to remove the Candlestick; He is very hardly induced to restore it again. The Ark never returned to the same Place, from whence it was in a Way of Judgment removed, and the Glory of the Lord, when after its Gradual Removes, was at last quite gone from the First Temple, was not restored in the Second, till Christ's First Coming, nor will it be in this their Rejection, till His Second. Mercy forbid that such Things as these should be verified in New-England, or in Cambridge! That this may not be your Case, it concerns you not wantonly to Play or Fight by the Light yet remaining, but to make the best Improvement of your present Advantages, giving all due Encouragement to that Worthy Person, who is now over you in the Lord.

Concerning your Famous Pastor, Mitchell, I confess, I had the Happiness of a special Intimacy with him, in his Life time, nor do I know any one Death (that of Natural Relations excepted) that ever has been so Grievous and Afflictive to my Spirit, as was his. By reason of his Eminent Parts and Piety, he had an happy Influence on all these Churches. Many of them fare the better at this Day, because the Preachers whom they are now instructed by, whilst Students at the Colledge, lived under his Ministry. The Colledge, Cambridge, New-England may Glory, that ever such an One had his Education there! As for the Description of his Life, by my SON Emittid herewith, I have nothing

to say, as more than enough of that every Time and Place has been told. (I say he) know the Force of the Description of that from Fellowship, verities,



thing to say concerning the *Writer*, or this Endeavour of his, because of my Relation to him; Only, that it is what he could Collect, whether by Informations from those that knew that Excellent Man, or from his private Manuscripts, which he had the Perusal of. It is not without the Providence of Christ, that it should be committed to the *Press*, at such a Time, when there are Agitations about some *Disciplinary Questions* amongst your selves. What the Judgment of that *Man of God* was, you have in the subsequent Relation of his Life presented to your View.

The Original Manuscript written by Mr. Mitchell's own Hand, I have by me. Whether he committed his Thoughts to Writing, with any Design of Publication, or for the Satisfaction of some Persons in a more private Way, I know not; but it is now Evident, that when his Spirit was inclined thereunto, Heaven designed his Meditations should be brought into *Publick View*. Whilst he was Living, you that were of his Flock, had (and considering his Great Worth and Wildom, it would have been a Reproach to you, if you had not had) an High Esteem of his Judgment. *Being Dead he yet speaketh to you*, out of his Grave. Those of you that retain a Living Remembrance of him, in your Hearts, will easily discern something of Mr. Mitchell's Spirit, in the way of his Arguing. He does therein (according to his wonted Manner) express himself with great Caution and Prudence, avoiding *Extreams*, in the Controverted Subject. It cannot be denied; but that there has been an Error in some Churches, who have made this or that *Made to be a Divine Institution*, which Christ has not made to be so: And that there has been an unjustifiable Severity, in Imposing *Circumstantial* not instituted, whereby some truly Gracious Souls have been discouraged from Offering themselves to join in Fellowship with such Churches. Thus it has been, when an Oral Declaration of Faith and Repentance has been enjoined on all Communicants, and that before the whole Congregation; when as many an Humble Pious Soul has not been Gifted with such Confidence. So likewise has it been, when the Exact Account of the Time and Manner of Conversion has been required: Whereas there have been multitudes of true Believers (such especially as have been advantaged with a Religious Education) that the Seed of Grace has sprung up in their Souls, they know not how to Mark  $\alpha$  27. Mr. Baxter relates, that he was once at a Meeting of many Christians as Eminent for Holiness, as most in the Land, of whom divers were Ministers of Great Fame; and it was desired, that every one should give an Account of the Time and Manner of his Conversion, and there was but One of them all, that could do it. And (says he) *I avert from my Heart, that I neither know the Day nor the Year, when I began to be sincere*. For Churches, then to expect an Account of that from all, that they receive into their Fellowship, is *Unscriptural and Unreasonable*. Nevertheless, it concerns them to Beware of the o-

ther *Extream of Laxness* in Admission unto the Lord's Holy Table. You know that your Pastor Mitchell had a Latitude in his Judgment as to the Subject of Baptism (as also Dr. Ames, Mr. Cotton, and others of the Congregational Perswasion had) but as to Admissions to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. I know no Man, that was more Conscientiously careful to keep *unequalified Persons* from partaking therein than was he. As for this or that *Made in Examining* or Persons, that offer themselves to be Communicants in our Churches, whether it shall be by a more continued Relation of the Work of Grace, in their Hearts, or by Questions and Answers (as was practised in the Church at Hartford in Mr. Hooker's Time, and which may possibly be as Edifying a Way, as the former) or whether the Persons desigining to partake in the Lord's Supper, shall Declare their Experiences Orally, or in Writing, are *Prudentials*, which our Lord has left unto Churches to Determine as they shall find most Expedient for their own Edification. Nevertheless the Substance of the Thing (*viz. Either a Relation, as 'tis called, or an Equivalent*) ought to be insisted on. Churches are bound in Duty to Enquire, not only into the Knowledge and Orthodoxy, but into the Spiritual Estate of those whom they receive into full Communion in all the Ordinances of Christ. Some have thought, that such Qualifications are not to be expected from Children born in the Church, as from Strangers; but they never had that Opinion out of the Scripture, which says expressly concerning them that would Eat the Passover, that, *There is One Law to him that is Home-born, and to the Stranger*. Exod. 12. 49. Num. 9. 14. Wherefore in the Platform of Discipline it is said, *The like Trial is to be Required* Capt. 12. of such Members of the Church as were S. 7. born in the same, or Received their Membership, and were baptized in their Infancy, or Minority, by virtue of the Covenant of their Parents, when being grown up to years of Discretion, they shall desire to be made Partakers of the Lord's Table, unto which, because Holy Things are not to be given to the Unworthy, therefore it is requisite, that those as well as others should come to their Trial and Examination, and manifest their Faith and Repentance by an open Profession thereof, before they are received to the Lord's Supper, and otherwise not to be admitted thereunto; These are the Words in the Platform of Discipline, agreed unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches in the Synod at Cambridge; In which Synod, were Mr. Cotton, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Norton, Learned and Aged Divines, besides many others of Great Eminency. It is not the Opinion of Men, but the Scripture which must decide the Controversie. Nevertheless, the Judgment of those Eminent Divines who had deeply searched into these Matters, is not to be slighted. Nor is the Private Sentiment of this or that Person, to be laid in the Balance, with the Judgment of a Synod, consisting of Persons, of far greater Authority than any younger Ones pretended to be of a Contrary Opinion. Nor is there Weight in that Allegation, that when a Man

Mr. Baxter of Infants Baptism, p. 129, 133.



Man declares his own Experiences, he Testifies concerning himself, and therefore his Testimony is of no Validity. By the same reason it may be said, Churches are not to Examine those, that essay to join themselves to them, about the soundness of their Faith. For they may (as Arius did) profess, that they Believe Articles of Faith, which God knows, they do not Believe, nor is there any thing but their own Testimony to prove that they do believe as they profess. But above all, their Notion is to be rejected, as a Church-corrupting Principle, who assert that the Sacrament is a Converting Ordinance. Papists, Erafians, and some others, whom I forbear to mention have so taught; but their Heterodoxy has been abundantly Refuted, not only by Congregational Writers, such as Mr. John Beverly against Timpon, but by Worthy Authors of the Presbyterian Persuasion, particularly by Mr. Gelaspy in his *Awens Red*, Dr. Drake in his Answer to Mr. Humphrys, and Mr. Vines, in his Treatise of the Lord's-Supper. If the Sacrament were appointed to be a Converting-Ordinance, then the most Scandalous Persons in the World, yea, Heathen People ought to have it Administred unto them, for we may not with-hold from them the Means appointed for their Conversion. The Scripture says, Let a Man examine himself, and so let him eat of that Bread. 1 Cor. 11. 28. which clearly intimates, that if upon Examination, he finds himself in a State of Sin and Unregeneracy, he ought not to Eat of that Bread.

Blessed Mr. Mitchell would frequently assert, That if it should pass for Current Doctrine in New-England, That all Persons Orthodox in Judgment, as to Matters of Faith, and not Scandalous in Life, ought to be admitted to partake of the Lord's-Supper, without any Examination, concerning the Work of Saving Grace in their Hearts, it would be a Real Apostasy from former Principles, and a Degeneracy from the Reformation, which we had attained unto. I am willing upon this Occasion, to bear my Testimony to the present Truth, and to leave it upon Record unto Posterity; not knowing how soon the Lord Jesus may by one Providence or other (of which I have had several Warnings) remove me from my present Station among these Churches. The Arguments which have induced me to believe and testify, as now I do, are such as these.

1. Time was when Churches in New-England, believed there was Clear Scripture Proof for the Practice we plead for. Particularly that Scripture, Plal. 4. 10. I have not bidden thy Righteousness from the great Congregation. And that, Plal. 66. 16. Come and Hear all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he has done for my Soul, And that Scripture, 1 Pet. 3. 15. Be ready always to give an Answer to every Man, that asks you a Reason of the Hope that is in you, does by just Consequence intimate as much as what we assert. Some have been bold to say, that since the Apostle in the Place alleged, speaks of Believers Apologizing for their Hope before Persecutors, it is an Abuse of Scripture from thence to infer, that any thing of that Nature ought to be done for

the Satisfaction of Churches. But Renowned Mr. Hooker in a Manuscript, which I have seen, answering the Objections of some who disliked the Practice of these Churches, in Examining and Inquiring into the Spiritual Estate of their Communicants (especially their requiring an Account from the Children of the Church) argues Judiciously that if Christians are bound to give an Account of the Grounds of their Hope to Persecutors, much more to Churches that shall desire it. So Mr. Shepard, the Faithful and Famous Pastor of the Church in Cambridge, in his Answer to Mr. Ball. And to the same purpose, in the Platform of Discipline it is inferred, that Men must declare and shew their Repentance, and Faith, and Effectual Calling, because these are the Reason of a Well-grounded Hope. Now for any Man to charge these Worthy of the Lord, and the Platform of Discipline, with abusing Scripture when they made such an Inference, is a very unbecoming Presumption. It was formerly thought, that Scripture Examples are not wanting, to Warrant the Practice of our Churches in this Matter, since John required those whom he admitted to his Baptism, to make a Confession of their Sins. And the Apostles expected a Declaration of their Repentance from such as they admitted into the Primitive Church. Acts 2. 38. And Philip examined the Eunuch concerning the Sincerity of his Faith. Acts 8. 37.

2. That Principle which tends to bring Persons not duly qualified, to partake in Holy Things, must needs be displeasing to the Holy Lord Jesus Christ. He would have his Servants to Distinguish betwixt the Precious and the Vile. Jer. 15. 19. And to Turn away from such as have only the Form, and not the Power of Godliness in them, 2 Tim. 3. 5. they that have only a Doctrinal Knowledge, and an External Conversion free from Scandal, without Regeneration, have no more than a Form of Godliness. If Christians should not make such Persons their Familiars, certainly they ought not admit them to their Sacred Communion. It is a very solemn Word, which the Lord has spoken, saying, You have brought into my Sanctuary Uncircumcised in Heart, to be in my Sanctuary to pollute it; even in my House, when you Offer the Bread and the Blood, No Stranger uncircumcised in Heart, shall enter into my Sanctuary. Ezek. 44. 7, 9. That Man does but defile the Sanctuary of the Lord, that has not the Water of Separation (the Blood of Christ through Faith) Sprinkled upon him. Numb. 19. 20. But this Principle or Position, That Persons are to be admitted to the Table of the Lord, without Enquiring into their Regeneration, tends to bring the Uncircumcised in Heart, into the Sanctuary. If Churches should neglect all Examinations concerning the Orthodoxy of those they receive into their Communion; would not that have a Natural Tendency to bring Heterodox, and it may be Heretical Persons into their Communion? By a Parity of Reason, the Omitting all Enquiries, as to the Spiritual Experience of them that come to the Table of the Lord, has a Tendency to fill the Sanctuary with those, who never had any Experimental Knowledge of the Things of God.



3. The Church ought to know, as far as Men can judge, that the Persons whom they admit to the Lords Table are fit, and have a right to be there. Now none are meet to partake of the Lord's Supper, excepting such as have experienced a Saving Work of Grace. They must be such as can and will, *Examine themselves*. 1 Cor. 11. 28. And therefore must have the Matter of Self-Examination, which is Faith, Repentance, and Love, and other Graces. Thus it was in the Primitive Apostolical Church, Acts 2. 47. The Lord added to the Church daily, such as should be saved. Churches are to receive such as the Lord has received, Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3. Such as are United to Christ, 1 Cor. 12. 27. 1 Thel. 1. 1. Living Stones must be in that Building, 1 Pet. 2. 5. Made ready by a Work of Divine Grace on and in them, before they are laid there; of which the Prepared Materials in Solomon's Temple were a Type, 1 Kings 6. 7. They ought to be Saints and Faithful in Christ Jesus, Eph. 1. 1. How shall the Churches know, that the Persons who offer themselves to their Communion are such, unless they pass under their Trial, Rev. 2. 2. If a Man claim Right to a Privilege, and yet sheweth no sufficient Reason, he ought to be debarred until he can some way or other prove his Claim. It is true, the Judgment of Churches is fallible: Grace being a Secret Thing, hid in the Heart; only Christ seeth it: Churches cannot always discern the Tares from the Wheat. Nevertheless, they may not willingly receive in Hypocrites. Bellarmine himself is fain to Confess, as much as that comes to. When such were found in Churches in the Apostolical Times, it is said, that they Crept in privily and unawares, Gal. 2. 4. Jude v. 4. Which intimates unto us, that they did not willingly admit such into their Fellowship. When the Enemy sowed Tares in the Field, a Culpable Sleeping in those, that should have been more Watchful was the Cause of it. Math. 13. 25. They who object, that we are bound in Charity to believe, that the Persons, who offer themselves to our Communion, are Regenerate, without ever making any Enquiry into their Spiritual Estate, may with as good Reason affirm, that we are bound in Charity to believe, that they are found in the Faith, without Examining them about that Matter. A Rational Charity, grounded upon Evidence, and not a Blind Charity is the Rule according to which Churches are to proceed.

4. That Practice, which Christ has 'owned with His special Blessing and Presence, ought not to be derided as an Humane Invention, but rather owned as a Divine Institution. Was not the Lord's Blessing Aaron's Rod an Effectual Demonstration, that his Ministry had a Divine Approbation? Is not Paul's calling to the Ministry, and Peter's also, proved from this Argument, that God owned and Blessed them both? 1 Cor. 9. 1, 2. Gal. 2. 7, 8, 9. That Christ has owned His Churches, in their Enquiries into the Spiritual Estate of such as they admit into their Communion with His special Gracious Presence, is most certain. Have not some been Converted by hear-

ing others give an Account of their Conversion? How many have been Comforted, and how many Edified thereby! which proveth, that this Practice is Lawful and Laudable, and that to Stigmatize it for, as some have done is not pleasing to the Lord.

5. To use all Lawful Means to keep Church Communion pure, is a Duty incumbent upon all Churches, and most eminently on Churches in New-England. It is known to all the World, that Church Reformation, and Purity as to all Administrations therein, was the Thing designed by our Fathers, when they followed the Lord into this Wilderness: And therefore Degeneracy in that Respect would be a greater Evil in us, than in any People. We shall not act like *Wise Children*, if we seek to pull down with our Hands, that House (or any Pillar-Principle, whereon it is founded) which our Wise Fathers have built. The Debauching the Matter of Particular Churches must needs Corrupt them. A Learned and Renowned Author has Evinc'd, That the Letting go this Principle, That Pastoral

Owen Theol: Lib. 6. Cap. 3.

Churches ought to Consist of Regenerate Persons, brought in the Great Apostasy of the Christian Church. The Way to prevent the like Apostasy in these Churches, is to Require an Account of those, that offer themselves to Communion therein, concerning the Work of God on their Souls, as well as concerning their Knowledge and Belief. If once this Practice and Principle of Truth be deserted, *A World of unqualified Persons* will soon fill, and pester and corrupt the House of God, and cause Him to Go far off from His Sanctuary. We may then justly fear, that these Golden Candlesticks, will be no longer so, but become Dross and Tin, and Reprobate Silver, until the Lord has rejected them. Let us Dread to have an Hand, in causing it to be so! It is a solemn Passage which Mr. Cotton (whom Dr. Goodwin calls the Apostle of this Age) has in his Judicious Treatise of the Holiness of Church Members. p. 60. Methinks (says he) the Servants of God should Tremble to Erect such a State of the visible Church, in Hypocrisis and Formal Profession, as whose very Foundation threateneth certain Dissolution and Desolation. True it is, That we may not Do Evil, that Good may come of it. We may not Use any unlawful Practice to prevent Impurity, as to the Matter of our Churches. But no Man can say, That the Practice we plead for is *Sinful*. If then the Use of it may (by the Blessing of Christ) be a Means to keep our Churches and Communion pure, why should it be laid aside? Mr. Hittchell in a Manuscript of his, which I have seen, has these weighty Words, 'The Over-enlarging of full Communion or Admission of Persons thereunto, upon slight Qualifications, without insisting upon the Practical and Spiritual Part of Religion, will not only lose the Power of Godliness, but in a little time, bring in Profaneness, and Ruine the Churches these two Ways. 1. Election of Ministers will soon be carried by a formal, looser Sort. 2. The Ex-



Exercise of Discipline, will by this means be rendered impossible. Discipline failing, Profane ones rise like a Flood. For the Major Part wanting Zeal against Sin, will foster Licentiousness. It is not setting down good Rules and Directions, that will save it: For the Specification of Government is from Men, not from Laws. Let never so good a Form of Government be agreed upon, it will soon degenerate, if the Instruments (or Men) that manage it, be not Good. Blessed Mitchell! These are thy Words; This was thy Spirit!

6. In the Primitive and Purest Times of the Church, there was great Strictness used in Examining such as were admitted to Sacraments, concerning the Sincerity of their Repentance towards God, and their Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. There are they pretend, that this is a New Practice, begun by a few Separatists in Amsterdam, not an Hundred Years since. But such Persons discover their Ignorance, and that they are unacquainted and unskilled in Ecclesiastical Story. Justin Martyr (who lived 140 Years after Christ) in his Second Apology for the Christians, writeth, That they did Examine such as were admitted to their Communion, whether they were able to conform themselves in all things to the Word and Will of God. If we would know what Things were practised by the Churches in the Primitive Times, the Writings of Tertullian and Cyprian, (as Learned Usher has truly observed) give us the clearest Discovery thereof. It is evident from them, that in those Days, there was rather too much Rigidity, than too much Laxness, in their Admission to Sacraments. They would keep Men, who were Catechumens and Competentes a long time, before they did receive them into full Communion in the Church. They required not only a Profession of Faith, and a Confession of Sins, but a Submission to a Severe Scrutiny concerning their Sincerity therein.

Alcinius. Eiant Scrutinia, ut sepius explorentur, an post Renunciationem Satane sacra verba date Fidei radicatus Corde deficiant. They were to be Examined again and again, to find out, whether the Words of the Faith they professed, were indeed fixed in their Hearts. Cyprian in his third Epistle says, Nihil labor est persuadere fratribus ut recipiendus Confitentium, Vix Plebi persuadere, ut tales pœnitentiam admitti, quia me cum vera penitentia venerant. That he could not easily persuade the Brethren in Churches, to consent to the Admission of such Persons to their Communion, of whose Sincere Repentance, there was any doubt. Origin declares, as much as that amounts to. When in after Ages, Churches degenerated, Chrysostom complains, that by Admitting ungodly Men into the Church, they had filled the Temple with Beasts, and he professed, that he would sooner choose to have his Right Hand cut off, than Administer the Sacrament to a Known wicked Man. It is well known, that the Waldenses, amongst whom Religion was preserved, during the Reign of Popery, were strict in this matter. And so were the Bohemian Bre-

thren: Commenius testifies concerning them, that they used a Diligent Exploration concerning the Faith and Repentance of their Communicants, lest haply it should be only Superficiary and Fallacious. There was an Examen Confessionarium used amongst them. It must be acknowledged, that in the Protestant Reformation, there has been a great Neglect and Defect, as to what concerns the Discipline and Government of Christ in His Church. As the Apostasy was gradual, so has the Reformation been.

Ratio disciplinæ.  
Eratum, Bobem.  
P. 44, 55.

And there was (as Dr. Owen well observes) a Wise Providence in ordering it to be so. For had the First Reformers set themselves to remove out of the Church all such as were unmeet for its Communion, and to have reduced Things to their Primitive Institution, by Reason of the Paucity of the Number of such Church Members, the Endeavour for a General Reformation of Doctrine and Worship would have been obstructed. Hence it comes to pass, That the Reformation of the Church, as unto the Matter of it, was not attempted, until Calvin set up his Discipline in Geneva, which has filled the World with Clamours against him to this Day. In most other Places the Matter or Members of Churches were, as to their Lives and Conversation as bad as the Papists. Nevertheless, Eminent Divines of the Reformation, in this and the last Century, have approved of that which we are pleading for. Beza laments the Remissness of Protestant Churches in not taking more Care about the Qualifications of their Members; concluding, that there will never be such a Reformation as ought to be endeavoured after, nisi a Conversione Cordium Initium Insuperationis sumatur, except Men with Converted Hearts, be laid in the Foundation. Bucer finds fault with the English Churches for Admitting Children who had been baptized, upon the Lord's Supper, upon too loose Terms. He says, there should be manifest Signs of Regeneration in them first: That they should appear to be such as had upon their Hearts a Sense of the Word of God, and that they did use Secret Prayer, &c. But how should such Things be known concerning them without Enquiry into their Spiritual State! Camier commends the Strictness used in the Primitive Times, in Examining those that desired to join to the Church, ne quantum fieri poterit lateant Simones, that so Simon Magus may not creep into the Church, if it were possible to prevent it. Luther did at last sorrowfully bewail it, That he began his Reformation with such Promiscuous Admissions to the Table of the Lord, heartily wishing, that he had taught and practised such a Church Discipline, as that which was professed by the Bohemian Brethren. Chemnitz witheth, that the Strictness used among the Ancients in the Probation of Communicants were restored, and

Dr. Owen, of the  
Nature of a Gospel  
Church. p. 13.

Amstel. Ec-  
clesiast. Dis-  
c. 1. p. 299.

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Bucer Scrip-  
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p. 482, 483.

Camier de  
Baptismo. l. 5.  
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Chemnitz  
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revived in the Churches of the Reformation. His Godly Desire and Hope that in Time it will be so, is approved of by Gerhard in his Common Place, de Sacra Cena.

Some of those that are called Presbyterians fully concur with us, as to the Substance of what we plead for. When Mr. Norton in his Answer unto Apollonius, does assert, That four Things are to be required of those, that desire Admission into Church Fellowship. 1. A Confession of Faith. 2. A Declaration of their Experience concerning a Work of Faith. 3. A Blameless Conversation. 4. Professed Subjection to the Gospel, and the Order of it. That Learned and Worthy Professor of Divinity, in the University of

Leyden, Dr. Hornbeck declares his Concurrence with him therein, and that in these Particulars, those of the Congregational Way, agree with some other Reformed Churches. To my certain Knowledge, Eminent Ministers of the Presbyterian Persuasion, in London, Examine their Communicants (before they admit them to partake with them, at the Lord's Table) concerning their Faith and Repentance. And so (notwithstanding what is pleaded for by the Godly Learned Mr. Rutherford) some do in Scotland, as divers Worthy Ministers of that Nation, have assured me.

The Difference as to this Matter, between a Presbyterian and a Congregational Man, (who are nevertheless United Brethren) is this. There is no Congregational Man but he reports to the Church something of what the Person desiring Communion with them, has related to him; which the Presbyterian does not, only Declares his own Satisfaction, and giveth the Brethren a Liberty to object against the Conversation of the Admittendi. I know Presbyterians, who are stricter in their Examinations and Admissions, than some Congregational Men. It appears therefore, that such Enquiries into the Spiritual Estate of them, who are to be admitted unto full Communion, in all the Ordinances of the Gospel, is no Singular or Novel Practice: Nothing but what is confirmed by Reverend Antiquity, and has been ingeniously asserted by the Great Reformers, both of the former, and this present Age. Whether the Brethren, as well as the Elders should not be concerned as Judges, concerning the Qualifications of those whom they Receive into their Communion, is another Question, which I shall not here enlarge upon. It is certain, that in the Primitive Ages of the Church, they had that Liberty; otherwise Cyprian would never have said, *Vix Plebi persuadui ut Tales patiantur admitti, &c.* And elsewhere confessed his Obligations, and Resolutions, *Nihil sine consensu plebis, privata sententia gerere.*

It is also certain, that this is an avowed Principle of all who are esteemed Congregational. In the Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in Congregational Church in England, agreed and consented unto, by their Elders and Messengers, in their Meeting at the Savoy, Octob. 12, 1698. They declare, That the Members of Particular Churches are Saints by calling, visibly manifesting their Obedience to the Call of Christ, who being farther known to each other by their Confession of Faith wrought in them by the Power of God, declared by themselves, or otherwise manifested, consent to walk together according to the appointment of Christ. I have known many in England of that way; but never any that did not concern the Brethren as well as themselves, to be Judges of the fitness of those who have desired to be received into their Communion. It is evident, that the Church, (and not the Officers only) have Power given them by Christ, to Judge who are meet to be put out of their Communion. *Mat. 18. 17. 1 Cor. 5. 12.* Then they must needs have the like Power as to those that are to be taken into their Communion. *Ejusdem est potestas constituere et destituere, is a known received Axiom.* If the whole Church has power to Judge of the Repentance of one that is to be Re-admitted, then of the Repentance of one that is to have his first Admission. But the Apostle speaks to the Church, and not to the Officers only to restore the penitent Corinthian to their Communion. *2 Cor. 2. 8.* Again, if the whole multitude of Disciples have Power to Judge, whether Persons are qualified with that Wisdom and Grace, as to be meet for Office Relation in the Church, then they have Power to Judge concerning the Knowledge and Grace of Communicants. The Argument is a majori ad minus. They that are meet Judges in a greater Matter, much more in that which is less. But the former is clear from the Scripture. *Acts 6. 2, 3, 4.* For further Satisfaction in this point, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Shepard may be consulted, with that Man of vast Reading and Learning, Mr. Robert Parker.

These Things I have supposed to be proper for me to Write to you the Church of Christ in Cambridge; not as doubting of your Steadfastness in the Truth to this day professed and practised by you, but as desiring that those who shall succeed you, may continue to walk therein; and that so I might testify, the peculiar Respect, that I do (and ought to) bear unto you, on the Account of the Undeclared Love, which all of you have manifested towards me. Five Years are not expired, since you were pleased unanimously to Invite me to Accept of the Pastoral Office over you. But the Unwillingness of the Dear People, among whom I have been Labouring in the Gospel for the Space of Thirty six Years, that I should leave them, in Consequence with some other Obstacles, kept me from complying with that your Loving Motion. Nevertheless, I cannot but whilst I Live, have a Dear Affection for you, and know not how to express it more, than by Endeavouring what in me lies, that you and your Children after you, may be confirmed in those Ways of the Lord, which your Fathers, and your selves too, have experienced to much of His Presence in. And I have also considered, that you are singularly circumstanced, in that there are Residing with you, the Sons of the Prophets, whose Establishment in the present Truth, I am more than any Man in the World, under an Obligation to promote.



and I certainly know (not altogether without an Awful Sense of it) that the Son of God, will e're long Enquire of me, whether I did in this Matter, Discharge my Duty, according to his Expectation, to whom I must be accountable concerning the Improvement of whatever Talents or Opportunities to Serve his Interests, He has or shall Trust me with, whilst I am in this World.

A few Words let me further speak to you, who belong to that *Nursery*, for Religion and Learning, which has for a long time been the *Glory*, not of *Cambridge* only, but of *New-England*. Sixteen Years will this Summer be elapsed, since God, by his Providence, devolved the *Præfidence* of that Society into my Hands, to manage it (so far as my *Insufficiencies* for such a Service will permit) for the Ends, which He (and our *Fathers*, as his *Instruments*) did at first Erect a *College* in *New-England* upon; which was chiefly, that so *Scholars* might there be Educated for the Service of Christ and his Churches, in the *Work of the Ministry*, and that they might be seasoned in their Tender Years with such *Principles* as brought their Blessed Progenitors into this Wilderness. What my Sollicitudes for this have been in both *Englands*, is known to Him, who said to the Churches, *I know your Works*. There is no One Thing of Greater Concernment to these Churches, in present and after-times, than the Prosperity of that Society. They cannot subsist without a *College*. There are at this day not above Two or Three of our Churches but what are supplied from thence. Nor are the Churches like to continue pure *Golden Candle-sticks*, if the *College*, which should supply them, prove *Apostate*. If the *Fountain* be corrupted, How should the *Streams* be pure, which should make Glad the *City of God*? How should *Plants of Renown* spring up from thence, if the *College* it self become a *Degenerate Plant*? You that are *Tutors* there, have a Great Advantage put into your Hands (and I pray God give you Wisdom to know it!) to prevent it. The Lord hath made you *Fathers* to many *Pupils*. You will not deny, but that He has made me a *Father* to you. It was my Recommendation, that brought you into that *Station*. And therefore, as my Joy will be Greater to see you Acquit your selves *Worthily*, to my earnest Sollicitudes for it must needs be the more, on that Account. There are many (I believe, you with you could say so of all of them) who were once under your *Tuition*, and do *worthily* in *Ephraim*, and are like to be famous in *Bethlehem*, for which you ought to (and I doubt not but you do) humbly Bless the Lord, That you (and they who shall succeed you) may be yet *Greater Blessings*. Let me commend unto you the Example of this Blessed Man, whose *Life* is here described. When *Jerom* had considered the *Life of Hilarion*, he Resolved *Hilarion* shall be the *Champion*, whom I will follow! Say each of you, *Mitchel*, (once a *Tutor* in *Harvard-College*) shall be the *Example*, whom I will imitate! You will see in the Story of his *Life*, that he did not only Instruct his *Pupils* in the Knowledge of the *Tongues and Arts*, but that

he would sometimes discourse them about the *Spiritual Estate* of their Immortal Souls. Such private *Personal Instructions*, are many times more Effectual to *Conversion* than *Publick Sermons*. Some very worthy Persons who were once his *Scholars*, have a Living Remembrance of his Words, to this Day. Others of them are now with him in *Glory*, blessing God to Eternity, whose Providence disposed them under such a *Tutor*. Famous *Dr. Preston* chose rather to Live in *Cambridge*, than in any Place of *England*, because by Reason of the *University* there, he had an Opportunity, *Non modo dolare Lapides sed Artificiosos*, to prepare *Builders* for the House of God. The Angels in Heaven would not think it beneath them, to be employed in so Great a Work and Service for the Churches of Christ, as that which Infinite Grace has call'd you unto. If you follow those, that have gone before you (*Mitchel* in particular) as they have followed Christ, your Names will be Precious and Honourable like theirs, and you shall Live after you are Dead, as they now do.

As for you that are the *Students* in the *College*: I have often (as you know) in my Discourses among you, Exhorted you above all Things to Study Christ, and to be mindful of, *The One Thing Necessary*. Gifts without Grace will be of no Avail unto you at last. You may excel in Knowledge, and yet be of all in the World the most Miserable, and most like to the Devils, as a *Converted Indian* once said concerning some *Scholars*. You know, that many Philosophers who were *Heathen* excelled in that which is called, *Humane Learning*. And so have some *Papish* Authors (*Jesuites* especially) done, whose Books have been very Edifying to others. I must confess, that as to that small measure of Knowledge which I have attained unto, I have, (for some part of it) been beholden to the Divine Providence for the Works of *Ricciolus*, *Galtruchius*, and others of that Fraternity, who were very Learned Men, tho' Enemies of the True Protestant Religion. Knowledge then without Christ and Holiness, will never bring you to Heaven. One has written a Book, *De Salute Aristolis*; And another, *De Animabus Paganorum* endeavouring to prove, that the Philosophers who knew not the Only True God, nor Jesus Christ, have Eternal Life. Let such and all other *Pelagian* and *Arminian* Principles be far from you. But do not think it is enough, if you be *Orthodox*, in the Fundamental Points of Religion. It was not (I can assure you) on any such Account that your Fathers followed Christ into this Wilderness, when it was a Land not sown. If you degenerate from the Order of the Gospel (as well as from the Faith of the Gospel) you will justly merit the Name of *Apostates* and of *Degenerate Plants*. And such Degeneracy in the Children of *New-England*, and most of all in you will be worse, than in any Children in the World. If any of you shall prove such, Remember that you were told, that you take an unhappy Time to Degenerate in. He whose Fan is in his Hand, will thoroughly purge his Floor. The Day is near, when the Lord Jesus Christ will make His Churches more Pure and Reformed, than in the



the former Ages; and will you at such a time corrupt your selves with loose and large Principles in Matters relating to the House of God. *Whose House Holmes becomes for ever!* How if some of you should live to see that Scripture verified, where the Lord says, *The Levites that are gone far from me, when Israel went astray, they shall not come near unto me, to do the Office of a Priest unto me, but the Sons of Zadok that kept the Charge of my Sanctuary, they shall enter into my Sanctuary, and they shall come near to my Table to Minister unto me!* Ezek. 44. 10, 15. Let me Recommend unto you the weighty Words of my most Dear and Worthy Friend and Predecessor, Mr. Oakes, once your Learned President, which he delivered (and afterwards Printed) on a very solemn Occasion. He speaketh to you thus,

Consider (saith he) what will be the End of Receding, or making a Defection from the Way of Church-Deut. 32.  
Government established amongst us.  
29. p. 44.  
I profess, I look upon the Discon-

very and Settlement of the Congrega-  
tional Way, as the Boon, the Gratiuity, the  
Largess of Divine Bounty, which the Lord  
graciously bestowed on His People, that fol-  
lowed Him into this Wilderness; and a great  
part of the Blessing on the Head of Joseph, and  
of them who were Separate from their Brethren.  
These Good People that came over, shewed  
more Love, Zeal, and Affectionate Desire of  
Communion with God in pure Worship and Ordi-  
nances, and did more in Order to it than o-  
thers, and the Lord did more for them than  
for any People in the World, in shewing them  
the Pattern of His House, and the true Scrip-  
tural-way of Church Government and Admini-  
strations. God was certainly in a more than  
ordinary Way of Favour present with his Ser-  
vants in laying of our Foundations, and in  
settling the Way of Church Order according to  
the Will and Appointment of Christ. Consi-  
der, what will be the sad Issue of Revolving  
from the Way fixed upon, to one Extrem or  
to another, whether it be to Presbyterianism  
or Brownism; as for the Presbyterians, it must  
be acknowledged, that there are among them as  
Pious, Learned, Sober, Orthodox Men, as the  
World affords; and that there is as much of the  
Power of Godliness among that Party, and of the  
Spirit of the good Old Puritans, as among any  
People in the World. And for their Way of  
Church-Government, it must be confessed, that in  
the Day of it, it was a very Considerable Step

to Reformation. The Reformation in K. Ed-  
ward's Days was then a Blessed Work. And the  
Reformation of Geneva and Scotland, was then a  
larger Step, and in many respects purer than the  
other. And for my part I fully believe, that the  
Congregational Way far exceeds both, and is the  
Highest Step that has been taken towards Reformation, and for the Substance of it, it is the  
very same way, that was established and pra-  
ctised in the Primitive Times, according to the  
Institution of Jesus Christ. I must needs say,  
that I should look upon it, as a sad Degene-  
racy, if we should leave the Good Old Way,  
so far as to turn Councils and Synods into Cla-  
sses and Provincial Assemblies, and there should  
be such a Laxness in Admission of Members to  
Communion, as is pleaded for, and practised by  
many Presbyterians, and Elders should manage all  
themselves in an Autocratical Way, to the Sub-  
version of the Liberty and Privilege of the Bre-  
thren. Thus Mr. Oakes. As for that Excel-  
lently Learned and Holy Man Mr. Charles  
Chauncy, who for many Years Presided over Har-  
vard-College, none of you, who now belong to  
that Society, can remember him. But you have  
heard what his Dying Charge to his Sons (who  
through Grace tread in their Father's Steps)  
was in his Last Will and Testament, which you  
may see Published with his Life in due Time.  
He that is now your President — *A longe squit-  
ur vigilia semper adoras*; yet is willing not to  
Ever or Undermine the Foundation, which his  
Blessed Predecessors, have laid, but to Build  
thereon. I remember Buchanan (who was Tu-  
tor to K. James I.) in the Preface to his *Bap-  
tists*, which he Dedicates to that K. says, That  
the Reason why he did so, was, That in case  
He should through the Influence of Evil Coun-  
sellors, or from any other Cause, be Guilty of  
Male-Administration in His Government, af-  
ter Ages should know, that the Blame ought  
to be imputed not to His Tutor, but to Him-  
self. So let me say, if you the Students in  
Harvard-College, or any of you, shall deviate  
and degenerate from the Holy Principles and  
Practices of your Fathers, the World shall know,  
and Posterity shall know, That the Reason of  
it is not for want of being otherwise instructed  
by your Present, as well as by Former Presi-  
dents.

May 7.

INCREASE MATHER.

FIFE 2

ECCLE-



## ECCLESIASTES.

OR, THE

## L I F E

O F

## Mr. Jonathan Mitchel.

*Sanctorum Vitas Legere & non Vivere, frustra est;  
Sanctorum Vitas Degite, non Legite.*

§. 1. **I**T is Reported concerning the Ancient *Phrygians*, that when a *Priest* expired among them, they honoured him with a *Pillar* Ten Fathom high, whereon they placed his *Dead Body*, as if he were to continue after his *Death*, from thence instructing of the People. Nor can a *Minister* of the Gospel have any more Honourable Funeral, than *That*, by which his Instruction of the People, may be most continued unto the People, after his Expiration. But I may without any Danger of *Mistake*, venture to affirm, That there cannot easily be found a *Minister* of the Gospel in our Days, more worthy to have the Story of his *Life* employed for the Instruction of *Mankind* after his Decease, than our Excellent *Mitchel*. And therefore I shall now endeavour to set him on as high a *Pillar*, as the best *History*, that I can give of his Exemplary *Life*, can erect, for that *Worthy Man*; for whom Statues of *Corinthian Brass*, were but Inadequate Acknowledgments.

§. 2. If it were counted an Honour to the Town of *Halifax* in *Yorkshire*, that the Famous *John de Sacro Bosco*, Author of the well-known Treatise *De Sphæra*, was born there; this Town was no less Honoured by its being the Place of Birth to our no less worthily Famous *Jonathan Mitchel*, who being defended (as a Printed Account long since has told us) of *Pious* and *Wealthy* Parents, here drew his first Breath, in the Year 1624. The precise Day of his Birth is lost, nor is it worth while for us to enquire by an *Astrological Calculation*, what Aspect the Stars had upon his Birth, since the Event has proved. That God the Father was in the *Horoscope*, *Christ* in the *Mid-Heaven*, the Spirit in the *Sixth House*, *Repentance*, *Faith* and *Love*, in the *Eighth*: And in the *Twelfth*, an *Eternal Happiness*, where no *Saturn* can dart any malignant Rays. Here,

while the Father of his *Flesh* was endeavouring to make him *Learned* by a proper Education, the Father of *Spirits* used the Methods of Grace to make him *Serious*; especially by a *fore Favour*, which had like to have made the *Tenth Year* of his Life the *Last*, but then settled in his *Arm* with such *Troublesome Effects*, that his *Arm* grew, and kept a little bent, and he could never stretch it out *Right* until his Dying Day. And upon this Accident he afterwards wrote this Reflection; *Thus the Lord sought to make me Serious (Oh! when will it once be!) by sleeping my first Entrance into Tears of Understanding, and into the Changes of Life, and my first Motions to New-England, in Eminent and Special Sorrows.* Now his *First Motions* to New-England, mentioned in this Reflection, invite us to Halten unto that part of our *History*, which is to relate, that his Parents were some of those Exemplary *Christians*, which by the *Unconscionable* Impositions and Persecutions of the English *Hierarchy* upon the *Consciences* of People, as Remarkable for *True Christianity* as any in the Realm, were driven out of it in the Year 1635. the Ship, which brought over Mr. *Richard Mather*, and many more of those *Puritans*, which had found the Church of England, then governed by such an Assembly of *Treacherous Men*, (a Faction to whom that Name, *The Church of England* never truly belonged) that they were put upon wishing, with the persecuted Prophet, *Oh! that I had in the Wilderness a Lodging-place of Way-faring Men!* was further enriched by having on Board our *Jonathan*, than a Child of about Eleven Years of Age; whose Parents with much Difficulty and Resolution carried him unto *Bristol* to take Shipping there, while he was not yet recovered of his Illness. On the Coast of New-England, they were delivered from a most Eminent and Amazing Hazard of perishing, in a most Horrible Tempest; upon which Deliverance Mr. *Mather* preached a Sermon from that Scripture, John 5. 14. *Sin no more*

leaf



least a worse thing come unto thee; whereby further Impressions of Seriousness were made upon the Soul of this Young Disciple.

§. 3. The Godly Father of our Jonathan found, that America as well as Europe, New-England as well as Old England, was a part of Old Adam's World; well stocked every where with the Thorns of Worldly Vanities and Vexations; and that a Wilderness was a Place, where Temptation was to be met withal. All his Family, and the Jonathan of the Family, with the Rest, were visited with Sicknesses, the Winter after their first Arrival at Charlestown, and the Scarcity then afflicting the Country added unto the Afflictions of their Sicknesses. Removing to the Town of Concord, his greater Matters continually became smaller there, his Beginnings were then consumed by Fire, and some other Losses befel him in the Latter End of that Winter. The next Summer he removed unto Saybrook, and the next Spring unto Weathersfield upon Connecticut River, by which he lost yet more of his Possessions, and plunged himself into other Troubles. Towards the Close of that year he had a Son-in-law Slain by the Pequot Indians; and the Rest of the Winter they lived in much fear of their Lives from those Barbarians, and many of his Cattel were destroyed, and his Estate unto the Value of some Hundreds of Pounds was diminished. A Skelap, which he sent unto the River's Mouth was taken, and burned by the Pequots, and Three Men in the Vessel slain, in all of whom he was nearly concerned: So that indeed the Pequot Scourge fell more on this Family, than on any other in the Land. Afterward there arose unhappy Differences in the place where he lived, wherein he was an Antagonist against some of the Principal Persons in the place, and hereby he that had hitherto Lived in precious Esteem with Good Men, wherever he came (as a Record I have seen, testifies concerning him) now suffered much in his Esteem among many such Men, as 'tis usual in such Contentions, and he met with many other Injuries: For which Causes, he transferred himself, with his Interests, unto Stamford in the Colony of New Haven. Here his House Barn and Goods were again consumed by Fire; and much lateral Distresses of Mind accompanied these Humbling Dispensations. At last, that Most Horrible of Disasters, the Stone, arrested him, and he underwent unspeakable Do-lours from it, until the Year 1645. when he went unto his Rest about the Fifty Fifth Year of his Age.

§. 4. Although the Good Spirit of God, gave our Jonathan to improve much in his Holy Dispositions while he was yet a Youth, by the Calamities, which thus befel his Father; and particularly upon Occasion of a sad thing befalling a Servant of his Father's, who instead of going to the Lecture at Hartford, as he had been allowed and Advised, would needs go fell a Tree for himself, but a broken Bough of the Tree struck him dead, so that he never spoke or stirred more; our Jonathan, who was then about Fifteen Years old, in one

of his Papers does Relate, This Amazing Stroke did much stir my Heart, and I spent some time in Endeavouring the work of Repentance according to Mr. Scudder's Directions in his Daily Walk: nevertheless he had this Disadvantage, that he was thereby Diverted from Study and Learning, for the first seven years after his Coming into the Country. Had it not been for the Disadvantage of this Intermission, we had seen some Lively Emulation of Bellarmine's open Lectures of Divinity, at Sixteen years of Age, or Torquato Quasso's Receiving his Degrees in Philosophy and Divinity at Seventeen, or Grotius's publishing of Commentaries at the like Seventeen. For he was, as the Historian observes, all that will prove Considerable, must be, *Puer, qui Seminario Virtutum Generosior concretus, aliquid Inclytum designasset*. But after so long an Intermission, as until September in the year 1642. and the Eighteenth year of his Age, upon the Earnest Advice of some that had Observed his great Capacity, and especially of Mr. Mather, with whom he came into New-England, he resumed his Designs for Study and Learning: where in he made so vigorous a Progress, that in the year 1645. he was upon a strict Examination Admitted into Harvard Colledge. Nor was it very long before Mr. Mather, who was the Adviser of this matter, had the Consolation of seeing the Excellent Labours of this person in the Pulpit worthy of his own Constant Journeys to his monthly Lectures; yea, and the most Considerable Factions of the Country, with himself, treating this person, as not Coming behind the very Chiefest of them all, and Tasting his Communications, not as Unripe Grapes, or Wine just out of the Press.

§. 5. But before we can fairly Arrive to that part of our Story, it will be as profitable, as necessary for us to Observe the Steps whereby God made him Great. The Faculties of Mind, with which the God that Forms the Spirit of man, enriched him, were very Notable. He had a Clear Head, a Copious Fancy, a Solid Judgment, a Tenacious Memory, and a certain Discretion, without any Childish Lassitude, or Levity in his Behaviour, which commanded Respect from all that viewed him: So that it might be said of him, as it once was of a Great Person in the English Nation, They that knew him from a Child, never knew him any other than a Man. Under these Advantages, he was an Hard Student, and he so Prospered in his Indefatigable Studies, that he became a Scholar of Illuminations, not far from the First Magnitude: Recommended by which Qualifications, it was not long before he was Chosen a Fellow of the Colledge. But the main Strokes of his Colledge-Life, that I shall single out for my Readers Observation, are of yet a higher Character. Know then, that as it was his own Counsel to his Brother, The Writing of sometimes your former and present Life, would be a Thing of Endless Use, thus it was his manner, whilst in the Colledge, to keep a brief Diary, written in the Latine Tongue, which he wrote indeed fluently and handsomely; and from a part of this Diary, by him Entitled, *Vita Hypomnemata*, happily fallen into my Hands, I shall note some few Remarkables.



He kept a strict Eye upon his Interior State, before God; and upon the Dispositions of his Heart, as well in Sacred as in Civil Entertainments: but with an Extreme Severity of Reflection upon himself, when perhaps, at the same time the Severest Spectator upon Earth besides would have judged every thing in him worthy to have been *Admired*, rather than *Censured*. He would Record such Things as these.

#### One Time,

*Inter precandam, Deus ab Insuperbo ac Desolato Corde iuste absistit, ut me (quo mihi magis necessarium) humiliaret; Nam aliter (si paulo melius aliquando se habere Cor) est in me, quod prophana Spirituali Superbia titillatur. Eram tamen inde nonnihil ad Deum Excitator.*

#### At another Time,

*Jejunio privato interfu, ubi multo Stupore, & multa vanitate Opusculum sum; aliqua tamen viguerant Suspiria & Deus non visus est me omnino abdicare, sed paulo meliorem fecit; vitam tenuissem & fovissem Desideria, quæ tunc accendit.*

#### At another Time,

*Locum communem habui; vix abstinui in secreta superbia; Licet turpissima vanitas Animi (qua nunquam non omnia mea venenatur) me coram Deo prostravisset, præter alia mea peccata, quæ me infra vermes penant, Neque sane unquam aliquid aut facio aut dico, unde plus pudoris quam Honoris, mihi non nascitur, si omnia mecum perpendo; & Deus solet semper aliquid relinquere, unde me (saltem apud me) pudefaciat.*

#### At another Time,

*Colloquiis Hilaribus, cum Sociis quibusdam nimis indului.*

#### At another Time,

*Adibam Bostonium, & ibi Libertatem Civilem accepi, sed ex Obliviscamini Leve & Insuperbum Cor.*

#### At another,

*Libertus quam prudentius quedam locutus sum, unde mihi pudor.*

Again; He laid up the more especial *Admonitions* which touched him, in the Sermons that he heard Preached, or in other more private and thereupon asked the Help of Heaven to follow. He would Record such Things as these,

#### One Time,

*Vix aliquid apud Deum sapii, sed excitavit me Concio Magistri Shepardi, Tremenda plane et præstantissima. Docuit Aliquos esse qui videntur inveniri & Servare a Christo & tamen postea pereunt. Hæc me terrebat (& si nam infixa haberent!) ne tantum viderer esse Christi, & ne ad mortem usque sic pergerem. Rogavi Deum, ut mei Miserus totam rem ageret. Illa Nocte multo pudore, apud me suffusus eram, quod habens nihil in Meditatione quotidiana, feceram, & hinc cæcus & ignarus in Divinis, extraxi meipsum, & sine Deo, per Integras Septimanas vixeram. Jam Statim Meditandi opus quotidie urgere, quod ante hac aliquoties statui, sed, beu!*

In my Prayer, God was justly withdrawn from my Unfavour and Desolate Heart, that so He might Humble me; than which there is nothing more needful for me. For otherwise (if my Heart be at any time in a little better frame) there is that in me, which is tickled with Spiritual Pride. Nevertheless I was from hence more Excited God-ward.

I was present at a private Fast, where I was filled with much Sottishness and Vanity: Yet I had some Lively Sighs; and God seemed not wholly to cast me off, but made me a little Better than I was before. I with I had Retained and Cherished the Desires, which He then Enkindled!

I Common-placed. I could Scarce abstain from Secret Pride; altho' a very base Vanity of mind (with which every thing of mine is poison'd!) had laid me low in the Dust before God, besides my other Sins, which lay me lower than the very Worms of the Dust. But indeed, I never Do or Say any thing, from whence there arises not more of Shame than of Honour to me, if I Consider all things; and God uses in all ever to leave something, by which He makes me at least ashamed of my self.

I gave too much Liberty unto Merry Talk, with some of my Friends.

I went unto Boston, and there took a Civil Liberty: But from such Entertainments my Heart grew light and unfavoury.

I discoursed some things with more Freedom than with God; for which, I was ashamed of my self.

I had little Savour on my Spirit before God: but a terrible and Excellent Sermon of Mr. Shepard's awakened me. He taught, that there are some who seem to be found and Sav'd by Christ, and yet afterwards they perish. These things terrified me, (and I wish, they had stuck fast in me!) lest I should only seem to belong unto Christ, and lest I should thus go on unto Death. I Beg'd of God, that He would have mercy on me, and accomplish the whole work of His Grace for me. That Night I was covered with no little shame, because I had hitherto done in a manner, nothing at the work of DAILY MEDITATION, and hence I had lived Blind, and Ignorant in Divine Things, a stranger to my self, and without God, for whole Weeks together. I now Resolved, every Day to urge the work of MEDITATION, which heretofore I have often Resolved, but alas,



*Proposita violavi; unde succenlet Deus. Ab, Quot & Quanta scire petivissim de Deo, si serius & constant in Meditatione fuissim!*

At another Time,

D. Shepardus ultissimè docuit. *Ille Nolite Serie inflabant Cogitationes, de infanda mea miseria, qua sine Deo, sine Redemptione, a Sabbato ad Sabbatum miserrimus pergo. Inde Tria statuebam mihi Observanda, quæ etiam Deo commendabam, ut in me efficeret. Primo, Non Quiete manendum in hac mea conditione; Intolerabile esse, ut sic pergerem. Secundo, Precandum constanter, sine Languore, aut Intermisione, mane noticæ Implorandum Deum, intimis & ineffabilibus suspiriis. Tertio, si Deus non auscultaverit, & quæ opus sunt præstavit, in Amore suo manifestando, saltem Lugeam & Lachrymam, & pergam in Amaritudine Animæ; si Consolationem & Pacem a Deo, non habuero, saltem nullam omnino habeam!*

At another Time,

D. Samuel Matherus extrime conclonatus est, de Immutabilitate Dei. *Inde Redarguebat inconstantiam & Inconstantiam Hominum erga Deum. Hæc me tetigerunt: Conscius eram Inconstantie meæ; Et serio, intinque percussus, prostratus coram Deo vehementer Orabam Graham.*

Furthermore, He Acquitted himself, as One came to have faith under his Charge; and was very desirous to see their Hearts renewed by Grace, the ( Beginning or ) Head of Knowledge, as well as their Heads furnished with other Knowledge. He would Record such Things as these.

At One Time,

Alloquebar M. W. de Salutis Negotio. *Multis illum hortabar, movebam, & dirigebam, ad illud curandum, ne suffocaret Convictiones, & inconstantiam Deum iudicat, sed precibus ΠΡΟΕΚΑΡΤΕΡΗΣ. Vitam ipse præstarem, quæ dixit Deus, serva illum Juvenem!*

At another Time,

S. M. primus & Pupillis meis, me allocutus est de Animæ sue statu; plura quidem quam sperassem lætus audivi; & quod Deus dedit. Consilium addidi, ne pergeret diligenter Deum sequi, Animabam ad sequendum Deum; At præbuit me Ariditatis Animi mei.

Yea, How Watchful he was, on all Occasions, to Observe what Occasions he might have to Do Good among all the Scholars. I shall not more than Transcribe the following Passage, to intimate.

Nocte, inter Scholares, multis seria dixi de Cognoscendis Rebus Pacis Nostræ, in Die nostro. Vitam ipse mihi me Auscultarem! Die sequenti plura ego allocutus sum cum Contubernaliibus,

I have Violated my purposes; for which cause, God is Angry with me. Ah! How many, how mighty Things of God might I have understood, if I had been Serious and Constant in MEDITATION!

Mr. Shepard Preached most profitably. That night, I was followed with Serious Thoughts, of my Inexpressible misery, wherein I go on most miserably from Sabbath to Sabbath, without God, and without Redemption. From hence I determined, That there are Things which I must Observe; and I Commended these Things unto God, that he would Effect them in me. First; That I must not remain quietly in this my condition; but that it is Intolerable for me to proceed as I am. Secondly; That I must pray constantly, without fainting, or any Intermision; Day and Night I must cry unto the Lord, with Groans that cannot be uttered. Thirdly; If God will not Hear me, nor do the Things that are needful for me in manifesting to me His Love, let me at least Mourn, and Weep, and go on in the Bitterness of my Soul. If I shall not have Comfort, and Peace, from God, let me have None at all!

Mr. Samuel Mather Preached Excellently, concerning, The Unchangeableness of God. From hence he Rebuked the Changeableness and Inconstancy of men, towards God. These Things Touch'd me; for I was Conscious to my own Inconstancy; and being Seriously and Inwardly Smitten with the sense of it, I cast my self down at the Feet of God, with Vehement Supplications for His Favour.

I spoke unto M. W. about the matters of Eternal Salvation, I largely exhorted him, advised him, directed him to be careful of This, that he did not Stifle his Convictions, and mock God by Inconstancy, but be instant in Prayer. I wish I could my self Do, what I spoke! Lord, Save that Young man!

S. M. the first of my Pupils had some Speech with me, about the State of his own Soul; I Gladly heard more from him, than I Expected, and (with the Help of God) I Concluded him, that he would go on to follow hard after God. I Encouraged him to follow the Lord; but I was ashamed of the Barrenness of my own Soul!

At Night, among the Scholars, I uttered many Serious Things, about Knowing the Things of our Peace in our Day. Oh! that I could my self here-in but hearken to my self! The Day following, I discoursed more, with my Chamber-fellows, to



ad probandum, esse Deum, & Scripturas esse ipsius verbum. Ab, nimium scripi inter nos ATHEOTES, & video Satanam multos perniciosissimos Dialogismos in Novellorum Mentis injicere! Hoc malo peribunt multi Juvenes, ni miserearis, O Deus! Et sensi me adhuc in his miserrime tenebrosissimum, nec magis aliquid Rogandum, quam ut Stabiret me quoad Fundamentales istas veritates, clarissimeque visionem daret! Hinc aliquando Occasiones Capto Realitate, TSN oEor inculcandi, & illustrandi: quod non prorsus mane video. Utinam majori Cordis sensu, ego possem Deum predicare. Sed quid mirum me oppleri Tenebris, qui Oppletus sum Cupiditatibus!

Reader, see how impossible it was, for this Excellent young Man to Record any thing in this *Diary*, without some Stroke of *Humiliation* and *Admonition* to himself in the Close of all. The ready way of becoming *Excellent*!

And while he was thus a young man, residing in the *College*, he would sometimes, on the *Saturday*, Retire into the *Woods*, near the *Town*, and there spend a great part of the *Day*, in Examining of his own *Heart* and *Life*, Bewailing the *Evils*, which made him want the *Mercies* of God, and Imploiring the *Mercies* which he wanted of the *Lord*: which Custom of spending *Saturday*, he had formerly attended also at *South-Hampton*, while he was yet, but as a *School-Boy* there. Moreover, it was, while he thus Resided at the *College*, that his Brother *David*, under deep Distresses of mind about his Everlasting Interests, addressed him for Counsel; and our *Jonathan* then wrote unto his Brother that *Golden Letter*, which was almost Thirty years after, published in *London*, at the End of his *Discourse of Glory*; A Letter whereof the famous *Collins* makes this Remark, Every Reader sensible of Spiritual Things, will see it written with an Excellent Spirit, the Spirit of God, and drawn out of his own Experiences, and this when but newly Entering upon his Ministry. A Letter, wherein he Discovers that Experimental Acquaintance with the Operations of Sin, and of Grace, upon the Souls of Men, which may Intimate how Eminent he was in One of the Accomplishments most necessary to the Ministry of the Gospel, before he had yet Entered upon it. If *Christysson*, the *Ancient*, were sometimes called *Insignis Animarum tractandorum Artifex*, Reader, here was a young man, who effectually proved himself, *An Artiz*, at handling the *Cases of a Soul*! I Remember, that *Alexander More* judges Three certain *Epistles*, to be the most *Conjunctive Pieces*, that ever the *World* saw; Namely, That of *Calvin* before his *Institution*; That of *Tuannus*, before his *History*; and That of *Calaukon*, before his *Polybion*. Now though this *Epistle* of our young *Spitchel*, come not into that *Class*, for the Embellishments of Literature, yet it has been Reckoned one of the most *Conjunctive Pieces*, in the Methods of Addressing a *Troubled Mind*.

to prove, That there is a GOD, and that the Scriptures are His Word. Alas, *Atheism* creeps in too much among us, and I see that Satan does cast many most Pernicious Reasonings into the minds of some. Many Young men, will perish by this *Mischief*, Except thou, O Lord God, have Mercy on them! I should my self also most miserably dark in these things; nor is there any thing that I have more cause to ask, than this; That He would Establish me in these Fundamental Truths, and give me a Clear Vision of them! From hence I sometimes do snatch at Occasions, to inculcate and illustrate the Reality of the Things of God: which I see, is not altogether in vain I wish, I could Preach God, with greater sense upon my Heart. But what wonder is it, if I that am full of Lusts, be also full of Darkness!

§ 6 The Extraordinary Learning, Wisdom, Gravity and Piety of this Incomparable Young Man, caused several of the most Considerable Churches in the Country, to contrive how they might become Owners of such a *Treasure*, even before ever he had, by one Publick Sermon, brought forth any of the *Treasure* wherewith Heaven had Endowed him. The Church of *Hartford* in particular, being therein Contentenanced and Encouraged by the Reverend Mr. *Stone*, sent a Man, and Horse, above an Hundred miles, to obtain a visit from him, in expectation to make him the Successor of their ever famous *Hooker*, and though upon the first motion to him from *Hartford*, his Humble Soul, wrote these words, I had more need get alone into a Corner, and weep, than think of Going out into the World, to do such Work: *Darkness*, and *Death* clouds my Soul! Yet he was prevailed withal to visit them. At *Hartford* he Preached his First Sermon: June 24, 1649, upon *Heb. 11. 27. He Endured, as seeing Him who is Invisible*; On which Action, though with his usual Humility, he wrote this Reflection in his *Diary*; In Preaching I was not to seek of what I had prepared; but my own Heart was Drie, Carnal and Unaffected, and methought I could not speak with any Evidence, of Presence of the Spirit of God; so that when I had done, I was deeply ashamed within my self, and could not but Loath my self, to think how miserably I had behaved my self, in that High Employment, and how unfavoury, foolish and foolish my Heart had been therein; I thought I, and all I did, well deserved to be Loathed by God: and man: Yet that Judicious Assembly of Christians, were so well pleased with the Labours whereof he himself thought so meanly, that in a Meeting the Day following, they Concluded to give him an Invitation to Settle among them: Adding, That if he saw it his best way to continue a year longer at the *College*, they would however immediately upon his Acceptance of their Invitation advance a considerable Sum of Money, to assist him in furnishing himself with a Library (not unlike what the *Virginia* Senate once did for the Hopeful young *Lucas Polio*, when they saw him, *Juvenem Dotibus Ornatum a Deo, non vulgariis*;) which they said, was, No new thing unto them, having had *Mr. Hooker's* Instruction for Doing so. But



But he durst not then Accept of their kind Proposals: For before his Journey to Hartford, the Renowned Mr. Shepard, with the Principal Persons in Cambridge, had importunately pray'd him, that he would come down from Hartford, as free as he went up, inasmuch as he did upon divers Accounts most belong to Cambridge, and Cambridge did hope, that he would yet more belong unto them. When Mr. Shepard first mentioned this thing unto him, he did with his constant Humility record it in his Diary, with this Reflection, *Ego mirabar hinc rem: Quid in me videt Populus Dei-Totum Negotium Reliqui Deo agendum. I wondered at this matter! What is it that the People of God see in me? I left the whole Business to the Divine Management!* And now Returning to Cambridge, he no sooner came into the Pulpit Aug. 12. 1649. but Mr. Shepard, must go out of it! Mr. Shepard in the Evening told him, This was the Place where he should, by right, be all the rest of his Days: and enquiring of some good People, How Mr. Mitchell's first Sermon was approved among them; they told him, Very well. Then said he, *My Work is done!* And behold, within a few Days more, that Great Man was by Death taken off, so that the Unanimous Desire of Cambridge for Mr. Mitchell to be their Pastor was Halted, with several Circumstances of Necessity for him to Comply with their Desire. But as the Jews used to say about the Birth of R. Jehuda, on the very same Day that another famous Rabbi dyed, *Eo die occidit Lux Israelis, et iterum Orta est*; So I may now say, *The same Day was the Light of New-England, Extinguished and Revived!*

§. 7. Occumbit Sol: Nox nulla Secuta est. Upon the setting of Shepard there arose Mitchell, in whose Light not only the Church of Cambridge, but the Colledge, and the whole Country, were now to Rejoyce for a Season. The Eyes of all New-England were upon him with Great Expectations; and he did more than answer their Expectations: for he was indeed an Extraordinary Person. But scarce a Paragraph of his Life can be written to the Life, without some Reflection upon that Humility, with which the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ hath prepared him for, and adorned him in all of that Figure, whereto he Arrived in the Service of the Churches. Just upon the Time of his Beginning his Ministry at Cambridge, he was taken dangerously Sick of the Small Pox, but though he were Sick nigh unto Death, God had Mercy on him, and not on him only, but on all the Churches thro' this Wilderness in him. No sooner was he Recovered of that Sickness, but this Humble Soul wrote, Octob. 4. 1649. in his Diary, (which after this time spoke English,) these among other passages: *It has been of late Weeks a special time of Adversity with me, The Lord Help me to Consider it! I might say, My skin is Broken, and become Loathsome, and There is no Rest in my Bones because of my Sin, my Loins are filled with a loathsome Discale, and there is no foundness in my flesh; By such a foul noisom, filthy Disease, it well appeared, what I indeed was; as the Prophet speaks, Full of putrefying Sores, It being at this Time, I was as a City set upon an Hill,*

*That when I was attempting the Pure and Sacred Work of the Ministry, I should be surprized with that Horrible Disease! Do I begin to be some Body in the world? God will make me Vile in the Eyes of the whole Country; God will Humble me before the Sun, and in the Sight of all Israel. He will have me begin my Ministry with this Disease: He knows, that I have need of a great Deal of Purifying, before I come to that. A loathsome Sinner shall have a loathsome Sickness! And the Grace of Heaven that made this Fit of Sickness, to be Considered thus as an Humiliation by this Eminent young man, then Entering upon his Ministry, did by continually Infusing other Thoughts full of Humiliation into him, lay the Foundation of stately Superstructures. As our Lord Jesus Christ, entering upon His Ministry, endured the forest Conflict of Temptation, that He had ever met withal, so did this Excellent Ambassador of that Lord; He had his Mind forcibly Enraged with Amazing and Confounding Apprehensions. Perhaps it will be many ways profitable unto some Candidates of the Ministry, as well as others to see these Papers Recite some of the sad Passages, that rolled over the Soul of a most Lovely Preacher, when he was Beginning to Preach the Gospel of Peace. We then find him at a Time, when every one admired the Excellencies that Beautified him, thus Writing and Thinking of himself, as the Desperatest Sinner in the World. At one time*

*I have lived in this World almost Twenty five years, and unto this Day have known little of God in Christ, made little Provision for Eternity, got little Acquaintance with the favour and love of God. How I have Improved this Time, Wo to me, I may be ashamed to speak; amazed to think! At another time, 'Lord, I know not whether ever such a Sinner as I, came to Thee for Mercy; whether ever such a work was done to any poor Wretch, as the saving of my Soul must be. At another time, 'I have run through all the means of Knowledge, and yet see no Truth Really, and in the Glory of it; All Afflictions, and yet am not Humbled nor Serious; All Mercies, and yet am not Thankfull; All Means of Good, and yet am Evil, only Evil, Transcendently Evil, in the highest Degree to this Day. At another time, 'If God do me any Good, or do any Good by me, it must be a Creating work. Lord, I am fit for nothing; (Good for nothing at all) neither to Live, nor Dye; neither to Teach, nor Learn; neither to Think, nor Speak; neither to Do, nor suffer; neither to Communicate Good, nor receive any; Go through all that I am, either within, or without, what am I, but Vileness, and Abomination? At another time, 'The Church will (I suppose) this day consider, and determine a Day for Ordination; but did there ever such a Creature, as I am, go about such a business? I was low, and vile this time Twelve-month, when they first made the Motion; but I am far lower and viler now. Great is the wrath of God that lies upon me; and the tokens of it are in some respects increased. I cannot with Confidence go to God as my Father in Jesus Christ. I know no Truth of God to*



any purpose. I have no Treasure of Christian Experience : I know not what belongs to the main Matters of Conversion and Salvation. My Sin is enough to bring a Curse upon all I do, and upon the whole place : I am under the very Feet of Satan, in respect of it. *Objct.* But shall not my Sin then binder me, and make me Refuse this Work of the Ministry ? *Answ.* That is to mend one Sin with another. The more evil, and the less good I have done, the more need I have to give my self up to do what Good I can now ; I should not choose my Sin, and leave God's Work ; and if I cast it away, and go to God to take it away, and wait on Him, 'tis possible with Him, to deliver me from it, and to Help mein His Work : Though that would be the greatest Wonder, that ever was done ! However, let me lye at his Feet, and leave my self with Him. *Quest.* Why do I enter upon it ? *Answ.* Because God bids me, and commands me ? *Luke 5.* He will have it so, and why should my self, or Sin, or Satan, say, What dost Thou ? *Objct.* But it may be God will take no pleasure in me ? *Answ.* I deserve He should not, but yet He deserves to be Honoured and Served ; and let it be my Happiness and Joy to do that, whatever becomes of me at last. *At another time.* My Case is now such (I Dreadful, Desperate and Forlorn) as I think, there never was the like upon Earth, since Adam was formed, unto this Day : There is only this place of Hope, That there is a Degree of Mercy in God, beyond what any ever yet made use of ! for no Man ever came to the End of Infinite Mercy : Lord, Honour Thy self by me, some way or other, whatever become of me. *At another time.* Lord, It is the Hour and Power of Darknes with me ; I feel the Dreadful Rage of Satan, and my vile Heart, now against me, to overturn me, and to cut off thy Name, which Thou callest me to bear in this place. I know not what will become of me, nor what to say to Thee ; but I leave my Woful Soul, and self to thy Disposing, Lord, I am in Hell, wilt thou let me lye there ? *At another time.* God hath put this Fear into my Heart, lest this be the Fruit and Recompence of my Sin, that I shall never know God for mine in Truth, but Live and Dye, in an unsound and self Deceiving way ; that I should have many Fears and Prayers, and good Affections, and Duties, and Hopes, and Ordinances, and Seemings, but never an Heart soundly Humbled, and soundly Comforted unto my Dying Day, but be a Son of Perdition to the last, and never have God's special Love Revealed and Afflu- to me ! Lord, keep this Fear alive in my Heart ! Such Passages as these, abundantly discover the Contritions, that laid him exceeding Low, in his own Apprehension of himself, at the Time when God was raising him to High Improvements among His People ; and it was by these *Abasements*, that Heaven prepared him for those *Improvements*. But being, after such

*Preparations*, called forth to the Service of the Churches, his Employments came in so thick upon him, that he had not such leisure as heretofore to Enrich his *Diarys*, with his Observations. He was at length reduced unto this Custom, that Ordinarily, on the Week before he admistred the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, which was once in two Months, he spent a Day in Prayer with Fasting before the Lord ; and one of his Exercises on such a Day, was to Remind and Record, such Passages of Divine Providence towards Himself, his House, his Flock, the whole Country, yea, and the whole Nation, as he judged Useful to be Remembered with him ; and such especially as might Quicken the Humiliations and the *Supplications*, wherein he was engaged.

§. 8. The Death of Mr. Shepard, was a Death-wound unto the Soul of Mr. Mitchell, whose Veneration for the Great Holiness, Learning, and Wisdom, of his Predecessor, caused him to Lament exceedingly the Loss of so Rich a Blessing, and begin his own Publick Ministry, at Cambridge with Sermons full of those Lamentations. Indeed when he had Occasion to mention his own Living Four Tears under Mr. Shepard's Ministry, he added, *Unless it had been four years living in Heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with Wonder, than for those Four Tears.* Under an Affliction, which he so much repented, the Comfort which he so fought for himself, he thus expressed : *What a blessed Thing is it to have this Mediator, the Man Christ Jesus to go unto, when I have no Friend that I can fully speak to, and open all my Complaints and Ails into his Bosom ? I think, were Mr. Shepard now alive, I would go and intreat his Counsel and Help, and Prayer. Why, now I may go freely into the Bosom of the Man Christ Jesus, who is able, faithful, tender-hearted above the best of meer Men. And I may go, and tell him not only my Sorrows (and yet that is no small matter) but also my Sins, all my Sins ; though not without Shame, yet without fearful Despair. I may complain to Him of a strong Lust, and of an hard Heart. And He does not only Pity me (and that He does more than any Man could do) but is also fully able to Help me against Sorrow, yea, and against Sin too. And in him, I may see, and take hold of the Pity, and Love, and Grace of God the Father, who through Him, is well-pleased. But that he might signify his Affection to the Predecessor, he speedily took the Pains to peruse and publish the Sermons of that Worthy Man, upon the *Parable of the Ten Virgins*, which make a Volumn in Folio ; with a most Excellent, and Judicious Preface of his thereunto. Which afterwards, was not without its Recompence in the Providence of God, when after his own Death, his own Sermons upon *The Glory to which God hath called Believers by Jesus Christ* (carefully Transcribed, and so Transmitted by Captain Lawrence Hammond of Charlstown, to whose Cares about it, the Church is now beholden for this Treasure) were by some surviving Friends, printed at London. And he whom I have once already compared unto*



*Pollio*, who dyed, when between Forty and Fifty Years old, was in this also, like that *German Divine*, who left behind him a Book of Sermons, *De Vita aeterna*, whereof *Melchior Adam* says, *Non solum sine Confessione Homines omnium Ordinum in Delictis habuerunt, atque habent: sed etiam Adversariorum nomalli, minus morosi probaverunt*: Both Friends and Foes approved it. The young Gentlewoman, whom his Predecessor had married a little before his Decease, *He* now also married upon the General Recommendations of that Widow unto him; and the *Epithalamiums*, which the Students of the College then Celebrated that Marriage withal, were expressive of the Satisfaction, which it gave unto all the Good People in the Vicinity. Howbeit, before this, he had addressed himself unto the Venerable Old *Mr. Cotton*, for Leave to become his Son-in-law, and *Mr. Cotton* prognosticating the Eminency, which he would arrive unto, had given Leave unto it: But the Immature Death of that Hopeful young Gentlewoman *Mrs. Sarah Cotton* preventing to desirable a Match, made way for his pursuing and obtaining this other Settlement. Being so settled; he wholly gave himself up to the Services of his Ministry, with such a Disposition, as he expressed in his *Parting Advice* to another, who Travelling from hence to England, had these Words from him at his Farewel; *My serious Advice to you is, That you keep out of Company, as far as Christianity and Civility will give you leave, Take it from me; The Time spent in your Study you will generally find spent the most Profitably, Comfortably and Accountably.*

§. 9. Eighteen Years did he continue a Pastor to the Church of Cambridge. And as that which encouraged him to Accept at first the Pastoral Charge of that Flock, was his being able to write that Character of them, That they were a Gracious, Savoury-spirited People, principled by *Mr. Shepard*, liking an Humbling, Mourning, Heart-breaking Ministry and Spirit; Living in Religion, Praying Men and Women: Here (said He) I might have Occasions of many sweet Heart-breaking; before God, which I have so much need of! So the Continual Prayers of such a People to the Lord Jesus Christ for him doubtless contributed more than a little unto his being furnished from Heaven with such Rich Treasures of Light and Grace, as made his Ministry richly serviceable unto them all. In this his Ministry he preached over a great part of the Body of Divinity. And as *Paul* appealed unto his two first Chapters to the *Epheſians*, thus in some Degree, an Appeal might have been made unto those Labours of this Admirable Preacher, to demonstrate his Knowledge of the Mystery of Christ. He made a most Entertaining Exposition on the Book of *Genesis*, and part of *Exodus*; [an Evangelical Targum of *Jonathan*] he made many incomparable Discourses on the four first Chapters of *Job*: Occasional Subjects he also Handled many with much Variety: He likewise kept a *Monthly Lecture*, where he largely Handled *Man's Misery*

by Sin, and *Salvation* by Christ, and entered on the Doctrine of Obedience due thereupon; and vast Assemblies of People from all the Neighbouring Towns reckoned it highly worth their Pains to repair unto that *Lecture*. The Sermons, wherewith he fed the Church of God, were admirably Well-studied; they still smelt of the Lamp; and, indeed, if there were nothing else to prove it, yet the Notes which he wrote in his Preparations for his Publick Exercises, were Proof enough of his being an Indefatigable Student. He ordinarily medled with no Point, but what he managed with such an extraordinary Invention, Curious Disposition, and Copious Application, as if he would leave no material Thing to be said of it, by any that should come after him. And when he came to Utter what he had Prepared, his Utterance had such a becoming *Tameableness*, and *Vivacity*, to set it off, as was indeed Inimitable; though many of our Eminent Preachers, that were in his Time Students at the College, did essay to imitate him. It has been observed by others, as well as *Jerom*, that *Quae firmiter concipiuntur, bene loquimur, siquidem Talia in Animo Substantiam quasi Concoquendo sunt Conversa*; And our *Pitcher*, having accordingly well Concocted what he was to deliver, with clear and strong Thoughts upon it, expressed it with a Natural Eloquence, which, (as *Tully* says of all True Eloquence) cast the Hearers into Wonderment. Profound Meditation having first, in his Heart got ready a well composed *Meat-Offering* for the House of God, his Tongue was as the Pen of a Ready Writer to bring it forth: and his Auditories usually counted themselves at a Feast with the Inhabitants of Heaven, while he was thus Entertaining of them. His Preaching was not that which *Dr. Manton* would justly Rebuke under the Name of *Gentleman-Preaching*: Or, a sort of *Harangue* finely laced and guilded with such *Phalarate Stoff*, as plainly discovers the Vanity of them, that jingle with it: but he still spoke, as reckoning, that if *Seneca's* Philosopher was to remember, *Ad miseros vocatus es; opem laturus Naufragis, Captis, Agri, Intenta scenci julyctum pressamini Caput*: Such a thing was much more to be Remembered by a Minister of the Lord Jesus Christ. Hence, though he had a very Clean Style, and spoke, — *Munda, sed e medio, Conseruata verba*; — by the same Token, that when he had once used one Word, in the Pulpit, which it may be, no Body else besides himself would have to severely Criticized upon, after he came home, he wrote a severe Animadversion upon it; I was after in my self ashamed of it (he wrote) as being a Phrase too coarse for the Pulpit! Nevertheless, he had also a Plain Style, for which he might have been justly called, as *Melancthon* was by *Keckerman*, *Ille, ut sic dicam, Perspicuitatis Genius*; but so punctually improved, that what he spoke, was felt by his Hearers, as Quick and Powerful. One, that hath addressed the World with a Treatise of Ecclesiastical Rhetoric, saith, *Credat mihi Ministerii Candidatus: Triasunt, quae valde commendant Concionatorem; Vocis Amabilitas, Epitectorum Empha-*



its, & Connexionis Concinnitas: Now all of these Three Commendations did belong to the Preaching of our *Mitchel*. And, as it was the Remark of that then *Matablefs* Preacher *Bucbolter*, to whom I have often in my Thoughts march'd our *Mitchel*, That a Preacher was known by his Peroration, so 'twas remark of our *Mitchel*, that tho' he was all along in his Preaching, as a very lovely Song of one that bath a pleasant Voice, yet as he drew near to the Close of his Exercises, his Comely Ferveyency would rise to a marvelous Measure of Energy; He would speak with such a Transcendent Majesty and Liveliness, that the People (more Thunderstruck than they that heard *Cicero's* Oration for *Ligarius*) would often Shake under his Dispensations, as if they had Heard the Sound of the Trumpets from the Burning Mountain, and yet they would stown to think, that they were going presently to be dismissed from such an Heaven upon Earth. He had indeed an Uncommon Measure of that Privilege, that is Reported of *Bucbolter*, *Ut, licet nonnisi finita Hora Altera peraret, nullum tamen Audiendi Tedium, vel e media cuicumq; plebe, Obrepserit*: Though he preached Long Sermons, the People were never weary of Hearing them. Vast was the Happiness of the Scholars at the College, and (in them) of all the Churches in the Country, while Cambridge was illuminated with such a Ministry! It was a Reflection upon this Matter long since Printed unto the World; Reason and Prudence requireth, that the Minister of that Place, be more than Ordinarily endowed with Learning, Gravity and Wisdom, Orthodoxy, Ability, Excellent Gifts in Preaching, that so the Scholars, which are Devoted to be Preachers of the Gospel, might be seasoned with the Spirit of such an Elijah: In which Regards this Holy Man of God was eminently furnished; and his Labours were abundantly blessed: For, very many of the Scholars bred up in his time (as is observed) do favour of his Spirit for Grace, and a most attractive manner of Preaching. Truly, as it was no rare thing for a German Divine to give solemn Thanks unto God, For being born in the Days of Melancthon; so there is many a New-English Divine, who has given Thanks to God, For their being at the College in the Days of *Mitchel*. But it must here be added, That altho the chief Labours of this Exemplary Pastor were in the Study, and the Pulpit, yet he did not think himself thereby excused from those Pastoral Visits which his Flock expected from him. Herein he visited at five Hours, which he set apart for it, the several Families of his Flock; not upon Trivial Designs, but with serious and solemn Addresses to their Souls upon Matter of their Everlasting Peace; and the *Gildas Salvianus* of Mr. Baxter was herein our *Mitchel* himself, as well as much Read and Priz'd by this Faithful Pastor, who Watch'd for Souls, as one that was to give an Account.

§. 10. What he was in his Ministry, the same he was in his Discipline, when Offences arose, that called for his Consideration, in the Church whereto he was related: Faithful, Prudent, Zealous,

Holy, and like an Angel of a Church, Not bearing with those that are Evil. When a publick Admonition was to be dispensed unto any One, that had offended scandalously, one could have heard nothing more Pathetical, or more Powerful, than his Discourses, on those unwelcome Occasions; the Hearers would be all drowned in Tears, as if the Admonition had been, as indeed he would with much Artifice make it be directed unto them all; but such would be the Compassion, and yet the Gravity, the Majesty, the Scriptural and Awful Purgency of these his Dispensations, that the Conscience of the Offender himself, could make no Resistance thereunto. But when the Lord Jesus Christ intends to make any Steward in His House, eminently Prudent and Faithful, He commonly Tries that Person, by Ordering some very difficult Church Cases to arise, quickly after his first Entrance upon the Stewardship. Some such Thorny Church-Cases did soon Exercise the Thoughts of this truly Aged young Man; in all of which he conscientiously considered the Rights of the Fraternity to judge in their own Church-Cases, as that Renowned Minister, and Martyr, the Blessed Cyprian did, when he could say in one of his Epistles unto his Flock, From the very Beginning of my Ministry, I determined to do nothing without the Consent of my People: And again, All Church Affairs, as mutual Respect requireth [in commune tractabimus] we will manage them in common; and again, He would Restore and Admit none, but those who should plead their cause before all the people; [Actum apud plebem universam Causam suam:] and order none of their Matters, but [praesentibus et Judicantibus vobis,] with their Presence and Judgment. And if Mr. *Mitchel* had heard any reckon the Liberty of the Brethren thus confided in the Days of Cyprian, to be an Apostasy from what was in the Beginning, he would have ask'd them, whether they reckon'd the Loss of this Liberty afterwards in the Rise of Popery, to be any Beginning, or Tendency towards Church-Reformation, and Recovery? Now tho' this Liberty of the Brethren, which our *Mitchel* according to the Primitive Congregational Church-Discipline allow'd, be that wherein for the most part the Repose of the Pastors has been by the Compassionate Wisdom of our Lord Jesus Christ provided for, yet some Trouble sometimes has arisen to the Pastors from the Brethrens abuse of their Liberty, which has call'd for much Patience and Prudence in those that have the Rule over them. And so there did unto our *Mitchel*, who on this Occasion, as on all others, was readier still to condemn himself, than any others; and once particularly record'd this Passage in his Diary. I was Troubled, [at some improper Cavils from the Brethren] and I fear spake not so Lovingly and Prudently as I should have done. I feel my Spirit ready to rise, and forget my Principles of Lying low in the Dust, and bearing with others Infirmities, and becoming all Things to all Men, for their Edification. Oh! Lord Humble me, and Teach me how to carry it! Thus did this Excellent Person write, when he was Enumerating his Humbling Circumstances,

in



in a *Secret Fast* before the Lord. But there was an *Harder Case* than any of these to Exercise him. Our *Bitchell*, presently upon his becoming the *Pastor of Cambridge*, met with a more than ordinary Trial, in that the Good Man, who was then the *President of the College*, and a Member of the Church there, was unaccountably fallen into the *Briars of Antipædobaptism*; and being *briar'd* in the *Scruples* of that Persuasion, he not only forbore to present an Infant of his own unto the *Baptism* of our Lord, but also thought himself under some Obligation to bear his Testimony in some Sermons against the Administration of *Baptism* to any Infant whatsoever. The Brethren of the Church were somewhat vehement and violent in their signifying of their Dissatisfaction at the Obstruction, which the *Renitencies* of that Gentleman threaten'd unto the Peaceable Practice of Infant-Baptism, wherein they had hitherto walk'd; and judg'd it necessary for the Vindication of the Churches Name abroad in the Country, and for the Safety of the Congregation at home, to desire of him, that he would cease *Preaching* as formerly, until he had better satisfied himself in the Point now doubted by him. At these things extream was the Uneasiness of our *Bitchell*, who told the Brethren, That more *Light* and less *Heat* would do better: but yet saw the Zeal of some against this Good Man's Error, to push this Matter on so far, that being but a *Young Man*, he was likely now to be Embarrass'd in a Controversie with so Considerable a Person, and with one who had been his Tutor, and a *Worthy* and a *Godly Man*. He could give this Account of it, *Through the Churches being apt to Hurry on too fast, and too impatiently, I found my self much oppress'd; especially Considering my own Weakness to grapple with these Difficulties; This Business did lye down, and rise up, sleep and wake with me: It was a dismal Thing to me, that I should live to see Truth or Peace dying or decaying in poor Cambridge. But while he was with a Prudence incomparably beyond what might have been expected from a Young Man managing this Thorny Business, he saw Cause to Record a Passage, which perhaps will be judged worthy of some Remembrance. That Day (writes he, Decemb. 24. 1653.) after I came from him, I had a strange Experience: I found Hurrying and Pressing Suggestions against Pædobaptism, and injected Scruples and Thoughts whether the other way might not be right, and Infant-Baptism an Invention of Men; and whether I might with good Conscience baptise Children, and the like. And these Thoughts were darted in with some Impression, and left a strange Confusion and Sickliness upon my Spirit. Yet methought, it was not hard to discern, that they were from the EVIL ONE. First, Because they were rather injected, hurrying Suggestions, than any deliberate Thoughts, or bringing any Light with them. Secondly, Because they were Unreasonable; Interrupting me in my Study for the Sabbath, and putting my Spirit into a Confusion; so as I had much ado, to do ought in my Sermon. It was not now a time to Study that Matter; but when in the former part of the Week, I had given my self to that Study, the more*

*I studied it, the more Clear and Rational Light I saw for Pædo-baptism. But now these Suggestions burried me into Scruples. But they made me cry out to God for His Help; and He did afterwards Calm and clear up my Spirit. I thought the End of them was, First, To shew me the Corruption of my Mind; How apt that was to take in Error, even as my Heart is to take in Lust. Secondly, To make me walk in Fear, and take hold on Jesus Christ to keep me in the Truth; and it was a Check to my former Self-Confidence, and it made me fearful to go needlessly to Mr. D. for methought I found a Venom and Poison in his Informations and Discourses against Pædobaptism. Thirdly, That I might be mindful of the Aptness in others to be soon shaken in Mind, and that I might warn others thereof, and might know how to speak to them from Experience. And indeed my former Experience of Irreligious Injection was some Help to me to discover the Nature of These. I Resolved also on Mr. Hooker's Principle, That I would have an Argument able to remove a Mountain, before I would recede from, or appear against a Truth or Practice, received among the Faithful. After the Sabbath was over, and I had time to reflect upon the Thoughts of these things, those Thoughts of Doubt departed, and I returned unto my former Frame. The Troubles thus impending over the Church of Cambridge, did Mr. Bitchell happily wade through; partly, by much Prayer with Fasting, in secret, before God, for the good Issue of these things; partly, by getting as much Help as he could from the Neighbouring Ministers, to be interposed in these Difficulties; and partly, by using much Meekness of Wisdom towards the Erroneous Gentleman; for whom our Mr. Bitchell continued such an Esteem, that although his Removal from the Government of the College, and from his Dwelling Place in Cambridge, had been procured by these Differences, yet when he dyed, He Honour'd him with an Elegy, from which I will transcribe one Stanza or two, because it very truly points out that Generous, Gracious, Catholic Spirit, which adorned that Person, who wrote it.*

*Where Faith in JESUS is Sincere,  
That Soul, He Saving, pardoneth;  
What Wants, or Errors else be there,  
That may and do Consist therewith.*

*And though we be Imperfect here,  
And in one Mind can't often meet,  
Who Know in part, in part may Err,  
Though Faith be One, All do not see:*

*Yet may we once the Rest obtain,  
In Everlasting Bliss above,  
Where Christ with Perfect Saints doth Reign,  
In Perfect Light and Perfect Love:*

*Then shall we all Like-minded be,  
Faith's Unity is there full-grown;  
There One Truth, all both Love and See,  
And thence are Perfect made in One.*



There Luther both and Zuinglius,  
Ridley and Hooper, there agree;  
There all the truly Righteous,  
Sans Feind live to Eternity.

But there was a special Design of Heaven in Ordering these Trials to befall our *Mitchel*, thus in the Beginning of his Ministry. He was hereby put upon Studying and Maintaining the Doctrine of *Infant-Baptism*; and of Defending the Visible Interest of the Children of the Faithful in the Covenant of Grace, under the New Administration of it, as well as under the Old, wherein we all know the Infants of Believers enjoyed the Seal of being made Righteous by Faith. In the Defence of this Comfortable Truth, he not only Preached more than half a score ungainful Sermons, while his own Church was in some Danger by the *Hydrophobia* of *Anabaptism*, which was come upon the Mind of an Eminent Person in it; but also when afterwards the Rest of the Churches were Troubled by a strong Attempt upon them from the Spirit of *Anabaptism*; there was a Publick Disputation appointed at Boston two Days together, for the clearing of the Faith in this Article, this Worthy Man was he, who did most Service, in this Disputation; whereof the Effect was, that although the Erring Brethren, as is usual in such Cases, made this their Last Answer to the Arguments, which had cast them into much Confusion, *Say what you will, We will Hold our Mind!*

¶ *Concurrat veterum licet in Te turba, potes Te,  
Hac omnes una vincere, voce, Negro:* ]

Yet others were happily established in the Right Way of the Lord. Nor was this all the Good and Great Work, for which this rare Person was marvellously prepared, by these Temptations: There is a further Stroke of our Church History, to be here briefly Touched, though elsewhere more fully to be given.

S. 11. *New-England* was a Wilderness Planted by a People, generally so Remarkable in their Holy Zeal for the Ordinances belonging to the House of God, that for the sake of Enjoying the Administrations of those Ordinances with Scriptural Purity, they had undergone the severe Persecutions which at last Exiled them into that American Wilderness: And hence there were few People of any Significance in the Transplantation, but what at their first Coming over, joyined themselves unto the full Communion of the Churches in all special Ordinances, though many of them had (I say not, justifiably) made the Terms of their Communion so strict, that it might justly have been reckoned a difficult thing for some Sincere Christians of smaller Attainments in Christianity to come up unto them. For this cause, although several of our Seers did so far See the State, which our Matters would ere long devolve into, that they Labour'd much to have the Principles of Truth concerning The Church

State of the Children born in the Church Declared and Asserted, in the Platform of Church Discipline, among the First Principles of New-England, nevertheless many Worthy Men were slow to make any Synodical Decision of those Principles, until there should arise more Occasion for the Practices, that were to be deduced from them. This Occasion did in Twenty or Thirty Years time come on with some Impurity and Impetuosity, when the Country began to be filled with the Adult Posterity of the First Planters; among which there were Multitudes of Persons, who by the good Effects of a pious Education under the Means of Grace observable upon them in their Profession of the Faith, not contradicted by any thing scandalous in their Life, deserved another Consideration in the Churches, than what was allowed unto Pagans; and yet were not so far improved in all the Points of Experimental Godliness, that they could boldly Demand an Admission unto the Mysteries at the Table of the Lord; the Conditions whereof confined it unto Persons that were sensibly Grown in Grace, and in the Knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. The most of the Ministers then, and before then, in the Land, were desirous to have the thus Qualified Posterity of the Faithful, acknowledged in the Churches, as the Nursery, from whence a successive Supply of Communicants was to be expected; and it was their Desire that this Nursery might be Watered with Baptism, and Pruned with Discipline, as well as otherwise Dressed by the Ministry of the Word. Yea, they thought, that besides the Internal Benefits of the New Covenant unto the Elect of God, the Sealing of that Covenant unto them, that were visibly the Right Subjects of it, would be an Assurance from God, that when these Persons grew up to years of Discretion, He would infallibly make them the Offer of His Covenant, and to continue the Gospel of it among them: Whereas if They and Theirs were no other accounted of than Heathens, there would not pass many Generations, before the Sacred Religion of Christ, would, through the just Wrath of Heaven be lost among them in utter Heathenism. However, all Men did not then see all things! When the Church of Roxbury particularly in the Year 1633, was put upon Doing what was their Duty in this respect, our *Mitchel* was yet (he said) in the dark about it; he willed, and wrote, That it might not yet be pressed; and added, *The Lord teach me Humility, Modesty, and Wisdom in these things!* Many a day did this Excellent Man spend now in Praying with Fasting before God; and when he was thus engaged in the Exercises of a Sacred and Secret Fast, I find him, inserting this, as not the least cause of his being so engaged: *The Case of the Children of the Church in Regard of the Doctrine and Practice about it. Oh! that God would show me His Mind and Way clearly in those things: Enable me to Teach them convincingly, and let upon the Practice thereof: and that the whole Country might be guided aright therein: That Abraham's Commanding Power might have its due Exercise as to the Children of our Churches. And that all the remaining Knots and Difficulties about*



about Church-Discipline, and the Management of Christ's visible Kingdom might once be rejoiced according to the Word. Lord, Humble me, and prosper my poor Studies, and Teach me to know and do thy whole Will herein! as Ezek. 43. 11. And at another Time; The Points about Church-Discipline, I have been long aiming to look more thoroughly into. Lord, Help and Guide me therein! and Grant that I may be kept from Extreams (the great Undoing of the World: ) both from immoderate Rigidity on the one Hand, either in Principles, Spirit, or Practice; and on the other hand, from wringing either Truth, or Conscience, by any sinful Compliance. To these Devotions, he joyed indefatigable Studies upon the great Question then agitated; and the Determination of the Question at last, was more Owing unto him, than unto any One Man in the World: For He was a Great Part in that Renowned Synod; that met at Boston in the Year 1652. The Result of the Synod afterwards published, was chiefly of his Composure, and when a most Elaborate Answer to that Result was published by some very worthy Persons, that were then Dissenters, the Hardest Service in the Defence was assigned unto him. In fine, Our Lord Jesus Christ made this Great Man, even while he was yet a Young Man, one of the Greatest Instruments we ever had, of Explaining and Maintaining the Truths, relating to the Church-State of the Posterity in our Churches, and of the Church Care, which our Churches owe unto their Posterity: And I have laid before the Reader one of the most Extensive and Expensive Labours, that exhausted his Life, when I have mentioned The Propositions of the Synod about the Subject of Baptism. All that remains necessary to Illustrate this Paragraph of our History, is to Describe in a Line or two, the Disposition which our Mitchell did prosecute this Grand Concern withal; and I will therefore only Transcribe a little from a Judicious Letter of his, to Mr. Increase Matber upon that Subject, which that Reverend Person afterwards Printed unto the World; with an Unanswerable Vindication of these First Principles of New-England, both from the Imputations of Apostasy, by some ignorantly cast upon them, and from whatever other Objections might be advanced against them. 'As for the Substance of the Cause wherein we have Engaged (saith he) I am daily more and more confirmed, that it is the Cause of Truth, and of Christ, and that wherein, not a little of the Interest of Christ's Kingdom, and of the Souls of Men, is laid up. We have been reflected upon by some, as seeking our selves, and Driving on, I know not what Design; though I cannot readily Imagine, what self-Interest or self-End, we here should be led by in this matter; Sure I am, that for my own part, I prejudice my self much, as to Name, Interest, and Ease, for my appearing in this Cause: Neither was I so unfeisible, as not to feel it from the First. I know my self to be a poor, vile, sinful Creature, and I can with some feeling say, Chief of Sinners, and Least of Saints; but in this particular matter, I have often said, I wish my Brethren could see through me; for I know not

any Design or Desire I have in it, all the World, but only that the Will of God might be done among us, His Kingdom be advanced, these Churches settled on Right Bases, and flourish in the Ways of Truth, Purity and Peace, and that the Good of the Souls of Men might be promoted both in this, and after Generations. Touching the Matter it self, that hath been in Debate please to consider at leisure, these Three Propositions.

First, The whole visible Church, under the New Testament is to be Baptized.

Secondly, If a Man be one in the Church, (whether admitted at Age, or in Infancy) nothing less than Conscience Evil, can put him out.

Thirdly, If the Parent be in the Visible Church, his Infant Child is so also.

Whether the Persons described in the Fifth Proposition of the Synod should be Baptized, as a Catechist, or in a Particular Church-state, is another Question: And I confess my self not altogether so peremptory in this latter, as I am in the Thing it self; [viz. That they ought to be baptized,] yet still I think, when all Stones are turned it will come to this, That all the Baptized are and ought to be under Discipline in particular Churches.

And now 'tis more than time for us to dismiss this part of our Mitchellian Pourtraiture, from any further Elaborations.

§. 12. Mr. Mitchell's Desire had been, To be kept from Extreams; and indeed there was nothing more Observable in his Temper, than such a Study of a Temper in all Difficult Matters, as renders a Person amiable, wherever tis Observable. I remember, I have met with a Note of a very famous Preacher, who, in the midst of many Temptations on both Hands, relieved himself by Interpreting from the Context that Passage in Eccles. 7. 18. He that saureth God shall come forth from them all, to be meant of a Deliverance out of all Extreams. The Fear of God in our Mitchell had this Effect, and Reward: And his wise coming forth from all Extreams, was no where more conspicuous, than in those points of Church-Discipline, for the clearing of which he had been, (I may say Extreamly) exercised. Had the sweet, Charitable, Amicable Spirit, that signalized this Good Man, been expressed by all good Men, as much as it was by him, a great part of the Ecclesiastical Differences in the World had been evaporated, and it had not been so long before the Names of Presbyterian and Congregational, had been melted down into that One of United Brethren. It was the Wish of our Mitchell, to have those Two Things in the State of the Church, lively represented unto the Sense of the World: First, the Grace, and then at the same time, the Holiness, of the Lord Jesus Christ, the King of the Church; and for the Obtaining of such a Representation, he thought nothing more effectual, than the Middle Way; For the Children of the Faithful to be taken within the Verge of the Church, under the Wings of the Lord Jesus Christ in his Ordinances, and under Church Care, Discipline, and



and Government, and to be in a State of *Initiation and Education* in the Church of God, and consequently to have *Baptism*, which is the *Seal of Initiation*: But that they shall not come up to the *Lord's Table*, nor be admitted unto an equal share with the *Communicants* in the Management of *Church Affairs* peculiar to them, until, as a Fruit of the aforesaid *Helps and Means*, they attain unto such *Qualifications*, as may render their Admission fair, safe, and comfortable, both to themselves and others. His Words were, *We make account, that if we keep Baptism within the Compass of the Non-Excommunicable, and the Lord's Supper, within the Compass of those that have (unto Charity) somewhat of the Power of Godliness (or, Grace in Exercise) we shall be near about the Right Middle-way of Church-Reformation.* And hence, when he had pleaded with as Irrefragible Reason, as Indefatigable Study, for the *Grace of the Kingdom of Heaven* to be exhibited in our Churches, by Administering the *Baptism of the Lord* unto the *Persons, and Infants* of all, who understand the *Doctrine of Faith*, and publicly profess their Assent thereto, and are not scandalous in Life, and Solemnly own the *Covenant of Grace* before the Church, and Subject themselves, and theirs unto the *Lord in His Church*: He then set himself to plead for the *Holiness of that Kingdom*, to be exhibited in the Churches, not only by *Consecrating the Baptized*, when they fell into Scandalous Evils, but also by *Requiring further Degrees of Preparation*, in those that they received unto the *Supper of the Lord*. Nothing was more agreeable unto him, than such a Notion of Things, as *Polaris* had, when Writing of the *Lord's Supper*, he had these Words; *Nec ad eam admittendi sunt illi, nisi prius Pastoribus Ecclesie exploratum sit, eorumam Fidei Doctrinam recte tenere et profiteri, ac intelligere quid in sacra cena agatur, quove fine, et seiplos probare possent, an sint in fide. — Quocirca etiam Catechumeni aut Imperiti, e vulgo, tandem differendi donec de Fide, et vita eorum Pastoribus probe constet.* Now, because it may be a singular Service unto the Churches, to lay before them the Judgment of so Eminent a Person, upon a Concern of some Curious and Critical Contestation in them, I shall reckon it no Digression from the Story of his Life, to recite the Result of those Meditations, in the Digesting of which no little part of his Life did roll away. He thus wrote for his own Satisfaction, on *Januar. 4. 1664.* And I shall be glad, if it may now be for my Reader's.

## PROPOSITIONS.

*I. It is a Necessary Qualification, in Worthy Receivers of the Lord's Supper, that they Examine themselves, and Discern the Lord's Body.* 1 Cor. 11. 28, 29.

*II. Those whom the Church admits to the Lord's Supper, must be such as she in Charity judgeth, that they can and will Examine themselves, and Discern the Lord's Body; because the must admit none, but such as are in Charity (or visibly) Worthy Receivers; and they only are in Charity Worthy Receivers, who in Charity have the necessary Qualifications of such.*

*Either the must give it only to visibly Worthy Receivers, or the may give it to visibly Unworthy Receivers, which were to profane and pollute it. We must dispence Ordinances, unto fit and proper Subjects, as Christ's faithful Stewards. 1 Cor. 1. 1, 2.*

*III. None can be such Self-Examining and Discerning Christians without some Experience of a Work of Grace, (or without Grace in Exercise) so as to have an Experimental Savoury Acquaintance, with the Essentials of Effectual Calling, viz. Conviction of Sin and Misery by Nature, Illumination in the Knowledge of the Gospel, and Conversion of Heart, by Repentance towards God, and Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ. 1. Self-Examination implies both, that there is the Grace of Faith and Repentance (or of Pocation) the Matter to be Examined: And also an Ability to Reflect upon that Grace, that is and hath been wrought in us; to Prove it, and find it to be Approved, at least by a preponderating Hope. 2. Discerning the Lord's Body, the shewing forth or Annunciation of His Death, imports some Acquaintance with, and Actual Eying of the main and most Spiritual Mysteries of the Gospel, concerning Christ, His Death, Righteousness, Redemption, and all the Benefits thereof; and those as exhibited in this Ordinance of the Supper. 3. That a lively or special Exercise of Grace, (by Reviving and Renewing our Faith, Repentance and Love) is required in Preparation for, and Participation of the Lord's Table, is abundantly evident, both by the Sense of the Expressions aforesaid, and by the Scope of this Ordinance, which is to Seal not only Union, but Actual Communion and Fruition. 1 Cor. 10. 16. By the Active Use of all the Outward Senses, in Receiving the Sacrament, implying that there must be an Actual, and Active Use of Exercised Senses, in Reference, to the Inward Part of it.*

*IV. None can appear unto Rational Charity to have the Qualifications aforesaid, without Holding forth the same in some way or other. Man can judge of Internal Qualifications no way but by External Signs. Invisible Grace is made visible to us by some Outward Tokens and Manifestations. Here, Esse, et Apparere, Non Esse, et Non Apparere, are all One.*

*V. Besides a Doctrinal Knowledge of the Principles of Religion, there are Two Things required to the Holding forth of Grace in Exercise (or of an Experimental Savoury Acquaintance with the Essentials of Effectual Calling) viz. 1. A Gracious Conversation. 2. Gracious Expressions. By a Gracious Conversation, I mean, not only Freedom from Notorious Scandal and Obscurity therein, but a Conversation wherein some positive Fruits of Piety do appear, so as they that know the Parties, can give a positive Testimony for them. Gal. 5. 6. Jam. 2. 18, 26. Gracious Expressions, or Words are, when a Person can so speak of the Essentials of Effectual Calling, as doth signify, not only a Doctrinal, but a Practical or Spiritual Acquaintance therewithal. That these are Necessary*



to shew *Grace in Exercise*, appears; Because  
 1. *Good Words* are in Scripture made the great  
 Sign of a *Good Heart*. Mat. 12. 34, 35, 37.  
 Prov. 10. 20. And if it be so in *Ordinary*  
*Conversion*, much more may this *Sign* be expected,  
 when a Man comes to *Hold forth*, and  
 give *Evidence of the Grace* that God has bestowed  
 upon him, in Order to Partaking of the  
*Lord's Table*. 2. *Confession with the Mouth* is  
 that by which *Faith* evidences it self to be *Saving*  
 and *Effectual*. Rom. 10. 9, 10. 3. It cannot  
 be imagined, how a Person can have had  
*Experience of a Work of Grace*, and that unto  
 a *Comfortable Discerning* thereof in himself, but  
 that he can *Speak of it*, in some way or other,  
 after a *savoury manner*.

VI. Hence, either a *Relation of the Work of*  
*Conversion*, such as hath been ordinarily used,  
 in most of our Churches, or *Some what Equivalent*  
 thereunto, is necessary in order unto  
*Full Communion*, or to Admission unto the  
*Lord's Table*. There is an *Equivalent* thereunto.  
 1. When an Account of the *Essentials*  
 of *Conversion* is given in way of *Answers*, unto  
*Questions* propounded thereabout. 2. In a *Serious*,  
*Solemn and Savoury Profession*, or *Confession*,  
*De Presenti*, i. e. when a Person doth  
 with *Understanding and Affection*, express and  
 declare himself sensible of his *Sin and Misery*,  
 and *Absolute Need of Christ*, his *Believing*, or  
 Casting himself on *Christ in the Promise*, for  
*Righteousness and Life*, and his unfeigned  
 Purpose and Desire through the *Grace and*  
*Strength of Christ*, to renounce every *Evil*  
*Way*, and walk with God in the *Ways of New*  
*Obedience*; pointing also to some special Truths,  
 Considerations or *Scriptures*, that have or do  
 affect his Soul with Reference to these Things,  
 though he do not *Relate the Series of former*  
*Passages and Experiences*. 3. When a Person  
 is *eminently known to Excel in Gifts and Grace*,  
 (as a long approved Minister of the Gospel,  
 or other eminently Holy Christian;) This is  
 more than *Equivalent* to such a *Relation*.

The Sum is, The *Modus Agendi* may be various  
 and mutable, and much therein left unto  
 the Prudence of *Church-Officers*; But the Thing  
 is necessary; viz. To *Hold forth* in one way  
 or other, *Experience of a Work of Grace*, or  
 a *Practical Acquaintance with the Essentials of*  
*Effectual Calling*. The Reason is, Because without  
 this they cannot shew themselves able to  
 Examine themselves, and Discern the *Lord's*  
*Body*, which is essentially Necessary to *Worthy*  
*Receiving*, and hence the *Appearance of it* Necessary  
 in a Subject of orderly Admission to  
 the *Lord's Table*. A Man must make a *Relation*  
 to himself; viz. by Reviewing of his *Faith*  
 and *Repentance*, or at least an *Equivalent* present  
 Renewing thereof in Preparation for the  
*Lord's Table*; i. e. To give himself a *Comfortable*  
*Regular Admission* thereunto. And should he  
 not *Declare and Manifest* such a Thing to  
 the *Church or Officers* thereof, to give them a  
 Comfortable Ground to Admit him?

Object. But why may it not suffice, for a Man

publicly to say, *I believe on Christ, or do unfeignedly Repent of my sins?* Or to consent to such Expressions being Read, or propounded unto him, without any more ado?

Answer. 1. He that can *Groundedly* so say, or profess before God, Angels and Men, that he hath, (yea, knows that he hath) unfeigned *Faith and Repentance*, can say somewhat more particularly to show the Reality of his Acquaintance with those things. And if he cannot say it, *Groundedly*, it is not meet to put him so to say.

2. He that either *Cannot*, or *Will not* say any more than so, (especially in Times of such Light and Means as we live in) he renders the Truth of his *Faith and Repentance* suspicious, so as that *Rational Certainty* cannot acquiesce in it. For all Men know, that *Faith* is not dropt into Mens Hearts out of the Clouds, without previous, concomitant and subsequent Operations; or if it was first wrought in *Infancy*, yet it will (especially when grown to such a lively Exercise, as fits for the *Lord's Supper*) shew it self in *Effects*, Renewings and Increasing by the Word and Ordinances, so as a Man will be able to hold forth some Experience of the Operations of Grace.

3. That *Mode of Profession*, which the Objection mentioneth, hath been found by plentiful Experience, to be a Nurfe of *Formality and Irregularity*. Now it is a Rule concerning the *Modus Agendi*, or such like Circumstances, That when by Experience a thing proves inconvenient, and subject to Abuse, there ought to be an Alteration thereof.

VII. Besides this, from the Qualifications requisite to the *Lord's Supper*, there are other Reasons serving to confirm the Necessity of *Practical Confessions* (viz. by Relations, or otherways, as was before said) in those that are admitted unto full Communion.

As, 1. Let those *Scripture Examples* be considered, wherein the *Grace* wrought in the faithful is Evidenced, or Collected from the *Lord's Dealings* with them in the Work of *Conversion*, and Experiences relating thereto, or to the Fruits thereof. See 1 *Thesl.* 1. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10. Let those *Words* be paraphrased according to their obvious Sense, they will make up a full *Relation*. And if Paul knew, or gathered the *Grace* that was in the *Thessalonians* from such Things as those, does it not show, that such things are a proper and rational Ground for us to gather *Grace* from? If they be *famously known* otherwise (as they were in that case to Paul) it is sufficient, as was above said; but otherways how should they be known, but from the Party's own Mouth? So Col. 1. 4.—8. Is there not a kind of Relation, of the Work, and Manner of the Conversion of those 3000 in *Acts* 2. set down in that Chapter? And consequently, the Substance of such a Relation or Work was then *de facto* obvious to the Apostles. And so, of the Conversion of Paul Chap. 9. and of *Cornelius*, Chap. 10. Yea, if we look into most of the Examples in the

H h h

Act,



Atq. Consider, if they be not more immediately reducible to [ *A manifestation of a Work of Grace* ] than to that of *Knowledge*, and a *Blameless Life*? *Paul* had little to say for a foregoing *Blameless Life* to the *Disciples of Damascus*; but a *Work of Conversion* he could hold forth to them, and a *Profession de presenti* thereupon. So *Acts* 9. 26, 27.

2. Ministers in giving the *Lord's Supper* to Persons, do give a Great and Solemn Testimony to them, [ *Take, Eat, This is Christ's Body, that was broken for you;* ] therefore surely they may take, and require a Solemn Testimony from

them, and had not need to be slight therein.

3. The Power of *Godliness* will soon be lost, if only *Doctrinal Knowledge*, and *Outward Blamelessness* be accounted sufficient for all *Church-Privileges*, and *Practical Confessions*, (or, *Examinations of Mens Spiritual Estate*) be laid aside. For that which People fee to be publickly required, and held in Reputation, that will they look after, and usually no more, but content themselves with *That*. Consider, if this hath not been a Reason of the Formality and Deadness, that hath overgrown many Churches. *January* 4. 1664.

Thus did a Manuscript of this Worthy Man's, now in my Hands, *Harmonize* with a Notable Passage about the *Bohemian Churches*.

*Denum, quia Obijciatur, Frates non habere Ecclesiam apertam cum plena Sanctorum Communione, sed Administrare Sacramenta Quibuscum tantum sibi additis: Responsum fuit, Sancta dare non Sanctis, prohibuisse Corruptum; Christianissimumque a penitentia, auspicandum, non a Sacramentis; neque Sacramenta Instituta Christi Absolutionem nanciamur nisi Resipientibus et Credentibus, quod utrumque (Penitentiam & Fidem) ne Superficium sit et saluax; Exploratione indigere; Exploratione vero Tempore Jussu: et quia Nudis Sacramentis Salutis Vim adscribere, ex Opere Operato, Errorum in Papatu Basis est, Errorum hunc corrigi non posse aliter, quam ut certa probatione, nec illa Substantia, Cordium Arcana Revelentur, Novitque dia & caute tum Informetur, tum Exploreretur.*

Ratio Discipul. Patr. Bohem. p. 4. 5.

Because it was objected, That the Brethren have not an *Open Church* with the full Communion of Saints, but administer the Sacraments only to some of their own party; it was answered, That Christ hath forbid our Giving of *Holy Things* unto *Unholy Persons*; and that Christianity is to be begun with *Repentance*, and not with the *Sacraments*; and that according to the Institutions of our Lord, *Absolution* is not to be pronounced upon any but those that *Repent and Believe*; both of which (*Repentance and Faith*) that it may not be *Superficiary and Fallacious*, it must have some *Exploration*; and this *Exploration* must have a *Sufficient Time* for it. And because to ascribe a *Saving Virtue* unto the bare Sacraments *Ex Opere Operato*, is the bottom of the Errors of *Papery*, this Error cannot otherwise be Corrected, than by this means; That by a certain, and no sudden Trial, the Secrets of Mens Hearts may be laid open, and Novices may be, with a long Caution, both instructed and examined.

Reader, If the Beating out of Truth in Controversies, that have risen among us relating to our Church Discipline, had not been the special Service, wherein all our Churches beheld the Lord Jesus Christ making use of this our Learned, Able, Holy, and no less Considerate, than Considerable Mitchell, I had not given thee so long an Entertainment as that of these Propositions; Propositions, which if they should in the Opinion of any, fall short of Demonstrations, and contribute nothing to Unite and Settle the various Apprehensions of some very Worthy Men among us about an Important Point in our Church Government, yet they will in the Opinion of all serve to express the Dispositions of Mind, which the rare Spirited Author of them did both Live and Dye withal: They show how much he was against that Rigid, Unscriptural, Uninstituted, and Unwarrantable Insisting upon Modes, wherein some of our Churches had sinced sometimes against the Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ; and yet how much he was for all Scriptural and Rational Methods to preserve the Churches from sinning against the Holiness, which does become those Houses of God for ever.

§. 13. I have said, that the Life of our Mitchell was in a special manner Engrossed by the Services of Explaining, Maintaining and Perfecting those Principles, whereby the Christian Religion must be preserved, with a True and Pure Church state among us, and conveyed and secured unto Posterity; and this leads me to that part of his Character, which distinguished him, as much as any One whatsoever; Namely, *A Care of all the Churches*. Our Lord Jesus Christ complains, That the Children of this World are (for so I read it) wiser for their own Generation, than the Children of Light. But our Mitchell was Wise for his Generation, and Exerced his Wit with much Contrivance, and much Diligence, that his Generation, even the Faithful People of God in the World might be accommodated in all their Interests. He was endued with a certain soaring and serious Greatness of Soul, which rendered Flycatching too low a Business for him; though he were One of a very Lowly Spirit in his Disposition to be always condemning of himself, yet he nourished in himself a Generous Disdain of Low, Little, Trifling Matters, and was of a Leading Spirit where hard Service was call'd for, and of a Pub-



Publick Spirit, for Doing of Service to as many as he could: His Thoughts moved in a large Sphere of Usefulness, and he was continually projecting how to Do good, in the most Extensive Manner unto more than an whole Country. The Bucholizerian Expression of the Apostolical ΠΑΝΤΟΧΟΡΙΑ might be transferred into our Account of Mr. Mitchell: He was a Circle, whereof the Center was at Cambridge, and the Circumference took in more than all New-England. Hence, when he spent his Days for Secret Prayer with Fasting before God, he would recapitulate in his private Papers the Humbling Occasions for Supplication, which he saw not only in Afflictive Things on his own particular Flock, but also in all the said Sights, which in Disasters either upon the Soil or Sacred Concerns throughout all our Three Colonies, and all Gradual Decays of our Glory, occur'd unto him; yea, and he would then Travel so far, as to Observe the Condition of the Church throughout Great Britain, and the Nations of the European World; and all these Occasions of Distress and Request, he would enumerate before the Lord, with the Matters of his own Everlasting Welfare. From the same Heroick Virtue (as I may properly call it) in him it was, that in the Weekly Meetings of the Neighbouring Pastors, after the Weekly Lectures in the Towns which he could visit; and at all other such Meetings, he would with a most becoming Discretion and Modesty, be still putting forward something or other, that might be for General Advantage: And when the Ministers met at any time so much without Advantages Effects of their Discourses, that it could be said, The Time had been smoked away to no purpose, he would be Troubled at it: It caused him once to write this Lamentation; Little done! I have begun to feel the Sadness of the present time, and the Lord's withdrawing from us and our Charior wheels taken off: I find that in all Societies, where I have any thing to do, Commonwealth, and Church and Colledge Things stick, and we draw heavily, and nothing can be gotten forward: All Things, and all the Spirits of Men, seem to be off the Hinges: Oh! Lord, Affect my Heart therewithal! In this Lamentation, the Reader finds the Colledge mentioned, and indeed the Colledge was nearer unto his Heart, than it was to his House, though next adjoining to it. He was himself an Accomplish'd Scholar, and he loved a Scholar dearly; but his Heart was fervently set upon having the Land all over illuminated with the Fruits of a Learned Education. To this End, he became a Father to the Colledge, which had been his Mother, and sought the Prosperity of that Society, with a very singular Solitude; but among other Contrivances which he had for the Prosperity of the Colledge, One was, A Model for the Education of Hopeful Students at the Colledge in Cambridge. His Proposals were, for Septennial Subscriptions by the more Worthy and Wealthy Persons, in this poor Wilderness, to be disposed of by Trustees (namely, the Magistrates and Ministers of the six next Towns, for the time being, with seven other Gentlemen by them chosen out of the said Towns, of which any Seven to be a

Quorum, if three Ministers were among them,) who should ningle out Scholars eminently pregnant and pious, and out of this Bounty support them in such Studies, as they should by their Trustees be directed unto, until they had either performed such profitable Services, as were Imposed on them in the Colledge it self, or prepared themselves for other Services abroad in the World. He was mightily affected with a Passage of Luther's, If ever there be any Considerable Bloom given to the Devil's Kingdom, it must be by Youth excellently educated. And therefore, Res seria est, Ingens est, It is a Serious Thing, a Weighty Thing, and a Thing that hath much of the Interest of Christ, and of Christianity in it, that Youth be well trained up, and want no Helps for that end; that Schools, and School-Masters, and poor Scholars be maintained. It is the Flourishing of a Common-Wealth, to be well furnished with Learned, Worthy and Able Men for all Purposes. And God will not give us such Men by Miracle, seeing He hath vouchsafed us other ways, and means to obtain them. Learning is an Unwelcome Guest to the Devil, and therefore he would fain starve it out. But we shall never long retain the Gospel without the Help of Learning. And, if we should have no Regard unto Religion, even the Outward Prosperity of a People in this World would necessarily require Schools and Learned Men. Alas, that none are carried with Avarice and Selfishness to take Care for the Education of Youth, and to help the World with Eminent and Able Men. 'Twas from Considerations, like these of Luther's, that he did with an Accurate and Judicious Pen, shape these Proposals. But if New-England then had not many Persons in it, of the same Inclination with Pope Paul 2. who pronounced them, Heretics, that should mention the Name of an Academi, and exhorted People, that they would not put their Children to Learning, inasmuch, as it was enough if they could but Read and Write: yet, through the Discouragements of Poverty and Selfishness, the Proposals came to nothing. Moreover, the Remarkable Austerity joined with an Extraordinary Holiness in this Renowned Man, caused the Churches in all Quarters far and near, when their Difficult Church-Cases called for the Help of Councils, to make their Applications unto Cambridge, for Mr. Mitchell to come and help them in their Difficulties. And in these Councils, as well as when Weighty Cases have been laid before the Elders of the Churches, by the General Courts, though usually most of the Ministers present were Elder than he, yet the Sense and Prudence of no Man, was relied more upon than His, for the Exact Result of all. With so much humble Wildom and Caution, did he Temper the Significant Forwardness at Well-doing which he still carried about him, that the Disproportion of Age, hindered not the most Aged and Able, and Venerable Angels in our Churches, from their Paying a very strange Respect unto him. Yea, as the Jewish Midrash upon that Passage in the first Psalm, His Leaf shall not wither; I remember is this, Omnes necessitatem habent Colloqui ejus; even such a necessary Tree of Life, was Mitchell accounted, in the Garden of New-England.



land. However, he encountered with such Temptations as must buffet all that have in them any thing of Significancy; for which cause, once particularly, when he had been admirably acquitting himself in an Undertaking of great Consequence to the Churches, he came home, and wrote these Words. *My Spirit was carried out in too much forwardness: I see cause to be deeply abashed and loath my self, and hang down my Head before God and Men. How do I mar God's Work, and mar what he gives me therein, by my own Folly! Sometimes I am ready to resolve to put forth my self no more in Publick Work, but keep my self silent, and unengaged, as I see others do. But then I perceive, that this Rashness of Forwardness and Pride. Lord, Give me more Wisdom to manage and demean my self! But if thy Service and Honour may be promoted by my Weakness and Folly, Let me be willing to be Fide, tht God may be exalted. 2 Sam. 6: 21, 22.* Upon the whole, he was unwilling to affect such an Unconceivable Privacy, that they who passed by his House, might say, *He sits at Mitchell's.*

§ 14. I know not how far that Learned Freeman, who Writes, *The Conformity of the Congregational Church-Government unto that of the Ancient Primitive Christians*, hath been verified his Observation, All Disinterested Persons may easily be persuaded that the Congregational Communion retains most of the Apostolick, because it is not only the Cream and best of the others, but also because it hath more Charity. 'Tis very rare to see (saith he) that any One of the Congregational Way does not love all Good Men of what Communion soever they be, and that they do not speak of them, as of the True Churches of Jesus Christ: Whereas even the most Sober and Holiest Party of the Episcopal Men, and some of the Presbyterians, are so strongly possessed with Prejudices against those of Congregations, that they are in their Account, no better than Hypocrites, Schismaticks, and Men of strange Enthusiasms. If any of the Congregational Way do not answer this Character, Let these Words condemn them; as I know those of the Presbyterian Way in this Country have by their Charitable Temper much confused that part of the Discourse, by which they are here Characterized. But the Observation I am sure, was verified in our Mitchell, who was one fully satisfied and established in the Congregational Way of Church Government, and yet had a Spirit of Communion for all Godly Men in other Forms, and was far from Confusing of Godliness unto his own. It was a frequent Speech with him, *The Spirit of Christ, is a Spirit of Communion!* And I can tell, what he would have said, if he had lived to see the Books of so Ridiculous a Schismatick, as he that has made himself infamous by attempting to prove, *That where there is no Episcopal Ordination, there is no True Church, Minister, Sacrament, or Salvation.* His Great Worth caused him to be called forth several times with an Early and Special Respect from the General Court of the Colony, to preach on the Greatest Solemnity that the Colony afforded; Namely, *The Anniversaries Election of Governors and Magistrates:* And one of the Sermons which he preached on those Occasions, was after his

Death, published unto the World under the Title of *Nehemiah upon the Wall*. In that Sermon, Reader, Take notice of the Discovery which he gave of his own Catholick Charity, when he says, 'Do not wrong and mar an Excellent Work, and Profession, by Mixing and Weaving in *Synious Principles, or Practices*; as those of *Separation, Anabaptism, Morellian (Anarchial) Confusion*. If any would secretly 'twist in, and espouse such things as those, and make them part of our interest, we must needs renounce it as none of our Cause, no part of the End, and Design of the Lord's faithful Servants, when they followed him into this Land, that was not sown. Separation and Anabaptism, are wonted Intruders, and seeming Friends, but secret fatal Enemies, to Reformation. Do not, on pretence of avoiding Corruption, run into insinful Separation from any True Churches of God, and what is Good therein; and yet it is our Errand into the Wilderness to study and practise true Scripture-Reformation, and it will be our Crown in the Sight of God and Man, if we find it and hold it, without *Adulterating Deviations*. Thus, though he were a Reformer, yet he had nothing in him of a Donatist: For which cause Mr. Baxter hearing of him, said, *If an Ecclesiastical Council could be obtained, Mr. Mitchell were worthy to be its Moderator*. And this Disposition of Charity in him, was rewarded with the Respects which he found from Learned and Pious Men, that were in many things not of his own persuasion: Such Holiness, and Patience, and sweet Confession, were his Incomparable Abilities accompanied withal, that Good Men, who otherwise differed from him would still speak of him with Reverence. To give one particular Instance: 'Tis well known that the Reverend Charles Chancy, President of the Colledge, and a Neighbour in the Town and Church with our much younger Mitchell, at the Time of the Synod, zealously and publicly, by Pen as well as by Speech opposed the Synodalian Principles whereof Mr. Mitchell was no small Defender: But so far was the Diffident between them, in the very Heat and Height of all the Controversie, from causing the Reverend Old Man to handle his Antagonist, in any measure as the Angry *Dioctorus* did the Diffident *Elavian*, in the Council of *Ephesus*, that he would commonly say of him, *I know no Man in this World, that I could envy so much, as Worthy Mr. Mitchell, for the Great Holiness, Learning, Wisdom and Meekness, and other Qualities of an Excellent Spirit, with which the Lord Jesus Christ hath adorned him.*

§ 15. And shall we a little more particularly Describe that Holiness of this Excellent Man, which we have so often mentioned? It is an Aphorism of a *Machiavel*, [and Reader, was it not worthy of a *Machiavel*?] That he who writes an History, must be a Man of no Religion. By that profane Rule, the first and the best Historian in the World, the most Religious MOSES, was ill accomplished for a Writer of History. But the History, which we are now writing, does pro-

fessedly



fellessly intend nothing to much as the Service of Religion, even of that Religion whereof our *Mitchel* made an Exemplary Profession. Wherefore we go on, to say; Know, Reader, That he was a Great Example of a Walk with God; and of Religion he was much in Prayer, much in Fasting, sometimes taking his Vertuous Wife, therein to make a Comfort with him; and sometimes also he kept whole Days of Thanksgiving privately with his Family, besides what he did more publicly; Devoting himself as a Thank Offering to God for his Mercies, with a Reasonable Service. In his Diary, He betimes laid that Rule upon himself, *Oh! that I could remember this Rule, never to go to Bed, until I have had some renewed, special Communion with God!* He kept a strict Watch, over not only his Words, but also his very Thoughts; and if by the Reflections, which he was continually making on himself, he judged that his Mind had not been always full of Heaven, and his Heart had been, what he called, *hard and flight*, that he had been Formal in his Devotions, that he had not profited abundantly by the Sermons of other Men, that he had not made Conscience of Doing all the Good he could, when he had been in any Company; he would put Stings into his Reflections, and rebuke and reproach himself with an Holy Indignation. Severe might seem the Rule of R. Hamina. If two sit together and there be no Discourse of the Law, 'tis the Seat of the Scorpion! Severe might seem the Rule of R. Simcon, *If Three do Eat at one Table, and say nothing about the Law, they are as if they Eat the Sacrifices of the Dead!* And severe might be the Rule of R. Hannaniab, *He that wakes in the Night or walks by the way, and let's his Heart lie idle, sins against his own Soul!* But our *Mitchel* reckoned it no Severity unto himself, to impose upon himself such Rules as these for his Conversation. I have read, That Five Devout Persons being together, there was this Question started among them, *How, in what ways, by what means, they strengthened themselves in abstaining from Sin against the God of Heaven?* The First answered, *I frequently meditate on the Certainty of Death, and the Uncertainty of the Time for my Death, and this makes me live in the Fear of Sin every Day as my last.* The Second answered, *I frequently meditate on the strict Account of Sin that I am to give at the Day of Judgment, and the Everlasting Torments in Hell, to be inflicted on them that can give no Good Account.* The Third answered, *I frequently meditate on the vilest, and filthiest, and loathsome of Sin, and the Excellency of Grace, which is contrary unto so vile a Thing.* The Fourth answered, *I frequently meditate on the Eternal Rewards and Pleasures reserved in Heaven for them that avoid the Pleasures of Sin, which are but for a moment.* The Fifth answered, *I frequently meditate on the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and his wondrous Love to miserable Sinners, in dying a cursed and a bitter Death for our Sin; and this helps me to abstain from Sin, more than any other consideration whatsoever; And the Answer of this last was indeed the greatest of all. Now all these were the Subjects, which our Holy *Mitchel*, obliged*

himself to an assiduous Meditation upon; and by Meditating on these it was, that he became very Holy. Moreover, he was as Holy Men use to be, very solicitous to make a due Improvement of all Afflictions, that the Providence of Heaven diffused upon him. He would say, *When God personally afflicts a Man, it is as if He called unto the Man by Name, and jogged him, and said, Oh! Repent, be humbled, be serious, be awakened.* Yea, he could not to much as be kept a little from the Labours of his Ministry by an *Heard Cold* afflicting him, without writing down this Improvement of it; *My Sin is legible in the Chastisement: cold Duties, cold Prayers (my Voice in Prayer, i. e. my Spirit of Prayer fearfully gone) my Coldness in my whole Conversation, chastisement with a Cold; I fear that I have not improved my voice for God formerly as I might have done, and therefore He now takes it from me.* But the Affliction which most of all Exerced him, seems to have been in the successive Death of many and Lovely Children, though all of them, in their Infancy. 'Tis an Observation made by some, upon several Passages in the Scripture concerning that Generous and Gracious Man, David, that he was *Liberorum Amantissimus*, full of Affections to his Children; and that was to be observed in our Mr. Jonathan Mitchel; for which cause, when his Children were Sick, his Paternal Bowels felt more than ordinary Wounds; and when they were Dead, his Humiliations thereupon were extraordinary. He wrote whole Pages of Lamentations on these Occasions; and one of his Infants particularly expiring before it could be brought forth to an orderly Baptism, I cannot but recite a little of the Meditations then written by him: *It was a further sad Hand of the Lord (says he) that it should dye unbaptized. Though I do not think they are Orthodox, that have Salvation upon Baptism, and not rather upon the Covenant, yet as it is appointed to be a Confirming Sign, and as it is an Ordinance of Grace, so to be Deprived of it is a great Frown, and a sad Intimation of the Lord's Anger: And though it may be well with the Child notwithstanding (that it comes me to leave unto the Lord!) yet it is to us a Token of Displeasure. And what Contrition or Thoughts tending to the Lord's Dishonour it may occasion, I know not: That after my Labours in Publick about Infant-Baptism, the Lord should take away my Child without and before Baptism! Hereby the Lord does again and again make me an Example of His Displeasure before all Men, as if He did say openly, that He hath a special Controversie with me: Thus remarkably taking away one after another. The Lord brings me forth, and makes me go up and down, as one smitten of God; The Lord sits in my Face by this thing. See 2 Sam. 12. 12. Numb. 12. 12. Dent. 28. 45, 46, 48, 49. Such, and many more were the Workings of His Tender Soul under his repeated Afflictions: And such were the Unsearchable Dealings of God, that besides the Children which he sent unto Heaven before him, when he went unto Heaven himself, he left behind Three Sons, and Two Daughters, all of which lived unto somewhat of Time; yet they have all of them since died in their Youth: except*



cept only a Vertuous Young Gentlewoman, married unto Captain Stephen Sewal of Salem; unto whom (with her Offspring, the only Posterity of this Great Man) may the Lord multiply all the Blessings of that *Covenant*, for which their Progenitor proved so servicable a Pleader in his Generation!

The last Thing that ever he wrote in his Reserved Papers, after he had bitterly reproached *The Sinful Deadness, Straints, Enmity, and Uncharitableness* (as he called it) upon his own Heart, upon which he added this Pathetical Expression, *I feel I shall fall, and tumble down into the Pit of Hell, if left unto my self*; It was June 7. 1668. To quicken his Cares of *Daily Meditation*.

First, Far younger than I, some of them now got to Heaven, have done much this way. *Nulla Dies sine Linea.*

Secondly, *Meditation*, yea, *Daily Meditation*, in general, is an indispensable Duty. *Psal.* 1. 2. and *Psal.* 119. 97. And because it is so, there may be something of *Meditation* in *Prayer*, in *Reading the Word*; *Jobb.* 1. 8. with *Deut.* 17. 19. and in *Occasional Transient Thoughts*; yet surely some *sett Meditation* daily belides these, is at least to me a Duty, who am set apart, for the Holy Work of the Ministry, wherein it would be Helpful, as well as to my own Soul.

Thirdly, Heaven is here begun upon Earth: shall I be *Thinking* on, and *Talking* with, *Christ*, to all Eternity, and not Discourse with Him, once quarter of an Hour in a Day now?

Fourthly, The Great Enemies of all Good, *Flesh, Satan* and *World*, do of all other things, most oppose *Meditation*, which flows that there is much Good in it. *Flesh*, by Awkness, Giddiness; *World*, by Distractions; *Satan*, by stirring up both. Lord, *Awaken me, and keep me Awake!*

§. 16. But what and when, was the End of this Holy Walk? The Incongruities and Inconsistencies of *Historians*, are not more notorious in any one Article, than in that of the Deaths of the *Heroes*, whose Lives they have Eternized. With what Varieties are the Deaths of *Cyrus*, of *Antiochus*, of *Alexander*, of *Hannibal*, of *Romulus*, of *Scipio*, of *Plato*, of *Aristotle*, reported? There is hardly any Philosopher, but he dies Twice or Thrice over in *Laertius*; and there is hardly one of *Plutarch's* Worthies, but he dies as many Ways. The Death of our *Mitchel* remains now to be related with more of Certainty. Though *Bodily Exercise* does profit a little, as the Apostle concedes, namely, to the Health of the Body; and Mr. *Mitchel* had from a Principle of *Godliness*, used himself to *Bodily Exercise*; nevertheless he found it would not wholly free him from an ill Habit of Body. Of extream Lean, he soon grew extream Fat; and at last, in an extream hot Season, a Fever arrested him, just after he had been Preaching on those Words, *I know that thou wilt bring me to Death, and unto the House appointed for all the Living*. The Fever did not seem to threaten his Death; however in his Illness, to

them that visited him, he said, *If the Lord Jesus Christ have any Service for me, to do for Him, and His Dear People, I am willing to do it; but if my Work be done, His Will be done!* But the Dilemper suddenly assailing him with a Mortal Malignity, and summoning him to the House appointed for all the Living, he fell to admiring the manifold Grace of God unto him, and broke forth into these Words, *Lord, Thou callest me away to Thee; I know not why, if I look to my self; but at thy Bidding I come!* which were some of the last Words, which he spoke in the World: For his Friends, who had not for many Hours, entertained the Expectation of any such dismal Event, were compelled in Floods of Tears, to see him dye on July 9. 1668. in the Forty Third Year of his Age: When (as one expresses that Matter) he left his Body to be dipped in the River of Jordan, that afterwards in it's Resurrection, passing into Canaan, it may, beyond the Story of *Achilles*, become impenetrable and invulnerable. Wonderful were the Lamentations, which this Deporable Death fill'd the Churches of New-England withal; for as the Jewish Rabbies lamented the Death of *R. Jose*, with saying, That after his Death, *Cessarunt Botri*, i. e. *Vitis tales, in quibus omnes, tum Eruditionis, tum Virtutis, cunctis erant*: So, after the Departure of our *Mitchel*, it was fear'd there would be few more such Rich Grapes to be seen growing in this Unthankful Wilderness. Yea, they Speak of this Great Man in their Lamentations to this Day; and what they speak is briefly the same, that One of our most Eminent Persons has Writ in those Terms, All New-England smok, when that Pillar fell to the Ground.

## EPITAPH.

AND now, Reader, Let us go to the best of Poets in the English Nation for those Lines, which may, without the least Wrong to Truth be applied as an EPITAPH to this best of Preachers in our little New-English Nation. The Incomparable Dr. Blackmore's Orator Tylor, shall now be our MITCHEL.

THIS the Great *Mitchel*, whose Immortal worth Railes to Heav'n the *Ile* that gave him Birth. A Sacred Man, a Venerable Priest, Who never spake, and Admiration mist. Of Good and Best, he the just Standard seem'd, Dear to the *Kind*, and by the *Worsh* esteem'd. A Gen'rous Love, diffus'd to Humane Kind, Divine Compassion, Mercy unconfin'd, Still reign'd Triumphant, in his Godlike Mind. Greatness and Modesty their Wars compose, Between them bere a perfect Friendship grows. His Wit, His Judgment, Learning, equal rise; Divinely Humble, yet Divinely Wise: He seem'd Express, on Heav'n's High Errand sent, As *Moses* Meek, as *Aaron* Eloquent, Ne<sup>er</sup> Bar divine flows from his Heav'nly Tongue, And on his Lips, charming Persuasion hung.

When



When he the Sacred Oracies reveal'd,  
Our Ravish'd Souls in blest Enchantments held,  
Seem'd lost in Transports of Immortal Bliss;  
No Simple Man could ever speak like This!  
Arm'd with Cælestial Fire, his Sacred Darts  
Glide thro' our Breasts, & melt our yielding Hearts.  
So Southern Breezes, and the Springs mild Ray,  
Unbind the Glee, and thaw the Frozen Clay.  
He Triumph'd o' our Souls, and at his Will,  
Bid this Touch'd Passion rise, and that be still.  
Lord of our Passions, he, with wondrous Art,  
Could strike the Secret Movements of our Heart;  
Release our Souls, and make them soar above,  
Wing'd with Divine Desires, and Flames of  
Heav'nly Love.

But what need I travel, as far as Europe for an  
Elegy upon this Worthy Man? Let it be known,  
That America can Embalm Great Persons, as well  
as Produce them, and New-England can bestow  
an Elegy, as well as an Education upon its Heroes.  
When our Mitchell was dying, he let fall such a  
Speech as this unto a young Gentleman, that  
lodg'd in his House, and now stood by his Bed,  
My Friend, As a Dying Man I now charge you,  
that you don't meet me out of Christ in the Day of  
Christ. The Speech had a marvellous Impression  
upon the Soul of that Young Gentleman; who  
then compos'd the Ensluing Lines.

To the MEMOIR of the

REVEREND

JONATHAN MITCHEL.

Quicquid Agimus, quicquid Patimur,  
venit ex Alto.

THE Countries Tears, be ye my Spring; my Hill  
A General Grave; let Groans inspire my Quill.  
By a warm Sympathy, let Feaversh Heat  
Roam thro' my Verse unconfined: And a Cold Sweat  
Limning Despair, attend me: Sighs diffuse  
Convulsions thro' my Language, such as use  
To Type a Gasping Fancy; lastly, Shroud  
Religious Splendor in a Mourning Cloud,  
Replete with Vengeance, for Succeeding Times,  
Fertile in Woes, more Fertile in their Crimes.  
These are my Muses; These Inspire the Sails  
Of Fancy, with their Sighs, instead of Gales.  
Reader, Read Reverend Mitchell's Life, & then  
Confess the World a Gordian Knot agone.  
Read his Tear-dew'd Grave, and then decree,  
Our present Woe, and future Misery.

Stars falling ipeak a Storm; when Samuel dies,  
Saul may expect Philistia's Cruelties,  
So when Jehovah's Brighter Glory fled  
The Temple, Israell soon was Captive led.  
Geneva's Triple Light made one Divine:  
But here that vast Triumvirate combine  
By a blest Metempsychosis to take  
One Person for their larger Zodiac.  
In Sacred Confures, Fatales dreadful Scrol  
Of Words, broke from the Pulpit to the Soul.  
In Balmly Comforts, Frets Genius came  
From th' Wrinkled Alps, to wooe the Western Dame;  
And Courting Cambridge, quickly took from thence  
Her Last Degrees of Rhetorick and Sense.  
Calvot's Laconicks thro' his Doctrine Spred,  
And Childrens Children with their Manna fed,  
His Exposition Genesis begun,  
And fatal Exodus eclips'd his Sun.  
Some say, that Souls oft had Prefaces give:  
Death-breathing Sermons taught us last to Live.  
His System of Religion, half unheard,  
Full double, in his Preaching Life appear'd.  
He's gone, to whom his Country owes a Love,  
Worthy the Prudent Serpent, and the Dove.  
Religion's Parody, the Sinner's Terror,  
Death summon'd here; sure by a Writ of Error!  
The Quaker trembling at his Thunder fled;  
And with Caligula resum'd his Bed.  
He, by the Motions of a Nobler Spirit,  
Clear'd Men, and made their Notions Swine inherit.  
The Musker Goblin, by his Holy Flood  
Exorcis'd, like a Thin Phantasma stood.  
Brown's Babel shatter'd by his Lightning fell,  
And with Confused Horror pack'd to Hell.  
The Scripture, with a Commentary bound,  
(Like a Lost Calais) in his Heart was found:  
When he was Sick, the Air a Feather took,  
And Thirsty Phœbus quaff'd the Silver-brook:  
When Dead, the Spheres in Thunder, Clouds, & Rain  
Groan'd his Elegium, mourn'd and wept our pain.  
Let not the Dracen Schismatick aspire;  
Lose leaving Sodom left them to the Fire.  
'Tis true, the Bee's now dead; but yet his Sting  
Death's to their Dronish Doctrines yet may bring.

#### EPITAPHIUM.

Here Lies within this Comprehensive Span;  
The Churches, Courts, and Countreys Jonathan.  
He that speaks Mitchell gives the Schools the Lie;  
Friendship in him gain'd an Ubiquity.

F. Drake

FINIS.

CHAP.



## CHAP. V.

## DRUSIUS NOV-ANGLICANUS.

THE

## L I F E

O F

## Mr. Urian Oakes.

*O Vitam plures similes tibi peccare nossem,  
Aut in Doctrinâ, aut Sedulitate parces.*

§. 1. I Remember, 'tis the Report given by Sylvius concerning Rhodes, That it is blessed with a perpetual Shine of the Sun; imagine, that there passes not a Day in the Year, wherein the Sun shines not upon it. And methinks our Cambridge, had not been much otherwise privileged for more than Forty Years together; being shined upon by a successive Triumvirate of such Eminent and Heavenly Lights, as, First, Shepard, then Mitchell; and Lastly our Excellent Urian Oakes. Those three Golden Men and very Chrysoloms, have given to Cambridge its Golden Age! The Church of Cambridge had a Succession in some sort like that in the Church of Ephesus, a Paul, a Timothy, and a Tryphicus.

§. 2. 'Tis Remarkable, That in the Sacred Story at least Forty Dukes of Edom have their whole Story crowded into one short piece of a Chapter; Three or Four of them are jostled into a Line, Seven or Eight of them into Two; all but their meer Name is buried in a Dark Vault of Eternal Oblivion: While above a dozen Chapters are employ'd, in describing the Vertues, and relating the Actions of one Younger Son of Israel, the Son of a Plain Man who dwells in Tents. If the Greatest Persons of Edom [that is to say, of Rome] have their History lost, the Church of God would have no great Loss in it; A Son of Israel may more worthily, and more usefully have his Memory preserved in Church-History with the most Extended Paragraphs: Yea, the Son of a Plain Man, who dwells in Tents, may deserve an Everlasting Remembrance among them, who most consider what they have most Reason to remember. Make Room then, for Urian Oakes, Ye Records of New-England. He was born in England, and now in his Childhood brought over to New-England, by his pious Parents, who were

blessed with several Worthy Sons, the Effects of whose Liberal Education in our Colledge have rendred the Family not the Least in our little Israel. While he was yet a Child, he was delivered from an Extream Hazard of Drowning by a Mirable, I had almost said, a Miracle of Divine Providence; God reserving him to be a Moses among his People. And the sweet Nature, which accompanied him all his Days, did now so remarkably recommend him, that Observers have made this Reflection, If good Nature could ever carry One to Heaven, this Youth has enough to carry him thither.

§. 3. His prompt Parts adorned and advanced with the Grace of God at such a Rate, as to make the Considerate say of him, as they said of young Ambrose, To what will this Cold grow? were Improved in our Colledge; where he took his two Degrees. Being here yet a Lad of small, as he never was of great Stature, he published a little parcel of Astronomical Calculations with this apposite Verse in the Title Page,

*Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua Gratia parvis.*

But here, being furnished with the Armon, and the Treasure of the Schools, he went from hence unto the Work of Building the Temple of God; preaching his first Sermon at Roxbury.

§. 4. Returning back to England, he there Grew in Favour with God and Man. After he had been a while Chaplain to One of the most Noted Persons then in the Nation, Titchfield was the place, where this Bright Star became fixed; there 'twas that he settled in the Charge of Souls, which he discharged in such Lively Preaching and such Holy Living, as became a Minister of the New Testament; there 'twas that like a Silkworm, he spent



spent his own *Bowels* or *Spirits*, to procure the *Garments of Righteousness* for his *Hearers*; there 'twas, that he might challenge the *Devotee* and *Motto* of the Famous *Dr. Sibb*, a walking *Lamp* with this Inscription, *Præluendo perco, or, My Light is my Death.*

§. 5. But the Expensive Labours of his Ministry did not so hasten a *Natural Death* upon him, as to anticipate a *Civil Death* by the *Persecution*, that silenced the *Non-conformist Ministers* throughout the Nation. A *Civil Death*, I say; because although the *Authors* of that *Act, XIV. Car. 2.* would not be reckoned among *The Slayors* of our *Lord's Witness*, yet it may surprize the most attentive Consideration, to read how much oftner than *Twice* or *Thrice* in that *Act*, the silenced Ministers are pronounced as *Dead*, and, as if *naturally Dead*! This *Act* flew the Ministry of this Faithful Witness to the Truths of the Gospel, whereof he was a Minister; but that *Worthy* and Well-known *Colonel Norton*, proved the *Obadiab*, who then gave this Good Man a Residence in his House; where his Presence and Prayers produced a Blessing, like that on the House of *Obed-Edom*. Nevertheless, when the Heat of the Persecution was a little abated, he returned unto the Exercise of his Ministry, in a Congregation, where *Mr. Symmons* was his Colleague.

§. 6. Our Cambridge deprived of their Incomparable *Mitchel*, and lamenting, that, *Of all her Sons, there were so few to take her by the Hand*; after solemn Addresses unto the Great Shepherd of the Sheep for his Direction, sent over their Agents into England, with an Invitation to *Mr. Oakes*, to come over and Help them. A Council, upon that Occasion, called approving of the Invitation, the Good *Stork* flew over the *Atlantic Ocean* to feed his *Dam*. Whereupon One wrote,

Welcome, Great Prophet, to New-England Shore,  
The Land's Utopia, of more Famous MORE,  
Unfaded, for New-England is by thee,  
Now Twill's Gues'ts too must Accomplish be;  
That for the New-Jerusalem, there may  
A Seat be found in Wide America.

§. 7. The Church of Cambridge could now show this *Orient Jewel* for divers Years, before the Almighty would have it made up Among his Jewels; though the Troubles and Sorrows of a *Quarant Age*, often diverted him from his Publick Services. And here he had the Opportunity, for which *Dr. Preston* chose rather to preach at Cambridge, than any other place, *Dolore non tantum Lapidis sed Artificis*. Of the Divine Favour to them, in their Enjoyment of such a Pastor, the Church was now so sensible, that they kept a Day of Publick Thanksgiving for it. At this Thanksgiving a Sermon being expected from himself, he took for his Text those Words in *2 Cor. 12. 11. I be nothing*. And the Holy Endeavours that he used in the Sermon, to take off the Thoughts of the Faithful from any thing in *Man*, to every

thing in *Christ*; were very agreeable to a *Man*, whom *Christ* had made something among the People. But the Colledge in Cambridge languishing under somewhat worse than an *Age*, by the Want of a *President*, this Accomplished Man was invited unto that Place: For divers Years, he would admit no other Title to this Place, but that of *Pro Tempore*, which indeed seems to have been a little *Proleptical* and *Propheticall*. From this Time, and But for a Time, he was the *Jerom* of our *Bethlehem*.

§. 8. Soon after he had accepted his *Presidency*, he was afflicted with a Malignant Fever, which presently put an End unto his Days in this World. The Prayer of some Great Saints has been contrary to that in the *Litany* for a *Sudden Death*; and such was the Death of this delectable Person, if any Death may be accounted sudden to him, that was always prepared for it. When he had lain sick about a Day or Two, and not so long as to give the People of God Opportunity to pray for his Recovery, his Church coming together with Expectation to have the *Lord's Supper* on the *Lord's Day* administered unto them, to their Horror, found the *Pangs of Death* seizing their Pastor, that should have broken to them the Bread of Life. And, indeed, I have often seen the Lord of Heaven, taking off his Ministers, perhaps to Heaven, at that Season, when the *Eucharist* should have been celebrated! which is a thing that might admit of some useful Reflections.

§. 9. He was upon all Accounts truly, an Admirable Person. Consider'd as a *Christian*, he was Full of all Goodness, and like a full Ear of Corn, he stood with a most profound Humility, adorning all his other Graces; but though he were Low in his own Opinion of himself, yet he was High in his Attainments; High in his Principles. He carried Heaven in his Name *Oriana*, *Q. uæritur*, I but much more in his Heavenly Mind. Consider'd as a Scholar, he was a Notable Critick in all the Points of Learning; and well Versed in every Point of the Great Circle. Vast the Treasures lodged in the Soul of such a Scholar! Consider'd as a Preacher, He was an Orpheus, that would have drawn the very Stones to Discipline; had *Austin* been here, he might now have been *Paul* in the Pulpit: indeed, he was, as one said, *An Uncomfortable Preacher*; Why? He drove us to Despair, namely, *Of seeing such another*. Finally, I cannot speak more Comprehensively of him, than *Mr. Innes* hath does in his Preface to a Discourse of this Renowned Man's, published just after his Decese.

There have been several of the same Name, heretofore Renowned for their Rare Accomplishments in some particular Faculty, wherein they have excelled. *Josephus Quercetanus* was a Learned and Famous Physician. *Johannes Dreyfus* (the Greek Word for *Oakes*) was a Great Divine, and Eminent for his Critical Genius. But an Age does seldom produce One so many Ways excelling as this Author was.



‘ If we consider him as a *Divine*, as a *Scholar*, as a *Christian*, it is hard to say, in which he did most excel. I have often in my Thoughts, compared him unto *Samuel* among the Prophets of Old; in as much as he did truly *Fear God* from his Youth, and was *Betimes* improved in *Holy Admirations*, and was at last called to be *Head of the Sons of the Prophets* in this *New-English Israel*, as *Samuel* was President of the Colledge at *Najoth*. And in many other Particulars, I might enlarge upon the Parallel, but that it is inconvenient to extend such Instances beyond their proportion.

Hæu, tua nobis  
Morte simul tecum Solatia rapta!

‘ It may without Reflection upon any be said, That He was one of the *Greatest Lights*, that ever shone in this Part of the World, or that is ever like to arise in our Horizon. He is now become a *Royal Diadem* in the Hand of the Lord; being, as One speaks concerning a Great Worthy, *An Ornament unto Heaven* it self.

§. 10. As for his Works, 'tis an Exceeding Pity, that the Press has given to the Light no more of them; for *Quicquid tam Doli candidi Manus, Cælum est*: Nevertheless, Four or Five of his Published Compositions are carried about among us, like *Paul's* Handkerchiefs, for the Healing of our Sick Land. We may read something of what he was, in a Sermon, called *The Conquering and Unconquerable Christian Soldier*, on Rom. 8. 37. preached unto the Artillery-Company in *Doston*, on their Election: And in a Sermon preached on the like Occasion in *Cambridge*, from Eccles. 9. 11. showing, That Chance is infallibly determined by God: And in a Sermon upon a Fast, which from *Isa.* 43. 22. prefaces for Sincerity and Delight in the Service of God: But most of all in a Sermon on *Deut.* 32. 22. preached unto the General Court of the *Massachusetts-Colony*; wherein, he pleaded with his Country, to Consider what would be the *Later End* of the *Evils* then growing in the Country; after a Manner, so Faithful, so Solemn, so Affectionate as was hardly to be equalled. Now, that the Reader may see some Account of this Learned Man's Judgment in the Matters of Church-Discipline, without which we may not say, that we have written his Life, we will from that Sermon only Transcribe the few following Lines.

‘ I profess, I look upon the Settlement of the *Congregational Way*, as the Boon, the Gracuity, the Largess of *Divine Bounty*, which the Lord graciously bestow'd upon His People, that followed him into this Wilderness; and a great part of the Blessing on the Head of *Joseph*, and of them that were Separate from their Brethren. Those Good People that came over hither shewed more Love and Zeal, and Affectionate Desire of Communion with God in pure Worship and Ordinances, and did more in Order to it than others, and the Lord did more for them, than for any People in the World, in shewing

them the Pattern of his House, and the true Scriptural Way of Church-Government and Administrations, I do not think, that they were at a *Nō plus ultra*, and that nothing was left unto the Discovery of after-times; but the Beginning-Work was substantially done by them; they were set in the Right Way, wherein we are now to proceed, and make a Progress. It will be our Wisdom, Interest, and Duty to follow them, as they followed the Guidance of the Spirit of Christ. The Reformation in K. Edward's Days was then a Blessed Work; and the Reformation of Geneva and Scotland was a larger Step, and in many Respects purer than the other; and for my part, I fully believe, that the Congregational-Way far exceeds both, and is the highest Step that has been taken towards Reformation, and for the Substance of it, is the very way that was established and practised in the Primitive Times according to the Institution of Jesus Christ. There is a Sweet Temperament in the Congregational-Way; that the Liberties of the People may not be overlaid and oppressed, as in the Classical-Way, nor the Rule and Authority of the Elders rendered an insignificant thing, and trampled under foot as in the Way of the Brownists; but that there may be a Reconciliation or due Concurrence in the Ballancing of the One justly with the Other: And herein, the Wisdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Frame of Church-Government (for it is not any Politick or Prudential Contrivance of Man, but modell'd by the great Law Giver, the Lord Jesus) is greatly to be admired by us.

§. 11. The Rest of the Report that we will give of this Memorable Person, shall be but a Transcript of the Epitaph on the Tomb-Stone in the Sleeping-place at Cambridge, dedicated unto his Memory. And know, Reader, that though the Stones in this Wilderness are already grown so Witty as to Speak, they never yet, that I could hear of, grew so Wicked as to Lye.

### URIANI OAKESII,

Cujus, Quod, Reliquum est,  
claudatur hoc Tumulo;

Explorata Integritate, Summæ Morum Gravitate,  
Omniumq; meliorum Artium insigni Peritiâ,  
Speciatissimi, Clarissimiq; omnibus Modis Vari,  
Theologi, merito suo, celebrimine,

Concionatoris verè Melliflui,  
Cambrigiensis Ecclesiæ, Doliissimi et Orthodoxi Pastoris  
In Collegio Harvardino Præsidis Vigilantissimi,  
Maximam Pietatis, Eruditionis, Facundie, Laudem  
Adepti;

Qui, Repentinâ Morte subita correptus,  
In JESU suum efflavit Animam,  
Julii XXV. A. D. M. DC. LXXXI.

Memorie

Ætatis suæ L.

Plurima quid Referam, satis est si dixeris UNUS.  
Hoc Dîctū satis est, Hic jactet OAKESIUS.



## CHAP. VI.

THE

## L I F E

OF

## Mr. Thomas Shepard.

S. 1. **W**HEN We find that Passage in the Oracles of Heaven, Behold, Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia; this Man was born there;

it follows, And of Zion, it shall be said, This and That Man was born in her: And the Meaning and the Reason of this different Expression hath been a Matter of some Enquiry. It seems, that of Rabab, Babylon, Philistia, Tyre and Ethiopia, it was said, Behold (as being almost a Wonder!) that This Man, some one single Man of Eminency a Rara Avis in Terris, was born there. But of Zion, it might be said, [וְיִשְׂרָאֵל] Man and Man, This and That Man, that is to say, Very many Eminent Men: Multi pietate, Dilecti Ingenio, Rerum Bellicarum Gloria aucti, Virtutibus Insignes, were Born in her. That little Spot of Ground, where God planted His Church, afforded more Excellent Men for Holiness and other Noble Accomplishments, in proportion, than all the World besides. I will now make no Odious Comparisons between Harvard-Colledge and other Universities, for the proportion of Worthy Men therein educated: But New-England, compared with other Parts of America, may certainly boast of having brought forth Very many Eminent Men, in proportion, more than any of them; and of Harvard-Colledge (heretia truly a School-Colledge) it may be said, This and That Man was bred there; of Whom, not the least was Mr. Thomas Shepard.

S. 2. Reader, Esteem it not preposterous, if I begin the Life of this Worthy Man, with Relating that His Death fell out, on Decemb. 22. A. D. 1677. When the Pestilence raged so much in Alexandria of Old, that There was not an House, wherein there were not many Dead, it was the Observation of Mankind, that while the Pagans cast off all Humanity and inhumanely forsook their Dearest Friends, in the Distresses of their Sickness, the Christians without any regard unto their own Life, boldly ventured into the Sick Chambers, and cheerfully assisted and relieved their Infected Brethren, and very often dyed that they might preserve others from Death, or attend them in it. Mr. Thomas Shepard had in him that Spirit

of the Primitive Christians. He was the Pastor of the Church in Charlestown; and the Small-Pox growing as Epidemically Mortal as a Great Plague in that place, this Excellent Man, who had for many Years most faithfully done all the Duties of a Pastor unto his Flock, apprehended it now his Duty to Visit One of his Flock, who lying sick of this Distemper, desired a Visit from him. He went with His Life in his Hand, and which he courageously, and undauntedly expected, the Contagious Distemper arresting of him, did put an End unto his Life, and therein, surely, after some sort entitle him unto the Crown of Martyrdom. Thus, as an Elegy upon his Death expressed it.

*Rather than run from's Work, he chose to dye,  
Running on Death, sooner than Duty fly.*

Behold, a Shepherd, who was (as the Emperor Probus had it said of him) Vir sui Nominis!

S. 3. And now, that the Pourtraiture of this Person, who was, as Great a Blessing and Glory as ever Charlestown had, may be drawn to the Life, it is fit, that other Pencils, than such poor ones as mine, should be employ'd; for indeed it was very truly confelld in an Elegy, made upon him,

*Here's Worth enough to overmatch the Skill,  
Of the most Stately Post Laureat's Quill.*

We will therefore employ Three other Testimonies and Descriptions, to give Posterity the Knowledge of him; whereof the First shall be the Epitaph engraven on his Tomb-stone, in such Terms as these,

D. O. M. S.

*Repositus sunt hic Reliquia Thomae Shepardi,  
Viri Sanctissimi,  
Eruditione Privati, Omnigena, Moribus; suavisissimis  
Ornatissimi;  
Theologi Consultissimi,  
Concionatoris Eximii:*

*Qui Filius fuit Thomae Shepardi Clarissimi,  
Memoratisissimi Pastoris olim Ecclesiae Cantabrigiae;*

111 2

E f



*Et in Ecclesia Carolinensi Presbyter docens ;  
Fide ac Vita Verus Episcopus ;  
Optime de Re Literaria Meritus ;  
Qua Curator Collegii Harvardini vigilantissimus ;  
Qua Municipii Academici Socius Primarius.*  
Ta la lrae Xuxu, & la uadu Zuluv.  
In D. Jesu placida obdormivit, Anno 1677. Dec. 22.  
Etatis suae 43.  
Totius Novangliae Lacrymis Defectus ;  
Uxq; & Uxq; Defendens.

*Let Fame no longer boast her Antique Things,  
Huge Pyramids and Monuments of Kings ;  
This Cabinet that locks up a Rare Gem,  
Without Presumption may compare with them.  
The Sacred Reliques of that Matchless One  
Great Shepard, are Enshrined below this Stone.  
Here lies Entomb'd an Heavenly Orator,  
To the Great King of Kings Embassador ;  
Mirror of Virtues, Magazine of Arts,  
Crown to our Heads and Loadstone of our Hearts ;  
Harvard's Great Son, and Father too beside,  
Charlstown's Just Glory & New-England's Pride :  
The Church's Jewel, Colledge's Overseer,  
The Clergy's Diadem without a Peer ;  
The Poor Man's ready Friend, the Blind Man's Eyes,  
The wandering mildred Soul's Conductor Wise ;  
The Widow's Solace, and the Orphan's Father,  
The Sick Man's Visitant, or Cordial rather ;  
The General Benefactor, and yet Rare  
Engroffer of all Good ; the Man of Prayer ;  
The Constant Friend, and the most cheerful Giver,  
Most Orthodox Divine and Pious Liver ;  
An Oracle in any Doubtful Case,  
A Master-piece of Nature, Art and Grace.  
In this Bed ye reposit'd his weary Limbs ;  
His Soul's Good Company for Seraphims.  
If Men be Dumb in Praising of his Worth,  
This Stone shall cry, for Shame ! and set it forth.*

*St. Sheparde Thuo, nisi qua sint Digna Sepulchro,  
Carmina nulla forent, Carmina nulla forent.*

*S. 4.* The whole Country was fill'd with Lamentations upon the Decease of the Person thus Entomb'd, with many bestowed their Elegies upon him, and many Referments like those, which One of them thus uttered ;

*Next to the Tears our Sins do need and crave,  
I should b. flow my Tears on Shepard's Grave.*

But there was none who found a deeper Wound at this Decease, than the Reverend President of the Colledge, Mr. Urian Oakes ; who was his Particular Friend. For, as Austin had his Asiphus, as Basil had his Nazianzen, as Jerom had his Heliodorus, as Eusebius had his Pamphilus, or, if you will, as Paul had his Barnabas ; even such was the Friendship, that Unanimated our Oakes and our Shepard. He besides other ways of exprelling his Value for this his Departed Jonathan, took the Opportunity of the next Commencement, with no small part of his Elegant Oration, thus to Embalm his Memory :

Referunt Historici Caium Caligulam, Monstrum illud Hominis, queri palam de Conditione Temporum suorum esse solitum, quod nullis Calamitatibus publicis insignirentur. Quod si nunc in Vivis, apud nos ageret, nihil esset illi Qerezis loci relictum, adeo Calamitosa sunt Omnia, et Felicitates, bonas nobis adversas habemus. Equid vero Calamitosius, quam quod Morbus ille Variolarum in Vicinis oppidis passim grassatus fuerit. Heu ! Quae Funera dedit ! Quas Strages edidit ! Miserum me ! Haec, stupor, vehementer perturbor Animo ; neque Mens, neque Vox, neque Lingua consistit, quoties subit Animum, quam grave Vultus, vel ex Unius Viri, Interritu, non ita pridem accepimus. Video me, Necessitate coactum, Officii, Auditores, Infandum renovare Dolorem, Vultusq; recens acceptum, refricando, retrahendoq; exacerbare. Amissimus, Amissimus Memoratissimum illum Virum, Reverendissimum Thomam Shepardum : Respublica Civem optimum ; Ecclesia Theologum clarissimum : Academia non solum tantum & Almaeum charissimum, sed Curatorem etiam vigilantissimum ; Municipium Scholasticum, Socium suum primum, amiserunt ; Amicum ego ingularem & integerrimum. Heu Pietas ! Heu prica Fides ! Obiit, proh Dolor ! Ornatusissimus Shepardus, Vir dignus, si quis alius, qui nunquam aegrotaret, nunquam moriretur. Dabitis Veniam, Auditores, ut mortui nos Harvardinates, etiam in ipsis Feriis Academicis, pietatissimi Thomae Shepardi Manibus, alieno quidem, uti videri potest Tempore, et Exequialia iusta, parentemus. Dolemus tanto Reipublicae Vulneri, Mortemq; tanti Viri, jure optimo, Luctu publico esse Honorandam, existimamus ; qui Fatalis Morbi vi ereptus, non Ecclesiam solum Carolinensem, sed totam etiam Novangliam, Orbem ac Debitatam reliquit ; quocum defuncto, Respublica Ecclesia, Academia vacillare certe, si non Corruisse videantur. Cum Caius Caesar satis se diu, vel Naturae vixisse, vel Gloriz dixisset ; Satis, inquit Cicero, si ita vis, Naturae fortasse ; addo etiam, si placet Gloria ; at quod maximum est, Patria certe parum : Multo profecto verius & sincerius a me dici potest, Clarissimum Shepardum, satis diu vixisse submetipso, & Gloriz Jure, cum pie adeo vixerit, ut ad colessem vere vitalem vitam sinceram fide, Virtutum Christianarum Exercitio, viam addidit, sibi munierit, Nomen suum immortalitati consecravit ; at Respublicae, non satis diu, at Ecclesiae, at Academiae, parum certe vixit ; Quocum occubente, titubare ac nutare videntur omnia. Est et illud Irae Divinae vehementer in nos exardescens Argumentum et Indicium insignis, quod gravissimis Reipublicae Temporibus, Academiae Necessitatibus, Ecclesiarum Precibus & Lacrymis hujus eximii Viri vitam noluerit Deus condonare. Amissimus Shepardum, alienissimo Reipublicae Tempore extinctum : At quem & qualem Virum ! Theologum profecto non unum & multis, sed inter multos prope singularem ; Neminem cum illo conferendum non ausim dicere : neq; detrachere quidquam ab aliis necessum habeo, cum Encomia defuncto Shepardo debita perfolvo. At vero inter Gregarios Theologos



logos (quod sine cujusq[ue] Injuria dici velim)  
tantum Caput extulit

*Quantum lenta solent inter Fiburna Cupressi.*

Certabat in eo, cum Pietate minimè fucatà, Eruditio minimè vulgaris; cum Eruditione verò Prudentia, Modestia, Humanitas et Industria singularis. Quanta Gravitas involtu? Quantum pondus in Verbis? Quam nihil non consideratum exibat ex Ore? Quam nihil in Gesto affectatum, aut indecorum? Fuit quidem *è pueris*. Animo feditissimo, candidissimo Pectore, felicissimo Ingenio, acerrimo Judicio, suavissimis deniq[ue] temperatissimiq[ue] Moribus ornatissimus. Sic autem universam vitam traduxit, ut aliis illustre quoddam verè Pietatis ac Virtutis Exemplar, ad imitandum propositum; in eoq[ue] quasi Exempli causa, antiqui Officii vestigia remanebant. Non ille inanem occupatus est Rumorem, neq[ue] illius umbra falsæ Gloriæ confectus est, aut infolentius extulit se; sed a Supercilio, Fastuq[ue] omni longe longeq[ue] abfuit. In somnis ejus Dotibus, propter quas, Honoribus Autoritate, Gratia floruit, summa Animi Demissio & Modestia singularis emicuerunt; Et rara quidem (ut dici solet) *Virtus est Humilitas Honorata*. Vetus est Verbum "Εὐχὴ ἑὸς Ἄνθρωπος, *Unus, Vir, Nullus Vir*. Ego vero non minus verè possum dicere *Εὐχὴ ἑὸς Ἄνθρωπος*. *Unus mihi fuit insar decem Milium*. Porro assentior Nazianzeno dicenti *quæritur utrum Ἀνδράγατος ἴσως ἂν ἦτορ Ἀφίκτηται, Amicitiam unicam esse vite condimentum*. Miserum me! Quam triste nobis fuit Desiderium reliquit! Qui mihi ita Charus, ita jucundus fuit, ut ejus Aspectu Dolor omnis fuerit abstersus, et omnis, quæ me angebat, cura planè confederit. Probe memini, quam me olim frons ejus tranquilla, vultusq[ue] (ut Ovidius loquitur) *Plenus Gravitate serena*, inter dicendum animadvertit. Ille horum Comitiorum (ut mea tulit Opinio) *Pars adeo magna fuit*, ut quemadmodum (Autore Cicerone) *Antomachus Clarus Poeta*, cum convocatis Auditoribus recitaret, is ingens Volumen, quod conscripserat, eumq[ue] legentem, omnes præter Platonem reliquissent. *Legam, inquit, Nihilominus; Plato enim mihi unus, insar est Omnium*. Ita professus, alter Plato (absit verbo Invidia) fuit mihi *Shepardus* et insar omnium. Dicit non potest, quam me perorantem, in Comitibus, conspectus ejus, multo jucundissimus recreavit & refecerit. At non comparet hodie *Shepardus* in his Comitibus: Oculos huc illic torqueo; quonq[ue] tamen inciderint, *Platonem* meum in tanta Virorum illustrium frequentia requirunt; nullamquam Anticum & pernecessarium meum, in hac solenni Panegyri, inter hosce Reverendos Theologos, Academicos Carotares, reperire aut Oculis vestigare possum. Amilissimū Virum illum sanctifi-

simū strenuū, Orthodoxæ Fidei propugnatorem, non Hominibus solum gratum & acceptum, sed, et Deo ipsi Charissimum, *Divine Familiaritatis Virum*, sicuti Tertullianus unquam *Abramam*. Quamobrem, Honoratissimi Viri, lugere amissum civem plane *Idigne*, Optimarum semper, in Republica, partium et in rebus optimis, constantissimū virum; Columnæ atq[ue] Ornamentum Reipublicæ vestræ; cujus Uniq[ue] Funere, propè dixeram, etiam esse Reipublicam (Lugete, Reverendissimi Presbyteri, amissum charissimum Fratrem, et Symmiltam Ordinis vestri Decus & Lumen singulare. Lugete, Carolinenses, sublatum, ex Oculis vestris, eximium Episcopum vestrum, Delicias olim & Amores vestros. Lugete, Academici amissum Curatorem vigilantissimū, cujus interitui, Collegii Dignitatem, immane quantum dimittam, saltem ipsam periclitatam esse, quis non intelligit? Lugete, quotquot adestis, Auditores, amissum illum Virum, consummatissimū, Curram & Equites Israelis, dignissimū professō, qui Nov-Angliæ Lachrymis usq[ue] usq[ue] defleat. Quod si nimis in hoc Argumento, et longius, quam par est proventus esse videor, quæso, obsecro, ut veniam aliquam Dolori meo, et Mærori Animi tribundam putetis. Videtis me, in amplissimas Charissimi *Shepard*i Laudes, tanquam in Oceanum descendisse, et difficile quidem esse, cum Laudandi, tum Lugendi Finem reperire.

This was one Paragraph in a Commencement-Oration pronounced by the *Lecturers of New-England*. And that Stroke, which this very Person had in an *Elegy*, by him composed on the Death of his Dearest *Shepard*.

*They that can Shepard's Goodness well display,  
Must be as Good as He: but who are They?*  
He did himself make a near Essay towards the doing of it, and in my Thought, he was according to his own Rule, well qualified for the doing of it.

S. 5. But if the Reader must have One in all Things; As *God as He*; to Display his Goodness, behold then *He* shall effectually, and not inappropriately, do it himself. Let the Reader peruse his Elaborate Sermon, preached at the Anniversary Election of the Governor and Magistrates in *Boston*, May 5. 1672. and afterwards printed; and he will there see Conspicuous to much Learning; Wisdom, Holiness and Faithfulness, that he will pronounce the Author to have been a Person of more than Common Talents for the Service of our Churches.



## CHAP. VII.

## St. Stephen's Reliques.

MEDITATIONS, Awakened by the Death of the Reverend  
Mr. Joshua Moodey; With some Short Character of that  
Eminent Person: Who Slept in Jesus, 4d. 5m. 1697.  
In the Sixty Fifth Year of his Age.

By COTTON MATHER.

The Second Edition.

JOSH. XXIV. 22, 23/29.

JOSHUA said unto the People, ye have chosen you the Lord, to serve Him.  
Now therefore, incline your Heart unto the Lord.  
And it came to pass, after these things, that Joshua, the Servant of the Lord dyed.

## READER,

TELL me not, that the People's being taken with Publicola's Funeral Oration in Praise of the Dead *Erutus*, or the Decree of the Roman Senate, That it should be Lawful to make a Funeral Oration on such as deserved well of the Common-wealth, made *Polydore Virgil* say, *Hinc mortuus Laudandus Rutilius, quem nos hodie Servamus*. The Book of Lamentations, on the Death of *Josiah*, is of an Elder's Date; the Roll of Lamentations on the Death of *Jonathan*, is of yet an Elder; and certainly, to be imitated among the Faithful People of God. Tell me not, that some Eminent Non-conformists have therefore scrupled, the Preaching of any Funeral Sermons: That in some Reformed Churches, the Practice of them is wholly omitted, that in the Primitive Churches they were not practised until the *Anglican* began; and that there have been Decrees of Councils against them. I readily grant, That the Custom of Praising the Dead, has been scandalously abused; but I cannot grant, That the Abuse is best corrected, by taking away all Publick Meditations on the Funerals of those, in whose Deaths God from Heaven speaks Great Things unto the Living. We do but wisely justify our Ministry by Watching, to suit the Words of God unto those Works of His, which occur to our Notice, when Men of Note are taken away. Behold, According to the Laudable Usage in the Churches of New-England, the Meditations which have been awakened by the falling Asleep of an Eminent Person, who was a Remarkable Servant of those Churches; I am out of measure astonished, when I read in an

Author as Old, and as great as *Austin*, the Wonderful Effects which the pretended Reliques of the Martyr *Stephen* had upon those who repaired thereunto for the Cure of Maladies. However, When I find that Great Man in his Epistle to the Clergy of *Hippo*, denying that any Miracles were then done in *Africa* (which he also again said, in his Book, *De Utilitate Crendendi*) and in his Book of True Religion, affirming that God permitted not Miracles to continue until then lest the Minds of Men should be too much taken up with Visible Matters, I persuade my self, that the Story of the Reliques of *Stephen* was foisted into his Book, *De Civitate Dei*; by some later Hand. The best sort of Reliques after all are those which we have here preserved and proposed; and it will be no Superstition, to hope, that a Cure of Spiritual Maladies too generally prevailing, may be promoted by repairing unto them. And I do not more question the Opinion of a very Learned Man concerning the Angels, whom we find mention'd in the Scriptures as doing very Humane Actions, *Peros Homines iussu, qui a Spiritu Messia, et a Spiritibus Angelicis agebantur; et movebantur ad ea agenda, que ipsi non intelligebant, phantasia Eorum cessante, et a Cogitationibus consuetis abducta: Qui Homines, Negro perado, ad quod fuerant a Deo additi, disensu veterano, et cessante Eschasi, ad Consuetudinem muneris reversi sunt, immemores eorum, que Impulso Spiritu Divino, aut Angelico egerant*: Than I do believe, That in our Actions, there is an Imitation of the Holy Angels to be endeavored, by which a Man may become another *Stephen*.



## The Way to Excel.

## Acts VI. 15.

— Looking stedfastly on him, they saw his Face, as it had been the Face of an ANGEL.

**S**ince the Oracles of Heaven, have (with a most Significant Admonition!) allow'd a well served Church, to call its Pastor by the Name of its Angel, we may now say, *The Angel of the Church of Portsmouth has newly taken Wing!* Yea, not the least of the Angelical Chariots and Horsemen of New-England, have departed from us, in the Withdrawing of One, after whom that bereaved Church is crying, *My Father, My Father!*

To preserve the Idea and Memory of his Face, as far as the Infirmities of this Mortal State permitted any Approaches to the Angelical Character in it, is that whereto not only Nature does invite us: "I will be but a Compliance with that Edict of Heaven, *Remember them who have spoken to you the Word of God; whose Faith follow, considering the End of their Conversation.*"

'Tis well known, That among the Chief Works of the Most High, Created by the Son of God, at the First Beginning of Time, there were His Good ANGELS: Angels, which are Spiritual and Rational Substances, Created by the Lord, for His own Immediate Service and Honour. None deny, none dispute, the Existence of those Good Angels, but Men that are under a more than ordinary Possession of Evil Ones.

Our Lord Jesus Christ has given it, as a Description of that Future State, wherein He will make us Happy for ever, Mat. 22. 30. *They are as the Angels of God in Heaven*. And if we hope to be Happy in that Future State, we must endeavour to anticipate it, by being very Holy in our Present State. But the way for us, to be very Holy, is to resemble, and imitate, the Angels of God in Heaven, while we are on Earth, as far as we are able. Every Holy Man does a little of This; and how much of it, was done by that Holy Man, who is now gone to live and praise, and see CHRIST among the Angels for ever, may be proposed with some Advantage unto the Exhortation, wherein I have a few Things to preach unto the People.

But my Exhortation must be introduced with a Report of that Glory, which the Martyr Stephen, while he was yet on Earth, attain'd unto.

There being occasion to choose Deacons in the Primitive Church, that so they who were to give themselves continually unto the Ministry of the Word, might be releas'd by the faithful Cares of those Deacons, from Secular Encumbrances; One of them was the Blessed Stephen; who being the First that arriv'd unto the Crown of Martyrdom for our Lord Jesus Christ in the New-Testament,

had in the Name of Stephen, which signifies, *A Crown*, a Notable Specification of the Event and Reward, which will attend all our Sufferings for the Lord.

It was then an Age of many Miracles wrought by the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; and such a measure of that Spirit possess'd this Excellent Man, that by the Impulse of that Spirit, He could with all Assurance perceive, when the Spirit was going to work Miracles, and apply himself to accompany the Miracles of the Spirit, by some wonderful Actions of his own. This illustrious Worker of Miracles was accused before the Council at Jerusalem, for saying, That it was the Deign of Jesus to destroy the Temple and the City, and alter the Rites, which Moses had from God commanded unto Israel. When he appear'd before the Council to answer this Accusation, 'tis here said, *They saw his Face, as it had been the Face of an Angel.*

Concerning the Face of an Angel, we have a Remarkable Account, in what we read about one of the Angels, in Mat. 28. 3. His Countenance was like Lightning. And we read concerning a Great Man, who had got the Face of an Angel, by being much with the Angels, in Exod. 34. 10. *Behold, the Skin of his Face shone*. If we carry the Passage now before us unto the Highest Sense, which it would lay Claim unto, we are to suppose, That such a Splendor was discernible upon the Face of Stephen: And surely, if they who discern'd it, had not the Heart of a Devil in them, they durst not have gone on, to abuse a Man, that appear'd before them with the Face of an Angel. Alas, the more of an Angel there is in any Man, the more Stones will the Devil procure to be thrown at such a Man! But behold the Agreeableness of the Matter; Stephen was persecuted for vilifying of Moses; and behold, at this very Time, he is vindicated with a Shine upon his Face, like that once upon the Face of Moses. The Things here spoken by Stephen, were those very Things, which the Angel Gabriel, had formerly spoken unto the Prophet Daniel; and behold, the Aspect of an Angel adorns him in his Discourse.

We may from hence take Leave to Observe, That a Saint on Earth, may arrive to those Attainments, that shall make him look like an Angel of Heaven.

There are Angelical Excellencies, a Degree whereof, poor Man, sorry Man, sinful Man, even while such, may very much attain unto.

But now, this CASE calls for our Attention, What are those Excellencies that would make a Saint, Look like an ANGEL?

And



And the General Answer hereunto is, The Excellencies of *Holiness*. For,

First, The Angels of God have many Excellencies, the Imitation whereof cannot by Men in this Life, be reasonably propofed. The Angelical Majesty, as a Mortal Eye would not be able readily to behold it, much less, in this Mortal State may we affect it. A Man may not wish to shine like Stephen in this World, and have a Face that may dazzle the Spectators. Or, what would it avail, if a Man could make a Glare on his Face, by smeared it with some of the *Noſtluca*'s invented by the Modern Chymistry? A Devil has before now, pretended unto such a Face. 'Tis not the Face, but the Grace of an Angel, which is here to be aspired after. It were a Foolish, and a Faulty Thing, for any Man to be ambitious of wearing in this World such a Figure as that in Dan. 10. 6. *His Body like the Beryl, and his Face as the Appearance of Lightning, and his Eyes as Lamps of Fire, Immortality* it self is one of the Angelical Excellencies. But, while we are among Mortals here, we must submit unto the Laws of Mortality and be willing to dye, When and How, the Sovereign God shall order it. There are also those Flights of Wisdom, and those Heights of Power among the Angelical Excellencies, wherein, 'tis not for us, to Dream of being like them, until we are become, *The Children of the Resurrection*. It was the Ruine of our First Parents, to imagine in Gen. 3. 5. *They might be as Elohim!* No, this cannot be, until our Lord Jesus Christ has by a New Birth brought us into that World to come, where the Wise Converters of many to Righteousness, will be those who shall shine as the Brightness of the Firmament, and as the Stars for ever and ever! Our Lord Jesus Christ will make us the Angels of the New World. Indeed the Angels now turn and move all the Wheels of the Kingdoms of this World, but we are they that shall Receive the Kingdom that cannot be moved.

But, Secondly, The Excellencies of *Holiness* [For, the Saints are the Excellent!] These are They, wherein the Imitation of the Angels by Men, may be very far proceeded in. The Angels of God, are styled in Mat. 25. 31. *The Holy Angels*; and in Dan. 4. 17. *The Holy Ones*. 'Tis not as they are *Mighty Angels*, but as they are *Holy Angels*, that we must propound our Coming to look like unto them. These *Holy Angels* never did, and never will sin against their God; but are continually serving of him; *They serve Him Day and Night in his Temple!* And it may be, the Bright Garments, wherein these Angels of Light have appeared, may be an Emblem of their *Holiness* and their Purity. Now it hath been the Will of God in our Lord Jesus Christ concerning us, that there should be set before us the Greatest Examples of *Holiness* for our Imitation. And hence, as we have the Greater Example of our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himself given unto us, to Direct and Excite and Promote our *Holiness*, with a Charge, *To be Holy, as He that hath called us is Holy*; So, we have also the Example of the Holy Angels given unto us, That we may strive as far as may be,

to be like unto them in their *Holiness*. Hence when the Psalmist of old saw the Angels praising of God, he cried out, *O my Soul, do Thou also!* Yea, some Interpreters judge, That when the Face of Stephen look'd like an Angel, it was no more than what you and I may thro' Christ who strengthens us reach unto. q. d. The Confortions of the Holy Spirit of God so filled him, that he discovered not the least Confortations in his Face: His Face was as Joyful and Serene, as if he had stood free from all the Sorrows of this World, among the Angels of God.

I remember the Apostle enjoins the Woman in the Church to have a covering on her Head in Token of Subjection to her Husband; Because of the Angels [2 Cor. 11. 10.] Why, if you turn to the Beginning of the sixth Chapter of *Job*, you'll find the Angels before their Superior, the Lord Jesus Christ in the Temple assuming a Covering, out of the Reverence which they pay unto Him. Hence then, says the Apostle, it becomes Women to take Example by the Angels, let them consider, how the Angels behave themselves in the Presence of the Son of God, who is the Grand Representative of the Image and Glory of God; and let them in their Habit show some Analogy to the Habit of the Angels, betokening their Subjection to the Man, who is under the Lord Jesus Christ, the Image and Glory of God, while they the Women, are so of the Man. But I only touch on this Gloss by the by. What I insist on, is, That the Angelical Example is to be imitated.

Indeed, we shall, as long as we Live in this World, come far short of the Original, when we go to Write after the Angelical Example. In this Present Evil World, we cannot approach near so the *Holiness* of the Good Angels: Much of Sin, and Fault, and Folly, will unavoidably cleave unto us: That Leprosie will never wholly out of the Walls, until the Clay-house be utterly demolished: There will be as much Distance between the Blessed Spirits and Us, as between Giants and Children, as between Stars and Glowworms, as between the Cedars of Lebanon and the Hyssop that grows out of the Wall; Thus it will be, until we come at length to dwell [And, Oh! Why do we no more long for it!] with the Innumerable Company of Angels, in another World.

However, to Attempt the Imitation, is the ready way to be Excellent. Particularly in the Enslaving Instances.

I. If a Man could have his Eye upon the Face of God continually, would not that procure the Face of an Angel for him? It would make a Man look like an Angel, if he were looking unto God, in the Lord Jesus Christ continually. Of the Angels there is that Account given, in Mat. 18. 10. *In the Heavens, they do always behold the Face of my Father which is in the Heavens*. The Angels do converse with GOD continually. And, why may not we press after a Converse with GOD, a little Emulating the Angelical? To be Heavenly-minded, by having the God of Heaven almost always in our Minds, and by being in the Fear of God all the Day long; This were to be as the Angels



gals are! Oh! That we were thus Filled with the fulness of God.

First, We may have a continual Apprehension of GOD in our Minds. In every Place, we may Apprehend GOD. Wherever we are, we may subscribe to that Article of the Ancient Faith, in *Psal.* 139. 7. Lord, Whither shall I flee from thy Presence? What if we should never be from under the Awe of such a Thought as that, *The Omnipresent God observes all my Ways!* And we may apprehend GOD in every Thing. We need not stay at any *Second Causes*; but we may with a Spiritualized Soul, soar up to some Notice of God in all. Upon all the Works of Creation we may say, *The Finger of God is here!* And we may make the Positions of the Pauline Philology, in *Acts* 17. 24. 28. *God made the World, and all Things therein; In Him we live and move and have our Being.* Upon all the Works of Providence, we may say, *This comes from that God whose Kingdom ruleth over all.* And we may make the Conclusions once taught by our Lord, no doubt alluding to the Two Birds, whereof one was to be killed, the other to be Let loose into the Open Field, at the cleansing of the Leper in *Mat.* 10. 29. Two Sparrows, one of them shall not fall to the Ground without our Father. To be led into some Notice of GOD continually. This, O This, is Angelical. 'Tis Godliness. What is Holiness, but Godliness? This were a little of the Angelical Holiness.

Secondly, Our continual Apprehension of GOD, may bring a continual Dedication to GOD, upon all that we Have, and all that we Do. If we Glance at *Inferior Ends*, yet we may not Stop there: All our Ends are to be swallowed up in GOD. We should not, with any patience consent unto it, that any but GOD, should have our Strength, our Time, our All. Whatever Possessions are bestowed upon us, we may put them under that Consideration, which the House of David had, in *Psal.* 30. *Tir. Dedicated Things.* All our Possessions, all the Powers of our Spirits, all the Members of our Bodies, our Estates, our Credit, our Desirable Friends; we may contrive with our selves, What Acknowledgments may GOD have out of these Things! And improve them no farther, than as Instruments, whereby GOD may be acknowledged. Yea, and our daily Actions; may we not be driving a Trade for GOD in all? As 'tis said in *1 Cor.* 10. 31. *Whatever ye do, do all to the Glory of God:* So, our Eating, our Drinking, our Sleeping, what is it for? We may distinctly say, *I do This, that I may be supported in the Service of God.* Thus, our Labours, our Travels, our Visits, and our Exercises of Religion, we may thus Ennoble them, *I do This, I will do it carefully and cheerfully, because God hath commanded my doing of it.* A Dedication to GOD, is the proper meaning of Holiness: And very Angelical would be our Holiness, if we could be frequent, and constant in such Acts of Dedication.

Thirdly, Our continual Apprehension of GOD, may produce our continual Satisfaction in GOD, under all His Dispensations. Whatever Enjoyments are by God conferred upon us, where lies the Rejoice, where the Sweetness of them? Truly, we may come to relish our Enjoyments, only so far as we

have something of GOD in them. It was required in *Psal.* 37. 4. *Delight thyself in the Lord.* Yea, And what if we should have no Delight, but the Lord? Let us ponder with our selves, over our Enjoyments; In these Enjoyments I see God, and by these Enjoyments I serve God! And now, let all our Delight in, and all our Value and Fondness for our Enjoyments, be Only, or Mainly, upon such a Divine Score as this. As far as any of our Enjoyments lead us unto GOD, so far let us relish it, affect it, embrace it, and rejoice in it; *O Taste, and Feed upon God in all;* and ask for nothing, no, not for Life it self, any further than as it may help us, in our Seeing and our Serving of our GOD. And then, whatever Afflictions do lay Fetters upon us, let us not only remember, that we are concerned with GOD therein, but let our Concernment with GOD procure a very profound Submission in our Souls. Be able to say with him, in *Psal.* 39. 9. *I opened not my mouth, because, thou didst it.* In all our Afflictions, let us remark the Justice of that GOD, before whom, *Why should a Living Man complain for the Punishment of his Sin?* The Wisdom of that GOD, whose Judgments are right; the Goodness of that GOD, who Punishes as less than our Iniquities do deserve. Let us behave our selves, as having to Do with none but GOD, in our Afflictions: And let our Afflictions make us more comfortable unto GOD; which Conformity being effected, Let us then say, *'Tis Good for me that I have been afflicted.* 'Sirs, what were this, but a pitch of Holiness, almost Angelical! Oh! Mount up as with the Wings of Eagles, of Angels; be not a sorry, puny, meeknick Lord of Christians any longer; but reach forth unto these things, that are thus before you!

But, in fine, 'Tis our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who is The Face of God. That is His Name, frequently in the Old Testament; and in this Hint, I have given you a Golden Key to come at the sense of many Passages in the Sacred Pages, about The Face of God, and The Light of that Face: 'Twas the Messiah. 'Tis then our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who is to be the more Immediate Object of our Apprehensions, when we would become Angelical; tis God in our Lord JESUS CHRIST: Whenever we entertain any Thing of GOD in our Minds, it should be with a CHRIST, and thro' a CHRIST. Those who do all they can, to forge a CHRISTIANITY without a CHRIST, are so far from being like Angels of the Lord, that they are Traitors to the King of Heaven!

II. We may render our selves Angelical, by our Endeavours of a present, and a pleasant and an Universal Obedience, unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST, the Lord of Angels. Whose are the Angels, but the Angels of the Lord? And [as in *1 Kings* 18. 12. and *Acts* 8. 39.] *The Spirits of the Lord.* Our Lord JESUS CHRIST is the Lord General of all the Angels; He is the Lord of Hosts; and all those Hosts of Heaven are under His Command; We read in *Plal.* 103. 20. 21. *He has His Commandments, hearkening unto the Voice of His Word: They are His Ministers which do His Pleasure.* The very Highest Angel in Heaven desires and studies to be a Servant of the

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Lord



Lord JESUS CHRIST: The Great God would soon strike him down from Heaven; with Hot Thunder-bolts if he did so. Even Michael the Archangel has received that Charge from God, concerning our Lord Redeemer, *Do thou Worship Him! Gabriel himself must give this Account of himself, I stand in the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ; namely, as a Servant standing in the Presence of his Master.*

Come then; Let every one of us, become the Servants of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. By consenting to the Methods of Grace in the New Covenant, let us yield our selves unto our Lord JESUS CHRIST, as unto our LORD; and say with him in *Psal. 119. 38. Lord, I am thy Servant, devoted unto thy Fear.* Let us reckon it the highest Pleasure unto our selves, to be always Pleading of our Lord Jesus Christ: Let us esteem it the highest Honour unto our selves, to be always Honouring of Him. To be a Man of God, is to be like an Angel, an Angel was called in *Judg. 13. 8. The Man of God.* We are Men of God, when we become the Devoted Servants of our Lord Jesus Christ. Sirs, The Bright Angels of Heaven invite us, to become their Fellow Servants, by giving our selves up unto the Work of Witnessing to the Truth and Ways of their Heavenly Lord. When we have solemnly consecrated our selves unto this Work, then, whatever Commands our Lord Jesus Christ lays upon us, let us readily, joyfully, universally yield Obedience thereunto. Be upon the Wing as the Angels, to do every thing, that our Lord Jesus Christ would have to be done. Delay none, despise none, refuse none of the Commandments, which our Lord Jesus Christ shall give unto us; but say, as in *1 John 5. 3. His Commandments are not grievous.* And whatever we shall know to be Acceptable unto our Lord Jesus Christ, let us immediately do what we know: Let this be Argument enough unto us for any thing, though Flesh and Blood [Body and Soul] be never so much against it: *My Lord JESUS CHRIST would have me to do this thing!* Thus our Labour should be according to our Prayer, that The Will of God may be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven.

III. To be very Serviceable is to be Angelical: To do Good is the Disposition of a Good Angel. Those Men, whose perpetual Business 'tis, to go about for the doing of Good, as they are like the Lord Jesus Christ, [*Act. 10. 38.*] So they are like the Angels that wait upon our Lord Jesus Christ. The Angels are always employ'd in some Service for our Lord Jesus Christ, and for those that belong unto Him. 'Tis said in *Heb. 1. 14. Are they not all ministering Spirits?* Oh! let it in like sort, be our Ambition to minister some way or other for the Good of them, that are to be the Heirs of Salvation; and let us be much and often studying with our selves, *What Good may I do with these Talents, wherewith my Lord Jesus Christ has entrusted me?* How many Good Offices does the Bible report, as done by the Angels of God for the People of God? And how many such Good Offices are still done for the People of God, by the Angels of God, which I recamp as an Host about

them that fear Him? Christians, If we are admitted of any Opportunity to do Good, let us be as ready to do, as the Angel that came down to the Pool of Bethesda, was to help the Miserables assembled there. Yea, though they should be never so poor, never so small, never so mean People, that we may do Good unto, let us be ready to do it with all our Hearts. The first Apparition of an Angel that we read in Scripture, was to relieve a poor Maid in Trouble of Spirit. The Martyr Bradford, that Man had the Face of an Angel, concerning whom it was noted, *He was always, either with Purse, or Tongue, or Pen, doing of Good.* Whatever Company we fall into, 'tis easie for us ordinarily to think, *What Good may I do in this Company before I leave it?* That Man speaks with the Tongue of Angels, who will never diminish his Company, without some Conscientious Emissary, to speak what shall be profitable unto them. And, Inventions to do Good, and be Benefactors to all that are about us, the more upright we are, the more we shall Seek out many such Inventions. There is an Angelical Air upon them!

IV. Near Approaches to God in Devotions and Communion, full of Intimacy with Him, will give a Man, if not the Face, yet the Heart of an Angel. When was it, that the Face of Moses had an Angelical, and an Extraordinary Lustre upon it? It was, when he had been with God in the Mount. We read in *Exod. 34. 29. When Moses came down from Mount Sinai, with the two Tables of Testimony the Skin of his Face shone.* They that are very much with God in those Exercises, wherein the Power of Godliness does mainly consist, will contract a Lustre therefrom, and be somewhat like the Angels, made Partakers of the Divine Nature. To be often in Secret Prayers and Secret Praises, with raised Strains of Heavenly Zeal before the Lord, This is to be as it were, of the Angelical Fraternity! Yea, 'Tis a Golden Passage of Chrysostom, That the very Angels themselves, cannot but honour the Man, whom they see Familiarity and Frequently admitted unto the Audience, and as it were Discourse with the Divine Majesty. Truly, whether the Angels may reverence these Men or no, these Men do resemble the Angels. It becomes more notably thus, when Men do often set apart whole Days for their Prayers and their Praises, and are With God in the Mount for whole Days together. Great Things did the Angels do for Moses, great Things for Elias, who often spent whole Days alone with the Lord; and what said an Angel unto Daniel, when he had been spending whole Days at such a rate, *Thou art a Man of Desires, and an Angel thinks not much to fly down from Heaven unto thy Conversation!* Such Days do leave an Angelical Savour upon the Souls of Men; they leave our Souls, for many Days afterward, under such a Gracious, and Generous, and Serious, and Watchful, and Useful Bias, as has the Face of an Angel thereupon. And therefore, the Lords Days; Let us keep them with a peculiar Solitude, a singular Elevation of Sanctity. It was the Privilege of John in *Rev. 1. 10. To be in the Spirit on the Lord's Day.* Sirs, If we are so, we shall be with the Angels on the Lord's Day; and if with them, then



then like them. To be wholly under the Confinement [I mistook the Word, I should say Liberty!] of Religious Applications, throughout our whole Christian Sabbath, let us not count it as a Ceremonious Person once call'd it, *A being on the Rack a whole Day together.* Angels have strangely visited and comforted some on the Rack; but never such as complain'd, that a strict Lord's Day put 'em on a Rack. During the whole Day, let our Thoughts be full of God, and Christ, and Heaven; during the whole Day, let our Words be few, and fit, and savoury, and such as may minister Grace unto the Hearers; during the whole Day, let our Earthly Desilements be banished from us; let our Hearts be every Hour falling forth with numberless Ejaculations to the Lord. Such Lord's Days will ripen Men into Angels at the last! But on the Lord's Day, there sometimes does occur a most special and signal Opportunity to Draw near unto God, namely, *The Lord's Supper*; an Ordinance of the Nearest Fellowship with Heaven; an Ordinance wherein a CHRIST suffering for us, is by the Symbols of Bread and Wine rendered unto the Faithful, that in their Obeying His Appointment thereof, they do with ineffable Advantage partake of Him. Well then, let our Preparations for this Great Ordinance be with as much of Solemnity, as if we were to dye our selves at the Time, when we do *annunciate* here the Death of our Lord. Let us examine our selves and supplicate our God, before we come to the Table of the Lord, as if we were to dye when we come. And at this Holy Table, where Man eats Angels Food, let us fix our Meditations on our Lord JESUS CHRIST, with all possible Attention, with all suitable Affection. Thus, Beholding, as in the Gospel, the Glory of the Lord, we shall be changed into the same Image, from Glory to Glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord. Now, 'tis that Glory that makes an Angel!

V. An Heart much affected with the Lord JESUS CHRIST will procure the Face of an Angel, unto the Man who hath an Heart so affected. Unto the Angels there is nothing so precious, and nothing so glorious as the Lord JESUS CHRIST; yea, 'tis our CHRIST that makes the best part of their Heaven for them. Our Lord JESUS CHRIST is, as the Apostle enumerates it among the *Mysteries and Evidences of our Faith*, in 1 Tim. 3. 16. *Seen of Angels.* But how seen? Truly, seen with Wonders, and seen with Raptures, and seen with Endless Hallelujahs. Would we be like the Angels? Then let our Lord Jesus Christ be seen by us, as the Best Thing in Heaven and Earth, and as infinitely Better than the very Angels themselves. At the Incarnation of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, what were the Songs of Angels? In Luke 2. 14. There was a multitude of the Heavenly Host, praising of God, and saying, *Glory to God in the Highest!* Would we be like the Angels? Let us then join in a Confort with those *Adorning Stars*, and Sons of God. It was with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory, that the Angels attended upon our Lord Jesus Christ, first throughout His Humiliation, and then unto His Exaltation. Let the whole of That, be the most Ravishing Subject of our Contemplation; Let us love to see our Lord Jesus Christ,

first Suffering, and then Entering into His Glory. And let our Acclamations be like those of the Angels, upon those marvellous Dispensations of the Grace of God! When the Angels do look on Jesus Christ, they are covered with Astonishment, and cry out, *O Holy, Holy, Holy Lord of Hosts, all Heaven is full of thy Glory!* And shall not we so look on that our Lord of Glory? When the Angels do speak of our Lord Jesus Christ, they make a most Reverent Mention of His Holy and Reverend Name, and say, *Oh! there is none among the Sons of the Mighty, that may be compared unto this Lord.* And shall not we so speak of that Great King, with a Tongue like the Pen of a ready Writer? Something of Christ the Angels must have, they would think themselves to be starved, if they had not this *Manna* to feed upon! Sirs, Let the Meat of our Souls be the Fruit growing on this Tree of Life; and let the Drink of our Souls be, the Honey of this Rock: This is the daily Repast of Angels; this Nourishment will Angelise us in a little while. What shall I say? The Mystery of CHRIST is the most grateful Contemplation of the Angels: Those Cherubims about the Ark of God, we are told in 1 Pet. 1. 12. *They desire to look into these Things.* I say then, Go and do likewise.

VI. If we would always behave our selves as before the Face of Angels, we should at length obtain the Face of an Angel by the Exactness, the Circumspection, the Accuracy of our Behaviour. It was a Good Memento written upon a Study-Wall, *Angels adjunt 3 or, The Angels of God stand by!* Did Men remember the Eye of the Invisible Angels upon them in all their Ways, how grave, how cautious, how pious would they be? and at last, how like unto those Angels! If a Man were as bad as Balaam himself, yet the bare Suspicion of having the Eye of some Angel upon him, would be enough to stop him from rushing on to Sin. Why shouldst thou sin, says the Wife Man, in Ecc. 5. 6. *before the Angel?* If we were wise, we should often think, *I am now before some Angel!* and that Thought would make us wise. The Aged Apostle said unto a younger Minister, *I charge thee before the Elect Angels:* From whence 'tis intally sure, That the Elect Angels take notice, how we acquit our selves, each one in his Charge. Said the Psalmist, in Psal. 238. 1. *Before the Gods I will sing praise unto thee: The LXX. translate it, I will sing praise unto thee, before the Angels.* Christians, The Angels take notice of us in all our Employments, yea, in our closest Retirements. We give no Praises to God, we perform no Duties, we endure no Troubles, we resist no Temptations, but the Angels of God are the Witnesses of what we do; we are a Spectacle to Angels in all of our Encounters. Well, Now let our Deportment be mightily under the Influence of this Consideration: The Angels take notice; what Report will the Angels of God give of my Behaviour! It has been propounded as a Rule of Prudence, for a Man wherever he comes, to imagine, that there is present some Eminent, Wise, and Good Man, to see and hear all that passes. Man, There is an Angel to see and hear all that passes, wherever thou comest; this is no meer Imagination. Could we, like the Servant of



the Prophet in the Mount, see the unseen Regiment of the World by the subordinate Government of Angels, what an *Awe* would it strike us with! The *Angels* of the Lord see how Men are disposed and employed for the Service of their Lord, and gladly contribute their unknown Assurances unto that Service. But it cannot be any other than a Grief unto those *Angels* to see *Enormities* in those, for whose Welfare they are concerned. If they have Joy over a *Penitent*, they must needs have some sort of Grief over a *Transgressor*. Yea, in all probability, the miscarriages of such Offenders, work in them a sort of *Disgust*, which inclines them on many Accounts, to withdraw from the Offenders, until they have washed themselves over again, in the Fountain set open for Sin and for Uncleanness. Now, let this Consideration accompany us in all our Walk; and let the Eye of an *Angel* be more to us, than the Eye of a *Cato*, could be to any *Roman*. The Face of *Angels* will at last be gain'd by such a Consideration!

VII. Let us beware of every Sin; for Sin will turn a Man into a Devil. Oh! Vile SIN, horrid SIN, cursed SIN; or, to speak a more pungent Word, than all of That; Oh, SINFUL Sin; how pernicious art thou unto the Souls of Men! 'Tis said, in 1 John 3. 8. He that committeth sin is of Devil. Holiness will make Men Incarnate angels; but Wickedness will make them Devils Incarnate. An impenitent Sinner, hath he the Face of an Angel No, but the Heart of a Devil in him. Let your Zeal against all Sin then be like that of the Seraphim. The Angels are Seraphims, or burning Ones; they burn [and so let us!] against all Sin, because of its being so contrary and provoking to their most Holy Lord. Sirs, Mark it; if any of you wittingly and willingly sin against God, you do as the Devils do, and as the Devils would have you to do, and as our Lord Jesus Christ speaks, in John 8. 44. Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the Lusts of your Father ye will do. Dreadful words! There is the Image of the Devil, and there is the Practice of the Devil in every SIN. To commit SIN is Humane; to indulge it will be Diabolical. But especially, there is much of the Devil in Apostacy from good Beginnings. Of the Devils, we find in Jude 6. They kept not their first Estate: They once joined, it seems, in praising of God with the Angels of the Blessed Regions; but they left it all. You that have left the Societies, and the Exercises of Christianity, wherein you were at first engaged; behold, who your Leader is! The first and great Apostate, the Devil is your Leader in this Dejection; and, alas whither will he lead you? There is much of the Devil also in Hypocrisy under good Professions. When there was a secret, rotten Hypocrite among the Disciples of our Lord. Our Lord said in John 6. 70. He is a Devil; indeed, the Devil is never to such a Devil, as when Transformed into an Angel of Light. When strict Pretenders and Pleadars, and it may be Preachers of the Gospel shall yet Cloak some Hidden Practices of Dishonesty under their fair Pretences, Behold, Men playing the Devil horribly. What shall I say more? The Devil is an Unclean

Spirit, a Lying Spirit, a Proud Spirit, a Spirit full of Envy. Oh! Take heed lest you be of such a Spirit, and so, lest you perish with the Devil and his Angels throughout Eternal Ages.

Thus, the Rules of becoming Angelical have been set before us.

But if we do now Humbly reflect upon our selves, for our not living up to these Rules; we cannot easily be more Humble in such Reflections, than was that MAN OF GOD, the Reverend JOSHUA MOODEY, who from his Essays, to obtain the Face of Angels, is now gone unto the Place of Angels.

All the Churches of NEW-ENGLAND considered him, as a Person, whose an Eminency both in Sense and in Grace, had made considerable. All the Churches of BOSTON enjoy'd and admired, his Accomplishments for the Evangelical Ministry, many years together. The Church of Portsmouth (a part of the Country that very much ow'd its Life unto him!) crys out, of a Deadly Wound in his Death; and is ready to cry out, Our Breach is great like the Sea; who can heal it? His Labours in the Gospel were frequent and fervent; whereof the Press hath given some Lasting as the Pulpit gave many Lively Testimonies: Yea, if it were counted one of the most Memorable Things in St. Francis de Sales, that he made Four Thousand Sermons to the People, I can relate as Memorable a Thing of our Moodey: At the Beginning of his Sermons he still wrote in his Notes (which were fairly and largely written) how the Number of them advanced; and before he died, he had numbered some Hundreds more than Four Thousand of them. And unto his Cares to edify his Flock by Sermons, he added more than Ordinary Cares to do it by Visits: No Man perhaps being a kinder Visitant. He was not only ready to Do good, but also to Suffer for doing it; and as he was Exemplarily zealous for a Scriptural Purity in the Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, so he cheerfully submitted unto an Imprisonment, for that Cause of God, and of this Country; wherein, like Stephen, he had the Honour to be the First, that suffered in that way for that Cause in these parts of the World. Briefly, For Piety, for Charity, and for Faithfulness to the main Interests of our Churches; all that knew him, and know the Worth of these Things, with that among the Saviours he may have many Followers.

He was of a very Robust and Hardy Constitution, and a notable Exception to the General Remark, Raro solent Ingenia insigniter sœcilia, Robusta fortiri Corpora; and it may be, too Prodigal of his Ablest Strength, in doing the Service whereto a Good Master called him. Nevertheless, when a Complication of Distempers was divers Months before his Dissolution brought thereby upon him, he exceedingly lamented His Neglect (as he accounted it) of his past Opportunities to be serviceable. At length, coming to Boston for Advice about the Recovery of his lost Health, his Distempers here so grew upon him, as to threaten a quick Period unto his Pilgrimage. His distressed Church at Portsmouth now unfortunately made their Prayer with Fasting before the Great Shepherd of the Sheep,



Sheep, that they might not be deprived of so Rich a Blessing; and he was himself exceedingly desirous to have returned unto *Portsmouth*, that he might establish his Flock yet further against all Temptations to forsake the *Right Ways of the Lord*. But Heaven determines otherwise.

When the Last Summons of Death came to be served upon him, he had neither Time nor Strength to speak very much; and they that have spoken much while they live, sometimes must not speak very much at their Death. His Discourses were generally full of Self-condemnation; and indeed, that Man knows not how to dye, who thinks to dye otherwise, than *Condemning of himself* exceedingly. The most of what he said was, I suppose, unto a Minister who visited him the Day before his Expiration. Unto that Minister he signified, That he was *Rejoicing in the Hope of the Glory of God*; That he was *Longing to go to the Precious Christ, whom he had close and serv'd*; That the Spirit of Christ had comfortably taken away from him the Fear of DEATH. When that Minister urged him, to leave with him any special Desire, that he should judge proper to be mentioned, he said, *The Life of the Churches! The Life of the Churches! and the Dying Power of Godliness in them; I beseech you to look after that*; The Minister at last said, *The Lord Jesus Christ is now, Sir, going to do for you, as once for Joshua [ your Namesake! ] He is just going to take from you, your old, sorry, ragged Garments, Those of your Flesh, and cloath you with change of Raiment, with the Garments of Heavenly Glory, and give you a place among His Angels: Whereto he replied with some Transport, I believe it! I believe it! After this, he said little, but lay in an*

uneasie Drowsiness until the Afternoon of the day following; which was *The Lord's Day*; and then, even on the Day, whereon he had to often been in the Spirit, he went unto the Blessed World of Spirits; on the Day, which he had so often sanctified in a Sacred Rest, he went unto his Eternal Rest. A Fatal Day was this unto our Land! It is an Omen of a sad Fate unto a Land, when the Angels do say, *Migremus hinc*; Let us be gone! How far he had the Face of an Angel while he sojourned here, no doubt Envy may cavil; and I have sometimes with wonder seen it, in the poor *Energumens* among us, that when the Minister, who might be the most likely to do them good, came unto them, the Fiends that possessed them, would make the Minister's Face look so dirty and fwarthy, that they must by no means acknowledge him. This I may venture to say without Flattery: It is long ago, that in another sense than *Aquinas*, we call'd him *An Angelical Doctor*; and he has now attained the Face of an Angel, without the least Wrinkle in it. He is, with Stephen, and the Angels of God, gone to behold the Glory of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and bear a part with the *Many Angels round about the Throne, saying, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain*. I cannot but recommend him to you, as one that was, a Candidate of the Angelical Life; and solicit you to remember, not only the *Lessons, and Catechisms, and Warnings*, which you have had from him, in private or publick Dispensations, but also his Example, to follow him wherein he followed [ and in many things he followed! ] the Lord JESUS CHRIST.

FINIS.

# CHAP. VIII. GEMINI.

THE

# LIFE

OF THE

# COLLINS'S.

§. 1. WHEN several Sons of *Diagoras* had so acquitted themselves, as to merit and obtain Applause in their publick Actions, he that brought the Old Man the Report of it, gave him that Salutation, *Dye quickly, or, I am going to tell you that which will keep you out of Heaven*!

There was a good Old Man, called *COLLINS*, the *Deacon of the Church at Cambridge*, who is now gone to *Heaven*; but before he went thither had the Satisfaction to see several most Worthy Sons become very Famous Persons in their Generation: Sons, that having worthily served their Generation, are now gone thither as well



as he; Two of them are found among the *Graduates* of *Harvard-Colledge*.

§. 2. Mr. JOHN COLLINS in his Youth received a Wound by a Fall, which had like to have cost him his Life; but whilst he lay gasping, the Renowned Mr. Thomas Shepard came to him with this Consolation; *I have just now been wrestling with the Lord for thy Life, and God hath granted me my Desire; Young Man, thou shalt not dye but live; but remember, that now the Lord says, Surely, thou wilt now fear Him, and receive Instruction.* The Life, then continued unto that Young Man, afterwards proved so very Considerable among the Congregational Divines of Great Britain, and especially in the Great City of London; where he mostly spent his Days of publick Service, that it well deserves a Room in our Account of Worthies. His Abilities as he was a Preacher, did chiefly signalize him; for such was the Life and Charm, which accompanied his Exercises in the Pulpit; that none but Persons of the same Humour with him, who wrote certain Things like Books, to prove, That Cicero wanted Eloquence, went away Unmoved or Unpleased from them. Nevertheless, being under Disadvantages to come at the more perfect Story of his Life, my Reader shall have only the Contracted Report, which his Epitaph has thus given of it. Reader, The Stones will speak, if his Friends do not Celebrate him!

#### JOHANNES COLLINS.

*Indolis Optime Puerulus, Patrem Picitate Insignem,  
Celsorem Dei Cultum, et Limitatorem  
Ecclesiae Discipulum, ambulatorem,  
In Americanum Anglorum, secutus est Coloniam,  
Ubi, quae Gymnasii, quae Cantabrigientis ibidem Collegio,  
(Deo indefessis aspirante Studiis)  
Scriba factus ad Regnum Caelorum Instruissimus,  
Antiqua cum seniore, rependitur Anglice.  
Scotiae etiam celeberrimorum Ministrorum Gens fertilis,  
Et auscivit, & mirata est Concionantem.  
Utrobique multos Christo lucrificet;  
Plures in Christo edificavit.  
Praesertim hacin Metropoli, Gregis gratissimi Pastor:  
Nil segnis Otii Gravio indulgens Animo;  
Nec Laboribus, Moribus, fracto, parcens Corpori;  
Meditando, Praedicando, Conferendo, Potius, faciendo,  
Vitam insumpsit fragilem,  
Ut aeternae aliorum Vitae consideret;  
Quo Ecclesiarum itaque, nulla Passorem Optimum,  
Aut Vitum magis Venerata est,  
Aut magis indoluit morienti.*

M. D<sup>ci</sup> Die III<sup>o</sup>. Anno Ære Christianæ  
M DC LXXXVII.

This is the Language of the Epitaph, the Truth-Speaker.

And as I have thus found the Story of his Life, so I can in a yet more unsuspected Quarter now find a Sermon on his Death. In the Third Volume of the *Morning-Exercises* published by that Good Man, the very Barnabas of London, that very Reverend and Excellent Man, Dr. Annesley; there is a Sermon wearing the Name of no other Au-

thor, but N. N. on that Case, *How the Religious of a Nation are the Strength of it?* Now the Author of that Sermon was this Mr. John Collins, who tho' he thus reckoned himself a No Body, yet was by Others esteemed so Considerable a Part of the Strength of the Nation, that at the Affectionate Prayer of the Reverend Mr. Mead, poured out before God for his Recovery when he lay sick; I have been told, there was hardly one dry Eye to be seen in the Great Congregation of the Lecture at Fimmers-Hall, where he also had been a Lecturer. Let the Reader but make the Application of that Sermon to the Author of it; and read this as the Running Title, *The English Nation weakened by the Death of Mr. JOHN COLLINS*: Thus a *Funerat Sermon* upon him will not be wanting!

§. 3. A Younger Brother, but yet a Brother to him, was Mr. NATHANIEL COLLINS, at whose Death, Dec. 28. 1684. in the Forty Third Year of his Age (wherein he got the start for Heaven!) there were more Wounds given to the whole Colony of Connecticut in our New-England, than the Body of Caesar did receive, when he fell wounded in the Senate-House. Reader, I would have made an Essay to have lamented the Fate of this our Collins in Verse, were it not for Two Discouragements: Not because Amatus the Jesuite reckon'd it a Thing worthy of a Scoff in our Dr. Twiss, to be guilty of a little Flight at Poetry; for the Noblest Hands have scan'd Poetical Measures on their Fingers: But because my Mean Faculties would not carry me beyond the Performances, whereof the Gentleman in *Thuanus* was afraid, when he made it a Clause in his Last Will, That they should not burden his Hearse with bad Funerall Verses; and because that Sacred Thing Verse, hath been by the Licentious Part of Mankind so prostituted, that now the Truth of whatever is therein offered, therefore does become suspected. Nevertheless his Merits were such, that his Life must be written, or at least so much of it as this, That he merited highly to have his Life written. But our History of him is to be abridged into this brief Account, That the Church of Middletown upon Connecticut-River was the Golden Candlestick from whence this Excellent Person illuminated more than that whole Colony; and that all the Qualities of most Exemplary Piety, Extraordinary Ingenuity, Obliging Affability, join'd with the Accomplishments of an Extraordinary Preacher did render him truly Excellent. In saying this of him, I may confirm what I say, in Words like those of Jerom on a like Occasion, *Testor, Christianum de Christiano, vera profere*; and for his Character add this Epitaph.

*Ille pius Pastor, quo non præstantior Unus,  
Qui faciendo docet, quæ facienda docet.*

But indeed, as the Mother of Brasidas bravely comforted her self, upon the Death of her much lamented Son, *Vir bonus est Brasidas et fortis, sed habet multos Sparta similes*: Even such was the Consolation of Connecticut, by the Special Favour of

Hea-



Heaven to the Colony; That though in the Death of COLLINS they lost an Excellent Man, yet he was not the only Excellent Man they had among them. In the Acknowledgments of Worth, there may come in for a great Share with him, several

most Worthy Men, wherewith Connecticut Colony has been singularly favoured Whiting of Hartford, Woodbridge of Wethersfield, Wakeman of Fairfield will never be forgotten, till Connecticut Colony, do forget it self, and all Religion.

## CHAP. IX.

THE

## L I F E

O F

## Mr. Thomas Shepard.

*Cui pramaturum, Mortemque queramus Acerbam?  
Mors Matura Venit, cum Bona Vita fuit.*

**S. 1.** IF it were accounted a Great Honour to the Family of the Corii in Rome, that there arose from that Stock Three Excellent Orators, One succeeding another, we may account it a greater Honour signaling the Family of the Shepards of New-England, that no less than Three Excellent Ministers have successively issued from it. The Eldest Son of Mr. Thomas Shepard, the Ever Memorable Pastor to the Church of Cambridge, was Mr. Thomas Shepard, the Pastor to the Church of Charlestown; and the Only Son of Mr. Thomas Shepard that Pastor of Charlestown, was our last Mr. Thomas Shepard, Paterna Virtutis ex asse Hores, his Grandfather's and his Father's Genuine Off-spring. The Lives of those his Predecessors make a Figure in our Church-Piety, and though this our Third Mr. Thomas Shepard must have it said of him, That he did not attain to the Days of the Years of the Life of his Fathers in the Days of their Pilgrimage; nevertheless his Life had that in it, which may justly render it Observable and Exemplary. Yea, such a Similitude of Spirit, there was descending from the Father to the Son, and from the Son to the Grandson in this Holy Generation, that albeit, they were all of them severally Short-lived, the Two First not living much more than Forty, and the last not so much as Thirty Years in the World, yet there might a sort of Jointed Longevity be ascribed unto the Generation; for when the Father went away, Non totus recessit, we had him still surviving to the Life in the Posterity. As the Name of Abner may be taken both ways, either Pater Lucerna, or Lucerna Patris; either the Father was the Brightness of the Son, or the

Son was the Brightness of the Father: Such a Lustre did Father, and Son, and Grandson, mutually reflect upon One another, in this Happy Family. It might be said of them as Nazianzen, I remember, speaks about the Family of a Basil; The Parents were such, that, if they had not such blessed Children, they had been of themselves Renowned; and the Children were such, that if the Parents had not been so of themselves, yet for the sake of These they had been Famous in the Church of God. Or, they may make us think of the Glory, with which the most illustrious Family in the Oracles of God, is usually let off when Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, are so often together introduced, where the Root gives a Verdure to the Branches, and the Flourishing Branches again commend the Root.

**S. 2.** When Mr. Thomas Shepard the Second of New-England, and the First of Charlestown, died, he left behind him such a Picture, as that which Tully mentions of Sextus Sulpicius; Nullum unquam Monumentum clarior. S. Sulpicius relinquere potuit, quam Effigiem Morum suorum, Virtutis, Constantie, Pietatis, Ingenii Filium; a Son that was the Lively Picture of his Virtues. And now that Son also is dead without any Male-Offspring, we will make an Essay at the Drawing of his Picture after another manner; even by such a Narrative of his Life, as may be indeed his Picture to the Life: In the Doing whereof, perhaps the Children of Godly and Worthy Ancestors, may find the Encouragement of a Confirmation to that Observation, That as the Snow-Ball, the further it rolls, the greater it grows, thus the further that the



Grace of God is continued, and received, and valued in any Family, the *Greater Effluents* of that Grace will be still appearing. For there were some singular Circumstances of *Early Blessedness*, attending this our youngest and latest *Shepard*, wherein it might be said of him, as it was of the Well-known *Grandson*, *who exceeded the Blessings of his Progenitors*. And we may the rather take Notice of this Matter, because there was hardly *One Consideration*, which oftner possessed the Mind of this our *Shepard*, or more powerfully operated upon him to make him *Eminent*, than *The Obligations laid upon him from his Ancestors to do worthily*. As the Famous *Pictorius* always carried about with him, the Picture of his Father in his Bosom, upon which often looking, he would say, *Let me never do any thing unworthy the Son of such a Father*: This was the very Spirit of our *Shepard*, who always bore about with him the Image of his Father, and as often as perhaps almost any one Thing, thought on this, *How he might approve himself the Son of such a Father*.

§. 3. Defended from such Ancestors, our *Thomas Shepard* was born at *Charlstown* in *New-England* on *July 5. 1658*. How he was in his Earliest Years disposed, I chuse to relate by reciting some of the Words, afterwards used by himself, when he addressed the Church of *Charlstown* for Admission to their Sacred Communion. 'As to the Thing of that which is commonly called *First Conversion* or *Regeneration*, I have had many Thoughts about it; but have been afraid, and am still, to determine it unto this or that particular. What I have found by my self, hath made me oftentimes to question, whether the *Former Operations* of the Spirit of God about me, were any more than *Common*; or, whether such and such *Sins* were consistent with *Saving Grace*; that which hath helped me in this Case, hath been partly, what I have heard from a Reverend Man of God, 'That such as are from time to time disquieted with such Thoughts, the best, if not the only way to put it out of doubt, that they have *True Faith*, is by *Exercising Faith*, to convert again unto God. And putting my Soul in the way of the *Breathings* of God's Spirit, and then observing the *Altings* thereof, I have by the Help of the same Spirit, found something of Relief under those *Doubts*. On my *Childhood* and *Youth*, I have too much cause to say (as *Solomon* of the things of this World) *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*! Yet by the Blessing of God on the faithful Endeavours, and fervent Prayers of my Religious Parents, especially of my Honoured, Blessed, and most Exemplary Father, who of all, as the most Able to further, so was most *Solicitous*, *Studios*, and tenderly Careful, always about the Everlasting Well-being of a Son, from the very Beginning of my Days, to the End of his, I do think, I was by Precept and Holy Example, imbued with a *Natural Love* and Liking to the Word and Ways of God; though not faving, yet such as whereby a Pre-

judice against Religion was prevented. Now as God blessed the Religious Cares of his Father to tinge him with such a Saviour of Religion in his Childhood; and he would not only on the *Lord's Days*, while he was yet a Boy, so notably repeat by heart in his Father's Family, all the Heads of the Longest Sermons preached in the *Publick*, that it might have served for a sufficient Repetition, instead of using the Notes usually produced on such Occasions, but also his Virtuous Carriage on the *Week Days*, he shew'd, that the Sermons had indeed their Impressions on his Heart: So his Childhood was remarkable for the Diligence of it, and his Love of his Book. And such was the Effect of this Diligence, that though he had not in his Attainments the *Pracocity* of *Jacobus Martini*, the *Venetian* Boy, who not many years agoe) when he was but seven years old, publicly disputed at *Rome*, on *Theist*, which he published of *Theology*, *Law*, *Physick*, and the other Disciplines, unto the Astonishment of all the Orders there, yet he did attain unto such Learning, as gave him an *Early Admission* into the *Colledge*, and rais'd great Hopes in good Men concerning him.

§. 4. Being admitted into the Colledge, never was Father more Careful of his *Alumnus*, than the Father of this our *Shepard* was of this his Only Son. And the Care of his Father for his Welfare, caus'd him then, in imitation of what the *Grandfather* had once done for him, to give him, in Writing a Paper of *Golden Instructions*, directing his Behaviour, while he should continue a Student in that Society.

The Sum of those Instructions was,

I. To remember the great End of his Life, even the Glorifying of God through Christ, at the End of this Turn of his Life, even the fitting him for the most Glorious Work of the Holy Ministry. For this End (wrote this Excellent Man) Your Father hath let you a part with many Tears, and hath given you up to God that He might delight in you. And (he proceeded) I had rather see you buried in your Grave, than grow light, loose, wanton or profane: God's Secrets in the Holy Scriptures are never made known to common or profane Spirits; and (added he) therefore bide you begin and end every Day, wherein you study with earnest Prayer to God; reading some part of the Scripture daily, and setting apart some time every Day (though but one Quarter of an Hour) for Meditation of the Things of God.

II. To remember, that these are Times of much Knowledge, and therefore One had almost as good be no Scholar, as not to Excel in Knowledge; Wherefore (said he) abhor one Hour of Idleness, as you would be ashamed of one Hour of Drunkenness. Though (as he also said) I would not have you neglect Seasons for Recreation a little before and after Meals, and though I would not have you study late in the Night usually, yet know, that God will curse

your



your Soul, while the Sin of Idleness is nourished, which hath spoiled so many hopeful Youths, in their first Blossoming in the College. Hence (be said likewise) don't content your self to do as much as your Tutor sets you about, but know, that you will never excel in Learning, unless you do somewhat else in private Hours, wherein his Care cannot reach you.

III. To make his Studies as Pleasant, and as Fruitful as could be, First by singling out Two or Three Scholars, the most Godly, Learned, and Studious, and such as he could Love best, and such as would most Love him, of any that he could find among his Equals, as also some that were Superiours, and often manage Discourses with them on all Subjects, which he had before him; and mark diligently what occur'd remarkable in every ones Conferences, Disputations and other Exercises, but, by no means letting too much leak away in Visits. Next, by having a Variety of Studies before him, that when he should be weary of one Book or Theme, he might have recourse to another. Then, by prosecuting of Studies in some Order and Method; and therefore, every Year at least, if not often, fixing the Course thereof, so as he might not allow himself to be Ordinarily therein interrupted. Fourthly, By giving of Difficult Studies the Flower of his Thoughts, and not suffering any Difficulty to pass him, till by Industry or Inquiry he had mastered it. Fifthly, By keeping an Appetite for Studies, by intermixing Meditation, and at fit Seasons Recreation, but by such as might moderately stir the Body, and tender the Spirit more lively for its Duties.

Sixthly, By making of Choice Collections from what Authors he perused, and having proper Indices to his Collections; and therewithal contriving still how to reduce all unto his own more peculiar Service in his Exercises or otherwise. Seventhly, By taking pains in preparing for his Recitations, Declarations, Disputations, and not upon any pretence whatever burry them off indifferently. (Said be) Reading without Meditation will be useless; Meditation without Reading will be barren. But here I would not have you forget a Speech of your Blessed Grandfather to a Scholar, that complained to him of a bad Memory, which discouraged him from Reading, *Leges, Leges, aliquid heredit.* That Sentence [be added] in Prov. 14. 23. deserves to be written in Letters of Gold on your Study-Table.

In all Labour, there is Profit. But, Lastly, By praying much not only for Heavenly, but also Humane Learning. For (said be) Remember that Prayer at Christ's Feet, for all the Learning you want, shall fetch you in more in an Hour, than possibly you may get by all the Books, and Helps you have otherwise in many Years.

IV. To be Grave and Kind in his Carriage towards all the Scholars; but be Watchful against the Two great Sins of many Scholars. Whereof his Words were these. The first is youthful Lusts, speculative Wantonness, and secret Filthiness, for which God hardens and blinds young Men's Hearts, his Holy Spirit departing from such unclean Syes. The Second is, Malignancy and

secret Dislike of Holiness, and the Power of Godliness, and the Professors of it. Both of these Sins (said be) you will quickly fall into, unto your own perdition; if you be not careful of your Company. For there are, and will be such in every Scholastical Society, for the most part, as will teach you how to be filthy, and how to jest, and scoff, and scorn at Godliness, and at the Professors thereof; whose Company, I charge you to fly as from the Devil, and abhor. And that you may be kept from these, read often that Scripture, *Prov. 21. 10. 11. 12. 15.*

V. Remember (so wrote be) to intrate God with Tears, before you come to hear any Sermon, that thereby God would powerfully speak to your Heart, and make His Truth precious to you. Neglect not to write after the Preacher always in handson Books, and be careful always to preserve and peruse the same. And upon Sabbath Days, make exceeding Conscience of Sanctification; mix not your other Studies, much less vain and carnal Discourses with the Duties of that Holy Day, but remember that Command, *Lev. 19. 30. Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary, I am the Lord.* VI. Remember (so likewise wrote be) that whensoever you hear, read, or conceive any Divine Truth, you study to affect your Heart with it, and the Goodness of it. Take heed of receiving Truth into your Head, without the Love of it in your Heart, lest God give you to strong Delusions. If God reveal any Truth to you, be sure you be Humbly and deeply Thankful.

These Excellent Instructions his Father, concluded with these Words: *And my Heart shall rejoice even mine.*

And I may now abridge the whole *Academical Life* of our young *Shepherd*, even until he proceeded *Master of Arts*, into this brief Account of him, That he did make the Heart of his Worthy Father to rejoice by his Conscientious and Exemplary Attendance unto these Instructions. Yea, when he had Occasion to mention them, it was in these Terms, *My next to Christ, most Beloved Father's Advice: Nor was there any one part of his Character more conspicuous than this, A Reverence for the Person and Advice of his Father.*

S. 5. But before he could proceed *Master of Arts*, a Terrible Hand of God upon (more than) *Charlstown*, put an End unto the Days of his Father in the World. And albeit that very considerable Church, under this Bereavement, had now a prospect of a Supply from several Quarters, yet after much Praying and Fasting before the Great Shepherd of the Sheep for His Direction, they could fix no where, but upon this Hopeful Son of their former Pastor. Indeed, for the most part, *A Prophet is without Honour in his own Country*, nevertheless in this Country, as well as among some of the Primitive Churches, there have been more than two or three Infancies of Sons, that have happily succeeded (yea, and assisted) their



their Fathers in the Evangelical Propheſie. And Charſtown particularly (not altogether unlike the Magiſtrates of Baſil, who from their Eſteem of the Excellent Buxtorf, choſe his very young Son to ſucceed him in the Hebrew Profeſſorſhip) knowing the Prayers, the Tears, the Faith, which their Firſt Shephard had uſed for this Only Son, concluded, that like the Son of Monica, it was impoſſible, that he ſhould not be bleſſed, and made a Bleſſing; and ſeeing alſo the Early Diſpoſition of our Young Shephard, in all things to imitate his Excellent Father, they believed, that nothing would more continue Day-light after Sun-ſet unto them, than for them here to make their choice. Accordingly, at their Deſire, he preached his Firſt Sermon among them, while he was yet little more than twenty Years of Age; and with a very Charming, Solid and Serious Gravity, he diſcourſed on Exod. 15. 2. *He is my Father's God, and I will exalt Him.* Upon this, and other ſuch Experiments of his Abilities; his Father's Flock were at no Reſt, until they had obtained his Eſta- bliſhment with Ordination, to be their Feeder; which was conſummated on May 5. 1680. And the laſt VVords uſed in the Sermon by a Reverend Perſon, who then preached on that Paſſage in Ezek. 33. 7. *Son of Man, I have ſet thee a Watchman,* will by being here tranſcrib'd, help to finiſh the Picture, which we have undertaken.

“ Be much in Prayer for your Watchmen, and particularly for him, who is this Day to be eſta- bliſhed in the VVork of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt among you; You have honoured *Your ſelves* in thus expreſſing the Love and Honour which you had for his Excellent Father; and as it was ſaid in Ruth 2. 20. *Bleſſed be he of the Lord, who hath not left off his Kindneſs to the Living, and to the Dead; ſo I will ſay to you, Bleſſed be this Church of the Lord, that you ſhow Kindneſs unto your Dead Paſtor, and to his Living Son.* As for him, that is now to become your Watchman, he needs your Prayers; I may ſay of him as David of Solomon, *My Son is young and tender, and the Houſe is magnificent; I know not whether any ſo young as he, was ever left alone with ſuch a Charge.* Now tho' the *Work be great,* yet the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is able to carry him well through it all; but it muſt be through the Help of your Prayers, that he comes to have ſuch a Supply of the Spirit, pray for him in particular, and that ev'ry Day! VVho knows what God may do for you, in him, and by him, as in and by his Father before him? Let it be your Prayer, that He would take of the Spirit, that was in his Father and his Grandfather; who were both of them Great Men in their Generation, and beſtow thereof a Double Portion upon him. And let that VVord encourage you, *My Spirit which is upon thee, and my Word which I have put in thy Month, ſhall not depart out of thy Month, nor out of the Mouth of thy Seed, nor out of the Mouth of thy Seed's Seed; ſaith the Lord.*

Thus did he become the Paſtor of Charſtown, and herein he did not leap from a vain, lewd and unſanctified Youth into the Pulpit, as into a

Shop, where to earn a Living, and there ſuddenly put on juſt ſo much External Devotion, as may ſerve to recommend one's Performances unto an Auditory of the Faithful. Even the Heathen Moralit, obſerved the great Miſchief done in the VVorld by the Mercenary Maſters of Precept, who endeavour'd more to talk juſt Things, than to do them; *τα δὲ κατὰ τὴν λέγειν ἀντίστοιχα δὲ πράττειν.* Our Shephard was none of theſe. But after long Preparations of a Renewed Heart and a Religious Life, and with Awful Apprehenſions of the Account, which he was to give unto the Lord of the Flock, and of the Worth and Charge of Immortal Souls in his Flock, he was thruſt forth into publick Labours. And the Lord encouraged his Holy Labours by making of ſuch Additions unto his Church, as few Churches in the Country for the time had the like; but yet, as when Peter had a mighty Draught of Fiſhes, he cryed out, *Lord! I am a ſinful Man!* Thus the mighty Draught of Souls, which this young Diſciple found in his Goſpel-Net, was indeed ſo far from Liſting of him up, that he ſenſibly grew in his Humility, and in his low and vile Thoughts of his own Attainments.

§. 6. Although he were a Young Man, yet might be applied unto him, a Stroke in the Epitaph on one of Mr. Henries Children, *Præterquam ætatem, nil Puerile fuit.* And he made the moſt Judicious of his People paſs this Judgment on him, that he was no Novice: And ſuch an Example was he *In Word, in Converſation, in Civility, in Spirit, in Faith, in Parity,* that he did let *no Man deſpiſe his Youth.* Such indeed was his whole Conduct of him, that he made one think of thoſe Words of Origen, *Senum eſt prophetare; etiamſi videas aliquando juvenem prophetantem; non debites dicere de eo, quia ſecundum interiorem hominem ſenit, propterea Propeta eſt.* By the Gravity by his Deportment he kept up his Authority among all ſorts of Perſons, and by the Certeſſity of it he won their Affection. He ſet himſelf to Do good unto all among his People, and the Charity of his Purſe, as well as of his Tongue and Heart, was felt on all juſt Occaſions. But there none dearer to him than the Good Old People; thoſe Holy Devout Aged Souls, who had grown well towards *Ripe for Heaven* under his Bleſſed Father's Miniſtry: He was much in their Company, and he valued their Prayers for him, and their Serious and Savoury and Heavenly Communications at no ordinary Rate. Nor ſhall I ever forget the Conſolation, which he told me, he had received from the Words, which one of thoſe plain, old Saints uſed unto him, when he was under diſcouraging Fears, how he ſhould go through his Work: Sir (ſaid he) *If you'll give up your ſelf to do the Work of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, never fear but He will help you to do yours.* When he came to have a Family of his own, it was a Well-Ordered One: He Morning and Evening read in it a Portion of the Scripture, and then pray'd out of what he read: But on the Satur-day Nights, he choſe to Repeat a Sermon, commonly what had been preached on ſome *Leſſure* the forgoing Week, or One of his deceaſed Father's; and on Lord's Day



Day Nights he Repeated the Sermon of the Day foregoing. And while he made his House a Bethel, for the Devotion therein performed; he made it a *Bethesda*, for the Hospitable Entertainment which he gave unto those that repaired unto him: And *Ministerium Pauperum et Gentium, candidatus se fecerat ad Caelum*. For all other things he so made the Hundred and First Psalm the Rule of his House, as to give therein a Demonstration of his Ability to Rule the Church of God. From hence, if we follow him unto his Beloved Study, there we shall find him affording yet a more Notable, and Eminent Instance of an Holy Walk. Here besides his Daily Supplications, he did One Thing, which had a mighty Tendency, to keep his own Spirit in an healthy, vigorous, thriving Temper, and bring down the manifold Blessings of God upon all the Weighty Concerns, which he had in his Hands; and a Thing it was, without which he thought, he could never prove either a Watchful Christian, or a very Useful Minister: This was that he scarce permitted one Month to pass him, without spending at least One Day in the Exercises of *Ascetic-Faith* before the Lord. It is remarkable, that every One of those Three, who are famous in the Book of God for Miraculous Fasting, were honoured by God with the Miraculous Feeding of other Men. Our Shepherd thought, that he should never do any great Things in Feeding of his Flock, if he did not great Things in Fasting by himself. The Commendations given to Fasting, by *Basil* and *Cyprian*, in their Orations about it, and by *Ambrose* in his Book of *Elias*, were believed by our Shepherd; his Holy Heart could subscribe unto the VWords of *Chrysostom* concerning this Duty, who in his Homily says, Fasting is, as much as lies in us, an Imitation of the Angels, a Contemning of Things present, a School of Prayer, a Nourishing of the Soul, a Bridle of the Mouth, an Abatement of Concupiscence: It mollifies Rage, it appeases Anger, it calms the Tempests of Nature, it excites Reason, it clears the Mind, it disburthens the Flesh, it chafes away Night-Pollutions, it frees from Head-ach. By Fasting, a Man gets composed Behaviour, Free Utterance of his Tongue, Right Apprehensions of his Mind. Wherefore he still would set apart a Day every Month, wherein he would strictly examine the Error of his Heart and Life, and confess and bewail those Errors, and obtain the Sealed Pardon thereof, by a Renewed Faith in the Obedience of the Lord Jesus Christ; and then wrestle with Heaven for New Supplies of Grace, to carry him well thro' the whole Service incumbent on him; and therewithal implore the Smiles of Heaven on all the Souls that were under his Charge, and on the Land and World. And this his Piety was accompanied with proportionable Industry, wherein he devoured Books even to a Degree of Learned Gluttony; in so much, that if he might have changed his Name, it must have been into *Bibliander*. VVhence, tho' he had a fine, and large, and a continually growing Library, yet, that he might avoid the Disgrace of that Salutation, *Salvete Libri sine Doctore*, he took a very particular course, to make himself Master of the Learning, which was lodg'd in so Rich a Treasury: For so little did he deserve to be numbered among the Chaplains of K. Lewis the XI.

the French King, who seeing their Learning to bear no proportion unto their Libraries, wittily said of them, *They were like such as had crooked Backs, carrying a Burden about with them, which they never saw in their Lives*, that he had hardly left a Book of Consequence to be so used, in his Library (I shall I now call it, or his Laboratory) which he had not so perused as to leave with it in an Inserted Paper, a Brief Idea of the whole Book, with Memorandums of more Notable Passages occurring in it, written with his own Diligent and so Enriching Hand. He might say with *Seneca*, *Nullus mihi potum exiit Dies, partem etiam Noctium studii vendico*; and it is well if he were not a little too much of a *Seneca*, in hurrying of his Health by so spending of his Life.

§. 7. He faithfully set himself to discharge the whole Duty of a Pastor, and as he walked humbly under the Awe of that VWord in *Heb. 13. 17*. *They watch for your Souls, as those that must give an Account*; so methinks, I hear him give up this Account unto the Judge of all.

Gracious Lord; I watch'd, that I might see what special Truths from time to time, were most proper to be inculcated on my Flock, and I thoroughly preached those Truths. I watch'd, that I might see what sort of Temptations did most threaten my Flock, and I set my self to strengthen them against those Temptations. I watch'd, that I might see what sort of Afflictions did most afflict my Flock, and I set my self to comfort them under those Afflictions. I did watch, to learn what sort of Duties, were most seasonable to be recommended to my Flock, and I vigorously recommended them in the Seasons thereof. I did watch, to see what Souls of my Flock did call for my more particular Address, and I often address'd one or other of them. Yet not I, but the Grace which was with me!

But if we consider him yet more particularly, as a Preacher, he did thus acquit himself. In the writing of his Discourses for the Pulpit, he did, as they say, *Aristotle* did, when he wrote one of his Famous Books, *Dip his Pen into his very Soul*! VVhen he was going to compose a Sermon, he began with Prayer; thinking, *Bene orasse est bene finisse*. He then read over his Text in the Original, and weigh'd the Language of the Holy Ghost. If any Difficulty occur'd in the Interpretation, he was wary, how he ran against the Stream of the most solid Interpreters, whom he still consulted. He was then desirous to draw forth his *Discourses*, and perhaps other Heads of his Discourse in the Beginning of the Week, that so his Occasional Thoughts, might be useful thereunto. And he would ordinarily improve his own Meditations to shape his Discourse, before he would consult any other Authors who treated on the Subjects, that so their Notions might serve only to Adorn or Correl his own. Lastly, Having finished his Composure, he concluded with a Thanksgiving to the Lord, his Helper. And then for the Utterance of the Sermons thus prepared, though his Pronunciation were not set off with all the Advantages, that *Itching Ears* would have asked for, yet he had the Divine Rhetorick, recommended by Dr. *Stoughton* in that Speech of his, *This I know and dare avouch; that*



the highest Mystery in Divine Rhetorick is, To feel what a Man speaks; and then to speak what he feels. In thus fulfilling his Ministry, he went through a Variety of Subjects; but there were especially Two Subjects, that were singled out by him towards the Close of it. First, It being a Time, when a Conjunction of Iniquity and Calamity made but an ill Aspect upon the Countrey, he did in One part of the Lord's Day choose to insist upon the Prayer of Jonas; which he handled in Forty five Sermons, whereof the last was uttered about a Month before his End. Secondly, A Synod of Churches having discovered, and condemned a Number of *Provoking Foils*, by degenerating wherewith, the Land was exposed unto the Judgments of Heaven, he did on the other part of the Lord's Days insist on those Provocations; and having dispatched what he intended hereof also, he took Two Texts; the One to awaken the Obstinate, namely, that in Jer. 13. 17. If you will not bear, my Soul shall weep in secret places for your Pride. The Other to encourage the Penitent, namely, that in Mar. 11. 28. Come to me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you Rest. And he was never after heard speaking in the Name of the Lord.

§. 8. A while before his Death, he preached Thirteen Sermons on that Passage Eccles. 12. 5. *Man goeth to his Long Home.* And he had a strange and strong Pressage on his own Mind, that he was himself to be not long from that Home.

I find the Patriarch Isaac, in Gen. 27. 2. fill'd with many Thoughts about the Day of his Death at hand, and enquiring after some special Reason for it, I find that Isaac was now come to that Age, at which his Brother Ismael died fourteen Years before. This probably now, above any other time, awakened him to think of his own Death as near unto him. It may be, the Prefige of our Shepherd, that he should not outlive the Age of Twenty seven, might be somewhat excited, by his calling to Mind, the Age at which his Uncle expired.

Our First Shepherd of Cambridge had Three Sons, whereof, if the Eldest, namely, Thomas (the Father of our Thomas of Chesham) were one singularly Enlarged in his Endowments and Improvements; I am sure, the Second was one, whose Heart was a Tent in which the Lord remarkably chose to dwell: It was Mr. Samuel Shepard, of whose Holy Life and Death I may here interweave a distinct Account, by but reciting the Words which I find written in a private Manuscript of our Excellent Mr. Mitchell concerning him. His Words are these,

On April 7. 1668. dyed Mr. Samuel Shepard, Pastor of the Church of Rosly (just two Months after his Wife) a very Precious, Holy, Meditating, Able and Choice Young Man; One of the First Three. His Attainments in Communion with God, and in daily Meditation and Close Walking, may shame those that are Elder than he. He was but Twenty six years of Age in October last. He was an Excellent Preacher, most dearly Beloved at Rosly, and of all that knew him; but just fustled among them. The

People would have Plucked out their Eyes for him, to have saved his Life. But he was ripe for Heaven; and God took him thither: A Gain to him but an invaluable Loss to us.

Now this our Thomas had an almost unaccountable Apprehension, that in his Early Death he should be like his Uncle Samuel; and under the Influence of this Apprehension, he so liv'd, and so preach'd, as to avoid the Danger of a Sudden Death, by being always prepared for it. Accordingly, it came to pass that about June 5. 1685. on Friday being indisposed in his Bowels, he yet continued his Pains and Hopes, all the Saturday following, to be ready for the Exercises of the Lord's Day, when the Lord's Supper also was to have been administered. But on the Saturday Night his Illness grew so much upon him, that he said unto his Wife, I would gladly have been, once more, at the Table of the Lord, but I now see that I shall no more partake thereof, until I do it after a new Manner in the Kingdom of Heaven. On Lord's Day Noon I visited him, and at my parting with him, he said, My Hopes are built on the Free Mercy of God, and the Rich Merit of Christ, and I do believe, that, if I am taken out of the World, I shall only change my Place; I shall neither change my Company, nor change my Communion: And as for you, Sir, I beg the Lord Jesus to be with you unto the End of the World! After this, he spoke little to his Attendants; but was often overheard pouring out Prayers, especially for the Widow Church; (as he often expressed it) which he was to leave behind him. And in the Night following, to the extremest Surprise of his Friends on Earth, he went away to those in Heaven! If his Age be now enquired after, it is remarked, that altho' the Scripture doth mention the particular Age of many Heroes eternized in it's Oracles, yet after the Lord Jesus Christ came, and continued in this lower World, no longer than Thirty two Years and an half, the Scripture does not mention the Age of any one Person whatsoever, as if the time of any one's Continuance in this World more or less, were not worth minding, since the Son of the Most High Tabernacled to flesh a while among us. However, we will here mention the Age of our Shepard; it was a Month short of Twenty seven. But,

An miserum dices, cito quod Terrena reliquit! Felicem certè, quod meliora tenet.

§. 9. Wisdom, Gravity, Prudence, Temperance (as One speaks) are not always confined unto them, that have wrinkled Faces, furrowed Brows, dim Eyes, and palsy Hands, leaning on a Staff; nor is a Young Man incapable of being a Divine. Although our Shepard had not outlived the Years of Youth, when he went from hence, yet he had outgrown the Airs of it; and among all the Virtues of an Old Man which adorn'd him, the not least of his Ornaments was, his being well established in the Study of Divinity. To accomplish himself in that Study, he did not apply himself unto the Reading of those Authors, who pretending to describe unto us, The Whole Duty of



Man, and the Condition of our Obtaining the Benefits purchased by Christ, are careful to insist on any thing rather, than that a Reliance on the Righteousness of the Obedience, yielded by the Lord Jesus Christ as our Surety unto God for us, which is the *One thing needful*, or that Faith, whereby we come to have the Union with our Lord Jesus Christ, from which alone all Good Works arise: And those, who amidst their Volamious Harangues upon Moral Virtue, are very careful to avoid the least Insinuation, that a Man cannot be truly Virtuous, until the Spirit of God by a Supernatural Operation, infusing a New Principle into him hath regenerated him, and that a Man can do nothing truly Virtuous without the Supernatural Aids of that Spirit. He look'd upon many late Books written to undermine the Orthodox Articles of the Church of England, in these Matters, by Persons, who perhaps had got into Preferments by subscribing those very Articles, as Books that indeed betray'd the Christian Religion, under the Pretence of Upholding it. And the Mercy of God having preierv'd the Mind of this our Young Student from the wrong Schemes, which might have afterwards entailed such an Eternal Consequence upon his Ministry, as uses to attend the Ministry, wherein the Grace of the Gospel is not acknowledged, he chose to read those Authors, which have the Truer Spirit of the Gospel in them. If I find therefore under his own Hand, a List of such Authors as these, to be considered by him, as indeed worthy to be perused and considered; Mr. Perkins, Dr. Preston, Dr. Usher, Dr. Stanton, Mr. Jeans, Mr. Strong, Mr. Caryl, Mr. Swinmott, Dr. Jacomb, Dr. Owen, Mr. Pollitt, And however he saw a Sherrlock, after a very Evangelical Manner, abusing the Writings of his Grandfather Shepard, his Value for those Writings, and the Writings of such Men as Mr. Hooker or Dr. Goodwin, was thereby not abated; but his Detestation of the New-Divinity, wherein he saw the Mysteries of Union with Christ confounded, Acquaintance with Christ reproach'd, and Living

by Faith on Christ, and Coming to Christ with nothing for all things made a Ridicule, was more than a little augmented. And as it was a Principal Endeavour with him, to settle himself in the True, Protestant, New-English Anti-Arminian Points of Truth, so on all Occasions he prov'd himself One able to maintain the Truth against all Opposers: Whence, the Inimicable Death of so Accomplish'd a Divine, cannot but be a sensible Wound unto our Churches. But He that Holds the Stars in his Right Hand, can, if we address him for it, upon the Setting of some, cause others to rise; yea, it is possible, and it is indeed propos'd, that by writing the Lines of some such, others may be excited and assisted, in shining like unto them.

This was the Short Life of my Dear Shepard. I confess my Affection unto him to have been such, that if I might use the Poet's Expression of his Friend, *Anima dimidium meæ*, I must say, I am half buried since he is dead, or, He is but half dead since I am alive. Nevertheless, this Affection hath not bribed my Voracity in any part of the Character which I have given of him; for as on the one side, I count it base to throw Dirt on the Face, which Dust hath been cast upon; so, on the other side, I think, that Painting becomes Dead People worse than Living.

A Line or Two of Emanuel Thesaurus, upon that First and Young Shepherd ABEL, we may now leave upon him for his

## EPITAPH.

Conditur sub hoc Cespite, Virgineus PASTOR,  
Quimortem, omnibus, vivam, virginem flendam transigit.

Or This,

Great Minds must like New Stars, but look about,  
Be wondrous at a little, and go out.

Or, This,

Dear Shepard, sure we dare not call thee Dead;  
Thou' gone, thou'rt but unto thy Kindred fled.

## CHAP.



## CHAP. X.

*EARLY PIETY, Exemplified in the Life and Death of Mr. Nathanael Mather; Who having become at the Age of Nineteen, an Instance of more than Common Learning and Virtue, changed Earth for Heaven, Octob. 17. 1688.*

*Si spectes Annot, Annis Puer ille videtur :*

*Si Mores spectes, Moribus esse Senex.*

The Fourth Edition.

With a Prefatory Epistle by Mr. Matthew Mead.

## To the READER.

**O**F all Reading, History hath in it a most taking Delight, and no History more delightful than the Lives of good Men, it being not only pleasant but profitable; and so while other Pleasures become a Bait to Vice, this becomes a Motive to Virtue. It may be said of such Lives, as that Excellent Mr. Herbert said of Perseus,

A Life may find him who a Sermon flies,  
And turn Delight into a Sacrifice.

Thou hast here a rare History of a Youth, that may be of great Use and Advantage both to Old and Young : That the Aged seeing themselves out-done by Green Tears, may Gird up their Loins, and mend their Pace for Heaven; and that Young Ones may be so wrought into the Love of Religion, as it is Exemplified in this Holy Person, as to endeavour with all Diligence to write after his Excellent Copy.

It is a great Work to dye, and to dye well is a greater; and no Work calls for greater Diligence than this, because the Errors of the first Work can never be corrected in a second. One great Reason why this Duty is seldom well done, is because we grudge Time to do it in, and leave it to be done at once. It is never like to be well done, unless it be always doing; and therefore we should, in Conformity to that great Apostle, die daily.

This was the Practice of this Young Disciple, who among all his other Learning (wherein for his time he excelled most) had in Nineteen Years so perfectly learned this Lesson, that the Wise God saw it fit he should take out.

About Fourteen Years old he did dedicate himself wholly to God and his Service, and entered into a Solemn Covenant with God to that purpose; which as he did not begin rashly, and without great deliberation, so he did not transact it slightly, but with great Sense and Seriousness: The Matter and Form

of which Covenant you have in this ensuing Narrative signed with his own Hand, according to that Word of the Prophet, (Isa. 44. 5.) One shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the Name of Jacob, and another shall subscribe with his Hand to the Lord. And with what Care and Conscience, he performed this Covenant in Fasting, in Prayer, in Watchings, in Self-Examination, in Meditation, in Thanksgiving, in Walking with God in all, is fully witnessed in what follows, which shews that he was a true Nathanael, an Israelite indeed in whom was no Guile. Not like those Israelites which the Prophet reproveth, for that they flattered God with their Mouth, — lied to him with their Tongues, their Hearts not being right with him, nor steadfast in his Covenant. For having once given up himself to God, He kept the Ways of the Lord, and did not wickedly depart from his God.

When his Worshy Father (my Dear Friend) was pleased to send this Narrative to me, I confess I could not read it without great Reflection and Shame : Thought I, God will not gather his Fruit till it is ripe, and therefore I live so long; nor will he let it hang till it is rotten, therefore Nathanael died so soon. We are not sent into the World merely to fill up a Number of Tears, but to fill up our measures of Grace, and whenever that is done, our Time is done, and we have loved to Maturity, and so did this Youth, and therefore came to his Grave in a full Age (tho' at Nineteen) like as a Shock of Corn comes in in his Season.

The following History is written by his own Brother, (a Worshy Minister) the fittest of any for such a Province, the Nearness of Relation occasioning that Intimacy which others could not easily have. In what he hath done herein, he hath deserved highly of all who love Goodness and Virtue, having used great Faithfulness, and great Modesty : Great Faithfulness, and that both to the Dead and to the Living; and to the Dead, in raising up the Name of such a Brother; and to the Living, in giving us a Narration of his Life,

without



without an Oration in his Praise; which indeed was altogether needless, when it was so fairly written by himself, for his own Works praise him in the Gates. And he hath used great Modesty, in speaking for the most part out of the Journal of the Deceased, so that it is the Dead who speaks while the Living writes. And since his End is more to provoke to Imitation than to bespeak Admiration, How greatly doth it concern them into whose Hands this Narrative shall hap-

pily fall, to join earnest Prayer and diligent Endeavour together in following this great Example, otherwise he that gave it, and he that writes it, will both rise up in Judgment against an unsearchable Generation.

London, June  
17. 1689.

Matthew Mead.

## To the READER.

**I**T is not for me to say much of the Person who is the Subject of the ensuing History, for that I am his younger Brother. I have read a Letter (dated October 25. 1688.) written to him and my Ever Honour'd Father, wherein are these Expressions.

Never could Parent have cause of more Comfort in a Child, than you have in that Son of yours. I have seen his private Papers, and in them such an Instance of a Walk with God, as few Ancient Ministers perhaps have Experience of, especially for the three last years of his Life. I find that he maintained a Course of wonderful Devotion, Supplication and Meditation every Day; that solemn Humiliations and Thank-givings in secret, were no Strangers to his Practice, that he would be often thinking with himself, *What shall I do for God?* And in a Word, that Dr. Owen's Book about *Spiritual Mindedness*, has been in a very rare Manner transcribed into his Conversation.

He has bin for his Years a great Scholar, but a better Christian. The Life of the Famous Young *Janeway*, I think, has not more of Holiness illustrious in it, than that of your Dear Nathanael's.

I write these Things, because I judge you have no greater Joy. Some Eminent Ministers here, have maintained a pleasant, intimate, familiar Conversation with him, and the Cha-

cter which they gave of him, is very Extraordinary. Thus that Letter.

I have likewise heard my Father say, that he was more grieved for the Loss which the Church of God has sustained in the Death of that my Brother, than for his own Loss thereby.

When I parted from him not a Tear ago, I hoped that would not have been my Ultimam Vale; but I now lament my Unhappiness, in that I gain'd no more by him: And yet must acknowledge, that the little Understanding which God has given me in the Hebrew or Greek Tongues, was by that my Brother as the Instrument: So that I have cause whist I shall live, to honour his Memory. His Death makes me remember the Poet's Words.

*"O quid Esse desideras, vides."*

I cannot but know, that if I should not fear and serve the God of my Brothers, and of my Fathers, and of my Grand-Fathers, the nearest Relations I ever had in the World, will be Witnesses against me at the Last Day. The Lord give us a joyful Meeting in Day of Christ.

London, February,  
5th. 1689.

Samuel Mather.

## The INTRODUCTION.

**M**Y Reader will quickly discern what it is that I attempt the doing of; and I suppose he will then see no Occasion of enquiring *Why*. The *Apology's* wherewith Writers usually fill the Prefaces of their Books, *Do come of Evil*; either the Vanity of the Composition is discovered, or the Candor of the Persuaders questioned in them. That I write the *Life of a Christian*, cannot be faulted by any one who considers, That the *Lives* of Pious Men have been justly esteem'd among the most useful Histories which the Church of God enjoys; or that the best Pens in the World have been employ'd in thus helping the *Just* unto *Eternal Memory*.

Our Lord will have as mean a Thing as one Act of Devotion and Charity, in a poor Woman, to be mentioned wherever his Gospel comes. That I write the *Life of a Brother*, will not be reckoned absurd by them who understand what Patterns I have, both Ancient and Modern, for my doing so. *James Janeway* among the rest has had our Thanks for what an Account he has given of his Brother *John*. Indeed, if I should not thus raise up for my Departed Brother a Name in Israel, I were not worthy to near a Shoop, or to have a Face unfit upon. My Natural Relation to him doth oblige me to bestow an Epitaph upon his Grave; that the Survivors may not forget whose

Dist



Dust they tread upon: But I am by (that which *Amoroso* calls) a Greater and Better Fraternity, concerned to Embalm the Memory of One, who maintained such a Walk with God, as he did until God took him to Himself. It has been observed, That they who Live in Heaven while they are on Earth, often Live on Earth after they are in Heaven. It were lawful for me to desire and study such a Thing on the behalf of my Brother, whose Early Piety is at once my own Shame and Joy: But I pursue an higher End than this, designing rather to procure Followers, than to bespeak Admirers of this good Example: That this is my Main Scope, in what I am now doing of, I declare sincerely and very solemnly. And hence I have not here made an *Oration* in his Praise, but given barely a Narrative of his Life, and this mostly by transcribing of his own Memorials, in all affecting the plain Style of a just Historian. I do therefore address this Exemplary Life unto the young People of New-England, and especially unto those of North-Boston, who are the Lambs that I have received a peculiar Charge from the Lord Jesus about the Feeding of. To you do I present this Mirror, wherein you may see the Exercises of a Virtuous Youth, not only prescribed, but also practised before your Eyes: You shall see, as what should be done, so what may be done by a Young Person, in order to Everlasting Felicity; see him and hear him as One come from the Dead, saying, Do as I have done. The Father of him whom I describe has laboured exceedingly for the Conversion of the Rising Generation in New-England; and his CALL to them has been printed and reprinted here among us. Tho' the News of a Sons Death must needs be afflictive to him, when he shall have the Report of it arriving to him in the other England, yet I make no doubt, but his Parental Grievs will be not a little mitigated, when he shall behold that Son thus renewing his CALL by speaking after he is dead. This young

Man did pray much for you while he was alive, that you might be truly converted unto God; he does preach now to you from the Grave, or rather from the Sky, that you would Remember your Creator in the Days of your Youth. I wish that he may (to use *Chrysostom's* Phrase), become a Brother to you by Faith, as he is to me by Blood: And I extend this my Wish with a most Affectionate Application to the young Gentlemen, who belong to the College which he was a Member of. As you have had in his Father a Rector, whose Generous and Expensive Cares have not been for your Disadvantage; so you have in his Diligence and his Devotion, a Copy which is not altogether unworthy of your Imitation; I am setting before you the Exercises and Accomplishments of a Scholar, whose Chief Study it was, to be wise unto Salvation; a Scholar, which laboured while he was learning all other Things, not to be ignorant of Him, Whom to know was Life Eternal. I am not without Hope, that some of you will now resolve as *Jerom* did when he had read the Life of *Athanasius*, shutting up the Book and saying, Well, here shall be the Champion whom I will follow: When you come to dye, you will certainly commend such a Life as his; God grant that none of you may then have cause to sigh *Qualis Artifex pereat!* Or to complain, *Surgunt Indoliti & rapiunt Cælum; Nos cum nostris Doctrinis mergimur in Infernum.* That Great Man *Hugo Grotius* near his End professed, That he would gladly give all his Learning and Honour for the Integrity of a poor Man in his Neighbourhood, that spent Eight Hours of his Time in Prayer, Eight in Labour, and Eight in Sleep and other Necessaries; and unto some that applauded his marvellous Industry, he said, *Ab Vitam perditis operose nihil Accendo!* But unto some that asked, the best Counsel which a Man of his Attainment could give, he said, *Be serious.* 'Tis with this Counsel that I humbly offer you the Ensuing History.

THE

## LIFE and DEATH

OF

## Mr. Nathanael Mather.

I Write the Life and Death of a Young Man, whose Ornaments will awaken in the Reader, an Enquiry like that which the Achievements of David, produced concerning him, *Whose Son is this Youth?*

To Anticipate that Enquiry:

Nathanael Mather had for his Grand-Fathers Two of New-England's Fathers, the Famous

Richard Mather, and the not less Famous John Cotton; whose Names have been in the Church of God, as an Ointment poured forth, and whose Lives bear no little Figure in the Ecclesiastical Histories of our English Israel. His Parents being yet living, it's too soon to give them their Character; yet I may venture to say, it's no Disgrace unto him in the Opinion of Men that love Learning and Virtue, that he was the Son of Increase Mather, the

well-



well known Teacher of a Church in Boston, and Rector of Harvard-Colledge in New-England. What Gregory Nazianzen judged not improper to be said about his yet surviving Father, in his Funeral Oration upon his Deceased Brother, I may without any culpable Adulation on this Occasion say of him, *He is another Aaron or Moses in the House of his God.*

Our Nathaniel was born on July 6<sup>th</sup>. 1669, which I find him recording in his Diary, when he was fourteen Years old, with such an humble Reflection thereupon, *How little have I improved this time to the Honour of God as I should have done!* He wanted not the Cares of his Father to bestow a good Education on him, which God blessed for the Restraining him from the lewd and wild Courses by which too many Children are betimes resigned up to the possession of the Devil, and for the Furnishing him with such Accomplishments as give an Ornament of Grace unto the Head of Youth. He did Live where he might learn, and under the continual Prayers and Pains of some that looked after him, he became an Instance of unusual Industry, and no common Piety; so that when he dyed, which was Octob. 11<sup>th</sup>. 1688. he was become in less than twenty Years, *An Old Man without gray Hairs upon him.*

To those Two Heads, with a sorrowful Addition of a Third, I shall confine my Account of this Young Man; in which the Picture to be now drawn, has nothing but the Truth, and at least so much of Life in it, as to look upon every Reader, *yea, speak unto every young Reader, saying, Go and Do likewise.*

#### I. His INDUSTRY.

He was an hard Student, and quickly became a good Scholar. From his very Childhood, his Book was perhaps as dear to him as his Play, and hence he grew particularly acquainted with Church-History, at a rate not usual in those that were above thrice as Old as He. But when he came to somewhat more of Youth, his Tutor (who now writes) was forced often to chide him to his Recreations, but never that I remember for them. To be Bookish was natural unto him, and to be plodding easy and pleasant rather than the contrary. Indeed he afforded not so much a Pattern as a Caution to young Students; for it may be truly written on his Grave, *Study kill'd him.* When One told the Excellent Mr. Charnock, that if he Studied so much it would Cost him his Life; he replied, *Why? It cost Christ his Life to save, and what if it cost me my Life to study for Him?* Our Studious Nathaniel was of this Disposition. The Marks and Works of a Studious Mind were to be discerned in him, even as he walked in the Streets; and his Candle would burn after Midnight, until, as his own Phrase for it was, *He thought his Bones would all fall asunder.* This was among the Passages once noted in his Diary.

10 M. 26 D. three quarters of an Hour after 12 at Night.

After the many wearisome Hours, Days, Months, nay, Tears, that I have spent in humane Litera-

ture; and after my many toilsom Studies in those Hours, when the General Silence of every Houe in Town, proclaimed it high time for me to put a stop unto my working Mind, and urged me to afford some Rest unto my Eyes, which have been almost put by my Idleness on my Studies; after these, I say, and when I am ready to do it: Oh! how unwilling am I to do it, considering; *How little have I served God in the Day!*

While he thus devoured Books, it came to pass that Books devoured him. His weak Body would not bear the Tods and Hours, which he heaved himself unto; and his Neglect of Moderate Exercise, joyned with his Excess of Immoderate Lucubration, soon destroyed the Digestion which his Blood should have had in the last Elaboration of it; by that time sixteen Winters had snow'd upon him, he began to be distemper'd, with many Pains and Ails, especially in some of his Toyns, which at last were the Gates of Death unto him; not without such very afflictive Touches of Melancholy, too, as made him sometimes to write himself *Dead as Melancholics.* This was his Way of Living, shall I say, or of Dying? And the Success of this Diligence was according to the Temper of it, Great. When he was but twelve Years old he was admitted into the Colledge, by strict Examiners: And many Months after this passed not, before he had accurately gone over all the Old Testament in Hebrew, as well as the New in Greek, besides his going through all the Liberal Sciences, before many other Designers for Philosophy do so much as begin to look unto them. He commenced Bachelor of Arts at the Age of sixteen, and in the Aut entertained the Auditory with an Hebrew Oration, which gave a good Account of the Academical Affairs among the ancient Jews. Indeed the Hebrew Language was become so familiar with him, as if (to use the Expression which one had an Ingenious Elegy upon his Death) he had apprehended, it should quickly become the only Language, which he should have Occasion for. His Second Degree, after seven Years being in the Colledge, he took just before Death gave him a Third, which last was a promotion infinitely beyond either of the former. He then maintained for his Position, *Dator vacuum;* and by his Discourses upon it (as well as by other Memorials and Experiments left behind him in Manuscripts) he gave a Specimen of his intimate Acquaintance with the Corpuscularium (and only right) Philosophy. By this time he had informed himself like another *Mirandula*, and was admirably capable of arguing about, almost every Subject that fell within the Concernments of a Learned Man. The Difficulties of the Mathematicks he had particularly overcome, and the abstruse parts both of Arithmetick and Astronomy, were grasped in his Knowledge.

His Early Almanacks and Calculations do something, but the MSS *Adversaria*, left behind him in his Closet, much more, speak such Attainments in him. His Chronology was exact unto a Wonder, and the State of Learning with the Names and Works of Learned Men, in the World, this American Wildernesse hath few that understand as well



as he. Besides all this, for the vast Field of *Theology*, both *Didactical* and *Polemick*, it is hardly credible how little of it his *Travel* had left unknown. *Rabbinick Learning* he had likewise no small measure of; and the Questions referring unto the *Scriptures* which *Philology* is conversant about, came under a very Critical Notice with him. Indeed he was a Person of but few Words, and his Words with his Looks, made the *Treasure* in him wholly unsuspected by Strangers to him; yet they that were intimately acquainted with him, can attest unto the Veracity of him that giveth this Description; and there are no mean Persons who will profess with Admiration, That they could scarce encounter him in any Theme of Discourse, which he was not very notably acquainted with.

But the *Bark* is now split in which all these Riches were stowed. A *Spanish Wrack* hath not more Silver than the Grave of such a Young Man hath Learning buried in it. Indeed these things, *Mortis Erant*; perhaps they dyed with him: But there is a more Immortal Thing to be observed in him; and that is,

## II. His PIETY.

Tho' a fine Carriage was the least thing that ever he affected, yet a Good Nature made him dear to those that were familiar with him. He was always very obliging and officious, and more ready to do, than others could be to ask a good turn at his Hands: But he was above all happy, by being Early in pure Religion.

The Common Effects of such a Pious Education, as the Family in which he lived afforded unto him, were seen even in his Childhood; and secret Prayer became very betimes one of his Infant Exercises. He does in his MSs. particularly take notice of a *Scripture Copy* set for him when he learned to Write, as a thing that had much Efficacy on him; but when he was Twelve (or more) Years old, more powerful Conviction did the Spirit of God set home upon him than he had been used unto; some Records therefore I find in his Papers, with this Clause in the Head of the Account, *Repyce, O my Soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee*. Now it was that he allowed his Pen to write these, among other Expressions of his Trouble about his Estate.

Feb. 19. 1682.

What shall I do? What shall I do to be saved? Without a Christ I am undone, undone, undone, for Evermore! O Lord, let me have Christ, tho' I lie in the Mire for ever! O for a Christ! O for a Christ! a Christ! Lord, Give me a Christ or I dye!

It was now another of his registered Meditations. I have been in a great Hesitancy, whether I should choose *Jesus Christ* for my Prophet, Priest and King, with all his Inconveniencies, to take up my Cross and follow him: Wherefore I do now take him as mine; my whole Christ, and my only Christ; and I am resolved to seek him. All that I have shall bear his Service, and all my Members, and all my Power, shall endeavour to his Glory.

And yet again there were these Considerations in his Mind.

Had I not better seek the Lord Christ, while I have a Time of Prosperity and Peace, while he offers himself to me, saying, Come unto me, and I will save thee, and lay all thy Burdens upon me, and I will sustain thee: Than in Affliction to cry and not be heard? when he stretcheth forth his Hand and says, Believe on me, and thou shalt be saved: and now to Day he offers himself, shall I refuse, and say, Lord, To Morrow! No surely. And these patheticall Grams then likewise got a Room in his Papers.

O that I had a Christ! O that I had Him who is the Delight of my Soul! Then, O then I should be perfectly Blessed, and wait no Food that would make me follow him.

This is a Copy of the Passages then recorded in this Young Believers Diary.

Thus did he now labour to affect his own Soul with his own State, and leave things no more at peradventures between God and him. He read many layoury Books about Faith, and Repentance, and Conversion, and he transcribed many Notes therefrom, nor resting satisfied within himself, until he had some Experience of a true Regeneration. Among other Workings of his Heart at this Age, his Papers have such things as these.

Reasons for my speedy closing with Jesus Christ.

First, It's the Command of Jesus Christ, that I should come unto him.

Secondly, Jesus Christ invites me also in Mat. 11. 28. Come unto me.

Thirdly, He hath laid me under many Obligations to turn unto him, in that he hath recovered me from Sickness so often, and now given me a curious Study.

Fourthly, In that I have vow'd unto the Lord, if he would do so and so for me, I would make a Solemn Covenant with him, and endeavour to serve him.

And again elsewhere.

O that God would help me to seek Him while I am Young! O that he would give unto me His Grace! However, I will lay my self down at his Feet. If he Save me, I shall be happy for ever; if he Damn me, I must justifie him. O thou Son of God, have mercy on me! I know not what to say, but I will take thee at thy Word: Thou sayst, Come unto me; my Soul answers, Lord, at thy Command I will come.

He thus continued following hard after God, enjoying and answering many Strivings of his Holy Spirit until he was about Fourteen Years old.

In this time he did not a little acquaint himself with profitable Godliness, being frequent and fervent in his Prayers to God upon all Occasions, and careful not only to hear Sermons, but also to consider after them what Improvement he should make of what he heard. Not only his Prayers, but his Praises too now took Notice of even the smallest Affairs before him. I know not whether you can see any thing Childish, I am sure I shall fetch out of his Diary, written when he was was about Thirteen



teen Years old: On March 13. he wrote, *This day I received of my Father, that Famous Work, The Biblia Polyglotta, for which I desire to praise the Name of God: Again on June 29. he wrote, This day my Brother gave me Schindlers Lexicon, a Book for which I had not only longed much, but also prayed unto God: Blessed be the Lord's Name for it. The Thoughts of Death also now found a Lodging in his Heart, and he rebuked himself because he had been so much without them. Tho' at this Age for the most part, Persons think of any thing, every thing more than of their dying Day. And his Writings discovered him to be peculiarly affected with that Ancient History (or Apologue) of him who after a dissolute and ungodly Youth, going to repent in Age, heard that Voice from Heaven to him, *Des illi Furorem cui desisti Farinam: The Devil had thy Flower, and thou shalt not bring thy Bran to me.**

Self-Examination was also become one of his Employments; and once particularly in one of his Diaries, he does thus express himself.

April 8. 1683.

' This Morning I was much cast down with the Sense of my Vileness. I Examind,

' 1. What Sin I had that was not mortified:

' 1. My Sin of Pride. 2. My Sin of Unthankfulness. 3. My not improving the Means of Grace, as I ought to do.

' II. What Graces I find need of. 1. Converting and Regenerating Grace. 2. Humiliation for my many Sins against such a good God as the Lord is.

' III. What Mercies I had received, for which I desire to bless the Lord's Name. 1. He hath given me to be born of Godly Parents. 2. I have always had the Means of Grace lengthen'd out unto me. 3. The Lord hath graciously pleased to give me some Answers of Prayer. 1. As to the lengthning out of my Health. 2. As to the Increase of my Library, What shall I render to the Lord for all his Loving Kindness towards me? I resolved to Dedicate my self wholly to God and his Service.

And he did accordingly.

This Year did not roll about, before he had in a manner very solemnly entred into Covenant with God. This weighty and awful thing was not rashly done by him, or in a sudden Flash and Pang of Devotion: He Thought, he Read, he Wrote, and he Prayed not a little before this Glorious Transaction between God and him, and upon mature Deliberation, he judged it most advisable for him to make his Covenant with God as Explicit as Writing and Signing could render it; that so it might leave the more Impression upon his Heart and Life, and be an Evidence likewise, which in Temptation or Desertion he might have recourse unto: Wherefore he set apart a Time for (I think) secret Fasting and Prayer before the Lord, and then behold how this Young Man counting it high time for him to be bound out unto some Service, took a course for it: He subscribed an holy Covenant, of which this was the Matter, this the Form.

' The Covenant between God and my Soul, renewed, confirmed and signed, Nov. 22. 1683.

' Whereas not only the Commands of God [wh<sup>o</sup> hath often called upon me, by his Word preached to give up my self, both Body and Soul, to be at his Disposall, which calls by the publick Ministry, were enough to engage me unto this] but also the Christian Religion which I profess, and my Baptism in which I took the Lord to be my God, and promised to renounce the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, and to dedicate my self unto the Service, Work and Will of God, do bind me hereto: In that God is such a God as deserves this, yea, infinitely more than this, at my hands; my Creator, the Fountain of my Being; my Preserver, my Benefactor, my Lord, my Sovereign, my Judge; He in whose Hands my Life, my Breath, and all my Concerns are; He that doth protect me from all Dangers, and supply me in all Wants, support me under all Burdens, and direct me in all Streights; He alone that can make me happy or miserable; He alone that can save me or damn me; He alone that can give inward Peace and Joy, that is my Friend, my God; In that, Self-Dedication is the Creatures Advancement; these First-Fruits, if in Sincerity, putting upon me a Gloriousness and Excellency.

' In that Felicity hereafter depends upon my dedicating of my self unto God now.

' In that this is the highest piece of Gratitude I am capable of expressing unto God, and I know no better way to Obey the Will of God, than first to give up my self unto him.

' And whereas the Mercies which the Lord hath been pleased graciously to bestow upon me, are so many, that even bare Morality, doth shew me that I can never enough requite one that hath done so much for me, except by Giving up my self wholly to him.

[ 1669 ]

' Whereas God hath given me a Godly Father and Mother.

[ 1674 ]

' In that when I was like to dye, being twice sick of a Fever, God was pleased to bless means for my Recovery, and lengthen out the Thread of my Life.

[ 1675 ]

' Whereas, when I by an Accident fell down, and had like to have been deprived of the use of my Tongue, God was in his good Providence graciously pleased to give me the use of it.

[ 1678 ]

' Whereas, when I was sick of the Small-Pox, God was pleased to bless Means for my Recovery. Whereas, then I made Promises unto God, that if he would give me my Health, I would endeavour to become a New-Creature, and he hath done so for these five Years: And whereas God hath of late been bestowing many and wonderful Mercies upon me, What can I do less than give up my self wholly to him?

[ 1683 ]

' Which now I do. And, O Lord God, I beseech thee to accept of thy poor Prodigal, now prostituting of himself before thee. I confess, O Lord, I have fallen from thee by my Iniquity, and am by Nature a Son of Hell; but of thy Infinite Grace

M m m m 2

thou



thou hast promised Mercy to me in Christ, if I will but turn unto thee with all my Heart: Therefore upon the Call of thy Gospel, I come in, and from the bottom of my Heart I renounce all thy Enemies; with whom I confess I have wickedly sided against thee, firmly Covenanting with thee, not to allow my self in any known Sin, but conscientiously to use all Means which I know thou hast prescribed, for the utter Destruction of all my Corruptions. And whereas I have inordinately let out my Affections upon the World, I here resign my Heart unto thee that made it; humbly protesting before thy Glorious Majesty, that it is the firm Resolution of my Heart (and that I do unfeignedly desire Grace from thee, that when thou shalt call me thereunto, I may put in Practice my Resolution) through thine Assistance, to forsake all that is dear unto me in the World, rather than to turn from thee to the Ways of Sin; and that I will watch against all thy Temptations, whether of Prosperity or Adversity, lest they should withdraw my Heart from thee, beseeching thee to help me.

I renounce all my own Righteousness, and acknowledge that of my self I am helpless and undone, and without Righteousness.

And whereas, of thy bottomless Mercy, thou hast offered to accept of me, and to be reconciled to me, and to be my God through Christ, if I would accept of thee, I do this Day avouch thee to be the Lord my God. I do here take the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, for my Portion and Chief Good, and do give up my self Body and Soul for thy Servant, promising to endeavour to serve thee in Righteousness and Holiness. I do here also on the bended Knees of my Soul, accept of the Lord Jesus Christ as the only and living Way, by which Sinners may have access to thee, and do here join my self in a Marriage-Covenant with him. O Lord Jesus, I come to thee, hungry, poor, miserable, blind and naked, and a most loathsome Creature, a condemned Malefactor: Who am I, that I should be married unto the King of Glory!

I do accept of thee for my Head and Husband, and embrace thee in all thy Offices. I renounce my own Worthiness, and do choose thee the Lord my Righteousness. I do renounce my own Wisdom, and do take thine for my Guide. I take thy Will for my Will, and thy Word for my Law. I do here willingly put my Neck under thy Yoke; I do subscribe to all thy Laws as Holy, Just and Good; and do promise to take them as the Rule of my Thoughts, Words and Actions; but because I am subject to many Failings through Frailty; I do here protest, here before thee, that unallowed Mis-carriages, contrary to the constant bent of my Heart, shall not disannul this Everlasting Covenant.

Nathanael Mather.

It may be justly taken for granted, that such a Work as this, would have an Influence into his

Conversation afterwards; and so it had, producing in him, a Conversation which became the Gospel of Christ. He kept waiting upon God, not only in the Family, but also under the Ministry of two that were a-kin unto him; namely, his Father and his Brother, whereby the Grace thus begun in him was not little cherished and promoted: And unto all known Sins he now kept saying, as I find once in Short-hand written by him.

To my Lusts.

I have had Communion with you all this while, but I dare not have so any longer: Wherefore I renounce all Communion with you any more; I will cleave to the God that made me. But a Year or two after this, it was with him, as I have observed it is too commonly with such as are Converted sometimes unto God. And unhappy gradual Apostacy carried him aside from those Degrees of Seriousness and Intenseness in Divine Things, which he had been used unto: 'Tis possible an Entanglement in a Familiarity with some that were no better than they should be, did abate of the good Savour which had been upon him, and decoy him by insensible Steps to some Vanities (tho' not to any scandalous Immoralities) that were disadvantageous to him. For divers Months he seemed somewhat, yet not totally, much less finally, forsaken of that Wisdom and Virtue which he had before been an Example of; but the good Spirit of God will not let go his Interest in a Soul of which he hath taken a just Hold. This Young Man soon entertained just Rements of his own Declensions, and it was impossible for the most Badger-tooth'd Malice in the World to aggravate any of his Errors half so much as he did himself in his own Repentance for them. In the Year 1685, God visited him with sore Terrors and Horrors in his wounded Soul, the anguish whereof he thought intolerable; yet he made not his Condition known to any Body all the while. He could say, My Complaint is not to Man, but he made it unto the Lord: This poor Man cried and the Lord heard, and delivered him out of Distress. He arrived in time unto settlement and renewal of his Peace with God: He confessed and bewailed his own Sins before the Lord, and declared his Detestation of them, and applied himself unto the Lord Jesus Christ for Salvation from them all. Good Terms being thus established between the Almighty Lord and this Immortal Soul, he maintained, I think, a constant and an even Walk with God, until he dyed. I find now that Language in his MSS: Let me be as active a Servant of Christ, as I was of Satan heretofore. For more than the three last years of his Life, he lived at a strange rate for Holiness and Gravity, and retired Devotions. He read Mr. Scudder's Christians daily Walk, and Dr. Owen of Spiritual Mindedness, and had a restless raging Agony in his Mind until the Methods of Religion advised by those Worthy Men, were Exemplified in his own Behaviour. 'Tis a Note in one of his Diaries.

O my great Unprofitableness under the means of Grace! I have cause to bless God for ever for the Writings of that never enough to be admired



mired and loved by me, Dr. Reynolds, and for the Light I have received thereby, concerning the Sinfulness of Sin; as also that Excellent Book of him whom I shall always honour, Dr. Owen of *Spiritual-mindedness*, and Mr. Scudder's Christians *diall VValk*, by which three Books I have profited more than by any other (*S. Scriptures exceptis*) in the World.

He was at first surprized at the measure of *Spiritual-mindedness*, without which that *Great Saint* Dr. Owen, apprehends the *Life and Peace of Souls* to labour under Prejudices; and he thought a Mind swallowed up in such *Heavenly Frames* and Works as were needful thereunto, almost wholly to be despair'd of; until (as himself a few Hours before he dyed said unto me) he deem'd he saw an Instance of such a *Walk with God*, not very far from the Place of his Abode: To which purpose his reserv'd Papers have a large Discourse, of which this is in the Conclusion: *There might be a greater Progress in Religion, than is commonly thought for. What have I Examples for, but to imitate them? Abraham is fam'd for believing so strongly, when he had no Example before him: Let me try and see, whether I having such Opportunities may not arrive to as high a pitch in Christianity, as any that I have known.* He then in the Strength and thro' the Love of God set himself into a way of strict, secret, laborious Devotion; whereby tho' none but God and He fill'd the Theatre, which he acted upon, he would be in the *Fear of the Lord all the Day long.* He withdrew from the Delights of this World, and gave himself up to an assiduous Contemplation of God and Christ, and a scdulous Endeavour after utmost Conformity unto him: Thus he kept *abounding in the Work of the Lord*, until three Years of wonderful Holiness had ripen'd him for *Eternal Happiness*.

My Account of him will be an *Unfinished Piece*, unless all the Ensuing Strokes go to make it up. These Things he was Exemplary for.

*First*, He was one that walked by *RULE*. He was very Studious to learn the *Way of Converting* with God in every Duty, and there was a Rule which he attended still unto.

In his private Papers, I find a wise Collection of Rules, by which he governed himself in the several Duties of Christianity, and in all the Seasons and Stations of his Life. He consulted the best Authors for Instruction in the Affairs of *Practical Religion*; and not into Paper only, but into *Assim* to be transcribed what he most approved; in all which *The will of God* was the bright Pole-Star by which he steer'd his Course.

The Reader shall enjoy (and O that he would follow) two of this Young Man's *Directories*. One of them was this.

1. O that I might lead a *Spiritual Life*! Wherefore let me regulate my Life by the *WVord of God*, and by such Scriptures as these.

1. For regulating my *Thoughts*, Jer. 4. 14. *Ista* 55. 7. *Mal* 3. 17. *Psal* 104. 34. *Phil* 4. 8. *Prov* 23. 26. *Dent* 15. 9. *Eccles* 10. 20. *Prov* 24. 9. *Mat* 9. 4. *Zec* 8. 17.

2. For regulating my *Affections*, Col. 3. 2, 5. *Gal* 5. 24.

For my *Delight*, *Psal* 1. 2. *Psal* 37. 5. For my *Joy*, *Phil* 4. 4. *Psal* 43. 4. My *Desire*, *Ista* 26. 8, 9. *Ezek* 7. 16. My *Love*, *Mat* 22. 37. *Psal* 119. 97. My *Hatred*, *Psal* 97. 10. My *Fear*, *Luke* 12. 4, 5. My *Hope*, *Psal* 39. 7. My *Trust*, *Psal* 62. 8. *Ista* 26. 4.

3. For regulating my *Speech*, Eph. 4. 29. Col. 4. 6. *Dent* 6. 5, 7. *Psal* 119. 46. *Psal* 71. 8, 24. *Prov* 31. 26.

4. For regulating my *WVork*, Tit. 3. 8. 2 *Tim* 2. 12. 1 *Tim* 5. 10. *Titus* 2. 14. *Mat* 5. 47. 1 *Tim* 6. 8. *Rev* 3. 2. *Rom* 13. 12. *Acts* 26. 20.

Another of them was form'd into an *Hymn*, the singing of which might produce fresher and stronger Efforts of Soul towards the Thing that is good.

It shall be here inserted.

II. Lord, what shall I return unto Him from whom all Mercies flow?

(I.) To me to live, it Christ shall be For all I do I'll do for Thee.

(II.) My Question shall be oft beside, How thou may'st most be glorify'd?

(III.) I will not any Creature love, But in the Love of Thee above.

(IV.) Thy Will I will embrace for mine, And every Management of thine Shall please me. (V.) A Conformity To thee shall be my Aim and Eye.

(VI.) Ejaculations shall ascend Nor seldom from me. (VII.) I'll attend Occasional Reflections, and Turn all to Gold that comes to hand.

(VIII.) And in particular among My Cares, I'll try to make my Tongue A Tree of Life, by speaking all As be accountable who shall.

(IX.) But last, may first of all, I will Thy Son my Surety make, and fill Implore him, that he would me bless With Strength as well as Righteousness.

Besides these Rules which concerned his whole Walk, he treasure'd up many more, that refer'd to this and that Step in it; and it was the predominant Care and Watch of his Heart, not to tread awry? Thus one might see a *Skilful Christian* in him. And as he was desirous to live by Precept, so he was to live by Promise too.

He fell into a particular Consideration, how to improve the Promises of God in all the Occasions of Life; which is indeed one of the most sanctifying Exercises in the World.

It was a Proposal which I find he made unto himself.

Let me salute these Promises once a Day.

I. For



1. For supplying the *Wants* of the Day, *Phil.* 4. 19.
2. For Growth in *Grace*, *Hos.* 14. 5.
3. For subduing my *Sins*, *Mic.* 7. 19.
4. For Success in my Undertakings, *Psal.* 1. 3.
5. For turning all the Events of the Day for good, *Rom.* 8. 28.
6. For Audience of my *Prayers*, *Joh.* 14. 13,

14.

7. For Strength to manage all the Work of the Day, *Zech.* 10. 12.

8. For Direction in Difficulty, *Psal.* 32. 8.
  9. For Life Eternal, *Luke* 12. 31. *Joh.* 3. 16.
- Besides these two, *Mat.* 11. 28. and *Ista.* 4. 3. Certainly that Man must quickly grow another Ench, who does thus *Walk with God*.

Secondly, He was one that lived in PRAYER. He was oft and long in the Mount with God: It was his Custom every Day to Enter into his Closet, and shut his Door, and pray to his Father in secret. And I guess from some of his Writings, that he did thus no less than thrice a Day, when he met with no Obstruction in it: Nor did he flubber over his Prayers with hasty Amputations, but wrestle in them for a good part of an Hour together.

It was a most refreshing Communion with God, which his Devotions brought him sometimes unto. Thus in one of his *Diaries*.

Dec. 10.

In the Margin he wrote, *Remember.*

I prayed earnestly unto God, earnestly petitioning that Jesus Christ might be my Compleat Redeemer. There was immediately Something that did as it were persuade me it should be so.

Again, Aug. 19.

My Thoughts were some little while busied about the Condescension of Christ in taking of humane Nature on him; but for the most part in Ejaculations, and Acts of Faith on a Crucified (ah! sweet Word) Jesus. I saw I gained not much by those: Wherefore I addressed my self to solemn Prayer, and had some Assurance in it.

Once more, Aug. 20.

I was much affected in Prayer, and exercised (I hope) many Acts of Faith, and Love, and Delight in God. I several times was breaking off, but I was as it were constrain'd to go on in the Duty with much Enlargement. Lord, Answer me for the sake of Christ.

Thus under the Fig-tree did our Lord Jesus often behold this Natanael; yea, unto Prayer he became so habituated, that while others can sleep in Prayer, he sometimes would pray in Sleep. He records it among his Experiences, that upon Assaults of Imagined Temptations, when he has been asleep, he has quickly began Prayer; and so caught the Phantasms to leave annoying of him.

And Extraordinary Prayer was also with him

not altogether Extraordinary. Tho' he were a Battle that seemed incapable of holding it, yet this Wine agreed with him very well. As Young as he was, he knew the Mystery of a Soul fasting by fasting, and thriving by hungering and thirsting after Righteousness. He was very inquisitive after the right way to manage a Day of Fasting and Prayer, and he would sometimes keep such a Day. On such a Day it was his Custom to make a very particular and penitent Confession of all the Sins that he could perceive himself guilty of; and renew his Covenant with the Holy One of Israel; to this End, he had by him in writing a large Catalogue of Things forbidden and required in the Commandments of God, which was the Glass in which he then viewed his Ways; and having found what Achan might procure Trouble to him, he then fell to stoning of them. One may shape some Conjecture at his Humiliations, by the Indignation with which he spoke, and wrote of the Vanities which his Childhood had. 'I came into the World (saith he in one of the Papers penned by him on a Day of secret Fasting and Prayer, October the 17<sup>th</sup>. 1685.) without the Image of the Holy God on my Soul; my Understanding, my Will, my Affections, and my whole Soul were altogether depraved, and wounded. When very Young I went astray from God, and my mind was altogether taken with Vanities and Follies; such as the remembrance of them doth greatly abase my Soul within me. Of the manifold Sins which then I was guilty of, none so sticks upon me, as that being very young, I was whistling on the Sabbath-day; and for fear of being seen, I did it behind the door. A great Reproach of God! A Specimen of that Absence that I brought into the World with me.'

This was more than the more meagre and feeble sort of Christians, though much older than he, are us'd to do. But paulo majora! There was a Sublimier Way of Drawing near to God, which he was not willing to leave unattempted. He understood that secret Days of Thanksgiving had not been unpractised by some whom he delighted to imitate; and therefore he would make some Efforts for such an Intimate Friction of God, and generous Devotion to him, as would fill such Days as these.

Hence this I find among the Records of his Soul:—

Resolved, To set apart every two Months, a Day for Solemn Examination and Meditation, to humble my self; and every two Months to keep a Day of Private Thanksgiving.

But though his Prayers were chiefly in, yet they were not confined to his Closet. There were divers private Praying Meetings of younger People in North-Boston, which he visited as often as he could; and one of those might peculiarly be called His. Yea, it was his Desire, though with as little Aim to be seen of Men as could be, to support all such Opportunities of Good among them, that were of the same Age with him.

Wherefore I find this among the Notes in his Diary:

Quest. What shall I do for God?

Ans.



*Answer.* It was suggested to me, to get some of my Acquaintance to spend some while every Friday night in Prayer, for the Success of the Work of Grace in New-England, especially in Boston, on the Souls of the Rising Generation.

Let me propound this to some serious devout young Persons.

Thus was his Prayer as it were his Breath, and thus he was always fetching of it, until at last it expired in Eternal Praise.

Thirdly, He was one that Thought much of his GOD, and his END. There was a sort of Heaven formed in the just Soul of this Young-man, by the Thoughts that were continually sparkling there. He had an unquenchable Dissatisfaction at himself until good Thoughts were lodg'd in him, and vain ones were forced to gnash their Teeth, and melt away: Nothing would content him, but the bringing of his Thoughts into a Subjection to the Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore he chew'd much on the Excellent Sermon of Mr. Charnock about Thoughts; which he wrote out not only with his Hand, but in his Heart, and made it the very Abode of his Gracious Mind. There are none, but very Renew'd Souls, that are at great Pains in a Course of Meditation on the Things of God. Yet this Young-man, like another Isaac, was grown very expert at it, and frequent in it. It was his manner in the Morning to meditate very seriously and fix'dly upon some Truth, or some Text, for a good part of an Hour together. He had collected a good variety of Subjects and Scriptures to handle, in thus communing with himself, and went over more than a little Divinity in his transcendent Exercise. Sometimes, when thus he separated himself to intermeddle with all Wisdom, I find him committing his Thoughts, or some breviate of them, unto the deorable Custody of his Papers; from which Memoirs I will produce but an Instance or two of many.

August 16. 1685.

*Med.* about, The Reason I have to love God; because of what he has been to me, and what he is in himself. And I thought, is not God the Best God? Surely then he is worthy to be my Last End. Has he not been shewing many Mercies to me? and what! shall I not give up my self to Live unto God, because of his Goodness to me? Much afflicted with the Thoughts of these Things: And, I hope, I closed with the Motion.

Again, October 1.

I Meditated on that; If a Man does intend to be truly Religious, he must expect nothing but to save his Soul?

But how can this be true?

Must I lose my Body altogether?

Must it be willing that the Union between my Body and Soul should for evermore be loosed?

Must I be willing to be for ever without a Body? No, no.

All that the Lord requires of me, is, to have

my Body for a few Days or Years (a few I say, for they cannot be many) to be wholly at the Service of my Soul, and to be willing that the Union between those two Matters, then should be dissolved; the Soul first taking its progress into everlasting Bliss; the Body being laid in the Dust, so till at the Resurrection, accompanying the Soul into its Eternal Felicity.

My present Notion of this Thing is this:

This Dissolution of the Union between the Soul and Body, is but a Dissolution of the Spirit into its Happinels, after a wearisom Conflict here. And as long as it shall be best for me to be here, here I shall continue. Infinite Wisdom is to be the Orderer of this, and it will be a grievous and shameful Reflection thereupon, for me to say, It will be better for me to live, than to dye, at such a time when I am called thereunto.

With my Body I must expect to lose all the pleasant Enjoyments of this World; Liberty, Liberty, Study and Relations. But yet neither shall I lose those. As for my Liberty, by True Religion, and by Dying for it too, when Need requires, I shall gain the only Liberty, even from the Body of Sin.

As for my Liberty, if I dye for Christ, or in the Lord, I shall have no need of it. My Understanding shall be enough enlarged, and I shall not need to turn over Books for Learning. As for my Study (my Paradise) I shall have a better, a larger, and a more compleat than this.

As for my Relations, those of them that are truly pious, I shall only go before them; and if there should be any of them not pious, the longer I should stay with them here (if they continue impenitent) it would but make my Grief more intolerable, to think when I leave them, that I shall have no hopes to see them again for ever.

But this is not all neither.

My Body must be used as the Soul's Instrument; and here all that Strength and Ease which I have, must be used for the Soul: And truly there is Reason enough for it, that for there may be Eternal Happinels for both together.

In Marriages, the Husband and Wife should have the same Design. Would it not be inhumane, for the one to have a Design which tends to the Ruine of the other? Just to my Soul and Body should have the same Design; and the Body being the more vile of the two, should be subordinate to the Soul. And it is a necessary Dissolution, either the Body, the Strength, and Ease, and Members of it, must be used for the good, or for the Hurt of the Soul; for there is no Medium here.

Let me then herein make my Body useful to my Soul, in accomplishing all the good Designs of it, which it is capable of being interested in.

Let me then herein make my Body useful to my Soul, in accomplishing all the good Designs of it, which it is capable of being interested in.

Nor is there is any thing else worth speaking of, that must be foregone, except Health, and the Momentaneousness of all bodily Torments, will make them very tolerable.



## My Resolutions be.

That I will not expect, by devoting my self unto the Fear of God; to gain any thing as to my Body in this World.

That through the Grace of Christ; I will use the Strength, Ease, and Health of my Body, yea, my whole Body in subordination to my Soul, in the Service of the Lord Jesus.

With such Meditations as these, he kept mellowing of his own Soul, and preparing it for the state wherein Faith is turned into Sight.

But there was yet a more delightful and surprising way of Thinking, after which he did aspire. He considered, that the whole Creation was full of God; and that there was not a Leaf of Grass in the Field, which might not make an Observer to be sensible of the Lord. He apprehended that the idle Minutes of our Lives were many more than a short Liver should allow: That the very Filings of Gold, and of Time, were exceeding precious; and, that there were little Fragments of Hours intervening between our more stated Businesses, wherein Thoughts of God might be no less pleasant than frequent with us.

The Elegant and Excellent Meditations of Sir William Waller had particularly affected him unto a commendable Emulation of them; and hence he did attempt to make even the more common and more trivial Occurrences of Humane Life, the Occasions of Great Thoughts within him. He would with the Chymistry of Occasional Reflections, distill sublime Spirits from Earthly Bodies; and from the view of mean things, fill his nobly employed Mind with Lessons and Prayers, which only the Father of Spirits was a Witness to.

Some of these his Occasional Reflections I find in his private Papers; and of one or two for a Taste, I will bespeak the Reader's Acceptance.

Jan. 8. A. M.

Being about to rise, I felt the Cold in a manner extraordinary; which inclin'd me to seek more Warmth in my Bed before I rose; but so extreme was the Cold, that this was not feasible: Wherefore I resolv'd to dress myself without any more ado; and so going to the Fire in my Cloaths, I soon became warm enough.

Turn this, O my Soul, into an useful Meditation. There is a necessity of my rising out of my Bed, the Bed of Security which I am under the Power of, and to live unto Christ, and to walk in the Light.

In order hereunto, I must put on my poor Soul the Garments which are to be had from the Lord Jesus. To awaken me out of my Sleep, and my Security, I am to set before me the Sun, the Gospel of the Son of Righteousness; doth enlighten my Mind, and tell me, that I was before muffled up in Darkness; and that if I continued therein, I should starve and perish. I am also taught, That when Men are convinced of their miserable Condition, they will rather endeavour to Ease, and comfort and cherish themselves by something in themselves, than put on the Spirit-

ual Garments which the Lord Jesus Christ has provided for them. An Evil to be by me avoided.

Again, another time.

Upon Water taken from the Fire, I saw a Lake-warmth quickly seize; like the Frame of Spirit, which many Pretenders to Religion have after a glorious and affectionate Profession of it. Of this sort were some among the *Leviteans* of old; which is exceedingly displeasing to the Lord Jesus Christ: Whence it is that he saith, I will spew thee out of my Mouth. Let me endeavour to beware of this hateful and odious frame of Spirit; and let the contrary thereto be my Desire, my Endeavour.

Once more

Among some Gen tlemen that were sitting in a Room illuminated with a Candle, one beginning to read unto us, there was another Candle brought unto him, for his assistance in it. Which afforded me such a Meditation as this:

That those who are to be Teachers of others, have need of as much Light again as ordinary Christians have. They, if any, need a double Portion of the Gifts that are in other Men; and the Helps of Knowledge that other Persons have, they much more should be furnished withal.

It was not because they had better Eyes than him whose Office it was to read, that they needed but One Candle, when he had Two provided for him; but the Work incumbent on him, and expected from him was the Occasion of it.

But I design little more than a Confirmation with an Illustration of my History, for which a touch or two upon every Article will serve. I am now to add, That this Young Man had a principal Regard unto the Scriptures for the Subjects of his Meditations, and he was very expensive of his Thoughts on the Book of God. He was daily digging in the sacred Mines, and with delight he fetched thence Riches better than those of both the Indies; and he could say, O how I love thy Law: it is my Meditation every Day!

Even in the time of his Mortal Sickness, he was very angry at himself, if he had not heard a Portion of the Bible read unto him from Day to Day.

Once when he was near his End, a good part of a Day having pass'd before he had enjoy'd his Meal of Scripture; he said unto his Sister with some impatience, Aas! what an ungodly Life do I lead! pray come and read my Bible to me; and read me the forty ninth Psalm. Indeed he read the Scripture not cursorily, but very deliberately and considerately; and as an Effect of his doing so, he could give such an Account of the Difficulties in it, as the most not only of Christians, but of Divines too, would judge an Attainment extraordinary. Not long before he dyed, he had read over all the large and great Annotations on the Bible, lately published by Mr. Pool, and some other



Non-conformist Ministers; but having dispatched those two Noble *Folio's*, he said unto one that was intimate with him, *Thus have I read the Bible, but I have now learnt a better way!* And *that way* was this. He would oblige himself in reading to fetch a *Note* and a *Prayer* out of every *Verse* in all the Bible; to dwell upon every *Verse* until it had afforded at least one *Ostracism*, and one *Exaltation* to him.

He imagined that an incredible deal both of *Truth* and *Grace*, would in this way make its impression upon his Mind (besides what Exercise of *Wit* it must have call'd for) and so most certainly it would have done; but before he had made much Progress in it, the *Coarists* of God fetcht him away to that place, in which a *Jesus* is a *Bible* to the three *perfect Spirits* of the Righteous.

Such a *thinking* Person was he; and yet after so many kind of *Thoughts* in the Day, he could not rest a Night quietly, unless he compos'd himself for sleeping by thinking a little more.

He knew that no better a Man than one of the *Moral Heathens* propounded a *Nocturnal Self-Examination*, as a part and cause of no little Wisdom, and that much more a *sober Christian* should endeavour to maintain a good *Understanding* of himself, by such *Nightly Recollections*. Wherefore before the *Slumbers* of the Evening, this Young Man would put three *General Questions* to himself, with divers *particular ones* that were subordinate thereunto. The *Questions* were,

## Question 1.

*What has God's Mercy to me been this Day?*

Here he considered what *Favours* God had newly smil'd upon his *Inward*, or his *Outward* Man withal.

## Question 2.

*What has my Carriage to God been this Day?*

Here he considered what *Frames*, and *Words*, and *Works*, and what *Snares* and *Sins* he had newly been concerned with.

## Question 3.

*If I dye this Night, is my Immortal Spirit safe?*

Of this he judged by his *Closure* with God, as his *best good*, and *last end*, and with *Christ* as his *Prophet*, and his *Priest*, and his *King*, and by his *Resolution* always to be a *Witness* for the Lord, and an *Enemy* to every Sin: Tho' sometimes he would with a more large and long *Attention* *Examine* his own *Hopes* of *Eternal Happiness*, for which purpose he had in *Writing* by him, his *Bundles* of *Marks* and *Signs* which testify a Man to be born of God. When he had thought on these things, he was able to lay himself down in peace and sleep; but this was a way to keep a Soul awake.

I begin to suspect that my Reader's patience is almost expir'd; and therefore I shall cause the Remainder of this *Narrative* to omit where it cannot *contrast*, what is yet well worthy to be the Matter of it.

Fourthly, He was one that mortified and conquer'd the *SINS* which were a *Vexation* to him. There were some *Sins* which gave to this young Man a more violent and outrageous disturbance than he could without much passion bear: These

did he contrive and conflict much in his *Oppositions* to, and gave not over till he had a certain *Prospect* of a *Victory*.

Of all the things which ever troubled him, I know not whether any were more grievous than the *Blasphemous Injections* which like *fiery venomous Darts* inflam'd sometimes his very Soul within him.

It may be some *Testimony* of *Sincerity*, when Persons are not a little *afflicted* for, as well as *assaulted* with, *Blasphemous Imaginations* about God; which rise within us in contradiction to all that Reverence of him, which we know not how to lay aside.

This Person on his *Death-bed* complained to me, that *Horrenda de Deo*, Horrible Conceptions of God, buzzing about his Mind, had been one of the bitterest of all his *Trials*; and I find his *private Papers* making sad Lamentations over the Miseries of this Annoyance. You shall read how he did encounter these *Fiends*, as one that was no Stranger to the Wars of the Lord.

Once in his *Diary*, he says;

'Troubled exceedingly with *Blasphemous Suggestions*, my Soul bleeds at the Thoughts of them.

'O that Christ would deliver me from them! they make my Life unpleasant, I do believe that Satan never struggled so hard to keep any one from Christ, as he has done to keep me!

'From hence I learn, 1. My great Enmity to, 2. My great Need of, the Lord Jesus Christ.

At another time:

'Troubled with *Blasphemous Thoughts*, I learnt from hence,

1. Seeing these would have me to entertain a *low Esteem* of Christ and God.

'I will endeavour to have a more high and eminent *Esteem* of God and Christ.

2. Seeing these do so perplex me continually, I learnt that I am unable of my self to raise

good Thoughts, much less to perform good *Acts* of Obedience. I would be deeply humbled,

that my Soul should be thus *defiled*.

'Seeing, I have often so much Experience and Stirrings of Enmity in my Soul to God, I would be excited thereby more heartily to cleave unto

him.

Once more.

'I hope I have now got Strength over my *Blasphemous Thoughts*, after this manner.

1. *Humbling* my self under a sense of my own Vileness and Wretchedness.

2. *Praying* earnestly for the removal of the Enmity that is in my Soul to the Things of God; especially as to this matter.

Thus discreetly did he manage the *Shield* of Faith against those barbed Arrows of Hell: Nor did his other Corruptions escape the *Offensive*, as well as the *Defensive* Weapons of his Soul.

Under the most furious of their Assaults, I find this to be one of his *Honourable Retreats*.

'For the Relief of my Soul under the Power

N n n

of



of Corruption; let me by Faith apply these Scriptures.

- First, Rom. 6. 14.
- Secondly, Ezek. 36. 26.
- Thirdly, Mic. 7. 19.
- Fourthly, Zec. 13. 1.

Besides Zec. 9. 12. Mat. 16. 18. John 12. 31. and Rom. 16. 20. and these Considerations:  
First, Christ is a Complete Redeemer, Heb. 7.

25. 1 John 1. 7. Heb. 9. 14.

Secondly, God's Infinite Power is engaged on my behalf, if I be in Covenant with him.

Thirdly, God will perfect Holiness where he hath begun it.

In such Engagements as these against his Inevitable Adversaries he continued, until he is now a Conqueror, and more than a Conqueror.

Fifthly, He was one that wisely prepared for the CHANGES that were before him. It is a Remark in one of his Papers: 'I think it convenient for me to observe the Temptations, I am, or shall be obnoxious unto, and get suitable Remedies against them.'

He seem'd indeed to have a strange Preface of what he was to meet withal, and O how he laid in that he might not be unprovided for it! A Prudence rarely seen among the Children of Men, whose Misery is great upon them because they know not their Time.

There were especially two Calamities which he had a fore-boding of, Dismal Pain and Early Death. As for his Pain, he was it seems to undergo exquisite Anguishes, for many Months before his Dissolution; but before ever it came upon him, how strangely did he fortify himself against it! He said in his Diary some Years before he left the World,

Sept. 2.

'I had not in the Morning time enough for solemn Meditation: Great Deadness and Dulness was in my Heart, as to Spiritual Thoughts afterwards; the Reason was, because I did not perform my solemn Meditation as I should.'

'I had now Apprehensions that I must undergo fore Tryals and Conflicts, and great Afflictions.'

'Wherefore it highly become me to get as great a measure of Grace, as the Opportunities which I enjoy may afford, and therefore I purpose to be more serious in my Meditations, not omitting other Duties therewithal.'

'I see my Resolutions must every Day be renewed, as to great diligence in my serving God.'

'And since I must expect great Afflictions, I must make it my daily Work by solemn Meditation to go over the whole Body of Christianity, and particularly to have daily Thoughts on the Condescension of Jesus Christ: I must also endeavour to get a large measure of sanctified Knowledge; wherefore,

First, There is need of Earnest Prayer; and Secondly, Of every Holy Walking.

Thirdly, Of Entertaining the Truth with greatest Affection; and

- Fourthly, Looking on it as it is in Jesus; and
- Fifthly, Solemn Meditation; and
- Sixthly, Much Reading; and
- Seventhly, Living upon the Truths which I know, and Thankfulness for the Knowledge which I have already,

And at another time there was this written in his Diary.

'This Morning I meditated about a part of Self-denial; Namely, the denial of Bodily Health, and of Ease from Torment.'

My Resolution was, that it was better to part herewithal, than to sin. I hope there is a strong purpose in my Heart to perform accordingly, when I shall be call'd thereunto.

'I do feel the Stirrings of Self in my self this day: It would fain be in the Throne of God within me; but I am resolv'd Christ shall be my King.'

And as he thus put on the whole Armour of God, that he might be able to stand when he should be try'd, so he found the Benefit of it, when he came into the Field. Few in the World ever bore such Dolours with such a silent and a quiet and compos'd Temper as he. Some that were intimate with him, would say, He was one of an Iron Patience, and they had rarely if ever seen such a Patient Patient. But his Death he seem'd all along most careful to be ready for.

In his Papers.

Meditations on the four last things, was a Title mentioning a Subject of his most solicitous Contemplations. Above three Years before his Translation, his Diary hath such a Note as this.

'Speaking to Day something concerning my Commencement, I was strangely surprized, and had many Thoughts, yea, Perswasions, That I should not live till then.'

In the Margin he wrote, Decided.

Resl. What may be the Import hereof I cannot tell; yet I gather thus much: That is incumbent on me without further delay, to make my Calling and Election sure.

He hath also left behind him, Some Meditations tending to the Exercise of Repentance, and Faith, and Preparation for Death, as he hath himself intitled them; but the Reader by this time will easily pardon my forbearing the Communication of them.

Indeed, Preparation for Death, in one word, contains the Substance of what he had been doing divers years before the King of Terrors took his Clay House away.

And as he was desirous to prepare for what Passive Obedience he might be put upon, so he was loath to have his Heart not well ordered or furnished, when Active Obedience might be call'd for at his Hands. Tho' he never liv'd to preach any other than some private Sermons, yet he was not unthoughtful of the Time when publick Ones might be expected from him. It may not be unuseful for me to insert one of his Meditations here; it runs in such terms as these.

Whether



¶ *Whether I should be a Minister ?*

I considered all *Objections* which Persons might make against it, and answer'd them every one. But one *Objection* startled me more than the rest, to wit, *perverse Conscience*, from my *Hebeteade*, or want of *Intention*. To which I answer'd, with minding that Promise in *Exod. 3. 12. Certainly I will be with thee.* And the beginning of *ver. 18. They shall hearken to thy voice.* And where God finds *Work*, there he will give *Strength*. I likewise considered 1 *Coron. 28. 10, 20. and Mat. 28. 19, 20. and Josh. 1. 9. and Judg. 6. 12, 14.*

And then I thought with my self, That as for *living in a remote part of the Country*, I should be willing thereunto, if so I might do Service for God, and bring Glory to his Name. And whilst I was mulling on these Things, I was melted into a Frame, that I thought heretofore I should never be in, namely, *Amiable Submission to the Good Pleasure of God, however he should dispose of me*. I knew, that though I were reproached for what *Mine* I should this way be exposed unto, there is an Answer in *Rom. 11. 16. and in Mark 8. 38. and in Psal. 31. 19. and in Prov. 16. 7. and in Psal. 37. 5, 6.* So were the Apostles, 1 *Cor. 4. 3, 9.* If I serve Christ, God will honour me, *John 12. 26.*

Every one must own, that however such things as these, in an old Man, may be below our Admiration; yet in a young Man, that out-lived not the Years which the *Nodes of the Moon* take to dispatch a Revolution, they deserve a *Memory* among them that may be edified by such *Exemplary Practices*. Indeed, he was himself extremely unensible of the least *Worth* or *Shine* adorning of him; and in his whole Deportment he discovered a modest, an humble, and a reserved *Mien*; which might be reck'ed to bear little proportion with his other Accomplishments, were it not that the more *gracious* Men are, the more humble they always are; and they are the *Fullest* and *Richest* Ears of Corn, which most hang down towards the Ground. But while he in a sort wronged himself, to escape the *Bane* and *Blame* of *Pride*; it is a piece of pure *Justice* in the Survivors, to *Enshrine* the Name of a Person thus desirable, since he is gone thither where he has no *Chaff* to take fire at the Sparks of our Praises.

*Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat ?*

Such a young Man as this it is, that the Church of God is now deprived of! What a *Blessing* might his Living have proved unto the World! But as the *Long-lived Patriarchs*, before the Flood, have still that Clause introduced of them, *And he died*; which Clause awakened and converted a Person of Quality, who came in occasionally while the Minister was reading the *Fifth Chapter of Genesis* to the Congregation; so must I now say of the *Short-lived Person*, whom we have been paying our last Respect unto, he lived thus long in a little time, *And he died.*

Before I break off, I must relate,

## III. His DEATH.

Too soon and too sad a thing for me to mention without Sighing, *Alas my Brother*, in my Lamentation over it. He had contracted an universal *Ill Habit* of Body; which was attended with a particular Generation of *Ill Humours*, where the *Os Ileon* and *Os Sacrum* join; from whence it fell into his Thigh, until there was a very large collection of it there.

There was an *Infection*, with mature Advice made into the *Tumour*, about a Month before his Expiration, which gave good hopes of his Recovery into a capacity of serving the Church of God; but the Circulation, which was now given unto the *parted Juices* which his Blood, through his continual and sedentary Studies, had been annoyed withal, soon enkindled a Fever, which burnt afunder the thread of this pious Life.

One might suppose, that such a Walk with God as the Reader has newly had portrayed before him, should end in *Raptures* and *Extasies* of Assurance; but I am to tell him, That this Young Person had them not. And there wanted not Reason for it. For his *Natural Distemper* disposed him to what is contrary to Joy; and his deep Humility had a greater share in the *Jealousies* and *Suspitions* which he would still cherish of himself. He was indeed so afraid of being an *Hypocrite*, and he would scarce allow himself to be called a *Christian*, and he did not care so much as to tell any of his own Experiences, nor his Inclinations, unless to one or two Divines, who kindly refreshed him with their daily Visits; and with them too he would uphold his Discourse only in Latin, if any one else were by.

Never did I see more Caution against *Hypocrisy*, than what was in him; and a certain *Self-aborrence* accompanying it, caused to proceed from him no Expressions, but those of an *Abased Soul*. When his Brother having recited the Terms of the Gospel to him, with a design to obtain from him a Renewal of his *Explicit Consent* thereunto, asked him, *Whether he did not judge himself sincere in that Consent ?* He only replied, *I should think so, if it were not for the Seventeenth of Jeremiah, and the Ninth.*

He was Dejected, yet not Despairing; and he discovered a wonderfully Gracious, when he had not a Joyful Frame. He was all made up of Longings and Breathings after all the *Fulness* of God, when he could not or would not pretend unto any Confidence in his Acceptance with the Lord.

In the time of his Health, he had not been without the comfortable Perseverations for which he followed hard after God. In one place, I find him saying (on such a day) *I had Fears lest I should not love the Blessed God; but yet I was sure I desired to keep his Commandments.* Another time so; *For three Quarters of an Hour, I pleaded earnestly for assurance of the Love of God unto me, and I said, As many as received Christ Jesus, to them he gave Power to become the Sons of God; and I did receive Jesus Christ, as the Free Gift of God, and received him to save me on his own Terms: I chose him to be my Priest, and Prophet, and King.* Now I begg'd



begg'd of him that he would manifest his Acceptance of me, and give me the Spirit of Adoption: I had then, I hope, some Assurance. But when Sickness came, he was loth to own a clear Title to the Rest of God: Yet before he died, he suffered some sober Intimations of his Hopes to fall from him. There was a good Man in this Land, whose last Words yet were, *It had been good for me that I had never been born.* The Words of this humble Self-loathing Young-Man were of another strain. In the last Night, that we had him with us, he would have his Watcher to read, *The Song of Simeon*, unto him, *Now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace:* And in the Morning after, he said, *I have now been with Jesus Christ!* which, from such a little Speaker as he, we could not have his Explication of.

In one of his last Minutes, a faithful Minister said unto him, *Find you not Comfort in the Lord Jesus Christ?* To which he made only this discreet and humble Answer, *I endeavour to do those things which will issue in Comfort;* and then he quickly furrendred up his Redeemed and Renewed Soul unto him who had loved him, and washed away his Sins in his own Blood.

Thus he went away to the Heavenly Society, where he is beholding the Face of God in Righteousness, and solacing himself in the Company not only of his blessed Grandfathers and Uncles, and all the Spirits of the Just; but of the amiable Jesus himself, which is by far the best of all. His Tears are all dried up, his Fears vanished away, and his Hopes more than answered in Joys unspeakable, and full of Glory.

His Elder Brother having thus written of him, now fatisfies himself in the Duty therein done to God and Man; and would keep waiting for his own Change, until Thy Free Grace, O my God, shall give unto the most miserable Sinner in the World, an Admission into Emmanuel's Land.

Cotton Mather.

One that had an Acquaintance with him, did him the Justice of weeping over his Grave such an Epitaph as this.

*I Nsloved in this Sable Cheff,  
The Host once of an Heavenly Guest  
Here lies: Upright Nathanael,  
True Off-spring of God's Israel.  
Him Dead, bow term me, from his Birth,  
Who liv'd in Heaven whilst on Earth?  
His Head had Learning's Magazine,  
His Heart the Altar, whence Divine  
Whole Hecatombs, which Love had fir'd  
Of high Praise, and warm Pray'r aspir'd:  
His Life, the Decalogue unfolded;  
A Meat-Off'ring, his Speech well-moulded;  
His rare Devotion, such now seen,  
A Sign of Ninety at Nineteen.  
Years but in bloom, Grace at full growth  
Angels, you Know and Think his Worth.  
Thus Time, Youth's Glass, turn'd e're 'twas run;  
And Ages too, before begun.*

*Rest, Glorious Dust, and let thy perfum'd Name  
Sound in the Trumpets of Immortal Fame.  
For tho' Times Teeth Mausolean Monuments deface,  
They'll never gnaw thy Name which with the Stars has  
place.*

Posuit, R. H.

Unto which we will add another borrowed from another.

*Siccine, Nathanael, properas ad cœlica? Memes  
Cœlestes trahat non bene Terra: sapit.*

F I N I S.

Acts



*Acts and Monuments.*

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WITH

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And a great Variety of other CHURCH-CASES,  
Occurring and Resolved in these *American*  
CHURCHES.

*Aurea perpetuâ semper dignissima vitâ.*

Compiled by COTTON MATHER.

*Non debemus nos de Regimine Ecclesiæ quicquam asserere quod ex Humanis Rationibus  
videretur asserendum, sed id quod ipso facto est à Christo Institutum, & in Ecclesiâ  
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L O N D O N,

Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and Three  
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LONDON,  
 Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and Dove  
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# The Fifth B O O K.

SYNODICON AMERICANUM.

The First P A R T.

## THE F A I T H

Professed by the  
Churches of New-England.

*Periculosum nobis ac miserabile est, tot Fides existere quot voluntates, & tot nobis Doctrinas esse, quot mores.* Hilar.

§ 1. **I**T was once an *unrighteous and Injurious* Asperſion caſt upon the Churches of New-England, That the World knew not their Principles: Whereas they took all the Occaſions imaginable to make all the World know, That in the Doctrinal Part of Religion, they have agreed entirely with the Reformed Churches of Europe: And that they deſired moſt particularly to maintain the Faith profeſſed by the Churches of Old England, the Country whereto was owing their Original. Few Paſtors of Mankind ever took ſuch pains at Catechiſing, as have been taken by our New-Engliſh Divines: Now let any Man living read the moſt judicious and elaborate Catechiſms published, a leſſer and a larger by Mr. Norton, a leſſer and a larger by Mr. Mather, ſeveral by Mr. Cotton, one by Mr. Davenport, one by Mr. Stone, one by Mr. Norris, one by Mr. Noyes, one by Mr. Fiſk, ſeveral by Mr. Eliot, one by Mr. Sea-born Cotton, a large one by Mr. Fiſch; and ſay, whether true Divinity were ever better handled; or, whether they were not the trueſt Sons of the Church of England, who thus maintained its Fundamental Articles, which are to many of them firſt ſubſcribed, and then denied and confuted by ſome that would monopolize that Name unto them-

ſelves: But as a further Demonſtration hereof, when there was a Synod aſſembled at Cambridge, Sept. 30. 1648. even that Synod which framed, agreed and published, *The Platform of Church Diſcipline*, there was a moſt unanimous Vote paſſed in theſe Words, This Synod having peruſed and conſidered (with much gladneſs of Heart and Thankfulneſs to God) the Confeſſion of Faith, published by the late Reverend Aſſembly in England, do judge it to be very Holy, Orthodox and Judicious, in all Matters of Faith, and do therefore freely and fully conſent thereunto for the Subſtance thereof. Only in thoſe Things which have reſpect to Church-Government and Diſcipline, we refer our ſelves to the Platform of Church-Diſcipline, agreed upon by this Preſent Aſſembly: And we do therefore think it meet, that this Confeſſion of Faith, ſhould be commended to the Churches of Chriſt among us, and to the Honourable Court, as worthy of their due Conſideration and Acceptance. This Vote was paſſed by the Miniſters and Meſſengers of the Churches, in that Venerable Aſſembly, when the Government recommended unto their Conſideration, A Confeſſion of Faith, as one Thing, which the Tranſmarine Churches expected from them. And they hoped, that this Proof of them being Fellow Heirs



of the same Common Salvation, with the Churches beyond Sea, would not only free them from the Suspicion of *Heresie*, but clear them from the Character of *Schism* also; in as much as their Dissent from those Churches, was now evidently but in some lesser Matters of Ecclesiastical Polity; And a Dissent not managed either with such *Arrogancy* or *Consciousness*, as are the Essential Properties of *Schismatics*.

§ 2. As to make a *Confession of Faith*, is a Duty wherein all *Christians* are to be made *Confessors*; and Multitudes of 'em have been made *Martyrs*; thus to write a *Confession of Faith*, is a Work which the Faithful in all Ages have approved and practised, as most singularly profitable. The *Confessions* thus emitted by such Worthies as *Irenaeus* and *Athanasius* formerly, and *Beza*, as well as others more lately, have been of signal Advantage to the Church of God: But when many Churches do join together in such *Confessions*, the Testimony born to the Truth of God, is yet more glorious and effectual. How remarkably the *Confessions* of the four General Councils, were owned for the Suppression of the *Heresies* then spawned, is well known to all that have set foot but as far as the Threshold of Church-History; and surely the fabulous *Masick* of the *Spheres*, cannot be supposed more delicious than that *Harmony*, which is to be seen in the *Confessions* of the Reformed Churches, that have therefore been together published. Wherefore, besides the Vote of the New-England Churches, for a Concurrence with the *Confession of Faith* made by the Assembly at *Westminster*, a Synod assembled at *Boston*, May 12. 1680. whereof Mr. Increase Sizer was Moderator, consulted and considered, what was further to be done for such a *Confession*. Accordingly, the *Confession of Faith* consented by the Congregational Churches of England in a Synod met at the *Savoy*; which, excepting a few Variations, was the same with what was agreed by the Reverend Assembly at *Westminster*, and afterwards by the General Assembly of *Scotland*; was twice publicly read, examined and approved; and some small Variations made from that of the *Savoy* in compliance with that at *Westminster*; and so, after such *Collations*, but no *Contentions*, voted and printed, as the Faith of New-England. But they chose to express themselves in the Words of those Assemblies; That so (as they speak in their Preface) we might not only with one Heart, but with one Mouth, glorify God and our Lord Jesus Christ.

§ 3. It is true, that particular Churches in the Country have had their *Confessions* by themselves drawn up in their own Form; nor indeed were the Symbols in the most primitive Times always delivered in *ipsissimis verbis*. It is also true, that few Learned Men have been admitted as Mem-

bers of our Churches, but what have, at their Admissions, entertained them with notable *Confessions* of their own composing; inasmuch, that if the Protestants have been by the Papists call'd *Confessionists*, the Protestants of New-England have, of all, given the most laudable occasion to be called so. Nevertheless, all this Variety has been the exactest Unity; all those *Confessions* have been but so many Derivations from, and *Explications* and *Confirmations* of, that *Confession*, which the Synods had voted for them all; for, *Ut plures Rivuli, ab uno Fonte, ita plures Fidei Confessiones ab una eademq; Fidei Veritate, manare possunt*. Now that Good *Confession* remains to be exhibited.

Reader, 'Tis a memorable Passage, that is related by *Ruffinus* in his Ecclesiastical History, that a Pagan Philosopher, in a publick Disputation, evaded and rejected the most powerful Arguments for *Christianity*, brought by the most Learned Christians in the Assembly: Until an honest Elder of one of the Churches, but of Abilities which were so much inferior to the rest, that the rest were afraid and sorry to see his Undertaking, did undertake to silence him. This honest Man, after this manner address'd the Adversary: 'In the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, I require you to hear the Truth: There is but one God, who made the Heavens and the Earth, and hath formed Man of the Dust thereof, with an Immortal Soul inspired into him: He, by his Word and Power brought forth this whole Creation, and sanctifies us by his Holy Spirit: And He, who is the Word, whom we own to be the Son of God, taking Compassion on fallen Man, hath become a Man: He was born of a Virgin, and by suffering, even to death, for us, he hath delivered us from Eternal Death, and by his Resurrection he hath made sure of Life Eternal for us. Him we look for again to be the Judge of the World: Believest thou this, O Philosopher? The Man found himself Thunder-struck, into a more than ordinary Contemner at this Discourse, and cry'd out, I believe it, I confess it! Whereupon the holy Man said, Then follow me, and be baptiz'd. He did so, and unto his Party then present he said, While I had to do with the Words of Men, I could oppose Words unto them; but when I felt a Power from God, I could not resist it. I find that Man cannot oppose himself to God.

Our Ecclesiastical History shall now give a plain and a pure *Confession of our Faith*. May the Reader now find an irresistible Power of God, and of Grace irradiating his Mind, with all Satisfaction in it. 'Tis compos'd of Things, which as *Chrysostom* speaks, *Ad inaniorem doctrinam conversae, Clearer than the Beams of the Sun.*



A

# Confession of Faith;

Owned, and consented to, by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches, Assembled at *Boston in New-England, May 12. 1680.* Being the Second Session of that *SYNOD.*

## CHAP. I. Of the Holy Scriptures.

**I.** Although the Light of Nature, and the Works of Creation and Providence do so far manifest the Goodness, Wisdom and Power of God, as to leave Men inexcusable; yet are they not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his Will, which is necessary unto Salvation: Therefore it pleased the Lord, at sundry times, and in divers manners to reveal himself, and to declare that his Will unto his Church; and afterwards for the better Preserving and Propagating of the Truth, and for the more sure Establishment and Comfort of the Church against the Corruption of the Flesh, and the Malice of Satan, and of the World, to commit the same wholly to Writing: Which maketh the Holy Scripture to be most necessary; those former ways of God's revealing his Will unto his People being now ceased.

II. Under the Name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the Books of the *Old and New Testament*, which are these:

### Of the Old Testament.

*Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.*

### Of the New Testament.

*Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, The Acts of the Apostles, Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 To Timothy, 2 To Timothy, To Titus, To Philemon, The Epistle to the Hebrews, The Epistle of James, The first and second Epistles of Peter, The first, second and*

*third Epistles of John, The Epistle of Jude, The Revelation.*

All which are given by the Inspiration of God to be the Rule of Faith and Life.

III. The Books commonly called *Apocrypha*, not being of Divine Inspiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no Authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other Humane Writings.

IV. The Authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the Testimony of any Man or Church, but wholly upon God (who is Truth it self) the Author thereof; and therefore, it is to be received because it is the Word of God.

V. We may be moved and induced by the Testimony of the Church, to an high and reverend Esteem of the Holy Scripture. And the Heavenlyness of the Matter, the Efficacy of the Doctrine, the Majesty of the Style, the Consent of all the Parts, the Scope of the whole (which is to give all Glory to God) the full Discovery it makes of the only way of Man's Salvation, the many other incomparable Excellencies, and the entire Perfection thereof, are Arguments, whereby it doth abundantly Evidence it self to be the Word of God; yet notwithstanding our full Persuasion and Assurance of the infallible Truth and Divine Authority thereof, is from the inward Work of the Holy Spirit, bearing Witness by and with the Word in our Hearts.

VI. The whole Counsel of God concerning all things necessary for his own Glory, Man's Salvation, Faith and Life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary Consequence may be deduced from Scripture; unto which nothing, at any time, is to be added, whether by new Revelations of the Spirit, or Traditions of Men. Nevertheless, we acknowledge the inward Illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word: And that there are some Circumstances concerning the Worship of God and Government of the Church,



Church, common to humane Actions and Societies, which are to be ordered by the Light of Nature and Christian Prudence, according to the general Rules of the Word, which are always to be observed.

VII. All things in Scripture, are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known; believed and observed for Salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture, or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient Understanding of them.

VIII. The *Old Testament* in Hebrew, (which was the Native Language of the People of God of old) and the *New Testament* in Greek, (which at the time of writing of it, was most generally known to the Nations) being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular Care and Providence kept pure in all Ages, are therefore Authentical; so as in all Controversies of Religion the Church is finally to appeal unto them. But because these Original Tongues

are not known to all the People of God, who have Right unto, and Interest in the Scriptures, and are commanded in the Fear of God to read and search them; therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar Language of every Nation into which they come, that the Word of God dwelling plentifully in All, they may worship him in an acceptable manner, and through Patience and Comfort of the Scripture may have help.

IX. The infallible Rule of Interpretation of Scripture, is the Scripture it self; and therefore when there is a Question about the true and full Sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold, but one) it must be searched and known by other Places that speak more clearly.

X. The Supreme Judge, by which all Controversies of Religion are to be determined, and all Decrees of Councils, Opinions of ancient Writers, Doctrines of Men, and private Spirits, are to be examined, and in whose Sentence we are to rest, can be no other, but the Holy Scripture delivered by the Spirit; into which Scripture so delivered our Faith is finally resolved.

## CHAP. II.

### Of God and the Holy Trinity.

There is but one only Living and True God; who is infinite in Being and Perfection, a most pure Spirit, invisible, without Body, Parts or Passions, Immutable, Immenſe, Eternal, Incomprehensible, Almighty, most Wiſe, most Holy, most Free, most Absolute, working all things according to the Counsel of his own Immutable and most Righteous Will, for his own Glory; most Loving, Gracious, Merciful, Long-suffering, abundant in Goodness and Truth, forgiving Iniquity, Transgression and Sin; the Rewarder of them that diligently seek him; and withal most Just and Terrible in his Judgments, hating all Sin, and who will by no means clear the Guilty.

II. God hath all Life, Glory, Goodness, Blessedness, in and of himself; and is alone in and unto himself, All-sufficient; not standing in need of any Creatures, which he hath made, nor deriving any Glory from them, but only manifesting his own Glory in, by, unto, and upon them. He is the alone Fountain of all Beings; of whom, through whom, and to whom are all

Things; and hath most Sovereign Dominion over them, to do by them, for them and upon them, whatsoever himself pleaseth. In his fight all things are open and manifest; his Knowledge is Infinite, Infallible and Independent upon the Creature, so as nothing is to him contingent or uncertain. He is most Holy in all his Counsels, in all his Works, and in all his Commands. To him is due from Angels, and Men, and every other Creature, whatsoever Worship, Service or Obedience, as Creatures they owe unto the Creator, and whatever he is further pleased to require of them.

III. In the Unity of the God-head, there be Three Persons, of one Substance, Power and Eternity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost: The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; The Son is eternally begotten of the Father; The Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son. Which Doctrine of the Trinity is the Foundation of all our Communion with God and comfortable Dependence upon him.

## CHAP. III.

### Of God's Eternal Decree.

GOD from all Eternity did by the most Wiſe and Holy Counsel of his own Will, freely, and unchangeably ordain, whatsoever comes to pass; yet so, as thereby neither is God the Author of Sin, nor is Violence offered unto

the Will of the Creatures, nor is the Liberty or Contingency of second Causes taken away, but rather established.

II. Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all supposed Conditions,



tions, yet hath he not decreed any thing because he foresaw it, as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such Conditions.

III. By the Decree of God, for the manifestation of his Glory, some Men and Angels are predestinated unto everlasting Life, and others fore-ordained unto everlasting Death.

IV. These Angels and Men, thus predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their Number is so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

V. Those of Mankind that are predestinated unto Life. God before the Foundation of the World was laid, according to his eternal and immutable Purpose, and the secret Counsel, and good Pleasure of his Will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting Glory, out of his meer Free-Grace and Love, without any foresight of Faith or good Works, or Perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the Creature, as Conditions or Causes moving him thereunto, and all to the Praise of his Glorious Grace.

VI. As God hath appointed the Elect unto Glory, so hath he by the eternal and most free Purpose of his Will, fore-ordained all the means thereunto: Wherefore they who are elected be-

ing fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto Faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season, are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his Power through Faith unto Salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, or effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified and saved, but the Elect only.

VII. The rest of Mankind, God was pleased according to the unsearchable Counsel of his own Will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth Mercy, as he pleaseth, for the Glory of his Sovereign Power over his Creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to Dishonour and Wrath, for their Sin, to the Praise of his Glorious Justice.

VIII. The Doctrine of this high Mystery of Predestination, is to be handled with special Prudence and Care, that Men attending the Will of God revealed in his Word, and yielding Obedience thereunto, may from the certainty of their effectual Vocation be assured of their eternal Election.

So shall this Doctrine afford Matter of Praise, Reverence and Admiration of God, and of Humility, Diligence and abundant Consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel.

## CHAP. IV.

### Of Creation.

**I**T pleased God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, for the manifestation of the Glory of his eternal Power, Wisdom and Goodness in the Beginning, to create or make of Nothing the World and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six Days, and all very good.

II. After God had made all other Creatures, he created Man Male and Female, with reasonable and immortal Souls, endued with Knowledge, Righteousness and true Holiness, after

his own Image, having the Law of God written in their Heart, and Power to fulfil it; and yet under a possibility of transgressing, being left to the Liberty of their own Will, which was subject to change. Besides this Law written in their Hearts, they received a Command not to eat of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil; which whiles they kept, they were happy in their Communion with God, and had Dominion over the Creatures.

## CHAP. V.

### Of Providence.

**G**OD the Great Creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, dispose and govern all Creatures, Actions and Things, from the greatest even to the least, by his most Wise and Holy Providence, according to his infallible Foreknowledge, and the free and immutable Counsel of his own Will to the Praise of the Glory of his Wisdom, Power, Justice Goodness and Mercy.

II. Although in relation to the Foreknowledge and Decree of God, the First Cause, all things come to pass immutably and infallibly, yet by the same Providence he ordereth them to fall out, according to the Nature of Second Causes, either necessarily, freely, or contingently.

III. God in his ordinary Providence, maketh use of means, yet is free to work without, above and against them at his Pleasure.

IV. The Almighty Power, unsearchable Wisdom, and the infinite Goodness of God, so far manifest themselves in his Providence, in that his determinate Counsel extendeth it self, even to the first Fall and all other Sins of Angels and Men, (and that not by a bare permission) which also, he most wisely and powerfully boundeth, and otherwise ordereth and governeth in a manifold Dispensation, to his own most Holy Ends, yet so as the sinfulness thereof proceedeth only from the Creature, and not from God, who being most Holy and Righteous, neither is, nor can be the Author or Approver of Sin.

V. The



V. The most wise, righteous and gracious God doth oftentimes leave for a Season his own Children to manifold Temptations, and the Corruption of their own Hearts, to chastise them for their former Sins, or to discover unto them the hidden Strength of Corruption, and Deceitfulness of their Hearts, that they may be humbled, and to raise them to a more close and constant Dependence for their Support upon himself, and to make them more watchful against all future Occasions of Sin, and for sundry other just and holy Ends.

VI. As for those wicked and ungodly Men, whom God, as a righteous Judge, for former Sins, doth blind and harden, from them, he

not only withholdeth his Grace, whereby they might have been enlightened in their Understandings, and wrought upon in their Hearts; but sometimes also withdraweth the Gifts which they had, and exposeth them to such Objects, as their Corruption makes Occasions of Sin; and withal gives them over to their own Lusts, the Temptations of the World, and the Power of Satan, whereby it comes to pass that they harden themselves, even under those Means, which God useth for the softning of others.

VII. As the Providence of God doth in General reach to all Creatures, so after a most special manner, it taketh Care of his Church, and disposeth all Things for the Good thereof.

## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the Fall of Man : Of Sin, and of the Punishment thereof.*

**I** GOD having made a Covenant of Works and Life thereupon, with our First Parents, and all their Posterity in them, they being seduced by the Subtily and Temptation of Satan, did wilfully transgress the Law of their Creation, and break the Covenant, in eating the forbidden Fruit.

II. By this Sin, they and we in them, fell from Original Righteousness and Communion with God, and to become dead in Sin, and wholly defiled in all the Faculties and Parts of Soul and Body.

III. They being the Root, and by God's Appointment standing in the room and stead of all Mankind, the Guilt of this Sin was imputed, and corrupted Nature convey'd to all their Posterity descending from them by ordinary Generation.

IV. From this Original Corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled and made opposite to all Good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual Transgressions.

V. This Corruption of Nature, during this Life doth remain in those that are regenerated; and altho' it be, through Christ, pardoned and mortified, yet both it self and all the Motions thereof are truly and properly Sin.

VI. Every Sin both Original and Actual being a Transgression of the righteous Law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth, in its own Nature, bring Guilt upon the Sinner, whereby he is bound over to the Wrath of God, and Curse of the Law, and so made subject to Death, with all Miseries Spiritual, Temporal and Eternal.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Of God's Covenant with Man.*

**T**HE Distance between God and the Creature is so great, that altho' reasonable Creatures do owe Obedience to him as their Creator, yet they could never have attained the Reward of Life, but by some voluntary Condescension on God's Part, which he hath been pleased to express by way of Covenant.

II. The first Covenant made with Man was a Covenant of Works, wherein Life was promised to Adam, and in him to his Posterity, upon Condition of Perfect and Personal Obedience.

III. Man by his Fall having made himself incapable of Life by that Covenant, the Lord was pleased to make a Second, commonly call'd the Covenant of Grace; wherein he freely offereth unto Sinners Life and Salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them Faith in him, that

they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto Life, his Holy Spirit to make them willing and able to believe.

IV. This Covenant of Grace is frequently set forth in Scripture, by the Name of a *Testament*, in reference to the Death of Jesus Christ, the Testator, and to the everlasting Inheritance, with all things belonging to it, therein bequeathed.

V. Although this Covenant hath been differently, and variously administered in respect of Ordinances and Institutions in the time of the Law, and since the coming of Christ in the Flesh; yet for the Substance and Efficacy of it, to all its spiritual and saving Ends, it is one and the same; upon the Account of which various Dispensations it is called the *Old and New Testament*.



CHAP. VIII.

*Of Christ the Mediator.*

**I**T pleased God in his Eternal Purpose, to chuse and ordain the Lord Jesus, his only begotten Son, according to a Covenant made between them both, to be the Mediator between God and Man: The Prophet, Priest and King, the Head and Saviour of his Church, the Heir of all things, and Judge of the World, unto whom he did from all Eternity give a People to be his Seed, and to be by him, in time, redeemed, called, justified, sanctified and glorified.

II. The Son of God, the second Person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one Substance, and equal with the Father, did, when the fulness of Time was come, take upon him Man's Nature with all the Essential Properties, and common Infirmities thereof, yet without sin, being conceived by the Power of the Holy Ghost in the Womb of the Virgin Mary of her Substance: So that two whole perfect and distinct Natures, the Godhead and the Manhood were inseparably joined together in one Person without Confusion, Composition or Confusion; which Person is very God and very Man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and Man.

III. The Lord Jesus in his humane Nature, thus united to the Divine, in the Person of the Son, was sanctified and anointed with the Holy Spirit above Measure, having in him all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, to the end that being holy, harmless, undefiled and full of Grace and Truth, he might be thoroughly furnished to execute the Office of a Mediator and Surety, which Office he took not unto himself; but was thereunto called by his Father, who also put all Power and Judgment into his Hand, and gave him Commandment to execute the same.

IV. This Office the Lord Jesus Christ did most willingly undertake; which that he might discharge, he was made under the Law, and did perfectly fulfil it, and underwent the Punishment due to us, which we should have born and suffered, being made sin and a curse for us, enduring most grievous Torments immediately from

God in his Soul, and most painful Sufferings in his Body, was crucified and died, was buried, and remain'd under the Power of death, yet saw no Corruption; on the 3d day he arose from the dead with the same Body, in which he suffered, with which also he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, making Intercession, and shall return to judge Men and Angels at the end of the World.

V. The Lord Jesus by his perfect Obedience, and Sacrifice of himself, which he, through the Eternal Spirit, once offered up unto God, hath fully satisfied the Justice of God, and purchased not only Reconciliation, but an everlasting Inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given unto him.

VI. Altho' the *Work of Redemption* was not actually wrought by Christ, till after his Incarnation, yet the Virtue, Efficacy and Benefits thereof, were communicated unto the Elect in all Ages successively from the beginning of the World, in and by those Promises, Types and Sacrifices, wherein he was revealed and signified to be the Seed of the Woman, which should bruise the Serpent's Head, and the Lamb slain from the beginning of the World, being yesterday and to day the same, and for ever.

VII. Christ in the Work of Mediation after according to both Natures, by each Nature doing that which is proper to it self; yet by reason of the Unity of the Person, that which is proper to one Nature is sometimes in Scripture, attributed unto the Person denominated by the other Nature.

VIII. To all those for whom Christ has purchased Redemption, he doth certainly and effectually apply and communicate the same, making Intercession for them, and revealing unto them in and by the Word, the Mysteries of Salvation, effectually perswading them by his Spirit to believe and obey, and governing their Heart, by his Word and Spirit, overcoming all their Enemies, by his Almighty Power and Wisdom, in such Manner and Ways, as are most consonant to his wonderful and unfathomable Dispensation.

CHAP. IX.

*Of Free-Will.*

**G**OD hath endued the Will of Man with that Natural Liberty and Power of Acting upon Choice, that it is neither forced, nor, by any absolute Necessity of Nature, determined to do Good or Evil.

II. Man in his State of Innocency had Freedom and Power to Will and to Do that which was Good and well-pleasing to God; but yet mutably, so that he might fall from it.

III. Man by his Fall into a State of Sin, hath wholly lost all Ability of Will to any Spiritual Good, accompanying Salvation, so as a Natural Man being altogether averse from that Good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength to convert himself or to prepare himself thereunto.

IV. When God converts a Sinner, and translates him into the State of Grace, he freeth him



him from his natural Bondage under Sin, and by his Grace alone enables him freely to Will and to Do that which is Spiritually Good; yet so, as that, by reason of his remaining Corruption, he doth not perfectly nor only Will

that which is Good, but doth that which is also Evil.

V. The Will of Man is made Perfectly and Immutably Free to Good alone, in the State of Glory only.

## CHAP. X.

### Of Effectual Calling.

I. **A**LL those whom God hath predestinated unto Life, and those only, he is pleased in his appointed and accepted Time effectually to call by his Word and Spirit, out of that State of Sin and Death, in which they are by Nature, to Grace and Salvation by Jesus Christ, enlightning their Minds Spiritually and Savingly to understand the Things of God, taking away their Heart of Stone, and giving unto them an Heart of Flesh, renewing their Wills, and by his Almighty Power determining them to that which is Good, and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ: Yet so, as they come most Freely, being made willing by his Grace.

II. This effectual Call is of God's Free and Special Grace alone, not from any thing at all foreseen in Man, who is altogether Passive therein, until being quickened and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this Call

and to embrace the Grace offered and conveyed in it.

III. Elect Infants dying in Infancy, are Regenerated and Saved by Christ, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth: So also are all other Elect Persons, who are incapable of being outwardly called by the Ministry of the Word.

IV. Others not elected, altho' they may be called by the Ministry of the Word, and may have some common Operations of the Spirit, yet not being effectually drawn by the Father; they neither do nor can come unto Christ, and therefore cannot be saved; much less can Men, not professing the Christian Religion, be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their Lives according to the Light of Nature, and the Law of that Religion they do profess: And to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be detested.

## CHAP. XI.

### Of Justification.

I. **T**Hose whom God effectually calleth, he also freely Justifieth, not by infusing Righteousness into them, but by pardoning their Sins, and by accounting and accepting their Persons, as Righteous, not for any thing wrought in them, or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; nor by imputing Faith its self, the act of Believing, or any other Evangelical Obedience to them, as their Righteousness, but by imputing Christ's Active Obedience unto the whole Law, and Passive Obedience in his Sufferings and Death, for their whole and sole Righteousness, they receiving and resting on him and his Righteousness by Faith, which Faith they have not of themselves, it is the Gift of God.

II. Faith thus receiving and resting on Christ, and his Righteousness is the alone Instrument of Justification; yet it is not alone in the Person justified, but is ever accompanied with all other saving Graces, and is no dead Faith, but worketh by Love.

III. Christ by his Obedience and Death did fully discharge the Debt of all those that are justified, and did, by the Sacrifice of himself in the Blood of his Cross, undergoing in their stead the Penalty due unto them, make a proper, real, and full Satisfaction to God's Justice in

their Behalf: Yet inasmuch, as he was given by the Father for them, and his Obedience and Satisfaction accepted in their stead, and both freely, not for any thing in them, their Justification is only of free Grace, that both the exact Justice and rich Grace of God might be glorified in the Justification of Sinners.

IV. God did from all Eternity decree to justify all the Elect, and Christ did in the fullness of time dye for their Sins, and rise again, for their Justification: Nevertheless they are not justified personally, until the Holy Spirit doth in due time actually apply Christ unto them.

V. God doth continue to forgive the Sins of those that are justified, and altho' they can never fall from the State of Justification, yet they may by their Sins fall under God's Fatherly Displeasure: And, in that Condition, they have not usually the Light of his Countenance restored unto them, until they humble themselves, confess their Sins, beg Pardon, and renew their Faith and Repentance.

VI. The Justification of Believers under the Old Testament was in all these Respects, one and the same with the Justification of Believers under the New Testament.

## CHAP.



CHAP. XII.

*Of Adoption.*

**I** ALL those that are justified, God vouchsafeth in and for his only Son Jesus Christ to make Partakers of the Grace of Adoption, by which they are taken into the number and enjoy the Liberties and Privileges of the Children of God, have his Name put upon them, receive the Spirit of Adoption, have Access to the Throne

of Grace with Boldness, are enabled to cry *Abba Father*, are pitied, protected, provided for, and chastised by him, as by a Father yet never cast off, but sealed to the Day of Redemption, and inherit the Promises, as Heirs of Everlasting Salvation.

CHAP. XIII.

*Of Sanctification.*

**I** They that are effectually called and regenerated being united to Christ, having a new Heart, and a new Spirit created in them, thro' the Virtue of Christ's Death and Resurrection, are also further Sanctified really and personally, through the same Virtue, by his Word and Spirit dwelling in them, the Dominion of the whole Body of Sin is destroy'd, and the several Lusts thereof are more and more weakened and mortified, and they more and more quickened and strengthened in all saving Graces, to the practice of all true Holiness, without which no Man shall see the Lord.

II. This Sanctification is throughout in the whole Man, yet imperfect in this Life; there abide still some Remnants of Corruption in every part, whence ariseth a continual and irreconcilable War, the Flesh lusting against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh.

III. In which War, altho' the remaining Corruption, for a time, may much prevail, yet thro' the continual supply of Strength from the sanctifying Spirit of Christ, the Regenerate part doth overcome, and so the Saints grow in Grace, perfecting Holiness in the fear of God.

CHAP. XIV.

*Of Saving Faith.*

**I** THE Grace of Faith, whereby the Elect are enabled to believe to the saving of their Souls, is the Work of the Spirit of Christ in their Hearts, and is ordinarily wrought by the Ministry of the Word; by which also, and by the Administration of the Sacraments, and other Means, it is increased and strengthened.

II. By this Faith, a Christian believeth to be true, whatsoever is revealed in the Word; for the Authority of God himself speaketh therein, and asseeth differently upon that which each particular Passage thereof containeth, yielding Obedience to the Commands, trembling at the Threatnings, and embracing the Promises of God for this Life, and that which is to come.

But the principal Acts of saving Faith are accepting, receiving, and resting upon Christ alone for Justification, Sanctification and eternal Life, by Virtue of the Covenant of Grace.

III. This Faith altho' it be different in Degrees, and may be weak or strong, yet it is in the least Degree of it, different in the Kind or Nature of it (as is all other saving Grace) from the Faith and common Grace of temporary Believers; and, therefore, tho' it may be many times assailed and weakened, yet it gets the Victory, growing up in many to the attainment of a full Assurance through Christ, who is both the Author and Finisher of our Faith.

CHAP. XV.

*Of Repentance unto Life and Salvation.*

**I** S UCH of the Elect as are converted at riper Years, having sometime lived in the state of Nature, and therein served divers Lusts and Pleasures, God in their effectual Calling giveth them Repentance unto Life.

II. Whereas there is none that doth Good and sinneth not, and the best of Men may

through the power and deceitfulness of their Corruptions dwelling in them, with the prevalence of Temptation, fall into great Sins and Provocations; God hath in the Covenant of Grace mercifully provided that Believers to sinning and falling be renewed, through Repentance unto Salvation.



III. This saving Repentance is an Evangelical Grace, whereby a Person being by the Holy Ghost made sensible of the manifold Evils of his Sin, doth by Faith in Christ humble himself for it with godly sorrow, detestation of it, and self-abhorrency, praying for Pardon and strength of Grace, with a purpose and endeavour by supplies of the Spirit, to walk before God unto all well-pleasing in all things.

IV. As Repentance is to be continued through the whole Course of our Lives, upon the account

of the Body of Death and the Motions thereof; so 'tis every Man's Duty to repent of his particular known Sins particularly.

V. Such is the Provision which God hath made, through Christ, in the Covenant of Grace, for the preservation of Believers unto Salvation, that altho' there is no sin so small, but it deserves Damnation; yet there is no sin so great, that it shall bring Damnation on them, who truly repent; which makes the constant preaching of Repentance necessary.

## CHAP. XVI.

### Of Good Works.

**G**ood Works are only such as God hath commanded in his holy Word, and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by Men out of blind Zeal, or upon any pretence of good Intentions.

II. These good Works done in Obedience to God's Commandments, are the Fruits and Evidences of a true and lively Faith; and by them Believers manifest their Thankfulness, strengthen their Assurance, edify their Brethren, adorn the Profession of the Gospel, stop the Mouths of the Adversaries, and glorify God, whose Workmanship they are created in Christ Jesus thereunto, that having their Fruit unto Holiness, they may have the End, eternal Life.

III. Their Ability to do good Works, is not at all of themselves, but wholly from the Spirit of Christ. And that they may be enabled thereunto, besides the Graces they have already received, there is required an actual Influence of the same Holy Spirit, to work in them to will and to do of his good Pleasure; yet are they not hereupon to grow negligent, as if they were not bound to perform any Duty, unless upon a special Motion of the Spirit, but they ought to be diligent in stirring up the Grace of God that is in them.

IV. They who in their Obedience attain to the greatest height which is possible in this Life, are so far from being able to supererogate, and to do more than God requires, as that they fall short of much which in Duty they are bound to do.

V. We cannot by our best Works merit Par-

don of Sin, or eternal Life at the Hand of God, by reason of the great disproportion that is between them and the Glory to come, and the infinite distance that is between us and God, whom by them we can neither profit, nor satisfy for the Debt of our former Sins; but when we have done all we can, we have done but our Duty, and are unprofitable Servants: And because, as they are good they proceed from his Spirit, and as they are wrought by us, they are defiled and mixed with so much Weakness and Imperfection, that they cannot endure the Severity of God's Judgment.

VI. Yet notwithstanding, the Persons of Believers being accepted through Christ, their good Works also are accepted in him, not as tho' they were in this Life wholly unblameable and unprovable in God's sight, but that he looking upon them in his Son is pleased to accept and reward that which is sincere, although accompanied with many Weaknesses and Imperfections.

VII. Works done by unregenerate Men, although, for the Matter of them, they may be things, which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and to others: Yet because they proceed not from an Heart purified by Faith, nor are done in a right manner according to the Word, nor to a right End, the Glory of God; they are therefore sinful and cannot please God, nor make a Man meet to receive Grace from God; and yet their neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing to God.

## CHAP. XVII.

### Of the Perseverance of the Saints.

**T**hey whom God hath accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of Grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the End, and be eternally saved.

II. This Perseverance of the Saints depends not upon their own free-will, but upon the immutability of the Decree of Election, from the free and unchangeable Love of God the Father

upon the Efficacy of the Merit and Intercession of Jesus Christ, and Union with him, the Oath of God, the abiding of his Spirit, and the Seed of God within them, and the Nature of the Covenant of Grace; from all which ariseth also the certainty and Infallibility thereof.

III. And although they may, through the temptation of Satan, and of the World, the prevalence of Corruption remaining in them, and the neglect of the means of their Prefer-

vation



vation fall into grievous Sins, and for a time continue therein, whereby they incur God's Displeasure, and grieve his Holy Spirit, come to have their Graces and Comforts impaired, have their Hearts hardened, and their Consciences wounded.

CHAP. XVIII.

*Of the Assurance of Grace and Salvation.*

I. **A**lthough Temporary Believers and other unregenerate Men may vainly deceive themselves with false Hopes, and carnal Presumptions of being in the Favour of God, and State of Salvation, which hope of theirs shall perish, yet such as truly believe in the Lord Jesus and love him in Sincerity, endeavouring to walk in good Conscience before him, may, in this Life, be certainly assured, that they are in the State of Grace, and may rejoice in the Hope of the Glory of God, which Hope shall never make them ashamed.

II. This Certainty is not a bare conjectural and probable Perswasion, grounded upon a fallible Hope, but an infallible assurance of Faith, founded on the Blood and Righteousness of Christ, revealed in the Gospel, and also upon the inward Evidence of those Graces, unto which Promises are made, and on the immediate Witness of the Spirit, testifying our Adoption, and as a Fruit thereof, leaving the Heart more Humble and Holy.

III. This infallible Assurance doth not so belong to the Essence of Faith, but that a true Believer may wait long, and conflict with many Difficulties before he be Partaker of it; yet being enabled by the Spirit to know the

Things which are freely given him of God, he may without extraordinary Revelation, in the right use of ordinary Means attain thereunto: And therefore it is the Duty of every one to give all diligence to make his Calling and Election sure, that thereby his Heart may be enlarged in Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost, in Love and Thankfulness to God, and in Strength and Cheerfulness in the Duties of Obedience, the proper Fruits of this Assurance; so far is it from inclining Men to Looseness.

IV. True Believers may have the Assurance of their Salvation diverse ways (taken, diminished, and intermitted, as by Negligence in preserving of it, by falling into some special Sin, which woundeth the Conscience and grieveth the Spirit, by some sudden or vehement Temptation, by God's withdrawing the Light of his Countenance, suffering even such as fear him to walk in Darkness, and to have no Light, yet are they neither utterly destitute of that Seed of God, and Life of Faith, that Love of Christ and the Brethren, that Sincerity of Heart, and Confidence of Duty, out of which by the Operation of the Spirit, this Assurance may, in due time, be revived, and by the which, in the mean time, they are supported from utter Despair.

CHAP. XIX.

*Of the Law of God.*

I. **G**OD gave to Adam a Law of Universal Obedience written in his Heart, and a particular Precept of not eating the Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, as a Covenant of Works, by which he bound him, and all his Posterity to personal, entire, exact and perpetual Obedience, promised Life upon the fulfilling and threatened Death upon the Breach of it, and endued him with Power and Ability to keep it.

II. This Law, so written in the Heart, continued to be a perfect Rule of Righteousness after the Fall of Man, and was delivered by God on Mount Sinai in Ten Commandments, and written in two Tables; the four first Commandments containing our Duty towards God, and the other six our Duty to Man.

III. Besides this Law commonly called Moral, God was pleased to give to the People of Israel, as a Church under Age, Ceremonial Laws, containing several Typical Ordinances, partly of Worship, prefiguring Christ, his Graces, Actions

Sufferings and Benefits, and partly holding forth divers Instructions of Moral Duties: All which Ceremonial Laws being appointed only to the time of Reformation, are by Jesus Christ the true Messiah, and only Law-giver, who was furnished with Power from the Father for that end, abrogated and taken away.

IV. To them also he gave sundry Judicial Laws, which expired together with the State of that People, not obliging any now by Virtue of that Institution, their general Equity only being still of Moral use.

V. The Moral Law doth for ever bind all, as well justified Persons, as others, to the Obedience thereof; and that not only in regard of the Matter contained in it, but also in respect of the Authority of God the Creator, who gave it; neither doth Christ in the Gospel, any ways dissolve, but much strengthen this Obligation.

VI. Altho' true Believers be not under the Law as a Covenant of Works, to be thereby justified, or condemned; yet it is of great Use



to them as well as to others, in that, as a Rule of Life, informing them of the Will of God and their Duty, and detests and binds them to walk accordingly, discovering also the sinful Pollutions of their Natures, Hearts and Lives, so as examining themselves thereby, they may come to further Conviction of, Humiliation for, and Hatred against Sin, together with a clearer sight of the need they have of Christ and the Perfection of his Obedience. It is likewise of use to the Regenerate, to restrain their Corruptions, in that it forbids Sin, and the threatnings of it serve to shew what even their Sins deserve, and what Afflictions in this Life they may expect for them, altho' freed from the Curse thereof threatened in the Law. The Promises of it in

like manner shews them God's Approbation of Obedience, and what Blessings they may expect upon performance thereof, altho' not as due to them by the Law as a Covenant of Works, so as a Man's doing Good, and refraining from Evil, because the Law encourageth to the one, and deterreth from the other, is no Evidence of his being under the Law, and not under Grace.

VII. Neither are the fore-mentioned Uses of the Law, contrary to the Graces of the Gospel, but do sweetly comply with it, the Spirit of Christ subduing and enabling the Will of Man to do that Freely and Cheerfully, which the Will of God revealed in the Law requireth to be done.

## CHAP. XX.

### Of the Gospel and of the Extent of the Grace thereof.

THE Covenant of Works, being broken by Sin, and made unprofitable unto Life, God was pleased to give unto the Elect the Promise of Christ the Seed of the Woman, as the means of calling them, and begetting in them Faith and Repentance: In this Promise, the Gospel, as to the Substance of it was revealed, and was therein effectual for the Conversion and Salvation of Sinners.

II. This Promise of Christ and Salvation by him, is revealed only in and by the Word of God; neither do the Works of Creation or Providence, with the Light of Nature, make discovery of Christ, or of Grace by him, so much as in a general or obscure way; much less, that Men destitute of the Revelation of him by the Promise or Gospel, should be enabled thereby to attain saving Faith or Repentance.

III. The Revelation of the Gospel unto Sinners, made in diverse Times, and by sundry Parts, with the Addition of Promises and Precepts, for the Obedience required therein, as to

the Nations and Persons to whom it is granted, is merely of the Sovereign Will and Good Pleasure of God, not being annexed by Virtue of any Promise to the due improvement of Mens Natural Abilities: by Virtue of Common Light received without it, which none ever did make or can so do. And therefore, in all Ages, the preaching of the Gospel hath been granted unto Persons and Nations, as to the extent or fraying of it in great Variety according to the Council of the Will of God.

IV. Altho' the Gospel be the only outward Means of revealing Christ and saving Grace, and is, as such, abundantly sufficient thereunto; yet that Men, who are dead in Trespasses, may be born again, quickened or regenerated, there is, moreover necessary an effectual, irresistible work of the Holy Ghost upon the whole Soul for the producing in them a Spiritual Life, without which no other Means are sufficient for their Conversion unto God.

## CHAP. XXI.

### Of Christian Liberty, and Liberty of Conscience.

THE Liberty which Christ hath purchased for Believers under the Gospel, consists in their Freedom from the Guilt of Sin, the condemning Wrath of God, the Rigour and Curse of the Law, and in being delivered from this present Evil World, Bondage to Satan, and Dominion of Sin, from the Evil of Afflictions, the Fear and Sting of Death, the Victory of the Grave, and everlasting Damnation, as also in their free Access to God, and their yielding Obedience unto him not out of slavish Fear, but a Child-like Love, and willing Mind: All which were common also to Believers under the Law, for the Substance of them, but under the New Testament the Liberty of Christians is further enlarged in their Freedom from the Yoke of

the Ceremonial Law, the whole legal Administration of the Covenant of Grace to which the Jewish Church was subjected, and in greater boldness of Access to the Throne of Grace, and in fuller Communications of the free Spirit of God, than Believers under the Law did ordinarily partake of.

II. God alone is Lord of the Conscience, and hath left it free from the Doctrines and Commandments of Men, which are, in any thing contrary unto his Word; or not contained in it; so that to believe such Doctrines, or to obey such Commands, out of Conscience, is to betray true Liberty of Conscience, and the acquiring of an implicit Faith, and an absolute blind Obedience, is to destroy Liberty of Conscience and Reason also.

III. They



III. They who upon pretence of Christian Liberty do practise any Sin, or cherish any Lust, as they do thereby pervert the main design of the Grace of the Gospel to their own Destruction, so they wholly destroy the End of Chri-

stian Liberty, which is, that being delivered out of the hands of our Enemies, we might serve the Lord without fear in Holiness and Righteousness before him all the Days of our Life.

CHAP. XXII.

*Of Religious Worship, and of the Sabbath-day.*

**T**HE Light of Nature sheweth that there is a God, who hath Lordship and Sovereignty over all, is just, good and doth good unto all, and is therefore to be feared, loved, prais'd, call'd upon, trusted in, and served with all the Heart, and all the Soul, and with all the Might: But the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by himself, and so limited by his own revealed Will, that he may not be worshipped according to the Imaginations and Devices of Men, or the Suggestions of Satan, under any visible Representations, or any other way not prescribed in the Holy Scripture.

II. Religious Worship is to be given to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and to him alone, not to Angels, Saints or any other Creatures, and since the Fall not without a Mediator, nor in the Mediation of any other but of Christ alone.

III. Prayer with Thanksgiving being one special part of Natural Worship, is by God requir'd of all Men; but that it may be accepted, it is to be made in the name of the Son, by the help of his Spirit, according to his Will, with Understanding, Reverence, Humility, Fervency, Faith, Love and Perseverance: and when with others, in a known Tongue.

IV. Prayer is to be made for Things Lawful, and for all sorts of Men living, or that shall live hereafter, but not for the dead, nor for those, of whom, it may be known, that they have sinned the Sin unto Death.

V. The reading of the Scriptures, preaching and hearing of the Word of God, singing of Psalms, as also the Administration of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, are all parts of Religious Worship of God, to be performed in Obedience unto God with Understanding, Faith, Reverence and Godly Fear. Solemn Humiliations, with Fast-

ings and Thanksgiving upon special Occasions are, in their several Times and Seasons to be used in an Holy and Religious manner.

VI. Neither Prayer, nor any other part of Religious Worship, is now under the Gospel, either tyed unto, or made more acceptable by any Place, in which it is performed, or towards which it is directed: But God is to be worshipped every where in Spirit and in Truth, as in private Families daily, and in secret, each one by himself, so more solemnly in the publick Assemblies, which are not carelessly nor wilfully to be neglected, or forsaken, when God by his Word or Providence calleth thereunto.

VII. As it is of the Law of Nature, that in general a Proportion of time by God's Appointment be set apart for the Worship of God, so by his Word in a positive, moral, and perpetual Commandment, binding all Men in all Ages, he hath particularly appointed one Day in seven for a Sabbath to be kept holy unto him, which from the beginning of the World to the Resurrection of Christ, was the last Day of the Week, and from the Resurrection of Christ was changed into the first Day of the Week, which in Scripture is called the Lord's Day, and is to be continued unto the end of the World, as a Christian Sabbath, the observation of the last Day of the Week being abolished.

VIII. This Sabbath is then kept Holy unto the Lord, when Men after a due preparing of their Hearts, and ordering their common Affairs before-hand, do not only observe an holy Rest all the day from their own Works, Words, and Thoughts about their worldly Employments and Recreations, but also are taken up the whole time, in the publick and private Exercises of his Worship, and in the Duties of Necessity and Mercy.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Of Lawful Oaths and Vows.*

**A** Lawful Oath, is a part of Religious Worship, wherein the Person swearing in Truth, Righteousness and Judgment, solemnly calleth God to witness what he asserteth, or promisseth, and to judge him according to the Truth or Falshood of what he sweareth.

II. The name of God only is that by which Men ought to swear, and therein it is to be used with all Holy Fear and Reverence: There-

fore to swear vainly or rashly by that Glorious and Dreadful Name, or to swear at all, by any other thing, is sinful and to be abhorred: Yet, as in matters of Weight and Moment an Oath is warranted by the Word of God, under the *New Testament*, as well as under the *Old*, so a Lawful Oath being imposed by Lawful Authority in such Matters ought to be taken.

III. Whoso



III. Whosoever taketh an Oath warranted by the Word of God, ought duly to consider the weightiness of so solemn an Act, and therein to avouch nothing, but what he is fully persuaded is the Truth; neither may any Man bind himself by Oath to any thing, but what is good and just, and what he believeth so to be, and what he is able and resolved to perform. Yet it is a sin to refuse an Oath touching any thing that is good and just, being lawfully imposed by Authority.

IV. An Oath is to be taken in the plain and common Sense of the Words, without Equivocation, or mental Reservation: It cannot oblige to sin; but in any thing, not sinful, being taken,

it binds to performance, although to a Man's own hurt; nor is it to be violated, although made to Hereticks or Infidels.

V. A Vow, which is not to be made to any Creature, but God alone, is of the like nature with a Promissory Oath, and ought to be made with the like Religious Care, and to be performed with the like Faithfulness.

VI. Popish Monastical Vows of perpetual single Life, professed Poverty, and regular Obedience, are so far from being Degrees of higher Perfection, that they are superstitious and sinful Snarles, in which no Christian may entangle himself.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

##### *Of the Civil Magistrate.*

I. GOD the Supreme Lord and King of all the World, hath ordained Civil Magistrates to be under him, over the People for his own Glory and the publick Good: And to this End has armed them with the Power of the Sword for the Defence and Encouragement of them that do good, and for the Punishment of evil Doers.

II. It is lawful for Christians to accept, and execute the Office of a Magistrate, when called thereunto: In the management whereof, as they ought especially to maintain Piety, Justice and Peace, according to the wholesome Laws of each Common-wealth, so for that End, they may lawfully now under the *New Testament* wage War upon just and necessary Occasion.

III. They who upon pretence of Christian Liberty shall oppose any lawful Power, or the lawful Exercises of it, resist the Ordinance of God; and for their publishing of such Opinions, or maintaining of such Practices, as are contrary to the Light of Nature, or to the known Principles of Christianity, whether concerning Faith, Worship, or Conversation, or to the Power of Godliness, or such erroneous Opinions or Practices, as either in their own nature, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external Peace and

Order which Christ hath established in the Church, they may lawfully be called to Account and proceeded against by the Censures of the Church, and by the Power of the Civil Magistrate; yet in such Differences about the Doctrines of the Gospel, or Ways of the Worship of God, as may beset Men, exercising a good Conscience, manifesting it in their Conversation, and holding the Foundation, and duly observing the Rules of Peace and Order, there is no Warant for the Magistrate to abridge them of their Liberty.

IV. It is the Duty of People to pray for Magistrates, to honour their Persons, to pay them Tribute and other Dues, to obey their lawful Commands, and to be subject to their Authority for Conscience sake. Infidelity or Difference in Religion doth not make void the Magistrates just and legal Authority, nor free the People from their due Obedience to him: From which Ecclesiastical Persons are not exempted, much less has the Pope any Power or Jurisdiction over them in their Dominions, or over any of their People, and least of all to deprive them of their Dominions or Lives, if he shall judge them to be Hereticks, or upon any other Pretence whatsoever.

#### CHAP. XXV.

##### *Of Marriage.*

I. Marriage is to be between one Man and one Woman: Neither is it lawful for any Man to have more than one Wife, nor for any Woman to have more than one Husband at the same time.

II. Marriage was ordained for the mutual help of Husband and Wife, for the increase of Mankind with a legitimate Issue, and of the Church with an holy Seed, and for preventing of Uncleanness.

III. It is lawful for all sorts of People to marry, who are able with Judgment to give their Consent. Yet it is the Duty of Christians

to marry in the Lord; and, therefore, such as profess the true Reformed Religion should not marry with Infidels, Papiſts, or other Idolaters: Neither should such as are godly be unequally yoked, by marrying such as are wicked in their Life, or maintain damnable Heresie.

IV. Marriage ought not to be within the Degrees of Consanguinity or Affinity forbidden in the Word; nor can such incestuous Marriages ever be made lawful by any Law of Man or Consent of Parties, so, as those Persons may live together, as Man and Wife.



CHAP. XXVI.

*Of the Church.*

**T**HE Catholick or Universal Church, which is invisible, consists of the whole Number of the Elect, that have been, or shall be gathered into One under Christ the Head thereof, and is the Spouse, the Body, the Fulness of him that filleth All in All.

II. The whole Body of Men, throughout the World, professing the Faith of the Gospel, and Obedience unto God by Christ, according unto it, not destroying their own Profession, by any Errors everting the Foundation, or Unholiness of Conversation, they and their Children with them are and may be called the Visible Catholick Church of Christ, although, as such, it is not intrusted with any Officers, to rule or govern over the whole Body.

III. The purest Churches under Heaven, are subject both to Mixture and Error, and some have so degenerated, as to become no Churches of Christ, but Synagogues of Satan: Nevertheless, Christ always hath had, and ever shall have a visible Kingdom in this World, to the

end thereof, of such as believe in him, and make Profession of his Name.

IV. There is no other Head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome in any Sense be Head thereof, but is that Antichrist, that Man of Sin, and Son of Perdition that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ, and all that is called God, whom the Lord shall destroy with the Brightness of his coming.

V. As the Lord, in his Care and Love towards his Church, hath in his infinite wife Providence exercised it with great variety in all Ages, for the good of them that love him and his own Glory: So, according to his Promise, we expect that in the latter Days, Antichrist being destroyed, the Jews called, and the Adversaries of the Kingdom of his dear Son broken, the Churches of Christ being enlarged, and edified through a free and plentiful Communication of Light and Grace, shall enjoy in this World a more quiet, peaceable, and glorious Condition than they have enjoyed.

CHAP. XXVII.

*Of the Communion of Saints.*

**A**LL Saints that are united to Jesus Christ their Head by his Spirit and Faith, although they are not made thereby one Person with him, have Fellowship in his Graces, Sufferings, Death, Resurrection and Glory: And being united to one another in Love, they have Communion in each others Gifts and Graces, and are obliged to the performance of such Duties, publick and private, as do conduce to their mutual good both in the inward and outward Man.

II. All Saints are bound to mention an Holy

Fellowship and Communion in the Worship of God, and in performing such other Spiritual Services, as tend to their mutual Edification, as also in relieving each other in outward things according to their several Abilities and Necessities; which Communion, though especially to be exercised by them in the Relations, where-in they stand, whether in Families or Churches, yet as God offereth Opportunity, is to be extended unto all those, who, in every Place, call upon the Name of the Lord Jesus.

CHAP. XXVIII.

*Of the Sacraments.*

**S**ACRAMENTS are Holy Signs and Seals of the Covenant of Grace, immediately instituted by Christ, to represent him and his Benefits, and to confirm our Interest in him, and solemnly to engage us to the Service of God in Christ, according to his Word.

II. There is in every Sacrament a Spiritual Relation, or Sacramental Union between the Sign and the Thing signified; whence it comes to pass that the Names and Effects of the one are attributed to the other.

III. The Grace which is exhibited in or by the Sacraments, rightly used, is not conferred by any Power in them, neither doth the Efficacy of

a Sacrament depend upon the Piety or Intention of him that doth administer it, but upon the Work of the Spirit and the Word of Institution, which contains, together with a Precept authorizing the Use thereof, a Promise of Benefit to worthy Receivers.

IV. There be only two Sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord in the Gospel; that is to say Baptism and the Lord's Supper; neither of which may be dispensed by any but by a Minister of the Word lawfully called.

V. The Sacraments of the Old Testament, in regard of the Spiritual Things thereby signified and exhibited, were for substance the same with those of the New.



## C H A P. XXIX.

## Of Baptism.

I. **B**aptism is a Sacrament of the *New Testament*, ordained by Jesus Christ, to be unto the Party baptiz'd a Sign and Seal of the Covenant of Grace, of his ingrafting into Christ, of Regeneration, of Remission of Sins, and of his giving up unto God thro' Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of Life; which Ordinance is by Christ's own Appointment to be continued in his Church until the end of the World.

II. The outward Element to be us'd in this Ordinance is Water, wherewith the Party is to be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by a Minister of the Gospel lawfully called thereunto.

III. Dipping of the Person into the Water is not necessary, but Baptism is rightly administred by pouring, or sprinkling Water upon the Person.

IV. Not only those that do actually profess Faith in, and Obedience unto Christ, but also

the Infants of one or both believing Parents are to be baptized and those only.

V. Altho' it be a great Sin to contemn or neglect this Ordinance, yet Grace and Salvation are not so inseparably annexed to it, as that no Person can be regenerated or saved without it; or that all that are baptized, are undoubtedly regenerated.

VI. The Efficacy of Baptism is not tyed to that moment of Time, wherein it is administred; yet notwithstanding by the right use of this Ordinance, the Grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost to such (whether of Age or Infants) as that Grace belongeth unto, according to the Counsel of God's own Will, in his appointed time.

VII. Baptism is but once to be administred to any Person.

## C H A P. XXX.

## Of the Lord's Supper.

I. **O**UR Lord Jesus in the Night when he was betray'd, instituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, call'd the *Lord's Supper*, to be observed in his Churches to the end of the World, for the perpetual Remembrance and shewing forth of the Sacrifice of himself in his Death, the sealing of all Benefits thereof unto true Believers, their Spiritual Nourishment, and Growth in him, their further Engagement in and to all Duties, which they owe unto him, and to be a Bond and Pledge of their Communion with him, and with each other.

II. In this Sacrament Christ is not offered up to his Father, nor any real Sacrifice made at all for Remission of Sin of the Quick or Dead, but only a Memorial of that one offering up of himself upon the Cross, once for all, and a Spiritual Oblation of all possible Praise unto God for the same; so that the Popish Sacrifice of the Mass (as they call it) is most abominably injurious to Christ's own only Sacrifice, the alone Propitiation for all the Sins of the Elect.

III. The Lord Jesus hath in this Ordinance appointed his Ministers to declare his Word of Institution to the People, to pray and bless the Elements of Bread and Wine, and thereby to set them apart from a Common, to an Holy Use, and to take and break the Bread, to take the Cup and (they communicating also themselves) to give both to the Communicants, but to none, who are not then present in the Congregation.

IV. Private Masses, or receiving the Sacrament by a Priest, or any other alone, as likewise the denial of the Cup to the People, worshipping the Elements, the lifting them up, or carrying

them about for Adoration, and the reserving them for any pretended Religious Use, are all contrary unto the Nature of this Sacrament and to the Institution of Christ.

V. The outward Elements in this Sacrament duly set apart to the Uses ordained by Christ, have such Relation to him crucified, as that truly yet Sacramentally only, they are sometimes call'd by the Name of the things they represent, to wit, The Body and Blood of Christ; albeit in Substance and Nature they still remain truly and only Bread and Wine, as they were before.

VI. The Doctrine which maintains a Change of the Substance of Bread and Wine into the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood (commonly called *Transubstantiation*) by Consecration of a Priest, or by any other way, is repugnant not to the Scripture alone, but even to common Sense and Reason, overthroweth the Nature of a Sacrament, and hath been, and is the Cause of manifold Superstitions, yea, of gross Idolatries.

VII. Worthy Receivers outwardly partaking of the visible Elements in this Sacrament, do, then, also, inwardly by Faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually receive and feed upon Christ crucified, and all Benefits of his Death, the Body and Blood of Christ being then not corporally or carnally in, with, or under the Bread and Wine, yet as really, but spiritually present to the Faith of Believers in that Ordinance, as the Elements themselves are to their outward Senses.

VIII. All ignorant and ungodly Persons, as they are unfit to enjoy Communion with Christ, so are they unworthy of the Lord's Table, and cannot



cannot without great Sin against him, whilst they remain such, partake of these Holy Mysteries, or be admitted thereunto; yea, whole-

ever shall receive unworthily, are guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord, eating and drinking Judgment unto themselves.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the State of Man after Death, and of the Resurrection of the Dead.

THE Bodies of Men, after death, return to Dust, and see Corruption, but their Souls (which neither dye nor sleep) having an Immortal Subistence, immediately return to God, who gave them; the Souls of the Righteous being then made perfect in Holiness, are received into the highest Heavens, where they behold the Face of God in Light and Glory, waiting for the full Redemption of their Bodies: And the Souls of the wicked are cast into Hell, where they remain in Torment and utter Darknets, reserved to the Judgment of the Great Day: Besides

these two Places of Souls separated from their Bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none.

II. At the last Day, such as are found alive shall not dye but be changed; and all the dead shall be raised up with the self-same Bodies, and none other, altho' with different Qualities, which shall be united again to their Souls for ever.

III. The Bodies of the unjust shall by the Power of Christ be raised to dishonour; the Bodies of the Just by his Spirit unto Honour, and be made conformable unto his own glorious Body.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Last Judgment.

GOD hath appointed a Day wherein he will judge the World in Righteousness by Jesus Christ, to whom all Power and Judgment is given of the Father; in which Day, not only the Apostate Angels shall be judged, but likewise all Persons that have lived upon Earth, shall appear before the Tribunal of Christ to give an Account of their Thoughts, Words and Deeds, and to receive according to what they have done in the Body, whether Good or Evil.

II. The end of God's appointing this Day, is for the manifestation of the Glory of his Mercy in the Eternal Salvation of the Elect, and of his Justice in the Damnation of the Reprobate, who are wicked and disobedient: For, then shall the Righteous go into everlasting Life, and receive that fulness of Joy and Glory, with ever-

lasting Reward in the Presence of the Lord; but the wicked, who know not God, and obey not the Gospel of Jesus Christ, shall be cast into eternal Torments, and be punished with everlasting Destruction from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power.

III. As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded, that there shall be a Judgment, both to deter all Men from Sin, and for the greater Consolation of the godly in their Adversity; so will he have that Day unknown to Men, that they may shake off all carnal Security, and be always watchful, because they know not at what hour the Lord will come, and may be ever prepared to say, *Come Lord Jesus, come quickly.* Amen.



# The Second P A R T.

## THE DISCIPLINE

Practised in the

### Churches of New-England.

*Nil sine, nihil contra, nihil præter, nihil ultra, divinam Scripturam, Admittendum.*  
P. Martyr.

§ 1. **T**HE Churches of New-England enjoying so much Rest and Growth as they had now seen, for some *Sevens* of Years, it was, upon many Accounts, necessary for them to make such a Declaration of the Church-Order, wherein the good hand of God had moulded 'em, as might convey and secure the like Order unto the following Generations. Next unto the Bible, which was the professed, perpetual and only *Directory* of these Churches, they had no Platform of their Church-Government, more exact, than their famous John Cotton's well-known Book of, *The Keys*; which Book endeavours to lay out the just Lines and Bounds of that Church Power, and so defines the Matter; That as in the State there is a Dispersion of Powers unto several Hands, which are to concur in all Acts of Common Concernment; from whence ariseth the *heathly Constitution of a Common-wealth*: In like sort, he assigns the Powers in the Church unto several *Subjells*, wherein the united Light of Scripture and of Nature have placed them, with a very Satisfactory Distribution. He asserts, That a *Presbyterate Society* of the Faithful, hath within its self a compleat Power of *Self-Reformation*, or, if you will, of *Self-Preservation*, and may within its self manage its own Choices of Officers, and Censures of Delinquents. Now a special Statute-Law of our Lord, having excepted Women and Children from enjoying any Part of this Power, he finds only Elders and Brethren to be the Constituent Members, who may act in such a Sacred Corporation; the Elders, he finds the first Subjell entrusted with Government, the Brethren endowed with Priviledge, inasmuch, that tho' the Elders only are to rule the Church, and without them, there can be no Elections, Admissions, or Excommunications, and they have a Negative upon the Acts of the Fraternity, as well as 'tis they only that have the Power of Authoritative Preaching and Administering the Sacraments; yet the Brethren have such a Liberty, that without their Consent nothing of common Concernment may be imposed upon them. Nevertheless because particular Churches of Elders and Brethren may abuse their Power with manifold Misarrriages, he asserts the necessary Communion of Churches in Synods, who have Authority to determine, declare and impose, such Things as may rectifie the Male-Administration, or any Disorders, Dissentions and Confusions of the Congregations, which fall under their Cognizance: But still so, as to leave unto the Particular Churches themselves the Formal Acts, which are to be done pursuant unto the Advice of the Council; upon the scandalous and obstinate Refusal whereof, the Council may determine, to withdraw Communion from them, as from those who will not be coun-

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counsell'd against a *notorious Mismanagement* of the Jurisdiction which the Lord Jesus Christ has given them. This was the *Design* of that judicious Treatise, wherein was contained the substance of our *Church-Discipline*; and whereof I have one remarkable thing to relate, as I go along. That great Person, who afterwards proved one of the greatest Scholars, Divines and Writers in this Age, then under the *prejudices of Conversation*, set himself to write a Confutation of this very Treatise, *Of the Keys*; but having made a considerable Progress in his Undertaking, such was the Strength of this *unanswerable Book*, that instead of his *confuting it*, it conquered him; and the Book of, *The Keys* was happily by blessed of God for the conveyance of *Congregational Principles* into the now *opened Mind* of this learned Man, that he not only wrote in Defence of Mr. Cotton against Mr. Caudry, but also expos'd himself to more than a little Sorrow and Labour, all his Days, for the maintaining of those Principles. Upon which occasion, the words of the Doctor [Owen] in his Review of the true Nature of *Schism* are, *this way of impartial examining all Things by the Word, and laying aside all prejudicate Respects unto Persons or present Traditions, is a Course that I would admonish all to beware of, who would avoid the Danger of being made (what they call) Independents.* Having said thus much of that Book, all that I shall add concerning it is, That the famous Mr. Rutherford himself, in his Treatise intitled, *A Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist*, has these Words; Mr. COTTON in his Treatise of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, is well found in our way, if he had given some more power to Assemblies and in some lesser points. But it was convenient, the Churches of New-England should have a System of their Discipline, extracted from the Word of God, and exhibited unto them, with a more effectual, acknowledged and established Recommendation: And nothing but a Council was proper to compose the System. The Reader is now to expect, a Council at Cambridge: And in truth, another sort of Council, than that sham Council of Trent, whereof one that was present, wrote this Account unto the Emperor Maximilian II. We daily saw hungry and needy Bishops come to Trent. Youtuhs, for the most part, given to Luxury and Riot, hired only to give their Voice, as the People pleased. They were both unlearn'd and simple, yet fit for the purpose, in regard of their impudent Boldness. When these were added unto the Pope's old Flatterers, Iniquity triumph'd; it was impossible to determine any thing, but as they pleased. The Council seem'd not to consist of Bishops, but of disguised Masquers; not of Men, but of Images, such as Balaal was moved by Nerves none of their own. They were hiring Bishops which as Country Bag-pipers, could not speak, but as Breath was put into them. The Difference between the Bishops now to assemble at Cambridge, and the Bishops which then made such a noise

by their Conventicle at Trent, was in truth not much less than that between Angels and Devils.

§ 2. Wherefore, a Bill was preferred unto the general Court in the Year 1646. for the calling of a Synod, whereby, a Platform of Church Discipline, according to the Direction of our Lord Jesus Christ in his blessed Word, might most advantageously be compos'd and published. The Magistrates in the general Court, pass'd the Bill, but the Deputies had their little Scruples, how far the Civil Authority might interpose in matters of such Religious and Ecclesiastical Cognizance; and whether Scaffolds might not now be rais'd, by the means whereof the Civil Authority should pretend hereafter to impose an Uniformity, in such Instances which had better be left at Liberty and Variety. It was reply'd, that it belonged unto Magistrates, by all rational ways to encourage Truth and Peace among their People; and that the Council now called by the Magistrates was to proceed but by way of Council, with the best Light which could be fetch'd from the Word of God; but the Court would be after all free, as they saw cause to approve or to reject what should be offer'd.

After all, tho' the Objections of the Deputies were thus answer'd, yet in Compliance with such as were not yet satisfied, the Order for the calling of the intended Assembly was directed only in the form of a Motion, and not of a Command, unto the Churches. But certain Persons come lately from England, so inflamed the Zeal for Liberty of Conscience among the People, that all this Compliance of the Authority could not remove the Fear of some Churches, lest some Invasion of that Liberty were threatn'd, by a Clause in the order of the Court which intimat'd; *That what should be presented by the Synod, the Court would give such allowance, as would be meet, unto it.* The famous and leading Church of Boston particularly, was enervated so much by this Fear, that upon the Lord's Day, when the Order of the Court was first communicated unto them, they could not come unto an immediate Resolution of sending any Delegates unto the Synod; but Mr. Norton, then of Ipswich, at Boston Lecture the Thursday following, preach'd an elaborate Sermon unto a vast Auditory, on *Moses and Aaron kissing each other in the Mount of God*: And in that Sermon, he so represented the Nature and Power of Synods, and the Respect owing from Churches to Rulers calling for Synods, that on the next Lord's Day, the Church voted the sending of three Messengers, with their Elders unto this Assembly. Indeed the happy Experience of New-England has taken away from its Churches, all occasion for any Complaint, like that of Luther's; *Mibi consiliorum nomen, penè tam suspectum & invisum, quam nomen Liberi Arbitrii.*

§ 3. It being so near Winter before the Synod could convene, that few of the Ministers invited



invited from the other Colonies could be present at it, they now sat but fourteen Days; and then adjourned unto the eighth of June, in the Year ensuing. Nevertheless at their first Session, there was an occasion which they took to consider and examine an important Case; and it came to this Result.

### A PROPOSITION about the Magistrate's Power in Matters of Religion.

THE Civil Magistrate in matters of Religion, or of the first Table, hath Power, civilly to command or forbid things respecting the outward Man which are clearly commanded or forbidden in the Word, and to inflict suitable Punishments, according to the Nature of the Transgressions against the same.

Several Arguments with Testimonies for the Confirmation of this Position, annexed thereunto were, afterwards printed at London in the Year 1654. accompanied with a Discourse of Mr. Tho. Allen, wherein this Doctrine was further explained, and I would hope so explained, that it so renowned a Saint, as the famous Martin, who, to the Death renounced Communion with the Synods, which had perjured the Emperor

to employ the *Civil Sword* against the *Gnosfick* *Priscillianists*, had been alive, even he would not have altogether disallowed the Desires of these good Men, to see the *Civil Magistrate* employing his *Power* to discountenance Profane and Wicked Heresies.

But the Platform of Church-Discipline to be commended unto the Churches, was the main Chance which the Assembly was to mind; in order whereunto they directed three eminent Persons, namely, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Richard Mather and Mr. Ralph Partridge, each of them to draw up a Scriptural Model of Church-Government; unto the end, that out of those, there might be one educed, which the Synod might alter the most sifting thoughts upon it, send abroad. When the Synod met, at the time to which they had adjourned, the Summer proved so sickly that a delay of one Year more was given to their Undertaking; but at last the desired Platform of Church-Discipline was agreed upon, and the Synod broke up, with singing the Song of Moses and the Lamb, in the fifteenth Chapter of the Revelation. Adding another sacred Song from the nineteenth Chapter of that Book; which is to be found metrickly paraphrased in the New-England Psalm-Book: So it was presented unto the General Court, in the Month of October 1648.

And the Court most thankfully Accepted and Approved of it. It now follows.



# A P L A T F O R M O F

## Church - Discipline :

Gather'd out of the Word of GOD, and agreed upon by the ELDERS and MESSENGERS of the Churches assembled in the SYNOD, at Cambridge, in New-England. To be presented to the Churches and General Court for their Consideration and Acceptance in the LORD, the Eighth Month, Anno 1649.

### CHAP. I.

*Of the Form of Church-Government; and that it is One, Immutable and Prescribed in the Word.*

**E**cclesiastical Polity, or Church-Government or Discipline, is nothing else but that Form and Order that is to be observed in the Church of Christ upon Earth, both for the Constitution of it, and all the Administrations, that therein are to be performed.

2. Church-Government is considered in a double respect, either in regard of the Parts of Government themselves, or necessary Circumstances thereof. The Parts of Government are prescribed in the Word, because the Lord Jesus Christ, the King and Law-giver in his Church, is no less faithful in the House of God, than was *Moses*, who from the Lord delivered a Form and Pattern of Government to the Children of Israel in the *Old Testament*; and the Holy Scriptures are now also so perfect, as they are able to make the Man of God Perfect, and thoroughly furnished unto every good Work; and therefore doubtless to the well-ordering of the House of God.

3. The Parts of Church-Government, are all of them exactly described in the Word of God, being parts or means of instituted Worship according to the second Commandment, and therefore to continue one and the same unto the Appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, as a Kingdom that cannot be shaken, until he shall deliver it up unto God, even to the Father. So that it is not left in the Power of Men, Officers, Churches, or any State in the World to add, or diminish or alter any thing in the least measure therein.

4. The necessary Circumstances, as Time and Place, &c. belonging unto Order and Decency, are not so left unto Men, as that under pretence of them, they may thrust their own Inventions upon the Churches, being circumscribed in the Word with many general Limitations, where they are determined with respect of the Matter to be neither worship it self, nor Circumstances separable from worship. In respect



pect of their End, they must be done unto Edification; in respect of the Manner, decently and in order, according to the Nature of the Things themselves, and Civil and Church Custom. Doth not even Nature itself teach you? Yea, they are in some sort determined particularly, namely,

that they be done in such a manner as, all circumstances considered, is most expedient for Edification: So, as if there be no Error of Man concerning their Determination, the determining of them is to be accounted, as if it were Divine.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the Nature of the Catholick Church in general, and in special of a particular visible Church.*

1. **T**HE Catholick Church is the whole Company of those, that are elected, redeemed, and in time effectually called from the State of Sin and Death, unto a State of Grace and Salvation in Jesus Christ.

2. This Church is either Triumphant or Militant. Triumphant, the number of them, who are glorified in Heaven: Militant, the number of them, who are conflicting with their Enemies upon Earth.

3. This Militant Church is to be considered as invisible and visible. Invisible in respect of their Relation, Rom. 1. 8. wherein they stand to Christ, as a Body unto the Head, being united unto him by the Spirit of God, and Faith in their Hearts. Visible, in respect of the Profession of their Faith, in their Persons, and in particular Churches. And so, there may be acknowledged an universal visible Church.

4. The Members of the Militant visible Church, considered either, as not yet in Church-Order, or walking according to the Church-Order of the Gospel.

In order, and so besides the Spiritual Union and Communion common to all Believers, they enjoy moreover an Union and Communion Ecclesiastical Political.

So we deny an Universal visible Church.

5. The State of the Members of the Militant visible Church, walking in order, was either before the Law, Oeconomical, that is, in Families, or under the Law, National, or since the coming of Christ, only Congregational. (The Term *Independent*, we approve not) therefore neither National, Provincial, nor Claccial.

6. A Congregational-Church is by the Institution of Christ a part of the Militant visible Church, consisting of a company of Saints by calling, united into one Body by an Holy Covenant, for the Publique Worship of God, and the mutual Edification of one another in the Fellowship of the Lord Jesus.

## CHAP. III.

*Of the Matter of the visible Church, both in respect of Quality and Quantity.*

1. **T**HE Matter of the visible Church are Saints by calling.

2. By Saints, we understand, 1. Such as have not only attained the Knowledge of the Principles of Religion, and are free from gross and open Scandals, but also do, together with the Profession of their Faith and Repentance walk in blameless Obedience to the Word, so as that in charitable Discretion they may be accounted Saints by calling, (tho', perhaps, some or more of them be unfound and Hypocrites inwardly) because the Members of such particular Churches, are commoaly by the Holy Ghost called *Saints and faithful Brethren in Christ*, and sundry Churches have been reproved

for receiving and suffering such Persons to continue in Fellowship among them, as have been offensive and scandalous; the name of God also, by this means, is blasphemed, and the Holy Things of God defiled and profaned, the Hears of the Godly grieved, and the Wicked themselves hardened, & holpen forward to Damnation. The Example of such doth endanger the Sanctity of others, a little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump. 2. The Children of such who are also Holy.

3. The Members of Churches, tho' orderly constituted may in time degenerate and grow corrupt, and scandalous, which tho' they ought not to be tolerated in the Church, yet their

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continuance therein, thro' the defect of the Execution of Discipline and just Censures, doth not immediately dissolve the Being of a Church, as appears Rev. 1. 14. in the Church of *Israel*, and the Churches of *Galatia* and *Corinth*, *Pergamus* and *Thyatira*.

4. The Matter of the Church, in respect of its *Quantity*, ought not to be of greater *Number*, than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place; nor ordinarily fewer than may conveniently carry on Church-work.

Hence when the Holy Scripture makes mention of the Saints combined into a Church Estate in a Town or City, where was but one Congregation, it usually calleth those Saints

[the Church] in the singular Number, *as the Church of the Thessalonians*, *the Church of Smyrna*, *Philadelphia*, &c.

but when it speaketh of the Saints in a Nation or Province, where in there were sundry Congregations, it frequently and usually calleth them by

the name of [Churches] in the plural Number, as the Churches of *Asia*, *Gallatia*, *Macedonia*, and the like: Which is further confirmed by what is writ

ten of sundry of those Churches in particular, how they were assembled and met together the whole Church in one place, as the Church at *Jerusalem*, the Church at *Antioch*, the Church at *Corinth* and *Cenchrea*, tho' it were more near to *Corinth*, it being the Port thereof, and answerable to a Village, yet being a distinct Congregation from *Corinth*, it had a Church of its own as well as *Corinth* had.

5. Nor can it with Reason be thought but that every Church appointed and ordained by Christ, had a Ministry appointed and ordained for the same, and yet plain it is that there were no ordinary Officers appointed by Christ for any other than Congregational Churches; Elders being appointed to feed not all Flocks, but the particular Flock of God, over which the Holy Ghost had made them Overseers, and that Flock they must attend even the whole Flock: And one Congregation being as much as any ordinary Elders can attend, therefore there is no greater Church than a Congregation, which may ordinarily meet in one place.

# CHAP. IV.

## Of the Form of the visible Church, and of Church Covenant.

Saints by calling must have a visible Political Union among themselves, or else they are not yet a particular Church, as those Similitudes hold forth, which the Scripture makes use of to shew the Nature of particular Churches; as a *Body*, a *Building*, *House*, *Hands*, *Eyes*, *Feet* and other Members, must be united, or else (remaining separate) are not a *Body*. *Stones*, *Timber*, tho' squared, hewn and polished, are not an *House*, until they are compacted, and united: So Saints or Believers in Judgment of Charity, are not a Church, unless orderly knit together.

2. Particular Churches cannot be distinguished from another, but by their Forms. *Ephesus* is not *Smyrna*, nor *Pergamus* *Thyatira*, but each one a distinct Society of it self, having Officers of their own, which had not the Charge of others: Virtues of their own, for which others are not praised: Corruptions of their own, for which others are not blamed.

3. This Form is the visible Covenant, *Agreement* or *Consent*, whereby they give up themselves unto the Lord, to the observing of the Ordinances of Christ together in the same Society,

which is usually call'd the *Church-Covenant*: For we see not otherwise how Members can have Church-Power over one another mutually. The comparing of each particular Church to a *City*, and unto a *Spouse*, seemeth to conclude not only a Form, but that that Form, is by way of Covenant. The Covenant, as it was that which made the Family of *Abraham* and Children of *Israel* to be a Church and People unto God, so is it that which now makes the several Societies of Gentile Believers to be Churches in these Days.

4. This voluntary Agreement, Consent or Covenant (for all these are here taken for the same) altho' the more express and plain it is, the more fully it puts us in mind of our mutual Duty, and stirreth us up to it, and leaveth less room for the questioning of the Truth of the Church-Estate of a Company of Professors, and the Truth of Membership of particular Persons; yet we conceive the Substance of it is kept, where there is a real Agreement and Consent of a Company of Faithful Persons to meet constantly together in one Congregation, for the Publick Worship of God, and their mutual

Edifica-



Edification: Which real Agreement and Consent they do express by their constant Practice in coming together for the publick Worship of God, and by their religious subjection unto the Ordinances of God there: The rather, if we do consider how Scripture Covenants have been entered into, not only expressly by word of Mouth, but by Sacrifice, by Hand-writing and Seal; and also sometimes by silent Consent, without any Writing or Expression of Words at all.

5. This Form being by mutual Covenant, it followeth, it is not Faith in the Heart, nor the Profession of that Faith, nor Cohabitation, nor Baptism.

1. Not Faith in the Heart, because that is invisible. 2. Not a bare Profession, because that declareth them no more to be Members of one Church than another. 3. Not Cohabitation, Atheists or Infidels may dwell together with Believers. 4. Not Baptism, because it presupposeth a Church-Estate, as Circumcision in the Old Testament, which gave no Being to the Church, the Church being before it, and in the Wilderness without it. Seals presuppose a Covenant already in being. One Person is a complete Subject of Baptism, but one Person is incapable of being a Church.

6. All Believers ought, as God giveth them Opportunity thereunto, to endeavour to join themselves unto a particular Church, and that in respect of the Honour of Jesus Christ, in his Example and Institution, by the professed acknowledgment of, and subjection unto the Order and Ordinances of the Gospel: As also in respect of their good of Communion founded upon their visible Union, and contained in the Promises of Christ's special Presence in the Church; whence they have Fellowship with him, and in him, one with another: Also in the keeping of them in the way of God's Commandments, and recovering of them in case of wandering, (which all Christ's Sheep are subject to in this Life) being unable to return of them-selves; together with the Benefit of their mutual Edification, and of their Posterity, that they may not be cut off from the Privilege of the Covenant. Otherwise, if a Believer offends, he remains destitute of the Remedy provided in that behalf. And should all Believers neglect this Duty of joining to all particular Congregations, it might follow thereupon, that Christ should have no Visible, Political Churches upon Earth.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the first Subject of Church-Power; or, to whom Church-Power doth first belong.*

1. The first Subject of Church-Power is either Supreme, or Subordinate and Ministerial. The Supreme (by way of gift from the Father) is the Lord Jesus Christ. The Ministerial is either extraordinary, as the Apostles, Prophets and Evangelists; or ordinary, as every particular Congregational Church.

2. Ordinary Church Power, is either Power of Office, that is, such as is proper to the Eldership; or Power

of Privilege, such as belongs to the Brotherhood. The latter is in the Brethren formally and immediately from Christ, that is, so as it may be acted or exercised immediately by themselves: The former is not in them formally or immediately, and therefore cannot be acted or exercised immediately by them, but is said to be in them, in that they design the Persons unto Office, who only are to act or to exercise this Power.

## CHAP. VI.

*Of the Officers of the Church, and especially of Pastors and Teachers.*

1. A Church being a Company of People combined together by Covenant for the Worship of God, it appeareth thereby, that there may be the Essence and Being of a Church without any Officers, seeing there is both the Form and Matter of a Church, which is implied when it is said, The

Apostles Ordained Elders in every Church.

2. Nevertheless, tho' Officers be not absolutely necessary to the simple Being of Churches, when they are called; yet ordinarily to their Calling they are, and to their well-being: And therefore the Lord Jesus Christ, out of his



Eph. 1. 11.  
Plac. 6. 18.  
Eph. 4.  
8, 11.

Eph. 4.  
12, 13.

1 Cor.  
12, 28.  
Eph. 4. 11.  
Acts 8.  
6, 16, 19.  
8 & 11. 28.  
Rom. 11.  
13.

1 Cor. 4. 9.

1 Tim. 3.  
12, 8, 10, 13.  
Tit. 1. 5.  
Acts 20.  
17, 28.  
1 Pet. 5.  
2, 2, 3.

1 Tim. 2. 3.  
Phil. 1. 1.  
Acts 20.  
17, 28.

his tender Compassion, hath appointed and ordained Officers, which he would not have done, if they had not been useful and needful for the Church; yea, being ascended up to Heaven, he received Gifts for Men, and gave Gifts to Men; whereof Officers for the Church are justly accounted no small Parts, they being to continue to the end of the World, and for the perfecting of all the Saints.

3. These Officers were either Extraordinary or Ordinary: Extraordinary, as Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists; Ordinary, as Elders and Deacons. The Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists, as they were called extraordinarily by Christ, to their Office ended with themselves: Whence it is that *Paul* directing *Timothy*, how to carry along Church-Administration, giveth no Direction about the Choice or Course of Apostles, Prophets or Evangelists, but only of Elders and Deacons; and when *Paul* was to take his last leave of the Church of *Ephesus*, he committed the Care of feeding the Church to no other, but unto the Elders of that Church. The like Charge does *Peter* commit to the Elders.

4. Of Elders (who are also in Scripture called *Bishops*) some attend chiefly to the Ministry of the Word, as the Pastors and Teachers; others

attend especially unto Rule, who are, therefore, called *Ruling Elders*.

5. The Office of Pastor and Teacher, appears to be distinct. The Pastor's special Work is, to attend to *Exhortation*, and therein to Administer a Word of *Wisdom*: The Teacher is to attend to *Doctrine*, and therein to Administer a Word of *Knowledge*: And either of them to Administer, the Seals of that Covenant, unto the Dispensation whereof they are alike called; as also to execute the Censures, being but a kind of Application of the Word: The preaching of which, together with the Application thereof, they are alike charged withall.

6. Forasmuch as both Pastors and Teachers are given by Christ, for the perfecting of the Saints, and edifying of his Body; which Saints and Body of Christ is his Church: And therefore we account Pastors and Teachers to be both of them Church-Officers, and not the Pastor for the Church, and the Teacher only for the Schools: Tho' this we gladly acknowledge, that Schools are both lawful, profitable, and necessary, for the training up of such in good Literature or Learning, as may afterwards be called forth unto Office of Pastor or Teacher in the Church.

## CHAP. VII.

### Of Ruling Elders and Deacons.

THE Ruling Elders Office is distinct from the Office of Pastor and Teacher; the Ruling Elders are not so called to exclude the Pastors and Teachers from Ruling, because Ruling and Governing is common to these with the other; whereas attending to teach and preach the Word is peculiar unto the former.

2. The Ruling Elder's Work is to join with the Pastor and Teacher in those Acts of Spiritual Rule, which are distinct from the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments committed to them: Of which sort these be as followeth. 1. To open and shut the Doors of God's House, by the admission of Members approved by the Church; by Ordination of Officers chosen by the Church, and by Excommunication of notorious and obstinate Offenders renounced by the Church, and by restoring, or Penitents forgiven by the Church. 2. To call the Church together when there is occasion, and seasonably to dismiss them

again. 3. To prepare Matters in private, that in publick they may be carried an end with less trouble, and more speedy dispatch. 4. To moderate the carriage of all Matters in the Church assembled, as to propound Matters to the Church. To order the season of Speech and Silence, and to pronounce Sentence according to the Mind of Christ, with the Consent of the Church. 5. To be Guides and Leaders to the Church in all Matters whatsoever pertaining to Church-Administrations and Actions. 6. To see that none in the Church live inordinately, out of Rank and Place without a *Calling*, or idly in their *Calling*. 7. To prevent such and heal such Offences in Life or in Doctrine, as might corrupt the Church. 8. To feed the Flock of God with a Word of Admonition. 9. And as they shall be sent for, to visit and pray over their sick Brethren. 10. And at other times, as opportunity shall serve thereunto.



3. The Office of a Deacon is instituted in the Church by the Lord Jesus: Sometimes they are called *Helpers*. The Scripture telleth us how they should be qualified. *Grave, not double-tongued, not given to much Wine, not given to filthy Lucre.* They must first be proved, and then use the Office of a Deacon, being found blameless. The Office and Work of a Deacon is to receive the Offerings of the Church, Gifts given to the Church, and to keep the Treasury of the Church, and therewith to serve the Tables, which the Church is to provide for; as the Lord's-Table, the Table of the Ministers, and of such as are in Necessity, to whom they are to distribute in simplicity.

4. The Office, therefore, being limited unto the care of the temporal good things of the Church, it extends not to the Attendance upon, and Administration of the spiritual things thereof, as the Word, and Sacraments, and the like.

5. The Ordinance of the Apostles, and Practice of the Church, commends

the Lord's-Day as a fit time for the Contributions of the Saints.

6. The instituting of all these Officers in the Church, is the Work of God himself, of the Lord Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost: And therefore such Officers, as he hath not appointed, are altogether unlawful either to be placed in the Church, or to be retained therein, and are to be looked at as humane Creatures, meer Inventions and Appointments of Man, to the great dishonour of Christ Jesus, the Lord of his, the King of his Church, whether Popes, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Arch-Bishops, Lord-Bishops, Arch-Deacons, Officials, Commissaries, and the like. These and the rest of that Hierarchy and Retinue, not being Plants of the Lord's planting, shall all be certainly rooted out and cast forth.

7. The Lord hath appointed ancient Widows (where they may be had) to minister in the Church, in giving Attendance to the Sick, and to give Succour unto them, and others in the like Necessities.

## CHAP. VIII.

### Of the Election of Church-Officers.

NO Man may take the Honour of a Church-Officer unto himself, but he that was called of God, as was Aaron.

2. Calling unto Office is either immediate, by Christ himself, such was the Call of the Apostles and Prophets; this manner of Calling ended with them, as hath been said, or mediate, by the Church.

3. It is meet, that before any be ordained, or chosen Officers, they should first be tried and proved, because Hands are not suddenly to be laid upon any, and both Elders and Deacons must be of both honest and good Report.

4. The things in respect of which they are to be tried, are those Gifts and Vertues, which the Scripture requireth, in Men that are to be elected unto such Places, viz. That Elders must be blameless, sober, apt to teach, and endued with such other Qualifications as are laid down, Tit. 1. 6. to 9. Deacons to be fitted, as is directed, Acts 6. 3. 1 Tim. 3. 8, to 11.

5. Officers are to be called by such Churches, whereunto they are minister. Of such moment is the preservation of this Power, that the Churches

exercised it in the Presence of the Apostles.

6. A Church being free, cannot become subject to any, but by a free Election; yet when such a People do chuse any to be over them in the Lord, then do they become subject, and most willingly submit to their Ministry in the Lord, whom they have choſen.

7. And if the Church have Power to chuse their Officers and Ministers, then in case of manifest Unworthiness and Delinquency they have Power also to depose them: For to open and shut, to chuse and refuse, to constitute in Office, and to remove from Office, are Acts belonging to the same Power.

8. We judge it much conducing to Cant. 8. the well-being, and Communion of the Churches, that where it may conveniently be done, neighbour Churches be advised withal, and their Help be made use of in trial of Church-Officers, in order to their chuse.

9. The choice of such Church-Officers belongeth not to the civil Magistracy as such, or Diocesan Bishops, or Patrons: For of these, or any such like, the Scripture is wholly silent, as having any Power therein.



CHAP. IX.

Of Ordination and Imposition of Hands.

1. Church-Officers are not only to be chosen by the Church, but also to be ordained by imposition of Hands and Prayer, with which at the Ordination of Elders, Fastings also is to be joined.

2. This Ordination, we account nothing else, but the solemn putting a Man into his Place and Office in the Church, whereunto he had Right before by Election: Being like the Installing of a Magistrate in the Commonwealth. Ordination therefore is not to go before, but to follow Election.

The Essence and Substance of the outward calling of an ordinary Officer in the Church, does not consist in his Ordination, but in his voluntary and free Election by the Church, and his accepting of that Election: Whereupon is founded that Relation, between Pastor and Flock, between such a Minister and such a People. Ordination does not constitute an Officer, nor give him the Essentials of his Office. The Apostles were Elders, without imposition of Hands by Men: Paul and Barnabas were Officers before that Imposition of Hands, Acts 13. 3. The Politerity of Levi were Priests and Levites, before Hands were laid on them by the Children of Israel.

3. In such Churches where there are Elders, Imposition of Hands in Ordination, is to be performed by those Elders.

4. In such Churches where there are no Elders, Imposition of Hands may be performed by some of the Brethren orderly chosen by the Church thereunto. For, if the People may elect Officers, which is the greater, and wherein the Substance of the Office doth consist, they may much more

(occasion and need so requiring) impose Hands in Ordination; which is less, and but the accomplishment of the other.

5. Nevertheless, in such Churches where there are no Elders, and the Church so desire, we see not why Imposition of Hands may not be performed by the Elders of other Churches. Ordinary Officers laid Hands upon the Officers of many Churches: The Presbytery at Ephesus laid Hands upon Timothy an Evangelist; the Presbytery at Antioch laid Hands upon Paul and Barnabas.

6. Church-Officers are Officers to one Church, even that Particular over which the Holy Ghost hath made them Overseers. Inasmuch as Elders are commanded to feed not all Flocks, but the Flock, which is committed to their Faith and Trust, and dependeth upon them. Nor can constant residence at one Congregation be necessary for a Minister, nor yet lawful, if he be not a Minister to one Congregation only, but to the Church universal; because he may not attend one part only of the Church, to which he is a Minister, but he is called to attend unto all the Flock.

7. He that is clearly released from his Office-relation unto that Church, whereof he was a Minister, cannot be looked at, as an Officer, nor perform any act of Office in any other Church, unless he be again orderly called unto Office: Which, when it shall be, we know nothing to hinder; but Imposition of Hands also in his Ordination ought to be used towards him again: For so Paul the Apostle received Imposition of Hands twice at least from Ananias, Acts 9. 17. & 13. 3.

CHAP. X.

Of the Power of the Church and its Presbytery.

Supreme and Lordly Power overall the Churches upon Earth doth only belong to Jesus Christ, who is King of the Church, and the Head thereof. He hath the Government upon his Shoulders, and hath all Power given to him both in Heaven and Earth.

2. A Company of professed Believers, Ecclesiastically confederate, as they are a Church before they have Officers, and without them; so even in

that Estate subordinate Church-Power under Christ delegated to them by him, doth belong to them in such a manner as is before expressed, Chap. 5. Sect. 2. and as flowing from the very Nature and Essence of a Church; it being natural unto all Bodies, and so unto a Church-Body, to be furnished with sufficient Power for its own Preservation and Subsistence.



Rev. 3. 7. 3. This Government of the Church is a mixt Government (and so has been acknowledged, long before the Term of *Independency* was heard of) in respect of *Christ* the Head and King of the Church, and the Sovereign Power residing in him, and exercised by him, it is a *Monarchy*; in respect of the Body or *Brotherhood* of the Church, and Power from Christ granted unto them it resembles a *Democracy*; in respect of the *Presbytery* and Power committed unto them, it is an *Aristocracy*.

4. The Sovereign Power, which is peculiar unto Christ is exercised, 1. In calling the Church out of the World into an holy Fellowship with himself. 2. In instituting the Ordinances of his Worship, and appointing his Ministers and Officers for the dispensing of them. 3. In giving Laws for the ordering of all our ways, and the ways of his House. 4. In giving Power and Life to all his Institutions, and to his People by them. 5. In protecting and delivering his Church against and from all the Enemies of their Peace.

5. The Power granted by Christ unto the Body of the Church and *Brotherhood*, is a *Prerogative* or *Privilege* which the Church doth exercise. 1. In choosing their own Officers, whether Elders or Deacons. 2. In admission of these Members; and therefore there is great Reason they should have power to remove any from their Fellowship again. Hence, in case of offence, any Brother hath power to convince and admonish an offending Brother: And, in case of not hearing him, to take one or two more to set on the Admonition: And in case of not hearing them, to proceed to tell the Church: And as his Offence may require, the whole Church has power to proceed to the censure of him, whether by Admonition or Excommunication: And upon his Repentance to restore him again unto his former Communion.

6. In case an Elder offend incorrigibly, the Matter so requiring, as the Church had Power to call him to Office, so they have Power according to order (the Counsel of other Churches, where it may be had, directing thereto) to remove him from his Office, and being now but a Member, in case he add Contumacy to his Sin, the Church, that had Power to receive him into their Fellowship, hath also the same Power to cast him out, that they have concerning any other Member.

7. Church Government or Rule is placed by Christ in the Officers of the Church, who are therefore call'd *Rulers*, while they rule with God: yet in case

of Male-Administration, they are subject to the Power of the Church, as hath been said before. The Holy Ghost frequently, yea, always, where it mentioneth Church-Rule, and Church Government, ascribeth it to Elders: whereas the work and duty of the People is expressed in the Phrase of *obeying their Elders*, and *submitting themselves unto them in the Lord*. So as it is manifest that an Organick or compleat Church, is a Body Politick, consisting of some that are Governours, and some that are govern'd in the Lord.

8. The Power which Christ hath committed to the Elders, is to feed and rule the Church of God, and accordingly to call the Church together upon any weighty occasion; when the Members so call'd without just cause, may not refuse to come, nor when they are come, depart before they are dismissed, nor speak in the Church, before they have leave from the Elders, nor continue so doing when they require silence; nor may they oppose or contradict the Judgment or Sentence of the Elders, without sufficient and weighty Cause, because such Practices are manifestly contrary unto Order and Government, and Inlets of Disturbance and tend to Confusion.

9. It belongs also unto the Elders before to examine any Officers or Members, before they be received of the Church, to receive the Accusations brought to the Church, and to prepare them for the Churches hearing. In handling of Offences and other Matters before the Church, they have Power to declare and publish the Will of God touching the same, and to pronounce Sentence with the consent of the Church. Lastly, They have Power, when they dismiss the People, to bless them in the Name of the Lord.

10. This Power of Government in the Elders doth not any wise prejudice the Power of Privilege in the *Brotherhood*; as neither the Power of Privilege in the Brethren, doth prejudice the Power of Government in the Elders, but they may sweetly agree together; as we may see in the Example of the Apostles, furnish'd with the greatest Church-Power, who took in the Concurrence and Consent of the Brethren in Church-Administrations. Also that Scripture, 2 Cor. 2. 9. & 10. 6. do declare that what the Churches were to do in these Matters, they were to do in a way of Obedience, and that not only to the direction of the Apostles, but also of their ordinary Elders.



11. From the Promises, namely, that the ordinary Power of Government belonging only to the Elders, Power of Privilege remaining with the Brotherhood (as the Power of Judgment in Matters of Censure, and Power of Liberty in Matters of Liberty) it

followeth, That in an Organick Church and Right Administration, all Church-Acts proceed after the manner of a mixt Administration, so as no Church-Act can be consummated, or perfected without the consent of both.

# CHAP. XI.

## *Of the Maintenance of Church-Officers.*

1. **T**HE Apostle concludes, that necessary and sufficient Maintenance is due unto the Ministers of the Word from the Law of Nature and Nations, from the Law of *Moses*, the Equity thereof, as also the Rule of common Reason. Moreover the Scripture doth not only call Elders *Labourers* Gal. 6. 6. and *Workmen*, but also speaking of them doth say that *the Labourer is worthy of his Hire*: And requires that he which is taught in the Word, should communicate to him in all good Things, and mention it, as an Ordinance of the Lord, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel, and forbiddeth the muzzling of the Mouth of the Ox, that treadeth out the Corn.

2. The Scriptures alledged, requiring this Maintenance as a bounden Duty, and due Debt, and not as a matter of Alms and free Gift, therefore People are not at Liberty, to do or not to do, what and when they please in this Matter, no more than in any other commanded Duty, and Ordinance of the Lord; but ought of Duty to Minister of their *Carnal Things*, to them that labour among them in Word and Doctrine, as well as they ought to pay any other Workmen their Wages, and to discharge and satisfy their Debts, or to submit themselves to observe any other Ordinance of the Lord.

3. The Apostle (*Gal. 6. 6.*) enjoy-

ing that he which is taught communicate to him that teacheth *in all good Things*, doth not leave it Arbitrary, what or how much a Man shall give, or in what proportion, but even the latter, as well as the former is prescribed and appointed by the Lord.

4. Not only Members of Churches but all that are taught in the Word, are to contribute unto him that teacheth in all good Things. In case that Congregations are defective in their Contributions, the Deacons are to call upon them to do their Duty: If their Call, sufficeth not, the Church by her Power is to require it of their Members; and where Church Power thro' the Corruption of Men doth not, or cannot attain the End, the Magistrate is to see that the Ministry be duly provided for, as appears from the commended Example of *Nehemiah*. The Magistrates are Nursing-Fathers and Nursing-Mothers, and stand charged with the Custody of both Tables; because it is better to prevent a Scandal, that it may not come, and easier also, than to remove it, when it is given. It's most suitable to rule, that by the Church's Care each Man should know his Proportion according to rule, what he should do before he do it, that so his Judgment and Heart may be satisfied in what he doth, and just Offence prevented in what is done.

# CHAP. XII.

## *Of the Admission of Members into the Church.*

1. **T**HE Doors of the Churches of Christ upon Earth, do not by God's Appointment stand so wide open, that all sorts of People Good and Bad, may freely enter therein at their Pleasure, but such as are admitted thereto, as Members, ought to be examined and tried first, whether they be fit and meet to be received into Church-Society or not. The Eunuch of *Ethiopia* before his Admission, was examined by Philip, whether he did believe on Jesus

Christ with all his Heart. The Angel of the Church at *Ephesus*, is commended for trying such as said they were Apostles and were not. There is like reason for trying of them that profess themselves to be Believers. The Officers are charged with the keeping of the Doors of the Church, and therefore are in a special manner to make trial of the sinews of such, who enter. Twelve Angels are set at the Gates of the Temple, lest such as

Rev. 1. 2.  
Acts 9. 26.

Rev. 2. 13.  
Chr. 2.  
were 19.



were Ceremonially Unclean should enter therein.

2. The Things which are requisite to be found in all Church-Members, are Repentance from Sin, and Faith in Jesus Christ: And therefore these are the Things whereof Men are to be examined, at their Admission into the Church, and which then they must profess and hold forth in such sort, as may satisfy Rational Charity that the Things are indeed. *John Baptist* admitted Men to Baptism confessing and bewailing their Sins: And of others it is said, that they came and confessed, and showed their Deeds.

3. The weakest measure of Faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be admitted into the Church, if Sincere, have the Substance of that Faith, Repentance and Holiness, which is required in Church Members, and such have most need of the Ordinances for their Confirmation and Growth in Grace. The Lord Jesus would not quench the smoking Flax, nor break the bruised Reed, but gather the tender Lambs in his Arms and carry them gently in his Bosom.

Such Charity and Tendernefs is to be used, as the weakest Christian, if Sincere, may not be excluded nor discouraged. Severity of Examination is to be avoided.

4. In case any thro' excessive Fear, or other Infirmitie, be unable to make their personal Relation of their Spiritual Estate in Publick, it is sufficient, that the Elders having received private Satisfaction, make Relation thereof in publick before the Church, they testifying their Assents thereunto: This being the way that tendeth most to Edification. But whereas Persons are of greater Abilities, there it is most expedient, that they make their Relations and Confessions personally with their own Mouth, as *David* professeth of himself.

5. A personal and publick Confession and Declaring of God's manner of working upon the Soul, is both Lawful, Expedient and Useful, in sundry Respects and upon sundry Grounds. Those three thousand, *Acts* 2. 37, 41. before they were admitted by the Apostles did manifest that they were pricked at the Heart by *Peter's* Sermon, together with earnest Desire to be delivered from their Sins, which now wounded their Consciences, and their ready receiving of the Word of Promise and Exhortation. We are to be ready to render a Reason of the Hope that is in us, to every one that asketh. *1 Pet. 3. 15.* *Heb. 11. 1.* *Eph. 1. 18. us;* therefore we must be able and rea-

dy upon any Occasion to declare and shew our Repentance for Sin, Faith unfeigned, and effectual Calling, because these are the Reason of a well grounded Hope. I have not bidden thy Righteousness from the great Congregation. *Palm* 40. 10.

6. This Profession of Faith and Repentance, as it must be made by such at their Admission, that were never in Church Society before; so nothing hindereth but the same way also be performed by such as have formerly been Members of some other Church, and the Church to which they now join themselves as Members, may lawfully require the same. Those three thousand, *Acts* 2. which made their Confession were Members of the Church of the Jews before; so were those that were Baptized by *John*. Churches may Err in their Admission, and Persons regularly admitted, may fall into Offence. Otherwise, if Churches might obtrude their Members, or if Church Members might obtrude themselves upon other Churches without due trial, the matter so requiring, both the Liberty of Churches would thereby be infringed in that they might not examine those, concerning whose fitness for Communion they were unsatisfied: And besides the infringing of their Liberty the Churches themselves would unavoidably be corrupted, and the Ordinances defiled, whilst they might not refuse, but must receive the Unworthy: Which is contrary unto the Scripture, teaching that all Churches are Sisters, and therefore equal.

7. The like Trial is to be required from such Members of the Church as were born in the same, or received their Membership, or were baptized in their Infancy, or Minority by Virtue of the Covenant of their Parents, when being grown up into Years of Discretion, they shall desire to be made Partakers of the Lord's Supper: Unto which because Holy Things must not be given unto the Unworthy, therefore it is requisite, that these as well as others, should come to their Trial and Examination, and manifest their Faith and Repentance by an open Profession thereof, before they are received to the Lord's Supper, and otherwise not to be admitted thereunto. Yet these Church Members that were so born, or received in their Childhood, before they are capable of being made Partakers of full Communion, have many Privileges which others, (not Church-Members) have not; they are in Covenant with God, have the Seal thereof upon them, viz. Baptism; and

*Mat. 3. 5, 6.*  
*Gal. 2. 4.*  
*1 Tim. 5. 14*

*Can. 8. 9.*

*Math. 7. 6.*  
*1 Cor. 11.*



and so, if not Regenerated, yet are in a more hopeful way of attaining Regenerating Grace, and all the Spiritual Blessings both of the Covenant and Seal: They are also under Church-

Watch, and consequently subject to the Reprehensions, Admonitions, and Censures thereof, for their Healing and Amendment, as need shall require.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Church-Members, their removal from one Church to another, and of Recommendation and Dismissal.

1. Church-Members may not remove or depart from the Church, and to one from another as they please, nor without just and weighty cause, but ought to live and dwell together, so much as they are commanded not to forsake the assembling of themselves together. Such Departure tends to the Dissolution and Ruine of the Body, as the pulling of Stones and pieces of Timber from the Building, and of Members from the Natural Body tend to the Destruction of the whole.

2. It is, therefore, the Duty of Church-Members, in such Times and Places, where Counsel may be had to consult with the Church whereof they are Members, about their removal, that, accordingly, they having their Approbation, may be encouraged, or otherwise desist. They who are join'd with Consent, should not depart without consent, except forced thereunto.

3. If a Member's departure be manifestly unsafe and sinful, the Church may not consent thereunto; for, in so doing, they should not act in Faith, and should partake with him in his sin. If the Cause be doubtful and the Person not to be persuaded, it seemeth best to leave the Matter unto God, and not forcibly to detain him.

4. Just Reasons for a Member's Removal of himself from the Church, are, 1. If a Man cannot continue without partaking in Sin. 2. In case of Personal Persecution: So *Paul*, departed from the Disciples at *Damascus*, also in case of general Persecution, when all are scattered. 3. In case of Real, and not only pretended want of competent Subsistence, a Door, being opened for better supply in another place, together with the means of Spiritual Edification. In these, or like Cases, a Member may lawfully remove, and the Church cannot lawfully detain him.

5. To separate from a Church either out of Contempt of their Holy Fellowship, or out of Covetousness, or for greater Enlargements, with just Grievance to the Church, or out of Schism, or want of Love, and out of

a Spirit of Contention in respect of some Unkindness, or some Evil only concerned or indeed in the Church, which might and should be tolerated and healed with a Spirit of Meekness, and of which Evil the Church is not yet convinced (tho' perhaps himself be) nor admonished: For these or the like Reasons to withdraw from publicke Communion in Word or Seals, or Censures, is Unlawful and Sinful.

6. Such Members as have orderly removed their Habitation, ought to join themselves unto the Church in order, where they do inhabit, if it may be; otherwise they can neither perform the Duties, nor receive the Privileges of Members. Such an Example tolerated in some, is apt to corrupt others, which if many should follow would threaten the Dissolution and Confusion of Churches contrary to the Scripture.

7. Order requires that a Member, thus removing, have Letters Testimonial and of Dismissal from the Church, whereof he yet is; unto the Church whereunto he desireth to be joined, lest the Church should be deluded; that the Church may receive him in Faith, and not be corrupted in receiving Deceivers and false Brethren. Until the Person dismissed be received into another Church, he ceaseeth not by his Letters of Dismissal to be a Member of the Church whereof he was. The Church cannot make a Member, no Member, but by Excommunication.

8. If a Member be called to remove only for a time, where a Church is, Letters of Recommendation are requisite and sufficient for Communion with that Church, in the Ordinances, and in their Watch; as *Phoebe* a Servant of the Church at *Cenchrea*, had a Letter written for her to the Church at *Rome*, that she might be received as becometh Saints.

9. Such Letters of Recommendation and Dismissal, were written for *Apollos*, for *Marcus* to the *Colossians*, for *Phoebe* to the *Romans*, forundry other Churches. And the Apostle tells us that some Persons, not sufficiently known otherwise,

5 E have



have special need of such Letters, tho' he, for his part, had no need thereof. The Use of them is to be a Benefit and Help to the Party for whom they are written, and for the furthering of his

receiving among the Saints, in the place whereto he goeth, and the due Satisfaction of them in their receiving of him.

## C H A P. XIV.

## Of Excommunication and other Censures.

**T**HE Censures of the Church are appointed by Christ for the Preventing, Removing and Healing of Offences in the Church; for the Reclaiming and Gaining of offending Brethren, Rev. 2. 14, for the deterring others from the like Offences, for purging out the Leaven, which may infect the whole Lump; for vindicating the Honour of Christ and of his Church, and the Holy Profession of the Gospel; and for preventing of the Wrath of God, that may justly fall upon the Church, if they should suffer his Covenant, and the Seals thereof to be profaned by notorious and obdurate Offenders.

2. If an Offence be private (one Brother offending another) the Offender is to go and acknowledge his Repentance for it unto his offended Brother, who is then to forgive him; but if the Offender neglect or refuse to do it, the Brother offended is to go, and convince and admonish him of it, between themselves privately: If therefore the Offender be brought to repent of his Offence, the Admonisher has won his Brother; but if the Offender hear not his Brother, the Brother offended is to take with him one or two more, that in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses every Word may be established, (whether the Word of Admonition, if the Offender receive it; or the Word of Complaint if he refuse it) for if he refuse it, the offended Brother is by the Mouth of the Elders to tell the Church, and if he hear the Church, and declare the same by penitent Confession, he is recovered and gained: And if the Church discern him to be willing to hear, yet not fully convinced of his Offence, as in case of Herefies, they are to dispen-  
 Verse 16. ce to him a publick Admonition; which declaring the Offender to lye under the publick Offence of the Church, doth thereby with-hold or suspend him from the Holy Fellowship of the Lord's Supper, till his Offence be removed by penitent Confession. If he still continue obstinate, they are to cast him out by Excommunication.

3. But if the Offence be more publick at first, and of a more heinous

and criminal Nature, to wit, such as 1 Cor. 5. are condemned by the Light of Nature; 4. 8, 11. then the Church without such gradual Proceeding, is to cast out the Offender from their Holy Communion, for the further mortifying of his Sin, and the healing of his Soul in the Day of the Lord Jesus.

4. In dealing with an Offender, great Care is to be taken, that we be neither over-strict or rigorous, nor too indulgent or remiss: Our Proceeding herein ought to be with a Spirit of Meekness, considering our selves, lest we also be tempted, and that the best of us have need of much Forgiveness Mat. 18. from the Lord. Yet the winning and healing of the Offender's Soul being the end of these Endeavours; we must not daub with untempered Morter, nor heal the Wounds of our Brethren slightly. On some have Compassion, others save with Fear.

5. While the Offender remains Excommunicate, the Church is to refrain Mat. 18.7 from all Member-like Communion 1 Cor. 5.11 with him in Spiritual Things, and also from all familiar Communion with him in civil Things, farther than the necessity of Natural or Domestic or Civil Relations do require; and are therefore to forbear to eat and drink with him, that he may be ashamed.

6. Excommunication being a Spiritual Punishment, it doth not prejudice the Excommunicate in, or deprive him of his Civil Rights, and therefore toucheth not Princes or Magistrates in respect of their Civil Dignity or Authority; 1 Cor. 14. and the Excommunicate being but as a 24, 25. Publican, and a Heathen, Heathens 2 The. 3. being lawfully permitted to hear the Word in Church-Assemblies, we acknowledge therefore the like Liberty of hearing the Word, may be permitted to Persons excommunicate, that is permitted unto Heathen. And because we are not without hope of his Recovery, we are not to account him as an Enemy, but to admonish him as a Brother.

7. If the Lord sanctifie the Censure to the Offender, so as by the Grace of Christ he doth testify his Repentance with humble Confession of his Sin, and judging of himself, giving Glory unto God,



<sup>2</sup> Cor. 2. 7, 8 God, the Church is then to forgive him, and to comfort him, and to restore him to the wonted Brotherly Communion, which formerly he enjoyed with 'em.

8. The suffering of prophane or scandalous Livers, to continue in Fellowship, and partake in the Sacraments, is doubtless a great Sin in those that have power in their Hands to redress it, and do it not: Nevertheless, inasmuch as Christ, and his Apostles in their times, and the Prophets and other *godly Men* in theirs, did lawfully partake of the

Lord's commanded Ordinances in the Jewish Church, and neither taught nor practised separation from the same, tho' unworthy ones were permitted therein: and inasmuch as the Faithful in the Church of *Corinth*, wherein were many

unworthy Persons and Practices, are never commanded to absten themselves from the Sacraments, because of the same; therefore the Godly, in like Cases, are not to separate.

9. As separation from such a Church wherein profane and scandalous Persons are tolerated, is not presently necessary, so for the Members thereof, otherwise unworthy, hereupon to ab-

stain from communicating with such a Church in the Participation of the Sacraments, is unlawful. For as it were unreasonable for an innocent Person to be punished for the Faults of others, wherein he hath no hand, and whereunto he gave no Consent: So is it more unreasonable, that a Godly Man should neglect Duty, and punish himself, in not coming for his Portion in the Blessing of the Seals, as he ought, because others are suffered to come that ought not; especially considering that himself doth neither consent to their sin, nor to their approaching to the Ordinance in their sin, nor to the neglect of others, who should put them away, and do not, but, on the contrary, doth heartily mourn for these things, modestly and seasonably stir up others to do their Duty. If the Church cannot be reformed, they may use their Liberty, as is specified, *Chap. 13. Sect. 4.* But this all the Godly are bound unto, even every one to his endeavour, according to his Power and Place, that the Unworthy may be duly proceeded against by the Church, to whom this Matter doth pertain.

# CHAP. XV.

## Of the Communion of Churches one with another.

**A**ltho' Churches be distinct, and therefore may not be confounded one with another, and equal, and therefore have not *dominion* one over another: Yet all the Churches ought to preserve

Church-Communion one with another, because they are all united unto Christ, not only as a Mystical, but as a Political Head: Whence is derived a Communion suitable thereunto.

2. The Communion of Churches is exercised severally ways. 1. By of *mutual Care* in taking thought for one another's Welfare, 2. By way of *Consultation* one with another, when we have occasion to require the Judgment and Counsel of other Churches, touching any Person or Cause, wherewith they may be better acquainted than our selves. As the

Church of *Antioch* consulted with the Apostles and Elders of the Church at *Jerusalem*, about the Question of Circumcision of the *Gentiles*; and about the false Teachers that broadcast that Doctrine. In which Case when any Church wanteth Light or Peace among themselves, it is a way of Communion of Churches, according to the Word, to meet together by their Elders and other

Messengers in a *Synod*, to consider and argue this point in Doubt or Difference:

And having found out the way of Truth and Peace to commend the same by their Letters and Messengers to the Churches, whom the same may concern. But if a Church be rent with Divisions among themselves; or lye under any open Scandal, and yet refuse to consult with other Churches, for healing or removing of the same, it is matter of just Offence both to the Lord Jesus, and to other Churches, as bewraying too much want of Mercy and Faithfulness, not to seek to bind up the Breaches and Wounds of the Church and Brethren: And therefore the State of such a Church calleth aloud upon other Churches, to exercise a fuller Act of Brotherly Communion, to wit, by way of Admonition. 3. A way, then, of Communion of Churches is by way of *Admonition*; to wit, in case any publick Offence be found in a Church, which they either discern not, or are slow in proceeding to use the Means for the removing and healing of. *Paul* had no Authority over *Peter*, yet when he saw *Peter* not walking with a right Foot, he publicly rebuked him before the Church.

Tho' Churches have no more Authority one over another, than one Apostle



possible had over another, yet as one Apostle might admonish another, so may one Church admonish another, and yet without Usurpation. In which case, if the Church, that lieth under Offence, do not hearken to the Church that doth admonish her, the Church is to acquaint other neighbour Churches, with that Offence, which the offending Church still lieth under, together with the neglect of their Brotherly Admonition given unto them: Whereupon those other Churches are to join in seconding the Admonition formerly given; and if still the offending Church continue in Obstinate and Impenitency, they may forbear Communion with them, and are to proceed to make use of the help of a Synod, or Council of neighbour Churches, walking orderly (if a greater cannot conveniently be had) for their Conviction. If they hear not the Synod, the Synod having declared them to be Obstinate, particular Churches accepting and approving of the Judgment of the Synod, are to declare the Sentence of *Non-Communion* respectively concerning them: And thereupon out of religious Care to keep their own Communion pure, they may justly withdraw themselves from participation with them at the Lord's Table, and from such other Acts of Holy Communion, as the Communion of Churches doth otherwise allow and require. Nevertheless, if any Members of such a Church, as live under public Offence do not consent to the Offence of the Church, but do in due sort bear Witness against it, they are still to be received to wonted Communion, for it is not equal that the Innocent should suffer with the Offensive. Yea, furthermore, if such innocent Members, after due waiting in the use of all due means for the healing of the Offence of their own Church, shall at last (with the Allowance of the Council of Neighbour Churches) withdraw from the Fellowship of their own Church, and offer themselves to the Fellowship of another, we judge it lawful for the other Church to receive them (being otherwise fit) as if they had been orderly dismissed to them from their own Church. 4. A fourth way of Communion with Churches is by way of participation; the Members of one Church occasionally coming to another, we willingly admit them to partake with them at the Lord's Table, it being the Seal of our Communion not only with Christ, nor only with the Members of

our own Church, but also of all the Churches of the Saints: In which regard we refuse not to Baptize their Children presented to us, if either their own Minister be absent, or such a fruit of holy Fellowship be desired with us. In like cases such Churches as are furnished with more Ministers than one, do willingly afford one of their own Ministers to supply the absence or place of a sick Minister of another Church for a needful season. 5. A fifth way of Church Communion is by Recommendation, when the Member of one Church hath occasion to reside in another Church, if but for a season, we commend him to their watchful Fellowship by Letters of Recommendation: But if he be called to settle his Abode there, we commit him according to his Desire to the Fellowship of their Covenant by Letters of Dismissal. 6. A sixth way of Church Communion, is in case of need to minister Succour one unto another, either of able Members to furnish them with Officers, or of outward Support to the Necessities of poorer Churches, as did the Churches of the Gentiles contribute liberally to the poor Saints at Jerusalem.

3. When a Company of Believers purpose to gather into Church-Fellowship, it is requisite for their faster proceeding and the mentioning of the Communion of Churches, that they signify their Intent unto the Neighbour Churches, walking according to the Order of the Gospel, and desire their Presence, and Help, and right-hand of Fellowship; which they ought readily to give unto them, when there is no just cause to except against their Proceedings.

4. Besides these several ways of Communion, there is also a way of Propagation of Churches: When a Church shall grow too Numerous, it is a way, and fit season to propagate one Church out of another, by sending forth such of their Members, as are willing to remove, and to procure some Officers to them, as may enter with them into Church-Estate among themselves.

As Bees, when the Hive is too full, issue out by Swarms, and are gathered into other Hives, so the Churches of Christ may do the same upon the like Necessity, and therein hold forth to them the Right-hand of Fellowship, both in their Gathering into a Church and in the Ordination of their Officers.



CHAP. XVI.

Of Synods.

**S**ynods orderly assembled, and rightly proceeding according to the Pattern, *Acts 15*, we acknowledge as the Ordinance of Christ: And tho' not absolutely necessary to the Being, yet many times, thro' the Iniquity of Men, and Perverseness of Times, necessary to the well-being of Churches, for the establishment of Truth and Peace therein.

2. Synods being Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Assemblies, are therefore made up of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Causes. The next efficient cause of them under Christ, is the Power of the Churches sending forth their Elders and other Messengers, who being met together in the Name of Christ, are the Matter of a Synod; and they in arguing and debating and determining Matters of Religion, according to the Word and Publishing the same to the Churches it concerneth, do put forth the proper and formal Acts of a Synod, to the Conviction and Errors, and Heresies, and the Establishment of Truth and Peace in the Churches, which is the End of a Synod.

3. Magistrates have Power to call a Synod, by calling to the Churches to send forth their Elders and other Messengers to counsel and assist them in Matters of Religion; but yet the constituting of a Synod is a Church-Act, and may be transacted by the Churches, even when civil Magistrates may be Enemies to Churches and to Church-Assemblies.

4. It belongeth unto Synods and Councils to debate and determine Controversies of Faith, and Cases of Conscience; to clear from the Word holy Directions, for the holy Worship of God and good Government of the Church: To bear Witness against Maladministration and Corruption in Do-

ctrine or Manners, in any particular Church; and to give Directions for the Reformation thereof: Not to exercise Church-Censures in way of Discipline, nor any other Act of Church-Authority or Jurisdiction, which that Presidential Synod did forbear.

5. The Synods Directions and Determinations, so far as consonant to the Word of God, are to be received with Reverence and Submission; not only for their Agreement therewith (which is the principal ground thereof, and without which they bind not at all) but also secondarily, for the Power, whereby they are made, as being an Ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his Word.

6. Because it is difficult, if not impossible for many Churches to come together in one Place, in their Members universally; therefore they may assemble by their Delegates or Messengers, as the Church at Antioch went not all to Jerusalem, but some select Men for that purpose. Because none are, or should be more fit to know the state of the Churches, nor to advise of ways for the Good thereof, than Elders: Therefore it is fit, that in the choice of the Messengers for such Assemblies, they have special respect unto such: Yet, inasmuch, as not only Paul and Barnabas, but certain others also, were sent to Jerusalem from Antioch, *Acts 15*, and when they were come to Jerusalem, not only the Apostles and Elders, but other Brethren, also do assemble and meet about the Matter: Therefore Synods are to consist both of Elders and other Church-Members, endued with Gifts, and sent by the Churches, not excluding the Presence of any Brethren in the Churches.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Civil Magistrates Power in Matters Ecclesiastical.

**I**t is lawful, profitable and necessary for Christians to gather themselves together into Church-Estate, and therein to exercise all the Ordinances of Christ, according unto the Word, altho' the consent of the Magistrate could not be had thereunto; because the Apostles and Christians in their time, did frequently thus practise,

when the Magistrates being all of them Jewish and Pagan, and most persecuting Enemies, would give no countenance or consent to such Matters.

2. Church-Government stands in no Opposition to Civil Government of Commonwealths; nor any way intrencheth upon the Authority of Civil Magistrates in their Jurisdictions; nor any



any white weakneth their Hands in governing, but rather strenghteneth them, and furthereth the People in yielding more hearty and conscionable Obedience to them, whatsoever some ill-affected Persons to the ways of Christ have suggested, to alienate the Affections of Kings and Princes from the Ordinances of Christ; as if the Kingdom of Christ in his Church, could not rise and stand, without the falling and weakening of their Government, which

Isa. 49. 23. is also of Christ: Whereas the contrary is most true, that they may both stand together and flourish, the one being helpful unto the other, in their distinct and due Administrations.

3. The Power and Authority of Magistrates is not for the restraining of Churches, or any other good Works, but for helping in and furthering thereof; and therefore the consent and countenance of Magistrates, when it may be had, is not to be slighted, or lightly esteemed: But, on the contrary, it is part of that Honour due to Christian Magistrates, to desire and crave their Consent and Approbation therein; which being obtained, the Churches may then proceed in their way, with much more Encouragement and Comfort.

4. It is not in the Power of Magistrates to compel their Subjects to become Church-Members, and to partake of the Lord's Supper; for the Priests are reprov'd, that brought unworthy Ones into the Sanctuary: Then it was unlawful for the Priests, so it is as unlawful to be done by Civil Magistrates, those whom the Church is to cast out, if they were in, the Magistrate ought not to thrust them into the Church, nor to hold them therein.

5. As it is unlawful for Church-Officers to meddle with the Sword of the Magistrate, so it is unlawful for the Magistrate to meddle with the Work proper to Church-Officers. The Acts of Moses and David, who were not only Princes but Prophets, were extraordinary, therefore not imitable. Against such Usurpation the Lord witnessed by smiting Uzziah with Leprosy, for presuming to offer Incense.

6. It is the Duty of the Magistrate to take care of Matters of Religion, and to improve his civil Authority for the observing of the Duties commanded in the first, as well as for observing of the Duties commanded in the second Table. They are called Gods.

Psal. 88. 8. The End of the Magistrates Office is not only the quiet and peaceable Life

of the Subject in Matters of Righteousness and Honesty, but also in Matters of Godliness, yea, of all Godliness. Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, Aha, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, are much commended by the Holy Ghost, for the putting forth their Authority in Matters of Religion: On the contrary, such Kings as have been failing this way, are frequently taxed and reprov'd by the Lord. And not only the Kings of Juda, but also Job, Nebuchadnezzar, Darius, Artaxerxes, whom none looked at, as Types of Christ, (tho' were it so, there were no place for any just Objection) are commended in the Books of God, for exercising their Authority this way.

7. The Objects of the Power of the Magistrate are not things merely inward, and so not subject to his cognizance and view, as Unbelief, hardness of Heart, erroneous Opinions not vented, but only such things as are acted by the outward Man: Neither their Power to be exercised in commanding such acts of the outward Man, and punishing the neglect thereof, as are but meer Inventions and Devices of Men, but about such acts as are commanded and forbidden in the Word: Yea, such as the Word doth clearly determine, tho' not always clearly to the Judgment of the Magistrate or others, yet clearly in its self. In these he, of Right, ought to put forth his Authority, tho' oft-times actually he doth it not.

8. Idolatry, Blasphemy, Heresie, venting corrupt and pernicious Opinions, that destroy the Foundation, open contempt of the Word preached, profanation of the Lord's Day, disturbing the peaceable Administration and Exercise of the Worship and Holy Things of God, and the like, are to be restrained and punished by Civil Authority.

9. If any Church, one or more, shall grow Schismatical, rending it self, from the Communion of other Churches, or shall walk incorrigibly and obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the Rule of the Word; in such case the Magistrate, is to put forth his coercive Power, as the Matter shall require. The Tribes on this side Jordan intended to make War against the other Tribes, for building the Altar of Witnesses, whom they suspected to have turned away therein, from following of the Lord.



# Historical Remarks UPON THE DISCIPLINE

Practised in the

## Churches of New-England.

§ 1. **W**hen the Platform of Church-Discipline had been presented by the Synod unto the General Court which

called it, several Persons from several Churches gave into the Court some *Objections* against sundry Passages and Paragraphs of this Platform. The Secretary did, by Order, lay these written Objections, before the Chief, and most of the Ministers in the COLONY, who appointed Mr. Richard Mather to draw up an Answer to them: The Answer by him composed, and by the Rest approved was given in; and the Result of all was, that the Ecclesiastical Model thus fortified, obtained a more abundant Recommendation unto and among this People of God. The Churches have cheerfully embraced it, practised it, and been prospered in it, unto this very Day. And some have imagined that there has been herein fulfilled the *Observation*, if not *Inspiration* of the Holy Brightman (in Apoc. 17.3.) *That some Faithful People in a wilderness should have the most clear Discoveries of the Abominations of the Man of Sin.*

§ 2. More than thirty Years after this, there was a Synod of all the Churches in the Colony, assembled at Boston, wherein a Vote was pronounced, *Whether the Platform of Church-Discipline were approved by that Assembly?* Upon which both the Elders and Brethren, unanimously lifted up their Hands in the Affirmative, in the Negative not one appearing. The Vote was passed in these Words.

A Synod of the Churches in the Colony of the Massachusetts being called by the honour'd General Court, to convene at Boston, the 10th of September, 1699. having read and considered the Platform of Church-Discipline, agreed upon by the Synod assembled at Cambridge, Anno 1648. do unanimously approve of the said Platform, for the Substance of it; desiring that the Churches may continue steadfast, in

the Order of the Gospel, according to what is therein declared from the Word of God.

Now in this Vote there is that Clause, [For the Substance of it] which must be explain'd by my Acknowledgment, That there are several Circumstantial in the Platform, which are disputed by many judicious Ministers of the present Generation: who upon long Enquiry and Experience think that in those Points the Platform indeed is not Substantial. Reader, We will for a while entertain our selves with the Particulars.

§ 3: It is very true, that the Platform denies not, the Power of a Pastor, to administer the Sacraments unto other Congregations besides his own, upon their Desires to have their Necessities thus relieved; by the same Token that in the first Copy of the Answer to the Objections brought into the General Court, against the Platform, there were these Words intiered, *As we receive the Members of other Churches to Communion in our Churches, so we know no just Reason, why in the want or absence of the Minister of another Church, we may not at their request, administer an Aid of our Office unto them, by virtue of Church-Communion*; yet the Platform, in a Complaisance unto the many Brethren which were otherwise perswaded, asserts not such a Power, so fully as has been by many withheld. The fullest Words used by the Synod unto this purpose are those in the Second Section of the fifteenth Chapter; but they were not so full, as to have hitherto encouraged (that I can learn) any one Pastor in the Country to administer the Supper (tho' some do the Baptism) of our Lord, in any other Assembly but his own; only Mr. Philips the Pastor of Watertown, did, as I have been inform'd, administer that, as well as the other Sacrament unto the Church of Boston, when Mr. Wilson, the Pastor of that Church was gone for England. However, as 'tis well known that in the primitive times of the New-Testament, the Power of a Pastor to dispence



the *Seals* of the *New-Covenant*, as well as to *preach* and *blefs* Authoritatively, in *other Churches*, besides *his own*, calling for it, was not question'd; when some Difference in Opinion happened between *Anicetus*, the Pastor of the Church at *Rome*, and *Polycarpus*, the Pastor of the Church at *Smyrna*, the latter took a long Journey, even from *Smyrna* unto *Rome*, to visit the former, for the better comprehending and composing of the Difference: *Anicetus* there, to testify his Respect unto *Polycarpus*, requested him to administer the *Eucharist* unto that pure and great Church, with which he was now but sojourning as a Visitant, and the Thing was done by this excellent Man, of whom *Irenaeus* testifies, *That he always taught the Churches to observe those things which he had learned of the Apostles*; and of whom other Interpreters judge, that, as he was the Scholar of *John*, so he was the unblameable Angel, addressed by the Second of the Seven Epistles in *John's Revelation*. Thus, in the primitive Times of our *New-England*, the most Eminent of our Divines, acknowledged this Power, defended it, and maintained it. There is now publish'd, A Letter of Mr. *Richard Mather* unto Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, which demonstrates, that it is altogether as lawful for an Officer of a Church to administer the Sacraments to another Congregation, at their entreaty, as it would be to accept a Member of another Congregation, unto an occasional Communion in the Sacraments with his own; and that the Presence of his own Church is not at all more necessary unto such an Administration, than the Presence of the other Congregation would be to the Transient Communion of that particular Member. Mr. *Norton*, in his Answer to *Apollonius*, affirms, *A Pastor may charitably perform the Ministerial Acts of his Office in another Church*. Mr. *Shepard*, in the Defence of the *Nine Positions*, affirms, (tho' Mr. *Davenport*, in the *Positions* themselves, does deny it,) *That a Minister, occasionally called thereto, by the desire of the Church, may lawfully administer the Seals to another Congregation*. And I suppose there are now few Ministers in the Country, but what Consent unto the Words of Dr. *Owen*. *Altho' we have no Concernment in the Figure of an indelible Character, accompanying Sacred Orders, yet we do not think the Pastoral Office is such a thing, as a Man must leave behind him every time he goes from Home. For my own part, if I did not think my self bound to preach as a Minister authorized in all Places, and on all Occasions, when I am called thereunto, I think I should never preach more in this World.*

Nor are there many that would withhold their Consent from the Thoughts of Dr. *Goodwin*: *An Elder, one set apart for that Office in any Church, is truly a Minister, occasionally to exercise Ministerial Acts, as he is called thereunto. Every true Minister, actually such to his own Church, is Medium Applicabile: A Means and Instrument that may apply any Ministerial Act, out of his own Church in any other Church, if he be called thereunto.*

Wherefore, for the fuller Explanation of the Platform, in this Article, there was this Vote passed, in a Meeting of the Neighbouring Ministers at *Cambridge*.

¶ Inasmuch as the Pastors of any Evangelical Churches, are, tho' not having a Pastoral Charge of more than One, to be acknowledged in All of them, as Ordained Ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ, and are actually acknowledged, as Preaching in that Capacity, when they are occasionally put upon preaching of the Gospel abroad.

Inasmuch also as the Communion of Churches, which makes the Members of any capable of admission to the Special Ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ in All of them, doth likewise render it reasonable, for the Pastors of any to be capable of administering those Ordinances in All.

It is therefore our Judgment, That the Pastor of a Neighbouring Church, may, upon the Request of a destitute Church, occasionally administer the Sacraments unto them.

And it is our further Judgment, That the Second Article in the Fifteenth Chapter of our Platform of Church-Discipline, is to be understood as approving of it.

Nor is it unknown, That Eminent Congregational Churches, have, by their Practice, manifested themselves to have been of this Judgment before us.

And it seems in the purest and earliest of the Primitive Times to have been allowed.

Nevertheless, we think it convenient, that as the destitute Churches do, by their Vote, call the Neighbouring Pastors to that Occasional Service, before they attend it, so that the Consent of the Churches, whereto those Pastors belong, be not left unconsidered in it.

We do moreover think, That nothing should be done in this Matter, that may, in any wise, obstruct the Welfare of any bereaved Churches, in their speedy seeking of a settled Supply, for all Ordinances among them; or otherwise interrupt and incommode Common Edification.

4. Another Point in the Platform, not universally received, is, *The distinct Office of Ruling Elders*, to join with the Pastors, in those Acts of Church-Rule, which are distinct from the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments, or to watch over the Conversation of the Church-Members with Authority. There are some who cannot see any such Officer as what we call a Ruling Elder, directed and appointed in the Word of God; and the Inconveniencies, whereunto many Churches have been plunged by Elders, not of such a Number, or not of such a Wisdom, as were desirable, have much increased a Prejudice against the Office it self; be sure, partly through a Prejudice against the Office, and partly, indeed chiefly, through a penury of Men well qualified for the Discharge of it, as it has been heretofore understood and applied, Our Churches are now generally destitute of such Helps in Government: On the other side, there are others, who, if they asked, *What Order for Lay-Elders in the*

Word



Word of God? Answer, That properly, the only Lay-Elders known to be in any Church, are the *Chancellours* in the Church of England; Persons Entrusted with the Rules of the Church, and yet not Ordained unto any Office in it. But, that unless a Church have *Divers Elders*, the Church-Government must needs become either *Prelatic* or *Popular*; and that a Church's needing but *one Elder*, is an Opinion contrary not only to the Sense of the Faithful in all Ages, but also to the Law of the Scriptures, where there can be nothing plainer, than, *Elders, who Rule well, and are worthy of Double Honour, though they do not labour in Word and Doctrine*; whereas, if there were any *Teaching Elders*, who do not *Labour in Word and Doctrine*, they would be so far from *worthy of Double Honour*, that they would not be *Worthy of any Honour* at all. Towards the adjusting of the Difference, which has thus been in the Judgments of Judicious Men, some *Essays* have been made; and one particularly in such Terms as these; Let it be first Recognized, That all the other *Church-Officers* are the *Assistants* of the *Pastor*; who was himself (as you find, even about what the *Deacon* has now to do,) entrusted with the *Whole care* of all, until the further Pity and Kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, joined other *Officers* unto him, for his Assistance in it. I suppose, none will be so absurd as to Deny *This* at least; That all the *Church-Officers* are to take the Advice of the *Pastor* with them. Upon which I subjoin, that a Man may be a *Distinct Officer* from his *Pastor*, and yet not have a *Distinct Office* from him; the *Pastor* may be the *Ruling Elder*, and yet he may have *Elders* to assist him in *Ruling*, and in the *actual Discharge* of some Things, which *They* are able and proper to be serviceable to him in. This Consideration being laid, I will persuade my self, Every *Pastor* among us will allow me, That there is much Work to be done for God, in preparing of what belongs to the *Admission* and *Exclusion* of *Church-Members*; in carefully *Inspecting* the way and *walk* of them all, and the first *Appearance* of *Evil* with them; in preventing the very beginnings of *Ill-Blood* among them, and instructing of all from *House to House* more privately, and warning of all Persons unto the Things more peculiarly incumbent on them; in *Visiting* all the *Afflicted*, and *Informing* of and *Consoling* with, the *Ministers*, for the welfare of the *whole Flock*. And they must allow me, That *this Work* is too heavy for any *one Man*; and that more than *one Man*, yea, *all our Churches*, do suffer beyond measure, because no more of *this Work* is thoroughly performed. Moreover, They will Acknowledge to me, that it is an usual Thing, with a *Prudent* and *Faithful Pastor*, himself to single out some of the more *Grave, Solid, Aged Brethren* in his Congregation, to *Assist* him in many parts of *this Work*, on many occasions in a Year; nor will such a *Pastor* ordinarily do any Important thing in his Government, without having first

heard the Counsel of such Brethren. In short, There are few *Discreet Pastors*, but what make many *Occasional Ruling Elders*, every Year. I say then, Suppose the Church by a *Vote* Recommend some such Brethren, the *Fittest* they have, and always more than *One*, unto the more *stated Assistance* of their *Pastor*, in the *Church-Rule*, wherein they may be *helps* unto him; I do not propose, that they should be *Biennial* or *Triennial* only; tho' I know, very famous Churches throughout *Europe* have them so! Yea, and what, if they should by solemn *Fasting* and *Prayer*, be commended unto the *Benediction* of God, in what service they have to do? What *Objection* can be made against the *Lawfulness*? I think none can be made against the *Usefulness* of such a thing. Truly, for my part, if the *Fifth Chapter* of the First Epistle to *Timothy*, would not bear me out when Conscience both of my *Duty* and my *weakness* made me desire such *Assistance*, I would see whether the *First Chapter* of *Deuteronomy* would not. Such things as these have been offered unto the Consideration of the *Diversly-Perswaded*; and accordingly in a Meeting of *Ministers*, that had been *Diversly-Perswaded* in this Matter, at *Cambridge*, an *Unanimous Vote* was passed for these Conclusions.

## PROPOSITIONS

### Concerning the Office of Ruling-Elders.

I. **T**Hough the *Pastors* of Churches are *Originally* Entrusted with the whole Care of what is to be done, in the *Feeding* and *Ruling* of the Societies, whereof the Holy Spirit hath made them *Overseers*, yet the *Wisdom* and *Goodness* of our Lord Jesus Christ, has made Provision for their *Assistance* in the Management of those *Church-Affairs*, which would otherwise too much Incumber them, in Devoting themselves unto the *Word* and *Prayer*.

II. *Ruling-Elders* are appointed for the Assistance of their *Pastors* in the Government of their Churches, and the *Inspection* of the Flocks. And although these Officers may not be furnished with all those *Attainments* which are necessary to a *Pastor*, yet if they are so accomplished, as that they may be *Helps* to their *Pastor* in the Management of their *Church Rule*, they may be Chosen thereunto with much Benefit and Advantage to the People of God.

III. Whereas 'tis the Business of a *Ruling-Elder* to Assist his *Pastor*, in *Visiting* of the Distressed, *Instructing* of the Ignorant, *Reducing* of the Erroneous, *Comforting* of the Afflicted, *Advising* of the Defective, *Rebuking* of the Unruly, *Discovering* the State of the whole Flock, *Exercising* the *Discipline* of the Gospel upon Offenders, and Promoting the desirable *Growth* of the Church; 'tis necessary that he be a Person of a *Wisdom*, *Courage*, *Leisure*, and *Exemplary Holiness* and *Gravity*, agreeable to such Employments.



§ 5. One more Passage in the Platform, which hath been but rarely practised, and as little approved, is, That in Churches where there are no Elders, Imposition of Hands for the Ordination of Elders may be performed by some of the Brethren, orderly chosen by the Church thereunto; which is indeed mollified with a Concession, That in Churches where there are no Elders, and the Church so desire, the imposition of Hands, may be performed by the Elders of other Churches. It was the Opinion of these worthy Men, that the Call and Power whereof a Pastor becomes [indeed the First] Recipient Subject, is derived unto him from the Lord Jesus Christ, by the choice of a Church, inviting him to the Pastoral Care of their Souls. The Essence of his Vocation, they judged was in an Election by the Multitude of the Faithful, agreeing to submit themselves unto his Conduct in the Lord, and his Acceptance of, his Compliance with, that Election. Ordination they look'd upon, but as a Ceremony, whereby a called Minister, was declared by Imposition of Hands, to be solemnly set apart for his Ministry, and in the same Rite, the Assistances and Protections and manifold Blessings of the Holy Ghost, in the Exercises of his Ministry were solemnly implored for him.

Briefly, They reckoned not Ordination to be Essential unto the Vocation of a Minister, any more than Coronation to the Being of a King; but that it is only a consequent and convenient Adjunct of his Vocation; and a solemn Acknowledgment of it, with an useful and proper Benediction of him in it.

Now in as much as the *ἡγεμονία*, Lifting up of the Hands of the Fraternity, was that which performed the greater thing; even, to apply the Vocation of a Pastor; said they, why may not the *ἡγεμονία* laying on of the Hands of the Fraternity also perform the lesser thing; the thing which, indeed, is but the Accomplishment of what they have already begun, even to publish, proclaim and pray over that Vocation? To countenance this Liberty of the Fraternity, they brought the Example of what was done in the Church of Israel, when certain Principal Members of the Congregation, which were certainly no Ecclesiastical Officers, did in the Name of the rest, impose Hands upon the Levites; and afterwards, when all the Congregation, in the like manner, anointed Zadok, to be the Priest: and they further considered, that there were several Cases, wherein an Ordination by the Hands of Elders, could not be obtained in any tollerable Circumstances; perhaps America had more than once afforded such; in which Cases they said, Why may not the People of the Land now take a Man of their Coasts, and, then, do all that is necessary to set him up for their Watchman? But whereas it was objected unto our New-English Divines, by such Writers as the sweet-spirited Herle, and warm-spirited Rutherford, That the New-Testament affords no Example of Imposition of Hands by the People, it was answered, That the New-Testament instances not the Imposition of Hands on Ordinary

Pastors, by any Ordinary Pastors at all. In all the Examples, there, concerning this matter, either the Persons by whom, or the Persons on whom, Hands were imposed, were Extraordinary-Officers: and thus the Objectors will find as much Diffonancy from the Scriptural Example, in their own Practice as they could in ours: Besides, the Example in the Old Testament was of a Moral and of a Lasting Equity. And in fine, they supposed that they had on their side, a thousand Concessions, in the chief Defenders and Principles of the Reformation; particularly, the Words of the incomparable Whitaker (De Eccles. Quæst. 5. Cap. 6.) If they grant the Calling of our Ministers to be Lawful, we care the less for Ordination, for they that have Authority to Call, have also Authority to Ordain, if Lawful Ordination cannot otherwise be gotten; For Ordination doth follow Calling; he that is called is, as it were, thereby put into Possession of his Office. And it was the Learned Calderwood, who taught them to distinguish, between what was received by (*ἡ*) and what was received only with (*μετὰ*) the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery; the former notes a Causal Virtue in the Rite, which accordingly is not affirmed in the Text; the latter notes only the Concurring and Approving of them that used the Rite; and accordingly our good Men were desirous to have the Consent of a Neighbouring Presbytery unto their Elections testified, in their Ordinations, where it could be comfortably procured. On the other side; Because the Scripture so expressly mentions, the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery, very Judicious Men, throughout the Country, were altogether averse to, The laying on of the Hands of the Fraternity. They reckoned, that in the Imposition of Hands, there was their Consecration to their Ministry, and by this Consecration they were to be owned, as admitted into the Order of Pastors, through the whole Church of God; but they could not allow the Rites of this Order to be Regularly and Conveniently performed by any but such as were themselves of the same Order; which Persuasion has been so general, that setting aside a few plebeian Ordinations, in the beginning of the World here among us, there have been rarely, any Ordinations managed in our Churches but by the Hands of Presbyters: yea, any Ordinations, but such, would be but matters of Discourse and Wonder. The Custom of New-England cannot be better described, than in the terms which describe the Modes of the African Churches [Synod. African. apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 6. p. 202.] Apud nos, & ferè per Provincias universas tenetur, ut ad Ordinationes, ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui Præpositus Ordinatur, Episcopi Ejusdem Provincie proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus deligatur, plebe præsentè, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & unius cujusque Actum de ejus Conversatione perspexit; Quod factum videmus in Sabini Ordinatione, ut de Universæ Fraternitatis suffragio, & de Episcoporum Judicio, Episcopatus Ei Deferatur.

And



And so much Respect have our Churches had unto the Interests of the *Presbytery* in this Point of *Ordination*, that altho' upon the translation of Pastors from one Church unto another among us, few of the Pastors thus translated, have scrupled being *re-ordained*, yet upon the arrival of some desirable Pastors formerly *ordained* in *England*, who scrupled at it, our destituted Churches have gladly *elected* them, and *embraced* them, and so solemnizing the Transaction with Fasting and Prayer, have enjoyed them to all Evangelical Intents and Purposes, without their being *re-ordained* at all.

§ 6. If I have reported *three* Difficulties in our *Platform of Church-Discipline*, I can add a *fourth*, which hath been as Difficult as any of the rest.

The Direction given by the *Synod* about the Admission of Members into the Church, amounts to thus much. 'Repentance towards God and Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are the things whereof Men are to be examined at their admission into the Church, and which, then, they must profess and hold forth in such sort as may satisfy Rational Charity that the things are there indeed. The weakest measure of Faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be admitted into the Church: Such Charity and Tendernefs is to be used, as the weakest Christian, if sincere, may not be excluded or discouraged. Severity of Examination is to be avoided; in case any thro' excessive Fear, or other Infirmary be unable to make their personal Relation of their Spiritual Estate in publick, it is sufficient, that the Elders having received private satisfaction, make Relation thereof in publick before the Church, they testifying their Assents thereunto: This being the way that tends most to Edification. But where Persons are of greater Abilities, there it is most expedient that they make their Relations and Confessions, personally with their own Mouth, as *David* professeth of himself. A personal and publick Confession, and declaring of God's manner of working upon the Soul, is both lawful, expedient and useful. And the *Platform* in Chap. 12. § 5. gives the Grounds of this Direction. The Jews tell us of *כליא* or a *Scare-Crow* upon the top of the Temple, which kept off the Fowls from defiling of it; and it has been the Opinion of many that this Custom of Relations, to be made by Candidates for Admission to the Church, of what Operations of the Regenerating Spirit have been upon their Souls, is as a *Scare-Crow* to keep Men out of the Temple; but, it may be, it has been the Opinion of as many, that none but the Defilers of the Temple would be kept out by such a *Scare-Crow*.

On the one side, The Churches demanding an Account of Experiences, from those which they receive to stated Church-Fellowship, has been by some decayed as an humane Invention: And they tell us, that, indeed, according to the Report of *Cæsarius*, there have been Popish Monasteries which have demanded such an Account from

those that entred thereinto; but that few Protestant Societies have, till of late, observed such an Usage. Yea, they say, that instead of having any Divine Precept for the bottom of this Practice, there is no bottom at all for it, but this, that it has been a Practice. The first Churches of New-England began only with a Profession of Assent and Consent unto the Confession of Faith, and the Covenant of Communion. Afterwards, they that sought for the Communion, were but privately examined about a Work of Grace in their Souls, by the Elders, and then publicly propounded unto the Congregation, only that so, if there were any scandal in their Lives, it might be objected and considered. But in the Year 1634, one of the Brethren having leave to hear the Examinations of the Elders, magnified so much the Advantage of being present at such an Exercise, that many others desired and obtained the like leave to be present at it; until, at length, to gratifie this useful Curiosity, the whole Church always expected the Liberty of being thus particularly acquainted with the Religious Dispositions, of those with whom they were afterwards to sit at the Table of the Lord; and that Church which began this way was quickly imitated by most of the rest, who, when all come to, have little else to plead for it, but that the good Men find themselves exceedingly edified, when they hear other good Men describing the Means which the Lord has devised, for the bringing back of their banished Souls.

On the other side, It has been argued by others, That nothing less than a probable and a credible profession of a saving Faith must be made by a Man, before the Supper of the Lord may be administered unto him. The Churches to whom the Apostles directed their Epistles, were still visibly Saints, and such as were made meet to be Partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light: How many scores of Passages to this purpose have we concerning those Churches, about the understanding whereof we may use the words of *Calvin*, *Quod exponunt quidam de solâ professione mihi frigidum videtur, & ab usu Scripturæ est alienum?* It is on all hands agreed, that the Lord's Supper is an Ordinance communicable unto none but Penitents: Now the Primitive Churches, if *Dionysius* of Alexandria may be credited, would not accept a Penitent, until having examined him, they discerned his Conversion and Repentance to be such as would be accepted by God. And the Council of Nice gave this for a general Rule, That the inward state of Penitents be observed in order to their admission to the Communion. Whereupon 'tis argued, If they that are impenitent for this or that particular Sin, may not come to the Table of the Lord, surely, they that may be thought impenitent for an whole course of Sin, are also to be kept out of doors; which is to be esteemed the Case of all them, whom we may not reasonably as well as charitably, judge renewed by the Holy Ghost. Accordingly *Origen* writes, 'That the Christians of the first Churches did



most exquisitely search the Souls of them that asked a full Communion with them; and says, When Men have made such a proficiency, that they appear sanctified by the Divine Word, then we call them up to our Mysteries. *Tertullian*, among others, doth advise us of the strict Scrutiny used in his Days, upon the Hearts of the Catechumens; *Whether they did, indeed, renounce all their former Vanities.*

It was the Order, *Fiant scrutinia, an verba Fidei radicatus Corde defixerint.* *Cyprian* reports, *Vix plebi persuadeo*: He could not easily persuade the Fraternity of his Flock to consent unto the receiving of such in whom Sincerity was questionable. *Austin* affirms, That according to the ancient Custom, grounded on the most evident Truth, none were admitted into the Church on Earth, who were visibly such as the Scripture excludes from the Kingdom of God in Heaven. And the Agreement of the Pastors in the Days of *Constance*, about the discerning of the sincere, is very memorable. If the Question be put, What it is, that we may safely judge, a probable and a credible Profession of a saving Faith? It has been answered, That Scripture must be followed and applied by Reason in this matter: If the Scripture assert such and such Marks to be in the Experiences of all the Regenerate, then Reason is in this Case to make an Humane Enquiry, Whether our Neighbours have those Marks in their Experiences? 'Tis not enough to restore a Man under Church-Censure, for the Man barely to say *I repent*; no, but for us to proceed rationally in observing, whether the likely Symptoms of Repenting do appear upon him, is to proceed Scripturally: Even so, 'tis not enough to qualify a Man under Church-Trial, for the Man to say *I believe*; while there may be discovered in him such an ignorant or insipid state of Soul, as may render it justly suspicious, that he is yet a stranger to the New Birth. Briefly the thing has been thus discoursed.

We must beware of *unscriptural Impositions* in this Affair; we must not impose any Modes of Profession, which we have no Warrant for. 'Tis a Tyranny to enjoin upon every Man, A relation about the precise time and way of their Conversion unto God. Few that have been restrained by a religious Education, can give such an one. Nor is it any other than a Cruelty, to enjoin upon every Man, an Oral and a publick relation of their Experiences. Every good Man has not such a Courage and Presence of Mind, as can speak pertinently before a Congregation of many hundreds. But still, as the Probationers for our Communion are to make a Profession of their Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as that Redeemer in whom all fulness dwells, and on whom they rely for Communications from that fulness to their own Souls: Thus we must look for some justifying Circumstance of that Profession. Our Charity towards all Men, of whom we know nothing amiss, is to hope all things, and believe the best: But when we come to

make a Judgment of them, that lay claim to Privileges with us, 'tis but reason that our Charity should require a more positive Evidence of the Qualification, on which the claim is made. In the Primitive Times they made such a Profession, at their being added unto the Church; and the Profession had this justifying Circumstance in it, that they made it, when they endangered their very Lives to make it. I make no doubt, but in such a time of Persecution, the like Profession ought to be esteemed sufficient. But in Places where the true Religion is in repute and fashion, then to look for some other justifying Circumstance of a Profession, is but a reasonable Conformity to the custom and manner of the Apostles. Now, Reason cannot readily dictate an easier, a fairer, a fitter Method for this, than that a Man of a blameless and fruitful Conversation, should either by Tongue or Pen express, what Impressions the Word of God has made upon him. The favour of such a Relation, will usually very much manifest the Spirit of him that makes it; and besides, nothing is more for the Honour of God, or for the Comfort of his People, than to hear good Christians, thus making that Invitation, *Come and hear all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my Soul.* It is true, that after all, we cannot be infallibly sure, that we do not admit an Hypocrite in Heart, into our Communion; nor indeed after the distinctest Profession of a Dogmatical and Historical Faith, can we be sure that the Person, whom we admit, is not an Heretick in Heart. Nevertheless, no Man scarce ever doubted, that Communicants must be examined about their Orthodoxy. But we should go, as far as we reasonably can to prevent the pollution of Holy Things by the Unregenerate.

Well, the result of these various Apprehensions has been this: That some *unscriptural Severities* urged in this matter by several of our Churches, in the beginning of the Plantation, are now generally laid aside; but still, for the most part, there is expected from those that would join unto 'em, a brief Address, in the Language of an experimental Christian, intimating something of what the eternal Spirit of God has done to conform their Hearts and Lives unto those Principles of Christianity, whereof they then make a Profession. 'Tis true, in some Churches, if the Elders declare their satisfaction about the Qualifications of those that offer themselves, the People are, without any further Inquiry, satisfied: But in most Churches, the People do desire the Elders to entertain them with a more particular Account of such things, as the Persons have to present for their own more thorough Recommendation unto the good Affection of those, with whom they are to eat Bread in the Kingdom of God. Nevertheless, there seems to have been thought needful on both sides a Concession to what has been sometimes propounded in such Terms as these.

Our Churches do ordinarily expect from those, whom they admit unto constant and compleat



compleat Communion with them, some few  
 ' favoury Expressions [written, if not oral] of  
 ' what Regenerating Influences the Ordinances or  
 ' the Providences of God, have had upon their  
 ' Souls. There are some who demand this, as  
 ' a thing required by the Word of God, when  
 ' a Confession with the Mouth, and a Profession  
 ' of Repentance as well as Faith, and a giving a  
 ' Reason of the Hope that is in us is required:  
 ' And they look upon this as a justifying Circum-  
 ' stance, which a reasonable Charity is to seek,  
 ' before it pronounce upon the Credibility of  
 ' that Confession and Profession, whereupon Men  
 ' lay claim to Privileges. Others can't see  
 ' thro' this; they rather decry it, as an humane  
 ' Invention, yet, rather than Church-Work  
 ' should be at any stay, both sides may grant,  
 ' that it is but a piece of reasonable Civility,  
 ' for any that would be accepted as Members of  
 ' any Society whatsoever, to address that Socie-  
 ' ty for their acceptance; and that whoever  
 ' doth address a Church of the Lord Jesus for  
 ' their Fellowship, should endeavour to do it  
 ' with such Language and Matter, as may be  
 ' like that of one returning unto God. If there  
 ' be any further Contest whether the Brethren,  
 ' of right, are to have an Acquaintance with, or  
 ' Interest in, the management of this Matter, I  
 ' am confident, that as the Pastors, who are the  
 ' Porters to the House of God, will generally  
 ' examine what Experiences their Communi-  
 ' cants have attained unto; so, the Pastors will  
 ' as generally grant, that it is not unlawful for  
 ' them to communicate unto the Brethren of  
 ' the Church, the taste which they have had of  
 ' the Graces, in such as they now propound un-  
 ' to them, to be received as Brethren; yea, that  
 ' it is many ways comfortable and profitable, if  
 ' not altogether necessary. Behold then a Tem-  
 ' per, wherein we may, as hitherto we do in this  
 ' thing unite. I have been concerned with some  
 ' godly People of the Scotch Nation, who have  
 ' at first shewn much and hot Antipathy against  
 ' this way of our Churches, and yet asked ad-  
 ' mittance to the Table of the Lord. These  
 ' have consented unto me, that I should put  
 ' what Questions I pleased, in my Trials of  
 ' them; that I should herewithal take in Writ-  
 ' ing what Minutes I pleased of their Answers  
 ' to me; that being my self now satisfied con-  
 ' cerning them, I might, if I pleased, offer that  
 ' satisfaction unto any or all of the Church, who  
 ' looked for it, at our usual Opportunity.  
 ' These Concessions immediately opened their  
 ' way in ours, unto the Table of the Lord, with-  
 ' out any Difficulty unto either of us.

§ 7. I think I have now reported the most  
 contested Passages of our Platform; neverthe-  
 less, to give a further Elucidation of some  
 other Passages in that Platform, I will subjoin  
 the Determination given by a late Assembly  
 of our Ministers at Cambridge, upon these two  
 Points; The Power of Synods, and the Power  
 of Elders.

## PROPOSITIONS

Concerning the Power of Synods, with respect  
 unto particular Churches.

I. Particular Churches, having the same Ori-  
 ginal Ends and Interests, and being mu-  
 tually concerned in the Good and Evil of each  
 other, there is the Light of Nature as well as of  
 Scripture, to direct the Meeting of Churches by  
 their Delegates, to consult and conclude things  
 of common Concernment unto them.

II. Synods, duly composed of Messengers cho-  
 sen by them whom they are to represent, and  
 proceeding with a due regard unto the Will of  
 God in his Word, are to be revered, as de-  
 termining the Mind of the Holy Spirit concerning  
 things necessary to be received and practised, in  
 order to the Edification of the Churches therein  
 represented.

III. All the Commands of God, which bid us  
 to be well-adviced, and regard a multitude of Coun-  
 sellors, do particularly oblige us with Reverence  
 to entertain the Advice of Synods assembling in  
 the Name and Fear of the Lord Jesus Christ,  
 for an enquiry after his Directions: And if one  
 Church be to be heard, much more are many  
 Churches to be so, in things that properly fall  
 under the Cognizance thereof.

IV. Synods being of Apostolical example, re-  
 commended as a necessary Ordinance, it is but  
 reasonable, that their Judgment be acknow-  
 ledged as decisive, in the Affairs for which they  
 are ordained; and to deny them the Power  
 of such a Judgment, is to render a necessary Or-  
 dinance of none effect.

V. The Power of Synods, is not to abate, much  
 less to destroy the Liberties of particular Churches,  
 but to strengthen and to direct those Churches,  
 in the right use of the Powers given by the Lord  
 Jesus Christ unto them. And such Assemblies  
 are therefore to be used as a Relief ordained by  
 God for those Difficulties, for which the Care and  
 State of a particular Church affords not a suf-  
 ficient Remedy.

The Rights allowed unto Synods, in the Ireni-  
 cum, of the excellent Jeremiah Burroughs, Chap. 7.  
 we fully consent and subscribe unto.

## PROPOSITIONS

Concerning the Power of Elders in the Go-  
 vernment of the Church.

I. The Power of Church Government belongs  
 only to the Elders of the Church.

The Names of the Elders, in the Scriptures  
 are but insignificant, and unintelligible Meta-  
 phors, if the Rule of the Church be not only  
 in the Hands of its Elders.

The Word of God hath ordered the People to  
 obey the Elders of the Church, as having the  
 rule over them, and a watch over their Souls.

An



An Ability to *Rule well* is a Qualification particularly required in the *Elders* of the Church, that they may be able to take a due *Care* of it.

*Governments* are enumerated among those things in the Church, which *all are not*, but which are compatible to *some only*: Now, who but the *Elders*?

Were the *Government* of the Church, as much in the *Brethren* as in the *Elders*, then the whole *Body* were *all Eye*; which it is *not*.

II. There are yet certain *Cases*, wherein the *Elders* in the management of their *Church Government* are to take the Concurrence of the *Fraternity*.

'Tis to be done in those *Acts*, to attain the ends whereof, there are to follow certain Duties of the *Fraternity*, namely *Elections*, and *Admissions* and *Censures*.

Hence, in such things, we find the *Injunctions* of the Scripture addressed unto the *whole Church*.

Hence, all *Antiquity* assures us, that such Matters were in the *Primitive Church*, done still *Consentiente plebe*.

And the *Brethren* of the Church might otherwise be obliged unto the doing of things, wherein they cannot *act in Faith*, or be *conscientiously satisfied* that such things are to be done.

III. Nevertheless, the *Pastor* of a Church may by himself *Authoritatively* suspend from the *Lord's Table*, a Brother accused or suspected of a *Scandal*, till the Matter may, and should be regularly examined.

Our Lord forbids the coming of such an Offender to his *Altar*, if even one of *less*, of *no* Authority in the Church, do signify a reasonable dissatisfaction.

The *Pastors* of the Church are the *Porters* of the Temple, empowered sufficiently to detain such, as they see with *moral uncleanness* upon them.

And its belonging unto the *Porters* of the Church to direct the *Brethren* in the Application of the *necessary Discipline*; it is not reasonable that they should be bound in the mean time, to declare *practically*, what shall be contrary to such Direction, by administering the *Lord's Supper* unto a Person against whom the *Discipline* is to be urged.

IV. But the *Elders* of the Church, have a *Negative* on the *Votes* of the *Brethren*; who, indeed, in the Exercise of their Liberty and Privilege are under the Conduct of the *Elders*.

To take away the *Negative* of the *Elders*, or the Necessity of their *Consent* unto such *Acts*, indeed is to take away all *Government* whatsoever, and it is to turn the whole *Regimen* of the Church into a pure *Democracy*.

And, if the *Positive* of the *Brethren* can supersede a *Negative* of the *Elders*, either the *Elders* may be driven to do things quite contrary unto the Light of their Conscience, or else the *Brethren* may presume to do things which belong not unto them.

§ 8. Because there are several *Church-Cases* of a very general Importance, which our *Platform* has not resolved so particularly, as hath been desired by them, that have been more immediately concerned in those *Cases*, an Assembly of *Ministers*, meeting at *Cambridge* hath taken Cognizance of them; from whose *Registers* I have taken leave to transcribe the following *Memorials*. Reader, allow the general Title of them to be *PILLULÆ SINE QUIBUS*.

## ¶ PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning the Obligation lying upon *Ministers of the Gospel*, to visit the Sick, in Times of Epidemical and Contagious Distempers.

I. *Ministers* of the Gospel, are to have a great concern for the Sick, under their *Pastoral Charge*, and endeavour the fulfilling of their Ministry, not only by fitting the Necessities of their Sick, with their *Prayers*, but also by leaving them unacquainted with none of those *Counsels*, which may prepare them for their End.

II. Nevertheless, in times of *epidemical Contagion*, the *Ministers* of the Gospel may, by various *Methods*, attend what is necessary thus to be attended, without the ordinary *Visitations* of the infected Chambers.

III. A *Minister* solicitous about his Duty in visiting the Sick of his Flock, when *Pestilential Contagions* are prevailing, may receive much Direction from the *Courage* wherewith he may find the God of Heaven fortifying his Heart unto such an Undertaking.

IV. The bare desires of the Sick, to be visited by a *Minister*, have often so much of evident *unseasonableness*, *unreasonableness*, and perhaps of worse Causes in them, that it is no ways fitting a *Life* should be sacrificed merely thereunto.

V. When a *Minister* is well assured, that the Sick of his own Flock, are labouring under such *Loads* upon their *Consciences*, as cannot fitly be unburdened unto any but himself, he has a Call from Heaven to venture himself unto the utmost, for the service of such a Soul, and may expect the Protection of Heaven accordingly to be a *Shield* unto him.

VI. A *Minister* in times of general *Mortalities* may do well, before he expose himself unto the evident Hazards of those *Mortalities*, to take the Advice and Consent of that Church, unto whose Edification the Labours of his Life are dedicated; whether they are willing, that he should sacrifice his Life unto the private Service of the Sick. And the Opinion of a People thus asked, will afford much satisfaction unto a *Minister*, as to what may be, in this case incumbent upon him.

VII. In times extraordinarily *Pestilential*, if the neighbouring *Ministers*, do by a *Lott* solemnly



lemly single out *One* of their Number, to devote himself, with the exemption of the *rest*, unto the help of the *Sick*, it were a Course not to be disapproved: But a Minister, so devoted, may cheerfully commend himself unto the acceptance of God, in the Service of the distressed.

## PROPOSITIONS.

*Concerning the Cases, wherein a Minister may leave his People.*

I. **A** Pastor settled in the Service of a People, is to be so sensible of his *Designation* by the Spirit and the Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ, for that Service, and of the *Account* that he must give unto God about his Behaviour in it, that his *removal* must not be rashly attempted, but with much Consideration, Consultation, Supplication and sincere Desire to follow the Conduct of Heaven in it. The *frowns* of God, use to follow *Removes*, that have not so been regulated.

II. That the *Will* of our Lord, about the *removal* of any Pastor from his People may be understood, it is requisite, that the Minister do not entirely *assume* to himself the Judgment of his own Call to remove, but a great Regard must be had unto the Direction of the Churches of our Lord in the Neighbourhood.

III. They unto whom the *Judgment* of a Pastor's removal from his People is to be referred, should exactly weigh both the present and future Circumstances of *both*; and endeavour a Provision, that neither Party may suffer in the removal of a Minister from his Flock.

IV. In case there be arisen those incurable Prejudices, Dissentions, Animosities, and implacable Offences between a Pastor and his People, that all *Reverence* for, and *Benefit* by, his Ministry is utterly to be despaired, he may be removed. The want of success, otherwise, is not a sufficient Cause of removal, but it is to be endured, with all humble Patience by the Minister, as a great Affliction; and, yet with this Encouragement, that God will reward him, *Secundum laborem, non secundum preventum*.

V. A Pastor may be removed from his People, in case his *Translation* be found necessary for the *Common-Good*. The welfare of the *Catholic Church* in the general Edification of a Community, should be of such weight, as to make any particular Churches, give way thereunto. But, yet, it becomes not any Minister, to seek his own *Translation*, by first offering himself unto it.

VI. There are some things, which dissolve the *Vinculum Pastorale* between a Pastor and his People; and in case those Disasters happen, he may be removed. Thus if a Minister have a tolerable *Subsistence*, wherewith he may, after a Christian manner provide for his own, deny'd him; or, if a Minister have no way to avoid a Storm of *Persecution*, purely *Personal*, but

by fleeing from one City to another; a remove may be justified. And the *Dissolution* of a Church, gives the like Liberty, to him, that had been the Shepherd of the now scattered Flock.

VII. Although a Pastor should be willing to encounter many Difficulties and Infirmities with his People; yet, in case that *Chronical Diseases*, which evidently threaten his Life, might hopefully be relieved by his removal, it should then, on all Hands, be allowed and advised. *Mercy* is here to be preferred before *Sacrifice*, and so we find it was in the *Primitive Churches* accordingly.

VIII. If much of *Scandal* will certainly ensue, upon the removal of a Pastor from his People, That should weigh down many Circumstances, that would rather invite such a removal.

## QUESTION.

*Whether it be lawful for a Man to Marry his Wife's Sister?*

I. **A** Marriage between a Man and his Wife's own Sister, is positively prohibited in that Law of God, *Lev. 18. 16.* That a Man may not marry his Brother's Wife. By the plainest Consequence, a Woman may not marry her Sister's Husband. The Degree prohibited, is exactly the same.

II. The Law that has prohibited the Marriage of a Man to his Wife's own Sister has an Authority and an Obligation reaching even to the Gentiles, upon whom the Ends of the World are come. 'Tis evident, that the Violation of this Law, is declared one of those Abominations, for which the ancient Canaanites were spued out of their Land. And we find the New Testament, in divers places, insisting upon those Prohibitions, among which this Law, is one. The good Order which God has by this Law established in humane Society, is that which the Light of Nature, in Mankind, as now increased, does abundantly testify unto. The Dispensation which the Sovereign Lawgiver once gave, in one Instance, hereunto, was extraordinary. The Example of Jacob, in this Matter, is to be disapproved by all that would be esteemed his Children, as well as that of his Polygamy.

III. 'Tis the Law of our God, in *Lev. 18. 6.* None of you shall approach (in a Marriage) unto any that is near of kin to him. Now the Kindred betwixt a Man and his Wife's own Sister, is of the nearest sort: For, *Inter Virum & Mulierem non contrahitur affinitas, sed ipsi sunt affinitatis causa*: So then this Affinity is not less than in *Primo Genere*, and therefore unlawful. It is likewise the concurrent Sense of the greatest Divines (particularly asserted in the Assemblies Confession of Faith,) that of what degree any one is of Consanguinity to his Wife, in the same degree of Affinity is that Person to the Husband. And that an Husband is forbidden to marry with the Consanguines of his Wife, by the same Rule that Consanguines are forbidden to marry among themselves.



themselves. And this Assertion may be demonstrated from the *Rules* given, in the 18th Chapter of *Leviticus*. Wherefore as a Man may not marry his *own Sister*, so not the *Sister of his Wife*, which is *one Flesh* with him.

IV. The *Marriage* in the Question, has been so *scandalous* among the whole People of God, that whosoever is guilty of it, is therein worthy to be *cut off* from the Communion of the *Catholick Church*; yea, it hath been one of the Imperial Laws, *Duabus Sororibus Conjungendi, penitus Licentiam submovemus*. Much less may such an Iniquity be countenanced among the People of *our Profession*.

## QUESTION.

*Whether, and how far, the Discipline of our Lord in our Churches, is to be extended to the Children therein Baptized?*

I. **WE** judge, that the *Discipline* of our Lord Jesus Christ in our Churches ought to be extended unto the *Children baptized* in them: In as much as these Persons are certainly those, which the Scripture calls *within*, and not *without*; and the *Lambs* as well as others in the *Flocks* of our Lord are to be *fed*: And the *Practice* of the purest Churches has been agreeable to this Principle, as well the *Primitive* before, as the *Bohemian* and others since the *Reformation*: Reason also says, that where a *Privilege* is expected, a *Discipline* is to be acknowledged.

II. Although it is a Membership in the *Catholick Church*, that gives Right unto *Baptism*, yet *particular Churches*, as well as the *Pastors* of those Churches, owe a Duty to the *Catholick Church*, part of which Duty is the Application of *Discipline*, unto those *Baptized* Persons, whom the Providence of God shall cast under their Inspection.

III. The *Discipline*, which we count owing unto these Persons, is, an *Instruction* in the Laws of our Lord Jesus Christ, an *Admonition* upon a scandalous violation of those Laws, and upon *Incorrigibleness* in Evil, an open *rejection* from all *Ecclesiastical Privileges*: And although Persons are most clearly *liable* to this *Process*, when they have actually *renewed* their *Baptismal Covenant*, and *recognized* their subjection to the *Government* of our Lord, in his Church, and the *Children of the Church* are to be accordingly laboured withal, that they may be brought hereunto, yet we do not think, that any of the said Persons, *refusing*, or *neglecting* thus to do, are thereby *exempted* from such a *Care* of the Church, to bring them unto *Repentance*.

## QUESTION.

*In what Cases is a Divorce of the Married, justly to be pursued, and obtained?*

I. **TO** judge, determine and accomplish a *Divorce*, of any *married* Persons, the *Civil Magistrate* is to be addressed or concerned.

II. In case any *married* Persons be found under *natural Incapacities*, and *Insufficiencies*, which utterly disappoint the confessed Ends of *Marriage*, the *Marriage* is to be declared a *Nullity*.

III. In case any *married* Person, be found already bound in a *Marriage* to another yet living, a *Divorce* is to be granted unto the aggrieved Party.

III. In case any *married* Person be convicted of such *Criminal Uncleanesses*, as render them one *Flesh*, with another Object than that unto which their *Marriage* has united them, the injured Party may sue and have their *Divorce* from the Offending; which is the plain Sense of the Sentence, passed by our Lord, *Matth. 19. 9.*

V. In case there be found *Incest* in a *Marriage*, a *Divorce* is to command the *separation* of the married.

VI. In case it be found, that a Person *married*, had by *Fornication* before *Marriage*, been made *One* with a Person, related unto the Person with whom they are *now married*, within the Degrees made *Incestuous* by the Law of God, it is a just Plea for a *Divorce*.

VII. In case of a *malicious Desertion* by a *married* Person, who is obliged and invited to return, a *Divorce* may be granted by lawful Authority unto the *forsaken*. For the Word of God is plain, *That a Christian is not bound in such Cases*, by the *Marriage* unto *One*, which has thus wilfully violated the *Covenant*; and tho' our Saviour forbids a *Man's putting away his Wife*, except it be for *Fornication*, yet he forbids not *Rulers* to rescue an innocent Person from the enthralling Disadvantages of another, that shall finfully go away.

VIII. As for *married* Persons long absent from each other, and not heard of, by each other, the Government may state what *length of time* in this case, may give such a presumption of *Death* in the Person abroad, as may reckon a *Second Marriage* free from scandal.

IX. A *Divorce* being legally pursued, and obtained, the innocent Person that is released may proceed unto a *Second Marriage* in the Lord: Otherwise the state of *Believers* under the *New Testament*, would in some of these Cases, be worse than what the God of Heaven directed for his People under the *Old*.



## PROPOSITIONS.

### Concerning Ordination.

I. A solemn separation to the Service of our Lord Jesus Christ in his Church, is Essential to the Call of a Church Officer.

II. The Election of the Church, and a Compliance with, and an Acceptance of that Election, by a Person coming under a separation, is that wherein lies the Essence of his Call to minister unto that particular Church.

III. The Imposition of Hands, in the Ordination of a Church Officer, is a Rite, not only lawful to be retained, but it seems by a Divine Institution directed and required; so that although the Call of a Person to Church-Office may not become null and void, where that Rite may have been omitted, as it is to the Seniors and Deacons in most of the Reformed Churches: Yet we cannot approve the omission of it. A Ceremonial defect may be blameworthy.

IV. When it is enjoined, Lay Hands suddenly on no Man; there seems a plain Positive, in that Negative; and it is implied, that Hands are to be laid on some. Now when, or where, but in Ordination?

V. The whole Ordination to a Ministry, seems intended in the Apostles Expression, of a Gift given with the laying on of Hands; yea, nothing less than the whole Ministry, under that Ordination, seems comprised in the Apostles Expression of the Doctrine of laying on of Hands: And such a Synecdoche intimates that this Rite is no inconsiderable Part of that, whereof 'tis put for the Whole.

VI. The Church of God, in all Ages, has used an Imposition of Hands, as a Rite, many ways agreeable to the Will of God; and besides the Use of this Rite, sometimes on miraculous Accounts, there has still been a more constant Use of it, on Ecclesiastical Accounts; not conferring but confessing of Qualifications, in the Subjects that received it; which one Reason has in it many and weighty Considerations.

VII. The Imposition of Hands, being a Rite used by the Primitive Churches in the confirming and restoring of Church-Members, and this not altogether without the countenance of Scripture, it seems very much to take away all Pretence for laying it aside in the Ordination of Church Officers.

VIII. 'Tis well known, that the Jews even in their Schools, and in almost every special Work for God, whereto Men were set apart, used Imposition of Hands, as a Rite accompanying such a Dedication.

IX. The Imposition of Hands, having been a Rite, which the People of God under the Old Testament in his Name applied unto such purposes, as a Benediction of a Person, a Designation to a Function, an Oblation of what was to be presented unto God, and a Devolution of certain Burdens, on the Heads of such, as were

treated with it: The Lord has continued this Rite in the Ordaining of Church Officers, with some to such Intents and Purposes.

X. Most unexceptionable is the Imposition of Hands, by a Presbytery; but more exceptionable by a Fraternity. The Word of God mentions the former expressly, but not the latter, in the New Testament. They were such Hands as Timothy's, that were left to ordain Elders: What need of that, if the Hands of common Believers were sufficient? They were such Hands as Timothy's that were to make over Church Betrustments, unto faithful Men, able to teach others. Who fitter to signify the needed Approbation of other Churches? And inasmuch as in Ordination, there is an acknowledgment of Admission into an Order, it is but reasonable, that some who are in some Order of Church-Power should give it.

## PROPOSITIONS.

### Touching the Power of chusing a Pastor.

A Society of Believers, combined for the Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ in all his Ordinances, have the Right of chusing the Pastor, that is to administer unto them those Ordinances.

The Scriptures do still call for the Suffrages of the Brethren, in the Churches, for all Elections in those Churches, and particularly that of Elders.

In the oldest and purest of its Times, we still find the Brethren of the Church, possessed of a Power to chuse for its self; and the destruction of the Power was amongst none of the earliest Encroachments of Antichrist.

The Jus Patronatus in some Churches pretended unto, is an Usurpation upon the Flock of God, justly to be exploded.

The Pretences of the Civil Magistrate unto the like Disposál, for the same Causes, were for many Ages no less justly than sharply denied.

A particular Church, owing a great Regard unto the Church Catholick, in the using of its own Right, is bound in Duty to Consult the Satisfaction and Edification of others, in their Election of a Pastor.

Ministers and Messengers, of neighbouring Churches, have Power to except against any Election of a Pastor, who by Errors or Scandals, may be rendred unfit for the common Service of the Gospel.

Churches in the Election of a Pastor are to consider the Benefit of all that are to be his Hearers; and more particularly the Concurrence of such as are by the Covenant and Appointment of God, under the Church-watch among them.

The Respect that Churches do shew to others in the Election of a Pastor, ought so to be managed, as that they do not permit their own just Privileges to be extinguished, by anticipating Impositions upon them.



Churches may suffer their *Elections* to be *directed*, yea, and be *diverted* by Considerations, which they owe to *others* in the *Vicinity*, without surrendring their *Liberties* to be smothered by any, that would unjustly impose thereupon.

### QUESTION.

*Whether there are any Cases, wherein a Minister of the Gospel, may lay down his Ministry?*

**N**O Man can rightly, wisely, or safely become a Minister of the Gospel, without a Call of God, which Call is *mediate*, and manifested by Ministerial Gifts, with some *Inclination* and *Opportunity* to exercise those Gifts.

When a Minister of the Gospel does by the *compelling Providence* of God, become deprived of those *essential things*, whereby his Call was discovered, without any rational Prospect of *recovering* them, he may then *lay down* his Ministry.

But before one called unto the Ministry, do *relinquish* it, there should be such a Concurrence of *Incapacities*, that a Person's own *Arbitrary Inclinations*, acted by Temptations, may not be the things, that shall dismiss him. One consecrated unto the Ministry, is thus, *pro Termino vite*, nor may a Man setting his Hand unto this *Plough*, at his own Pleasure *look back*.

For one in the Sacred Ministry to leave it, for the sake of *Riches* or *Honours*, more likely to be acquired in another way of *living*, or for the sake of *discouragements*, arising from *Unsuccessfulness*, or *Persecution*, or other *Difficulties*, is no ways allowable.

A Person disabled by the *Infirmities* of old Age for the Labour of the Ministry, still retaining his Office, is to be still considered, in the dutiful Regards of the *Church*, as their Pastor notwithstanding.

A *Censure*, though an unjust one of a Civil Magistrate, silencing a particular Minister, may in some Cases be a sufficient Reason for his forbearing to do his Work, for *some time*, or in *this place*, though it release him not from the Obligation of his *Holy Calling*.

The *Disasters*, which have been observed, as frequently following those, who have deserted their *Spiritual Warfare*, without the leave of the Lord, are just Admonitions unto all Ministers of our Lord, against any undue *Desertion* of the Service wherein they have been lifted.

### QUESTION.

*Whether the Pastor of a Church, upon a common Fame of a Scandal, committed by any in his Church, be not bound in Duty to enquire into that Scandal, although there should not be brought any formal Complaint unto him of it?*

**I.** According to the Apostolical Direction, an Enquiry into an Offence, was ordered

upon this Consideration, 1 Cor. 5. 1. *It is reported commonly.*

II. The Elders of Israel were to make Enquiry into an Offence after this manner, Deut. 13. 12, 14. *If thou shalt hear say—Then shalt thou enquire and make search, and ask diligently.*

III. The Commendation of a Civil Ruler, does by proportion and parity of Reason belong to an Ecclesiastical One, Job 26. 16. *The cause which I knew not, I searched out.*

IV. The same that may move others to complain of a *Scandal*, unto the Pastor, should move the Pastor to *enquire* after a reported *Scandal*; namely, the Glory of the Lord, the Defence of the Church, and the Welfare of the erring Person; every one of which will suffer, if such Enquiry be not made.

V. The Neighbours may be so far under the Power of *Temptation*, as to forbear making orderly Delations of *Scandals* committed; and it is therefore necessary, that such things fall under the Enquiry of the Pastor, thereto by common *Fame* alarmed.

VI. The Pastor of a Church, is by Office, to watch over the *Conversation* of the People, and a Noise of *Scandal* arisen in the *Conversation* of those under his *Watch*, is a sufficient provocation for his Enquiry after it.

VII. Finally, a rumour of a *Scandal* in a Church-Member, is that wherein the *Name* of the Lord Jesus Christ is concerned, and for the vindication of that *worthy Name*, an Enquiry being made into it, there may appear such powerful *Presumptions*, while there are not yet sufficient *Convictions* of Guilt in the Party concerned, that the Person shall be bound (except in a *Capital Case*) either to give a positive Denial, or to make a penitent Confession, of the Matter commonly famed of him.

### QUESTION.

*How far the Confessions of a guilty and a troubled Conscience, are to be kept secret by the Minister or Christian, to whom the Confessions have been made?*

**I.** **T**IS very certain, that ordinarily the Confessions of a guilty and a troubled Conscience, are to be kept *secret* by those, to whom they are made. The *Ends* for which the Lord Jesus Christ has directed unto such Confessions, would be all frustrated, if they should not be most religiously concealed; and they are made, *as unto the Lord*.

II. Nevertheless, when evident *Mischief* will arise, general or personal, either in point of *Safety* or of *Justice*, by the concealment of a *secret Confession*, it is no longer to be kept *secret*. In such Cases the confessing Person himself can have no *ease* in his own Conscience (which is the Design of Confession) without publishing his own Crime; and therefore there can be no Obligation upon any other to assist him in *covering* of it.

III. When



III. When the endangered *Safety or Interests* of others, make it necessary for the Confession of a Secret Sin, to be exposed, it is fit for the Person, who has heard this *Confession*, to advise the Person *himself*, that within a Time limited and convenient, he do himself make it known unto the Persons concerned; which if he fail to do, Then is the Time for the *first Hearer* of the *Confession* to do his Duty.

IV. In the Great *Capitals*, if there be no other ways, a Divulgence thereof, He that hath had the Confession of such a Secret Sin, may come in as a *Second Witness*, to reveal the Secret, for the Conviction of the Malefactor under Judicial Process.

V. Where the Confession of a Secret Sin is to be further divulged, it is to be examined, Whether the Sin may not be told, without the Name of the Person, that has committed and confessed it.

VI. A Minister of the Gospel, receiving a Confession, often times has Cause to consider, whether the Person that makes it, may not make his Knowledge thereof, many ways *injurious* to himself; and if so, he may with his *best Prudence* provide against such Injuries.

VII. In those *Land desiling Sins*, where a Person is not bound by a Confession, to deliver himself up to the Hazard of the Law, no Minister is bound, from the meer Nature of the Crimes, to betray the Confession that has been made unto him.

## QUESTION.

*What is the Duty owing from the Church, to Persons who upon private Prejudices, withdraw from the Communion of it?*

I. Persons that have taken up any private *Prejudices* against any in the Communion of the Church, whereto they do belong are directed by the Commandment of the Lord Jesus Christ, and are engaged by the *Covenant*, of Watchfulness, to endeavour the Repentance of the Persons under supposed Offence by a *personal Application*.

II. They that upon *Offences* taken, do neglect this way of proceeding, are guilty of Sin against the Lord's Commandment, and their own *Covenant*; and by their withdrawing from the Table of the Lord, their Sin is aggravated.

III. The withdrawing of Persons thus irregularly from the Communion of the Church at the Lord's Table, does carry an hard and high Imputation unto the Church it self, which adds more of a Fault unto so sinful a *Schism*.

IV. If the Person that hath been offended, hath done his Duty, and either the Pastor do refuse to lay the Matter before the Church, for the Insignificance of it, or the Church upon the Hearing of it, do pronounce it satisfied, the Person is obliged still to continue his *Communion* with the Church, untill a *Council of Churches* declare the contrary.

V. Such a sinful Separation from the Communion of the Church, being a Moral Evil, the Scandal is to be by the Discipline of the Church proceeded against, as other censurable Scandals. The Pastor upon Observation and Information of the Sin, is to send for the Person withdrawing, and instruct, and convince and admonish him; and upon Contumacious Obstinacy, the Church is to deal with him, as one unruly, and walking disorderly.

VI. Nevertheless, *Compassion* towards the Ignorant, or Injured, is very much to determine the more or less *Vigour*, wherewith such Offences are to be prosecuted.

## QUESTION.

*What Loan of Money, upon Usury, may be practised.*

**U**SURY, being an *Advance* on any thing lent *Money* only; *Victuals* or any other Thing (as the Oracles of the Sacred Scriptures declare unto us) are capable of being *lent upon Usury*. The main Difference of *Usury* from other ways of *Dealing*, is the Owners not running the Risk of the *Principal*.

II. That there is an *Usury* lawful to be taken, is from several Passages in the *Divine Law*, sufficiently signified unto us. For First, under the Old Testament, God allowed unto his People the Practice of *Usury*; he expressly said, *Deut. 23. 20. Unto a Stranger thou mayst lend upon Usury*. And the Allowance of *Usury* upon a *Stranger*, had never been given, if *Usury* had in it any intrinsic Turpitude. Yea, in all the Places of the Old Testament, prohibiting unto the *Israelites* the Demand of *Usury* upon a *Brother*, there are Clauses in the Context, which seem to intimate, as if the *poor Brother* only were intended, in the Prohibition. However, the peculiar Constitution of the *Israelitish* Commonwealth, is enough to relate us *Gentiles*, from the Obligation of the Edicts against *Usury*, given thereunto. And the Words of the *Psalms* and *Prophet*, that seem to reproach *Usury*, must accordingly be expounded with a Limitation, to the *Usury*, which the Law had countermanded. Hence also in the New Testament, our Saviour has a Passage of such Importance, as to give Countenance, in *Math. 25. 27. unto a Man's receiving his own with Usury*; and in the New Testament also, *John Baptist*, in *Luke 13. 3. forbade* not unto the *Publicans*, that *Usury* which their Condition of Life led them unto.

III. There is every sort of Law, except the Popish, to justify a Regulated *Usury*. 'Tis justified by the Law of Necessity and Utility; Humane Society, as now circumstanced, would sink, if all *Usury* were impracticable. 'Tis justified by the Law of Equity; it is very equal that a Man should partake in the Benefits which his Estate procures for another Man. Yea, it may be the Duty of another Man to give me a *Usury*,



namely when he gains by my possessions; it would be *Iniquity* in him to do otherwise: and certainly then it cannot be a *Sin*, for me to *take*, that which 'tis his *duty* to *give*. 'Tis justified by the Law of *Parity*; there is no manner of Reason, why the *Usury* of *Money*, should be more faulty, than that of any other thing; for *Money* is as really *Improveable* a thing, as any other *Commodity* whatsoever: nor can a *Contract* in this *Cafe*, be more blameable, than in any other. Nor is it contrary to the Law of *Charity*, that a *Man* should expect something, for the support and Comfort of his own Family, for the profitable use, which other Men make of those things whereof he is himself the *Proprietor*.

IV. Nevertheless the Law of *Charity*, is to Regulate our *Usury*, that it may not become unlawful, by the *Biting Extremity*, into which it may otherwise be carried. It is an *Eternal* and a *Glorious Rule* of *Charity*, that in *Dealing* with a *Neighbour*, a *Man* must propose his *Neighbour's Advantage*, as well as his own, and he should not propose to make his own *Advantage* by adding to his *Neighbours Misery*. Moreover, when the *General Rules* of *Charity* oblige a *Man* to *Relieve* the *Necessities* of a *Neighbour*, or to *remit* of what he might have *exacted* from a *Neighbour*, if it had not been for those *Necessities*, *Usury* must not supersede that *Charity*. Whence also, to Demand *Usury* from the *Poor*, when we Accommodate them for their mere necessary Sustainance and Subsistence, is a *Sin*. 'Tis a *Sin* likewise, to Refuse helping the *Poor* because we would Keep all that we have to serve the Designs of *Usury*. Nor can it be any other than a *Sin* to require as much for *Usury*, as for *Hire*, which are Carefully to be Distinguished. And an *Idle Usury*, which is, when Men so confine themselves to the way of Living upon *Usury*, as to render themselves otherwise *Unuseful* unto the Publick. This is justly become a thing of an *Evil Character*. But yet in all these things, the Application of the *Rules* of *Charity*, is to be left unto a *Man's own Conscience*, which is to be Advised from the Word of God, with the Best Helps of Understanding that Word.

All these things being thus Considered, the severe Declarations of the *Ancients* against *Usury*, must be of no further Account with us, than their Discourses against *Limning*, or *Swearing*, or *Fighting*, or *Sitting* and *Acting*, in a Court of Civil Judicature.

## QUESTION.

Whether it be in the Power of Men to State any Days of Publick Worship?

I. NO Time is to be made Holy to the Lord, but what is made Holy by the Lord; and if there be no Institution of God, the Great Lord of Time, for a *stated time* to be made Holy to himself; 'tis a *Superstition* in any Man to make it so.

II. Very sensible is the Difference, between taking a *Time* to do a *Sacred Work*, and Doing a *Work* to keep a *stated Time*. The *Light of Nature* tells us there must be a *Time* for every *Work*; but it is only the *Fourth Commandment* of God, that separates one time from the rest, for the constant Performance of Religious Work upon it.

III. To esteem any *Good Work* the *Better*, for it's being done on such or such a *Return of Time*, which God hath not, in his Word, set apart for it, is to make the *Time* it self a part of the *Worship*; and it is an unwarrantable Imposing upon Heaven with our own *Inventions*.

IV. Solemn *Humiliations* and *Thanksgivings*, are *Moral Duties* to be observed *pro Causis & Temporibus*. And the Direction of Divine Providence in laying before us fresh Occasions of them, is to be Regarded; which cannot be done, if they be made perpetual.

V. The Church of *Israel*, kept no Days of Religious Worship, except what were of Divine Institution. The Days of *Parim*, are by a *Different Hebrew Word* for them plainly intimated to have been of no other Character than *Political Commemorations*; and besides, *Mordechai* who ordered them, was a *Prophet*. The Feast of *Dedication* among the *Jews*, can have nothing pleaded for it, from the presence of our Lord at it; nor were the former *Dedications* of the *Temple*, under any *Anniversary Commemorations*.

VI. 'Tis not a *Work*, but a *Word*, that must Sanctify a Day; and if an *Extraordinary Work* of God, were enough to prefer one Day before another for the Devotions of Christianity, the *Protestant Kalender* must soon be as full as the *Papish*.

VII. When the Apostle blamed the *Galatians*, for observing the Days, which God himself had Instituted, much more does he blame us, if we Celebrate such Days, as only Men have devised. And when the Apostle forbade the *Colossians*, to let any Man judge them in respect of an Holy Day, he suffers not us to Sacrifice our Christian Liberty, unto *Humane Impositions* of *stated Holy Days* upon us, nor a *private Person* to Impose it upon himself.

## QUESTION.

Whether it be Lawful to Eat Blood, and Things Strangled?

I. Plain are the Words of the Apostle, in Rom. 14. 14. I know and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of it self. In which Passage there may be respect unto those Words of our Lord Jesus, in Math. 15. 11. Not that which goeth into the mouth, defileth the Man.

II. The Scriptures of the New Testament give an Allowance for Eating all sorts of Meat, wherein Blood is included. The Apostle speaks of him as an Orthodox Man, in Rom. 14. 2.



who believeth he may eat all things; intimating that it was from weakness in Faith, and Ignorance in the Doctrine of the Gospel, to doubt about it. The Scripture condemns the Superstition of those, in 1 Tim. 4. 3, 4. *Who abstain from Meats, which God had created to be received with Thanksgiving; for nothing is to be refused: If Nothing, then sure, not Blood.* The Scripture permits us that Liberty, in 1 Cor. 10. 25. *Whatsoever is sold in the Shambles, that Eat, asking no Question for Conscience sake.* Now it was usual to sell Blood in the Shambles.

III. The use of Blood, in Medicine, is not questioned: The Spirit and the Powder of Blood, is, by the Warrant of the Sixth Commandment, freely used, for our Health: Why then should the use of Blood in Diet, be any Question?

IV. If a thing strangled may be eaten, then Blood may be so too. Christians do not ordinarily scruple to Eat a thing strangled; and the Eating of a thing which Dies of it self (which is the same case) was never unlawful for the Gentiles.

V. The Reason of the Precept forbidding Blood, unto the Jews was merely Ceremonial: Namely, because Blood was Typical of that Great Blood, which makes Attonement for our Sins, and because, being the Organ of Life, it must be sacred unto God the Author of Life. Now since the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ has been shed; every Precept, which is only Ceremonial, is Abrogated.

VI. The forbidding of Blood unto Noah, in Gen. 9. 4 seems to have been living Blood, and for the prevention of that Bloody, Ferocious, Inhumane Disposition, which was then prevailing in the World. And all the Commandments given to Noah, were not Moral.

VII. The forbidding of Blood unto the Primitive Churches, in Acts 15. 20. was a Temporary Advice, for the avoiding of Scandal. It would not only have prejudiced the Jews against all Christianity, but also it would have confirmed the Pagans, in their Idolatry; For the Principal Entanglements of their Idolatry, lay in these four things, of Idolatry, Fornication, Blood and Strangulation, which are elsewhere summed up in two, *The eating of things Sacrificed unto Idols, and, committing Fornication.* To forbear these Things, was to testify a Renunciation of Heathenism. To use any of these things among the Heathens, was to justify their Devil-Worship. Now the World is in other Circumstances, and, *Cessatio Cause efficit, ut cesset Observatio.* Fornication yet remains up on other, and farther, and moral, and more general Accounts, a Sin.

## QUESTION.

Whether Significant Ceremonies, in the Worship of God, not Instituted by him, are Lawful to be used?

THE Sign of Internal, are Parts of External Worship; in both whereof, the

Great God hath commanded us to glorifie him: Even, with our Spirits, and with our Bodies, which are his.

II. There are Natural Ceremonies, with which the Light of Nature does direct Men to the worship of God: And these are to be used in the worship of God, as far as we have the Word of God, reinforcing and countenancing of them.

III. Some Ceremonies of Respect among Men, are used in Exercises of Religion, but as expressions of Cruelty to the People of God, with whom we Assemble, for the Worship of God; and these are to be distinguished from those Actions, which we apply to the Lord himself immediately.

IV. There are Ceremonies appointed, for some signification of Inward Graces and Moral Duties, in the Worship of God; which, without that Appointment, would not signifie what they do: And it is the Prerogative of God alone, to ordain all such Rights as these.

V. For Men to take upon them, to Declare, what Ceremonies of Worship, the God of Heaven shall Accept, and Reward, and Bless, otherwise than he hath himself, in his Holy Laws declared, is a very Criminal Presumption: And this Pride of Man has generally been Chastised, with a manifold Curse of God.

VI. The Second Commandment, forbids not all Images (or significant Ceremonies) in the Worship of God, but, *Thy making them for thy self.*

VII. The Authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the glorious King and Prophet, of his Church, is profanely invaded, when the Worship of God, with the Significant Ceremonies of it, is taught by the Inventions of Men.

VIII. The Sacred Scriptures pronounce it, an Argument sufficient, for the Rejecting and Condemning of any thing, in the Worship of God, if God himself hath not prescribed it. Thus, Jer. 7. 31. *They did that which I commanded them not, neither came it into my Heart.* Thus, Heb. 7. 14. *Of that Moses spake nothing.* Thus, Lev. 10. 1. *They offered strange Fire, before the Lord, which he commanded them not.*

IX. 'Tis very certain, That under the Old Testament, there was not any one significant Ceremony allow'd, in the Worship of God, but what God himself had instituted. If the Churches of the New Testament will proceed in this matter, without a Divine Institution, let them then produce their Charter.

X. The Apostolical Writings to the Galatians and the Colossians, forbid us to practise any significant Ceremony in the Worship of God which God himself had once Appointed, but now Abolished. Much less may we now practise any which God never appointed at all.



## QUESTION.

*Whether the Games of Cards or Dice, be Lawful to be used, among the Professors of the Christian Religion?*

**I.** There is, at the least, a great *suspicion* brought on the *Lawfulness* of these Games, by the *Lottery*, which they turn upon.

*Lots* being mentioned in the sacred Oracles of the Scripture, as used only in *weighty Cases*, and as an Acknowledgment of *God sitting in Judgment*, with a desire of his Power and Providence to be manifested, and without an *Invocation of God*, for the end of *Strife*, therein implied: They cannot be made the *Tools and Parts* of our *common Sports*, without, at least, such an *appearance of Evil*, as is forbidden in the word of God.

II. The *General Rules*, which in all *Recreations* are to be observed, are so generally transgressed in these *Games*, that *ordinarily* it can be no other than a *Sin* to use them.

These *Diversions* *fascinate* the Minds of those that practise them, at such a rate, that if ever those Persons come to be converted unto God, they bitterly lament the *loss of time* in which that practise hath involved them. And the many other *Passions* and *Follies* almost inseparable from these *Diversions*, render the *Diversions* themselves to be, *Sins* against the *Commandments*, which prohibit the Evils thereby occasioned.

III. The *Scandal* of these *Games*, declares it a *Scandalous* thing for *Christians* to meddle with them.

The *fit Character* given to these usages, not only by *Christians* of all sorts and ranks, and in all Ages, whose *just inveivements* against them would fill Volumes, but by the *Sober and Moral Pagans* also, has brought them among the things of *Evil Report*, which by *Christians* are to be avoided. That Man's Heart is inordinately set upon *Play*, who had rather *do things* under such an *universal condemnation*, than forbear a little *Play*, that may certainly be forborn without any Damage.

IV. *Gains* of Money or Estate, by *Games*, be the *Games* what they will, are a *sinful Violation* of the Law of *Honesty and Industry*, which God has given us.

## QUESTION.

*What Respect is due to Places of Publick Worship?*

**H**oly Places were appointed under the Law of old, by the great Law-giver of *Israel*, partly to prevent *Idolatry* among the People, but chiefly to direct the Thoughts of the Faithful unto the *Messiah*, wherein God was resolved for to dwell for ever. Notwithstanding,

I. There is now no Place which renders the Worship of God, more acceptable for its being there performed: It's foretold concerning the Times of the Gospel, in *Zeph. 2. 11. Men shall worship him, every one from his place.* 'Tis foretold in *Mal. 1. 11. In every place incense shall be offered to my Name, and a pure offering.*

'Tis foretold in *John 4. 24. That the Spiritual Worship of God, shall now be accepted with him, in other Places as well as in Jerusalem.*

We are commanded, in *1 Tim. 2. 8. That Men pray in every place.*

There is a Truth, in the famous Dr. *Usher's* Observation: 'In Times of Persecution, the Godly did often meet in Barns, and such obscure Places; which were indeed publick, because of the Church or God there; as where ever the Prince is, there is the Court, tho' it were in a poor Cottage.

There were Parts of Worship in the *Mosaic Pedegogy*, which could not be performed any where but at the *Holy Places*, appointed. There are no Parts of the Worship confined unto any Places under the *New Testament*.

They who expect the Divine regard for what they do in the Worship of God, because 'tis done in this or that Place, do not pray looking towards the Temple; our Lord *Jesus Christ*, the true Temple of God, is therein overlooked.

II. To prepare and repair Places for the Publick Worship of God, and keep those Places in such a Condition, that they be not unfit for the solemn Exercises of Religion: This is but an Act of Obedience to him, who, when he requires Worship from us, doth also suppose that there must be Places for it. But the setting of these Places off, with a Theatrical *Gauiness*, does not favour of the Spirit of a true Christian Society.

III. While the Duties of Divine Worship, are performing in any Places, an agreeable Reverence is to be maintained in those Places; nor so much out of Respect unto the Places, as unto the Duties therein performed, and the Persons concerned with us in the Duties. Nevertheless, the Synagogues also are to be considered, as the *Houses of God*.

IV. To offer Affronts to Places built for the Worship of God, with design therein to affront the Worship for which they are built, is a vile Impiety. Nor will the great God hold them guiltless, who so take his Name in vain.

V. Places intended for the Sacred Worship of God, may lawfully be put unto any civil Service, for which they may be accommodated, at the Times when the Sacred Worship is not there to be attended; so far as Contempt of God and his Ordinances doth not naturally and necessarily follow thereupon; even as Courts were kept in the Synagogues among the Jews.

QUEST.



## QUESTION.

*Whether, to drink Healths, be a thing fit to be practised, by the Professors of the Christian Religion?*

*Answered in the following Propositions.*

**I.** IT is too notorious to be denied, That it was originally an Heathen Custom to drink those which were called, *The Cups of Health*, in token of Respect to the Object mentioned in their Cups. The great *Austin* truly says, *De paganorum observatione remansit*. It is a Relique of Paganism. And inasmuch as it is not a natural Action, but an Action of a religious Nature, and as themselves called it, a *Devotion*, it is now reached by those Oracles of God, which forbid our learning the Ways and the Works of the Heathen, and our walking as the Gentiles in the Vanity of their Minds, and our keeping the vain Conversation received by Tradition from our Fathers.

**II.** That which very much adds to the Obligations lying upon Christians to abandon this Relique of Paganism, is the Idolatrous and Diabolical Intentions that gave the first rise unto it. We are assured from all the Monuments of Antiquity, that the *Healths* drunk by the Pagans were first of all *Drink Offerings* to their Demons, they were a *Cup of Devils*; and then sufficiently to Compliment their Princes and Patrons they carried on the Offerings to those Mortals also; and lastly, the Compliment proceeded so far as to take in any Friends, whom they saw cause to treat with such Flourishes of Affection. It becomes Christians to beware of having any Fellowship with such unfruitful Works of Darkness.

**III.** To drink a Cup, as a Part, or Sign, of our Invocation upon the blessed God, for the Health of any Person, is a Superstition directly forbidden by the Second Commandment: Nor is it ordinarily free from a violation of the Third. And that the drinking of an Health is thus designed, and so becomes no other than a prophane Sacrament, was the Judgment of *Ambrose*, when he wrote those words, *Quid memorem Sacramenta? Bibamus pro salute Imperatorum*. To drink an Health implies an Application to some Object for that Health: This way of it is unwarrantable.

**IV.** To begin or follow Healths, which bind Persons to drink off their Cups, is a manifold Offence against Charity, Justice and Reason. Such Healths being as the ancients truly called them, *The Devils Shooing-Horns to drive on Drunkenness*, are Scandals wherein much brutish Folly is committed, and more occasioned. The Primitive Christians therefore justly refused them, and condemned them. Great Emperors have made Edicts against them. Pagan Writers have satyrically lashed them. And even Popish Wri-

ters have reproached the Protestant Profession, for their being so much practised under it.

**V.** Not only the numberless, and prodigious Exorbitances of *Health-drinking*, are to be avoided by every Christian, but the very proposing our Cups to the Prosperity of what is therein remembered. 'Tis a vain Plea, that we drink no more than a civil Remembrance of the Person, or Affairs mentioned in our Cups. Why is the Action of *drinking* singled out, rather than any other for the token of the Remembrance? And why is there such stress laid upon a Concurrence in the Action? It is but a continuation of the old Paganism, which had better be utterly abolished, than thus refined and preserved. Every thing that serves either to revive, or to maintain the old Pagan Follies, and harden Men in them, should be declined by them, that would adorn the Doctrine of God our Saviour.

## QUESTION.

*Whether Instrumental Musick may lawfully be introduced into the Worship of God, in the Churches of the New Testament?*

*Considered and answered in the following Conclusions.*

**I.** THE Instrumental Musick used in the old Church of Israel, was an Institution of God: It was [2 Chron. 29. 25.] the Commandment of the Lord by the Prophets. And the Instruments are called God's Instruments, [1 Chron. 16. 42.] and Instruments of the Lord, [2 Chron. 7. 6.] Now there is not one word of Institution in the New Testament, for Instrumental Musick in the Worship of God. And because the Holy God rejects all he does not command in his Worship, he now therefore in effect says unto us, *I will not hear the Melody of thy Organs*. But, on the other side, the Rule given doth abundantly Intimate, that no Voice is now to be heard in the Church, but what is significant and edifying, by signification; which the Voice of Instruments is not.

**II.** Tho' Instrumental Musick were admitted and appointed in the Worship of God under the Old Testament, yet we do not find it practised in the Synagogue of the Jews, but only in the Temple. It thence appears to have been a part of the Ceremonial Pedagogy, which is now abolished; nor can any say it was a part of Moral Worship. And, whereas the common Usage now hath confined Instrumental Musick to Cathedral, it seems therein too much to Judaize; which to do is a part of the Anti-Christian Apostacy, as well as to Paganize.

**III.** In our asserting, a Matter of the Old Testament, to have been Typical, 'tis not needful, that we be always able to particularize any future Mysteries of the New Testament therein referred unto; Truths which were then of a present Consideration, were sometimes represented



ferred in the *Types* then used among the People of God, which helps to understand the Case of *Instrumental Musick*.

IV. *Instrumental Musick* in the Worship of God, is but a very late Invention and Corruption in the Church of the *New Testament*. The Writings that go under the name of *Justin Martyr* deny it and decry it. *Chrysostom* speaks meanly of it. Even *Aquinas* himself, about 400 Years ago, determines against it, as *Jewish* and *Carnal*. *Bellarmino* himself confesses, that it was but late received in the Church.

V. If we admit *Instrumental Musick* in the Worship of God, how can we resist the Impostition of all the *Instruments* used among the ancient Jews? Yea, *Dancing* as well as *Playing*, and several other *Jewish Actions*? Or, how can we decline a whole Rabble of Church-Officers, necessary to be introduced for *Instrumental Musick*, whereof our Lord Jesus Christ hath left us, no manner of Direction?

## QUESTION.

*Whether Baptism is to be administered by any but the Ordained Ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ?*

WE find no Commission or Permission from our Lord Jesus Christ, for any to be the Administrators of *Baptism*, except those whose *Work* it is by his *Commission* to preach the Gospel, *Matth.* 28. 9. And none have a *Commission*, to make the preaching of the Gospel their *Work*, but such as are, with the Call of the Faithful thereunto, *set apart* for that *Work*, *Rom.* 10. 15.

*Baptism* is a *Seal* of the *Covenant*; for any but an Officer to apply the *Seal*, in the Name of the Great King of Heaven, is a presumptuous Arrogance.

*Baptism* is one of the *Evangelical Mysteries*, and none but *Stewards* in the House of our Lord Jesus Christ, may pretend unto the Dispensation of those *Mysteries*.

The Apostolical Writings intimate, that some are *sent* to *Baptize*. Hence none are to *Baptize*, but those that are *sent*.

II. As both the *Primitive* and *Protestant* Churches, have signified their dislike of *Baptism* administered by common Hands: Thus the *Discipline*, and *Confusion*, and the Contempt of the Institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ, which would be thereby introduced, is a sufficient prejudice against it.

III. The Original of the Allowance and Countenance, given in some Churches, unto *undue Administrators of Baptism* has been from gross Errors in the Minds of Men, about the Necessity and Operation of that Sacrament, whereof, *non Privatio sed Contemptus* dam-

## PROPOSITIONS.

*Concerning the Marriage of Cousin-Germans.*

I. THO' in the first Propagation of Mankind from one Head, by the Great God resolved and required, it was necessary for Brothers, to Marry their Sisters, yet that so the Bonds of Amity in Humane Society might be the better increased, the Lord afterwards prohibited several Marriages, under the Title of Incest, and some were now too near akin to be united: there were degrees of *Consanguinity*, and so of *Affinity*, wherein Marriages might not be contracted.

II. Albeit the *Light of Nature* teaches Men to preserve a *Distance*, and *Honour*, for some that are very nearly related, and *Natural Conscience* relucets with Horror at some Conjunctions; like, what the Apostle calls, a *Fornication* that is not so much as named among the *Gentiles*, and those which the Poets themselves call, *Veritos Hymenaeos*, and *Impieties*; yet it is a *Moral Law* of God, positively given, or a *Law*, the general reason whereof, is in the Nature of the thing, but the particular Limitation of it is by Revelation from God, that is to determine the Degrees, wherein Marriages are to be judged Unlawful and Incestuous.

III. In the Eighteenth Chapter of *Leviticus*, there is a Law of Heaven, declaring the Degrees, wherein Marriages are forbidden; and there is no doubt, that all that come within those Degrees, are as much forbidden, tho' they be not expressly mentioned.

What is pronounced a *Sin*, by that *Law*, is to be esteemed a *Sin*, by the *Gentiles*, as well as *Jews*, (which the Conclusion of it, abundantly intimates.) But what falls not within the reach of that *Law*, is no *Sin*: and the *Canon-Law*, which for some Covetous and Enslaving ends, hath made vast additions to this *Law* of God, is to be rejected, as full of Superstitious Impolitions.

IV. If we exactly consider the Line in the Eighteenth Chapter of *Leviticus*, we shall find, that the most remote Relations forbidden to Marry, (which are, the Brother, and the Brothers Daughter) stand one Degree nearer to the root, than *Cousin-Germans* do. An Uncle or an Aunt therefore; being the furthest, with whom a Marriage is interdicted, it seems plain, that the Marriage of *Cousin-Germans* is not Incestuous.

V. Altho' *Cousin-Germans*, that are Married unto each other, now may and should, with all Peace of Mind, live together in the fear of God, and not give way to distressing scruples; or question the Lawfulness of their Marriage any more than the Famous *Holoman* would have done, who has written to prove it, *pium & Christianum esse*. Nevertheless, there is much to be said for the dissuading of *Cousin-Germans*, from coming together in Marriage. Inexpedi-



ence we know sometimes does produce *unlawfulness*. This Marriage may be very *inexpedient*, its borders as near, as is possible, to what is unlawful. There is no need of coming to near, while we have such a *wide World* before us. One end of *Marriage*, namely to promote, and extend *alliances*, is dammied herein. Some Wife and Good Men have been so troubled in their Minds, concerning these *Marriages*, that it is an easier thing to abstain here from, than to extirpate such a trouble from the Minds of the Faithful.

Some of the most considerable among the *Ancients*, especially *Ambrose*, and *Austin*, besides Five several *Councils*, have severally *condemned* these; and the Churches of the *Augustan Confession*, do to this Day prohibit them. So that upon the whole, the advice of the renowned *Amb* may seem not amiss. *Tattus est aliqnere.*

## QUESTION.

*Whether, or how far the Discipline of our Churches upon offenders in them, is to depend upon the Conviction of those Offences in the Courts of Civil Judicature?*

**T**O bring the Discipline of the Church, into a dependence on the Direction of the *Civil Magistracy*, is to put it under undue, and unsafe disadvantages. The mutual dependence of those, on each other, as 'tis not founded in the Oracles of our Lord Jesus Christ, so it has been the occasion of no little Confusion in the World.

II. Some things may be censured in the Court, for Transgressions of the Laws, which may scarce deserve the Censures of the Church.

III. Some things may be censured in the Church for Offences, against which, the Court has no Censures by any Law provided.

IV. Persons may be so defective in their defence of themselves by *Legal formalities*, as to fall under the Censures of the Court; and yet the Church may see cause, and do well, to acquit them.

V. Persons may be acquitted in the Court of Crimes laid to their Charge, for want of *Conviction*, and yet the Evidence may be so *Convictive*, that a Church may Condemn them thereupon.

VI. When a Church passes a Censure on any Delinquent, it is convenient and advisable, that the Circumstances of it be so managed, as to expose as little as may be, the censured Person unto the Sentence of the Court.

VII. A Church may do well sometimes, to express it's Faithfulness unto the Lord Jesus Christ, by censuring some Evils, which a Court may faultily neglect to Annidavert upon.

VIII. Sometimes a Cafe may be so dark, that a Church may hope to be eased of Labour, and freed from Error, by a Court first fitting of it, and then *Christian Prudence* would make use of

that help, to come at the knowledge of the Truth.

IX. When a Session of a Court is very near, a Church may prudently forbear for a little while, a Process, which the necessity of a Soul fallen into Sin, and the Vindication of the Name of the Lord, makes not proper to be forborn for a greater while.

X. When things are not very Apparent, or, very Important, it is prudently done of a Church, to defer the early decision of a Matter, which will produce between it, and the Court, a Controversie of dangerous Consequence.

XI. As 'tis the Duty of a Church to see that the Witnesses of a Crime, to be judged by it, be obliged to speak, as in the special presence of the Great God, so if it be feared that the Witnesses will not be Faithful, unless they be upon Oath, it is Prudence to defer till the *Civil Magistracy* have examined them.

XII. Or, if Witnesses refuse to come at all unto the Church, which the *Civil Magistracy* may and will compel to give in their Testimonies, a Church can in Prudence do no other than defer, till those Witnesses can be brought to testify what is expected from them.

*The Judgment of the Ministers, met at Boston, May, 11. 1699. upon a Case Addressed unto them, concerning LOTTERIES.*

**G**REAT is the Difference, between, a Lottery set up, by Persons acting in a private capacity; and a Lottery set up, by the Government, who have Power to lay a Tax upon the People, but choose to leave unto the more easie Determination of a Lottery, the Persons who shall pay the Summ which the Necessities of the Publick require. A Parliamentary Lottery takes only from the Voluntary, what the Government might have Demanded, with a more general Imposition; and only when the People are plunged into such distress, that a more general Imposition would be grievous to them; and it employs for the welfare of the Publick, all that is thus raised by the Lottery. Whereas a more private Lottery, is managed, by those that have no Antecedent claim unto any thing of their Neighbours, and it is designed merely for private advantage.

II. It is a Principle embraced among all well-informed Christians, That no calling is *Lawful*, but what is *useful* unto *Humane Society*, in some of it's Interests, except there be in a Calling, some Tendency, to make an addition unto the Enjoyments and Interests of *Humane Society*, no Christians may set it up. The Oracles of Heaven, tell us, Christians must *Learn to possess honest Trades for necessary uses*. To set up a Lottery is to set up a Calling. But tho' this or that particular Man may be a Gainer; yet it would puzzle any Man to tell, what necessary, or convenient uses, of *Humane Society*, where the Lottery is opened, are at all served. The Minds, the Bodies, the Riches, the Defence, or the



regular *Pelights*, of Humane Society, have by this *Lottery*, no addition made unto them.

III. Not only the *Undertakers* of a *Lottery*, have a certain gain unto themselves, from Humane Society; but so likewise have they, who in the *Lottery*, draw the *Tickets of Benefit*: and every one that Ventures, doth it with a desire to fall upon those *Tickets* in the Drawing. 'Tis very certain, that for this *Benefit*, none of those can pretend, that they do any one thing *Beneficial* to Humane Society. They only Hire the *Undertakers*, to transfer the *Estate* of others unto them, without any service done by them, to the *Interests* of any others under Heaven. But we do not judge this pleasing unto God, that Mens Rights be ordinarily transferred from one to another, merely in a way of Reference to Divine Providence, without considering any service therein intended unto the Community, or any help to Mankind in its true *Interests*. Nor is venturing in a *Lottery* on Shore, of the same Nature with venturing in a *Merchandise* at Sea.

IV. In a *Lottery* so contrived, that when all the *Prizes* be drawn, they do not make up, and fetch out, near the whole Summ that was deposited by the *Adventurers*, there is a plain Cheat upon the People. The *Undertakers* in such a *Lottery*, only resolve to Pillage the People of such a Considerable Summ; and invite a number to assist them in their Action, with hopes of going shares with them in the Advantage; and such is the Corruption of Mankind, that the mere hopes of getting the Riches of other Men, without the doing of any service to them for it, will engage Men to run the hazard of being Losers.

Upon the whole; we cannot approve it, that any particular Persons do either undertake, or countenance any such *Lotteries*, as have been sometimes practised in other places, and the Danger which there is, lest the Lusts of Men, once engaged in these *Lotteries*, proceed unto a multitude of other Disorders, to the ruine of their Employments and their Families, does further move us, to withhold our approbation from them.

§ 9. Having so often produced the *Propositions* voted by an Assembly of Ministers at Cambridge, for the Explanation of our Platform, 'tis not, here, amiss, on this occasion to give some History of that Assembly.

Know then, that according to the Advice of Mr. Hooper, who about a Week before he fell sick of his last, let fall these words, *We must Agree upon constant Meetings of Ministers, and settle the Consociation of Churches, or else we are utterly undone!* It has been the care of the Ministers, in the several *Vicings* throughout the most part of the Country, to establish such *constant Meetings*, whereat they have informed one another of their various Exercises, and assisted one another in the Work of our Lord: besides a general Appearance of all the Ministers in each Colony, once a Year, at the Town,

and the Time of the General Court for Elections of *Magistrates* in the Colonies. These Meetings have not all obliged themselves to one Method of Proceeding, in pursuing of mutual Edification; some do still *Fast* and *Pray* together, and speak in their turn to a *proposed Subject*, much after the manner of the Great Grindal's Lectures: Others do only after the publick Lectures, then, held in the Congregation of that Pastor, to whose House they Adjourn, Confer a while together upon matters of Concernment: but one of these Meetings is regulated by the following Orders.

*It is agreed by us whose Names are under-written, that we do Associate our selves for the promoting of the Gospel, and our mutual assistance and furtherance in that great Work:*

In order thereunto,

I. THAT we meet constantly, at the College in Cambridge, on a Monday at Nine or Ten of the Clock in the Morning, once in six Weeks, or oftner, it need be.

II. That in such Meetings, one shall be chosen *Moderator pro Tempore*, for the better Order and Decency of our Proceedings, which *Moderator* is to be chosen, at the end of every Meeting.

III. That the *Moderator's* Work be,

1. To End the Meeting, wherein he is Chosen, and to begin the next with Prayer.
2. To propose Matters to be Debated, and Receive the Suffrages of the Bretheren.
3. To Receive with the Consent of the Bretheren, the Subscriptions of such as shall join with us; and keep all Papers belonging to the Association.
4. To give and receive Notices, and appoint Meetings, upon Emergent Occasions.

IV. That we shall submit unto the Councils, Reproofs and Censures of the Bretheren so Associated and Assembled, in all things in the Lord [Eph. 5. 21.]

V. That none of us shall relinquish this Association, nor forsake the appointed Meetings, without giving sufficient Reason for the same.

VI. That



VI. That our *Work*, in the said Meeting shall be;

1. 'To Debate any Matter referring to our selves.
2. 'To Hear and Consider any *Cases* that shall be proposed unto us, from Churches or private Persons.
3. 'To Answer any *Letters* directed unto us, from any other *Associations* or Persons.
4. 'To Discourse of any *Question* proposed at the former Meeting.

§ 10. Such and so hath been our Platform of Church Discipline: If our Bretheren of the Presbyterian Perswasion be still uneasy in any Article of it, let these things be offered for a Cloze.

First, The Presbyterian Ministers of this Country do find it no Difficulty to *Practise* the substance of it, in and with their several Congregations; and when it comes to the *practice* they do not find so much of Difficulty, as, at first, appear'd in the *Notion*.

Secondly, The Reverend Persons of the Presbyterian way, who wrote the *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelicæ*, as long since as the Year 1654. declared,

As we agree wholly in the same *Confession* of Faith, so we agree in many things of great

elt Concernment, in the matters of Church Discipline. And those things wherein we differ, are not of such Consequence as to cause a Schism between us, either in Worship, or in Love and Affection.

Our Debates are (as it was said of the *Disciplines* of the Ancient Fathers, one with another about lesser differences) not Contentious but Collationes. We can truly say, as our Bretheren do in their Preface, That it is far from us so to Attest the Discipline of Christ as to Detest the Disciples of Christ, so to Contest for the Seam-less Coat of Christ, as to Crucifie the Living Members of Christ, so to divide our selves about Church-Communion, as thro' breaches to open a wide Gap, for a deluge of Antichristian and profane Malignity, to swallow up both Church and Civil State.

Thirdly, The Bretheren of the Presbyterian way in England, are lately come unto such an Happy Union, with those of the Congregational, that all former Names of Distinction, are now swallowed up in that Blessed one of United Bretheren. And now partly because one of New-England, namely Mr. Increase Mather, then Resident at London, was very singularly Instrumental in Effecting of that Union; but more because that Union, hath been for many Lustres, yea, many Decades of Years Exemplified in the Churches of New-England, so far, that I believe, 'tis not possible for me to give a truer Description of our Ecclesiastical Constitution, than by Transcribing thereof The Articles of that Union hath here be Repeated.

## Heads of Agreement,

Assented to by the

UNITED MINISTERS, formerly call'd Presbyterian and Congregational.

### I. Of Churches and Church-Members.

WE acknowledge our Lord Jesus Christ to have One Catholic Church, or Kingdom, comprehending all that are united to him, whether in Heaven or Earth. And do conceive the whole Multitude of Visible Believers, and their Infant-Seed (commonly call'd the Catholic Visible Church) to belong to Christ's Spiritual Kingdom in this World. But for the Notion of a Catholic Visible Church here, as it signifies it's having been collected into any formed Society, under a visible Humane Head on Earth, whether One Person singly, or Many Collectively, we, with the rest of Protestants, unanimously disclaim it

2. We agree, that particular Societies of visible Saints, who, under Christ their Head, are stately joined together, for ordinary Communion with one Author in all the Ordinances of Christ, are particular Churches, and are to be owned by each other, as instituted Churches of Christ, though differing in *Apprehensions* and *Practice* in some lesser Things.

3. That none shall be admitted as Members, in order to Communion in all the special Ordinances of the Gospel, but such Persons as are knowing, and found in the Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion, without scandal in their Lives; and to a Judgment regulated by the Word of God, are Persons of visible Holiness and Honesty; credibly professing Cordial Subjection to Jesus Christ.

§ H 2 4. A



4. A competent number of such *visible Saints*, (as before described) do become the capable Subjects of *stated Communion* in all the *special Ordinances of Christ* upon their mutual declared Consent and Agreement to *walk together therein according to Gospel Rule*. In which Declaration, different degrees of *Expiement*, shall no ways hinder such Churches from owning each other, as instituted Churches.

5. Tho' *parochial Bounds*, be not of *Divine Right*, yet for common Edification, the Members of a particular Church ought (as much as conveniently may be) to live near one another.

6. That each particular Church hath right to use their own Officers; and being furnished with such as are *duly qualified and ordained* according to the Gospel Rule, hath Authority from Christ for exercising Government, and of enjoying all the *Ordinances of Worship* within it self.

7. In the Administration of *Church Power*, it belongs to the *Pastors* and other *Elders* of every particular Church, if such there be to *rule and govern*, and to the Brotherhood to *consent* according to the Rule of the Gospel.

8. That all Professors as before described, are bound in Duty, as they have opportunity to join themselves as *fixed Members* of some particular Church; their thus joining being part of their professed Subjection to the Gospel of Christ, and an instituted Means of their Establishment and Edification; whereby they are under the *Pastoral Care*, and in case of *scandalous or offensive Walkings*, may be Authoritatively admonished or censured for their Recovery, and for Vindication of the Truth and the Church professing it.

9. That a *Visible Professor* thus joined to a particular Church ought to continue steadfast with the said Church; and not forsake the Ministry, and Ordinances there *dispensed*, without an orderly seeking a Recommendation unto another Church, which ought to be given, when the Case of the Person apparently requires it.

## II. Of the Ministry.

1. **W**E agree that the *Ministerial Office* is instituted by Jesus Christ for the gathering, guiding, edifying and governing of his Church; and to continue to the end of the World.

2. They who are called to this Office ought to be endued with *competent Learning and ministerial Gifts*, as also with the Grace of God, found in Judgment, not Novices in the Faith and Knowledge of the Gospel; without scandal, of Holy Conversation, and such as *devote* themselves to the Work and Service thereof.

3. That ordinarily none shall be ordained to the Work of this Ministry, but such as are called and *chosen* thereunto by a particular Church.

4. That in so great and weighty a Matter as the calling and choosing a *Pastor*, we judge it ordinarily requisite, that every such Church consult and advise with the *Pastors* of neighbouring Congregations.

5. That after such Advice the Person consulted about, being chosen by the Brotherhood

of that particular Church over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly ordained and set apart to his Office over them; wherein 'tis ordinarily requisite that the *Pastors* of Neighbouring Congregations concur with the preaching Elder or Elders, if such there be.

6. That whereas such Ordination is only intended for such as *never before* had been ordained to the ministerial Office; if any judge, that in the case also of the removal of one formerly ordained, to a new Station, or *pastoral Charge*, there ought to be a like, solemn recommending him and his Labours to the Grace and Blessing of God; no different Sentiments or Practice herein, shall be any occasion of Contention or Breach of Communion among us.

7. It is expedient, that they who enter on the work of preaching the Gospel, be not only qualified for Communion of Saints; but also, that except in Cases extraordinary, they give proof of their Gifts and Firms for the said Work, unto the Pastors of Churches, of known Abilities to discern and judge of their Qualifications; that they may be sent forth with solemn Approbation and Prayer; which we judge needful, that no Doubt may remain concerning their being called unto the Work; and for preventing (as much as in us lyeth) ignorant and rash Intruders.

## III. Of Censures.

1. **A**S it cannot be avoided, but that in the purest Churches on Earth, there will sometimes Offences and Scandals arise by reason of Hypocrisy and prevailing Corruption; so Christ hath made it the Duty of every Church, to reform it self by Spiritual Remedies appointed by him to be applied in all such Cases, viz. *Admonition* and *Excommunication*.

2. *Admonition*, being the rebuking of an Offending Member in order to Conviction, is in case of private Offences to be performed according to the Rule in *Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17.* and in case of publick Offences openly before the Church, as the Honour of the Gospel, and the nature of the Scandal shall require: And, if either of the *Admonitions* take place for the recovery of the fallen Person, all further Proceedings in a way of Censure are thereon to cease, and satisfaction to be declared accordingly.

3. When all due Means are used, according to the Order of the Gospel for the restoring an offending and scandalous Brother, and he, notwithstanding remains impenitent, the Censure of Excommunication is to be proceeded unto; wherein the Pastor and other Elders (if there be such) are to lead and go before the Church, and the Brotherhood to give their Consent in a way of Obedience unto Christ, and to the Elders, as over them in the Lord.

4. It may sometimes come to pass, that a Church-Member, not otherwise scandalous may *sinfully withdraw*, and divide himself from the Communion of the Church to which he belongeth: In which case, when all due Means for the reducing him, prove ineffectual, he having there-



by cut himself off from that Churches Communion; the Church may justly esteem and declare it self discharged of any further Inspection over him.

#### IV. Of Communion of Churches.

1. WE agree that particular Churches ought not to walk so distinct and separate from each other, as not to have Care and Tenderness towards one another. But their Pastors ought to have frequent Meetings together, that by mutual Advice, Support, Encouragement, and Brotherly Interchange, they may strengthen the Hearts and Hands of each other in the Ways of the Lord.

2. That none of our particular Churches shall be subordinate to one another, each being endued with equality of Power from Jesus Christ. And that none of the said particular Churches, their Officer or Officers, shall exercise any Power, or have any Superiority, over any other Church or their Officers.

3. That known Members of particular Churches constituted as aforesaid, may have occasional Communion with one another in the Ordinances of the Gospel, viz. the Word, Prayer, Sacraments, singing of Psalms, dispensed according to the mind of Christ: Unless that Church, with which they desire Communion, hath any just Exception against them.

4. That we ought not admit any One to be a Member of our respective Congregations, that hath join'd himself to another, without Endeavours of mutual Satisfaction of the Congregations concerned.

5. That One Church ought not to blame the Proceedings of another, until it hath heard, what that Church charged, its Elders or Messengers, can say in vindication of themselves from any charge of Irregular or injurious Proceedings.

6. That we are most willing and ready to give an Account of other Church-Proceedings to each other, when desired; for preventing or removing any Offences, that may arise among us. Likewise we shall be ready to give the Right Hand of Fellowship, and walk together according to the Gospel Rules of Communion of Churches.

#### V. Of Deacons and Ruling-Elders.

WE agree, the Office of a Deacon is of Divine Appointment, and that it belongs to their Office to receive, lay out, and distribute the Churches Stock to its proper Uses, by the direction of the Pastor, and, Brethren, if need be. And whereas diverse are of Opinion, That there is also the Office of Ruling-Elders, who labour not in Word and Doctrine; and others think otherwise; we agree that this Difference make no Breach among us.

#### VI. Of occasional Meeting of Ministers, &c.

1. WE agree that in order to Concord, and in other weighty and difficult Cases, it is

needful and according to the mind of Christ, that the Ministers of several Churches be consulted and advised with about such Matters.

2. That such Meetings may consist of smaller or greater Numbers, as the Matter shall require.

3. That particular Churches, their respective Elders and Members, ought to have a reverential Regard to their Judgment, so given, and not dissent there from without apparent Grounds from the Word of God.

#### VII. Of our Demeanour towards the Civil Magistrate.

1. WE do reckon our selves obliged continually to pray for God's Protection, Guidance and Blessing upon the Rulers for ever us.

2. That we ought to yield unto them not only Subjection in the Lord, but Support, according to our Station and Abilities.

3. That if at any time, it shall be their Pleasure to call together any number of us, to require an Account of our Affairs, and the State of our Congregations, we shall most readily express all dutiful Regard to them herein.

#### VIII. Of a Confession of Faith.

AS to what appertains to soundness of Judgment in Matters of Faith, we esteem it sufficient that a Church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the Word of God, the perfect and only rule of Faith and Practice, and own either the Doctrinal part of those commonly called the Articles of the Church of England, or the Confession or Catechisms, shorter or larger compiled by the Assembly at Westminster, or the Confession agreed on at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said Rule.

#### IX. Of our Duty and Deportment towards them that are not in Communion with us.

1. WE judge it our Duty to bear a Christian Respect to all Christians, according to their several Ranks and Stations, that are not of our Perseverance or Communion.

2. As for such as may be ignorant of the Principles of the Christian Religion, or of *Vicious Conversation*, we shall in our respective Places, as they give Opportunity, endeavour to explain to them the Doctrine of Life and Salvation, and to our utmost persuade them to be reconciled to God.

3. That such who appear to have the Essential Requisites to Church-Communion, we shall willingly receive them in the Lord, not troubling them with Disputes about lesser Matters.

As we assent to the fore-mentioned Heads of Agreement, so we unanimously resolve as the Lord shall enable us to *Practise* according to them.



# The Third PART.

## THE PRINCIPLES owned, AND THE ENDEAVOURS used, BY THE Churches of New-England : Concerning the Church-State of Their Posterity.

*Si Ecclesia debet unquam Restorescere, necesse est, at à puerorum  
Institutione Exordium fiat.* Luther.

1. **A**S the English Nation has been honoured above most of the Protestant and Reformed World, with clearer Discoveries of several most considerable Points in our Christian Religion; particularly the Points of a true Evangelical Church-Order; so the *New-English* part of this Nation hath had a singular share in receiving and imparting the Illuminations, which the Light shining in a dark Place hath given thereabout. Very true and just are the printed Words of the well known Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, on this Occasion.

Amongst all that have suffered for, and searched into these Truths, they of *New-England*, justly deserve and will have a Name and a Glory, as long as the Earth shall have any Remembrance of an English Nation. After Ages will honour them for that great and high Adventure of Theirs, in transporting themselves, their Wives and little Ones, up

on the rude Waves of the vast Ocean into a remote, desolate and howling Wilderness, and there encountering by Faith and Patience with a World of Temptations and Streights and pressing Wants and Difficulties, and this upon no other Inducements, but that they might meet with him whom their Souls loved, in the midst of his Golden Candlesticks, and see him, as they have there seen him in his Sanctuary. It might rationally be now expected, that our compassionate Lord Jesus Christ would graciously gratify the Desires and Labours of such an Holy Generation with as full an Understanding of his revealed Will about his instituted Worship, as he has at any time granted unto any of his People; and that especially the Officers of instituted Churches humbly, prayerfully and carefully engaged in Studies for their Service, would lye under as direct an Influence of his Holy Spirit, as any Inquirers whatsoever. But there is one very important Article

Article



Article of Ecclesiastical Discipline whereabouts the Churches of New-England have had a most peculiar Exercise and Concernment; and that is the Ecclesiastical State of their Posterity.

2. When our Churches were come to between twenty and thirty Years of Age, a numerous Posterity was advanced so far into the World, that the First-Planters began apace in their several Families, to be distinguished by the name of Grand-Fathers: But among the immediate Parents of the Grand-Children, there were multitudes of well disposed Persons, who partly through their own Doubts and Fears, and partly thro' other culpable Neglects, had not actually come up to the covenanting State of Communicants at the Table of the Lord. The good old Generation could not without many uncomfortable Apprehensions, behold their Offspring excluded from the Baptism of Christianity, and from the Ecclesiastical Inspection which is to accompany that Baptism; indeed it was to leave their Offspring under the Shepherdly Government of our Lord Jesus Christ in his Ordinances, that they had brought their Lambs into this Wilderness. When the Apostle bids Churches to Look diligently, lest any Man fail of the Grace of God, there is an Ecclesiastical Word used for that looking diligently; intimating that God will ordinarily bless a regular Church-watch, to maintain the Interests of Grace among his People: And it was therefore the Study of those prudent Men, who might be call'd our Seers, that the Children of the Faithful may be kept as far as may be, under a Church-watch, in expectation that they might be in the fairer way to receive the Grace of God, thus they were looking diligently, that the prosperous and prevailing Condition of Religion in our Churches, might not be *Res unus atatis*, a matter of one Age alone. Moreover, among the next Sons or Daughters descending from that Generation, there was a numerous Appearance of sober Persons, who protect themselves desirous to renew their Baptismal-Covenant, and submit unto the Church Discipline, and so have their Houses also marked for the Lord's; but yet they could not come up to that experimental Account of their own Regeneration, which would sufficiently embolden their Access to the other Sacrament. Wherefore, for our Churches now to make no Ecclesiastical Difference between these hopeful Candidates and Competents for those our further Mysteries; and Pagans, who might happen to hear the Word of God in our Assemblies; was judged a most unwarrantable Strictness, which would quickly abandon the biggest part of our Country unto Heathenism. And on the other side, it was feared, that if all such, as had not yet exposed themselves by censurable Scandals found upon them, should be admitted unto all the Privileges in our Churches, a wordly part of Mankind might, before we are aware, carry all Things into such a course of Proceeding, as would be very disagreeable unto the Kingdom of Heaven.

§ 3. The Questions raised about these Mat-

ters, came to some Figure first, in the Colony of Connecticut; where the pious Magistrates observing the begun Dangers of *Paroxysms*, which might affect the State as well as the Church, on this Occasion, procured a Draught of the agitated Questions, and sent them to the Magistrates of the Massachusetts Colony, with a Request, that several of the ablest Ministers, in both Colonies might upon mature Deliberation, give in their Answers thereunto. Accordingly, the Letters of the Government, procured an Assembly of our principal Ministers at Boston on June 4. 1657. who by the 19th of that Month prepared and presented an elaborate Answer to twenty one Questions; which was afterwards printed in London, under the Title of, *A Disputation concerning Church-Members and their Children*. Besides other Cases referring to the Church State of Children born in the Bosom of the Church, it is in this Disputation asserted and maintained, That it is the Duty of Infants, who confederate in their Parents, when grown up unto Years of Discretion, tho' not yet fit, for the Lord's Supper, to own the Covenant, they made with their Parents, by entering thereinto, in their own Persons: And it is the Duty of the Church, to call upon them for the performance thereof, and if being called upon, they shall refuse the Performance of this great Duty, or otherwise to continue Scandalous, they are liable to be censured for the same, by the Church. And in case they understand the Grounds of Religion, and are not Scandalous, and solemnly own the Covenant in their own Persons, wherein they give up both themselves and their Children unto the Lord, and desire Baptism for them, we see not sufficient cause to deny Baptism unto their Children.

§ 4. The Practice of Church-Care, about the Children of our Churches thus directed and commended, was but gradually introduced; yea, it met with such Opposition as could not be encountered with any thing less than a Synod of Elders and Messengers, from all the Churches in the Massachusetts Colony. Accordingly, the general Court, having the necessity of the Matter laid before them, at their second Session in the Year 1661. issued out their Desire and Order for the convening of such a Synod at Boston in the Spring of the Year ensuing. And for the Deliberations of that Synod, besides the grand Question, about the Subject of Baptism, there was another Question propounded about the Consecration of Churches, which was of no small Consequence to the Interests of Christianity in the Country. As the Divines of New-England were Sollicitous that the Propagation of our Churches might hold pace with that of our Offspring, so they were indutious for the Combination of our Churches into such a Bundle of Arrows, as might not easily be broken. However, they had by their Adversaries been termed *Independents*, nevertheless they solemnly, on this Occasion, repeated and subscribed, that Profession of their famous Brethren in the

English



English Nation; That it is the most to be abhorred Maxim; that any Religion hath made Profession of; and therefore of all other the most contradictory; and dishonourable unto that of Christianity; that a single and particular Society of Men, professing the name of Christ, and pretending to be endowed with a Power from Christ, to judge them that are of the same Body and Society with themselves, should further arrogate unto themselves an Exemption from giving Account, or being censurable by any other, either Christian Magistrate above them, or Neighbour Churches about them. Under the Influence of these Considerments, the *Elders and Messengers* of the Churches assembled at *Boston*, in the Year 1662. who under the Conduct of several successive Moderators, at length agreed upon certain Propositions, which being rendered unto the General Court, there was an Order thereupon the 8. 1662. for the Publication and Commendation thereof unto all the Churches in the Jurisdiction. They were as followeth.

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THE  
ANSWERS  
OF THE  
ELDERS and other MESSENGERS of the Churches,  
assembled at *Boston*, in the Year 1662.  
TO THE  
QUESTIONS propounded to them, by Order of  
the Honoured General Court.

QUESTION I.

*Who are the Subjects of Baptism?*

ANSWER.

THE Answer may be given in the following Propositions, briefly confirmed from the Scriptures.

1. They that, according to Scripture, are Members of the Visible Church, are the Subjects of Baptism.
2. The Members of the Visible Church, according to Scripture, are Confederate Visible Believers, in particular Churches, and their Infant-Seed, i.e. Children in Minority, whose next Parents, one or both, are in Covenant.
3. The Infant-Seed of Confederate Visible Believers, are Members of the same Church with their Parents, and when grown up are personally under the Watch, Discipline and Government of that Church.
4. These adult Persons, are not therefore to be admitted to full Communion, merely because they are, and continue Members, without such further Qualifications as the Word of God requireth thereunto.
5. Church Members who were admitted in Minority, understanding the Doctrine of Faith,

and publicly professing their Assent thereto, not scandalous in Life, and solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and their Children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, their Children are to be baptized.

6. Such Church Members, who either by Death, or some other extraordinary Providence, have been inevitably hindered from publick Acting as aforesaid, yet have given the Church cause in Judgment of Charity, to look at them as so qualified, and such as had they been called thereunto, would have so acted, their Children are to be baptized.

7. The Members of Orthodox Churches, being found in the Faith and not scandalous in Life, and presenting due Testimony thereof; these occasionally coming from one Church to another may have their Children baptized in the Church, whither they come, by virtue of Communion of Churches: But if they remove their Habitation, they ought orderly to Covenant and Subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, where they settle their abode, and so their Children to be baptized. It being the Church's Duty to receive such into Communion, so far, as they are regularly fit for the same.



The Confirmation of these Propositions from the Scripture, followeth.

PROPOSITION I.

*They, that according to Scripture, are Members of the Visible Church, are the Subjects of Baptism.*

The Truth hereof may appear by the following Evidences from the Word of God.

1. **W**hen Christ saith, *Go ye therefore and teach, or (as the Greek is) disciple all Nations, Baptising them.* Matth. 28. 19. He expresseth the Adequate Subject of Baptism, to be *Disciples or Discipled Ones.* But *Disciples* there, is the same with *Members of the Visible Church.* For the Visible Church is Christ's School, wherein all the Members (stand related and subjected to him, as their Master and Teacher, and so are his *Scholars or Disciples*, and under his teaching, as ver. 20. And it is that visible Spiritual Kingdom of Christ, which he, there, from his kingly Power, v. 18. sendeth them to set up and administer, in v. 19. The Subjects whereof are under his Laws and Government, v. 20. Which Subjects (or Members of that Kingdom, i. e. of the Visible Church) are termed *Disciples*, v. 19. Also in the *Acts of the Apostles*, (the Story of their Accomplishment of that Commission) *Disciples* are usually put for Members of the Visible Church, *Acts 1. 15. In the midst of the Disciples*, who, with others added to them, are called the Church, *Acts 2. 47.* The Members whereof are again called *Disciples*, *Acts 6. 1, 2. Acts 9. 1. Against the Disciples of the Lord; i. e. against the Church of God, 1 Cor. 15. 9. Galat. 1. 13. Acts 9. 26. He assayed to join himself to the Disciples.* The *Disciples of Lystra, Iconium and Antioch, Acts 14. 21, 22.* are call'd the Church in each of those Places, v. 23. so the Church, v. 27. the *Disciples*, v. 28. *Acts 18. 22. The Church at Caesarea; Acts 21. 16. The Disciples of Caesarea: So Acts 18. 23. with Chap. 15. 41. & Gal. 1. 2. Acts 18. 27. & Chap. 20. 1.* From all which it appeareth, that *Disciples* in *Matth. 28. 19.* and *Members of the Visible Church*, are Terms equivalent; and *Disciples* being, there, by Christ himself made the Subjects of Baptism, it followeth that the Members of the Visible Church are the Subjects of Baptism.

2. *Baptism is the Seal of the first Entrance or Admission into the Visible Church;* as appeareth from those Texts, *1 Cor. 12. 13. Baptised into one Body; i. e. our Entrance into the Body or Church of Christ, is sealed by Baptism: And Rom. 6. 3, 5. Gal. 3. 27.* where 'tis shewed that Baptism is the Sacrament of Union, or of ingrafting into Christ the Head, and consequently into the Church his Body, and from the Apostles constant practice of baptising Persons upon their first coming in, or first giving up themselves to the Lord and them. *Acts 8. 12. and 16. 15, 33. and 18. 8. and Acts 2. 41. 42.* they were baptised at their first Adding to the Church, or Ad-

mission into the *Apostle's Fellowship*, wherein they, afterward, continued. And from its answering unto Circumcision, which was a Seal of Initiation or Admission into the Church; hence it belongs to all, and only those that are entered into, that are within or that are Members of the Visible Church.

3. *They that according to Scripture are Members of the Visible Church, are in Covenant.* For it is the Covenant, that constituteth the Church, *Deut. 29. 12, 13.* They must enter into Covenant, that they might be established the People or Church of God. Now the initiatory Seal is affixed to the Covenant, and appointed to run parallel therewith, *Gen. 17. 7, 9, 10, 11. so Circumcision was, and hence called the Covenant, Gen. 17. 13. Acts 7. 8.* And so Baptism is being in like manner annexed to the Promise or Covenant, *Acts 2. 38, 39.* and being the Seal that answereth to Circumcision, *Col. 2. 11, 12.*

4. *Christ doth sanctifie and cleanse the Church by the washing of Water, i. e. by Baptism, Eph. 5. 25, 26.* Therefore the whole Church, and so all the Members thereof (who are also said in Scripture to be sanctified in Christ Jesus, *1 Cor. 1. 2.*) are the Subjects of Baptism. And altho' it is the Invisible Church, unto the Spiritual and Eternal Good whereof, this and all other Ordinances lastly, have respect, and which the place mentioned in *Eph. 5.* may in a special manner look unto, yet it is the Visible Church that is the next and immediate Subject of the Administration thereof. For the Subject of visible external Ordinances to be administered by Men, must needs be visible. And so the Apostle baptized sundry Persons, who were of the visible, but not of the invisible Church, as *Simon Magus, Ananias and Sapphira*, and others. And there are visibly purchased and sanctified by the Blood of Christ, the Blood of the Covenant, *Acts 20. 28. Heb. 10. 29.* Therefore the Visible Seal of the Covenant and of cleansing by Christ's Blood belongs to them.

5. *The Circumcision is often put for the whole Jewish Church, or for the Members of the Visible Church under the Old Testament.* Those within are expresse by [the circumcised] and those without by [the Uncircumcised] *Rom. 15. 8. and 3. 30. Eph. 2. 11. Judges 14. 3. and 15. 18. 1 Sam. 14. 6. and 17. 26, 36. Jer. 9. 25, 26.* Hence by proportion Baptism (which is our Gospel Circumcision, *Col. 2. 11. 12.*) belongs to the whole Visible Church under the New Testament. Actual and personal Circumcision, was indeed proper to the Males of old, Females being but inclusively and virtually circumcised and so counted of the Circumcision: But the Lord has taken away that Difference now, and appointed Baptism to be personally applied to both Sexes. *Acts 8. 12. and 16. 15. Gal. 3. 28.* So that every particular Member of the Visible Church is now a Subject of Baptism. We conclude, therefore, that Baptism pertains to the whole Visible Church, and to all and every one therein, and to no other.



## PROPOSITION II.

*The Members of the Visible Church according to Scripture, are confederate Visible Believers, in particular Churches, and their Infant-Seed, i. e. Children in Minority, whose next Parents, one or both are in Covenant.*

Sundry Particulars are comprised in this Proposition, which we may consider and confirm distinctly.

Partic. 1. **A** *Dult Persons, who are Members of the Visible Church, are by Rule confederate Visible Believers, Acts 5. 14. Believers were added to the Lord. The Believing Corinthians were Members of the Church there, Acts 18. 8. with 1 Cor. 1. 2. and 12. 27. The Inscription of the Epistles written to Churches, and calling the Members thereof Saints and Faithful, shew the same thing, Eph. 1. 1. Phil. 1. 1. Col. 1. 2. And that consideration, i. e. Covenanting explicite or implicite (the latter preserving the Essence of Confederation, the former is Duty and most desirable) is necessary to make one a Member of the Visible Church, appears, 1. Because the Church is constituted by Covenant; for there is between Christ and the Church, the mutual Engagement and Relation of King and Subjects, Husband and Spouse, this cannot be, but by Covenant (internal if you speak of the Invisible Church, external of the Visible) a Church is a Company that can say, God is our God and we are his People, this is from the Covenant between God and them. Deut. 29. 12, 13. Ezek. 16. 8. 2. The Church of the Old Testament was the Church of God by Covenant, Gen. 17. Deut. 29. and was reformed still by the renewing of the Covenant, 2 Chron. 15. 16. and 23. 12. and 34. 31. 32. Neh. 9. 38. Now the Churches of the Gentiles under the New Testament stand upon the same Basis or Root, with the Church of the Old Testament, and therefore are constituted by Covenant, as that was, Rom. 11. 17, 18. Eph. 2. 11, 12, 19. and 3. 6. Heb. 8. 10. 3. Baptism enters us into the Church Sacramentally, i. e. by sealing the Covenant. The Covenant, therefore, is that which constitutes the Church, and infers Membership, and is the Vow in Baptism commonly spoken of.*

Partic. 2. *The Members of the Visible Church are such as are confederate in particular Churches. It may be minded that we are here speaking of Members, so stated in the Visible Church, as that they are Subjects, to whom Church Ordinances may regularly be administered, and that according to ordinary Dispensation. For were it granted, that the Apostles and Evangelists did sometimes baptize such, as were not Members of any particular Church, yet their extraordinary Office large Power and Commission renders them not imitable therein by ordinary Officers. For then they might baptize in private, without the Presence of a Christian assembly, as Philip did the*

*Eunuch. But that in ordinary Dispensation the Members of the Visible Church, according to the Scripture, are, such as are Members of some particular Church, appears, 1. Because the Visible Believer that professedly Covenants with God doth therein give up himself to wait on God in all his Ordinances, Deut. 26. 17, 18. Matt. 28. 19, 20. But all the Ordinances of God are to be enjoyed only in a particular Church. For how often do we find in the Scripture that they came together into one place, (or met as a Congregational particular Church) for the Observation and Enjoyment of the Ordinances, Acts 2. 1, 44, 46. and 4. 31. and 11. 26. and 20. 7. 1 Cor. 5. 4. and 11. 18. and 20. 32. and 14. 23. 2. The Apostle in his Epistles writing to Saints or Believers, writes to them as in particular Churches, 1 Cor. 1. 2. Eph. 1. 1. Phil. 1. 1. Col. 1. 2. And when the Story of the Acts speaks of Disciples, other places shew that those are understood to be Members of particular Churches, Acts 18. 23. with Gal. 1. 2. Acts 21. 16. with 18. 22. and 11. 26. and 14. 22, 23, 27, 28. All which shews that the Scripture acknowledgeth no settled orderly Estate of Visible Believers in Covenant, with God, but only in particular Churches. 3. The Members of the Visible Church are Disciples, as was above cleared, now Disciples are under Discipline, and liable to Church Censures: For they are stated Subjects of Christ's Laws and Government, Matt. 28. 19, 20. but Church Government and Censures are extant now in ordinary Dispensation only in a particular Church, Matt. 18. 17. 1 Cor. 5. 4.*

Partic. 3. *The Infant-Seed of confederate Visible Believers, are also Members of the Visible Church. The truth of this is evident from the Scriptures and Reasons following.*

Argum. 1. *The Covenant of Abraham, as to the Substance thereof, viz. That whereby God declares himself to be the God of the Faithful and their Seed, Gen. 17. 7. continues under the Gospel, as appears. 1. Because the Believing in-churched Gentiles under the New Testament, do stand upon the same Root of covenanting Abraham; which the Jews were broken off from. Rom. 11. 16, 17, 18. 2. Because Abraham in regard of that Covenant was made a Father of many Nations, Gen. 17. 4, 5. even of Gentiles as well as Jews, under New Testament as well as Old. Rom. 4. 16, 17. Gal. 3. 29. i. e. in Abraham as a Pattern and Root, God not only sheweth how he justifies the Believer, Gal. 3. 6, 9. Rom. 4. but also conveyed that Covenant to the Faith, and their Seed in all Nations, Luke 19. 9. If a Son of Abraham, then Salvation, i. e. the Covenant-Dispensation of Salvation is come to his House. 3. As that Covenant was communicated to proselyte Gentiles under the New Testament, so its Communication to the in-churched Gentiles under the New Testament is clearly held forth in diverse Places, Gal. 3. 14. The Blessing of Abraham compriseth both the internal Benefits of Justification by Faith, &c. which the Apostle is there treating of; and the external*



nal Dispensation of Grace in the visible Church to the Faithful and their Seed, Gen. 28. 4. but the whole Blessing of *Abraham* (and so the whole Covenant) is *come upon the Gentiles* thru *Jesus Christ*, Eph. 2. 12, 19. They had been Strangers, but now were no more *Strangers* from the Covenants of Promise, i. e. from the Covenant of Grace, which had often been renewed, especially with *Abraham*, and the House of *Israel*, and had been in the External Dispensation of it, their peculiar Portion, so that the *Epheſians*, who were at first, being now called and man- nigh, v. 13, 17. they have the Promise or the Covenant of Promise to them and to their Chil- dren, according to *Acts* 2. 39. and so are Par- takers of that Covenant of *Abraham*, that we are speaking of, Eph. 3. 6. The Inchurch'd Gen- tiles are put into the same Inheritance for Sub- stance (both as to invisible and visible Benefits, according to their respective Conditions) are of the same Body, and Partakers of the same Pro- mise with the Jews, the Children of *Abraham*, of old. The same may be gathered from *Gen.* 9. 27. *Mat.* 8. 11. & 21. 43. 4. Sundry Scri- ptures which extend to Gospel-times do confirm the same Interest to the Seed of the Faithful which is held forth in the Covenant of *Abraham*, and consequently do confirm the Continuance of that Covenant, as *Exod.* 20. 6. there in the Sanction of a Moral and Perpetual Command- ment, and that respecting Ordinances, the Por- tion of the Church, God declareth himself to be a God of Mercy to them that love him, and to their Seed after them in their Generations, con- form to *Gen.* 17. 7. compare herewith, *Psal.* 105. 8, 9. and *Deut.* 7. 9. *Deut.* 30. 6. The Grace signified by *Circumcision* is there promised to Parents and Children, importing the Covenant to both, which Circumcision sealed, *Gen.* 17. and that is a Gospel Promise, as the Apostles citing part of that Context, as the Voice of the Gospel shews *Rom.* 10. 6. with *Deut.* 20. 11, 14. and it reacheth to the Jews in the latter Days, v. 15. *Iſa.* 65. 23. In the most glorious Gos- pel Story of the Church, v. 17. 19. The Bless- ing of the Lord is the promised Portion of the Offspring or Children as well as of the Faith- ful Parents, *Jo.* 44. 3, 4. *Iſa.* 59. 20, 21. *Ezek.* 37. 25, 26. at the future calling of the Jews, which those Texts have Reference to (*Rom.* 11. 26. *Ezek.* 37. 19, 22, 23, 24.) their Chil- dren shall be under the Promise or Covenant of special Grace to be conveyed to them in the Or- dinances, *Iſa.* 59. 21. and be Subjects of *David*, i. e. Christ their King, *Ezek.* 37. 25. and have a Portion in his Sanctuary, v. 26. and this accord- ing to the Tenor of the Ancient Covenant of *Abraham*, whereby God will be their God (*viz.* both of Parents and Children) and they shall be his People, v. 26, 27. Now altho' more abun- dant Fruits of the Covenant may be seen in those times, and the Jews then may have more abun- dant Grace given to the Body of them to con- tinue in the Covenant, yet the Tenor and Frame of the Covenant is self is one and the same both to Jews and Gentiles under the New Testam- ent.

Gal. 3. 28. *Col.* 3. 11. *Heb.* 8. 10. *The House of Israel*, i. e. the Church of God both among *Jews* and *Gentiles*; under the *New-Testament* have that Covenant made with them, the *Summ* whereof is, *I will be their God, and they shall be my People*, which is a renewing of that Covenant of *Abraham* in *Gen.* 17. (as the same is very often over in those Terms renewed in Scripture, and is distinguished from the Law, *Gal.* 16. 17. *Heb.* 8. 9.) wherein is implied God's being a *God to the Seed*, as well as *Parents*, and *liking both to be his People*, tho' it be not expressed: even as it is often plainly implied in that Expression of the Covenant in other places of Scripture, *Deut.* 29. 13. *Jer.* 31. 1. and *2d.* 38. 39. and *30.* 22, 23. *Ezek.* 37. 27. 28. Also the *writing of the Law in the Heart* in *Heb.* 8. 10. is that *Heart Circumcision*, which *Deut.* 30. 6. extends both to *Parents* and *Seed*. And the term *House of Israel* doth according to Scripture Use fitly express and take in (especially as to the eternal Administration of the Covenant) both *Parents* and *Children*: Among both which are found that *Elect* and *faved Number*; that make up the invisible *Israel*, compare *Jer.* 13. 11. and *9.* 26. *Ysaiah* 57. 7. *Hof.* 1. 6. *Ezek.* 39. 25. Neither may we exclude the *least* in *Age* from the Good of that Promise, *Heb.* 8. 11. (they being sometimes pointed to by that Phrase, from the *least to the greatest*, *Jer.* 44. 12. with *v.* 7.) no more than the *least* in other Respects, compare *Ysaiah* 54. 13. In *Ad.* 2. 39. At the passing of those *few Jews* into *New-Testament* Church-State, the Lord is so far from repealing the *Covenant Interest*, that was granted unto *Children* in the former Testament, or from making the *Children* there losers by their *Parents Faith*, that he doth expressly *renew* the old Grant, and tells them, that the *Promise* or *Covenant* (for the *Promise* and the *Covenant* are Terms that do mutually infer each other, compare *Ad.* 3. 25. *Gal.* 3. 16, 17, 18, 29. *Rom.* 4. 16. *Heb.* 6. 17.) is to them and their *Children*, the same is asserted to be the appointed Portion of the *far off Gentiles*, when they should be called. By all which it appears that the *Covenant of Abraham*, *Gen.* 17. 7. whereby God is the God of the *Faithful* and their *Seed*, continues under the Gospel.

Now if the Seed of the Faithful be still in the Covenant of *Abraham*, then they are *Members of the Visible Church*. 1. Because that Covenant of *Abraham*, Gen. 17. 7. was properly *Church Covenant*, or the *Covenant which God makes with his Visible Church*, i. e. The Covenant of Grace considered in the external Dispensation of it, and in the Promises and Privileges that belong to that Dispensation. For many were taken into that Covenant, that were never of the *Irvisible Church*, and by that Covenant the Family of *Abraham*, as also by the renewing thereof the House of *Israel* afterwards were established the *Visible Church* of God, Gen. 17. and Deut. 29. 12, 13. and from



that Covenant Men might be broken off, *Gen. 17. 14. Rom. 11. 17. 19.* and to that Covenant, *Circumcision*, the Badge of Church-Membership, was annexed: Therefore the Covenantees therein, were and are Church Members. 2. Because in that Covenant the Seed are spoken of in Terms describing or inferring Church-Membership, as well as their Parents: For they have God for their God and are his People as well as the Parents, *Gen. 17. 7. 8. with Deut. 29. 11. 13.* They have the Covenant made with them, *Deut. 29. 14. 15.* and the Covenant is said to be between God and them, (*between me and thee and between thy Seed after thee*): So the Hebrew runs) *Gen. 17. 7.* They are also in that Covenant appointed to be the Subjects of the Initiatory Seal of the Covenant, the Seal of Membership, *Gen. 17. 9. 10. 11.* Therefore the Seed are according to that Covenant, Members of the Visible Church as well as their Parents.

Argument. 2. Such Seed or Children are federally Holy, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* the Word [Holy] as applied to any sort of Persons, is never in Scripture used in a lower Sense, than for federal or Covenant Holiness (the Covenant Holiness of the Visible Church) but very often in that Sense, *Ecc. 9. 2. Deut. 7. 6. and 14. 2. 21. and 26. 19. and 28. 9. Exod. 19. 6. Dan. 8. 24. and 12. 7. Rom. 11. 16.* So that to say, they are Holy in this Sense, viz. by Covenant Relation and Separation to God in his Church, is as much as to say, They are in the Covenant of the Visible Church, or Members of it.

Argument. 3. From *Mark 10. 14. 15. 16. Matt. 19. 14.* Children's Membership in the Visible Church, is either the next and immediate Sense of those Words of Christ, *Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven;* and so the Kingdom of Heaven, or of God, is, not rarely, used in other Scriptures to express the Visible Church, or Church Estate, *Matth. 25. 1. and 21. 43. and 8. 11. 12.* or it evidently follows from any other Sense, that can rationally be given of the Words. For those may not be denied a place or portion in the Visible Church, whom Christ affirms to have a Portion in the Kingdom either of Invisible Grace or of eternal Glory: Nor do any in ordinary Course pass into the Kingdom of Glory hereafter, but thro' the Kingdom of Grace in the Visible Church here. And also, that Christ, there, graciously invites and calls little Children to him, is greatly displeased with those that would hinder them, asserts them, notwithstanding their Infancy, to be exemplary in their receiving the Kingdom of God, embraceth them in his Arms and blesseth them: All which shews Christ's dear Affection to, and owning of the Children of the Church, as a part of his Kingdom; whom we, therefore, may not disown, lest we incur his Displeasure, as the Disciples did.

Argument. 4. Such Seed or Children are Disciples, according to *Matth. 28. 19.* as appears. 1. Because Subjects of Christ's Kingdom are equivalent with Disciples there, as the frame of that Text shews, *v. 18. 19. 20.* but such Children are Subjects of Christ's Kingdom, or

of the Kingdom of Heaven, *Matth. 9. 14.* In the discipling of all Nations intended in *Matth. 28. 19.* the Kingdom of God, which had been the Portion of the Jews, was communicated to the Gentiles according to *Matth. 21. 43.* But in the Kingdom of God these Children have an Interest or Portion, *Mark 10. 14. 2.* The Apostles in accomplishing that Commission, *Matth. 28. 19.* did Disciple some Children, viz. the Children of discipled Parents, *Acts 2. 39. and 15. 10.* They are there called and accounted Disciples, whom the false Teachers would have brought under the Yoke of Circumcision after the manner of Moses, *v. 1. 5.* But many of those were Children; *Exod. 12. 48. Acts 21. 21.* Lydia and her Household, the Jaylor and all his were discipled and baptised, *Acts 16. 15. 31. 33.* Paul at Corinth took in the Children into the Holy School of Christ, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* 3. Such Children belong unto Christ; for he calls them unto him, as his, to receive his Blessing, *Mark 10. 13. 16.* They are to be received in his Name, *Mark 9. 37. Luke 9. 48.* They have a part in the Lord, *Josh. 22. 24. 25.* therefore they are his Disciples: For to belong to Christ, is to be a Disciple of Christ, *Mark 9. 41. with Matth. 10. 42.* Now if they be Disciples, then they are Members of the Visible Church, as from the equivalency of those Terms was before shewed.

Argument. 5. The whole Current and Harmony of Scripture shews, that ever since there was a Visible Church on Earth, the Children thereof have by the Lord's Appointment been a part of it. So it was in the Old, and it is and shall be so in the New Testament. Eve, the Mother of all Living hath a Promise made, *Gen. 3. 15.* not only of Christ the Head Seed, but thro' him also of a Church-Seed, to proceed from her in a continued lineal Succession, which should continually be at visible Enmity with, and stand at a distance, or be separated from the Seed of the Serpent. Under that Promise made to Eve and her Seed the Children of Adam are born, and are a part of the Church in Adam's Family: Even Cain was so, *Gen. 4. 1. 3.* till cast out of the Presence of God therein, *v. 14.* being now manifestly one of the Seed of the Serpent, *1 John 3. 12.* and so becoming the Father of a wicked unchurchd Race. But, then God appointed unto Eve, another, viz. Seth, in whom to continue the Line of her Church-Seed, *Gen. 4. 25.* How it did continue in his Seed in their Generations, *Gen. 5.* sheweth. Hence the Children of the Church are called Sons of God, (which is as much as Members of the Visible Church) in contradistinction to the Daughters of Men, *Gen. 6. 2.* If righteous Noah be taken into the Ark (then the only preserving place of the Church) his Children are taken in with him, *Gen. 7. 1.* tho' one of them, viz. Ham, after proved degenerate and wicked; but till he so appears, he is continued in the Church with his Brethren: So *Gen. 9. 25. 26. 27.* as the Race of Ham or his Son Canaan (Parents and Children) are cursed; so Shem (Parent and Children) is blessed, and continued in the place of Blessing, the Church



Church, as *Japhet* also, or *Japhet's* Posterity (still Parent and Children) shall in time be brought in. The Holy Line mentioned in *Gen. 11, 10, 26*, shews how the Church continued in the *Seed of Shem*, from him unto *Abraham*. When that Race grew degenerate, *Japh. 24, 2*. Then God called *Abraham* out of his Country, and from his Kindred, and established his Covenant with him, which still took in Parents and Children, *Gen. 17, 7, 9*. so it did after in the House of *Israel*, *Deut. 29, 11, 12, 13*, and when any Eminent Restoration or Establishment, is promised to the Church, the Children thereof are still taken in as sharers in the same, *Psal. 102, 16, 28*, and *69, 35, 36. Jer. 32, 38, 39. Isa. 65, 18, 19, 23*. Now when Christ comes to set up the Gospel Administration of his Church in the New Testament, under the term of the *King of Heaven*, *Mat. 3, 2*, and *11, 11*. He is so far from taking away Children's Portion and Membership therein, that himself asserts it, *Mat. 19, 14*. The Children of the *Gentile*, but now Believing *Corinthians*, are Holy, *1 Cor. 7, 14*. The Apostle writing to the Church of *Ephesus* and *Colosse*, speaks to Children, as a part thereof, *Eph. 6, 1. Col. 3, 20*. The Inchurched *Romans* and other *Gentiles* stand on the Root of *Covenanting Abraham*, and in the *Olive* or *Visible Church*, they and their Children, till broken off (as the *Jews* were) by positive Unbelief, or Rejection of Christ, his Truth or Government, *Rom. 11, 13, 16, 17, 22*. The Children of the *Jews* when they shall be called, shall be as aforetime in Church-Estate, *Jer. 30, 20*, with *31, 1. Ezek. 37, 25, 28*, from all which it appears, that the Series, or whole Frame and Current of Scripture Expressions doth hold forth the continuance of Children's Membership in the *Visible Church*, from the Beginning to the End of the World.

Partic. 4. The Seed or Children, who become Members together with their Parents (i.e. by means of their Parents Covenanting) are Children in Minority. This appears, 1. Because such Children are Holy by their Parents Covenanting, who would else be unclean, *1 Cor. 7, 14*, but they would not else necessarily be unclean, if they were Adult; for then they might Act for themselves, and so be Holy by their personal Covenanting; neither on the other Hand would they necessarily be Holy, if Adult, (as he Asserts the Children there to be, for they might continue Pagans. Therefore the Apostle intends only Infants, or Children in Minority. 2. It is a Principle, that carries Evidence of Light and Reason with it, as to all Transactions Civil and Ecclesiastical, that if a Man be of Age, he should answer for himself, *Joh. 9, 21*. They that are come to Years of Discretion, so as to have Knowledge and Understanding fit to act in a matter of that nature, are to Covenant by their own Personal Act. *Neh. 10, 28, 29. Isa. 44, 5, 3*. They that are regularly taken in with their Parents, are reputed to be visible Entertainers of the Covenant, and Avouchers of God to be their God, *Deut. 26, 7, 18*, with *Deut. 29, 11, 12*. But if

Adult Children should without regard to their own personal Act, be taken in with their Parents then some might be reputed Entertainers, that are manifest Rejectors of the Covenant, for so an Adult Son or Daughter of a Godly Parent may be.

Partic. 5. It is requisite unto the Membership of Children, that the next Parents, one or both, be in Covenant. For altho' After-Generations have no small Benefit by their Pious Ancestors, who derive federal Holiness to their succeeding Generations in case they keep their standing in the Covenant, and be not Apostates from it; yet the Piety of Ancestors sufficeth not, unless the next Parent continue in Covenant, *Rom. 11, 22*.

1. Because if the next Parent be cut or broken off, the following Seed are broken off also, *Exod. 20, 5. Rom. 11, 17, 19, 20*. as the Gentile believing Parents and Children were taken in; so the *Jews*, Parents and Children, were then broken off.

2. One of the Parents must be a Believer, or else the Children are unclean, *1 Cor. 7, 14*.

3. If Children may be accounted Members and Baptised, though the next Parents be not in Covenant, then the Church should be bound to Baptise those, whom she can have no power over nor hope concerning, to see them brought up in the true Christian Religion, and under the Ordinances: For the next Parents being wicked, and not in Covenant, may carry away and bring up their Children to serve other Gods.

4. If we stop not at the next Parent, but grant that Ancestors may, notwithstanding the Apostacy of the next Parents convey Membership unto Children, then we should want a ground where to stop, and then all the Children on Earth should have right to Membership and Baptism.

### PROPOSITION. III.

The Infant-Seed of Confederate visible Believers, are Members of the same Church with their Parents, and when grown up are personally under the Watch, Discipline, and Government of that Church.

1. THAT they are Members of the same Church with their Parents, appears; 1. Because, so were *Isaac* and *Ismael* of *Abraham's* Family-Church, and the Children of *Jew*, and *Proselytes* of *Israel's* National Church; and there is the same Reason, for Children now to be of the same Congregational-Church with their Parents, Christ's Care for Children and the scope of the Covenant, as to Obligation unto Order and Government is as great now, as then. 2. Either they are Members of the same Church with their Parents, or of some other Church, or Non-Members: But neither of the latter; therefore the former. That they are not Non-Members was before proved in Propof. 2. Partic. 3. and if not Members of the same Church



Church with their Parents, then of no other. For if there be not Reason sufficient to state them Members of that Church, where their Parents have covenanted for them, and where ordinarily they are Baptized and do Inhabit, then much less is there Reason to make them Members of any other: and so they will be Members of no particular Church at all, and it was before shewed that there is no Ordinary, and Orderly standing estate of Church Members, but in some particular Church. 3. *The same Covenant-Act is accounted the Act of Parent and Child:* but the Parents covenanting rendered himself a Member of this particular Church; therefore so it renders the Child also. How can Children come in, with and by their Parents, and yet come into a Church wherein and whereof their Parents are not, so that as they should be of one Church, and their Parents of another. 4. *Children are in an orderly and regular state:* for they are in that state, wherein the Order of God's Covenant, and his Institution therein hath placed them; they being Members by virtue of the Covenant of God. To say their standing is disorderly, would be to impute disorder to the Order of God's Covenant, or Irregularity to the Rule. Now all will grant it to be most orderly and regular, that every Christian be a Member in some particular Church, (and in that particular Church) where his regular Habitation is, which to Children usually is, where their Parents are. If the Rule call them to remove, then their Membership ought orderly to be translated to the Church, whither they remove. Again, Order requires, that the Child, and the power of Government over the Child, should go together. It would bring shame and Confusion, for the Child to be from under Government, Prov. 29. 15. and Parental and Ecclesiastical Government concurring do mutually help and strengthen each other. Hence the Parent and the Child must be Members of the same Church, unless the Child be by some special Providence so removed, as that some other Person hath the power over him.

2. *That when these Children are grown up, they are personally under the Watch, Discipline and Government of that Church, is manifest;* for 1. Children were under Patriarchal and Mosaic Discipline of old, Gen. 18. 19. and 21. 9, 10, 12. Gal. 5. 3. and therefore, under Congregational Discipline now. 2. They are within the Church, or Members thereof, (as hath been, and after will be further proved) and therefore subject to Church Judicature, 1 Cor. 5. 12. 3. They are Disciples, and therefore, under Discipline in Christ's School, Mat. 28. 19, 20. 4. They are in Church-Covenant, and therefore, subject to Church Power, Gen. 17. 7. with Chap. 18. 19. 5. They are subjects of the Kingdom of Christ, and therefore under the Laws and Government of his Kingdom, Ezek. 37. 25, 26. 6. Baptism leaves the Baptized (of which number these Children are) in a state of subjection to the Authoritative Teaching of Christ's Ministers, and to the observation

of all his Commandments, Mar. 28. 19, 20. and therefore in a state of subjection unto Discipline. 7. Elders are charged to take heed unto, and to feed, (that is, both to Teach and Rule, compare Ezek. 34. 3, 4.) all the Flock, or Church, over which the Holy Ghost hath made them Overseers, Acts 20. 28. That Children are a part of the Flock, was before proved: and so Paul accounts them, writing to the same Flock or Church of Ephesus, Eph. 6. 1. 8. otherwise Irreligion and Apostacy would Inevitably break into Churches and no Church-way left by Christ to prevent or heal the same: which would also bring many Church Members under that dreadful Judgment of being left alone in their wickedness, Hos. 4. 16. 17.

## PROPOSITION IV.

*These Adult Persons are not therefore to be admitted to full Communion, merely because they are and continue Members, without such further Qualifications as the Word of God requireth thereunto.*

The Truth hereof is plain.

1. FROM 1 Cor. 11. 28, 29. where it is required that such as come to the Lord's Supper, be able to examine themselves, and to discern the Lord's Body; else they will Eat and Drink unworthily, and Eat and Drink Damnation, or Judgment, to themselves, when they partake of this Ordinance, but mere Membership is separable from such Ability to examine One's self, and discern the Lord's Body: as in the Children of the Covenant that grow up to Years is too often seen. 2. In the Old Testament, though Men did continue Members of the Church, yet for Ceremonial Uncleannesses they were to be kept from full Communion in the Holy Things, Levit. 7. 20, 21. Numb. 9. 6, 7. and 19. 13, 20. yea and the Priests and Porters in the Old Testament, had special charge committed to them, that Men should not partake in all the Holy things, unless duly qualified for the same, notwithstanding their Membership, 2 Chr. 23. 19, Ezek. 22. 26. and 44. 7, 8, 9, 23. and therefore much more in these times, where Moral fitness and spiritual Qualifications are wanting, Membership alone, is not sufficient for full Communion. More was required to Adult Persons Eating the Passover, than mere Membership, therefore to there is now to the Lord's Supper.

For they were to Eat to the Lord, Ex. 12. 14. which is expounded in 2 Chro. 30. where keeping the Passover to the Lord, Ver. 5, imports, and requires excruciating Repentance, ver. 6, 7. their actual giving up themselves to the Lord, ver. 8. Heart preparation for it, ver. 19. and Holy rejoicing before the Lord, ver. 21, 25. See the like in Ezra 6. 21, 22. 3. Tho' all Members of the Church are subjects of Baptism, they and their Children, yet all Members may not partake of the Lord's Supper, as is further manifest



manifest from the different Nature of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism firstly and properly seals *Covenant-Holiness*; as Circumcision did, *Gen. 17. Church-Membership, Rom. 15. 8. Planting into Christ, Rom. 6.* and so Members, as such, are the subjects of Baptism, *Mar. 28. 19.* But the Lord's Supper is the Sacrament of *growth in Christ, and of special Communion* with him, *1 Cor. 10. 16.* which supposeth a *special Renewing and Exercise of Faith and Repentance*, in those that partake of that Ordinance. Now if Persons even when Adult may be and continue Members, and yet be debarred from the Lord's Supper, until meet Qualifications for the same do appear in them; then may they also (until like Qualifications) be debarred from that Power of *Voting* in the Church, which pertains to Males in full Communion. It seems not Rational, that those, who are not themselves fit for all Ordinances, should have such an Influence referring to all Ordinances, as Voting in Election of Officers, Admission and Censures of Members doth import. For how can they, that are not able to Examine and Judge themselves, be thought able and fit to Discern and Judge in the weighty Affairs of the House of God, *1 Cor. 11. 28, 31.* with *1 Cor. 5. 12.*

## PROPOSITION V.

*Church-Members who were admitted in Minority, understanding the Doctrine of Faith, and publicly professing their Assent thereto; not scandalous in Life, and solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and Children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, their Children are to be Baptized.*

This is Evident from the Arguments following.

Arg. 1. **T**hese Children are partakers of that which is the main ground of Baptizing any Children whatsoever, and neither the Parents nor the Children do put in any Bar to hinder it.

1. That they partake of that, which is the main ground of Baptizing any, is clear, Because Interest in the Covenant is the main ground of Title to Baptism, and this these Children have. 1. Interest in the Covenant is the main ground of Title to Baptism; for so in the Old Testament, this was the ground of Title to Circumcision, *Gen. 17. 7, 9, 10, 11.* to which Baptism now answers, *Col. 2. 11, 12.* and *Acts 2. 38, 39.* they are on this ground exhorted to be Baptized, because the promise or Covenant was to them, and to their Children. That a Member, or one in Covenant, as such, is the subject of Baptism, was further cleared before, *Propos. 1.* 2. That these Children have Interest in the Covenant appears; Because if the Parent be in Covenant, the Child is also: for the Covenant is to Parents and their Seed in their Generations, *Gen. 17. 7, 9.*

*The promise is to you, and to your Children, Acts 2. 39.* If the Parent stands in the Church, so doth the Child among the Gentiles now, as well as among the Jews of old, *Rom. 11. 16, 20, 21, 22.* It is unheard of in Scripture that the Progress of the Covenant stops at the Infant-Child, But the Parents in question are in Covenant as appears, 1. Because they were once in Covenant, and never since Discovenanted. If they had not once been in Covenant, they had not warrantably been Baptized; and they are so still, except in some way of God they have been Discovenanted, cast out, or cut off from their Covenant Relation, which these have not been: neither are Persons once in Covenant, broken off from it, according to Scripture, save for notorious Sin and Incurribleness therein, *Rom. 11. 20.* which is not the case of these Parents. 2. Because the Tenor of the Covenant is to the Faithful, and their Seed after them, in their Generations, *Gen. 17. 7.* even to a Thousand Generations, i. e. conditionally, provided that the Parents successively do continue to be keepers of the Covenant, *Exod. 20. 6. Deut. 7. 9, 11. Psa. 105. 8.* which the Parents in question are, because they are not (in Scripture Account in this Case) forsakers or rejecters of the God and Covenant of their Fathers: See *Deut. 29. 25, 26. 2 Kings 17. 15, 20. 2 Chro. 7. 22. Deut. 7. 10.*

2. That these Parents, in question, do not put any Bar to hinder their Children from Baptism, is plain from the Words of the Proposition, wherein they are described to be such as understand the Doctrine of Faith, and publicly profess their Assent thereto: Therefore, they put not in any Bar of gross Ignorance, Atheism Herein or Infidelity: Also they are not scandalous in Life, but solemnly own the Covenant, before the Church, therefore they put not in any Bar of Prophaneity, or Wickedness, or Apostasy from the Covenant, wherein they entred in Minority: That the Infant Children, in question do themselves put any Bar, none will imagine.

Arg. 2. The Children of the Parents in question, are either Children of the Covenant, or Strangers from the Covenant, *Eph. 2. 12.* either Holy or Unclean, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* either within the Church or without, *1 Cor. 5. 12.* either such as have God for their God, or without God in the World, *Eph. 2. 12.* But he that considers the Proposition, will not affirm the latter concerning these Children: and the former being granted, infers their Right to Baptism.

Arg. 3. To deny the Proposition would be, 1. To fraitren the Grace of Christ in the Gospel-Dispensation, and to make the Church in New-Testament times in a worse Case, relating to their Children successively, than were the Jews of old. 2. To render the Children of the Jews, when they shall be called, in a worse Condition, than under the Legal Administration; contrary to *Jer. 30. 20. Ezek. 37. 25, 26.* 3. To deny the Application of the Initiatory Seal to such as regularly stand in the Church and Covenant, to whom



whom the *Mosaic* Dispensation, nay, the first Institution in the Covenant of *Abraham*, appointed it to be applied, *Gen. 17. 9, 10. Job. 7. 22, 23.* 4. To break God's Covenant by denying the initiatory Seal to those that are in Covenant, *Gen. 17. 9, 10, 14.*

Arg. 4. Confedate visible Believers, tho' but in the lowest degree such, are to have their Children baptized; witness the Practice of *John Baptist* and the Apostles, who baptized Persons upon the first beginning of their Christianity. But the Parents in Question are confedate visible Believers, at least in some degree. For, 1. Charity may observe in them sundry positive Arguments for it; witness the Terms of the Proposition, and nothing evident against it. 2. Children of the godly qualified but as the Persons in the Proposition, are said to be faithful, *Tit. 1. 6.* 3. Children of the Covenant (as the Parents in question are) have frequently the beginning of Grace wrought in them in younger years, as Scripture and Experience shews. Instance *Joseph, Samuel, David, Solomon, Abijah, Josiah, Daniel, John Baptist* and *Timothy*. Hence this sort of Persons shewing nothing to the contrary, are in Charity, or to Ecclesiastical Reputation Visible Believers. 4. They that are regularly in the Church (as the Parents in question be) are Visible Saints in the Account of Scripture (which is the Account of Truth) for the Church is, in Scripture-Account, a Company of Saints, *1 Cor. 14. 33. &c.* 2. 5. Being in Covenant and Baptized, they have Faith and Repentance indefinitely given to them in the Promise, and sealed up in Baptism, *Deut. 30. 6.* which continues valid, and so a valid Testimony for them while they do not reject it. Yet it does not necessarily follow, that these Persons are immediately fit for the Lord's Supper, because, tho' they are in a Latitude of Expression, to be accounted Visible Believers, or in *Numero Fidelium*, as even Infants in Covenant are, yet they may want that Ability to examine themselves, and that special Exercise of Faith, which is requisite to that Ordinance; as was said upon *Proposit. 4.*

Arg. 5. The denial of Baptism to the Children in Question, hath a dangerous Tendency to Irreligion and Apostasy; because it denies them, and so the Children of the Church successively, to have any part in the Lord; which is the way to make them cease from fearing the Lord, *Jos. 22. 24, 25, 27.* For if they have a Part in the Lord, i. e. a Portion in *Israel*, and so in the Lord the God of *Israel*, then they are in the Church, or Members of it, and so to be baptized, according to *Propos. 1.* The owning of the Children of those that successively continue in Covenant to be a part of the Church, is so far from being destructive to the purity & prosperity of the Church & of Religion therein (as some conceive) that this Imputation belongs to the contrary Tenet. To seek to be more pure than the Rule, will ever end in Impurity in the Issue. God hath so framed his Covenant, and consequently the Constitution of his Church thereby, as to design a Continuation and Propagation of his Kingdom therein, from one Gene-

ration to another. Hence the Covenant runs, *To us, and to our Seed after us in their Generations.* To keep in the Line, and under the Influence and Efficacy of this Covenant of God, is the true way to the Church's Glory: To cut it off and disavow it, cuts off the Posterity of *Zion*, and hinders it from being (as in the most glorious Times it shall be) an eternal Excellency and the Joy of many Generations. This Progress of the Covenant establisheth the Church, *Deut. 29. 13, Jer. 30. 20.* The contrary therefore doth disestablish it. This obligeth and advanceth to the Conveyance of Religion down to after Generations; the care whereof is strictly commanded, and highly approved by the Lord, *Psal. 78. 4, 5, 6, 7. Gen. 18. 19.* This continues a Nursery still in Christ's Orchard or Vineyard, *Isa. 5. 1, 7.* the contrary neglects That, and so lets the whole run to ruin. Surely God was an Holy God, and loved the Purity and Glory of the Church in the Old Testament; but when he went in this way of a successive Progress of the Covenant to that End, *Jer. 13. 11.* If some did then, or do now, decline to Unbelief and Apostasy, that doth not make the Faith of God in his Covenant of none effect, or the Advantage of Interest therein, inconsiderable; yea, the more Holy, Reforming and Glorious that the Times are, or shall be, the more eminently is a successive Continuation and Propagation of the Church therein designed, promised and intended, *Isa. 60. 15, & 59. 21. Ezek. 37. 25, 28. Psalm 102. 16, 28. Jer. 32. 39.*

Arg. 6. The Parents, in Question, are personal, immediate, and yet continuing Members of the Church.

1. That they are personal Members, or Members in their own Persons, appears, 1. Because they are personally Holy, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* not Parents only, but [your Children] are Holy. 2. They are personally baptized, or have had Baptism, the Seal of Membership applied to their own Persons; which being regularly done, is a Divine Testimony, that they are in their own Persons Members of the Church. 3. They are personally under Discipline, and liable to Church-Censures in their own Persons, *vide Propos. 3.* 4. They are personally (by means of the Covenant) in a visible State of Salvation. To say they are not Members in their own Persons, but in their own Parents, would be as if one should say, They are saved in their Parents, and not in their Persons. 5. When they commit Iniquity, they personally break the Covenant, therefore are personally in it, *Jerem. 11. 2, 10. Ezek. 16. 2.* By the like Reasons, it appears, that Children are immediate Members, as to the Essence of Membership (i. e. that they themselves in their own Persons, are the immediate Subjects of this adjunct of Church-Membership) though they come to it by Means of their Parents covenanting. For as touching that Distinction of Mediate and Immediate, as applied to Membership (which some urge) we are to distinguish, 1. Between the Efficient and Essence of Membership. 2. Between the Instrumental Efficient, or Means

Means



Means thereof, which is the *Parents Profession* and *Covenanting*; and the *Principal Efficient*, which is *Divine Institution*. They may be said to be *mediate* (or rather *mediately*) Members, as they become Members *by means* of their Parents *Covenanting*, as an *Instrumental cause* thereof; but that doth nothing vary or diminish the *Essence* of their Membership. For *Divine Institution* giveth or granteth a real and personal Membership unto them, as well as unto their Parents, and maketh the Parent a publick Person, and so his Act theirs to that end.

Hence the *Essence* of Membership, that is, *Covenant-Interest*, or a *place and portion within the Visible Church* is really, properly, personally and immediately the *Portion* of the Child, by *Divine Gift and Grant*, *Jos. 22. 25, 27.* their Children have a *part in the Lord* as well as themselves. A *part in the Lord*, there, and *Church-Membership* (or *Membership in Israel*) are terms equivalent. Now the Children there, and a *part in the Lord*, are *subject and adjunct*, which nothing comes between, so as to sever the *Adjunct* from the *Subject*; therefore they are *immediate Subjects* of that *Adjunct* of *immediate Members*. Again, their visible Ingrafting into *Christ the Head*, and so into the *Church his Body*, is sealed in their Baptism: but in Ingrafting nothing comes between the *Graft* and the *Stock*: Their Union is immediate; hence they are immediately inserted into the *Visible Church*, or *immediate Members* thereof. The *Little Children* in *Deut. 29. 11.* were personally and immediately a *part* of the *People of God*, or *Members of the Church of Israel*, as well as their Parents. To be in *Covenant*, or to be a *Covenantee* is the *formalis Ratio* of a *Church Member*. If one come to be in *Covenant* one way, and another in another, but both are in *Covenant* or *Covenantees* (i. e. parties with whom the *Covenant* is made, and whom *God* takes into *Covenant*) as *Children* here are, *Gen. 17. 7, 8.* then both are in their own Persons the *immediate Subjects* of the *formalis Ratio* of *Membership*, and so *immediate Members*. To *Act* in *covenanting* is but the *Instrumental means* of *Membership*, and yet *Children* are not without this neither. For the *Act* of the *Parent* (their publick person) is accounted theirs, and they are said to *enter into Covenant*, *Deut. 29. 11, 12.* So that what is it that *Children* want unto an *Actual, Complete, Proper, Absolute and Immediate Membership*? (so far as these terms may with any propriety or pertinency be applied to the matter in hand) Is it *Covenant-Interest* which is the *formalis Ratio* of *Membership*? No, they are in *Covenant*. Is it *Divine Grant and Institution*, which is the *Principal Efficient*? No, he hath clearly declared himself, that he grants unto the *Children* of his People a *portion* in his *Church*, and appoints them to be *Members* thereof. Is it an *Act of Covenanting*, which is the *Instrumental means*? No, they have this also reputatively by *Divine Appointment*, making the *Parent a publick Person*, and accounting them to *Covenant* in his *Covenanting*. A dif-

ferent manner and means of conveying the *Covenant* to us, or of making us *Members*, doth not make a different sort of the *Membership*. We now are as truly personally and immediate *Members* of the *Body* of fallen Mankind, and, by *Nature Heirs* of the *Condemnation* pertaining thereto as *Adam* was, though he came to be so by his own personal *Act*, and we by the *Act of our publick Person*. If a *Prince* give such *Lands* to a *Man* and his *Heirs* successively, while they continue *Loyal*; the following *Heir* is a true and immediate *Owner* of that *Land*, and may be personally disinherited if *Disloyal*, as well as his *Father* before him. A *Member* is one, that is according to *Rule*, (or according to *Divine Institution*) within the *Visible Church*.

Thus the *Child* is properly and personally, or immediately. *Paul* calls all *Men* into two sorts, those *within*, and those *without*. i. e. *Members* and *Non-Members*. 1 *Cor. 5. 12.* It seems he knew of no such distinction of *mediate* and *immediate* as puts a *medium* between these two. *Object*. If *Children* be *complete* and *immediate Members* as their *Parents* are, then they shall immediately have all *Church Privileges*, as their *Parents* have, without any further *Act* or *Qualification*. *Answer*. It follows not. All *Privileges* that belong to *Members*, as such, do belong to the *Children* as well as the *Parents*: But all *Church Privileges* do not so. A *Member* as such (or all *Members*) may not partake of all *Privileges*; but they are to make progress both in *Memberly duties* and *privileges*, as their *Age, Capacity and Qualifications* do fit them for the same.

3. That their *Membership* still continues in *Adult Age*, and ceaseth not with their *Infancy*, appears; 1. Because in *Scripture Persons* are broken off only for notorious *Sin*, or incorrigible *Impenitency* and *Unbelief*, not for growing up to *Adult Age*, *Rom. 11. 20.* 2. The *Few Children Circumcised* did not cease to be *Members* by growing up, but continued in the *Church*, and were by virtue of their *Membership*, received in *Infancy*, bound unto various duties, and in special unto those solemn personal professions that pertained to *Adult Members*, not, as then, entering into a *new Membership*, but as making a progress in *Memberly Duties*, *Deut. 26. 2, 10.* and *16. 16, 17.* with *Gal. 5. 3.* 3. Those *Relations of Born-Servants and Subjects*, which the *Scripture* makes use of to set forth the state of *Children* in the *Church* by *Lev. 25. 41, 42. Ezek. 37. 25.* do not (as all *Men* know) cease with *Infancy*, but continue in *Adult Age*. Whence also it follows, that one special end of *Membership* received in *Infancy*, is to leave *Persons* under *Engagement* to *Service* and *Subjection* to *Christ* in his *Church*, when grown up, when they are fittest for it, and have most need of it. 4. There is no ordinary way of *Cessation* of *Membership*, but by *Death*, *Dismission*, *Excommunication*, or *Disfellowship* of the *Society*: None of which is the *Case* of the *Persons* in question. 5. Either they are, when *Adult*, *Members* or *Non-Members*: if *Non-Members*,



then a Person admitted a Member, and sealed by Baptism, not cast out, nor deserving so to be, may (the Church whereof he was still remaining) become a Non-Member and out of the Church, and of the Unclean World; which the Scripture acknowledgeth not. Now if the Parent stand Member of the Church, the Child is a Member also: For now the Root is Holy, therefore so are the Branches, *Rom. 11. 16. 1 Cor. 7. 14.* The Parent is in Covenant, therefore so is the Child, *Gen. 17. 7.* and if the Child be a Member of the Visible Church, then he is a Subject of Baptism, according to *Propos. 1.*

#### PROPOSITION VI.

*Such Church-Members, who either by Death, or some other extraordinary Providence, have been inevitably hindered from publick acting as aforesaid, yet have given the Church cause, in judgment of Charity, to look at them, as so qualified, and such, as had they been called thereunto would have so acted, their Children are to be Baptized.*

This manifest.

1. **B**ECAUSE the main Foundation of the right of the Child to privilege remains, *viz.* God's Institution, and the Force of his Covenant carrying it to the Generations of such as continue keepers of the Covenant, *i. e.* not visibly breakers of it. By virtue of which *Institution* and *Covenant* the Children in question, are Members, and their Membership being distinct from the Parents Membership, ceaseth not, but continues, notwithstanding the Parent's Decease or necessary Absence: and, if Members, then Subjects of Baptism. 2. Because the Parent's not doing what is required in the Fifth Proposition, is through want of opportunity; which is not to be imputed as their guilt, so as to be a bar to the Child's Privilege. 3. God reckoneth that as done in his Service, to which there was a manifest Desire and Endeavour, albeit the acting of it, were hindered; as in *David* to Build the Temple, *1 King. 8. 18. 19.* In *Abraham* to Sacrifice his Son, *Heb. 11. 17.* according to that in *2 Cor. 8. 12.* *Where there is a willing mind, it is accepted according to what a Man hath, and not according to what he hath not:* which is true of this Church-Duty, as well as of that of Alms. It is a usual Phrase with the Ancients to stile such and such Martyrs *in Voto*, and Baptized *in Voto*, because there was no want of desire that way, though their desire was not actually accomplished. 4. The terms of the Proposition import that in Charity, that is here done *interferatively*, which is mentioned to be done in the Fifth Proposition *expressly*.

#### PROPOSITION VII.

*The Members of Orthodox Churches, being sound in the Faith, and not scandalous in Life, and presenting due Testimony thereof; these occasionally coming from one Church to another, may have their Children Baptized in the Church, whither they come by virtue of Communion of Churches: but if they remove their Habitation, they ought orderly to Covenant and Subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, where they settle their abode, and so their Children to be Baptized. It being the Churches duty to receive such unto Communion, so far, as they are Regularly fit for the same.*

1. **S**uch Members of other Churches, as are here described, occasionally coming from one Church to another, their Children are to be Baptized in the Church whither they come, by virtue of Communion of Churches.

1. Because he that is regularly a Member of a true particular Church, is a subject of Baptism according to *Propos. first* and second. But the Children of the Parents here described are such, according to *Propos. fifth* and sixth; Therefore they are meet and Lawful Subjects of Baptism, or have right to be Baptized. And *Communion of Churches*, infers such Acts as this is, *viz.* To Baptize a fit Subject of Baptism, tho' a Member of another Church, when the same is orderly desired. (See *Platform of Discipline*, Chap. 15. Sect. 4.) For look as every Church, hath a double Consideration, *viz.* 1. Of it's own Constitution and Communion within it self: 2. Of that Communion which it holds, and ought to maintain with other Churches. So the Officer (*the Pastor or Teacher*) thereof, is there set. (1.) To Administer to this Church constantly; (2.) To do Acts of Communion occasionally, *viz.* Such as belong to his Office as *Baptizing* doth, respecting the Members of other Churches, with whom this Church holds, or ought to hold Communion.

2. To refuse Communion with a true Church in Lawful and Pious Actions, is unlawful, and justly accounted Schismatical. For, if the Church be true Christ holdeth some Communion with it, and therefore so must we: but if we will not have Communion with it in those Acts that are Good and Pious, then in none at all. Total separation from a true Church is unlawful: But to deny a Communion in good Actions is to make a Total separation. Now to Baptize a fit subject, as is the Child in question, is a Lawful and a Pious Action, and therefore by virtue of Communion of Churches, in the Case mentioned to be attended.

And if Baptism Lawfully Administered, may and ought to be received by us, for our Children, in another true Church, where Providence



to cast us, as that we cannot have it in our own, (as doubtless it may and ought to be) then also we may and ought in like case to dispenſe Baptiſm, when deſired to a meet and Lawful Subject, being a Member of another Church. To deny or reſuſe either of theſe, would be an unjuſtifiable reſuſing of Communion of Churches, and tending to ſinful ſeparation.

2. Such as remove their Habitation, ought orderly to Covenant and ſubject themſelves to the Government of Chriſt in the Church, where they ſettle their Abode, and ſo their Children to be Baptiſed. 1. Becauſe the Regularly Baptiſed are Diſciples, and under the Diſcipline and Government of Chriſt: but they that are abſolutely removed from the Church, whereof they were, ſo as to be incapable of being under Diſcipline there, ſhall be under it, no where, if not in the Church where they inhabit. They that would have Church-privileges ought to be under Church-power: but theſe will be under no Church power, but as Lambs in a large place, if not under it there, where they ſettled abode is. 2. Every Chriſtian ought to Covenant for himſelf and for his Children, or profeſſedly to give up himſelf, and his to the Lord, and that in the way of his Ordinances, Deut. 26. 17. and 12. 5. and Explicite Covenanting is a Duty; eſpecially where we are called to it, and have opportunity for it: nor can they well be ſaid to Covenant implicitly, that do Explicite reſuſe a profeſſed Covenanting, when called thereunto. And eſpecially this Covenanting is a Duty, when we would partake of ſuch Church-privilege, as Baptiſm for our Children is. But the Parents, in queſtion, will now be profeſſed Covenanters no where, if not in the Church, where their fixed Habitation is. Therefore they ought orderly to Covenant, there, and ſo their Children to be baptiſed. 3. To reſuſe Covenanting and ſubjection to Chriſt's Government in the Church where they live, being ſo removed as to be utterly incapable of it elſewhere, would be a walking diſorderly, and would too much favour of Proſeſſes and Separation; and hence to Adminiſter Baptiſm to the Children of ſuch as ſtand in that way, would be to Adminiſter Chriſt's Ordinances to ſuch as are in a way of Sin and Diſorder, which ought not to be, 2 Theſ. 3. 6. 1 Chron. 15. 13. and would be contrary to that Rule, 1 Cor. x. 40. Let all things be done decently and in order.

## QUESTION II.

Whether according to the Word of God there ought to be a Conſociation of Churches, and what ſhould be the manner of it?

## ANSWER.

THE Answer may be briefly given in the Propoſitions following.

1. Every Church or particular Congregation of viſible Saints in Goſpel-Order, being furniſhed with a Preſbytery, at leaſt with a Teaching Elder, and walking together in Truth and Peace, hath received from the Lord Jeſus full Power and Authority Eccleſiaſtical within it ſelf, regularly to Adminiſter all the Ordinances of Chriſt, and is not under any other Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction whatſoever. For to ſuch a Church Chriſt hath given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, that what they bind or looſe on Earth, ſhall be bound or looſed in Heaven, Mat. 16. 19. and 18. 17, 18. Elders are ordained in every Church, Acts 14. 23. Tit. 1. 5. and are therein Authoriſed Officially to Adminiſter in the Word, Prayer, Sacraments and Cenſures, Mar. 28. 19, 20. Acts 6. 4. 1 Cor. 4. 1. and 5. 4, 12. 1 Cor. 20. 28. 1 Tim. 5. 17, and 3. 5. The reproving of the Church of Corinth, and of the Aſian Churches ſeverally, imports they had Power each of them within themſelves to Reform the Abuſes that were amongſt them, 1 Cor. 5. Rev. 2. 14, 20. Hence it follows, that Conſociation of Churches is not to hinder the Exerciſe of this Power; but by Counſel from the Word of God to direct, and ſtrengthen the ſame upon all juſt occaſions.

2. The Churches of Chriſt do ſtand in a Siſterly Relation each to other, Cant. 8. 8. being united in the ſame Faith and Order, Eph. 4. 5. Col. 2. 5. To walk by the ſame Rule, Phil. 3. 16. In the Exerciſe of the ſame Ordinances for the ſame end, Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13. 1 Cor. 16. 1. under one and the ſame political Head, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Eph. 1. 22, 23. and 4. 5. Rev. 2. 1. which Union inferſa a Communion ſuitable thereunto.

3. Communion of Churches is the Faithful Improvement of the Gifts of Chriſt beſtowed upon them, for his Service and Glory, and their mutual Good and Edification, according to Capacity and Opportunity, 1 Pet. 4. 10, 11. 1 Cor. 12. 4, 7. and 10. 24. 1 Cor. 3. 21, 22. Cant. 8. 9. Rom. 1. 15. Gal. 6. 10.

4. Acts of Communion of Churches are ſuch as theſe.

1. Hearty Care and Prayer one for another, 2 Cor. 11. 28. Cant. 8. 8. Rom. 1. 9. Col. 1. 9. Eph. 6. 18.
2. To afford Relief by Communication of their Gifts in Temporal or Spiritual Neceſſities, Rom. 15. 26, 27. Acts 11. 22, 29. 2 Cor. 8. 1, 4, 14.
3. To maintain Union and Peace, by giving account one to another of their publick Actions, when it is orderly deſired, Acts 11. 2, 3, 4. 18. Job. 22. 13, 21, 30. 1 Cor. 10. 32. and to ſtrengthen one another in their Regular Adminiſtrations; as in ſpecial by a Concurrent Teſtimony againſt Perſons juſtly Cenſured, Acts 5. 41. and 16. 4, 5. 2 Tim. 4. 15. 2 Theſ. 3. 14.



4. 'To seek and accept help from, and give help unto each other.
7. 'In case of Divisions and Contentions whereby the Peace of any Church is disturbed, *Acts* 15. 2.
2. 'In matters of more than ordinary Importance, [*Prov.* 24. 6. and 15. 22.] as Ordination, Translation and Deposition of Elders and such like, *1 Tim.* 5. 22.
3. 'In Doubtful and Difficult Questions and Controversies, Doctrinal or Practical that may arise, *Acts* 15. 2. 6.
4. 'For the rectifying of Male-Administrations, and healing of Errors and Scandals, that are unhealed among themselves; *3 Joh.* v. 9. 10. *2 Cor.* 2. 6. 11. *1 Cor.* 15. *Rev.* 2. 14. 15. 16. *2 Cor.* 12. 20. 21. and 13. 2. Churches now have need of help in like cases, as well as Churches then; Christ's care is still for whole Churches, as well as for particular Persons; And Apostles being now ceased, there remains the Duty of Brotherly Love, and mutual Care, and Helpfulness incumbent upon Churches, especially Elders for that end.
5. 'In Love and Faithfulness to take notice of the Troubles and Difficulties, Errors and Scandals of another Church, and to Administer help, (when the case necessarily calls for it) tho' they should so neglect their own Good and Duty, as not to seek it, *Exod.* 23. 4. 5. *Prov.* 24. 11. 12.
6. 'To Admonish one another, when there is need and cause for it, and after due means with Patience used, to withdraw from a Church, or peccant party therein, obstinately persisting in Error or Scandal; as in the Platform of Discipline (*Cap.* 15. *Self.* 2. *Partic.* 3.) is more at large declared, *Gal.* 2. 11. 14. *2 Thes.* 3. 6. *Rom.* 16. 17.
5. Confociation of Churches is their Mutual and solemn Agreement to exercise Communion in such Acts, as aforesaid, amongst themselves, with special reference to those Churches, which by Providence are planted in a convenient vicinity, though with Liberty reserved without Offence, to make use of others, as the Nature of the Case, or the Advantage of Opportunity may lead thereunto.
6. 'The Churches of Christ in this Country, having so good opportunity for it, it is meet to be commended to them, as their Duty thus to Confociate. For 1. Communion of Churches being commanded, and Confociation being but an Agreement to practise it, this must needs be a Duty also, *Psal.* 119. 106. *Neb.* 28. 29.
2. Paul an Apostle fought with much Labour the Conference, Concurrence, and Right Hand of Fellowship of other Apostles: and Ordinary Elders and Churches have not less need each of other, to prevent their Running in Vain, *Gal.* 2. 2. 6. 9. 3. Those General Scripture Rules, touching the need and use of Council, and help in weighty Cases, concern all Societies and Policies, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, *Prov.* 11. 14. and 15. 22. and 20. 18. and 24. 6. *Eccles.* 4. 9. 10. 14.
4. The Pattern in *Acts* 15. holds forth a Warrant for Councils, which may be greater or lesser, as the matter shall require.
5. Concurrence and Communion of Churches in Gospel times, is not obscurely held forth in *Isa.* 19. 23. 24. 25. *Zeph.* 3. 9. *1 Cor.* 11. 16. and 14. 32. 36.
6. There has constantly been in these Churches a possession of Communion, in giving the Right Hand of Fellowship in the gathering of Churches, and Ordination of Elders; which importeth a Confociation, and obligeth to the practice thereof. Without which we should also want an expedient, and sufficient Cure for Emergent Church Difficulties and Differences: with the want whereof our way is charged, but unjustly, if this part of the Doctrine thereof were duly practised.
7. 'The manner of the Church's Agreement herein, or entering into this Confociation, may be by each Church's open consenting unto the Things, here, declared in Answer to the second Question, as also to what is said thereabout, in *Chap.* 15. and 16. of the Platform of Discipline, with reference to other Churches in this Colony and Countrey, as in *Propos.* 5. is before expressed.
8. 'The manner of Exercising and Practising that Communion, which this Consent or Agreement specially tendeth unto, may be, by making use occasionally of Elders or able Brethren of other Churches; or by the more solemn Meetings of both Elders and Messengers in Lesser or Greater Councils, as the matter shall require.

RE-



## REMARKS

UPON THE

## Synodical Propositions.

§ 1. **T**HE Propositions thus voted by the Major Part, more than Seven to One, in the Synod, were clog'd by the Dissent of several Reverend and Judicious Persons, in that Venerable Assembly; who were jealous lest the Sacred Ordinance of *Baptism*, should come to be applied unto such unmet Subjects, as would in a while put an End unto New-England's Primitive and Peculiar Glory of *undefiled Administrations*. That we cannot say, that in this our Synod, the Observation of *Thuanus* was verified, *Colloquia, quæ ut Theologici controversis Finis imponatur, instituentur, majorem excitandum sepe initium exsunt*; yet the Reciprocations of Argument, which ensued on this Difference, quickly became sensible to Mankind, as by some other Common Effects of *Controversie*, so especially by the Disquisitions which were, on this Occasion, published unto the World. Here, not concerning our selves with the *Antisynodalia Americana*, composed by Mr. Charles Chauncy, the President of the College, and answered by Mr. John Allen, Pastor of Dedham, we shall only take Notice of the two *Twin-Discourses*, which made most Figure in the Management of This Disputation. First, Mr. John Davenport in Opposition to the Synod, emitted a Treatise, under the Title of, *Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth*: whereto there was by another Hand prefixed, that which the Elders of the Synod judged the distinctest and exactest Thing, that has been written on that side, under the Title of, *An Apologetical Preface for the Defence of the Synod*. Mr. Rich. Mather, being thereunto appointed, wrote a full Answer to the *Essay*; and Mr. Jonathan Mitchell wrote a fuller Answer to the *Preface*; both of which quickly saw the Light.

§ 2. The true State of the Difference cannot be better given than by Epitomizing the *Positions* and *Arguments* in the close of the *Apologetical Preface* on the one part, and the *Answers* to those *Positions* and *Arguments*, on the other. And I am the more willing to give it, because the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this Country have so much turned upon it.

On the one side, thus reasoned the Learned Apologist.

I. The Synod did acknowledge, that there ought to be true saving Faith in the Parent, according to the Judgment of rational Charity, or else the Child ought not to be baptized. We entreated and urged again and again, that this, which they themselves acknowledged was a Principle of Truth, might be set down for a Conclusion, and then we should all agree. But those reverend Persons would not consent to this.

On the other side, thus replied the Excellent Answerer.

We are to distinguish between Faith in the hopeful beginning of it, the charitable Judgment whereof runs upon a great Latitude; and Faith in the special exercise of it, unto the visible Discovery whereof, more experienced Operations are to be enquired after. The Words of Dr. Ames are, *Children are not to be admitted to partake of all Church Privileges, till first increase of Faith do appear, but from those which belong to the beginning of Faith, and entrance into the Church, they are not to be excluded*.

The Apostles constantly baptized Persons upon the first beginning of their Christianity, but the Lord's Supper followed after, as annexed unto some Progress in Christianity. The same strictness as to outward Signs, is not necessary unto a charitable Judgment of that Initial Faith, which entitles unto Baptism, as there is unto the like Judgment of that exercised Faith, which is requisite unto the Supper of the Lord. We all own, that only Visible Believers, are to have their Children baptized; and it is expressed so in the Synod's Result, but the Question is, Who are Visible Believers? Our Brethren strove so to scrue up the Expressions for Baptism, that all that have their Children baptized must unavoidably be brought unto the Lord's Table, and unto a Power of voting in the Churches. This we say, will prove a Church-corrupting Principle.

A P O.



## A P O L O G Y.

II. We have no warrant in all the Scripture to apply the Seal of Baptism unto those Children, whose Parents are in a state of Unfitness for the Lord's Supper. Those *Acts* 2. 41. who were baptized, continued breaking Bread also, unless the Father were in a state of fitness for the Passover, his Child might not be circumcised. Neither do we read that in the primitive Times, Baptism was of a greater Latitude, as to the Subject thereof, than the Lord's Supper. *Catechumeni ad Baptisterium nunquam admittendi sunt. Concil. Ancy. Chap. 19.* In the Dawnings of Reformation in England, our *fuel* could plead against *Harding*, That Baptism was as much to be revered, as the Body and Blood of Christ. Nay, a grievous Error has therefore, been committed in former Ages, and other Churches, to administer the Lord's Supper unto Infants.

## A N S W E R.

By a state of Unfitness, must be meant either, Non-Membership: But the Parents, in the Question, are Members of the Church; and so to them do belong all Church Privileges, according as they shall be capable thereof, and appear duly qualified for the same: They have a *Ius ad rem*, tho' not *Ius in re*; as a Child has a right unto his Fathers Estate, however he have not the actual Fruition of it, until he be qualified with such and such Abilities. Or else is meant, a want of actual Qualifications fitting, whereby a Person is either in himself short of actual Fitness for the Lord's Table, or wanteth a Church-Approval of his Fitness. Now we conceive there is a Warrant in Scripture for the applying of Baptism to Children, whose Parents do want actual Qualifications, fitting them for the Lord's Supper. The Parent might want actual Fitness for the Passover by manifold ceremonial Uncleannesses, and yet that hindered not the Circumcision of the Child. He must be judged clean by the Priest of the Church whereof he was a Member, and so, free to partake of the Holy Things. Thus the Parents in the Question must have their Fitness for the Lord's Table judged by those, to whom the Judgment belongs. But what Fitness for the Lord's Supper, had those that were baptized by *John Baptist*, and by Christ's Disciples at his Appointment, in the beginning of his publick Ministry? What Fitness had the *Jaylor*, when himself and all his were baptized after an hours Instruction, wherein probably he had not so much as heard any thing of the Lord's Supper? The teaching of which, followed after discipling and baptizing, as is hinted by that Order in *Matth.* 28. 19, 20. and by the ancient Practice of not teaching the Catechumeni any thing about the Lord's Supper, till after they were baptized, as is affirmed by *Hammer* and *Baxter*, out of *Albapineus*. We constantly read in the *Acts*, that Persons were baptized, immediately upon their first entrance into Membership; but

we never do read, that they did immediately upon their first Membership, receive the Lord's Supper. Yea, so far is Baptism from being inseparable from immediate Admission to the Lord's Supper, that we read of no one, (no, not of the Adult) in all the *New Testament*, that was admitted to the Lord's Supper, immediately upon his Baptism.

The only place that founds, as if it were quickly after, *vis.* *Acts* 2. 41, 42. is alleged by our Brethren. But it is here said, they (after their being added and baptized) continued in (or gave sedulous attendance to) the Apostles Doctrine [First] and then breaking of Bread. There was a time of gaining further acquaintance with Christ, and with his Ways and Ordinances, by the Apostles Instruction, between their baptizing and their Participation of the Lord's Supper. And the Churches of Christ in all, especially in the best Ages, and the choicest Lights therein, both Antient and Modern, have concurred in this Principle, That Baptism is of larger Extent, than the Lord's Supper, and that many that are within the Visible Church, may have Baptism for themselves, at least for their Children, who yet at present want actual Fitness for the Lord's Supper. The Authors, that write of Confirmation do abundantly prove this Assertion. Here is not room to insert the Evidences, that in the first Ages of the Church, there were many within the Church, who were debarred from the Lord's Supper, and yet had their Children Baptized. And since the Reformation, the reforming Divines have in their Doctrine unanimously taught, and in their Practice many of them endeavoured, a strict Selection of those that should be admitted unto the Lord's Supper; when yet they have been more large in Point of Baptism. Plentiful Testimonies are cited, first from *Calvin*, from *Crotius*, from *Bucan*, from *Breza*, from *Palanus*, from *Ursin* and *Paracaus*, and from the *Harmony of Confessions*; and then from *Amer*, from *Hooker*, and from *Hilderhsam*, to this purpose.

## A P O L O G Y.

III. The Parents of the Children in Question, are not Members of any instituted Church, according to Gospel-Rules; because they were never under any explicit and personal Covenant. If this second Generation do retain their Membership by Virtue of their Parents Covenant, made for them in Minority; then in case all the Pro-Parents were dead, this second Generation would be a true Church of Christ; without any further Act of Covenanting. But this they are not. For, then, they would have the Power to manage all Church-Affairs, as every true Church hath; which the Synod will not grant unto them.

## A N S W E R.

We doubt not to affirm with Dr. *Amer*, that Children are Members of an instituted Church, according to Gospel-Rules; and that they are under personal Covenant, or, personally taken into Covenant by God, according to his Gospel-Rules, tho' they have not performed the Act of Cove-



Covenanting in their own Persons; yea, under the Explicit Covenant also, if the Parent's Covenanting was Explicit. Though we take it for a Principle granted by Congregational Men, with one Consent, That an Implicit Covenant, preserves the Being of a true Church, and so of true Church-Membership. We also say, The second Generation, continuing in a visible Profession of the Covenant, Faith and Religion of their Fathers, are a true Church of Christ, though they have not yet made any Explicit personal Expression of their Engagement, as their Fathers did. Even, as the *Israelites*, that were Numbered in the Plains of *Moab*, were a true Church, and under the Covenant of God, made with them in *Horeb*, though their Parents, with whom it was first made, in *Horeb*, were all Dead; and that before the solemn Renewal of the Covenant with them in the Plains of *Moab*. Our denial of Liberty unto these to Vote in Church-Affairs, till they be Qualified for, and Admitted to the Lord's Supper, is no prejudice to our Grant of their being a true Church. For the case of a true Church may be such, as that they may be, at present, unfit to Exercise a Power of acting in Church-Affairs, which yet may be Radically in them; even, till, by the use of needful means, They, or a select Number among them, be brought up unto a better Capacity for it. We might also ask whether it would prove *Women* to be no *Members* of an Instituted Church, because if all the *Men* were Dead, they could not then be a Church? We may add; if Discipline, and other Ordinances be kept up, we may hope God will so bless his Ordinances, that a considerable number shall, from time to time, have such Grace given them, as to be fit for full Communion, and carry on the things of his House with competent Strength, Beauty and Edification.

## A P O L O G Y.

IV. It is not mere Membership, but qualified Membership that gives Right unto Baptism. *John's* Baptism, which was Christian, might not be applied to some, who were Members of the Visible Church, because they were not qualified with Repentance, *Luke 3. 8.* and *7. 30.* This seems to cut the Sinews of the strongest Argument brought by the *Synod*, for the *Enlargement of Baptism*; which is the *Membership of the Children* in Controversie.

## A N S W E R.

Some Privileges in the Church belong to Persons, merely because they are Members of it: so doth Baptism and Church-warch. But other Privileges belong to them as clothed with such and such Qualifications: thus the Lord's Supper now, as the Passover of Old. If Children in their Minority are Members, as our Brethren acknowledge them to be, then there are Members that are not yet fit for Full Communion. And for the Adult, when a Man is by Admonition debarred from the Lord's Table, and yet not Excommunicated; he continues a

Member, yea, a Personal Member, in our Brethren's Account, and yet is not in Full Communion; It is clear then that Membership and Full Communion, are separable things. Besides, 'tis a Membership *de jure*, and not only *de facto*, whereof we speak, when we speak of mere Membership. Now such a Membership implies a Qualification, that a Person being a Church Member, is not under such Gross and Incurable Ignorance, Heresie, Scandal or Apostacy, as renders him an immediate subject of Excommunication. Hence mere Membership is not so to be opposed unto qualified Membership, as if it were destitute of all Qualifications. Understand mere Membership, for [merely this, that a Man is regularly a Member, or, that the Church acting regularly, may own him as accepted by Rule into Covenant] and then the Assertion, That it is not sufficient to give a Person a Right unto Baptism, that he be regularly a Member of the Visible Church, but he must have some further Qualification than so, or else be bath not a Right thereunto: This is indeed an Antisyndonian Assertion, and we doubt not to affirm, that it is Antiscritptural.

The *Synod* builds upon *Covenant-Interest*, or *Federal-Holiness*, or *Visible Church-Membership*, as that which gives Right unto Baptism: and accordingly in their fifth Proposition, they have comprised, both the Right to Baptism, and the manner of Administration, which manner is not therefore to be neglected, because Membership alone gives Right; for God hath made it One Commandment of Four, to provide for the manner of his Worship, that it be attended in a Solemn, Humble, Reverent and Profitable manner. Hence all Reformed Churches do in their Directories require Professions and Promises, from those who present the Child unto Baptism; tho' they unanimously grant the Child's Right unto Baptism, by its being Born within the visible Church. Besides, what have Infants more than mere Membership, to give them Right unto Baptism? We know no stronger Argument for Infant-Baptism, than this, that Church-Members, or Federati are to be Baptized. At the Transition from Old to New Testament Church Membership, something more might well be required, than a mere Membership in the Jewish Church, which was then also under an extreme Degeneracy: It was necessary that the Reformed Administration should penitently be embraced. And much of what was required by *John*, may be referred unto the manner of Administration, which the general Scandals then fallen into called for. Nor will he that Reads the Scriptures, think that the Persons Baptized by *John*, did excel those, who are described in the *Synods* Propositions. While the Parent that was Born in the Church, regularly continues in it without Scandal, he is Ecclesiastically accounted to have the Being of Repentance; and so to have the thing that *John* required. But if any stand Guilty of open Scandals, we know not why they should not make a particular Confession of their Sin therein.



## A P O L O G Y.

V. That which will not make a Man capable of receiving Baptism himself, in case he were Unhappied, doth not make him capable of Transmitting Right of Baptism unto his Child. But a Man may be an Unbeliever, and yet come up to all that the Synod hath said in their fifth Proposition. *Bucer* is accounted by *Parker*, justly to mention, *That none ought to be confirmed Members of the Church, besides those who do hold forth not only Verbal Profession of Faith, but apparent signs of Regeneration.*

## A N S W E R.

'Tis true, that which doth not put a Man into a State of Right of Baptism for himself, (that is, into a State of *Church Membership*) will not enable him to give Baptism Right unto his Child. But it is possible for an Adult Person in such a State nevertheless to have something fall in, which may hinder the Actual Application of Baptism to himself, or his Actual Fitness for Baptism, in case he were Unbaptized. And yet the same thing may not hinder a Person already Baptized, and standing in a Covenant State, from Conveying Baptism right unto his Child. Besides, the Synods Proposition speaks of Church Members. Yea, and he will have an hard task of it, who shall undertake to prove, *That Adult Persons, understanding, believing and professing publicly, the Doctrine of Faith, not scandalous in Life, and now solemnly entering into that Covenant, wherein they give up themselves and theirs, to the Lord in his Church, and subject themselves to the Government of the Lord therein, may be denied Baptism upon their desire thereof.* 'Tis not easy to Believe, that Multitudes Baptized, in the Scriptures had more to render them Visible Believers, than the Persons described by the Synod. It is argued, a Man [*may be*] an Unbeliever, and yet come up to all this? *Simon Magus* and *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, not only *might be*, but *were* Unbelievers, and yet Regularly Baptized. But if it be said, that a Man may come up to all that the Synod hath said, and yet be Ecclesiastically Judged an Unbeliever, shew us any ground for such a Judgment! As for *Bucer* and *Parker*, they plainly speak of such a Confirmation, or owning Men for confirmed Members, as imports their Admission to the Lord's Table. But if the Judgment of *Bucer* and *Parker* may be taken in this Controversie, it will soon be at an end, for it is evident enough [by Quotations too many for this place] that *Bucer* and *Parker* fully concur with the Synod, in the extent of Baptism.

## A P O L O G Y.

VI. The Application of the Seal of Baptism unto those, who are not true Believers (we mean, visibly, for *De Occultis non Judicat Ecclesia*) is a Profanation thereof, and as Dreadful a Sin, as if a Man should Administer the Lord's Supper unto Unworthy Receivers; which is (as *Calvin* faith) as *Sacrilegious Impiety*, as if a Man

should take the Blood or Body of Christ, and prostitute it unto Dogs. We marvel that any should think, that the Blood of Christ, is not as much profaned and vilified by undue Administration of Baptism, as by undue Administration of the Lord's Supper. Yea, that saying of *Austin's* is solemn and serious; *Qui Indigne accipit Baptisma, Judicium accipit, non salutem*; and the same *Austin* in his Book, *De Rite & Operibus*, pleads for strictness in the Administration of Baptism, and so did *Tertullian* before him.

## A N S W E R.

We readily grant, that Baptism is not to be applied to any but Visible Believers. We marvel, that any should speak, as if any of us did think that the Blood of Christ, is not profaned by the undue Administration of Baptism, as well as by undue Observation of the Lord's Supper: though we suppose the Degree of sinful Profanation of the Lord's Name in any Ordinance, will be intended by the Degree of special Communion that we have with the Lord in that Ordinance; and by the Danger that such Profanation infers unto the whole Church, and unto the particular partaker. But where is there any thing to shew that the Administration of Baptism extended by the Synod, is undue? The Rule concerning the two Sacraments, appoints Baptism to all Disciples; but the Lord's Supper only for self-examining Disciples: hence the one may be extended further than the other, without undue Administration. Neither did *Calvin* conceive it a Profanation to extend Baptism further than the Lord's Supper. Nor did ever *Austin* or *Tertullian* plead for greater strictness in Baptism than the Synod; except where *Tertullian* Erroneously plead for the delay of Baptism: whereas *Austin* requires not more of Adult Converts from Heathenism, than is in the Parents, who are described by the Synod.

## A P O L O G Y.

VII. It hath in it a Natural Tendency, to the hardning of Unregenerates in their sinful Condition, when Life is not only promised but sealed unto them, by the precious Blood of Jesus Christ. Baptism is a Seal of the whole Covenant of Grace, as well as the Lord's Supper; and therefore those that are not interested in this Covenant by Faith, ought not to have the Seal thereof applied unto them. We might add unto all this, that there is danger of great Corruption, and Pollution, creeping into the Churches by the Enlargement of the subject of Baptism.

## A N S W E R.

The Lord's Truth and Grace, however it may be abused, by the Corruption of Man's perverse and sinful Nature, hath not in itself any natural Tendency to harden any, but the contrary. And how can our Doctrine have any such natural Tendency, when as Men are told over and over, that only outward



outward Advantages are more absolutely sealed unto them in Baptism; but the saving Benefits of the Covenant, conditionally; so that if they fall of the Condition, which is effectual and unfeigned Faith, they miss of Salvation, notwithstanding their Baptism? The outward Privileges must not be rested in, but improved as Encouragements to the obtaining of internal and special Grace. On the other side, the Scriptures tell us, that Mens denying the Children of the Church to have any part in the Lord, hath a strong Tendency in it to make them cease from

fearing the Lord, and harden their Hearts from his Fear. But the awful Obligations of Covenant-Interest, have a great Tendency to soften the Heart, and break it, and draw it home to God. Hence when the Lord would powerfully win Men to Obedience, he often begins with this, that he is their God. The natural Tendencies of Man's corrupt Heart, are no Argument against any Ordinance of God. 'Tis true, Baptism is a Seal of the whole Covenant of Grace; but it is by way of Initiation. Hence it belongs to All that are within the Covenant, or have but a first entrance thereto. And is there no danger of Corruption by overstraining the Subject of Baptism? Certainly, it is a Corruption to take from the Rule, as well as add to it. Moses found danger in not applying the initiating Seal, to such for whom it was appointed. Is there no Danger of putting these out of the Visible Church, whom our Lord would have kept in? Our Lord's own Disciples may be in Danger of his Displeasure by keeping poor little Ones away from him. To pluck up all the Tares, was a zealous Motion; but there was Danger in it. Besides if the enlargement be beyond the Bounds of the Rule, it will bring in Corruption; else not. Our Work is therefore to keep close unto the Rule, as the only true way unto the Churches Purity and Glory. The way of the Anabaptists to admit none unto Membership and Baptism, but adult Professors, is the straitest way; one would think it should be a way of great Purity; but Experience hath shew'd, that it has been an inlet unto great Corruption, and a troublesome, dangerous underminer of Reformation. If we do not keep in the way of a converting, Grace-giving Covenant, and keep Persons under those Church-Dilpenations, where in Grace is given, the Church will die of a Lingering, though not violent, Death. The Lord hath not set up Churches only, that a few old Christians, may keep one another warm while they live, and then carry away the Church into the cold Grave with them, when they die; no, but that they might with all care, and with all the Obligations and Advantages to that Care, that may be, nurse up still successively another Generation of Subjects to our Lord, that may stand up in his Kingdom, when they are gone.

In Church Reformation, 'tis an observable Truth, (saith Pareus) that those that are for too much strictness, do more hurt than profit the Church. Finally, there is apparently a greater Danger of Corruption to the Churches, by enlarging the

Subjects of full Communion, and admitting unqualified, or meanly qualified Persons, to the Lord's Table, and voting in the Church; where by the Interest of the Power of Godliness, will soon be prejudiced, and Elections, Admissions, Censures, or carried, as will be hazardous thereunto. Now 'tis evident, that this will be the Temptation, even, to overlarge full Communion, if Baptism be limited unto the Children of such as are admitted thereunto.

§ 3. These were the *Summa Capita* of the Disputation between those two reverend Persons; but the remarkable Event and Effect of this Disputation is now to be related. Know then, that Mr. Michael partly by the Light of Truth fairly offered, and partly by the force of Prayer for the good Success of the Offer, was too hard for the most learned *Apologist*, who after he had written so exactly on the *Antisynodical* side, that,

Si pergam Dextra

Defendi poterant, etiam hac defensa fuissent:

finding that Scripture, and Reason lay most on the other side, not only surrendered himself a glad Captive thereunto, but also obliged the Church of God, by publishing unto the World a couple of most nervous Treatises, in defence of the *Synodical Propositions*. The former of these Treatises, was entituled, *The first Principles of New-England concerning the Subject of Baptism, and Communion of Churches*: Wherein, because the *Antisynodists* commonly reproached the Doctrine of the Synod, as being no less new, than the Practice of it, he answers this popular Imputation of Innovation and Apostacy, by demonstrating from the unquestionable Writings of the chief and first Fathers in our Churches, that the Doctrine of the Synod was then generally believed by them; albeit the Practice thereof had been buried in the Circumstances of the *New-Plantation*. Together with this Essay, he shews his inexpressible Value, for his excellent Opponent and Conqueror, not only by professing a deep respect for that blessed Man, and using about him the Words of Beza about Calvin, *Novo he is dead, Life is less sweet, and Death will be less bitter to me*; but also by inserting an elaborate Letter, which that worthy Man had written to him, wherein among other Passages there are these Words, *Please to consider, which of these three Propositions you would deny. 1. The whole Visible Church under the New Testament is to be baptized. 2. If a Man be once in the Church, nothing less than censurable Evil can put him out. 3. If the Parent be in the Visible Church, his Infant Child is so too.* And he adds, *Whether they should be baptized, as in a Catholick, or in a particular Church, is another Question, and I confess my self not altogether so peremptory in this latter, as I am in the thing itself, that they ought to be baptized.* Yet still I think, that when all Stones are turned, it will come to this that all the baptized are,



and ought to be under Discipline in particular Churches.

The other of these Treatises was intitled, *A Discourse concerning the Subject of Baptism*; wherein having elaborately proved, That the Qualifications expressed in the fifth Proposition of the Synod give right to Baptism; and that Persons, thus qualified are Church-Members, and Visible Believers, and of old had a right unto Circumcision, and have Church-Discipline belonging to them; and that the Apostles did baptize Persons, who were no further qualified: He then distinguishes between a particular Church, as it is more strictly taken for a particular Company of Covenanted Believers entrusted by our Lord with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and as it is more largely taken for that special part of our Lord's Visible Church, which doth subsist in this or that particular Place: And he shews that a Membership of the Catholick Church, discovered by a relation to a particular Church, not in the former but in the latter Sense, is the formal Reason of Baptism: Concluding with a full Answer to all Objections. Indeed the learned Author of the Book, was not the least Argument in the Book. This alone might have passed as no inconsiderable Argument, for the Synodical Propositions, that besides diverse others who did the like, so confidate a Person as the Apologist after he had so openly and so solidly appeared against them, should at last as publicly declare it, *That Study and Prayer and much Affliction had brought him to be of another Belief*. It was a notable observation of Mr. Cotton, once in his Letter to Mr. Williams, *That one might suspect the way of the Rigid Separation to be not of God, because those, who in tenderness of Conscience had been drawn into the Error of that way, yet when they have grown in Grace, they have also grown to discern the Error of the Separation*. Thus it was observed, that several very excellent Men, who did according to their present light conscientiously dissent from the Synod, yet, as they grew in the manifold Grace of God, and in ripeness for Heaven, they came to see that the Rigidity of their former Principles, had been a failing in them. And if the Apologist were one, who so signalized, a modest Sense of second Thoughts unto the World, it can be reckoned no disparagement unto him; until the Humility of *Austin* in his Retractions, or the ingenuity of *Bellarmino* in his Recognitions come to be accounted their Blemishes, or until *Bucer's*, yea, and *Luther's*, change of their Opinions about Consubstantiation, and the recovery of *Zwinglius* from Inclinations to *Antipædobaptism*, shall be esteemed the Disgrace of those renowned Men; or until Mr. *Robinson* shall be blamed for composing his weighty Arguments, against the Rigid Separation which once he had zealously defended. I shall to this Occasion, but apply the Words of Dr. *Owen* unto Mr. *Cowdy*, to take off the charge of Inconstancy laid upon him, for his appearing on behalf of the Congregational Church-Discipline, *He that can glory that in fourteen*

*Tears, he hath not altered nor improved his Conceptions of some Things, of no greater Importance than that mentioned, shall not have me for his Rival.*

§ 4. Very gradual was the Procedure of the Churches to exercise that Church-Care of their Children, which the Synodical Propositions had recommended: For, though the Pastors were generally principled for it, yet in very many of the Churches, a number of Brethren were so stiffly and fiercely set the other way, that the Pastors did forbear to extend their Practice, unto the length of their Judgment, thro' the fear of uncomfortable Schisms, which might thereupon ensue. And there fell out one singular Temptation which had a great Influence upon this Matter! that famous and faithful Society of Christians, the first Church in *Boston*, had, after much agitation, so far begun to attend the Discipline directed in the Doctrine of the Synod, that they proceeded ecclesiastically to Censure the adult Children of several Communicants for Scandals, whereinto they had fallen. But that Church, for a Supply of their Vacancy upon the Death of their former more Synodical Ministers, applying themselves unto Mr. *John Davenport*, the greatest of the *Antisynodists*, all the Interests of the Synod came to be laid aside, therein, on that Occasion. Hereupon, thirty Brethren of that eminent Church, offered several Reasons of their Dissent, from their call of that worthy Person; whereof one was in these Terms, 'We should walk contrary to Rev. 3. 3. not holding fast what we have received; nor should we, as we have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him. [The Doctrine of the Synod] it having been a received and a professed Truth, by the Body of the Church, who have voted it in the affirmative, and that after much Patience with, and Candor towards those that were otherwise minded; diverse Days having been spent about this great Generation-Truth, which since hath been confirmed by the Synod. Full Liberty hath also been granted, unto those who scrupled, to propose their Questions; and they were answered, with such publick satisfaction, that those Few, who remained unsatisfied, promised to sit down and leave the Body to act, excepting one or two. Accordingly there was an entrance upon the Work; but the Lord lay it not to the Charge of those that hindred Progress therein, which with great Blessing and Success has been, and is practised in Neighbour Churches. But the Difference produced so much Division, that the Major part of the Church, by far, proceeding to their Election of that great Man, this lesser part nevertheless carefully and exactly following the Advice of Councils, fetched from other Churches in the Neighbourhood, set up another Church in the Town of *Boston*, which hath since been one of the most considerable in the Country. Very uncomfortable were the *Paroxisms*, which, were the Consequents of this Ferment;



—Longa est Injuria, Longa Ambages—

and the whole People of God throughout the Colony, were too much distinguished into such as favoured the Old Church, and such as favoured the New Church; whereof, the former, were against the Synod, and the latter were for it. Indeed, for a considerable while, tho' the good Men on both sides really Loved, Respected and Honour'd one another, yet thro' some unhappy misunderstandings in certain particular Persons, the Communicants of these two particular Churches in Boston, like the two distinguished Rivers, not mixing, tho' running between the same Banks, held not Communion with one another at the Table of the Lord: but in two favens of Years, that Breach was healed, and unto the general Joy of the Christians in the Neighbourhood, both the Churches kept a solemn Day together, wherein, Lamenting the Infirmitates that had attended their former Contentions, they gave Thanks to the Great Peace-Maker for effecting this Joyful Reconciliation. The Schism was not so long-lived, as that which happened at Antioch, about the Ordination of a Minister; whereof, Theodoret says, *Πίστις ἐξηκουα ἡμεῶν ἐμ*, it endured Fourscore and Five Years. However, the two Churches continued still their various Dispositions to the Propositions of the Synod; and it is well known, that the Example of Boston, has from the beginning, as the Prophets once intimated, of *Jerusalem*, had no small Efficacy upon all the Land.

§ 5. But it is, at last, come to this; that tho' some of our Churches yet Baptise the Children of none but their Communicants, and extend their Church-watch to none but the Persons of their Communicants, and tho' some of the Churches go a step further, and extend their Church watch to the Children of their Communicants, but yet most unaccountably will not Baptise the Offspring of these, till these Parents become themselves Communicants; nevertheless, the most of the Ministers in the Country, have obtained of their Churches, not only to forbear all expressions of Dissatisfaction at the Baptism of such as the Synod has declar'd the Subjects of it, but to concur with them, when their Votes are upon occasion demand'd for such a Discipline, as the Synod has from the Eighteenth of *Matthæw* directed for the Baptized.

Very various, have been the Methods of the Pastors, to bring their Churches into the desired Order; many the Meetings, the Debates, the Prayers and the Fasts, with which this matter has been accomplished: and much more many the Difficulties, where the matter had been so long delayed, that the Retrieval was well nigh to be despair'd. Yea, it was as late, as the Year 1692, that the last Church, which after a long Omission thereof, did effectually set upon the Church-Care of the Disciples formerly neg-

lected, came to their Duty: and they did it with such a further Explanation of their Principles, as divers great Opposers of the Synod, protest themselves, at last, able to comply withal. Now because the particular History of the Proceedings us'd, when things had run on thus far into an inveterate neglect, may be very subservient unto one main Design of our Church-History, which is to give an experimental Direction, for more arduous Church-Cases, I shall, here, give it unto my Reader.

Know then, that the Pastor of the Church, after solemn Supplications for the Direction of Heaven about it, having previously preached and printed the State of the Truth, which he was now reducing into practice, and having privately with personal Conferences, endeavour'd the satisfaction of his Difficulters as he counted more significant, he then, avoiding all publick Meetings or Debates, drew up the following Instrument, which by the Hands of two or three chosen Persons, he sent about unto the Brethren.

### Persuasions and Proposals, laid before the Church, in ---

I T is my Persuasion, that our Lord Jesus Christ hath in the World a Catholic Church, which is his Mystical Body, and hath all his Elect-called People belonging thereunto.

II. It is my Persuasion, that the Catholic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, becomes, in various Degrees, visible unto us; and according to the Degrees of its Visibility it becomes capable of a visible Communion, with its glorious Head.

III. It is my Persuasion, that when Men profess the Faith of the Gospel, with Obedience unto the Lord Jesus Christ, according to that Gospel, and overthrow not that Profession by a scandalous Conversation, they are to be looked upon as Members of the Visible Catholic Church of our Lord; they are to be treated as Christians; to call them, or count them Heathens, is to do them a grievous Injury.

IV. It is my Persuasion, that when such Professors, regularly combine into a Society, for the Evangelical Worship and Service of our Lord Jesus Christ, and furnish themselves with Officers of his Appointment, they then become a part of the Catholic Church, so visible, as to be a Body Politick, entrusted with the Administration of those Ordinances, which are the Priviledges in that Kingdom of Heaven.

V. It is my Persuasion, that a particular Church thus beruffled with the Ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ, is to be concerned for the applying some of those Ordinances unto Subjects, that have not yet arriv'd so far in visible Christianity, as to be constituent parts of that Holy Society.

VI. It is my Persuasion, That Baptism is an Ordinance to be administr'd unto them, that are in the visible Catholic Church, while those Christians have not yet join'd themselves unto a particular Church; but are only in a State of



Initiation and Preparation for it. In the Scripture we do not read of any that were baptized after their joining to full Communion in a particular Church of the New-Testament, but of many that were so before.

Under the Influence of these *Persecutions*, there are now these *Proposals*, which I would make unto that particular Church of God, whereof I am an unworthy Overseer in the Lord.

I. It is my *Proposal*, that if any Person instructed and Orthodox in our Christian Religion, do bring Testimonials of a sober and blameless Conversation, and publicly submit themselves unto the Bonds of such a Sacred Covenant, as now followeth:

‘ You now from your Heart professing a serious Belief of the Christian Religion, as it has been generally declared and embraced by the Faithful in this Place, do here give up your self to God in Christ; promising with his Help to endeavour a Walk, according to the Rules of that Holy Religion, all your Days; Choosing of God as your best Good, and your last End, and Christ as the Prophet, and Priest, and King of your Soul for ever. You therefore submit unto the Laws of his Kingdom, as they are administered in this Church of his; and you will also carefully and sincerely labour after those more positive and increased Evidences of Regeneration, which may further encourage you to seek an Admission unto the Table of the Lord.

I say, I propound, That I may without Offence baptize this Person and his House, and that such Persons may be watched over, if not as Brethren, yet as Disciples, in the Porch of the Lord’s Temple; of whom we have Cause to hope, that they will shortly express their Desires after the Lord’s Supper, with such Tokens of Growth in Grace upon them, as that we may cheerfully receive them thereunto.

II. It is my *Proposal*, that as for the Children thus baptized in their Minority, the Elders of the Church may be inquisitive and industrious about their being brought up in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord. But that when they come to be adult, the Elders of the Church may, to confirm them in their Church-state, put them upon the open Renewal of their Baptismal Covenant, with a Subjection of themselves, unto the Watch of the Church; and if any of them do upon Examination appear to have more sensible and plenary Symptoms of Conversion unto God, they may be exhorted immediately to make regular Approaches unto the Table of the Lord; and that if any of them contumaciously despise

and refuse their Duty of Renewing their Covenant, and owning the Government of the Lord over them, they may after proper Admonitions be debarred from that standing among the People of God, which otherwise they might lay claim unto.

I, therefore, propound, that the Church may seasonably look after a full supply of *Officers*, whereby this work may be fully prosecuted. In the mean time, I am willing to attend as much of this Work, as God shall enable me unto: Asking of you, That none of you would object about my giving of Meat in due Season, to any part of my Blessed Master’s Family, which he hath made me a Steward of; but that all of you would help me with your daily Prayers, and whatever other Assistances may be useful unto,

Your solicitous Pastor and Servant.

This Instrument was within a few Days brought back unto the Pastor, with such a Return at the Close of it.

‘ We, the Brethren of the — Church in — considering how fully those Reverend Persons that have the Rule over us, and watch for our Souls, have declared what they judge to be the Mind of God, about the Subject of Baptism, and apprehending, that we may have lain too long, in an Omission of Duty thereabouts; do now signify, that we are not unwilling to have the Persuasions and Proposals, which our Pastor hath here laid before us, carefully put into Practice; and that we would have no Obstruction given to any Holy Endeavours, which may be used this Way, to advance the Interest of Religion in the midst of us.

Hereunto the Generality of the Brethren, perhaps twenty to one, had subscribed their Names. And those Few that were not yet so wholly rescued from their Antisynodalian Scruples, yet verbally signified their Christian and Peaceable Assurances, that it should give no Uneasiness unto their Minds, to see the Desires of their Pastor accomplished; which was done accordingly.

But thus much concerning the Proceedings in a Synod of New-England Churches, for the Church-Care of their Posterity. We’ll conclude all, with an agreeable Speech of the Great Romanus (in Comment. de Relig. l. 4. c. 6.) *Libri Vidulum Baptizantur, ut participes sint, & Mores Divinorum Beneficiorum Ecclesie Promissorum, atque atate procelli parentum Religionem & pietatem, proficiantur.*



# The Fourth PART.

## THE Reforming Synod

### OF NEW-ENGLAND,

#### WITH Subsequent ESSAYS of Reformation in the CHURCHES.

*O vera penitentia, quid de te Novi referam ! Omnia ligata tu  
solvis, omnia clausa tu referas, omnia adversa tu mitigas,  
omnia contrita tu sanas, omnia confusa tu lucidas, omnia  
desperata tu animas.*

Cyprian.

§ 1. **T**HE settlement of the *New-English* Churches, with a long series of preserving and prosperous Smiles from Heaven upon them, is doubtless to be reckoned amongst the more wonderful Works of God, in this Age; the true Glories of the young Plantation had not upon the Face of God's Earth a Parallel, *our Adversaries themselves being Judges*. But when People began more notoriously to forget the *Errand into the Wilderness*, and when the Enchantments of this World caused the rising Generation more sensibly to neglect the Primitive Designs and Interests of Religion propounded by their Fathers; a change in the Tenour of the Divine Dispensations towards this Country, was quickly the matter of every Body's Observation. By *Land*, some of the principal Grains, especially our *Wheat* and our *Pease*, fell under an unaccountable Blight, from which we are not, even unto this Day delivered; and besides that constant Frown of Heaven upon our *Husbandry*, recurring every Year,

few Years have passed, wherein either *Worms or Droughts*, or some consuming Disasters have not befallen the *Labour of the Husbandman*. By *Sea*, we were visited with multiplied *Shipwrecks*, Enemies prey'd on our *Vessels* and our *Sailors*, the Affairs of the *Merchant* were clogged with *Losses* abroad; or *Fires*, breaking forth in the chief Seats of Trade at home, wasted their Substance with yet more costly Desolations. Nor did the *Land* and the *Sea*, more proclaim the *Controversie* of our God against us, than that other Element of the *Air*, by the contagious Vapours whereof several *Pestilential* Sickneses did sometimes become *epidemic* among us. Yea, the Judgments of God having done first the part of the *Moth* upon us, proceeded then to do the part of a *Lion*, in lamentable Wars, wherein the barbarous *Indians* cruelly butchered many hundreds of our Inhabitants, and scattered whole Towns with miserable Ruins. When dismal Calamities beset the Primitive *Christians*, as acknowledged by the great Cy-

prian,



prian, That the cause thereof was, because they were *Patrimonio & Lucro studentes*, too much minding to get Estates and Riches; *Superbiam Scilicet*, too Proud; *emulationi & dissentioni vacantes*, given to Contention; *simplicitatis Fidei negligentes*, negligent of the plain Faith of the Gospel; *Seculo verbis solis, & non factis, renunciantes*, worldly, unuseful to sibi placentes *& omnibus displicentes*, pleasing themselves and vexing others. These were the *Sins*, which, he said, brought them into Sufferings; for these, he said, *Vapulus itaque ut merentur*. Truly, if New-England had not abounded with the like Offences, it may be supposed, such Calamities had not befallen it. It intimated a more than ordinary Displeasure of God for some Offences, when he proceeded so far, as to put over his poor People into the Hands of tawny and bloody *Salvages*: And the whole Army had cause to enquire into their own *Rebellions*, when they saw the *Lord of Hosts*, with a dreadful *Decimation*, taking off so many of our Brethren by the worst of Executioners. The Cry of the last of the *British* Kings, then was the Cry of the *New-English* Christians, *Vae nobis peccatoribus ob immania scelera nostra!*

§ 2. The serious People throughout the Country, were awakened by these intimations of Divine Displeasure, to enquire into the Causes and Matters of the *Controversie*. And besides the *Self-reforming* Effects of these Calamities on the Hearts and Lives of many particular *Christians*, who were hereby brought unto an exacter Walk with God, particular Churches exerted their Power of *Self-reformation*, especially in the time of the *Indian War*; wherein with much solemn Fasting and Prayer, they renewed their *Covenants* with God and one another. Moreover, the *General Courts* enacted what Laws were judged proper for the extinction of those *provoking Evils*, which might expose the Land unto the Anger of Heaven: and the Ministers in their several Congregations, by their Ministry, set themselves to testify against those *Evils*. Nor is it a thing unworthy of a great Remark, That great Successes against the Enemy accompanied some notable Transactions both in Church and in Court, for the Reformation of our *provoking Evils*. Indeed, the People of God in this Land were, not gone so far in *Degeneracy*, but that there were further degrees of Disorder and Corruption, to be found, I must freely speak it, in other, yea, in all other Places, where the *Protestant Religion* is professed: And the most impartial Observers must have acknowledged, that there was proportionably still more of *true Religion*, and a larger Number of the *strictest Saints* in this Country, than in any other on the Face of the Earth. But it was to be confessed, that the *degeneracy of New-England*, in any measure, into the Spirit of the World, was a thing extremely aggravated, by the greatness of our Obligations to the contrary, and even sinful Omissions in this, were no less Criminal, than the most odious Commissions, in some other Countries.

§ 3. After Peace was restored unto the Country, the evil Spirit of *Apostasy* from the Power of Godliness, and the various Discoveries and Consequences of such an *Apostasy*, became still more sensible to them, that feared God. Wherefore, that there might be made a more exact scrutiny into the Causes of the Divine Displeasure against the Land, and into the Methods of removing and preventing the Matter of Lamentation, and that the *Essays* of Reformation, might be as well more extensive as more effectual, than they had been hitherto, the General Court of the *Massachusetts Colony* were prevailed withal, to call upon the Churches, that they would send their *Elders* and other *Messengers*, to meet in a *Synod*, for the solemn Discussion of those two Questions, *What are the provoking Evils of New-England?* and, *What is to be done, that so those Evils may be reformed?* It is very certain, That the *Controversie* which the God of Heaven had, (and still hath!) with *New-England*, was a Matter, about which, many did not enquire wisely. As of old, several of our Ancients complained, That the *Pagans* looked upon the *Christians* (in their way of Worship) as the Causes of all the Plagues on the *Roman Empire*: Whatever *Mischief* came, forthwith, *Christians ad Leones*: Thus, among the People of *New-England*, many assigned the Plagues upon the Country, unto very strange Causes, as their several Interests and Affections led them. A *Synod* was convened therefore, to enquire more wisely of that Matter: It would astonish one, to be told, That an Assembly of *Lutherans* coming together to enquire after the cause of the *Judgments*, which God had brought upon their Churches, most unhappily determined, That their not paying *Respect enough unto Images in their Churches*, was one Cause, of the *Lord's Controversie* with them. Unhappy Enquirers! Instead of their Dream, that they had not sinned enough against the *Second Commandment*, they should have thought, whether they had not sinned too much against the *Fourth*. But we hear not a word of their bewailing their universal Prophanations of the *Lord's Day* to this Day. Our *New-English* Assembly did enquire to better purpose. The Churches, having first kept a general Fast, that the gracious Presence and Spirit of God might be obtained, for the Direction of the approaching *Synod*, the *Synod* convened at *Boston*, Sept. 10. 1679. chusing Mr. John Sherman, and Mr. Urian Oakes, for Joint Moderators, during the biggest part of the Session. There was at first, some Agitation in this Reverend Assembly, about the Matter of a regular *Synod*, raised upon this Occasion, that some of the Churches, notwithstanding the Desires of their *Elders* to be accompanied with other *Messengers*, would send no *Messengers*, but their *Elders* to the Assembly. Upon the Debate, it was resolved, That not only *Elders*, but other *Messengers* also, were to be delegated by Churches, and have their Suffrage in a *Synod*, representing those Churches; the Primitive Pattern of a *Synod* in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Acts*, and the Primitive Practice



of the Churches in the Ages next following the Apostles; and the Arguments of such eminent Writers as *Fuel, Whitaker, Parker*, and others, against those, who mention that *Laicks* are no fit Matter for such Assemblies; being judiciously considered, as countenancing of this Assertion. The Assembly kept a Day of *Prayer* with *Fasting* before the Lord, and spent several Days in discoursing upon the two *Grand Questions* laid before them, with utmost Liberty granted unto every Person, to express his Thoughts thereupon. A Committee was appointed, then to draw up the Mind of the Assembly; which being done, it was read over once and again, and each Paragraph distinctly weighed, and then upon a mature Deliberation, the whole was *unanimously voted*, as to the *Substance, End and Scope* thereof. So, 'twas presented unto the *General Court*, who by an Act of *October 15. 1679.* "Commended it unto the serious Consideration of all the Churches and People in the Jurisdiction, enjoining and requiring all Persons in their respective Capacities to a careful and diligent Reformation, of all those provoking Evils mentioned therein, according to the true Intent thereof, that so the Anger and Displeasure of God many ways manifested, might be averted, and his Favour and Blessing obtained.

§. 4. When the punishment of *scourging* was used upon a Criminal in *Israel*, it was the Order and Usage, that while the Executioner was laying on his Blows, with an Instrument, every stroke whereof, gave *three Lashes* to the Delinquent, there were still present *three Judges*; whereof, while one did *number the Blows*, and another kept crying out, *Smite him; a Third read three Scriptures*, during the Time of the *Scourging*, and the *Scourging* ended with the reading of them. The first Scripture was that in *Deut. 28. 58.* *If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this Law, then the Lord will make thy Plagues wonderful.* The second Scripture was that in *Levit. 29. 9.* *Keep therefore the words of this Covenant, that ye may prosper in all that ye do.* The third Scripture was that in *Psaln 78. 38.* *But he, being full of compassion,*

*forgave their Iniquity and destroyed them not.* This was done partly for the Admonition, partly for the Consolation, of the Criminal. Truly, when the Scourges of Heaven were employed upon the Churches of *New-England* for their Misdemeanors, and they were sorely lashed with one Blow after another, not only particular Ministers, but a whole Synod of them, took upon themselves the Office of Reading to the whole Country, those Words of God which were judged agreeable to the Condition of such a scourged People.

Nothing shall detain my Reader from the Admonitions of this *Reforming Synod*, when I have recited the solemn Words in the *Preface* to those Admonitions. "The Things inflicted on (*say they*) have, at least many of them, been often mentioned and inculcated by those, whom the Lord hath set as Watchmen to the House of *Israel*; tho' alas! not with that Success, which their Souls have desired. It is not a small Matter, nor ought it to seem little in our Eyes, that the Churches have in this way confessed and declared the Truth, which coming from a *SYNOD*, as their Joint Concurring Testimony will carry more Authority with it, than if one Man only, or many in their single Capacities should speak the same things. And undoubtedly the Issue of this Undertaking, will be most Signal, either as to Mercy or Misery. "If *New-England* remember whence she is fallen, and do the *First-works*, there's Reason to hope, that it shall be better with us than at our Beginnings. But if this, after all other Means in and by which the Lord hath been striving to reclaim us, shall be despised, or become ineffectual, we may dread what is like to follow. 'Tis a solemn Thought that the Jewish Church had, as the Churches in *New-England* have this Day, an opportunity to reform, if they would in *Josiah's* Time; but because they had no Heart unto it, the Lord quickly removed them out of his sight. What God out of his Sovereignty may do for us, no Man can say; but according to his wonted Dispositions, we are a perishing People, if now we reform not.

And now therefore hear the *S T N O D.*



T H E  
Necessity of Reformation,  
W I T H  
The Expedients subservient thereunto, asserted, in  
Answer to Two Questions.

Q U E S T I O N I.

*What are the Evils that have provoked the  
Lord to bring his Judgments on New-Eng-  
land ?*

A N S W E R.

**T**Hat sometimes God hath had; and pleaded a Controverſie with his People, is clear from the Scripture, *Hof. 4. 1. & 12. 2. Mich. 6. 1. 2.* Where God doth plainly, and fully propoſe, ſtare and plead his Controverſie in all the Parts and Cauſes of it, wherein he doth juſtifie himſelf by the Declaration of his own infinite Mercy, Grace, Goodneſs, Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, Truth and Faithfulneſs in all his Proceedings with them; and judge his People, charging them with all thoſe provoking Evils, which had been the Cauſes of that Controverſie, and that with the moſt high and heavy Aggravation of their Sins, and exaggeration of the Guilt and Punishment, whence he ſhould have been moſt juſt, in pleading out his Controverſie with them unto the utmoſt Extremity of Juſtice and Judgment.

That God hath a Controverſie with his *New-England* People is undeniable, the Lord having writtten his Diſpleaſure in diſmal Characters againſt us. Though perſonal Afflictions, do oftentimes come only or chiefly for Probation, yet as to publick Judgments, it is not wont to be ſo; eſpecially when by a continued Series of Providence, the Lord doth appear and plead againſt his People, *2 Sam. 21. 1.* As with us it hath been from Year to Year. Would the Lord have whetted his glittering Sword, and his Hand have taken hold on Judgment? Would he have ſent ſuch a mortal Contagion, like a Beſom of deſtruction in the miſt of us? Would he have ſaid, Sword! Go through the Land, and cut off Man and Beaſt. Or would he have kindled ſuch devouring Fires, and made ſuch fearful Deſolations in the Earth, if he had not been angry? It is not for nothing that the Merciful God, who doth not willingly afflict nor grieve the Children of Men, hath done all thoſe Things unto us; yea, and ſometimes with a Cloud hath covered

himſelf, that our Prayer ſhould not paſs thorough, And although 'tis poſſible that the Lord may contend with us partly on the Account of ſecret unobſerved Sins, *Job. 7. 11, 12. 2 Kings 17. 9. Psalm 90. 8.* In which reſpect, a deep and moſt ſerious enquiry into the Cauſes of his Controverſie ought to be attended: Nevertheless it is ſadly evident, that there are viſible, manifeſt Evils, which without doubt the Lord is provoked by. For,

I. There is a great and viſible decay of the Power of Godlineſs amongſt many Profeſſors in theſe Churches. It may be feared that there is in too many Spiritual, and Heart Apoſtacy from God, whence Communion with him in the ways of his Worſhip, eſpecially in ſecret is much neglected, and whereby Men ceaſe to know and fear, and love, and truſt in him; but take up their Contentment and Satisfaction in ſomething elſe: This was the ground and bottom of the Lord's Controverſie with his People of Old, *Psalm 78. 8. 37. & 81. 11. Jer. 2. 5, 11, 13.* and with his People under the *New-Teſtament* alſo, *Rev. 2. 4, 5.*

II. The Pride that doth abound in *New-England* teſtifies againſt us, *Hof. 5. 5. Ezech. 7. 10.* both ſpiritual Pride, *Zeph. 3. 11.* Whence two great Evils and Provocations have proceeded, and prevailed among us.

1. A reſuſing to be ſubject to Order, according to Divine Appointment, *Numb. 16. 3. 1 Pet. 5. 5.*

2. Contention, *Prov. 13. 10.* An Evil that is, moſt eminently againſt the ſolemn Charge of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Job. 13. 34, 35.* And that for which God hath by ſevere Judgments puniſhed his People, both in former and latter Ages. This Malady hath been very general in the Country; we have, therefore, cauſe to fear, that the Wolves, which God in his holy Providence hath let looſe upon us, have been ſent to chaſtiſe his Sheep for Dividings and Strayings one from another; and that the Wars and Fightings, which have proceeded from the luſt of Pride in ſpecial, have been puniſhed with the Sword, *Jam. 4. 1. Job 19. 29.*

Yea, and Pride in reſpect of Apparel hath greatly abounded; Servants and the poorer ſort of People are notoriously guilty in this matter, who



who (too generally) go above their Estates and Degrees, thereby transgressing the Laws both of God and Man, *Matth.* 11. 8. Yea, it is a Sin that even the Light of Nature and Laws of Civil Nations have condemned, *1 Cor.* 11. 14. Alfo, many, not of the meaner sort have offended God by strange Apparel, not becoming, serious Christians, especially in these Days of Affliction and Misery, wherein the Lord calls upon Men to put off their Ornaments, *Exod.* 33. 5. *Jer.* 4. 30. A Sin which brings Wrath upon the greatest that shall be found guilty of it, *Zeph.* 1. 8. with *Jer.* 52. 13. Particularly the Lord hath threatened to visit with Sword and Sicknes, and with loathsome Diseases for this very Sin, *Isa.* 3. 16.

III. Inasmuch as it was in a more peculiar manner with respect to the second Commandment, that our Fathers did follow the Lord into this Wilderness, whilst it was a Land not sown, we may fear that the Breaches of that Commandment are some part of the Lord's Controversie with *New-England*. Church-Fellowship and other Divine Institutions are greatly neglected. Many of the rising Generation are not mindful of that, which their Baptism doth engage them unto, viz. to use utmost Endeavours that they may be fit for, and so partake in all the Holy Ordinances of the Lord Jesus, *Matth.* 28. 20. There are too many that with profane *Esa.* flight spiritual Privileges. Nor is there so much of Discipline extended towards the Children of the Covenant, as we are generally agreed ought to be done. On the other hand humane Inventions, and will-worship have been set up even in *Jerusalem*. Men have set up their Thresholds by God's Threshold, and their Posts by his Post. Quakers are false Worshipers; and such Anabaptists as have risen up among us, in opposition to the Churches of the Lord Jesus, receiving into their Society those, that have been for Scandal delivered unto Satan; yea, and improving those as Administrators of Holy Things, who have been (as doth appear) justly, under Church-Censures, do no better than set up an Altar against the Lord's Altar. Wherefore it must needs be provoking to God if these Things be not duly and fully testified against, by every one in their several Capacities respectively, *Jer.* 22. 19. 2. *Ki.* 23. 13. *Eze.* 43. 8. *Ps.* 99. 8. *Hof.* 11. 6.

IV. The holy and glorious name of God hath been polluted and profaned amongst us, more especially.

1. By Oaths and Imprecations in ordinary Discourse; yea, and it is too common a thing for Men in a more solemn way to swear unnecessary Oaths; when as it is a Breach of the third Commandment, so to use the blessed Name of God. And many (if not the most) of those that swear, consider not the Rule of an Oath, *Jer.* 4. 2. So that we may justly fear that because of swearing the Land mourns, *Jer.* 23. 10. 2. There is great Profaneness in respect of irreverent Behaviour in the solemn Worship of God. It is a frequent thing for Men (though not necessitated thereunto by any Infirmary) to sit

in Prayer time, and some with their Heads almost covered, and to give way to their own Sloth and Sleepiness, when they should be serving God with Attention and Intention, under the solemn Dispensation of his Ordinances. We read but of one Man in Scripture, that slept at a Sermon, and that Sin had like to have cost him his Life, *Acts.* 20. 9.

V. There is much Sabbath-breaking; since there are Multitudes that do profanely absent themselves or theirs from the publick Worship of God, on his Holy Day, especially in the most populous Places of the Land; and many under pretence of differing Apprehensions about the beginning of the Sabbath, do not keep a seventh part of time holy unto the Lord, as the fourth Commandment requireth, walking abroad, and travelling (not merely on the Account of worshipping God in the solemn Assemblies of his People, or to attend Works of Necessity or Mercy) being a common practice on the Sabbath Day, which is contrary unto that Rest enjoined by the Commandment. Yea, some that attend their particular servile Callings and Employments after the Sabbath is begun, or before it is ended. Wordly, unsuitable Discourses are very common upon the Lord's Day, contrary to the Scripture, which requireth that Men should not on holy Times find their own Pleasure, nor speak their own Words, *Isa.* 58. 13. Many that do not take care so to dispatch their worldly Business, that they may be free and fit for the Duties of the Sabbath, and that do (if not wholly neglect) after a careless, heartless manner, perform the Duties that concern the Sanctification of the Sabbath. This brings Wrath, Fires and other Judgments upon a professing People, *Neh.* 3. 17. 18. *Jer.* 17. 27.

VI. As to what concerns Families and Government thereof, there is much amiss. There are many Families that do not pray to God constantly Morning and Evening, and many more, wherein the Scriptures are not daily read, that so the Word of Christ might dwell richly with them. Some, and too many Houses, that are full of Ignorance and Profaneness, and these not duly inspected, for which cause Wrath may come upon others round about them, as well as upon themselves, *Job.* 22. 20. *Jerem.* 5. 7. & 10. 25. And many Household heads who profess Religion, do not cause all that are within their Gates to become Subjects unto good Order as ought to be, *Exod.* 20. 10. Nay, Children and Servants, that are not kept in due Subjection, their Masters and Parents especially being sinfully indulgent towards them. This is a Sin which brings great Judgments, as we see in *Ellis*, and *David's* Family. In this respect Christians in this Land, have become too like unto the *Indians*, and then we need not wonder, if the Lord hath afflicted us by them. Sometimes a Sin is discerned by the Instrument that Providence doth punish with. Most of the Evils that abound amongst us, proceed from Defects as to Family-Government.



VII. Inordinate Passions. Sinful Heats and Hatreds, and that among Church-Members themselves, who abound with evil Surmising, uncharitable and unrighteous Censures, Back-bitings, hearing and telling Tales, few that remember and duly observe the Rule, with an angry Countenance to drive away the Tale-Bearer: Reproachful and Reviling Expressions, sometimes to or of one another. Hence Law Sutes are frequent, Brother going to Law with Brother, and provoking and abusing one another in publick Courts of Judicature, to the scandal of their holy Profession, *IJa* 58. 4. *1. Cor.* 6. 6, 7. And in managing the Discipline of Christ, some (and too many) are acted by their Passions, and Prejudices, more than by a Spirit of Love and Faithfulness towards their Brother's Soul, which things are, as against the Law of Christ, so dreadful Violations of the Church-Covenant, made in the presence of God.

VIII. There is much Intemperance. That Heathenish and Idolatrous practice of Health-drinking is too frequent. That shameful Iniquity of sinful Drinking is become too general a Provocation. Days of Training, and other publick Solemnities, have been abused in this respect: And not only English, but *Indians* have been debauched by those that call themselves Christians, who have put their Bottles to them and made them drunk also. This is a crying Sin, and the more aggravated in that the first Planters of this Colony did (as is in the Patent expressed) come into this Land with a Design to convert the Heathen unto Christ, but if instead of that they be taught Wickedness, which before they were never guilty of, the Lord may well punish us by them. Moreover the Sword, Sicknes, Poverty, and almost all the Judgments which have been upon *New-England* are mentioned in the Scripture, as the woful Fruit of *that Sin*, *Jer.* 5. 11, 12. & 28. 1, 2. & 56. 9, 12. *Prov.* 23. 21, 29, 30, & 21. 17. *Hef.* 7. 5. & 28. 9. There are more Temptations and Occasions unto *that Sin*, publicly allowed of, than any Necessity doth require, the proper end of Taverns, &c. being for the Entertainment of Strangers, which if they were improved to that end only, a far less number would suffice: But it is a common practice for Town-Dwellers, yea, and Church-Members to frequent publick Houses, and there to mispend precious Time, unto the dishonour of the Gospel, and the scandalizing of others, who are by such Examples induced to sin against God. In which respect for Church-Members to be unnecessary in such Houses, is sinful, scandalous and provoking to God, *1. Cor.* 8. 9, 10. *Rom.* 14. 21. *Matth.* 17. 27. & 18. 7.

And there are other heinous Breaches of the seventh Commandment. Temptations thereunto are become too common, *viz.* such as immodest Apparel, *Prov.* 7. 10. laying out of Hair, Borders, naked Necks, and Arms, or which is more abominable naked Breasts, and mixed Dancings, light Behaviour, and Expressions, sinful Company-keeping with light and vain Persons, unlawful Gaming, an abundance of Idleness,

which brought ruinating Judgment upon *Sodom*, and much more upon *Jerusalem*, *Ezek.* 16. 49, and doth sorely threaten *New-England*, unless effectual Remedies be thoroughly and timely applied.

IX. There is much want of Truth amongst Men. Promise-breaking is a common Sin, for which *New-England* doth hear Ill abroad in the World. And the Lord hath threatened for that Transgression to give his People into the Hands of their Enemies, and that their Dead Bodies should be for Meat unto the Fowls of Heaven, and to the Beasts of the Earth, which Judgments have been verified upon us, *Jer.* 34. 18, 20. And false Reports have been too common, yea, walking with Reproaches and Slanders, and that sometimes against the most Faithful and Eminent Servants of God. The Lord is not wont to suffer such Iniquity to pass unpunished, *Jer.* 9. 4, 5. *Numb.* 16. 41.

X. Inordinate Affection unto the World. Idolatry is a God-provoking, Judgment-procuring Sin. And Covetousness is Idolatry, *Eph.* 5. 5. There hath been in many Professors an insatiable desire after Land, and Worldly Accommodations; yea, so as to forsake Churches and Ordinances, and to live like Heathen, only that to they might have Elbow-room enough in the World. Farms and Merchandisings have been preferred before the things of God. In this respect the Interest of *New-England* seemeth to be changed. We differ from other out-goings of our Nation, in that it was not any Worldly Considerations that brought our Fathers into this Wilderness, but Religion, even that so they might build a Sanctuary unto the Lord's Name; whereas now Religion is made subservient unto Worldly Interests. Such Iniquity causeth War to be in the Gates, and Cities to be burnt up, *Judg.* 8. 5. *Mat.* 22. 5, 7. Wherefore, we cannot but solemnly bear witness against that Practice of settling Plantations without any Ministry amongst them, which is to prefer the World before the Gospel: When *Lor* did forsake the Land of *Canaan*, and the Church, which was in *Abraham's* Family, that so he might have better Worldly Accommodations in *Sodom*, God fired him out of all, and he was constrained to leave his goodly Pastures, which his Heart (though otherwise a good Man) was too much set upon. Moreover that many are under the prevailing Powe: of the Sin of Worldliness is evident.

1. From that oppression which the Land groaneth under. There are some Traders, who sell their Goods at excessive Rates, Day-Labourers and Mechanics are unreasonable in their Demands; yea, there have been those that have dealt Deceitfully and oppressively towards the Heathen, among whom we live, whereby they have been scandalized and prejudiced against the Name of Christ. The Scripture doth frequently threaten Judgments for the Sin of Oppression, and in special the Oppressing Sword cometh as a punishment of that Evil, *Ezek.* 7. 11. and 22. 15. *Prov.* 28. 8. *Jf.* 5. 7.



2. It is also evident, that Men are under the prevailing Power of a Worldly Spirit, by their Strait-handedness, as to Publick Concernments. God by a continued Series of Providence, for many Years, one after another, hath been blasting the Fruits of the Earth in a great measure; and this Year more abundantly: Now, if we search the Scriptures, we shall find that when the Lord hath been provoked to destroy the Fruits of the Earth, either by noxious Creatures, or by his own immediate Hand in Blasting, or Droughts, or Excessive Rains (all which Judgments we have Experience of) it hath been mostly for this Sin of Strait-handedness with Reference unto publick and Pious Concerns. *Hag. 1. 9. Mal. 3. 8, 9, 11.* As when Peoples Hearts and Hands are enlarged upon these Accounts, God hath promised (and is wont in his Faithful Providence to do accordingly) to Bless with outward Plenty and Prosperity, *Prov. 3. 9, 10. Mal. 3. 10. 1 Cor. 9. 6, 8, 10. 2 Chron. 31. 10.* so on the other Hand, when Men withhold more than is meet, the Lord sends impoverishing Judgments upon them, *Prov. 11. 24.*

XI. There hath been opposition to the work of Reformation. Although the Lord hath been calling upon us, not only by the Voice of his Servants, but by awful Judgments, that we should return unto him, who hath been smiting of us, and notwithstanding all the good Laws, that are established for the suppression of growing Evils, yet Men will not return every one from his evil way. There hath been great In-corrigenableness under lesser Judgments; Sin and Sinners have many Advocates. They that have been Zealous in bearing witness against the Sins of the Times, have been reproached, and other ways Discouraged; which argueth an Heart unwilling to Reform. Hence the Lord's Contrivance is not yet done, but his Hand is stretched out still, *Lev. 26. 23, 24. Isa. 12. 13.*

XII. A publick Spirit is greatly wanting in the most of Men. Few that are of *Nehemiah's* Spirit, *Neh. 5. 15.* all seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's; serving themselves upon Christ and his Holy Ordinances. Matters appertaining to the Kingdom of God, are either not at all regarded, or not in the first place. Hence Schools of Learning and other publick concerns are in a languishing state. Hence also are unreasonable Complaints and Murmurings because of publick Charges, which is a great Sin; and a private self-seeking Spirit, is one of those Evils that renders the last times perilous, *2 Tim. 3. 1.*

XIII. There are Sins against the Gospel, whereby the Lord has been provoked. Christ is not prized and embraced in all his Offices and Ordinances as ought to be. Manna hath been loathed, the pleasant Land despised, *Psal. 106. 24.* Though the Gospel and Covenant of Grace call upon Men to Repent, yet there are Multitudes that refuse to Repent, when the Lord doth vouchsafe them time and means. No Sins provoke the Lord more than Impenitency and Unbelief, *Jer. 8. 6. Zech. 7. 11, 12, 13. Heb.*

*3. 17, 18. Rev. 2. 21, 22.* There is great Unfruitfulness under the means of Grace, and that brings the most desolating Judgments, *Isac. 5. 4, 5. Mat. 3. 10. and 21. 43.*

Finally: there are several Considerations, which seem to Evidance, that the Evils mentioned are the matters of the Lord's Contrivance.

1. In that (though not as to all) as to most of them, they are Sins which many are guilty of.

2. Sins which have been acknowledged before the Lord on Days of Humiliation appointed by Authority, and yet not reformed.

3. Many of them not punished (and some of them not punishable) by Men, therefore the Lord himself doth punish for them.

## QUESTION II.

What is so to be done, that so these Evils may be reformed?

## ANSWER.

I. IT would tend much to promote the Interest of Reformation, if all that are, in place, above others, do as to themselves and Families, become every way Exemplary. *Moses* being to Reform others, began with what concerned himself and his. People are apt to follow the Example of those, that are above them, *2 Chron. 12. 1. Gal. 2. 14.* If then, there be a divided Heart, or any other of the Sins of the Times, found in any Degree among those (or any of them) that are Leaders, either as to Civil or Ecclesiastical Order, Reformation there would have a great and happy Influence upon many.

II. In as much as the present standing Generation (both as to Leaders and People) is for the greater part another Generation, than what was in *New-England* Forty Years ago, for us to declare our adherence to the Faith and Order of the Gospel, according to what is in the Scripture expressed in the Platform of Discipline, may be likewise a good means both to recover those that have erred from the Truth, and to prevent Apostasy for the future.

III. It is requisite that Persons be not admitted unto Communion in the Lord's Supper without making a personal and publick Profession of their Faith and Repentance, either Orally, or in some other way, so as shall be to the just satisfaction of the Church; and that therefore both Elders and Churches be duly watchful and circumspect in this matter, *1 Cor. 11. 28, 29. Acts 2. 41, 42. Ezek. 44. 7, 8, 9.*

IV. In order to Reformation, it is necessary that the Discipline of Christ in the Power of it should be upheld in the Churches. It is evident from Christ's Epistles to the Churches in the lesser *Asia*, that the Evils and Degeneracies then prevailing among Christians, proceeded chiefly



from the neglect of Discipline. It is a known and true Observation, that Remissness in the Exercise of Discipline, was attended with Corruption of Manners, and that did provoke the Lord to give Men up to frong Delusions in matters of Faith. Discipline is Christ's Ordinance, both for the prevention of Apotacty in Churches, and to recover them, when collapsed. And these *New-Englisb* Churches are under peculiar Engagements to be Faithful unto Christ, and unto his Truth in this matter, by virtue of the Church Covenant, as also that the management of Discipline according to the Scripture, was the special Design of our Fathers in coming into this Wilderness. The Degeneracy of the Rising Generation (so much complained of) is in a great measure to be attributed unto neglects of this nature. If all Church Discipline, in these respects, were Faithfully and Diligently attended, not only towards Parents, but also towards the Children of the Church, according to the Rules of Christ, we may hope that the sunk and dying Interest of Religion will be revived, and a world of Sin prevented for the future; and that Disputes respecting the Subjects of Baptism, would be comfortably issued.

V. It is requisite that utmost endeavours should be used, in order unto a full supply of Officers in the Churches, according to Christ's Institution. The defect of these Churches, on this account, is very lamentable, there being in most of the Churches only one teaching Officer, for the Burden of the whole Congregation to lye upon. The Lord Christ would not have instituted Pastors, Teachers, Ruling-Elders (nor the Apostles have ordained Elders in every Church, *Acts* 14. 23. *Titus* 1. 5.) if he had not seen there was need of them for the good of his People; and therefore for Men to think, they can do well enough without them, is both to break the second Commandment, and to reflect upon the Wisdom of Christ, as if he did appoint unnecessary Officers in his Church. Experience hath evinced, that personal Instruction and Discipline, hath been an happy means to reform degenerated Congregations; yea, and owned by the Lord for the Conversion of many Souls: but where there are great Congregations, it is impossible for one Man, besides his Labours in publick fully to attend these other things of great Importance, and necessary to be done in order to an effectual Reformation of Families and Congregations.

VI. It is incumbent on the Magistrate to take care that these Officers have due encouragement and maintenance afforded to them. It is high Injustice and Oppression, yea a Sin, that cries in the Lord's Ears for Judgment, when Wages are withheld from Faithful and Diligent Labours, *Jam.* 5. 4. And if it be so to those that labour about carnal things, much more as to those who labour Day and Night, about the spiritual, and eternal welfare of Souls, *1 Cor.* 9. 11, 13, 14. And the Scripture is expresse, that not only the Members of Churches, but all that are

taught in the Word are bound to Communicate to him that Teacheth in all good things, *Gal.* 6. 6. *Luke* 10. 7. *1 Tim.* 5. 17, 18. If therefore People be unwilling, to do what Justice and Reason calls for, the Magistrate is to see them do their Duty in this matter. Wherefore, Magistrates, and that in Scriptures relating to the Days of the New-Testament, are laid to be the Churches Nurling Fathers, *1 J.* 49. 23. For Churches be fed with the Bread and Water of Tables, which as a Magistrate he cannot be, if he do not promote the Interest of Religion, by all those means, which are of the Lord's appointment. And we find in Scripture, that when the Lord's Ministers have been forced to neglect the House of God, and go every one into the Field (as too much of that hath been amongst us) because the People did not allow them that maintenance, which was necessary, the Magistrate did look upon himself as concerned to effect a Reformation, *Neh.* 13. 10.

VII. Due Care and Faithfulness with respect unto the Establishment and Execution of wholesome Laws, would very much promote the Interest of Reformation. If there be no Laws established in the Common-wealth, but what there is Scripture warrant for, and those Laws so worded, as that they may not become a Snare unto any that are bound to animadvert upon the violators of them, and that then they be impartially executed; Profanels, Heresie, Schism, Disorders in Families, Towns, Churches would be happily prevented and reformed. In special it is necessary that those Laws for Reformation of provoking Evils enacted and emitted by the general Court, in the Day of our Calamity should be duly considered, lest we become guilty of dissembling and dallying with the Almighty, and thereby Sin and Wrath be augmented upon us: In particular those Laws, which respect the Regulation of Houses for publick Entertainment, that the number of such Houses do not exceed what is necessary, nor any so entrusted but Persons of known approved Piety and Fidelity, and that Inhabitants be prohibited Drinking in such Houses, and those that shall without License from Authority sell any sort of Strong Drink, be exemplarily punished. And if withal Inferior Officers, Constables and Tithing Men, be chosen constantly of the Ablest and most Prudent in the place, Authorized and Sworn to a faithful Discharge of their Respective Trusts, and duly encouraged in their just Informations against any, that shall Transgress the Laws so established, we may hope that much of that Profaneness which doth threaten the Ruine of the uprising Generation will be prevented.

VIII. Solemn and explicit Renewal of Covenant is a Scripture expedient for Reformation. We seldom read of any solemn Reformation, but it was accomplished in this way, as the Scripture doth abundantly Declare and Testifie. And as the Judgments which betel the Lord's People of Old are Recorded for our Admonition, *1 Cor.* 10. 11.



So the Course, which they did (according to God) observe, in order to Reformation, and averting those Judgments, is Recorded for our Imitation, and this was an Explicit Renovation of Covenant. And that the Lord doth call us to this Work, these Considerations seem to Evince. 1. If Implicit Renewal of Covenant be an Expedient for Reformation, and to divert Impending Wrath and Judgment, then much more an explicit Renewal is so; but the first of these is indubitable. In Prayer, and more especially, on Days of solemn Humiliation before the Lord, there is an Implicit Renewal of Covenant, and yet the very dictates of Natural Conscience put Men upon such Duties, when they are apprehensive of a Day of Wrath Approaching. If we may not renew our Covenants with God, for fear lest Men should not be True and Faithful in Doing what they Promise, then we must not observe Days of Fasting and Prayer, which none will say. 2. When the Church was over-run with Idolatry and Superstition, those whom the Lord raised up as Reformers, put them upon solemn Renewal of Covenant. So *Aja*, *Jehosaphat*, *Hesekiah*, *Josiah*. By a Parity of Reason, when Churches are overgrown with Worldliness, (which is Spiritual Idolatry) and other Corruptions, the same Course may and should be observed in order to Reformation, Nay, 3. We find in Scripture, that when Corruption in Manners (though not in Worship) hath prevailed in the Church, Renovation of Covenant hath been the Expedient, whereby Reformation hath been attempted, and in some measure attained.

The Jews have dreaded the Sin of Idolatry, ever since the *Babylonian* Captivity, *John* 8. 41. But in *Ezra's* and *Nehemiah's* Time, too much Sensuality and Sabbath-breaking, Oppression, Strait handihoods respecting the publick Worship of God (the very same Sins that are found with us) were common prevailing Iniquities. Therefore did those Reformers put them upon renewing their Covenant, and solemnly to promise God that they would endeavour not to offend by those Evils, as formerly, *Ezr.* 10. 3. *Neh.* 5. 12, 13. and 10. *per totum*, and 13. 15. 4. The things which are mentioned in the Scripture, as grounds of renewing Covenant, are applicable unto us, e.g. The averting of Divine Wrath is expressed, as a sufficient Reason for attendance unto this Duty, *2 Chron.* 29. 10. *Ezra* 10. 14. Again being circumstanced with Difficulties and Distresses is mentioned as the Ground of Explicit Renovation of Covenant, *Neh.* 9. 38. Hence the Lord's Servants, when so circumstanced have been wont to make solemn Vows (and that is an express Covenanting) *Gen.* 28. 20. 21. *Judg.* 11. 30. *Numb.* 21. 1, 2. Now that Clouds of Wrath are hanging over these Churches every one seeth; and that we are circumstanced with some distressing difficulties is sufficiently known. This consideration alone might be enough to put us upon more solemn Engagements unto the Lord our God. 5. Men are hereby brought under a stronger Ob-

ligation unto better Obedience. There is an awe of God upon the Consciences of Men, when so obliged. As it is in respect of Oaths, they that have any Conscience in them, when under such Bonds are afraid to violate them. Some that are but Legalists and Hypocrites, yet solemn Covenants with God have such an awe upon Conscience, as to enforce them unto an outward Reformation, and that doth divert temporal Judgments. And they that are sincere, will thereby be engaged unto a more close and Holy walking before the Lord, and so become more eminently Blessings unto the Societies, and places, whereto they do belong. 6. This way is to prevent (and therefore also to recover out of) Apostasy. In this respect, although there were no visible Degeneracy amongst us, yet this Renovation of Covenant might be of singular Advantage. There was no publick Idolatry (or other Transgression) allowed of in the Days of *Joshua*, *Judg.* 2. 7. *Josh.* 23. 8. yet did *Joshua* persuade the Children of *Israel* to renew their Covenant; doubtless that so he might thereby restrain them from future Idolatry and Apostasy, *Josh.* 24. 25.

Lastly, The Churches, which have lately and solemnly attended this Scripture Expedient for Reformation, have experienced the Presence of God with them, signally owning them therein; how much more might a Blessing be expected, should there be a general Concurrence in this matter?

IX. In Renewing of Covenant, it is needful that the Sins of the Times should be engaged against, and Reformation thereof (in the Name and by the help of Christ) promised before the Lord, *Ezra* 10. 3. *Neh.* 5. 12, 13. and *Chap.* 10.

X. It seems to be most Conductive unto Edification and Reformation, that in Renewing Covenant such things as are clear and indisputable be expressed, that so all the Churches may agree in Covenanting to promote the Interest of Holiness, and close walking with God.

XI. As an Expedient for Reformation, it is good, that effectual care should be taken, respecting Schools of Learning. The Interest of Religion and good Literature have been wont to Rise and Fall together. We read in Scripture of Masters and Scholars, and of Schools and Colleges, *1 Chron.* 25. 8. *Mal.* 2. 12. *Acts* 19. 9. and 22. 3. And the most Eminent Reformers amongst the Lord's People of old, thought it their concern to erect and uphold them. Was not *Samuel* (that great Reformer) President of the College, at *Nayoth*, *1 Sam.* 19. 18, 19. and is thought to be one of the First Founders of Colleges. Did not *Elijah* and *Elisba*, restore the Schools Erected in the Land of *Israel*? And *Josiah* (another great Reformer) shewed respect to the College at *Jerusalem*, *2 Kings* 22. 14. Ecclesiastical Story informs that great care was taken by the Apostles, and their immediate Successors, for the setting of Schools in all places, where the Gospel had been preached, that so the Interest of Religion might be preserved, and the

Truth



Truth propagated to succeeding Generations. It is mentioned as one of the greatest Mercies, that ever God bestowed upon his People *Israel*, that he raised up their Sons for Prophets, *Amos* 2. 11. which hath respect to their Education in Schools of Learning. And we have all cause to Bless God, that put it into the Hearts of our Fathers to take care concerning this matter. For these Churches had been in a state most deplorable, if the Lord had not blessed the College, so as from thence to supply most of the Churches, as at this Day. When *New-England* was poor, and we were but few in Number Comparatively, there was a Spirit to encourage Learning, and the College was full of Students, whom God hath made Blessings, not only in this, but in other Lands; but it is deeply to be lamented that now when we are become many, and more

able than at our Beginnings, that Society, and other Inferior Schools are in such a Low and Languishing state. Wherefore, as we desire that Reformation and Religion should flourish, it concerns us to endeavour that both the College, and all other Schools of Learning in every place, be duly inspected and encouraged.

XII. In as much as a thorough and hearty Reformation is necessary, in order to obtaining Peace with God, *Jer.* 3. 10. and all outward means will be ineffectual unto that end, except the Lord pour down his Spirit from on High; it doth, therefore, concern us, to cry mightily unto God, both in ordinary and extraordinary manner, that he would be pleased to Rain down Righteousness upon us, *Isa.* 32. 15. *Hof.* 10. 12, *Ezek.* 39. 29. *Luke* 11. 13. Amen!

R E



## R E M A R K S

UPON THE

## Reforming Synod.

**T**HAT a Reforming Synod could not accomplish an Universal Reformation of Provoking Evils in the Country, has been acknowledged as a Matter of most sensible Observation; and the increased Frowns of Heaven upon the Country, since that Synod, have been but agreeable to such an increase of Provocation. Alas! how many Instances have we seen, upon which our God might say unto us, *When I would have healed New-England, then it's Iniquities were but the more discovered!* Nevertheless, it must be mentioned unto the Glory of God, that the Admonitions of the Synod, were not without very desirable Effects, upon many of his People. Faithful Ministers were thereby strengthened in Lifting up their Voices like Trumpets to shew us our Transgressions and our Sins, and private Christians were awakened unto an exacter Walk with God. But of all the Effects that followed upon the Synod, there was none more comprehensive and significant than the *Renewal of Covenant*, which was attended by many of our Churches, in pursuance of the largest Article of the *Reforming Expedients*, which had been recommended. In this *Renewal of Covenant*, there were some Churches, who, from I know not what Objections, of *there being no express warrant for it in the New-Testament*, and, *their doing it, implicitly in every act of Divine Worship*, and, *the imaginary danger of Innovations*, would not comply with the Advice of the Synod: But all the Virgins were not so sleepy, and very remarkable was the Blessing of God upon the Churches, which did not so sleep, not only by a great *Advancement of Holiness* in the People, who in their lesser Societies for the Exercises of Religion, as well as in their *Private and Retirement* often pursued the Copies of their *Covenants*; but also by a great *Addition of Converts*, unto their *holy Fellowship*. In short, many of the Churches, under the Conduct of their holy Pastors, having on previous Days of *fasting and Prayer* set apart for that purpose, considered the expectations of God concerning them, they were willing anew, to declare their most *explicit Consent* unto the *Covenant of Grace*, and most explicitly to engage a growing *watchfulness* in such Duties of the Covenant, as were more particularly accommodated unto their present Circumstances. When their preparatory Church-Meetings, had produced a Concurrence in this

Resolution, they publicly devoted another Day to Fasting and Prayer, whereat a vast Confluence of other Neighbours were usually present, and on this Day the Minister of the Place having in the Forenoon pray'd and preach'd suitably to the Occasion, he proceeded then to read the Covenant; whereunto the Assent of the Churches was then expressed, by the Brethren lifting up their Hands, and by the Women only standing up; and tho' in some Churches none but the Communicants, yet in others those also, which we call the *Children of the Church*, were actively concerned in these Transactions. But ordinarily in the Afternoon, some other Minister prayed and preached and inculcated the *Covenant Obligations*: And many thousands of Spectators will testify, that they never saw the *special Presence of the Great God our Saviour*, more notably discovered, than in the Solemnities of these Opportunities.

§ 2. The Forms used by the several Churches in the *Renewal of Covenant*, were not in all Points the same, nor did our Churches at all find that this *Vari formity* was an Inconvenience; but that it gave them a *Liberty and Advantage* to consult their own Edification, by adapting their Forms unto their own special Circumstances. However the Form which, with little Variation, was most used shall be now recited.

*We, who thro' the exceeding Riches of the Grace and Patience of God, do continue to be a Church of Christ, being now assembled in the holy Presence of God, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, after humble Confession of our manifold Breaches of the Covenant, before the Lord our God, and earnest Supplication of Pardon on Mercy thro' the Blood of Christ, and deep acknowledgement of our great Unworthiness to be own'd to be the Lord's Covenant-People; also acknowledging our own Inability to keep Covenant with God or to perform any spiritual Duty unless the Lord Jesus do enable us thereto by his Spirit dwelling in us; And being awfully sensible, that it is a dreadful Thing for sinful Dust and Ashes personally to transact with the infinitely glorious Majesty of Heaven and Earth; We do in humble Confidence of his gracious Assistance and Acceptance thro' Christ, each one of us, for our selves, and jointly as a Church of the living God, and one with another, in manner following, i. e.*

We



‘ We do give up our selves to that God, whose Name alone is *Jehovah*, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the One only True and Living God, and our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ, as our only Blessed Saviour, Prophet, Priest and King, over our Souls, and only Mediator of the Covenant of Grace, promising (by the help of his Spirit and Grace) to cleave unto God, as our chief Good, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, by Faith, and Gospel-Obedience, as becometh his Covenant People for ever. We do also give up our *Offspring* unto God in Jesus Christ, avouching the Lord to be *our God*, and the God of our Children, and our selves with our Children to be his People; humbly Adoring the Grace of God, that we and our Offspring with us may be looked upon to be the Lords.

‘ We do, also, give up our selves *one to another* in the Lord, and according to the Will of God; freely Covenanting and Binding our selves to walk together as a right ordered Congregation and Church of Christ, in all the ways of his Worship, according to the Holy Rules of the Word of God; promising in *Brotherly Love* to Watch over one anothers Souls Faithfully, and to submit our selves unto the Discipline and Government of Christ in his Church, and duly to attend all those Ordinances, which Christ hath Instituted in his Church, and commanded to be attended by his People, according to the Order of the Gospel, and Degrees of Communion, unto which we have attained; not resting in measures attained, but pressing after all. And whereas the *Messengers* of these Churches, who have met together in the Name of Christ, to enquire into the Reason of God’s Controversie with his People, have taken notice of many *provoking Evils*, as the procuring Causes of the Judgments of God upon *New-England*; so far as we or any of us have been Guilty of *Provoking* God by any Sin therein discovered to us, We desire from our Hearts to be wail it before the Lord, and humbly to entreat for pardoning Mercy, for the sake of the *Blood of the Everlasting Covenant*. And as an Expedient to the Reformation of those Evils, or whatsoever else, have provoked the Eyes of God’s Glory amongst us, We do freely Engage and Promise, as in the Presence of God;

‘ First, That we will (Christ helping) endeavour every one of us to *Reform* our Heart and Life, by seeking to mortifie all our Sins, and labouring to walk more closely with God, than ever yet we have done; and will continue to worship God in Publick, Private, Secret, and this without Formality or Hypocrisie; and more fully and faithfully than heretofore, to discharge all Covenant-Duties, one to another in Church-Communion.

‘ Secondly, To walk before God in our Houses, with a *perfect Heart*, and that we will uphold the Worship of God therein continually, according as he in his Word doth require; both in respect of *Prayer* and *Reading* the Scriptures, that to the Word of God may dwell richly in us: And we will do what in us lies, to bring

up our Children for Christ, that they may be such as have the Lord’s Name put upon them by a solemn Dedication to God in Christ, ought to be. And will therefore (as need shall be) *Catechise*, Exhort, and Charge them to the Fear of the Lord; and endeavour to set an Holy Example before them, and be much in Prayer for their Conversion and Salvation.

‘ Thirdly, To endeavour to be pure from the Sins of the Times, especially those Sins, which have been by the late Synod solemnly Declared and Evidenced to be the Evils, that have brought the Judgments of God upon *New-England*; and in our places to endeavour the suppression thereof, and be careful to walk, as that we may not give occasion to others to Sin, or speak Evil of our Holy Profession.

‘ Now that we may observe and keep this sacred Covenant and all the Branches of it inviolable for ever, We desire to deny our selves, and to depend wholly upon the Power of the Eternal Spirit of Grace, and on the free Mercy of God, and Merit of Christ Jesus: And where we shall fail, there to wait upon the Lord Jesus for Pardon, Acceptance, and Healing for his Name’s sake.

§ 3. The *Massachusetts* Colony was not alone, in such *Essays of Reformation*: but the Colonies of *Plymouth* and *Connecticut* shewed themselves in like manner concerned; that they might avert the Tokens of the Divine Displeasure, whereas they who dwelt in these uttermost parts were afraid. The Rulers, both in Church and State, had their serious Deliberations with one another, and they together enquired of the Lord, at the Oracle of his Written Word, what might be the grounds of the Divine Controversie. The Ministers drew up the Results of their Deliberations, which the Magistrates recommended unto the Consideration of the Inhabitants in the several Jurisdictions. The Pastors of the Churches, hence took occasion, in their lively Sermons, to prosecute the ends of these Admonitions; and some of them, reduced their Instructions into a *Catechetical Method*, that so the Young People in their Congregations, might Echo back, upon fit Questions, those things which were needful to be known, and to be done, relating to the Reformation of the Land. Thus particularly, did that most worthy Man, Mr. James Fitch, at *Norwich*; who has obliged more than his whole Colony, by suffering to be published (as well as another Elaborate *Catechism*, containing, a *Body of Divinity*) in form of a *Catechism*, an Explanation of the solemn Advice, recommended by the Council of the Colony to the Inhabitants, respecting the Reformation of those Evils, which have been the procuring cause of the late Judgments upon *New-England*.

§ 4. Our manifold Indispositions to recover the dying Power of Godliness, were punished with successive Calamities, under all of which our Apostacies from that Godliness have rather proceeded than abated. Although there hath been



been a Glorious *profession* of Religion made by the Body of this People unto this Day; yea, and although there be Thoufands which by *keeping their Hearts with all diligence*, and by *ordering their Conversations aright*, justify their Profession, yet the Number of them that so strictly walk with God, has been wofully decaying. The *Old Spirit of New-England* hath been sensibly going out of the World, as the *old Saints* in whom it was, have gone; and instead thereof the *Spirit of the World* with a lamentable neglect of *strict Piety*, has crept in upon the rising Generation. At last, the Country by some *Changes* passing over it, was thrown into a Condition, in which not only the *Pastors*, without whom no Reformation is to be hoped, were miserably crippled as to the doing of any notable thing in Reforming, but also the *Churches* were many ways incapable of doing any general thing to retrieve our growing *Defections*. However, when the compassion of God by strange Providences, fetched the Country out of that Condition, the *General Court*, returning to the Exercise of their former Authority, were willing to shew their Sense of the present Circumstances, by publishing the following Instrument.

*By the Governour and General Court of the Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-ENGLAND.*

**T**HAVING been a thing too sensible and obvious, to escape the observation of all, who are not wholly strangers in our *Israel*; that this poor Land hath laboured under a long *Series* of Afflictions, and Calamities, whereby we have suffered successively in all our *precious and pleasant things*, and have seen the Anger of the Righteous God against us, expressed in Characters, which ought to be as terrible, as they must needs be visible unto us; it having also both by the *Testimonies* of those that after the most humble and exact enquiries into the Mind of God, have discovered the same unto us, and by their own general and repeated Confessions, become undeniable; that a *Corruption of Manners*, attended with inexcusable *Degeneracies and Apostasies*, found in too many of this People, is the cause of that *Controversie*, which the God of our Fathers has, for many Years been maintaining with us: It being likewise at this Day, such a *Probation-time* with all *New-England* as this Country has never before seen from the first foundation of it, and the Judgments of that Holy God, who hath beheld, how Incurrible we have hitherto been, under all his Dispensations, now arriving to such an Extremity, that the *Ax is laid to the Root of the Trees*, and we are in eminent Danger of perishing, if a speedy Reformation of our *Provoking Evils* prevent it not: This Court have therefore thought it needful to Preface their other Endeavours for the publick welfare, with a very solemn *Admonition* unto this whole People, that they every where give Demonstrations of a thorough *Repentance*,

without which we have little Reason to hope for any Good success in our Affairs.

Wherefore, it is ordered that the *Laws* of this Colony against *Vice*, and all sorts of *Debauchery* and *Profaneness* (which *Laws* have too much lost their Edge by the late Interruption of the Government) be now Faithfully and vigorously put in Execution; particularly the *Laws* against *Blasphemy*, *Cursing*, *Prophane-Swearing*, *Lying*, *Unlawful-Gaming*, *Sabbath-breaking*, *Idleness*, *Drunkenness*, *Uncleannefs*, and all the Enticements and Nurseries of such *Impieties*: Together with all other the wholesome *Laws* and *Orders* agreeable to the present Circumstances of the Country; by the Execution whereof we may approve our selves, a *peculiar People*, zealous of good Works.

And as all Persons are hereby warned to avoid those *Vices*, which these *Laws* are designed for the Prevention and Chastisement of, (the *Lovers* of and *Pleasers* for such Iniquities, being among the Principal *Troublers* of their Country;) so all Inferiour Officers are enjoined to perform their Duty in finding and bringing out Offenders against the aforesaid *Laws*, and withal to give notice to such Offenders, that they must expect the Justice of an *Exemplary Punishment*.

And that no attempt towards Reformation may want that Assistance which all good Men will be willing to give thereunto, 'tis hoped that the Ministers of God will, to the publick Reading of this Proclamation, adjoin their own fervent Labours, not only for the rebuking and suppressing of those *provoking Evils*, which are marked for *Common barred*: but also to Witness against more *Spiritual Sins*, which fall not so much under the Cognizance of Humane *Laws*, namely, such as *Unbelief*, *Worldliness*, *Heresie*, *Pride*, *Wrath*, *Strife*, *Envy*, and neglect of Communion with God in both Natural and Instituted *Worship*, and the *Contempt* of the *Everlasting Gospel*, with a shameful want of due *Family Instruction*, which are the *Roots of Bitterness* in the midst of us.

Moreover, after the Example of *Pious Rulers* commended in sacred *Writ*, the *Churches* are every where hereby advised to give utmost Encouragement unto the Faithful, and Watchful *Pastors* of their Souls, to seek (where they lack) a full settlement and enjoyment of such *Officers*, as the Lord Jesus Christ hath appointed for their edification; to reflect seriously and frequently on their *Covenants*; to sharpen their *Discipline* against those that walk *Disorderly*; and immediately to compose their *Differences* and *Contentions* (if such there be) whereby any of them may be dispersed and enfeebled, that so they may become *Terrible* as an Army with *Banners*.

Furthermore, it is expected that the several *Towns* within this Jurisdiction, do speedily furnish themselves with the means for the good Education of *Youth*, and take special care to avoid *Raidions* and *Quarrels* in their other *Town-Affairs*; and all Plantations are strictly forbidden to continue without the Advantages of having



the Word of God constantly preached unto them, or without a sincere and active Industry, to obtain the Presence of the Lord Jesus Christ in all his Blessed Ordinances.

And Finally, this whole People are hereby advertised, that if these *Essays* for an Universal Reformation shall be obstructed (as those in the Days of the Reforming *Josiah* were) by Mens being settled on their *Lees*, and hating to be reformed; they can reasonably look for no other Issue than this, That the Jealous God will punish them yet *seven times more* for their Iniquities: But if the God of Heaven shall grant unto them the Grace to Remember whence they are fallen, and Repent, and do the first Works, it will give a greater Prospect of Prosperity, than can arise from the best Counsels and biggest Armies.

The Work of Reformation, thus endeavoured, is now recommended unto the Blessing of the Almighty, with whom alone it is to recover a backsliding People; persuading our selves, that the event thereof would be Salvation nigh unto us, and Glory dwelling in our Lord.

March 13.  
1682.

Isaac Addington, Secr.

§ 5. The lamentable Disasters, wherewith our God presently after punished us for our not being Reformed by all these things, rendred this Instrument worthy to be called a *Prophesie*, rather than a *Proclamation*. A War made against the Country by both *Pagan* and *Popish* Adversaries in the East; and an almost universal Mischance of our Affairs both by Sea and Land, and especially of the most important Expedition ever made by this People, even that against *Canada*; together with *Epidemical Diseases* which swept away near a Thousand Persons within a few Months, in one Town; these Testimonies from Heaven against the Land, kept alive the solicitous enquiries of good Men, how all that was amiss might be amended? Many things this way were propounded and attended by good Men in all Orders; but among other things, there was especially one voted by an Assembly of Ministers, met at Cambridge, in such Terms as these.

Whereas the most heavy and wasting Judgments of Heaven upon our distressed Land, loudly call upon us, no longer to delay the taking of some hitherto-untaken steps towards the Reformation of our provoking Evils, and the Recovery of Practical Religion in our Hearts, and Lives;

Among other Expedients in order hereunto, We cannot but recommend it, as very advisable, that the several Churches, having in an Instrument proper for that purpose, made a Catalogue of such things, as can Indubitably be found amiss among them, do with all seriousness and solemnity pass their Votes, that they count such things to be very Offensive Evils, and that renouncing all dependance upon their own strength, to avoid such Evils, they humbly ask the help of the Divine Grace to assist them, in watching against the said Evils both in themselves, and in one another. And that the Communicants do often reflect upon those their Acknowledgments and Protestations, as perpetual Monitors unto them, to prevent the Miscarriages, wherewith too many Professors, are so easily overtaken.

Copies of this Vote, were communicated unto many parts of the Country; in pursuance whereof, there were several Churches which did in the Year 1692, solemnly make the recommended Recognitions of Duty: Hoping, that God would accept such Acknowledgments of Duty, their Declarations for him, whereupon he would also declare for them; and thinking that such humble Acknowledgments were the New-Covenant-way for the obtaining of help from Heaven, for the doing of Duty. Particularly, to avoid the length of tedious varieties; There was one Church, amongst the rest, that voted, That they did accept of the following Instrument, as containing the serious Acknowledgments and Protestations of their Souls; whereupon they would often Reflect, for the discovering of what may be amiss in their Hearts and Lives; as also, for the directing of the Prayers, and strengthening of the Cares, which they would use in their more watchful walk with God. And a Printed Copy thereof, was accordingly put into the Hands of the Communicants.

Acknow-



## Acknowledgments and Protestations voted, as explaining the Obligations laid upon us by our most Holy Covenant.

WE, that through the Goodness of God have been combined, and are still continued, a Church of his; having heretofore consented unto the Covenant of State, according to the gracious Terms whereof, we have made choice of the Lord *Jehovah*, Father, Son and Spirit, as our God, and of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, as the glorious Mediator, upon whose Fullness of Merit and Power we rely, as well to be strengthened for the Duties, as to be invested with the Blessings, of that well-ordered Covenant; and have, therefore, according to his Will, incorporated our selves into that Evangelical Church-State, wherein our Desires after the sure Mercies of that Covenant, are to be expressed, maintained and answered: Being herewithal sensible, that our Justification, only by Faith in the Righteousness of him, who is a Saviour and a Surety for us, does very strongly oblige us to close with all the Commandments of God, as Holy, and Just, and Good; and as those Rules, in Conformity to which alone our Peace can be lengthened out: And, being also awakened by the most heavenly Judgments of Heaven, under which the Country hath been weltring and waiting for many late Years, to suspect, lest in the Hearts, and Lives of Us in particular, there may be found some of those accursed Things, which have brought upon the Land, such a long Variety of fore Calamity.

Do therefore acknowledge, That we are under peculiar Bonds to walk circumspectly, not only by avoiding the grosser Miscarriages of Ungodliness, but also by guarding against, whatever Corruptions do sometimes more easily obtain among the professing People of God; behaving our selves, not as Fools but as Wise, and redeeming the time, because the days are evil.

And in special manner, to revive the Sense of the Tyes, which are laid upon us by the Covenant of God, that has not only been accepted, but also renewed amongst us.

I. We acknowledge, It would be a great Evil in us, if our Love to the World should make us omit our Communion with God, and abate of that Zeal and Watch, which we should always keep alive in our Souls; or hinder us from the most affectionate reading of his Word, and seeking of his Face, every Day in our Houses, or from the daily use of Meditation and Supplication in our Closets.

II. It would be a great Evil in us, If, while on the one hand we protest against any thing in Divine Worship, for which we have not a Divine Warrant, and against the Usage of all Papal and Pagan Superstitions: On the other side, we should not, according to the best of our Capa-

cities, attend and support the Institutions of God, in the midst of us, with Endeavours that there may be nothing wanting thereunto.

III. It would be a great Evil in us, If when we draw near to God in his Ordinances, we should allow our selves to be Formal, Carnal, or Sleepy in what we do; especially, if we should ordinarily come to the Table of the Lord, without serious Examinations and Humiliations preparatory thereunto; or, if in managing of Church-Discipline, we should vent our own Passions, and serve our own Humours, instead of acting entirely for the Lord.

IV. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should abuse the good Creatures of God by Sensualities in Eating, Drinking and Recreation; or, by Extravagancies in our Apparel: And, if whenever we use the Titles, and the Scriptures of our God, it should not be with much Reverence in our Souls.

V. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should not keep a strict Guard both on our own Thoughts as well as Words and Works on the Lord's-Day, and also on all that are under our Influence, to refrain them from the violations of that Sacred Rest.

VI. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should not make it our careful study to have our Families well instructed, and well governed, and in such a Condition as is agreeable to the Fear of God.

VII. It would be a great Evil in us, If by the prevalence of a private Spirit, we should be backward unto any publick Service, wherein God shall call us, with our Persons or Estates to serve our Generation; or, if we should with unjust Neglect and Censure, ill require such as have been serviceable; more especially such as in Government are the Ministers of God unto us for our Good.

VIII. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should put off a Patient, Peaceable, Forgiving Temper towards our Neighbours; or, not with Meekness of Wisdom decline and smother all Causes of Contention.

IX. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should spend our Days in Idleness, and not be Diligent in such Employments, as may adorn the Doctrine of God, by rendering us useful unto those that are round about us.

X. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should in any of our Carriage, or so much as in our Discourse, admit any thing that may favour of a Lecherous or a Licentious Disposition in our Souls.

XI. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should use any Dishonesty in our Dealings, and either



by *Fraud* or *Force*, exact unreasonably upon those with whom we are concerned.

XII. It would be a great Evil in us, maliciously to *make*, or injuriously to *spread* any false *Reports*, or too easily to *receive Slanders* against the Innocent, or to Countenance the Broachers of them.

XIII. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should not conscientiously observe and fulfil what *Promises* we have lawfully given one unto another.

XIV. It would be a great Evil in us, To be discontented either at the *Prosperity* which God would have others enjoy, or at the *Adversity* wherein the Providence of God has at any time confined our selves.

XV. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should not be ready Charitably and Liberally to relieve the Necessities of the *Poor* that call for our Bounties.

XVI. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should not with a most Brotherly Affection either *give* or *take Reproofs*, when there is a cause for them; or, if we should with-hold any due *Testimony* against whatever may fall out among us, displeasing unto God.

Wherefore by a solemn Vot, we Declare against all these Evils, as *abominable Things*; and, utterly *despairing* of any strength in our selves to keep clear thereof, we do most humbly ask the All-sufficient Grace of God in Christ, that neither these, nor any such Iniquities may have *Dominion* over us; but that we *watch* against them all, both in *our selves*, and in *one another*.

§ 6. Many and various are the *Deliberations* continued by good Men, unto this Day, concerning the Methods of preventing our *Apostasies*. But I shall supersede the mention of them all, with a Copy of certain *Expedients*, and *Proposals* about Reformation lately agreed by an Assembly of Ministers at Cambridge.

I. There is a large number of People in this Country, which not lying within the reach of our *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, do from thence encourage themselves in the Liberty, which they take to do the things, for which the Wrath of God comes upon the Land. It would very much promote the Design of Reformation among us, if all due means were used, for the bringing of more than there are, and as many as may be, to submit unto the *Church-watch*; were highly desirable that the Body of this professing People

should thus be brought into the way of *Reformation*. It hath been by an happy Experience found, that God has given a singular Success unto the *Admonitions* of our Churches, applied unto such as have by their Mis-carriages thereto exposed themselves; many have been thereby savingly brought home to God.

II. The *Expedients* for the Reformation of our Land, offered by the Synod in the Year 1679, ought not to be forgotten; but the Remembrance and Consideration thereof should be revived.

III. The Concurrence of such as do sustain Place in the *Civil Government*, is of great importance in the Prosecution of our desired *Reformation*: And that we may enjoy this, it must be endeavoured, that there should be no misunderstanding between any in the *Government* and the *Ministry*. This being observed, a *general Consultation* upon the Methods of Reformation is to be asked for.

IV. For the *Pastors* of our Churches in *visiting* of their Flocks, to inform themselves, about the *Morals* of their People in every Quarter; and thereupon both publicly and privately, set themselves to Cure what shall be found amiss, would signify very much in a Glorious *Reformation*.

V. Particular Churches have a *Power of Self-Reformation*, and they would contribute more than a little to an *universal one*, if they would be *Exemplary* unto one another in Deliberations upon their own Circumstances, and in renewing, explaining and enforcing of their *Covenants*.

VI. It would be well, if the *Ministers* in this (as well as any other) Association, would single out the more *observable Iniquities* in the Country, and successively at fit Seasons publish brief, but full, *Testimonies* against those Iniquities. A manifold Advantage might accrue to the Attempts of Reformation by those *Testimonies*.

VII. Solemn Days of Prayer with *Fasting* celebrated in our Churches, to implore the Grace of God for the rising Generation, would probably be of blessed Consequence, for the turning of our young People unto the God of our Fathers. The more there is this way ascribed unto *Grace*, the more is the Grace of God like to be communicated; and there is in this way a *natural* and *plentiful* Tendency to *awaken* our unconverted Youth unto a Sense of their everlasting Interests. Which, were it generally accomplished, a marvellous Reformation were therein effected.



Book V.  
the way of Reformation  
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THAUMATURGUS:

V E L

ספר תהומות i. e. *Liber Memorabilium.*

The SIXTH Book

OF THE

NEW-ENGLISH History;

WHEREIN

Very many Illustrious

DISCOVERIES and DEMONSTRATIONS

OF THE

Divine PROVIDENCE

I N

REMARKABLE

MERCIES and JUDGMENTS

O N

Many Particular Persons among the People

O F

NEW-ENGLAND,

ARE

OBSERV'D, COLLECTED and RELATED:

By COTTON MATHER.

PSAL. 107. 43.

*Who is wise-- will observe these Things.*

L O N D O N, Printed in the Year 1702.



L O N D O N Printed in the Year 1701.

Woe is wife -- will observe these Things.

PSAL. 107. 41.

BY COTTON MATHER.

OBSERVED, COLLECTED and RELATED.

ARE

N E W - E N G L A N D

O F

Many Particular Persons among the People

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M E R C I E S and J U D G M E N T S

R E M A R K A B L E

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D I V I N E P R O V I D E N C E

O F T H E

D I S C O V E R I E S and D E M O N S T R A T I O N S

Very many Illustrations

WHEREIN

N E W - E N G L I S H H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

T H E S I X T H B O O K

V O L .

Printed by J. C. Little, Boston.

T H E A T M A T U R G U S



## The SIXTH BOOK.

# REMARKABLES

OF THE

## Divine Providence

Among the

### People of NEW-ENGLAND.

§. 1. **T**O Regard the illustrious Displays of that PROVIDENCE, where-with our Lord CHRIST governs the World, is a Work, than which there is none more Needful, or Useful, for a Christian: To Record them is a Work, than which, none more proper for a Minister: And perhaps the Great Governour of the World will ordinarily do the most Notable Things for those who are most ready to take a wise Notice of what He does. Unaccountable therefore and inexcusable, is the Sleepiness, even upon the most of Good Men throughout the World, which indisposes them to observe, and much more to preserve the Remarkable Dispensations of Divine Providence, towards themselves or others. Nevertheless there have been raised up now and then those Persons who have rendered themselves worthy of Everlasting Remembrance, by their Wakeful Zeal to have the Memorable Providences of God remembered through all Generations. Among those Worthy Men, a most Embalmed Memory is particularly due unto the Reverend MATTHEW POOL, who about the Year 1658, set a-foot a Glorious Design among some Divines of no little Figure throughout England and Ireland, for the faithful Registering of Remarkable Providences. But alas, it came to nothing that was Remarkable. The like Holy Design was, by the Reverend INCREASE MATHER, proposed among the Divines of New-England, in the Year 1681, at a General Meeting of them; who thereupon desired him to begin, and publish an Essay; which he did in a little while; but therewithal declared, That he did it only as a Specimen of a larger Volume, in hopes that this Work being so set on foot, Posterity would go on with it.

§. 2. But as the National Synods in France could not, by their frequent Admonitions unto the Churches to procure a good Register of Remarkable Providences, effectually rouse their Good

Men out of their Stupidity: So the Pastors in the Churches of New-England have mostly been too much under the Power of a like Indisposition, to Regard the Works of the Lord, and the Operation of his Hands. That this Indisposition might, if it were possible, be shaken off, there were Proposals again made and sent thro' the Country: Whereof I will here annex the Copy; and yet I must complain of it, that unto this Hour there have not half Ten Considerable Histories been transmitted unto us in answer unto these Proposals.

*Certain Proposals made by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, to the Reverend Ministers of the Gospel in the several Churches of New-England.*

I.

**T**O Observe and Record the more Illustrious Discoveries of the Divine Providence, in the Government of the World, is a Design so Holy, so Useful, so Justly approved, that the too general Neglect of it in the Churches of God, is as Justly to be lamented.

II.

For the Redress of that Neglect, although all Christians have a Duty incumbent on them, yet it is in a peculiar manner to be recommended unto the Ministers of the Gospel, to improve the special Advantages which are in their Hands, to Obtain and Preserve the Knowledge of such notable Occurrences, as are sought out by all that have Pleasure in the Great Works of the Lord.

III.

The Things to be esteemed Memorable, are especially all Unusual Accidents, in the Heaven  
Aaaaaa 2



'or Earth, or Water: All wonderful Deliverances of the Distressed: Mercies to the Godly: Judgments on the Wicked; and more Glorious Fulfillments of either the Promises or the Threatnings, in the Scriptures of Truth; with Apparitions, Possessions, Inhabitations, and all Extraordinary Things wherein the Existence and Agency of the Invisible World, is more sensibly demonstrated.

## IV.

'It is therefore proposed, That the Ministers throughout this Land would manifest their Pious Regards unto the Works of the Lord, and the Operation of his Hands, by reviving their Cares to take Written Accounts of such Remarkables; but still well attested with Credible and Sufficient Witnesses.

## V.

'It is desired, that the Accounts thus taken of these Remarkables, may be sent in, unto the PRESIDENT, or the FELLOWS of the College by whom they shall be carefully reserved for such an Use to be made of them, as may by some fit Assembly of Ministers, be judged most conducing to the Glory of GOD, and the Service of his People.

## VI.

'Tho' we doubt not, that, Love to the Name of GOD, will be motive enough unto all Good Men, to contribute what Assistance they can, unto this Undertaking; yet for further Encouragement, some Singular Marks of Respect, shall be studied for such Good Men as will actually assist in by taking Pains to communicate any important Passages proper to be inserted in this Collection.

	Increase Matber,	President
	James Allen	
	Charles Morton	
	Samuel Willard	
Cambridge	Cotton Matber	Fellows.
March 5,	John Leverett	
1692,	William Brattle	
	Nehem. Walter	

§. 3. Tho' we have been too slack in doing what hath been desired and directed in these Proposals; yet our Church History is become able to entertain the World with a Collection of Remarkable Providences that have occurred among the Inhabitants of New-England. Besides a considerable Number of Memorables, which lie scattered here and there in every part of our Church-History, there is a Number of them enough to make an intire Book by themselves; whereof having received sufficient Attestations, I shall now invite the Reader to consider them.

A certain Critick so admired those Verses of the Poet Claudian,

*Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia Mentem,  
Curare: superi terras, an ullus in æsther  
Rector, an incerto fluerent mortalia cursu,*

that he said, whoever would be a Poet, must perfectly settle them in his Memory. This Critick might perhaps be something of a Deist. But, Reader, if any Doubts like these of Claudian's, about the Existence and Providence of God begin to poison thy Soul, there are six or seven Chapters of History now before thee, that may be thy Antidote.

It is observ'd that the Name *Fortune* (or *Fortuna*) is not once used in all the Works of Homer. We will now write a Book of rare Occurrences, wherein in a blind Fortune shall not be once acknowledged. *Austin* in his *Retractions* complains of himself, that he had used the Word *Fortune* too much; but the Use of it shall be confuted as well as avoided, in the Book now before us, wherein all the Rare Occurrences will be the evident Operations of the Almighty God, whose Kingdom rules over all.

## CHAP.



## C H A P. I.

*Christus super Aquas: Relating wonderful Sea-Deliverances.**Vela damus, vastumque cavat trabe currimus aequor.*

**T**hey that go down to the Sea in Ships, these do see the Works of the Lord, and his Wonders in the Deep. And what if our Collection of Remarkable Providences do begin with a Relation of the Wonderful Works which have been done for them that go down to the Sea in Ships, by that Great Lord whose is the Sea, for he made it: I will carry my Reader abroad upon the huge Atlantic, and without so much as the Danger of being made Sea-sick, he shall see Wonders in the Deep.

I. *A Pious Anchorite.*

Let Mandelsloe tell of his poor Fleming, who lived an Insulinary Anchorite upon a desolate Island many Months together; I have a Story that shall in most things Equal it, and in some Exceed it.

On Aug. 25. 1676. Mr. Ephraim How with his two Sons, did set Sail from New-Haven for Boston, in a small Ketch of about seventeen Tun; and returning from Boston for New Haven, Sept. 10. contrary Winds detain'd him for some time, and then Illness and Sickness till a Month expired. He then renewed his Voyage as far as Cape Cod; but suddenly the Weather became so tempestuous, that it forced them off to Sea, where the outrageous Winds and Seas did often almost overwhelm them; and here in about eleven Days his Elder Son died, and in a few Days more his Younger. It is noted in 1 Chron. 7. 22. that when the Sons of Ephraim were dead, Ephraim their Father mourned many days, and his Brethren came to comfort him. This our mourning Ephraim could not have any Comfort from his Friends on shore, when his Two Sons were thus dead; but they died after so Holy and Hopeful a manner, that their Father was not without his Consolations. However, their Straits and Fears were now increased, as their Hands were diminished; and another of the Company soon after died like the former. Half the Company was now gone; and Mr. How, tho' in a very weak State of Health, now stands at the Helm twenty four Hours, and thirty six Hours at a time, with the Rude Waves flying over the Vessel at such a rate, that if he had not been lash'd fast, he must have been wash'd over-board. In this Extremity he was at a loss whether he should persist in striving for the New England Shore, or bear away to the Southern Islands; and proposing the Matter to one Mr. Angur (who, with a Boy, was all that were left for his Help,) they first fought unto God by earnest Prayer in this difficult Case, and then Determined the Difficulty by casting a Lot. The Lot fell for New England, and ere a Month was expired, they lost the Rudder of their

Vessel; with which they lost all Hope of being saved. In this deplorable Condition they continued a Fortnight: And thus for six Weeks together, Mr. How, tho' labouring under much Infirmary, was hardly ever dry: Nor had they in all this while the Benefit of warm Food, more than thrice, or thereabouts. When the seventh Week dawned upon them, the Vessel was driven on the Tailings of a Ledge of Rocks, where the Sea broke with no little Violence; and looking out, they spied a dismal doleful Rocky Island unto the Lee-ward; upon which, if the Providence of God had not by the Breakers given 'em timely Notice, they had been dash'd in pieces. This Extremity was Heavens Opportunity! They immediately let go an Anchor, and got out the Boat, and God made that Storm a Calm; so that the Waves were still. Being under the Astonishments of the Circumstances now upon them, they took little out of the Vessel; but when they came a shoar, they found themselves on a desolate Island (near Cape Sables) which had not either Man or Beast upon it: and a Prospect of being therefore starved quickly to death, now stared upon them. While they were under this deadly Prospect, a Storm arose that flaved their Vessel to pieces, from whence a Cask of Powder was brought a shoar, a Barrel of Wine, and half a Barrel of Molasses, together with several other Things which assisted them in making a sort of a Tent, for their Preservation from the terrible Cold. However, new and sore Distresses now attended them: for tho' they had Powder, with other Necessaries for Fowling, there were seldom any Fowls to be seen upon this forlorn Island, except a few Gulls, Crows and Ravens; and these were so few, that there could be rarely more than one shot at a time. Oftentimes half a one of these Fowls, with the Liquor, made a Meal for Three: Once they lived five Days without any Sustainance at all; during all which Space, they did not feel themselves pinch'd with Hunger as at other times, which they esteemed a special Favour of Heaven unto them. When they had been twelve Weeks in this lonesome Condition, Mr. How's dear Friend Mr. Angur, died; and the Lad also died in the April following: So that his Lonesomeness was now become as much as any Hermit could have wish'd for. For a long and a sad Quarter of a Year together now, he saw Fishing Vessels ever now and then sailing by; but tho' he used all possible Means to acquaint them with his Distresses, either they saw him not, or they feared lest some of the Indians met in Hostility against the English, might be quartered there.

The good Man, while thus deserted, kept many Days in Prayer, with Fasting, wherein he confessed and bewailed the many Sins which had rendered him worthy of these Calamities, and cried unto God for his Deliverance. But at last it came into



into his Mind, that he ought very solemnly to give Thanks unto God for the marvellous Preservations which he had hitherto experienc'd; and accordingly he set a-part a Day for solemn Thanksgiving unto God his gracious Preserver, for the Divine Favour which had been intermix'd with all his Troubles. IMMEDIATELY after this, a Vessel belonging to Salem, did pass by that Island; and seeing this poor Servant of God there, they took him in. So he arriv'd at Salem July 18. 1677. and returned unto his Family at Newhaven.

## II. A Man strangely preserv'd on the Keel of a Boat at Sea.

A Ship's Long-boat having Five Men in her, was by a violent Gulf of Wind over-set. The Men all got upon the Keel, upon which being driven to Sea, they were four Days floating there. In this time three of them dropp'd off, and perished in the Deep; On the Fifth Day the Fourth Man being sorely pain'd with Hunger, and sadly bruised with the boisterous and furious Waves, wilfully fell off into the Sea, and was drown'd after the rest of his Companions. Quickly after this the Wind coming up at South East, carried the Boat with the Fifth Man into Long-Island, where being scarce able to creep a shoar, the Indians found him, cherish'd him, and preserv'd him. With Feasting, and Watching and Cold, he must, according to Reason in this time have perished; but he constantly affirmed, That he saw certain Persons come and put Meat into his Mouth when he was ready to perish for want of Sustenance.

## III. The Wonderful Story of Major Gibbons.

Among Remarkable Sea-Deliverances, no less than three several Writers have publish'd that, wherein Major Edward Gibbons of Boston in New-England, was concern'd. A Vessel bound from Boston to some other Parts of America, was thro' the Continuance of contrary Winds, kept so long at Sea, that the People aboard, were in extrem Straits for want of Provision; and seeing that nothing here below could afford them any Relief, they look'd upwards unto Heaven in humble and fervent Supplications. The Winds continuing still as they were, one of the Company made a sorrowful Motion, that they should by a Lot single out One to die, and by Death to satisfy the Ravenous Hunger of the rest. After many a doleful and fearful Debate upon this Motion, they came to a Result, that it must be done: The Lot is cast; one of the Company is taken; but where is the Executioner that shall do the terrible Office upon a poor Innocent? It is a Death now to think who shall act this bloody Part in the Tragedy: But before they fall upon this involuntary and unnatural Execution, they once more went unto their zealous Prayers; and behold, while they were calling upon God, he answer'd them: For there leap'd a mighty Fish into their Boat, which, to their double Joy, not only quieted their Outragious Hunger, but also gave them some Token

of a further Deliverance. However, the Fish is quickly eaten; the horrible Famine returns, the horrible Distress is renew'd; a black Despair again seizes their Spirits: For another Morsel they come to a second Lot, which fell upon another Person; but still they cannot find an Executioner: They once again fall to their importunate Prayers; and behold, a second Answer from above! A great Bird lights and fixes it self upon the Mast: One of the Men spies it; and there it stands until he took it by the Wing with his Hand. This was a second Life from the Dead. This Fowl with the Omen of a further Deliverance in it, was a sweet Feast unto them. Still their Disappointments follow them; they can see no Land, they know not where they are: Irresistible Hunger once more pinches them; they have no Hops to be saved, but by a Third Miracle: they return to another Lot; but before they go to the Heart-breaking Task of slaying the Person under Designation, they repeat their Addresss unto the God of Heaven, their former Friend in Adversity. And now they look, and look again, but there is nothing: Their Devotions are concluded, and nothing appears: Yet they hoped, yet they stay'd, yet they lingred. At last one of 'em spies a Ship, which put a new Hope and Life into 'em all. They bear up with their Ship, they Man their Long-Boat, they beg to board the Vessel, and are admitted. It proves a French Pirate. Major Gibbons petitions for a little Bread, and offers all for it; but the Commander was one who had formerly receiv'd considerable Kindnesses of Major Gibbons at Boston, and now replied cheerfully, Major Gibbons, Not an Hair of You or your Company shall perish, if it lies in my Power to preserve you. Accordingly he supplied their Necessities, and they made a comfortable End of their Voyage.

## IV. Twelve Men living Five Weeks for Five hundred Leagues in a little Boat.

A small Vessel, whose Master's Name was Philip Huggare, coming upon the Coast of New-England, suddenly sprang a Leak and foundred. Eighteen Persons were in the Vessel, whereof Twelve got into the Long-Boat, into which they threw some little matter of Provision; but of that necessary thing Fire, they were wholly unprovided. These twelve Men went five hundred Leagues in this poor Long-Boat, and were therein miraculously preserv'd five Weeks together; for the God of Heaven sent them a strange Relief, by causing some flying Fish to fly and fall among them, which being eaten raw, were a pleasant Food unto them: and once, when they must otherwise have perish'd for Thirst, they caught a Shark, whose Blood being suck'd by them, was as Cool Water to their thirsty Souls; but that which was more so, was their safe Arrival then at the West Indies.

## V. Some



## V. Some Shipwreck'd Folks happily rescued.

Mr. John Grafton being bound from New-England for the West-Indies in a Ketch call'd the *Providence*, the Vessel suddenly struck upon a Rock, in a dark, rainy, stormy Night; and the Force of the Wind and the Sea broke the Vessel immediately to Pieces. Six of the Ten Men, whereof the Company did consist, were drown'd; but the Master and the Mate were left upon the Rock, where the Sea came up unto their Waltes, and there they embrac'd each other, looking for Death every Moment; which, if the Sea had risen higher, must have been unavoidable. By the Rock was one of the Seamen grievously wounded, and groaning: But in the Morning they saw an Island about half a mile from them. The Rocks were so craggy, that these Persons, who were bare-footed, were not able to tread thereupon; but they found a Piece of Tarpoling which they wrapp'd and fastned about their Feet with *Rope-Tarns*; and so getting each of them a Stick, they sometimes walk'd, and sometimes they *crept*, until at last they came unto the Island, where they found another of their Crew, carried a shore by a piece of the Vessel. Eight Days they continu'd on the Island, and Four of them without any Fire. Salt-Fish was their Food, and Rain-Water found in the Holes of the Rocks their Drink. They then found a piece of Touchwood which had been in the Mate's Chest; and a Flint, with a Knife, being in like manner brought 'em, they struck Fire; and a Barrel of their Flower being also cast ashore, they made Cakes thereof. But there must be no long Stay made upon this desolate Island. Wherefore finding a piece of the Main-Sail, and some Hoops of a Cask, and a Fragment of a Board, with some Nails, and a Box wherein was a *Bolt rope Needle* and a *Tarr-Barrel*, with which they Tarr'd their *Cannons*. Out of these wretched Materials they patch'd up a pitiful, unlikely, dangerous Tool, which they call'd a *Boat*; and meeting with some thin Boards which came out of the Cabin, of these they made their *Paddles*. In this odd *Vehicel* they made a Voyage of ten Leagues, even until they came to *Anguilla*, where the People entertain'd them with *Courtesie* and *Wonderment*.

## VI. Sore Calamities at Sea survived.

A small Vessel set sail from *Bristol* to New-England, Sept. 22. 1681. with the Master, whose Name was *William Dutton*; there were seven Men a-board, having Provisions for three Months; but by contrary Winds, they were twenty Weeks before they could make any Land; and by other Disasters and Distresses, it was rendered very unlikely that ever they should make any Land at all. The fierce Winds upon the Coasts of New-England, made them conclude on Dec. 12. that they would bear away for *Barbadoes*; but before this they lost One Barrel of their *Beer*, by the Head being broken out; and having but se-

ven Barrels of *Water*, three of them leak'd away. When their *Victuals* fail'd them, the merciful *God* who is the Sea, for he made it, sent them a Supply, by causing *Dolphins* ever now and then to come near their Vessel as to be catch'd; yet it was observable, that they could never catch any, but in an extreme Necessity; nor any more than would serve their present Necessity. But their Misery, thro' the Want of *Water*, was very sore upon them: For tho' they tried much to take the *Rain Water*, when any fell, the Winds were usually so furious, that they could save little, if any of it. However, when they came near the Latitude of *Bermudaz*, they did, unto their great Joy, save two Barrels of *Rain Water*; but then, the *Rats* unexpectedly eating Holes in the Barrels, all that *Water* was lost again. Once when a Shower of *Rain* fell, they sav'd a Pint; which, tho' it were made very bitter by the *Tar*, yet it was a sweet *Water* unto their *Thirsty Souls*; and they divid'd it among seven, drinking a Thimble-full at a time; which went five times about. On Jan. 27. a good Shower of *Rain* fell; and that they might preserve it, they laid their Linnens open to the *Rain*; and wringing them dry, they obtain'd seven Gallons of *Water*, which being Bottl'd up, was a great and a long Refreshment unto them. New Straits then came upon them. They catch'd, with much ado, three or four of the *Rats*, that had cheated them of their Drink, and made of 'em a *Meat*, which to their famish'd Souls did seem very delicate. But the Torment of their *Drought* grew insupportable; for sometimes they had not a Drop of any fresh *Water* for a whole Week together. When they killed a *Dolphin*, they would suck his Blood for the Relief of their *Thirst*, yea, their *Thirst* caus'd them to drink large Quantities of *Salt Water*, which yet they found allay'd it not. They would go over board with a Rope fastned about them, that by drenching themselves a while in the Sea, they might ease the internal Heat which parched them; and when they flood any of them to steer the Vessel, they would have their Feet in a Pail of *Sea Water* to refrigerate 'em. In this Calamity some of the Seamen penitently confessed, how just it was with *God* to punish them, who had intemperately abus'd themselves with *Drink*, so often in their former *Conversation*. But at length on Febr. 7. they met with a *Guinea Man*, who supplied 'em with Necessaries, and so they got safe in unto *Barbados*, from whence they afterwards made their Voyage to New-England.

## VII. Seasonable Succours.

A Ship of *Dublin*, whereof *Andrew Bennet* was Master, being bound from thence unto *Virginia*, and got as far as the Latitude of 39, about an hundred and fifty Leagues from *Cape Cod* in New-England (on April 18. 1681.) in a very stormy time, suddenly there sprang a Plank in the fore-part of the Ship. Whereupon the Sea broke in so fast, that they could not by all their Endeavours keep the Ship from sinking above half an Hour. Wherefore, when the Ship was just sink-

Five Weeks for Five  
to a little Boat.

Master's Name was  
the Coast of New-  
Leak and founder'd  
the Vessel whereof  
Boat, into which they  
Provision; but of that  
were wholly unprovi-  
went five hundred  
Boat, and were there  
Weeks together, for  
them a strange Relief,  
to fly and sail among  
Law, were a pleasant  
Thirst, they caught a  
fact'd by them, was  
call'd; but this which  
Arrival then wrote



ing, some of the Company resolv'd that they would launch out the Boat, which was a very small one; and in this Action the *Master*, the *Mate*, the *Boatwain*, the *Cook*, two *Fore mast Men* and a *Boy*, kept such hold of it, when a Cast of the Sea suddenly help'd them off with it, that they got into it. The Heaving of the Sea now suddenly thrust them from the Ship, in which there were left *Nineteen* Persons, namely, *Sixteen Men* and *Three Women*, who all perish'd in the Deep, while they were trying to make *Rafters*, by cutting down the *Malts* for the Preservation of their Lives as long as they could. The *Seven* in the Boat apprehended themselves to be in a Condition little better than that of them in the Ship; for they had neither *Sails*, nor *Oars*, nor *Bread*, nor *Water*, nor any sort of Instrument, except a *Knife* and a Piece of a *Deal-Board*, with which they made *Sticks*, and set them up in the Sides of the Boat, covering them with some of their own Garments to keep off the Spray of the Sea. In this Condition they drove with an hard Wind and an high Sea all this Day, with the Night following; but the next Morning their dismal Distress met with an happy Relief; when they saw a *Ketch* (whereof *Edmund Henfield* of *Salem* in *New-England*, was *Master*) under *Sail*; which *Ketch* coming right with them, took 'em up, and brought 'em safe to *New-England*. Now none of the least remarkable Circumstances in this matter, was, that when the Ship founder'd, the *Ketch* was many Leagues to the *Westward* of her; but a contrary Wind caused her to stand back again unto the *Eastward*, where these poor Men were met and saved.

#### VIII. Distress'd People at Sea, bopply meeting, and helping one another.

A Ship whereof *William Laiten* was *Master*, bound from *Piscataqua* in *New-England*, to *Barbadoes*, being two hundred and fifty Leagues off the Coast, sprang a Leak; which, notwithstanding their constant plying of the Pump for fourteen Hours together, so fill'd the Vessel with Water, that all the Eight Persons aboard betook themselves to their Boat, with a good Supply of *Bread* for them there to live upon. The *Master* would utter a strange Perfwasion, that they should meet with a Ship at Sea, whereby they should be reliev'd: But before they did so, they had so far spent their small Supply of Water, that they were come to the Allowance of each *Man* a Spoonful a Day. In this Boat they continu'd upon the *Atlantick Ocean* for *Nineteen Days* together; after *Twelve* of which they met with a Storm which did much endanger their Lives; but God preserv'd them. At the End of *Eighteen Days* a *Flying Fish* fell into their Boat; and having with them an *Hook* and *Line*, they made use of that *Fish* for *Bait*, whereby they caught a couple of *Dolphins*. A Ship then at Sea, whereof *Mr. Samuel Scarlet* was *Commander*, apprehending a Storm to be near, they suffer'd their Vessel to drive before the Wind, while they were fitting of the Rigging to ascertain that approaching

Storm; and by this means they met with a Boat full of their distress'd Brethren. Captain *Scarlet's* Vessel was then destitute of *Provisions*; only they had Water enough, and to spare: For which cause the *Mariners* desir'd him that he would not go to take the Men in, lest they should all die by Famine. But the Captain was a Man of too generous a Charity to follow the *Selfish Proposals*, thus made unto him. He reply'd, *It may be, these distress'd Creatures are our own Country men: Or, however, they are distress'd Creatures. I am resolv'd I will take them in; and I'll trust in God, who is able to deliver us all.* Nor was he a Loler by this Charitable Resolution; for Captain *Scarlet* had the *Water* which *Laiten* wanted, and *Mr. Laiten* had the *Bread* and *Fish* that *Scarlet* wanted; So they refresh'd one another, and in a few Days arriv'd safe to *New-England*. But it was remark'd, That the chief of the *Mariners* who urg'd Captain *Scarlet* against his taking in these distress'd People, did afterwards in his Distress at Sea, perish without any to take him in. In another Voyage he perish'd at Sea, and was never heard of.

#### IX. Wonderful Distresses, and more wonderful Deliverances.

A Number of *Mariners*, in a small *Pink*, belonging to *Boston* (call'd *The Blessing*) were taken by an *Half-Galley* of *Cruel Spaniards*, on *April* 1. 1683, who put them all immediately into their Hold, except the *Master* and *Mate*, the latter of which they tormented by twisting a Piece of Sea Net about his Head, until his Eyes were ready to start out: And then hanging him up by the two Thumbs to make him confess what Money they had aboard; but when they saw he would confess nothing, they made fast a Rope about his Neck, and ask'd their *Commander* whether they should hoise him up or not: They consulted also whether they should not hang all the Men; but not agreeing on that Point, they concluded on somewhat no less truculent and barbarous. They kept one of the Men on board, on whom they afterwards exercis'd bloody Cruelties; and the other Six belonging to the Vessel, they thus dispos'd of. They carry'd the poor Men among the *Mangrove Trees*, that grew upon an adjacent Island, and stripping them stark-naked, they caus'd each of 'em to turn their Backs unto the Branch of a Tree, and spread their Arms abroad; in which Posture they bound the Arms of each Man to the Branches two by two, about a quarter of a Miles distance between the several Couples, thus leaving them to perish without any Pity. They stood up to the mid-Leg in Water, their Feet contiguous, and their Faces turn'd so, that they might behold each others Miseries. But about three Hours after, one of these Men esp'y'd a Stick with a Crook at one End, not far from him; whereupon he said unto his Companion, *If it please God that we might get that Stick into our Hands, it might be a Means to work our Deliverance*, and thereupon trying to bring the Stick towards them with their Feet, in a little time



time they happily effected it, and so bore it up with their Feet, that at last the *Man* got hold of it with his Hand; and herewith by degrees they loos'd the Knot that was upon the Bowing of their Arms; and thrusting it into their Fingers, did by little and little get so far in loosing it, that they quite undid it, setting themselves at liberty. Now returning their Thanks to the God of Heaven for helping them thus far, they hastned unto the Help of their despairing Friends. But their next Care was how to keep themselves out of the Sight of those barbarous Wretches, from whom they had receiv'd this Usage: Yet they had not gone above a  *Mile*, before they spy'd some of 'em got upon a high Tree to discover Ships that pass'd that way. Upon this they were so affrighted, that they ran among the Thickets and lost one another, and met not again till the Third Night after; in all which time they found no Water, but lick'd the Dew from the Leaves of the Plants thereabout: At which Business, while they were employ'd, an *Alligator* suddenly got the Arm of the *Master* into his Mouth; but he with the rest, crying out, the *Alligator* let go his Hold, therewithal tearing away a great piece of the Flesh. After this, they got upon an High Tree, and sat there till it was Day; but within a Day or two they kill'd a wild Coney, which they flay'd with the Help of a sharp Stone; and applying the Inside of it unto the *Master's* Arm, they eat the Flesh raw with no little Satisfaction. The Night following they got upon an *High Rock*, thinking there to be secure from the *Alligators*; yet even there, one of those terrible Creatures came upon 'em, and hall'd one of the *Men* off the Rock; at which they all crying out, the *Monster* let go his Hold, and the *Man* was recover'd. However, this made 'em retire into the Trees for Safety. Their Drink all this while was the Rain Water, found in Holes among the Rocks. At length also they rais'd a little Wall Two Yards high, to keep off the numerous *Alligators*: And *Whilks* and *Crabs* were their best Food, whilst they had much ado to preserve *Themselves* from being Food to those Devourers. But anon they found a Well with a Barrel in it, where they reliev'd they would wait for Help or Death. On Apr. 13, the *Mate* (namely *Charles Cretcher*) with two more (namely *Robert Pierce* and *Peter Clement*) of these distressed People, made a Raft with such Wood as they found on the Island, and put to Sea. The *Master* (whose Name was *David East*) with two more (whose Names were *John Batb* and *Peter Rowland*) being left behind, were extremely hungry and feeble, and had not the least Garment to cover them from the Sun, while they were at the same time so grievously infested with *Moschetoes*, that they could not go to the Rocks for *Whilks*, but must content themselves with gnawing such dry Bones of Turtles as had been half a Year lying there. In this Extremity Heaven sent them some Supply; for they found a dead Eel, which they suppos'd had been drop'd by an *Herm*: This they took, they skinn'd, they divided, and it seem'd an incomparable Feast unto them. On Apr. 19,

the *Master* and the Two left with him, follow'd the Example of the *Mate*, and his Two, in making a Raft for a Voyage to Sea: But as they were going to put off, they clyp'd a couple of Sails; upon which they betook themselves unto the Water, that they might get unto these Vessels, which at length took them up. These two Vessels were a couple of *Canoes*, having three Men apiece, who kept 'em thirty two Days, and then carry'd 'em into *Havanna*; where the Governour, notwithstanding they fairly related unto him their Circumstances, kept 'em in Prison Eighteen Days, without allowing 'em any Food. So that if they had not receiv'd some Sufferance from a few poor *English* Prisoners who had been there before 'em, they had been perfectly starv'd. At last they understood that their Ship was in that Harbour, and the Persons who took her: Whereupon they petition'd the Governour that they might have their Ship again; inasmuch as they could make no legal Prize of her; for she had no *Spanish* Goods aboard. Their Petition was granted; and their Ship (tho' empty'd of every thing but her Ballast) was restor'd unto 'em: Nor could they by a new *Petition* obtain any thing but her Sails, and some small part of her Lading that had not been dispos'd of.

On June 10, the Hunters having taken up *Robert Pierce* and *Peter Clement*, and brought 'em into *Havanna*, the Governour examin'd 'em what was become of their *Mates*; and they told him, That they were five Days at Sea upon the Raft, and had only two *Crabs* all this while to subsist upon; and then by the Wind they were driven upon the same Island which they had left, where they wander'd up and down for a Month together; and in their Travels lost their *Mate*, who was, thro' Weakness unable to travel. Hereupon the Governour sent 'em aboard also; and the Night before they sail'd, the Hunters inform'd the Governour, That they had likewise taken up the *Mate* alive. But the Governour hurry'd 'em away in such haste, that they could not know the Certainty thereof; and so they prosecuted their Voyage for *Boston*, whither they came, well nigh starv'd with Cold, not having any more Clothes than a Canvas Frock for each Man, which the *Turtles* had bestow'd upon them.

X. A Notable Story of one Jew'd from the Hands of the Turks.

A Decad of Remarkable Sea Deliverances may be sufficient for the present Entertainment.

One of my honest Neighbours, whose Name is *Christopher Monk*, brought me this Account of what had befallen himself.

'In a Ship of *Bermudas*, call'd *The John's Adventure*, whereof I was *Master*, July 28. 1687, we departed from *Torbay* in the West of *England*. Eight Days after this we saw a Ship about 8<sup>h</sup>. A. M. that gave us Chase: And tho' we made what Sail we could, to run from it, by 2<sup>h</sup> P. M. it came up with us. It prov'd to be

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the



the *Half Moon* of *Algier*, who sent their *Lanch* on board of us, and carry'd us all on board the *Turks Ship*, except One, whom they left, to help 'em in sailing of ours. The Captain having examin'd us of divers things, and robb'd us of what Silver or Gold we had about us, sent us forward among the other *Christians*, that were there before us, who entertain'd us with sorrowful Lamentations.

'I have since reflected on it, that tho' formerly I us'd Morning and Evening Prayers with my Company; yet in the time of our Chase, my Fears and Cares made me have no Heart for the Duty. But our Application of our selves unto Outward Reliefs and Second Causes, prov'd all in vain.

'However now, being in *Turkish* and cruel Hands, I thought it fit to pray with them that were formerly of my Family, that is to say, my Company; and I was enabl'd to do it in the Presence of my Enemies, without receiving Disturbance from 'em. I insur'd my self in the Lord my God, when I heard 'em rejoicing with Shouts at the Prey taken by them.

'One of the *Moors* took away my Bible, which I thought was a fore Judgment on me, because of my neglecting to read it while I had it. But thro' the Mercy of God, I had soon after an old Bible, which the *Turks* reckon'd of little value, given to me. This was my sweetest Companion and my greatest Consolation in my Distresses. I also met with Two other Books, one entitul'd *The Godly Man's Ark*, the other *The History of the Sufferings of Jesus Christ*; which were very beneficial to me. From the Sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, I was encourag'd to submit my Will unto the Will of God in all things; knowing that Jesus Christ had suffer'd more than I was able to undergo, and had sweeten'd all to those who are His. I was likewise made willing to undergo Slavery from those Considerations in *Lam. 3. 22, 29. It is of the Lord's Mercies that we are not consumed: Wherefore doth a Living Man complain, a Man for the Punishment of his Sin? being convinc'd that my Sins had deserv'd far more than could be inflict'd upon me in this Life. I thought with my self, that if I met with a good Master, my Life would be the more comfortable; but that, if I met with a Bad Master, the Time which I had here to live, was but short, compar'd with Eternity: And if I could but secure my Eternal Happiness, it would make amends for all; and why could not I endure Slavery as well as the *Negroes* in my own Nation? I usually read those Places, which at my opening of the Bible first offer'd themselves unto me; and often they would happen to be exceedingly pertinent unto my present Condition; especially many Passages in the 37th *Psalms* very much affected me. Once coming upon the Deck in the Morning, and finding most of all the *Turks* and *Moors* asleep, I thought, that if I had been Owner of a sharp Knife, I could have cut the Throats of a great many, without making any Noise, and wical, communicated the Notion to some*

of the *English* aboard, how easily we might conquer our Adversaries, and master the Ship. Some consented, and prescrib'd a Way; but one more fearful than the rest, bid me have a care what I said; for some among us, he affirm'd, would willingly betray our Design, unto the loss of our own Lives. Hereupon I spok'd no more of it, but went down between Decks to advise with my Bible; and this was the Scripture which then occur'd unto me: *Cease from Anger, and forsake Wrath: For not thy self in any wise to do Evil; for Evil-doers shall be cut off; but they that wait on the Lord, shall inherit the Earth; for yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be.* Upon this I wholly desisted from my evil Intent; and resolving to take the Advice of the *Psalms*, I also apply'd unto my self that Scripture in *Lam. 3. 26. It is good that a Man should both hope and quietly wait for the Salvation of the Lord.* And that in *Isa. 49. 24, 25.* and that in *Isa. 53. 3, 4.*

'One Morning as I slept upon some old Sails between Decks, I dream'd, That I was upon an Hill, where was a little fort of a Log-house, like some Houses that I have seen in *Virginia*; That some who were with me had young *Eagles* in their Hands, bruising and squeezing 'em in their Hands till they made 'em cry; That there appear'd at length Two great White *Eagles* upon the Top of another Hill coming towards us, at the Cry of the Young Ones, to release 'em: That for fear, lest the Old *Eagles* might kill us, I with several others, were put into the little House to secure us: And, that hereupon the Young Ones were let at liberty; and somebody said unto me, For the Crying of the Poor, for the Sighing of the Needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; and I will set him at liberty from him that putteth at him. I thought also that I heard somebody cry out, A Sail, a Sail! And I thought my self upon the Upper Deck; imagining that there I saw a Ship or Two. With this, I awoke, and went upon the Deck; but seeing no other Ship, I consider'd a little upon my Dream, telling it unto my Mate, and adding That I expell'd a speedy Redemption.

'I continu'd thus with the *Turks* until the 9th of September; all which time they never offer'd me any Abuse, tho' they did beat other *Christians* very much. On that Day, about 8 in the Morning, a *Christian* at the Fore-top-mast Head, saw Three Ships; one of which was a *Frenchman*, which had been in our Company the Night before; and now told the other two Ships that they had seen a *Turk* the preceding Evening. The two Ships were two small *English* Frigates, the *Jamer-Galley*, and the *Seaface*. The *Seaface* having a Man at the Top-mast-head, esp'd us, and made Sail towards us, and so did the *Jamer-Galley*. We lay still until I saw their Sails above the Water, like my two White *Eagles*, as white as Snow, thro' the Sun shining on them. The *Turks* made Sail to run from 'em; yet at Night the *Jamer-Galley* came up with us; whereupon I, with the rest of the *Christians*, was chain'd down in the Hold.

After



After a little Discourse, they fired on our *Turks* a Volley of Small Shot, and a Broad-side. The *Sea Face* seeing that, boarded us: but in less than an Hours time the lost her Fore-mast, and Boltsprit, and Head, and about five and twenty Men, and fell a-stern. Yet the other, which was less than she, shot all her Mast away by 2 in the Morning; and when it was Day, the *Turks* yielded their Ship. Then they that were leading us Captive, were them selves carry'd into Captivity, Sept. 10. 1651.

Christopher Monk.

MANTISSA.

Over and above the Number of *Sea Deliverances* intended for this Chapter, we will add One more, which is a late and a fresh Instance, and attested beyond all Contradiction.

On the 16th of October, in this present Year 1697. there arriv'd at New Haven a Sloop of about 50 Tuns, whereof Mr. William Trowbridge was Master: The Vessel belong'd unto New-Haven, the Persons on board were Seven; and

17 long Weeks had they now spent, since they came from their Port, which was *Fayal*. By so unusually tedious a Passage a Terrible Famine unavoidably came upon them; and for the five last Weeks of their Voyage they were so destitute of all Food, that thro' Faintness they would have chosen Death rather than Life. But they were a praying and a pious Company: And when *the's poor Men cry'd unto the Lord, he heard and sav'd them.* God sent His Dolphins to attend 'em; and of these they caught fill One every Day, which was enough to serve 'em: only on *Saturdays* they fill catch'd a Couple; and on the *Lord's Days* they could catch none at all. With all possible Skill and Care they could not supply themselves with the Fish in any other Number or Order; And indeed with an Holy *Blush* at last they left off trying to do any thing on the *Lord's Days*, when they were so well supply'd on the *Saturdays*. Thus the Lord kept feeding a Company that put their Trust in Him, as He did His *Israel* with his *Manna*: And this they continu'd until the *Dolphins* came to that Change of Water, where they us'd to leave the Vessels. Then they so strangely surrendered themselves, that the Company took Twenty seven of 'em; which not only suffic'd them until they came ashore, but also some of 'em were brought ashore dry'd, as a Monument of the Divine Benignity.

CHAP. II. Hosea.

Relating Remarkable Salvations experienced by others besides the Sea-faring.

*Pars mihi semper erit, servari velle salutis  
Maxima—*

THE Good People of New-England may tune their Praises to a Consort, with those of the good Psalmist, *He that is our God, is the God of Salvations, and unto God the Lord belong the Issues from Death.* How many Extraordinary Salvations, have been granted unto particular Persons, among that good People, a small Volume could not enumerate.

Remarkable Answers of Prayer have been receiv'd by the most of those who have experimentally known the Meaning of Wrestlings in Prayer amongus. How many Thoulands have upon very notable Experiments been able to say, *This Poor Man cried, and the Lord heard and sav'd him!* One very surprizing Instance hath been seen several times in this Land, when infinite Swarms of Caterpillars have devour'd our Fields, and carry'd whole Fields before them: Some very pious and praying Husbandmen in the extrem Exigency, when the Devourers have just been entering on their Fields, have poured out their fervent Prayers unto the God of Heaven for their Deliverance; immediately hereupon Flocks of Birds have arriv'd that have devour'd the Devourers, and preserv'd those particular Fields,

when others have been horribly wasted. Moreover, when any Neighbours have labour'd under desperate Maladies; or been tempted, or distracted, or possel'd, it hath been a common thing for a Knot of Godly People to meet, and fast, and pray, and see the Afflicted gloriously deliver'd. Furthermore, when any Droughts, or Floods have threatend the Ruins of our Harvests, these and those Congregations mostly concern'd, have pray'd with Fasting on those Occasions; and God hath wondrously deliver'd them, with a Distinction from others that have not so call'd upon him. The very Pagans in this Wilderness have been sometimes amazed at what they have seen of this nature amongus, and cried out, *That the Englishman's God was a Great and a Good God!* It may be added, Some of our Churches have once in a considerable while kept a Day of Prayer for the Success of the Word of CHRIST, upon the Souls of their Children in rising Generation among them: And the Success hath been such, that all the Churches in the Land have took notice of it.

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Again,



Again, Remarkable Rescues from *Death* have been receiv'd by so many Thousands among us, that there hath been scarce one *Devout Family* which hath not been able to bring in something unto the *Heap* of these Experiences. *Fallen Persons* that have had *Carts* and *Ploughs* just running over them, the Beasts which drew them have suddenly stop'd, unto the Surprise of the Spectators. Persons on the very Point of mortal *Bruising* or *Drowning*, have been snatch'd out of the Jaws of *Destruction* in Ways that are not accountable: Even *Ejaculatory Prayers* have had Astonishing Answers. For Instance,

An honest Carpenter being at work upon an House, when Eight Children were sitting in a Ring at some childish Play on the Floor below; he fell last accidentally from an upper Story, a bulky Piece of Timber just over these little Children. The Good Man, with inexpressible Agony, cry'd out, *O Lord direct it*, and the Lord did to direct it, that it fell on End in the Midst of the little Children, and then canted along on the Floor between two of the Children, without ever touching one of them all. But the Instances of such Things would be numberless. And if I should with a most Religious Veracity, relate what *Wounds* many Persons have surviv'd, I should puzzle *Philosophy* and make her have some Recourse unto *Divinity*.

One *Abigail Eliot* had an Iron struck into her Head, which drew out part of her Brains with it: A Silver Plate she afterwards wore on her Skull where the Orifice remain'd as big as an *Half Crown*. The Brains left in the Child's Head would swell and swage, according to the *Tides*; Her Intellectuals were not hurt, by this *Disaster*, and she liv'd to be a Mother of several Children.

One *John Symonds* about the Age of Ten Years, had some affrighted Oxen with a Plough, running over him; the Share took hold of his Ribs a little below the left Pap, and rent an Hole in his Breast, so large, that a Man might have put in his four Fingers: His very Heart became visible; his Lungs would fly out sundry Inches, as often as the Place was dress'd. In seven or eight Weeks he recover'd and became an healthy Man. But an *History* of Rare Cures in this Country would fill more Pages than may here be allow'd. Yet let me take the Leave to enquire what shall be thought of the Case of one *Sarah Wilkinson*, who dy'd of a *Dropsie*. For a long while before her *Death* she had no Evacuation except only by a frequent and forc'd Vomit of Water in huge Quantities, with which her *Dispos'd Bowels* came up in successive Potions of them. When the was open'd, there were no Bowels to be found in her, except her Heart, which was exceeding small, and as it were perboil'd; and her *Milt*, or *Spleen*, one End whereof stuck to her Back, and the other to her Ribs; as also a small part of her *Liver* or *Lungs*, corrupted so much, that they knew not which of the Two it was, and this no bigger than the Palm of ones Hand. Other *Bowels*, none could be found: Yet in this Condition she liv'd a long while, and retain'd her Senses to the last.

But we will content our selves with annexing

to these things, a Narrative of a Woman celebrating the wonderful *Dispensations* of Heaven.

### A NARRATIVE of Hannah Swarton, containing Wonderful Passages, relating to her Captivity and her Deliverance.

I Was taken by the *Indians* when *Casco Fort* was taken (*May 1690*.) My Husband being slain, and four Children taken with me. The Eldest of my Sons they kill'd, about two Months after I was taken, and the rest scatter'd from me. I was now left a Widow, and as be-reav'd of my Children; though, I had them alive, yet it was very seldom that I could see 'em, and I had not Liberty to discourse with 'em without danger either of my own Life, or theirs; for our condoling each others Condition, and shewing Natural Affection, was so displeasing to our *Indian Rulers*, unto whose share we fell, that they would threaten to kill us, if we cry'd each to other, or discours'd much together. So that my Condition was like what the Lord threatned the *Jews* in *Ezek. 24, 22, 23*. We durst not *Mourn* or *Weep* in the Sight of our Enemies, lest we lost our own Lives. For the first times, while the Enemy feasted on our English Provisions, I might have had some with them; but then I was so fill'd with Sorrow and Tears, that I had little Stomach to eat; and when my Stomach was come, our English Food was spent, the *Indians* wanted themselves, and we more: so that then I was pin'd with Want. We had no Corn or Bread; but sometimes *Groundnuts*, *Acorns*, *Purslain*, *Hogweed*, *Weeds*, *Roots*, and sometimes *Dogs Flesh*, but not sufficient to satisfy Hunger with these; having but little at a time. We had no Success at hunting; save that one Bear was killed, which I had part of; and a very small part of a Turtle I had another time, and once an *Indian* gave me piece of a *Moose's Liver*, which was a sweet Morfel to me; and *Fish* if we could catch it. Thus I continued with them, hurry'd up and down the Wilderness, from *May 20*, till the middle of *February*; carrying continually a great Burden in our Travels; and I must go their Pace, or else be killed presently; and yet was pinch'd with Cold for want of Cloathing, being put by them into an *Indian* Dress, with a sleight Blanket, no Stockings, and but one pair of *Indian Shoes*, and of their Leather Stockings for the Winter: My Feet were pricked with sharp Stones and prickly Bushes sometimes, and other times pinch'd with Snow, Cold, and Ice, that I travell'd upon, ready to be frozen, and faint for want of Food; so that many times I thought I could go no further, but must lie down, and if they would kill me, let 'em kill me. Yet then the Lord did to renew my Strength, that I went on still further as my Master would have me, and held out with them. Though many English were taken, and I was brought to some of 'em at times, while we were about *Casco Bay* and *Kennebeck River*, yet at

Nor.



Norridgewock we were separated, and no English were in our Company, but one John York and my self, who were both almost starv'd for Want; and yet told, that if we could not hold up to travel with them, they would kill us. And accordingly John York growing weak by his Wants, they killed him, and threaten'd me with the like. One time my Indian Mistress and I, were left alone, while the rest went to look for Bells; and they left us no Food from Sabbath-day Morning till the next Saturday; save that we had a Bladder (of Moose I think) which was well fill'd with Maggots, and we boild it, and drank the Broth; but the Bladder was so tough we could not eat it. On the Saturday I was sent by my Mistress to that part of the Island most likely to see some Canoe, and there to make Fire and Smoke, to invite some Indians if I could; and to come to relieve us; and I esp'y'd a Canoe, and by Signs invited 'em to come to shore. He prov'd to be some Squaw; who understanding our Wants, one of 'em gave me a roasted Eel; which I eat, and it seem'd unto me the most savory Food I ever tasted before. Sometimes we liv'd on Wattle berries, sometimes on a Kind of Wild Cherry, which grew on Bushes, which I was sent to gather once in so bitter a cold Season, that I was not able to bring my Fingers together to hold them fast: Yet under all these Hardships the Lord kept me from any Sickness, or such Weakness as is defensible me from Travelling when they put us upon it.

My Indian Mistress was one that had been bred by the English at Black-Point, and now married to a Canadea Indian, and turned Papist; and she would say, That had the English been as careful to instruct her in our Religion as the French were, to instruct her in theirs, she might have been of our Religion; and she would say, That God delivered us into their Hands to punish us for our Sins; And this I knew was true as to my self. And as I desired to consider of all my Sins, for which the Lord did punish me, so this lay very heavy upon my Spirit many a time, that I had left the Publick Worship and Ordinances of God, where I formerly lived (viz. at Beverley) to remove to the North Part of Casco Bay, where there was no Church or Minister of the Gospel; and this we did for large Accommodations in the World, thereby expoling our Children, to be bred Ignorantly like Indians, and our selves to forget what we had been formerly instructed in; and so we turned our Backs upon God's Ordinances to glad this World's Goods. But now, God hath stript me of these things also; so that I must justify the Lord in all that has befallen me, and acknowledge that he hath punish'd me less than my Iniquities deserved. I was now bereav'd of Husband, Children, Friends, Neighbours, House, Estate, Bread, Cloaths, or Lodging suitable; and my very Life did hang daily in doubt, being continually in danger of being kill'd by the Indians, or pined to Death with Famine, or tired to Death with hard Travelling, or pined with Cold till I died, in the Winter Season. I was so amazed with many Troubles, and hurry'd in my Spirit from one Exercise to another, how

to preserve my self in Danger, and supply my self in the Want that was present; that I had not time or Leisure to compelsly to consider of the great Concernments of my Soul, as I should have done; neither had I any Bible or Good Book to look into, or Christian Friend to be my Counsellour in these Distresses: But I may say, The Words of God, which I had formerly heard or read, many of them came off into my Mind, and kept me from perishing in my Afflictions. As when they threaten'd to kill me many times, I often thought of the Words of our Saviour to Pilate, Joh. 19. 11. Thou couldest have no Power at all against me, except it were given thee from above. I knew they had no Power to kill me but what the Lord gave them; and I had many times Hope, that the Lord would not suffer them to slay me, but deliver me out of their Hands; and in his time I hoped, return me to my Country again. When they told me that my Elders Son was kill'd by the Indians, I thought of that in Jer. 33. 8. I will cleanse them from all their Iniquities whereby they have sinned against me, and I will pardon all their Iniquities. I hoped, tho' the Enemy had barbarously killed his Body, yet that the Lord had pardoned his Sins, and that his Soul was safe. When I thought upon my many Troubles, I thought of Job's Complaint, Chap. 14. 16. 17. Thou numberst my Steps, and watchest over my Sin; my Transgression is sealed up into a Bag; and thou searchest up mine Iniquity. This was for my Humiliation, and put me upon Prayer to God, for his Pardoning Mercy in Christ; and I thought upon David's Complaint, Psalm 13. 1, 2. and used it in my Prayers to the Lord; How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord, for ever: How long wilt thou hide thy Face from me? How long shall I take Counsel in my Soul, having Sorrow in my Heart: How long shall my Enemy be exalted over me? I sometimes bemoan'd my self, as Job, Chap. 19. 9, 10. He hath stripped me of my Glory, and taken my Crown from my Head; he hath destroyed me on every side, and I am gone, and my hope hath been removed like a Tree. Yet sometimes encourag'd from Job 22. 27. Thou shalt make thy Prayer to him, and he shall hear thee, and thou shalt pay thy Vows. I made my Vows to the Lord that I would give up my self to him, if he would accept me in Jesus Christ, and pardon my Sins; and I desired and endeavour'd to pay my Vows unto the Lord. I pray'd to him, Remember not against me the Sins of my Youth; and I besought him, Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an Ungodly Nation; deliver me from the deceitful and unjust Man. Why go I mourning because of the Oppression of the Enemy? And by many other Scriptures that were brought to my Remembrance, was instructed, directed and comforted.

I travell'd over steep and hideous Mountains one while, and another while over Swamps and Thickets of fallen Trees lying one, two, three Foot from the Ground, which I have stepp'd on from one to another, nigh a thousand in a Day, carrying a great Burden on my Back. Yet I dreaded going to Canadea, for fear lest I should be overcome by them to yield to their Religion; which



the most Venemous of all to the Churches of America. The beginning of this *Upstart Sell* has been declared, by one who was a Pillar of it, in a Pamphlet written in the Year 1659. where this Passage occurs, *It is now about Seven Years since the Lord raised us up:* And the North of England was reckon'd the Place of its Nativity. Nevertheless, I can tell the World that the First Quakers that ever were in the World, were certain Fanatics here in our Town of Salem, who held forth almost all the Fancies and Whimlies which a few Years after were broached by them that were so called in England, with whom yet none of ours had the least Communication; except my Reader will rather look for the First Quakers at the Delphian Oracle upon Parnassus, [Originally perhaps פרוקטוס *Parat-nabus*, i. e. *Hicatus Divinationis*] where the Usage was, for a certain Woman sitting upon a Tripas over a Cave, to be possessed with a *Dæmon*, in the Scripture call'd *Ob*, which entering into her, she was immediately taken with an extraordinary Trembling of her whole Body, and foaming horribly, there issued from her the Prophecies which Enchanted all the World into a Veneration of them. Our Salem Quakers indeed of themselves died Childless; but the Numbers of those in England increasing, they did in the Year 1657. find a way into New-England, wherethey first infested Plymouth-Colony, and were for a while most unhappily successful in seducing the People, nor only to attend unto the Mystical Dispensations of the Light within, as having the whole of Religion contained therein, but also to oppose the good Order, both Civil and Sacred, erected in the Colony. Those Persons in the Massachusetts-Colony, whose Office it was to be Watchman of it, were much Alarmed at the Approach of so great a Plague, and were at some Loss how to prevent it, and avoid it. Altho' Quakerism has been by the New-Turn, that such ingenious Men as Mr. Penn have given to it, become quite a New Thing; yet the old Foxian Quakerism, which then visited New-England, was the grossest Collection of Blasphemies and Confusions that ever was heard of. The Christ then witnessed by the Quakers was, *A certain Heavenly, Divine Body, constituted of invisible Flesh, Blood and Bones, in which Christ came from Heaven; and he put that Body into the other Body of our Nature, which he took of the Virgin, and that outermost Body he left behind, when he ascended into Heaven, no Body knows where; and this heavenly and spiritual Body, (which the Quakers at length Evaporate into a meer Mystical Dispensation, and at last it is nothing but that Executing and Condemning Principle in Man which we call, The Natural Conscience!) is the Man Christ, a measure of which is in the Quakers; upon which Accounts the Quakers made themselves to be Christs, as truly as ever was Jesus the Son of Mary. There is in every Man a certain executing and condemning Principle; which indeed is nothing but some Remainder of the Divine Image, left by the com-*

passion of God upon the Conscience of Man after his Fall; and this Principle the Quakers called, *A measure of the Man Christ, the Light, the Seed, the Word.* The whole History of the Gospel they therefore beheld as Acted over again every Day as Literally as ever it was in Palestine; and what befalls this Principle in us, they advanced as the Truth of Christ Sacrificed for us, Dying, Rising, Sitting at the Right Hand of God, and coming in Clouds to Judgment. They set themselves hetupon to extinguish our whole Christian Religion, for these Airy Notions to succeed in the Room thereof; they scoffed at our Imagined God beyond the Stars; and said, *Your Carnal Christ is utterly denied by the Light; the exprefs Words in the Preachments of these Quaking Holders-forth* (as 'tis in Print attested by some of themselves that had so much Christianity as to leave them upon the Scandal of it) have been; *it is the Work of the Devil to cause People, that have profess'd the Appearance of Christ in the Heart, to respect the Person without them. And, it is a Delusion to direct the Minds of the People to respect Christ, as he is now in Heaven above the Clouds.* They Silled those Blind Beasts and Liars, who should say that the Scriptures reveal God; and affirm'd it, *The greatest Error in the World, and the Ground of all Errors, to say, The Scriptures are a Rule for Christians.* They said, *That the Scripture does not tell People of a Trinity, nor Three Persons in God, but that those Three Persons are brought in by the Pope.* They held, *That justification by that Righteousness, which Christ fulfilled in his own Person without us, is a Doctrine of Devils.* They held, *That they that believe in Christ are not miserable Sinners, nor do those things they ought not to do.* They said, *If the Bodies of Men rise again, then there is a Prebeminence in the Bodies of Men above the Bodies of Beasts, which is to give Solomon the Lie.* They said, *They are like to be deceived, who are expecting that Christ's second coming will be Personal.* They said, *Those things called Ordinances, as Baptism, Bread and Wine, rose from the Pope's Invention.* They said, *As for that called, The Lord's Day, People do not understand what they say; every Day is the Lord's Day.* And for Prayer they said, *All must cease from their own Words, and from their own Time, and learn to be Silent, until the Spirit give them Utterance.* The said—But it would be Endless to Enumerate their Heresies; what we have already Enumerated is enough to Astonish us; in all of which I solemnly protest unto the Reader, that I have not wronged them at all, but kept close to their own Printed Words. Reader, Thou canst not behold these Heresies, without the Exclamation Ordinarily used by the Blessed Polycarp, when he heard any such Matters uttered; *Good God, unto what Times hast thou reserved me!* The Zeal of the Massachusetts-Colony, to preserve themselves from the Annoyances of such a Blasphemous and Confused Generation of Men, caus'd them to make

Sharp



Sharp *Laws* against them, in hopes that the Terror thereby given to these Evil Doers, would keep them from any *Irregular* upon the Colony. But They must needs go whom the Devil drives; these Devil-driven Creatures did but the more furiously push themselves upon the Government, for the Sharp which had been turned upon them; whereupon the Government unhappily proceeded unto the Execution of the *Laws* in Scourging, and then Banishing, and (upon their Mad return) Executing Three or Four of the Chief Offenders: But they considered these Wretches, *Non qua Errones, sed qua Varbones*, in thus proceeding against them. If the Reader enquire with what Spirit they died, I must sincerely say, that as far as I can learn, they show'd little enough of the Spirit of Martyrdom. They died not like the true Martyrs of Jesus Christ, with the Glorious Spirit of God resting on them. A Fierce, a Raging, a Sullen, and a Revengeful Spirit, and a Degree of *Madness* rather inspired them; nor is the Fallacious History of Gerard Croese concerning these Matters to be credited.

§. 2. A great Clamour hath been raised against New-England for their Persecution of the Quakers; and it any Man will appear in the Vindication of it, let him do as he please; for my Part I will not. I am verily persuaded these miserable Quakers would in a little while (as we have now seen) have come to nothing, if the Civil Magistrate had not inflicted any Civil Penalty upon them; nor do I look upon Hereticide as an Evangelical way, for the extinguishing of Heresies; but rather say with the judicious *Honnius*, *Magistratus, propter Solam Hereseos Crimen, non quoniam occidat, nisi forte horrenda atq. intolerande in Deum Blasphemia, vel manifeste Seditiosis Crimen accedat*. This true, these Quakers did manifest an Intolerable Contempt of Authority, and needlessly pull upon themselves a Vengeance, from which the Authority would gladly have released them, if they would have accepted of a Release; but it is also true, that they were Madmen, a sort of Lunatics, Demoniacs and Enragedmen: He was a Wife and a Good Counsellor in Plymouth-Colony who propounded, That a Law might be made for the Quakers to save their Heads Shaved; the Punishment, I confess, was in some sort Capital; but it would have been the best Remedy for them; it would have both sham'd and cur'd them: Or perhaps the Punishment which A. Gellius reports the Romans on certain Special Occasions used upon their Soldiers, namely, To let 'em Blood, had been very agreeable for these Quakers. A Bethlehem seems to have been fitter for them than a Gallies. Nevertheless, I am not unwilling to Transcribe one Passage on this Occasion, that so my Reader, upon the whole, may proceed unto what Censure he shall please to bestow upon the Matter.

It shall be a few Lines of A Declaration of the General Court of the Massachusetts, held at Boston, Octob. 18. 1659. Published for the

Satisfaction of the People; a great part of whom were much dissatisfied at what had been done.

About Three Years since, diverse Persons professing themselves Quakers (of whose Pernicious Opinions and Practices we had received Intelligence from good Hands) both from Barbados and England, arrived at Boston, whose Persons were only secured to be sent away by the first Opportunity, without Censure or Punishment, although they professed Tenets, Turbulent and Contumacious Behaviour to Authority, would have justified a severer Animadversion.—A Law was made and Published, Prohibiting all Masters of Ships to bring any Quakers into this Jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on Penalty of the House of Correction, till they could be sent away. Notwithstanding which, by a Back-door they found Entrance; and the Penalty inflicted on them proving insufficient to restrain their Impudent and Insolent Obtrusions, was increased — which also being too weak a Defence against their Impudent and Fanatical Fury, necessitated us to Endeavour our Security; and upon serious Consideration, a Law was made that such Persons should be Banished on Pain of Death, according to the Example of England, in their Provision against Jesuites; which Sentence being regularly pronounced, at the last Court of Assistants against these Parties, and they either returning, or continuing presumptuously in this Jurisdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themselves to be the Persons Banished, were sentenced by the Court to Death — which hath been Executed upon Two of them. M. D. upon the Intercession of a Son, had Liberty to depart, and accepted of it.—The Consideration of our Gradual Proceedings, will vindicate us from the Clamorous Accusations of Severity. Our own just and necessary Defence calling upon us (other Means failing to offer the Point, which these Persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon and thereby became Felones de se, — as well as the sparing of One upon an Inconsiderable Intercession, will manifestly Evince we desire their Lives absent, rather than their Deaths present. Thus the Declaration.

Reader, If this also will further alleviate the Business, I must not conceal it; that it was very engaging unto the Zeal of those Godly Men, who then govern'd us, to hear these Wretches ordinarily saying among the People, We deny thy Christ! We deny thy God, which thou callest Father, Son and Spirit! Thy Bible is the Word of the Devil! And the Spirit of that Crew was yet more Provoking, Pernicious and Perilous. as one of them has discovered it in a Writing Published, Against all Earthly Powers, Parliaments, Laws, Charters, Magistrates and Princes. George Fox, who of a Shoemaker, became the Grand Apostle of the Quakers; tho' he were unable to Write Common Sense, yet wrote several Pamphlets; in one of which (Entituled,



(Entitled, *Papers given forth*) he bitterly inveigh'd against those who doated on an *Earthly King*; and added, *Neither do you read that there were any Kings since the Apostles Days, but among the Apostate Christians and the False Church.* And one, who yet calls himself a *Quaker*, hath lately so far forsaken them, as to Publish a Discovey of the horrible Doings that he hath found among his *Friends*; and he particularly proves, that they do not own any *Government for God's Ordinance*, but that of those who Witnels to their *Light within*; and that they call every other *Government*, consisting of *Rulers, Judges, Justices, Lawyers and Constables*, a *Tree that must be cut down*, for the *Light alone* to Rule. I appeal to all the reasonable part of Mankind, whether the Infant Colonies of *New-England* had not cause to guard themselves against these *Dangerous Villains*. It was also thought that the very *Quakers* themselves would say, that if they had got into a Corner of the World, and with an Immense Toyl and Charge made a *Wilderness Habitable*, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the Exercises of their Worship, they would never bear to have *New-Englanders* come among them, and Interrupt their Publick Worship, and Endeavour to Seduce their Children from it, yea, and repeat such Endeavours after mild *Entreaties* first, and then just *Banishments*, to oblige their departure. What shall I say? There was the Phrensy of the Old *Circumcellions* in those *Quakers*; and according to that Passage of the *Tragedian* in his *Hercules Furens*. *Solus, te jam pretere postest Furor, insontem*, thus I must say upon the *Mad Subjects* of these *Tragedies*: If they had not been *Mad*, they had been *Worthy to die*. But I will inform the World of a better *Vindication* for my Country than all this; namely, that they did by a Solemn Act afterwards Renounce whatever *Laws* are against a just *Liberty of Conscience*. I would also intreat the World, that they would not be too ready to receive all Stories told by the *Quakers* about their *New-England-Persecution*, because the *Quakers* have in Print complained of a *New-England-Persecution* upon Two Women of their Sect, who came Stark Naked as ever they were Born into our Publick Assemblies, and they were (*Baggages* that they were!) adjudged unto the Whipping-Post for that Peice of *Devilism*. Their Stories about the *Sufferings* are as little to be credited, as their Stories about their *Miracles*; and particularly that of *George Fox* having the *Gift of Tongues*; because that proud Fool, who could scarce Write his Name, hath set his Name to a Book of above Thirty Languages. [called, *The Batteldoor*,] when it was afterwards found that certain *Jews* were hired to do that Work, and had Fourscore Pounds for their Pains, and a Dozen Bottles of Wine over and above.

§. 3. The more sensible sort of Men, that go under the Name of *Quakers*, finding the gross *Hercules* of the Old *Foxian-Quakerism* to be so Indefensible and Abominable in the

Reinforcements of reasonable People, have of later time set themselves to refine it with such Concessions and Confessions of *Truth*, as that in their *System* it is quite another thing than what once it was. But the *New-England-Quakerism*, in those Nooks of the Country where this *Chockwood of Christianity* yet remains, is, as far as I can understand, still that Old *Foxian-Quakerism*, which does utterly renounce the Letter of every thing, that the Finer sort of *New-Quakers* are compelled now to own something of; nevertheless these *New-Quakers* cover their Sentiments with such Fallacious and Ambiguous Expressions, that all *Fox's* gross *Quakerism* can be at once either asserted or denied, under those *Modes of speaking*, which *Penn, Barclay, Whitehead*, and others use to serve their Finer *Hypocrites*; and in our Combates with them, *Vincere est Invenire quam Vincere*. There was one *Keith* particularly, who differed almost as much from the generality of the *New-English-Quakers*, as we that *Persecuted* them; and yet he did such an *Unaccountable thing*, as to appear like a *Champion* for them, in Opposition to the Churches of *New-England*, until the Ministers of *Boston* were put upon Publishing of divers Books to maintain the Religion of our Churches against his Impetuous *Batteries*. But it came to pass, that afterwards this very *Keith* appeared publicly in the Consuetude of those *Quakers*, that are by far the most numerous of any so Denominated, not only in *New-England*, but also in *Pennsylvania*. In the Year 1694. he Printed a *Quarto Treatise*, in Confutation of above Thirty Gross Errors, commonly held among them; and his *Testimonies*, at last procured him and his few Adherents a Storm of *Persecution* from the *Friends* at *Pennsylvania*, who had formerly made such Tragical Outcries against the *Persecution* which *New-England* had heretofore used upon far greater Provocation. By the same Token that an *Almanack* for the Year 1694. composed by one of them, has this Article of Chronology.

Since the English in New-England }  
Hanged their Countrymen for } Years 36.  
Religion.

Since at Philadelphia some did little }  
lest, by taking away Goods, and Im- }  
prisoning some, and Condemning o- }  
thers without Trial, for Religious }  
Dissent.

There are many Grounds of Hope, That the Days of prevailing *Quakerism* will be but Threescore Years and Ten; and if by reason of Mens weakness they be Fourscore Years, yet the Strength of it will then be wasted, it will soon be cut off and fly away: And among those Grounds, I cannot but reckon the Alterations which the Sect of *Quakers* do experience, not only in the Points of their Faith, but also in that odd Symptom of *Quaking*, which



which by its using to Arrest the Bodies of their Converts, gave Denomination to them; for as one of their own expresses it, *The mighty Motions of the Bodies of the Friends are now ceased, and Friends are still cool and quiet; the Shaking and quaking of Friends Bodies were to purge out Sin; but the stillness being come, the Mind is brought into a Capacity to discern the Voice of the Lord.* And indeed, as the Quaking which distinguished these poor Creatures, was a Symptom of Diabolical Possession; so e'er I dismiss this Matter, I must observe to my Reader, that there could be nothing less than a Diabolical Possession, in many other things that attended and advanced Quakerism at its first appearance in the World, and that are in some sorts of Quakers unto this Day to be Exemplified. It was no rare thing for the Old Set of Quakers to Profelyte People meely by Stroaking or by Breathing on them; they had no sooner used some such Action toward such as they had a Design upon, but the Bewitched People would behave themselves just as if a Philtre had been given them, and would follow their Converters in every thing, without being able to render any Reason for it. And there is, even at this Day, a Crew of Quakers called *Cafe's Crew*, the Disciples of one *Tom Cafe*, who have been so Troublesome and Vexatious, even to the other Quakers themselves, that they have denied these; but of this Prodigious *Tom* and his Crew, there are things well known throughout this Country that are indeed prodigiously Diabolical. 'Tis well known, that some of those whom this Villain had led Captive at his Will, were so much under his Influence, that if upon their coming where he was he fastned his Eye upon 'em, they would presently Tremble, and stagger, and Fall, and Foam like Epileptical Persons, and roul about upon the Ground, until they had roul'd themselves unto his Feet, where he did what he pleased unto them. I am well acquainted with one very Devout Gentleman, recovered happily from the Captivity wherein this Fellow for many Years had held the Soul of him, who has assured me, that he was himself thus Epileptical, as often as this Elymas would please with his Fascinating Eye to make him so, but never any such way affected before or after, or upon any other Occasion. 'Tis well known, that this Villain pretending to show a Miracle, did but look upon a very Mad Bull, one perhaps as Mad as himself, and one that would approach no Man, except it were to Mischief him, and this Bull would come tamely, gently, strangely to him, and lick his Hands like a Spaniel. Nevertheless, when this Coxcomb once attempted the Miracle of a Resurrection upon a Dead Friend, the Friend, it seems, was not in a Disposition to Rise upon his calling of him.

I will give my Reader the Entertainment of Two or Three very well attested Stories, and then ask his leave to have done with a Generation which it can be no great Satisfaction to meddle with.

About the beginning of November, 1681. a Man whose Name was *Denham*, with Two Women, all belonging to *Cafe's Crew*, went unto *Southold* upon *Long-Island*, where they met with one *Samuel Banks* of *Fairfield*, the most Blasphemous Wretch in the World. These joining together with some others of their *Bran* at *Southold*, went into the Company of one *Thomas Harris*, a Young Merchant of *Boston*, who had before this been a little inclining to the Quakers; and they fell to Dancing and Singing after their Devilish manner about him. After some time, *Thomas Harris* fell to Dancing and Singing like them, and speaking of Extraordinary Raptures, and calling those Devils that were not of this Religion. and a perfect Imitation of all their Devilism. When he had shewn these Tokens of Conversion, as they accounted it, they solemnly admitted him into their Society, and one of them thereupon promised him, *Henceforward thy Tongue shall be as the Pen of a ready Writer, to declare the Praises of our Lord.* The Young Man, who before this was of a composed Behaviour, now ran about with an odd Note of Joy! Joy! Joy! And called them Devils that any way opposed him, and said, (more than he intended) *That his own Father was a Devil!* Quickly after this, going to Lodge at a Farm not far off, where dwelt a Quaker of the Same Spirit, he would go to Bed before the rest of the Family; but upon another Young Man's coming to him, he said, he must get up and return that Night unto *Southold*, where he had left his Company; and though the Young Man would have perswaded him to lye still until Day, he would not be perswaded, up he got, and went his way. Within some while he was missing, and upon enquiry he could not be heard of, only his Hat, and Gloves, and Neckcloth were found in the Road from the Farm to the Town: Two Days after which, *Banks* looking into a Bible, suddenly thut it again, crying out, his Friend *Harris* was dead. On the Day following *Harris* was found by the Sea-side, about a quarter of a Mile from the place where his Appurtenances had been found before, having Three Holes like Scabs in his Throat, and No Tongue in his Head, nor the least sign thereof, but all clear to his Neck-bone within, his Mouth close shut, and one of his Eyes hanging down upon his Cheek out of his Head, the other sunk so deep in his Head, that although it was whole there, it was hardly to be come at. This was the end of a Tongue that was to be as the Pen of a ready Writer! The Night after he was Buried, Colonel *Young*, the High Sheriff, as himself assured me, was in the Dead of the Night awaked by the Voice of this *Harris*, calling very loudly at his Window, with a demand of him to see Justice done him; the Voice came Three times that Night with the like demand; and the Night after it came into the Colonel's Houle, close to his Bed-side, very loudly repeating of it. But the Author of the Murder could never be discovered!

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About



About a Year or Two before this Tragical Accident, there was another not quite so Tragical. Some of *Cafe's* Crew howled a Young Woman into their Company, who immediately fell to *Railing* on all the World, and then to *Raving* at such a rate, that several Persons watched her, though she was now grown so preternaturally strong, as to break away from them, let 'em do what they could. In the Dead of the Night, those that watched her heard a doleful Noise, like the Crying of a Young Child, in the Yard or Field near the House, which filled the Auditors with fearful Apprehensions; but the Young Woman then violently broke from them, saying, *The Lord calls me, and I must go!* It was a considerable while before they could find her, and when they did find her, she was bereaved of her Understanding, full of horrid and uncounted Actions; and so the continued until Justice Wood, by the use of means, recovered her, which none of her *Quaking* Friends were able to do: But this convinced the Neighbours that the Devil was among them!

I'll give but one Instance more of their Exorbitancies. It was much about this time that one *Jonathan Dunen*, of *Cafe's* Crew, drew away the Wife of a Man to *Marshfield* in *Plymouth-Colony*, to follow him, and one *Mary Rose* falling into their Company, presently was possessed with as *Frankick a Demon* as ever was heard of; she burnt her *Cloaths*; she said that she was *Christ*; she gave Names to the Gang with her, as *Apostles*, calling one *Peter*, another *Thomas*; she declared, that she would be *Dead* for Three Days, and then *Rise* again; and accordingly she seemed then to die. *Dunen* then gave out, that they should see Glorious things when the *Rose* again; but what she then did, was thus: That upon her Order *Dunen* Sacrific'd a Dog. The Men and the Two Women then Danced Naked altogether; for which, when the Constable carried 'em to the Magistrates, *Rose* uttered Stupendous Blasphemies, but *Dunen* lay for Dead an Hour on the Floor, saying, when he came to himself, that *Rose* bid him, and he could not resist.

*O Capita Anticyris vix Expurganda duabus!*

More Passages, akin to these, may be read in Dr. *Morse's* Addition to Mr. *Glanvill's* *Saducismus Triumphatus*.

Reader, I can foretel what Usage I shall find among the *Quakers* for this Chapter of our *Church-History*; for a Worthy Man that Writes of them has observed, *For Pride, and Hypocrisie, and Hellish Reviling against the painful Ministers of Christ, I know no People can match them*. Yea, prepare, Friend *Mather*, to be assaulted with such Language as *Fisher* the Quaker, in his Pamphlets, does bestow upon such Men as Dr. *Owen*; *Thou Fiery Fighter and Green-headed Trumpeter; thou Hedsbog and Grinning Dog; thou Bastard that tumbled out of the Moub of the Babilonish Bawd; thou*

*Mole; thou Tinker; thou Lizard; thou Bell of no Metal, but the Tone of a Kettle; thou Wheelbarrow; thou Whirlpool; thou Whirligig. O thou Firebrand; thou Adder and Scorpion; thou Louse; thou Cow-Dung; thou Moon-Calf; thou Ragged Tatterdemalion; thou Judas; thou Livest in Philosophy and Logic, which are of the Devil. And then let Penn the Quaker add, Thou Gormandizing Priest, one of the Abominable Tribe; thou Bane of Reason, and Beast of the Earth; thou Best to be spared of Mankind; thou Mountebank Priest. These are the very Words, (I wrong them not!) which they Vomit out against the best Men in the English Nation, that have been so hardy as to touch their Light within; But let the Quills of these Porcupines fly as fast as they will, I shall not feel them! Yea, every Stone that these Kildebrands throw at me, I will wear as a Pearl; and as Dr. *Holland*, when he took his leave of his Friends, would say, *Commenda vos omnes Dilectioni Dei, & Odio Papatus*, thus I will here take my leave, with saying, *I commend thee to the Love of God, and the Dislike of Quakerism*.*

*In aliis Manfuetus ero; at in Blasphemias contra Christum, non ita.*

§. 4. Now having done with the *Quakers*, let it not be misinterpreted, if into the same Chapter we put the Inconveniences which the Churches of *New-England* have also suffered from the *Anabaptists*; albeit they have infinitely more of Christianity among them than the *Quakers*, and have indeed been useful Defenders of Christianity against the Assaults of the *Quakers*; yea, we are willing to acknowledge for our *Brethren* as many of them as are willing to be so acknowledged.

It hath been a fore Disadvantage unto the Reputation of the *Anabaptist* way, that wherever any Reformation has been carried on, a sort of People under that Name have been most unhappy Impediments unto the Progress of it; and thrown it into those Confusions that have extremely Scandalized it, if not utterly Extinguished it. The Histories of the Prodigious Heresies that have been held, and Actions that have been done, by a set of Men wearing the *Anabaptist* Name, not only in the Low-Countries in Germany, Switzerland, Swedenland and Poland, which Melancthon, Luther, Calvin, Bullinger, Zuinglius, Gualter, Sleidan, Zanchy, who lived in the very time of those Extravagances, have related, but in England and Ireland also, long since that time, have been improved, *In perpetuam Erroris Infamiam*. All the World knows, that the most Eminent Reformers, writing against the *Anabaptists*, have not been able to forbear making their Treatises, like what *Jerom* says of *Tertullian's* Polemical Treatises, *Quot Verba, tot Falsina*; and the Noble Martyr *Philpot* expressed the Mind of them all, when he said, *The Anabaptists are an Inordinate kind of Men, stirred up by*



the Devil to the Destruction of the Gospel, having neither Scripture, nor Antiquity, nor any thing else for them, but Lies and New Imaginations, feigning the Baptism of Children to be the Pope's Commandment. Nevertheless it is well known, that of later time there have been a great many Antipedobaptists who have never deserved so hard a Character among the Churches of God; Infant-Baptism hath been cherished by Multitudes in our Days, who have been in other Points most Worthy Christians, and as Holy, Watchful, Fruitful, and Heavenly People, as perhaps any in the World. Some few of these People have been among the Planters of New-England from the beginning, and have been welcome to the Communion of our Churches, which they have enjoyed, reserving their particular Opinion unto themselves. But at length it came to pass that while some of our Churches used, it may be, a little too much of Coeignty towards the Brethren, which would weakly turn their Backs when Infants were brought forth to be Baptized in the Congregation, there were some of these Brethren, who in a Day of Temptation broke forth into Schismatical Practices that were justly Offensive unto all the Churches in this Wilderness; which were on that Occasion willing to Justify what the Renowned Parker said on the behalf of the Old Non-Conformists, when the Prelates charged them with being Favourers of Anabaptism, *Disciplina Ecclesiastica tantopere distat ab Anabaptistica Confessione, quantum Christus ab Antichristo*, we have as much Favour for Anabaptism, as Christ for Antichrist. And it may be there was herein too much Occasion to think on the Observation which I find made by Mr. Flavel, *The Non-Improvement of our Baptismal Covenant unto the great and solemn Ends thereof, in our Mortification, Vivification, and Regular Communion with the Church of Christ, into which Society we were Matriculated by it, is punished in these fiery Heats, and fierce Oppositions, [about Infant-Baptism] unto which God seems to have penalty delivered us.* Our Anabaptists, when somewhat of Exasperation was begun, formed a Church at Boston on May 28. 1665. besides one which they had before at Swansey, not only with a manifest Violation of the Laws in the Commonwealth, relating to the orderly manner of gathering a Church, but also with a manifold Provocation unto the rest of our Churches, by admitting into their own Society such as our Churches had excommunicated for Moral Scandals, yea, and employing such Persons to be Administrators of the Two Sacraments among them. Unto these Dissatisfactions of good Men at their Proceedings, there was added the Consideration of their uncharitable Disposition to Unchurch all the Faithful upon Earth besides themselves: 'Tis a Principle in the Confession of their Faith, Believers being Baptized are visible Saints, and the true Matter of a visible Church; now they declared our Infant Baptism to be a meer Nullity, and they Arrogate unto themselves the Title of

Baptists, as if none were Baptized but themselves: With them therefore our Churches were no Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ, nor are there any visible Saints among us. Accordingly, when a Publick Disputation was had with them, it was earnestly and charmingly put unto them in a great Assembly, whether they did own the Churches of New-England for True Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ; but they would not own it: And when I my self have told some of them, that without putting themselves to so much of Travel and Expence, as their Separation cost them, they might enjoy all Ordinances in the Fellowship of our Churches, without being treated as Offenders for it, if their Conscience tied them up to withdraw when an Infant was Baptized; they have Replied unto me, *That in as much as I was in their Judgment an Unbaptized Man, they could not Communicate with me at the Table of the Lord.* Nor did it at all take off the Prejudice of many wise Men against them, that they did seem to do what Fereboom was Taxed for, in making Priests of the lowest of the People; or as the Belgic, and others do Read it, *Of both Ends of the People*: And as the Learned Zepperus lamented the wrong done to Religion in it, that they made *Ministros de Extremitatibus Populi, Sartoribus, Sutoribus, Idiotis, Taylors, and Coblers, and other Mechanicks, to be Ministers*; thus these People chose an Honest Shoemaker to be their Pastor, and used other Mechanicks in the Constant Preaching of the Gospel: Which caused some other People of a more Liberal Education to reflect, that if Goodman such an One, and Gaffer such an One, were fit for Ministers, we had befoo'd our selves in Building of Colledges;

Frangere Leves Calamos, & scinde Thalia Libellos  
Si dare Sutori, Calceus ista potest.

Yea, some observed, and in Print asserted, that this thing was the real Bottom of their Combining into a distinct Society by themselves from divers Parts of the Colony; these Men having privately exercised their Gifts in Meetings with Applause, began to think themselves wronged, that their Light was put under a Bushel; and finding no Remedy in our Churches, they threw on a Cloak of Anabaptism, and so gained the thing that they aimed at, in a Disguise. However it were, the general Court were so afraid, lest matters might at last from small beginnings grow into a New Munster Tragedy, that they Enacted some Laws for the Restraint of Anabaptistical Exorbitances; which Laws, though never Executed unto the Extremity of them, yet were soon laid by, as to any Execution of them at all. There were in this unhappy Schism several truly godly Men, whom it was thought a very uncomfortable thing to Prosecute with severe Imprisonments on these Controversies; and there came also a Letter from London to the Governour of the Massachu-

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chuset-Colony, (like that which our Blessed Martyrologist, *John Fox*, once wrote unto Queen Elizabeth, to prevent the Persecution with which the *Anabaptists* were then threatened) subscribed by no less Persons than Dr. *Goodwyn*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryl*, and Nine other very Reverend Ministers, wherein were these among other Passages.

‘We shall not here undertake (in the least) to make any Apology for the Persons, Opinions and Practices of those who are censured among you.—You know our Judgment and Practice to be contrary unto theirs, even as yours; wherein (God assisting) we shall continue to the End. Neither shall we return any Answer to the Reason of the Reverend Elders, for the Justification of your Proceedings, as not being willing to engage in the Management of any the least Difference with Persons whom we so much Love and Honour in the Lord.—But the Sum of all which at present we shall offer to you, is, that though the Court might apprehend, that they had Grounds in General warranting their Procedure (in such Cases) in the way wherein they have proceeded; yet that they have any Rule or Command rendering their so proceeding indispensably Necessary, under all Circumstances of Fines or Places, we are altogether unsatisfied; and we need not Represent unto you how the Case stands with our selves, and all your Brethren and Companions in the Services of these latter Days in these Nations.—We are sure you would be unwilling to put an Advantage into the Hands of some who seek Pretences and Occasions against our Liberty, and to Reinforce the former Rigour. Now we cannot deny but this hath already in some measure been done, in that it hath been Voted, that Persons of our Way, Principles and Spirit, cannot bear with Dissenters from them.—And as this greatly Reflects on us, so some of us have observed how already it has Turned unto your own Disadvantage.—We leave it to your Wisdom to Determine, whether under all these Circumstances, and sundry others of the like Nature that might be added, it be not Advisible at present to put an End unto the Sufferings and Confinements of the Persons censured, and to Restore them to their former Liberty. You have the Advantage of Truth and Order; you have the Gifts and Learning of an able Ministry to Manage and Defend them; you have the Care and Vigilancy of a very Worthy Magistracy to Countenance and Protect them, and to preserve the Peace; and (above all) you have a Blessed Lord and Master, who hath the Keys of David, who openeth and no Man shutteth, living for ever to take Care of his own Concernments among his Saints; and assuredly you need not be disquieted, though some few Persons, (through their own Infirmity and Weakness, or through their Ignorance, Darkness and Prejudices) should to their Disadvantage turn out of the Way, in some lesser Matters, into By-Paths of

‘their own.—We only make it our hearty Request to you, that you would Trust God with His Truths and Ways so far, as to suspend all Rigorous Proceedings in Corporal Restraints or Punishments, on Persons that Dissent from you, and Practise the Principle of their Dissent without Danger, or Disturbance to the Civil Peace of the Place— Dated March 25, 1669.

I cannot say that this Excellent Letter had Immediately all the Effect which it should have had; however, at length it has had its Effect; And as *Origen* Pleads against *Celsus*, that there ever were Differences among Professors of Christianity from the Beginning, and it was impossible but that there should be so, nevertheless these Differences hindered not their Faith, and Love, and Obedience: As *Justin Martyr* pleaded for Forbearance, even in the Churches, towards Christians that yet thought themselves under Obligation to observe the *Mosaic Ceremonies*; as *Ignatius*, before either of them, in his Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, professes, *To Persecute Men on the account of Religion, is to make our selves Conformable to the Heavens, who know not God*: The Christians of *New-England* seem generally to be of such a Tolerating Disposition towards the *Anabaptists*: With the Synod of *Alexandria*, Condemning all External Force in Religion, of which the *Arians* were the First among pretended Christians, that were the Inventors and Promoters: Nor hath *Anabaptism* had one lot the more of Growth, I suppose, for it. But the Alienation continued so long, that a Synod of our Churches in the Year 1679, having mentioned the Mischances of these People, among the Sins to be Reformed in the Land, there was Published the Year following, *A Narrative of some Considerable Passages*, relating to their Church by their Pastor, with consent of the whole: Which Narrative had so many gross Mistakes in it, making

*Candida de Nigris & de Candentibus Atra,*

That such an Answer unto it, as is directed for *Cretians*, was Published under the Title of, *Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*. And that Answer endeavours to Demonstrate, that if Persons of any Persuasion whatsoever, even the very same with what is held by the Churches of *New-England*, should have Acted with as much Irregularity as our *Anabaptists*, they would have deserved greater Punishment than any that had been inflicted upon These.

§. 5. *Sed jam Tempus Equum Spumantia Solvere Colla*; ‘tis time to have done with these Contentious Matters; and thanks be to God we have done with them; and all the Foam whereinto we were chased by them, is now comfortably wiped off.

The great Noise that hath been made in the World about the Persecution made in *New-England*, I will now stop with only Transcribing the Words uttered in the Sermon to the first



first Great and General Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, after the Two Colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth were by a Royal Charter united.

'Things will go well, when Magistrates are great Promoters of the thing that Good is, and of what the Lord Requireth of them. I do not mean, that it would be well for the Civil Magistrate, with a Civil Penalty to compel Men to this or that way of Worship, which they are Conscientiously indisposed unto. He is most properly the Officer of Humane Society, and a Christian by Non-Conformity to this or that imposed way of Worship, does not break the Terms on which he is to enjoy the Benefits of Humane Society.

'A Man has a Right unto his Life, his Estate, his Liberty, and his Family, although he should not come up unto these and those Blessed Institutions of our Lord. When a Man Sins in his Political Capacity, let Political Societies Animadvert upon him; but when he Sins only in a Religious Capacity, Societies more purely Religious are the fittest then to deal with him. Indeed in the Old Testament the Magistrate was an Ecclesiastical Officer; and Compliance with the Mosack Rites was that which Entitled Men unto the Benefits of Canaan, the Typical and Renowned Land: But now these Figurative Things have more Spiritual Things to Answer them. It may be feared, that Things will not go well, when Heresies are not exterminated; but I Pray, when (except once perhaps or so in the Case of Donatism) did Fines or Gaols ever signify any thing for the Cure of Hereticks? The Primitive Church for the First Three Hundred Years of Christianity, cut off a Thousand new Hydra's Heads, without borrowing such Penal Laws as have since been used; it was by sound Preaching, by Discipline, by Catechising, and by Disputation, that they turned to flight the Armies of the Aliens. Then 'twas that Christians did use to say, *Non Gladiis, aut faculis, aut Militari manu, veritas predicatur, sed Suadendo & Consulendo*. Afterwards indeed the Orthodox engaged the Emperors unto Severities upon the Hereticks of those Days, but what got they by it? When a wicked Manichee, a sort of Quaker, was put to Death, an Excellent Historian says, 'Twas a most wretched Example, and it made the Heresie spread the more. Such Prosecutions do but give a Principle which would be most Fatal to the Church of God; yea, they do but afford a Root for Cain's Club to grow upon. These Violences may bring the Erroneous to be Hypocrites, but they will never make them to be Believers; no, they naturally prejudice Mens Minds against the Cause, which is therein pretended for, as being a Weak, a Wrong, an Evil Cause. Wherefore

'that things may go well, I would willingly put in a Barr against the Persecution of any that may Conscientiously Dissent from our Way. Possibly the Zeal in some famous and worthy Disciples of our Lord among our selves has been Reported and Reckoned, as having once had a little too much Fire on this Account; but the Churches of God abroad counted that things did not go well among us, until they judged us more fully come up unto the Apostolical Rule, To leave the otherwise minded unto God. Nor would I desire my self to suffice Persecution upon a clearer Cause than that of testifying against our Persecution of other Christians that are not of my own Opinion. I am sure that things will not go well as long as we incur the fulfillment of that awful Word. *If ye Bite and Devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another*. Nevertheless, when things go well, there are Magistrates that will set themselves to advance all the Truths and Ways of God among their People: Magistrates are not only themselves to Profess the Truths, and Præfise the Ways of God, but also to Protect and Favour all them that shall do the like. There is an Aspect of Singular Kindness, Defence and Support, which Magistrates are to bear unto them that Embrace, and much more to them that Declare the Truths and Ways of God. Things went well when it could be said, as in 2 Chron. 30. 22. *Hezekiah spake comfortably unto all that taught the good Knowledge of the Lord*. Moreover it belongs unto Magistrates to Punish all the Vices which disturb the good Order and Repose of Humane Society; and hence also Liberty of Conscience is not to be admitted as a Cloak for Liberty of Prophaneness. To Live without any Worship of God, or to Blaspheme and Revile his Blessed Name, is to be Chastised as abominably Criminal; for there can be no Pretence of Conscience thereunto. Things will go well when we go thus, and when there is an Accomplishment of that Word in Rom. 13. 2. *Rulers are not a Terror to Good Works, but unto the Evil*.

These things (which were then utter'd with many others, from 2 Chr. 12. 12. *In Judah things went well*;) having the Thanks of them that represented the Province then returned for them, I chose in these Terms here to represent the Temper in this Matter, which I suppose the Considerate part of the Province are now come unto: And so long as they continue of it, I durst almost Prophesie, that Seditaries will never be able to make any great Impressions upon them.

Well, the Enemy of the New-English Churches is hitherto disappointed, *Hæc non Successit, alia Aggredietur via*.



## C H A P. V.

Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing: Or, *An History of several Impostors pretending to be Ministers remarkably detected in the Churches of New-England. With a faithful Advice to all the Churches Emittied by some of the Pastors on that Occasion.*

*Mendacia ad modicum placent, sed diu non durant.* Hieron.

SINCE *de Tristibus* may be a proper Title for the Book I am now Writing, it will not be an improper Chapter in the Book, if some things calling for the Sorrow of all that count Sin a Sorrowful Thing, be now Related. But can any things more do it, than horrible and villainous *Impositions* detected among the Churches in pretended Preachers of the Glori-

ous Gospel of God? Reader, consider the Advice here fetch'd from and to the Ministers of New-England; and then consider our Account of the Criminals that occasion'd it. In considering these things, thou wilt not only observe some of our Temptations, but thou wilt also observe many Notable and Wonderful Displays of the Divine Providence.

*A Faithful Advice from several MINISTERS of the Gospel in and near Boston, unto the Churches of New-England, relating to the Dangers that may arise from Impostors pretending to be Ministers.*

IT is not without some concern upon our Minds, that in the late Writings of our Presbyterian Brethren in England, we find awful Complaints about *Bold Intruders* into the Work of the Ministry, and the swarming of that *Vermine*, with an hideous Noise, not in *Corners and Chambers*, but in the very *Pulpits*, likely to prove an *Egyptian Plague*; upon which they add, 'If these Illiterate Usurpers are not speedily and effectually discountenanced by Ministers and People too, they who are already the *Blemish of Nonconformity*, will quickly prove the total Ruin of it. But it furnish'd us more than a little to hear of their care, that the Confusions thus complain'd may be prevented, by a *Vote* of this Importance, that they would Employ none to *Preach* in any of their *Pulpits*, but such as either arriv'd unto them with credible *Testimonials*, or submitt'd themselves unto a solemn *Trial* of their Qualifications for the Evangelical Ministry. Our Congregational Brethren in England being Alarm'd with a clamour of the Dangers hence arising to the Interests of our Holy Religion, we do with a like satisfaction find they have lately published a Declaration, wherein signifying, That inasmuch as they count none meet to dispence the Oracles of God unto others, who are not themselves Qualified for Communion in all Ordinances, their joining themselves to a particular Church of Christ would be a good Expedient to prevent *Ignorant and Rash Intruders into the Ministry*; seeing then it would be the Duty of Particular Churches and their

Officers to take special care, that none of their Communion, who are not *Qualified*, may enter on that Work; they thereupon add, We express our Dislike, and witness against all *Ignorant and Scandalous Persons* entering on the Ministry; and we do in the Bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ pray and beseech all such as fear God, that they give not the least Encouragement unto the Preaching of Men, either *Ignorant or Erroneous*, in the Great Articles of Faith, or *Scandalous* in their Lives and Conversations, or otherwise *Unmeet for this Holy Employment*, lest they bring the *Guilt of these Mens Sins on their own Souls*.

In Conformity to this *Watchfulness* of our United Brethren, we cannot but in the most Publick manner call upon our Churches, that they beware of all undue *Precipitancy*, in their admitting *Unqualified Persons* to be received and employed in the Character of *Preachers* unto them.

We have indeed often wish'd, that the Young Men brought up in our own *University*, might appear with *Testimonials* under the Hands of the *President and Fellows*, that upon *Trial* they are found *Able and Pious*, and likely to be *Blessings* unto the Churches, before the Churches venture too far in setting of them up for *Preachers*.

But inasmuch as there have sometimes arriv'd among us *Deceitful Strangers*, who have set up themselves for *Preachers*, and many unwary People have discovered much sinful Folly, in suffering themselves to be *strangely de-*

*ceived*



ceived by those *Impostors*, it obliges us unto a further point of *Pastoral Vigilance* over the *Churches*, whereof we are made the *Overseers*.

'Tis well known, that *Worthy Ministers* of the Gospel, retiring to *New-England* from other Countries, have all along met with Respects from our Churches, *Equal* (to say no more) unto what they have thown unto any of the *Pastors* bred among themselves: Heaven is Witness to the Injustice of the Slander by some uttered against us, *That we have been ever uncivil to Strangers*; and the *Strangers* themselves have been Witnesses, that no where under Heaven could they expect more *Civility* than that wherewith we have ever treated them.

Nevertheless we have, upon sufficient Occasions, resolv'd, 'That for the future, no *Stranger* coming, as a *Preacher* among us, without sufficient Assurances of his being what he pretends to be, shall be employ'd in our *Pulpits* without a solemn Examination of his Capacities, for the Tremendous Work of Preaching the *Glorious Gospel of God*. And we earnestly request the Reverend Ministers of the Gospel, in the several Associations and Vicinities throughout the Country, to join with us in such a necessary Resolution.

We do also solemnly Advise all our People to beware of running after *New Preachers*, of whose Endowments and Principles they have not had a reasonable Attestation, lest they unawares run themselves into shameful and woful Reflections. The Apostolical Injunctions, *To prove all things*, does not invite Unstable People to Run after all *Preachers*, (as they too often pervert the Sense of it,) but it only directs People to *Examine* by the Word of God, the Doctrine which they hear from those that in an orderly way are to be heard as their *Teachers*.

The Preaching of the Gospel, being that grand Institution whereon depends the Everlasting Salvation of Men, Satan seeks it as a mighty Triumph, to pervert it unto their Everlasting Destruction. And a People that *having itching Ears, do after their own Lusts heap up Teachers to themselves*, do miserably render themselves obnoxious unto the Impressions of those *New Preachers* that will seduce them unto *Damnable Heresies*. Or suppose the *New Preachers* do Broach no *New Errors*, yet if they shall prove *Cheats*, that have made the Preaching of the Gospel only a *Cloak* for their *Covetous, or Lascivious, or other Prophan* Designs, they that shall have too suddenly improv'd those Men, will be *Partakers of their Sins*. And the Glorious Ordinances of God will be likely to fall into a loathsome Contempt among the People, if Contemptible Fellows can easily prostitute them unto their pernicious Purposes.

The *Sermons* wherein the *Everlasting Gospel* is Preached, as well as the *Prayers* made in our Congregations, are to be considered as a Prin-

cipal part of the *Worship of God* among the People of God: They are to glorifie God and our Lord Jesus Christ, with agreeable *Confessions of the Truths* he has revealed unto us; and as in the *Peace-Offering* of Old, God hath his part in them, as well as the People *themselves*. Hence, whether the People that are the Hearers be many or few, learned or weak, forward or meek, the *Preacher* must prepare an *Offering*, as far as he can, suitable for that God, who is a *Great King, and whose Name is dreadful*. But if every piece of Ignorance and Arrogance be set up for a *Preacher*, the Name of the Holy God will be prophaned with an *Offering* that is made a *Ridicule* in the Repetition.

We are not unfeisible, that one thing which has much expos'd some *Injudicious People* among us, is an Opinion that *Illiterate Men* may be Serviceable and Admirable *Preachers*. Now inasmuch as the *Jesuites* have given this among their Instructions to their *Emiliaries, To teach that Learning is needless in a Minister, and if they understand the Gospel it is sufficient*, we are sorry that any of our People should be so *Bejotted*, not to say, *Bejesuited*. When the Knowledge of the *Tongues and Arts* revived, *Religion* had a revival with it: And though some *Unlearned Men* have been useful to the Interests of *Religion*, yet no Man ever decried *Learning*, but what was an Enemy to *Religion*, whether he knew it or no. When our Lord chose *Fishermen* to be *Ministers*, (which often is impertinently pleaded) he would not send them forth until they had been a considerable while under his *Tuition*. (a better than the best in any *College* under Heaven!) and then also he miraculously furnished 'em with more *Learning* than any of us by *Seven Tears hard Study* can attain unto. If God should be provoked by the *Unthankfulness* of Men, to send the *Plague* of an *Unlearned Ministry* upon poor *New-England*, soon will the *Wild Beasts of the Desert* be there, the *Houses* will be full of *doleful Creatures*, and *Owls* will dwell there. Ordinarily, that Man who undertakes the *Ministry* of the Gospel without some *Education* for it, is, we doubt, in as presumptuous an Error as the unhappy *Uzzah* that perished in his *Error*; though we also allow different *Measures* and *Places* for that *Education*. And that Man was never worthy to *Preach* one *Sermon*, who did not feel, and would not own, that all the *Learning* that can be had, is little enough to accomplish an *Able Minister* of the *New Testament*.

Upon the whole, as *Luther* observed, that God punished the *Primitive Churches* with *False Teachers*, for their starving and slighting of their faithful *Ministers*; thus we fear the Churches of *New-England* may suffer Mischief in time to come from *False Teachers*; and we see cause to admire the Compassion of Heaven unto this Land, that such dangerous things have all his time done so little Damage unto any of our Churches. But as the Church



of *Ephesus*, having been warned by the Apostle, *That grievous Wolves would enter in among them*, was afterwards commended by our Saviour for so taking the warning, that they *Tried them who said they were Apostles when they were not so, and found them Liars*: Even so we would hope, that after this Day no *Untried Persons* will be Entertained for *Preachers* in any of our Colonies.

We lay this Advice before our Churches, purposing to do our part in attending to it.

Increase Mather.  
James Allen.  
Samuel Willard.  
Moses Fiske.  
Nehemiah Hobart.  
John Vanforth.  
Caton Mather.  
Nehemiah Walter.  
Jonathan Pierpont.  
Joseph Belcher.

Boston, Decemb 28. 1699.

*An History of some Impostors Remarkably and Seasonably  
Detected in the Churches of New-England; Written to  
maintain the Advice Published by some of the Pastors in  
those Churches relating to Impostors, and prevent all fu-  
ture Mischiefs from them.*

IT was a notable Discipline by which the Reformed Churches in France preserved themselves from the Intolerable Mischiefs arising by the allowance of *Unworthy Preachers*: Their National Synods every time they sat, would Publish a *Roll* of those *Unworthy Preachers* that could be found creeping in among them, and with a Description of their Feature and Stature, and other Circumstances like what uses to be given in an *Hue* in Cry, this *Roll* would notifie the Crimes laid unto their Charge, and admonish all People to beware of Entertaining them.

The Churches of New-England have heretofore been in such *Good Order*, that no Man could be Ordained and Received as a *Pastor* in them, without the Concurrence of the Churches in the Vicinity, and a very Solemn and Publick Action. But a *Good Order* has never yet been provided among us, that no *Untried* and *Unfit Person* shall set up for a *Preacher*, and run about from Town to Town, getting into the too much *unguarded Pulpits*, and threatening our Holy Religion with no little *Inconvenience*. Now to prevent and redress this *Inconvenience*, it has been by some Considerate Persons desired, that something like the *French Roll* may be Exhibited unto the Churches of New-England, which may exemplifie some few of the many *Cheats* that have gone to impose upon them. It is unreasonable to complain that the *Crimes* of those *Cheats* are thus *openly* exposed; for I beseech you, Sirs, are they not as *openly* Committed? Men are too insensible of the horrible *Villany* and *Blasphemy* in the *Crimes* of those Fellows, who set up for *Teachers* to the People of God, when God knows they are wicked *Vagabonds* and *Varlets*, designing to abuse the Honest People; if they imagine it a *Severe* thing to Stigmatize them in the View

of all the affronted Churches. The Faults of the *Penitent*, indeed, should be *Concealed*; but these pretended *Preachers* of *Repentance* are not known to *Practice* the *Repentance* which they *Preach*. A *Pillory* were a very gentle Punishment for the Wretches, who, wholly unqualified, *Steal* into a *Pulpit*, and *Forge* a *Commission* from the King of Heaven unto his Churches. Our *Laws* not providing such a Punishment for them, they that would be faithful to the Churches, will do well (for did not the Apostle as much to *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*?) to set them up in an *History* instead of a *Pillory*, with a *Writing* as it were in *Capitals*, to signifie, THESE WERE IMPOSTORS THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN ESTEEMED MINISTERS.

The Consequence and Advantage of this Action 'tis hoped will be, that both *Pastors* and *People* will be more weary of being too sudden in asking to *Preach* for them those to whom they are utter *Strangers*: That needy and prophane *Strangers* will no more venture to *Preach* in a Country, where their detected Wickedness will be Proclaimed for the *Terror* of all that shall come after them: That all Pious Minds will give Glory to the Lord Jesus Christ, who *Walks in the midst of his Churches*, when they see what *Quick Work* he has ordinarily made in these Churches, to discover those *Atheistical Preachers*, that have so horribly mocked him; and admire his Gracious and Watchful *Providence*, in still delivering his Churches from those *Little Foxes* that would have spoiled them. And now we will Address our selves to do that, which when 'tis done, what will they merit but the Cardinal's Blessing who will take no warning:



§. 1. The very *First Minister* (one *Lysford*) that ever came into *New-England*, (which was in the Year 1624.) at his first coming did Cares the good People at *Plymouth* with such extream shews of Affection and Humility, that the People were mightily taken with him; nevertheless, within a little while he used most malignant Endeavours to make *Factions* among them, and confound all their *Civil* and *Sacred* Order. At last there fell into the Hands of the Governour his *Letters* home to *England*, fill'd with wicked and lying Accusations against the People, of which things being shamefully Convicted, he did publicly in the Church confess with Tears, *That he had slanderously abused the good People, and that God might justly lay innocent Blood unto his Charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come through his Writings, and that Pride, Vain-glory and Self-love had been the Causes of his Miscarriages.* These things he uttered so Pathetically, that they again permitted him to Preach among them: And yet in Two or Three Months he so notoriously renewed his Miscarriages, which he had thus bewailed, that his own Wife, thro' the Affliction of her Mind at his Hypocrisie, could not forbear declaring her Fears, that God would bring some heavy Judgment upon their Family, not only for these, but some former Impieties by him committed, especially in fearful Breaches of the *Seventh Commandment*, which he had with an Oath denied, though they were afterwards Evinced. Being thereupon Banished, he went unto *Virginia*, where he soon ended his Days.

The Disaster thus befalling of this Country in the *First Minister* that ever came into it, seems to have been an Intimation from Heaven unto the Country, to beware in all After-times how they suffered *Cheats* in the Evangelical Ministry to be imposed upon them. Nevertheless, there have crept in several *Cheats* among the Churches which have been speedily and notably detected. It will be neither Needless nor Useless, that they should be all Enumerated: Some of them shall.

§. 2. Many among us do still remember a Fellow that made himself memorable by Preaching Zealously on that Text, *Let him that Stole no more*; when he had at that very time a parcel of *Stolen Money* in his Pocket. The Sum, as I remember, was *Five Pounds*; but in the dozed Conscience of the Thief it hardly made the weight of a *Scruple*.

§. 3. I have been informed, that a certain Gentleman in the Southern Parts of this Land, having with much Pains taught an *Irish Servant* in his Family to be almost able to read *English*; this Fellow, after his time was out, set up for a *Preacher* in a Neighbouring Plantation: But the Gentleman his Master happening some time after to meet our Preaching *Troop*, severely Chid him for his Presumptuous Arrogance; and among other Expressions, bestowed this pretty *Satyrical* Scourge upon him; *If such Fellows as thou art may set up*

*for Preachers, there will be one Text impossible ever to be Preached upon, or to be fulfilled or understood: The Almighty in one Text threatens as a Judgment, a Famine of hearing the Word of the Lord; but if such Varlets as thou art may be Preachers, 'tis impossible that such a Judgment should ever be Executed!*

§. 4. Many of those Persons who have gone to infirmate themselves into our Churches, with *Spirits* in them that were, for their Covetous, or Contentious, or Ambitious, or otherwise Evil Inclinations, displeasing to the *God of the Spirits of all Flesh*, have been immediately and remarkably confounded by their being left unto the Criminal Folly of Preaching *Stolen Sermons*. The detected Plagiaries have gone off, as a Thief is ashamed when he is found. One happy hindrance to the Designs of the *Fiery Serpent* have been this way afforded among us.

Others Remember Instances; I shall not mention them.

§. 5. A Young Fellow, (one *Dick Swain*) that had been Servant unto a Captain of a Ship in *Boston*, after a Thousand Rogueries, had his Time given him by the Widow of the Captain, when he became so, because that the would not be troubled with so Thievish, Lying and Wicked a Villain. This Fellow was afterwards detected in Villanies enough to fill a Volume, which procured his going in miserable Circumstances to *Virginia*; from whence he got through several Stages at length unto the Island of *Providence*! There the Monster set up for a Preacher of the *Gospel*, and putting on a mighty flow of Religion, he was mightily followed and admired; and the People treated him with a more than ordinary Liberality. Perceiving that it was time to be gone from thence, he Forged Letters of his Father's Death in *England*, by which a vast Estate was fallen to him; under the Umbrage of that Forgery, he gets off immediately by a Vessel, that must first carry him to *New-England*. Having Preached several Sermons in the Southern Parts of *New-England*, he comes to *Boston* in the Year 1698, where in private Houses he would be ridiculously forward in thrusting himself upon Prayer, which he would manage with a Noise that might reach all the Neighbourhood. He began to Court Opportunities of Preaching among the Neighbours; but forgetting to change his Name, the Gentlewoman to whose Deceased Husband he had been a Servant, accidentally coming into the House where he Lodged, and hearing one of that Name exceedingly cried up, as a Worthy, Able, Eminent Man, asked for a sight of him. When to her Astonishment she found it was *Dick*, even that very Scandalous *Dick* that had play'd so many abominable Pranks in her own Family some Years ago, the Gentlewoman could scarce believe her Eyes; and finding the Vagrant not give her any Intelligent Account how he became a *Christian*, it was yet more Unintelligible to her how he became a *Minister*. He begg'd her

E e e e e e

Pardon



Pardon for all his old *Knaveries*, but she being advised that he was now practising of *Neo* ones, took a Course that the People should be deprived of so *Charming a Preacher*, as no doubt some of the giddy Populace would have counted him. So without any more Disturbance, but only the cheating some Credulous Folks of considerable Sums of Money, he marched off.

§. 6. A Fellow in this present Year 1699, appeared in *Boston*, pretending to be a Minister; concerning whom an Honest and a Discreet Man in the Country having a just fear, left our Charity should unjustly and unawares take too kind notice of him, wrote me the following Account.

'This Day a Man, whose Name is *Eleanor Kingsberry*,—in Discourse with him, told me he had Preached the Gospel Four Months; he shewed me a *Certificate* to prove it, with about Twelve Names to it, all Written by his own Hand, (the instrument was drawn by another,) he also told me he Preached the last Sabbath between *Tanton* and *Freetown*, before a considerable Assembly; which was confirmed by a Man of *Tanton* then present. Considering how God is likely to be dishonoured, and the Gospel scandalized by him, I thought it my Duty to undeceive you, by giving you the following Relation. He was Born and brought up in *Wrentham*, and Bound Prentice to a *Taylor*, but so Vicious a Servant, that his Master could do no good with him. He gat *Free*, and Married a Wife; but not long after *Stole*, and left her; and adding to his *Felony* several other Vicious Tricks, he went to the *Westward*. From thence he wrote a Letter to *Wrentham*, which consisted chiefly of *Lies* and *Curfies*. When I now spake with him, I advised him to follow his *Calling*, and provide for his *Wife*, and not seek to Dishonour God and deceive his People. He replied, As for his *Wife* she was a Devilish Jade, and he would never take her more; but when he was settled, and had an House, he would take her as a *Servant*; and if she would not obey him, he would kick her into the Fire; but he would go on in *Preaching*,—and he could wage *Twenty Pieces of Eight*, he would get *Money and Credit in a short time*.—I could fill a Sheet of Paper, but I hope I have said enough to prevent his having any Encouragement from you; and what further ought to be done concerning him I leave to your Consideration.

One of the Ministers in *Boston* immediately sent after him a Letter under a flying Seal, solemnly charging him to leave off the Presumptuous and Blasphemous Course that he had thus taken up, and return unto his Family and Employment; and giving him to understand, that the *Justices* everywhere should be informed of him, as being a *Vagabond*. Hereupon the *Vagabond*, as I am told, changed his Name into *Berry*, and ran away to a place called *Cape May*, where I am also told the People were so Bewitched with him, that they were almost

ready to tear in pieces any Man that should speak diminutively of him.

§. 7. But tho' this Bird flew away to the Southward, unto *Cape May*, another, whose pretended Name was *May*, came upon this Coast about the same time. And on that Occasion an Excellent and Ingenious Person wrote unto me such Passages as these.

'*May* uses to prove Pleasant and Healthy; but the *Mob* are wont to Dance at the Entrance of it, let it prove how it will. Mr. *Parker* used to say, *The People love to Tap a new Barrel*. I think I once told you of *E. F.* and *M. J.* but lest I have not, I'll give you a Word of each.

'*E. F.* sometimes of *Salem*, coming to *Neve Haven* on *Saturday Even*, being clothed in *Black*, was taken for a Minister, and was able to Ape one, and humoured the mistake like him that said, *Si vult populus decipi, decipiatur*. Word being carried to Mr. *J. T.* that a Minister was come to Town, he immediately procured him to Preach both parts of the Day. The first was to Acceptation; but in the last Exercise he plentifully shewed himself to be a Whimsical Opinionist, and besides, raised like *Rahababek*, and Reviled the Magistrates, Ministers and Churches at such a rate, that the People were ready to pull him out of the Pulpit.

§. 8. 'The same Worthy Person goes on. *M. J. A Welch* Tanner by Trade, some time Servant unto Captain *P. at Salem*, left *Salem*, went to *Say-Brook*, work'd at his Trade, and stole Mr. *W's* Leather Breeches. Thence he went to *Staten-Island* by *New-York*, and set up for a Preacher, being a ready Prater. At the Information of a Pedling Trader, he had an Invitation by some few of *Killingworth* to Visit them, and Preach in Order to Settlement. He came, but happening to speak irreverently of something in the Scripture before some of the People, it occasioned such Division and Tumult, that he was not suffered to Preach before Mr. *Buckingham's* Advice and Consent was obtained; which when sought, he advised them to enquire first whether this were not the Fellow that Stole the Leather Breeches. This proving even so, prevented him at *Killingworth*. Thence he went to *Brainford*, the Night before a Fast, and making known his pretended Function, it was counted a good Providence; for they had no Minister, and he was earnestly desired to Preach, and as readily accepted it. But one *Peter Stent*, a Brother that used to Pray and Read a good Sermon among the People, when they had no Minister, knew nothing of this (for he lived at a Farm,) but in the Morning came provided to read one of Mr. *A. Gray's* Sermons. But he found *Morgan* at it when he came; and when he named his Text, it was the same his intended Sermon was on; and out of Curiosity to see how *Mens Wits* jump in Prosecuting the same Text, he turned to his Book; and found *Morgan* the same



same with Mr. Gray Word for Word. He followed him while he was weary, and at length run before to a place in the Sermon that spoke of *Glasgow Sinners*, and there lay wait for *Morgan*; but when he came there, he turned it, *New-England Sinners*; and that was all the Variation in the whole Sermon. The People were mightily Affected with the Sermon, and were hot upon calling *Morgan* to the Ministry. But *Sent* discovered the Cheat. So they dismissed him, and the *Tanner* departed with Liberty to go as far as a New Pair of Shoes would carry him.

§. 9. *Fascination* is a thing whereof Mankind has more Experience than *Comprehension*. And *Fascination* is never more notoriously sensible, than in Mens running after *False Teachers* of Religion. When *False Teachers* imposed on the *Galatians*, the Apostle said, *O Foolish Galatians, who hath Bewitched you!* One cannot easily ascribe unto a truer Cause, than a *Satanick Energy*, the strange *Bias* upon the Minds of a Multitude, forcibly and furiously sometimes carrying them into Follies, from whence the plainest Reason in the World will not Reclaim them. What but such an *Energy* could be upon the Minds of many People in *Boston*, after the Arrival of one that went by the Name of *Samuel May*, about the beginning of *July*, 1699. The wonderful Success of *Mahomet* upon a World, where Christianity was to another Degree lost than it is yet in *Boston*, was no longer a Wonder unto us, when we saw the Success of *May* in a place of so Christian a Character as *Boston*. It was all over pure *Enchantment*! He shew'd unto one Minister at his first Arrival a *Testimonial* of little, but some hopes of his being a Man of a *sweet Gospel Spirit*, signed with Two Names, whereof one was of a Man that once had been a Scandalous *Fire-Ship* among the Churches in this Country: Which when this Blade understood, he would never after show his *Testimonial* to any more of our Ministers, tho' they earnestly and frequently ask'd him for it. So *Silly* and *Shallow* a Person he was, that it was impossible for any but such to be many Minutes in his Company without being sensible of it. The first thing that made some to suspect him, was his using to lift up his *Eyes* and *Hands*, with strains of Devotion used by none others in the Assembly, after he had first look'd about to see who look'd up on him. Numberless Marks of a *Cheat* were daily more and more discovered in him; nevertheless, he was able to imitate a plausible *Utterance* and *Alfion*, and seem'd so Zealously set upon *Inviting Men to Christ*, that after Sermon was over he would make another Speech to put 'em in Mind on't. Abundance of the People became so fiercely set for him, that they poured out a Thousand Expressions of Rage upon the Faithful Pastors of the Town, that thought not such an *Illiterate Creature* (who by his own Confession had never been one Year under any Education,) worthy to be set up in the Publick Pulpits. Though the bigger

and wiser part of the Town were not seiz'd with this *Bigotry*, yet a Multitude became so Furious, that making it their Business to Solicite all sorts of Persons to go a *Maying* with them, if any refused, they could hardly escape some Reproach for it. The *Jets* were hardly more engaged for their *Sabbatay Sevi*. The Disciples of this *Money-catcher* became so Exceeding Fierce, many of them, that some sober Men became afraid of *Passing by that way* where one must Encounter them. Though he were detected in several Crimes, as pretending to *Languages* which he knew nothing of, and this in the special Service and Prefence of the Lord; and Preaching *Stolen Sermons*, wherein he could not produce one material Sentence of his own; and horrid *Lying* in very repeated Instances: Yet his Followers would go on, making *Ridiculous Apologies* for him, and *Malignant Invektives* against any that would not yet believe him an *Eminent Saint*. Yea, they began to throw *Libels* into the Houses of the Ministers, the most insolent that ever I saw. The *Anabaptists* employ'd him at their *Meeting-House*, which was now filled with great Congregations; and it was an undeserv'd, an afflicting, a very memorable Mercy of God unto the Town, that this Man was now kept from venting any *Heresies* among a People, that made themselves to become such *Tinder* for any Sparks that he might strike into them. And yet it was another Mercy as great as this, that the Young Women in the Town were not betray'd and debauch'd into fearful Whoredoms: For at length Witnesses, Good, Virtuous, Credible Witnesses appear'd, that shew'd him to have been as dangerous a *Devil* as the poor Young Women could have met withal, when by a certain Reverence for him as a Minister they were prepared for his vile Solicitations. He perceived these things beginning to break out, and away he flew; none of the Endeavours used by his Admirers to make him stay could stop him. The Pastors of the Churches had before made this Reflection, That after Men of the most unsupported Piety have spent whole Prenticeships of Years in the Faithful, Watchful, Painful Service of the Churches, and have served them Day and Night with Prayers, with Tears, with Fasting, with their most Studied Sermons and Writings, and have never such a Reputation with the Churches in Countries afar off; yet if any *Wolf* in *Sheeps Clothing* do come with a few good Words among them, the *simple Souls* of many will not only follow the *Wolf*, but on his Account Bark at the *Shepherds*. This is a *Vanity* that I have seen under the *Sun*. But the People had now this Reflection to make, that since they had finfully slighted their most Serviceable Pastors, who never craved after the *Riches* of this World, they should by the just Judgment of God be left unto such an Infatuation, as to enrich a *Crawling Beggar* with many Pounds of their Substance, which *Beggarly Stranger* immediately apply'd



himself, (not to infiltrate the Fear of God, and Love of Christ, into your Children, O Injured People, as your *Pastors* do, with a most indefatigable Application! but) to teach them, that Fornication and Adultery is no Sin, and to watch Opportunities of making them like himself, the *Children of the Devil*. Repent, O In-

fatuated People; Repent of what you have done; and let the ensuing *Letter* help you more thoroughly to consider the Occasions for your doing so.

*Religio Contaminata ad omnium Peritinct injuriam.*

Boston, 25 d. 10 m. 1699.

### *A Letter, containing a Remarkable History of an Impostor.*

S I R,

I Am going to Entertain you with a very surprising Story, by the Communication whereof, the Wisdom, and Goodness, and Justice of Heaven, will become Observable to many Christian Minds, and the *Devices of Hell*, against the Interests of Heaven, be a little more fully understood, and by being understood, for the future prevented.

The last Summer, in the very Ship that brought us Letters from our Friends in England, advising us of much Inconvenience arising to the Non-conformists, from ill Fellows that pretended unto the *Preaching of the Glorious Gospel*, there arrived unto us a Man that pretended the Name of *Samuel May*, and the Character of a *Preacher*, having with him a Woman whom he call'd his *Wife*, but us'd her with an *Unwisely Crabbedness*, that gave Scandal to the People aboard. Albeit this Man gave me much cause to be suspicious, lest he might be one of those whom our Letters complain'd of, yet my Compassion towards a *Needy Stranger*, whom I saw in Ragged, Wretched, Forlorn Circumstances, caus'd me, among other ways, of being Helpful unto him, to seek that he might be twice Employ'd in, and Requir'd for Preaching in our *Private Meetings*; hoping thereby to have a little *Trial* of him. His *Plausible Delivery* presently Enchanted abundance of honest People, who thought *all was Gold that glister'd*; but many Days pasted not before I found several things which made me say, *I doubt he was a Wolf in Sheeps Clothing*. They that now say, they follow'd this Man because I commended him, wrong me very much; for though 'tis not my manner to *speak ill* of Men, till I *know* what I *speak*, and that it is my Duty to *speak*; yet I let fall words from the very first, that any Intelligent Hearer might see I had some Fear about him. The cause of that Fear was this; I found, that altho' 'tis no time of any Persecution that should force any but ill Men to *conceal themselves*, yet he came Aboard the Vessel under some *concealment*, not professing, nor suppos'd for to be a *Minister*, but rather a *Mendicant*, until they had sail'd

many Leagues. I found that he could mention the Name of no one *Minister* in London with whom he durst say that he had any Acquaintance; lest, as it should seem, he should happen to mention one with whom we should be better Acquainted. I found that he was unaccountably *Shy* of giving us any satisfactory Account of his Original, his Education, his former Circumstances; by no means could I get him to tell me in what Employment he had spent the First Six or Seven and Twenty Years of his Life. What appear'd most probable (and since more probable) was, That he was a *Barber*. A blind Charity would still have persuaded me to keep alive some hope, that *Folly*, rather than *Design*, might lye at the bottom of his odd Conduct; but I soon observ'd something that made me say to some of my Intimate friends, *That I fear'd he would prove at last a smutty, filthy, wanton Fellow*. However, things not being yet come to that maturity, I contented my self with calling to mind the Rule which the old Britain gave his Countrymen, to discover whether *Austin the Monk* were a *Man of God* or no. Thought I, If this be an honest Man, he is an humble Man: If he be a Faithful Servant of Christ, he'll plainly let his Fellow Servants know what he is, what he intends, what he can do, and humbly refer himself to Them for Direction and Assistance. We found nothing of this; but though he were wholly Illiterate, and not able even to write a little Common English, (for instance, there were Eighteen horrid false Spells, and not one Point, in one very short Note that I receiv'd from him) yet this proud Thwacko was in his Preaching Offensate Skill in Latin, and in Greek, yea, and in Hebrew; but God left him to such Folly in his Pride, that he frequently pronounced the Exotic Words in a manner so ridiculous, as to render it plain that he knew nothing of them: And in one of those two or three private *Preachments*, by which 'twas hop'd we might have some Taste of his Faculties, he was under such an Infaturation, that he would needs give some Hebrew to us; but what he gave us might be Welch or Irish, or the Va-

gabonds



gabonds Cant, for ought I knew; one Minister present knew it was not in fix or seven Languages, in all which himself had in various Writings Address'd the World, and others of his Hearers, besides I, knew that there was no such Hebrew in the *Lexicon*. Who but one Hypocritically dispos'd would have done so? If he were a *Shaver*, 'twas plain however he was not the most *Cunning* in the World: In the mean time, 'twas a strange *Enchantment* upon the People, that they should after these things put themselves into his Hands. But that his *Humility* might be the more Notorious, I was pretently informed, that the *Blade*, with an *Average* equal to his *Ignorance*, began to complain. That the *Ministers* of the Town did not immediately Invite him into their Pulpits; and upon his Complaints, many sinful People (who have great Cause to take no little shame unto themselves for their careless and shameful Iniquity) began to Defame the Ministers with Slanderous Outcries, That they were always *unwield* to Strangers; and some could beflow this Comparison upon them, That *here was come a better Workman than themselves, whom therefore they could not suffer to stay in the Town if they could help it*. The Pastors of the Churches being desirous to answer the Expectations of the People, as far as they could in Confidence unto the People themselves, and with Credit unto the Evangelical Ministry, they sent unto this Man in as Loving and as Tender Terms as they could a Message to this purpose. *That they being sincerely desirous to encourage him in doing all the good he should be found Able to do, and he not having brought satisfactory Testimonials into the Country with him, they pray'd a visit from him, in which they would inform themselves of his Abilities for the Evangelical Ministry, and with all possible easiness proceed in their Examining and Advising of him*. To this Message there was brought us from him an Answer of this purport, *That he knew no Authority the Ministers had to Enquire after him, and he was not bound to give them an account of himself, and more to that Effect*. The Ministers had now done but the Duty of *Watchmen* that would be found faithful to the Churches and Neighbours; but none of their *Watchfulness* could hinder many of the People from the great fault of *running themselves into Temptation*, by giddily running after the Instructions of a Fellow that had *Shunn'd the Light, because his Deeds were Evil*. The People, (whose *Charity* has been for the most part so *Exemplary*, that methinks 'tis pity it should ever be *misplaced and perverted*) some of them not only made a large Collection to pay the Passage of this mischievous Beggar, and put Money into his Pocket; but also fill'd the Town with so much Lying and Outrage against their faithful Ministers, for not counting such an *Unlettered Thing* a fit Instructor for their Flocks, that I could not but think an hundred times of the People bewitched by Simon the Sorcerer, and say, *That the greatest Blemish that ever beset*

*the Town, was in the madness which they now discovered*. Who would have believed it, that in a Town so illuminated as *Boston*, there should be any People of such a Principle, *That if the greatest Villain in the World should arrive a total Stranger among us, and for his True Name give us perhaps only the first Syllable of his Name, and of a Barber turn a Preacher, the Pastors here must immediately Set him up in the publick Pulpits, or else the People unjustly load them with all the Calumnious Indignities that can be thought of*? However, the Ministers bore with Patience all the Contempt which their Great Lord shew the People foolishly cast upon them; and no two of them that ever I heard of, ever let fall one word publicly to *Rebuke* their Folly; But, Sir, you shall see anon whether the Lord himself will not *Rebuke* it, and make the People with. They had *heard* unto the Voice of their Teachers.

We have in our Vicinity a Small Congregation of Anabaptists, with whom I had always lived in a Good Correspondence. Forgive me the vanity if I say, without judging proper in this place, to prove what I say. That never any Minister, so distant from their Persuasion, carried it with more Civility and Affection towards Persons of their Persuasion, than I made it my Endeavour to do. Because I believed there were goodly Persons among them, I offered them, that if they should come (as they were likely) to have the Divine Institutions fail among themselves, I would freely accept them to Communion with my own Flock; and thought they should be so scrupulous as to turn their Backs as often as an Infant was Baptized, it should not be made an Offence. This offer I made them, I hope: not out of a sinful Affectation to *Enlarge* my Flock; the most undesired Favour of Heaven has employ'd my poor Services in such Assemblies, that I have cause to Study how I may serve them Better, before I go to get them Larger; but it was purely from a Spirit of Charity. Indeed I had no Answer but this, *We took upon you as an Unbaptized Man, and therefore we cannot hold Communion with you*: But tho' this New Comer were in their Opinion, An Unbaptized Man, yet they now took this opportunity to Invite him unto publick and constant Preaching every Lord's Day, and a Lecture besides in their Meeting-House. Indeed I must to day Vindicate these Brethren, as to tell you, that they do not seem to me so much in Fault, as divers other People of my own Profession who Solicited them, and Infighated them, to set up a Preacher for them, which their own Pastors had Refused; and it was on some Accounts a time of Temptation with them. Nevertheless I cannot wholly justify this Faulty Action: And their setting up such a Fellow, under all these ill Circumstances, to be their Publick Teacher, look'd the worse, because they could not but see that it nourish'd in his Numerous Profelytes, not only the sleight of a Learned Ministry, but also a Disposition which ordinarily inspired those that were



were profelyted by him to become *Enemies* and *Revilers* of the *Ministers* of the Town. One of those *Ministers* beholding the *Spirit* which this thing was done withal, freely told the *Anabaptists*, That the *Lord Jesus Christ*, who saw what *Principles* they acted upon, would certainly make this very *Man* the *Occasion* of the greatest *Confession* that ever befel them: And at the same time saw cause to foretel unto many others, That the *Devices* of *Satan* in this *Matter* were for this *Man* to engage many of our weaker *People* to be his *Hearers*, by his not professing himself an *Anabaptist*, but when he had them fast, then about three or four Months hence to profess himself an *Anabaptist*, and lead them, who could say whither, with him. Unto the *Man* himself also, that Person having signified his *Dislike* of what he had seen in him, Concluded, 'The *Ministers* of this Town, who have by your means been greatly and ungratefully *Reviled*, will, I suppose, trouble themselves no farther about you, except some remarkable *Occasion* oblige them to it: but they will carry their *Flocks* to the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and they will carry their *Names* to the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and they will carry *You* also unto the *Lord Jesus Christ*: but I believe the *Consequence* of this will very speedily be unto *You* very uncomfortable. He and his *Creatures* went on filling the Town with *Slander*, in Instances which I desire to *Forgive* and *Forget*: Only one of them I will mention, because they made more than ordinary Noise about it. Having too just Cause to fear, that this Insolent Fellow would steal an *Admission* to the *Lord's Table* in my own Church, I went unto his House on purpose to *Forbid* him from it; but they spread a *Story* over the Town that I came to *Invite* him to it. Many Days did not now pass before I did, by a singular Accident, meet with a Book of Dr. *Samuel Bolton's*, wherein there is a Discourse about *The Royalties of Faith*: and this Discourse, to my Surprize, I found so very much the same with what I had my self heard this *Man* deliver, that I thought the two Boys in *Plautus* were not more alike, — *Dixique sibi sua Concio, Fur es*. I sent for many other of the *Hearers*, who had better *Memories* than my self, and offered them to give them a considerable Price for every Sentence they could call to *Mind* in their Dr. *Samuel May's* Discourse, that I could not show them in my Dr. *Samuel Bolton's*; which offer they some of them took, but could not find one Sentence for their Advantage: The exact Agreement between *Samuel the Doctor*, and *Sam. the Dunce*, was a diverting Surprize to all that saw it. Hereupon a Minister of the Town visited the *Man* himself, and professed him a *Piece* of Eight for every material Sentence that he could produce of his own Discourse about *The Royalties of Faith*, which could not be produced from the *Author*, and in the *Order*, and with his *Flourishes* and *Expressions*, that were most *Peculiar*; and he set before him the *Cheat* and the *Crime* that there is in Preaching *Stolen Sermons*. In-

deed, because the *Man* had no *Academical* Education (except one should suppose at *Samowgan*, a certain famous Academy in *Lithuania*;) it was to no purpose to quote unto him the Saying of *Synefius*, *Magis impium esse mortuorum Lacubrationes, quam vestres Furari*: But I did in plain *Englifo* tell him the Dishonesty of the Matter. He not only Denied that ever he had us'd or seen any of Dr. *Bolton's* Works, (though he was also detected of *Stealing* Three or Four more Sermons out of this very Book!) but he also called the Great and Dreadful God to *Witness*, That the Discourse he delivered was the pure effect of his own Industry and Invention; adding, That he had no other way to give Satisfaction, but by Preaching on any Text that Minister should give him. The Minister told him, that he was astonish'd at his horrid *Wickedness* and *Deceit*, and that if he were to be believed in this thing, all *Humane Proof* of any thing must come to an End. He proceeded, That he had outgone all the *Cheats* that ever had appear'd among us, for being so harden'd in *Impiety* and *Stupidity*, as to deny a Fact wherein he was as plainly Detected as ever any Thief that was taken with the *Stolen Goods* about him. And he concluded, 'Miserable *Man*, do you ask me for a Text to Preach upon? I have a Text more than One for you to think upon. Go Preach, if you dare to do it, upon that Text, *Psal. 101. 7. He that telleth Lies, shall not tarry in my sight*. Preach, if you dare to do it, upon that Text, *Psal. 50. 16. Unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my Statutes?* Preach, if you dare to do it, upon that Text, *Rev. 21. 8. All Liars shall have their Part in the Lake*. And if you dare carry on your *Impiety* so far, Preach upon that Text, *Rev. 2. 22. All the Churches shall know, that I search the Reins and the Hearts*. But let me Faithfully and Solemnly, and as a Minister of God, and as one speaking to you in the Name of God, and in the Fear of God, Admonish you to Repent of your Wickedness. I doubt you will not Repent, and therefore I tell you, I am verily persuaded the *Lord Jesus Christ*, who knows your Secret Wickedness, will bring it out. I verily Believe, That in your Detection, the Glorious *Lord Jesus Christ* will make all the Churches to know, that he searches the Reins and the Hearts of the Children of Men. Remember I told you so, and that many Months will not pass before this come to pass: It may be I may Live to see it. He Trembled and Quivered when the Minister spoke these things unto him; yet he Repented not, but in a few Hours he set the People a Railing at that Minister in many Corners of the Town, for Abusing a Precious, Godly, Worthy *Man*. Some advis'd the Arresting of that Minister in Great Actions for Defaming of this Excellent Person, And others had the Fear of God so little in exercise with them, as to cry out, That if this *Man* had been guilty of all that was charg'd on him, yet for that Minister to speak such things to him, was as great an Offence as his.



I had Reason to desire that the *Truth* might now appear a little more irrefragably, and therefore I went unto the Officers of the *Anabaptist* Church, declaring, That I apprehended my self able to convict the Man whom they employ'd as a Publick Teacher among them of being a Cheat, and of having horribly Ly'd against his Conscience in several Repeated and Notorious Instances; and that I desired on my own behalf, and on the behalf of the other Ministers in the Town, that they would appoint a Place the next Week, where I might prove my Charge to his Face, and they should be Judges of it. I could not have Imagined it, but the Church being informed of my Demand, immediately Renewed (as I am told) their Call unto him, to continue his Preaching among them; and by their Minister and Another there was an Answer of this Importance brought unto me. That inasmuch as this Man was not a Member of their Church, they did not apprehend themselves concerned to take any notice of what I had offered. Whereto my Reply was, Well, I have done my Duty, and I hope you have considered, Whether it will be for Christ's Honour, or for your own, to employ a Man as a Publick Preacher, against whom such a Charge is urg'd, and may be prov'd, if you will but hear it. And thought I, how much will Christians act besides themselves when Led into Temptation. From this time, even from September (I think) to December, I concern'd my self no further; being satisfied that it would not be long before the Lord Jesus Christ, who saw how impiously this Man mock'd him, would Search him out, and Cloath with perpetual Confusion those that would persist in Afflicting such a Mocker of Heaven. One would have thought that considerate People after this warning would have been as much afraid of seeing such a *Spellbre* in a Pulpit, as if he had been the *Holder-forth*, which they say sometimes appears in the *Copper Mines of Sweden*. But many People, instead of taking the warning, went on still, under the Influences of this *Ignis Fatuus*, to treat me (and much better Men) with Numberless and Furious Abuses for giving it, and with a practical Commentary upon the Dispersers mentioned in the Beginning of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. I praise the Lord for his making me unwilling to Remember them, and I pray him to cast them out of his Remembrance. At last the Malice went so far, that they began to throw into my House insolent, bitter, bloody Libels, wherein, albeit the nameless Writers confess a great Esteem for me for my moderate Spirit towards them that differ from me, yet they now in most venomous Terms of Rage flew upon me for my Reviling an Eminent Worthy Stranger, (as they express it) and Persecuting one who had the Root of the matter in him, and one who had now the Liberty of a more Unfained Pulpit than any of those which had been deny'd him. All these, and many more such things, wherein I heard the Defaming of many, I bore, I hope I may say, Silently, and Patiently, and it was a great

Fault in me, if not Prayerfully: And if I did not set my self to consider, What Holy Lessons were to be learnt out of such Temptations: In which Lessons I should have been sufficiently Required Good, for the Curbing of all the *Shimei's* in the Town. But thought I, what Spirit possesses these Touchy Folks that they can't let me be quiet? I do nothing to Disquiet them: Or does that Spirit see that his time is but Short, e'er the Displeasure of Heaven put this *Boutefeu* and his Disciples to the Blush which had been foretold unto them? Truly, Sir, I had no Remedy, but humbly to carry my Complaints unto the Lord, who knew my Faithfulness.

This Evil Worker now apply'd himself unto the *Anabaptists* with private Intimations, that for Four or Five Years he had been convinced in his Conscience that their way was the Right way, and that he was now in some Trouble of Conscience for his having delay'd so long to Declare himself, but it should not now be long before he did. When things were now become just ripe for the Devices of Satan to take effect, behold how the Wonderful Providence of Heaven defeated them! The Lord sent an Evil Spirit between this Man and the *Anabaptists* that had adhered unto him. Even they began to find their Eminent Worthy Stranger guilty of such Lying, and such Lewdness, and such Damnable Covetousness, (especially when upon their not carrying Money to him on a Lord's Day wherein he Preached not, he flew out, as I am told, like a Dragon, spitting this among other Fire at them, I see, no longer *Pipe*, no longer *Dance*!) that they came to fear he was a Cheat, and wished they had never seen him. While things were thus operating, the guilty Fellow having bubbled the silly Neighbours of incredible Scores of Pounds, and thinking that the Answers of my Letters to Europe about him were not far off, all on the sudden he will be gone; and none of the charming officers that were made him if he would continue could procure his continuance any longer in the Country. He that had often told us, his coming from England was with a purpose to see his Uncle in Virginia, whom it may be no Man else ever saw, now without one look towards Virginia Ships himself to Return for England. But God will no longer be mocked!

A Virtuous and Laudable Young Gentleman in the Neighbourhood lets fall a Word unto one of his Friends, That he was informed this Man had asid some unchristian Carriage towards a Woman that belonged unto one of the Churches in the Town. Some of the Hearers go and complain that this Gentleman said, The Man had got such a Woman with Child, whereupon some of the Man's Friends began to be obstreperous. The Ingenious Young Gentleman was too well beloved by all that knew his constant Piety, to be suspected of speaking a Falshood; and the trouble on the Minds of his Friends for him immediately made several Discreet and Honest Women to speak out more plainly, how able



able they were to assert the Truth of what he had really spoken. Horrid things began to be muttered about this Wretch for divers Weeks before ; and no doubt the apprehension of their taking Air hastened his Flight ; but a modest Woman, especially if she don't know of any one else to sustain with her the weight of the Testimony, appears with no small Reluctancy to Testify an Affront offered unto her. It had been remark'd by some, that this Villain, though in *Publick Prayer* he were extraordinarily Devout, yet he had a strange Indisposition to *Private Prayer*. And there was enough to render *Prayer* uneasy to his guilty Soul ; for while he was Feasting with the abused Neighbours, he had Eyes full of *Adultery* that could not cease from Sin. The burning Jealousie of the Lord Jesus Christ will now bring out the Villany of this Man, and make all the Churches to know that he searches the Reins and the Hearts. The Hypocrite had made such a show of Zeal in his Performances on the Stage, that every one said, *This Man must be either a great Saint, or a great Rogue* ; and as to one of these, I question whether a greater ever came into this Land.

Sir, I durst not blot my Paper with all the abominable things that are testified upon Oath against this Eminent Worthy Stranger. But the Sum of the Testimonies depofed upon Oath before the Magistrate, Decemb. 7. 1699. by several Women of unblemish'd Reputation, is, ' That he would often watch Opportunities of getting them alone, and then would often affront them with Lewd, Vile and Lascivious Carriages, which rendered it a dangerous thing to be alone with him, and abundantly assured them, that he was a great Rogue, and that if they had been for his Turn, he would have stuck at no Villany towards them. That he would also talk at a vile rate, and among other things he would plead, *That there was no Sin in Adultery*.

The Testimonies after this increased on our Hands, which assured us, That on a Saturday, with his Bible in his Hands, he could Solicite Young Women to Wantonness ; Yea, and Endeavour to Intoxicate them, that he might pursue his vile Purposes upon them. Yea, that when he heard of a Young Woman affected with his Ministry, he would find her out, and spend several Hours together in rude Actions and Speeches to her, and urging her to Lye with him, which he said was no Sin, for David and Solomon did as much ; and adding, *They need not fear being with Child by him, for none ever were so!* More of this prodigious Devilism was testified against this Eminent Worthy Stranger ; and other horrid stuff begins to come to Light, and I suppose would soon be found, if sought for ; but I abhor to rake any further in such a Dung-hil.

They that fill'd the Town with other Impiety, by setting up this Filthy Dreamer, have now a time to admire the Favour of Heaven, (more than their own Prudence) that there was not

set up a Congregation of Nicolaitans in the Town, and that the Young People have not been debauched into fearful Whoredoms, and led away to the Unclean Spirit, like the Transgression Children, which Danced after the Pious Paper into the Cave of Hamelen.

But I have observed, That whereas grievous Times of Temptation are ever now and then sent upon our Churches, if the Servants of the Lord Jesus Christ can, for a while, bear to be buffeted by the foolish Rage of those Times, and apply themselves to humble Prayer and Fast before the great Lord, who holds the Tempter in a Chain ; and if instead of answering to Reviling with Reviling, they are only quickened unto more of Holiness and Usefulness ; the Times do not prove Days of Temptation, but meet Hours of Temptation ; and, *Nubecula cito transiunt*, presently at an end. And so it was in the Storm of Temptation, which by Satan was now raised in our Neighbourhood.

It has in some former Years commonly happened unto me, that when I visited in the way of my Pastoral Duty Persons Possessed with Evil Spirits, the Persons, though they knew every one else in the Room, yet through the unaccountable Operation of the Evil Spirits upon their Eyes, I must appear to Dirty, so Ugly, so Disguis'd unto them, that they could have no Knowledge of me. I have a Thousand times thought that the Lord ordered this for some Intimation unto me, that when Times of Temptation come, wherein Evil Spirits have as much Operation on the Minds of many People, as they have upon the Eyes of Emergents, a Minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, that will be faithful unto his Interests, must look to be all over Disguis'd by Misrepresentations unto the Minds of them that are under the Power of Temptation. A Minister shall strictly impute that Law of Kindness upon his Lips, to speak not one Intemperate or Injurious Word on the greatest Provocation, and yet be represented as a Man full of Bitterness. He shall be always Devising things to relieve the miserable, and spend more than many others do imagine possible to be spent in Pious Use, and scorn to rake many little Gains, that might lawfully be taken, and yet they shall cry out of him for Uncharitableness and Incivility. He shall never once in his Life ask a Salary from his Flock, nor agree with them about a Salary, nor have his dependance on the Lord's-Day Collections for a Salary, nor be in any likelihood of seeing the Lord's-Day Collections to fail, and yet they shall flout at him, as one afraid of losing his Contribution. A Minister shall be of such a Temper, that perceiving a considerable and valuable part of his Flock to put themselves unto a deal of Trouble to attend upon his Ministry (by passing a large Ferry every Lord's-Day,) he shall one Year after another call upon those beloved Christians to leave his Ministry, and set up a New Church by themselves, and set a Worthy Pastor over them, to support whom he shall offer to contribute not a little, and part with some



of his own *Salary*; and yet this Minister shall be represented as *Afraid of nothing more than losing his Hearers*. He shall—but I don't love to mention these things; the Lord of Heaven teach us by these things to *Long for Heaven*, and even while we are on *Earth* to *Live in Heaven*.

You will doubtless make some Advantage to your Holy Thoughts from this Remarkable Story; and my other Neighbours will make, I hope, at least this Advantage from it, that if another *Barber*, instead of the other *Courtes* that bring so many to *Tyburn*, come over from *London* hither, to recruit his *Broken Fortunes* by the *Blasphemies of Stolen Sermons*, plausibly and fervently delivered; the People have now

learnt a little more Wit, than to Pamper such a Fellow with their plentiful Cookery, and Equip him with Score of Pounds in his Pocket, and send him to *London* again to Laugh at the Folly of them that will permit themselves to be so Abused.

'Tis time for me now to Subscribe my self, (inasmuch as I am not Writing a Libel)

S I R,

Your Sincere Servant,

Cotton Mather.

## POSTSCRIPT.

THE Country has been so fill'd with *Lies*, on the Occasion of the things which have been truly represented in this my Letter, that I suppose I shall Publish the Letter unto the Country. And if any blame the Publication, I think they will forget *What is required in the Ninth Commandment*; and I fear they will but expose themselves unto the Censures of Wise and Good Men, as the Friends of this *Impostor*, not out of *Charity*, (as divers Worthy Christians before they knew him were) but from a Principle of *Impiety* and *Malignity*. Among the an-

cient *Israelites*, when a *False Prophet*, or an *Unclean Priest* was found, every Man had a *Commission*, in the Presence of *Ten Men*, to execute the Law upon him, (as *Grotius* tells us) *Non Expellat Judice*. But when one of those Wretches received his Punishment, it was the Custom, That a Letter concerning it should be dispatch'd unto all the Cities of *Israel*. As for this *Unclean Prophet*, the Letter it self that is now dispatch'd unto all the Churches, is the chief Punishment hitherto inflicted on him.

## CHAP. VI.

Arma Viroq; Cano: Or, *The Troubles which the Churches of NEW-ENGLAND have undergone in the WARS, which the People of that Country have had with the Indian Salvages.*

§. 1. TWO Colonies of Churches being brought forth, and a Third conceived within the Bounds of *New-England*, by the Year 1636. it was time for the Devil to take the Alarm, and make some attempt in Opposition to the Possession which the Lord Jesus Christ was going to have of these utmost Parts of the Earth. These Parts were then covered with Nations of Barbarous Indians and Infidels, in whom the Prince of the Power of the Air did Work as a Spirit; nor could it be expected that Nations of Wretches, whose whole Religion was the most Explicit sort of Devil-Worship, should not be acted by the Devil to engage in some early and bloody Action, for the Extinction of a Plantation so contrary to his Interests, as that of *New-England* was. Of these Nations there was none more Fierce, more

Warlike, more Potent, or of a greater Terror unto their Neighbours, than that of the PEQUOTS; but their being so much a Terror to their Neighbours, and especially to the Narragansets on the East-side of them, and the Monhegans on the West, upon whom they had committed many Barbarous Outrages, produced such a Division in the Kingdom of Satan against it self, as was very serviceable to that of our Lord. In the Year 1634. these terrible Salvages killed one Captain Stone, and Captain Norton, with Six Men more, in a Bark sailing up Connecticut River, and then sunk her. In the Year 1635, a Bark sailing from the Massachusetts-Bay to Virginia, being by a Tempest cast away at Long-Island, the same terrible Salvages killed several of the Shipwreck'd Englishmen. In the Year 1636. at Block-Island

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coming



coming Aboard a Vessel to Trade, they Murdered the Master. And another coming that way, found that they had made themselves Masters of a Bark, which occasioned the sending of an Hundred and Twenty Soldiers thither, under the Command of Captain *Endicot*, Captain *Underhill*, and Captain *Turner*, by the Governour and Council at *Boston*, upon whom, at their Landing, the *Indians* violently shot, and so ran away where no *English* could come at them. Travelling further up to the *Pequot* Country, the *Pequots* refused, upon a Conference, to Surrender the Murderers Harboured among them, which were then demanded; whereupon a Skirmish ensued, in which, after the Death of one of their Men, the *Indians* fled, but the *English* destroyed their *Corn* and their *Huts*, and so returned.

Moreover, a Fort, with a Garrison of Twenty Men, being by some Agents that were sent over by the Lord *Say* and the Lord *Brook*, formed at the River's Mouth, (a place called *Say-Brook*) the *Piquots* after this lay skulking about that Fort almost continually; by which means divers of the *English* lost their Lives, and some that were seized by the *Indians* going up the River, were most horribly Tortured by them, and Roasted alive; and afterwards the *Tawnies* would with Derision in the *English* hearing, imitate the doleful *Ejulations* and *Invocations* of the poor Creatures that had perished under their cruel Tortures, and add infinite *Blasphemies* thereunto. Unto all which there was annexed the Slaughter of *Nine Men*, with the taking of *Two Maids*, by this horrid Enemy lying in Ambush for them as they went into the Fields at *Weatherfield*. So that the Infant Colonies of *New-England* finding themselves necessitated unto the *Crushing of Serpents*, while they were but yet in the *Cradle*. Unanimously resolved, that with the Assistance of Heaven they would root this *Nest of Serpents* out of the World.

Reader, it is remarkable concerning one *Anab*, in very early Times, [*Gen. 36. 24.*] That he found *Mules* in the *Wilderness*. But these *Mules* were, if I be not mistaken, as very *Men* as the *Pequots*, whom the First Planters of *New-England* found in the *Wilderness*. We are convinced by such Incomparable Writers as *Bochart*, that the Mountainous Parts of *Seir*, where our *Anab* dwelt, was a Country no ways Famous for *Mules*; but we may then incline rather to the Opinion of *Sanberr*, who maintains, that the *ם* here by us Translated *Mules*, are the same that elsewhere are called, *ם* of which Variety in Writing the same Name the Scriptures have many Instances. Now these *Emin*, were the well-known *Giants*, which Inhabiting the *Horrean* Regions in the Neighbourhood, struck Terror (as their Name signifies) unto all the Neighbours, till the Posterity of *Esau* vanquished them: a Matter which many Passages in the Bible intimate. Our *Anab* is here distinguished from another so called, by a notable exploit which he per-

formed for the Service of his Country. He found, that is, he surprized and Allaulted the *Emin*, those terrible *Giants* with which the Neighbourhood was infested. By this Heroick Act he signalized himself, while the Prince his Father, employed him in managing and ordering his Estate in the *Wilderness*, which according to the use of those Times lay more in Cattel than in any other Substance. But this Digression serves only to excite my Reader's Expectation of *Pequot* *Giants* to be found in our *Wilderness*.

§. 2. When these *Ammonites* perceived that they had made themselves to sink before the *New-English Israel*, they tried by all the Enchanting Insinuations that they could think upon, to reconcile themselves unto the other Nations of *Indians*, with whom they had been heretofore at Variance: Demonstrating to them how easie 'twould be for them, if they were United, quickly to extirpate the *English*, who if they were Divided, would from thence take their Advantage to Devour them one after another. But although no *Machiavel* or *Achitophel* could have intimated this Matter with more of Plausibility, yet the prospect of a *Sweet Revenge*, which the other Nations of the *Indians* did now hope to have by the help of the *English* upon these their Old Enemies, prevailed with them to renounce all Proposals of Accommodation; which thing was of the Lord! Wherefore, in the beginning of May, 1637, *Connecticut-Colony* set out against these *Pequots* Ninety Men, under the Command of that Worthy Gentleman, Mr. *John Mason*, whose Worth advanced him afterwards to be the Deputy Governour of the Colony; and these were accompanied with one *Uncas* an *Indian Sachem*, newly revolted from the *Pequots*. Captain *Underhill* also being with the Garrison at *Say-brook*, obtained leave to assist the Service now in Hand with Nineteen Men and himself, who was not the *Twentieth*, but as good as *Twenty* more. *Massachusetts-Colony* were willing to do their part in this Expedition, with an Army (Reader, considering the small Number of Inhabitants then in these Territories, let it pass for an ARMY!) consisting of an Hundred and Sixty Men, under the Chief Command of *Israel Stoughton*, Esq; a Gentleman of great Merits; but the Matter calling for a real Expedition, one Captain *Patrick*, with Forty Men, was dispatched away before. *Plymouth-Colony* cheerfully offer'd Fifty Men, as their Quota, to the Service now Undertaken; but it being Accomplished, as well as Undertaken, before their Complement of Men could arrive, the Will was taken for the Deed. The *Connecticut* Forces being Shipp'd in *Connecticut-River*, they chose *Narraganset-River* to Land at, rather than *Pequot-River*, where the Enemy kept a continual Guard; and from thence they marched with a Design to Surprize them, while the *Narraganset-Indians*, whereof about Five Hundred now joined them, as they approached near to the Enemies Head Quarters, discovered so much

Fear,



Fear, that they either quite ran away, or fell into the Rear. Captain Mason was by this time informed, that the *Pequots* had retired themselves into Two Impregnable Forts, whereof one was the Rendezvous of *Sassacus* the Chief Tyrant, and that fierce Tyger, at the very mention of whose Name the *Narragansets* trembled, saying, *He was all one a God, no Body could kill him*. The Council of War determined it necessary to fall first upon the Fort which they could find first; and on their silent March in the Moonshiny Night, an *Indian-Spy* that had been sent upon Discovery, brought them Word that the *Pequots* were in a Profound Sleep: For having seen the *English Vessels* not come to any Port in the next River, they presumed the *English People* to be afraid of them, and had newly tired themselves with Dancing and Singing until Midnight upon that Presumption. Our Guide was one *Wequash*, an *Indian* revolted from the *Pequots*, among whom he had been a Captain; and now Captain Mason, with Captain Underbil, coming up to the next Fort about break of Day, the *Indian Auxiliaries* were so dispirited, as to retire where they might lye *Post Principia*, hardly so much as the Spectators of the ensuing Action. The Two Captains, with their Two Companies, took, Mason the East-side, and Underbil the West-side of the Fort, for them to make their Assaults upon; and as they approached within a Rod of the Fort, a Dog Barking awaked another *Cerberus*, an *Indian* that stood Centinel, who immediately cried out, *Wannux, Wannux*, i. e. *English, English*! However, the Courageous Captains presently found a way to enter the Fort, and thereupon followed a Bloody Encounter, wherein several of the *English* were wounded, and many of the *Indians* killed: But the *Wigwams* or Houses which filled the Fort consisting chiefly of Combustible Mats, we set Fire to them, and presently retiring out of the Fort, on every side surrounded it. The Fire by the Advantage of the Wind carried all before it; and such horrible Confusion overwhelmed the *Salvages*, that many of them were Broiled unto Death in the revenging Flames; many of them climbing to the Tops of the *Palisados*, were a fair Mark for the Mortiferous Bullets there; and many of them that had the Resolution to issue forth, were Slain by the *English* that stood ready to bid 'em Welcome; nor were there more than Two *English* Men that lost their Lives in the Heat of this Action. It was on Friday, May 20. 1637. that this memorable Action was performed; and it was rendered the more memorable by this, that the very Night before what was now done, an Hundred and Fifty *Indians* were come from the other Fort unto this, with a purpose to go out with all speed unto the Destruction of some *English Town*; whereas they were now suddenly destroyed themselves; and in a little more than One Hour, Five or Six Hundred of these Barbarians were dismissed from a World that was Burdened with them; not more than Seven or

Eight Persons escaping of all that Multitude. But e'er we pass any further, we will take this place to Commemorate Famous *Wequash*, the *Indian* whom we newly mentioned as the Guide of the *English* to this *Indian Fort*. Know, Reader, that after this Battle *Wequash* had his Mind wonderfully struck with great Apprehensions about the Glory of the *Englishman's* God; and he went about the Colony of *Connecticut* with bitter Lamentations, *That he did not know Jesus Christ*, until the good People there instructed him. When he had understood and embraced the *Christian Religion*, he made a most Exemplary Profession of it; he reformed all his former Ways of Sin and Lust, and with prodigious Patience bore a Thousand Injuries from the other *Indians* for his Holy Profession, while he went up and down Preaching of *Christ* among them. At last the *Indians* Murdered him, and Poisoned him for his Religion; and I find no less a Person than Mr. Thomas Shepherd of Cambridge in Print reporting his Death with such Terms as these. *Wequash, the famous Indian at the Rivers Mouth, is dead, and certainly in Heaven: Gloriously did the Grace of Christ shine forth in his Conversation a Year and a half before his Death: he knew Christ; he loved Christ; he preached Christ up and down; and then suffered Martyrdom for Christ; and when he died, he gave his Soul to Christ, and his only Child to the English, in this hope, that the Child should know more of Christ than its poor Father did.*

§ 3. *Samson* was not in much greater Distress by Thirst, after his Exploit upon the *Philistines*, than our Friends the Day after this Exploit upon the *Pequots*: being distressed with the wants of a Thousand Necessaries, in the Country of an enraged and a numerous Enemy in the other Fort, from whence they expected that the mighty *Sassacus*, with all his Might, would pour forth upon them. Nevertheless, by the good Providence of God, their Pinaces, with all other necessary Provision for 'em, arrived in the *Pequot Harbour* at the very nick of time, when they were most willing for them; whilst while our Forces were Marching, the Enemy came up, Three Hundred of them, from the other Fort, like *Bears bereaved of their Whelps*. They now continued a Bloody Fight for Six Miles together; in which the *Indians* meeting with much loss, notwithstanding their making a Fort of every Swamp in the way, were so discouraged, that for the present they gave over; but when they came to see the *Athes* of their Friends mingled with the *Athes* of the Fort, and the Bodies of so many of their Countrymen terribly *Barbikew'd*, where the *English* had been doing a good Mornings Work, they Howl'd, they Roar'd, they Stamp'd, they Tore their Hair; and though they did not *Swear*, (for they knew not how!) yet they *Curs'd*, and were the Pictures of so many *Devils* in Desperation. Captain Patrick, and quickly after him Captain Stoughton, were now come into those Parts of the Country, to prosecute the

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Work



Work which had been so notably begun by the *Connecticottians* : And there was yet *Work* for them to do ; we have sometimes read of *A Gleaning as good as a Vintage*. For the whole Body of the Surviving *Pequots* repairing to the *Fort* where *Sassacus* resided, upbraided him as the Author of all their Disasters, and were as full of Mutiny against him, as the *Ninevites* were against *Sennacherib* after his Disastrous Expedition against *Jerusalem* ; upon which they presently dispersed themselves into several Dangerous, Rambling and Raging Parcels, and became like to many *Unkennell'd Wolves* about the Country. However, Heaven so smil'd upon the *English Hunting* after them, that here and there whole Companies of them were, by the Informations of other *Indians*, Trepanned into the Hunters Hands ; particularly at one time some Hundreds of them were seized by Captain *Stoughton* with little Opposition, who sending away the Females and Children as Captives, put the Men on Board a Vessel of one Skipper *Gallop*, which proved a *Charon's Ferry-Boat* unto them, for it was found the quickest Way to feed the *Fishes* with 'em. Our Forces pursued the rest of the *Pequots* which way soever they could hear of them, and frequently had the Satisfaction of cutting them off by Companies : But among others, they met with one Crew which afforded them *Two Sachims*, both of which they Beheaded, and unto a Third they gave his Life, on Condition that he would effectually enquire after *Sassacus*, the Grand one of them all. This Wretch overlooking all National or Natural Obligations, proved faithful to his Employers ; and in a few Days returning with Advice of the Place where *Sassacus* was Lodg'd, *Sassacus* from his withdraw, suspected the Matter, and so fled away with Twenty or Thirty of his Men to that People which are known by the Name of *Magua's*, a fierce Generation of *Man-Eaters*, for whom the Name of *Cannibal* or *Hannibal*, (of a Signification Originally much more *Gracious*!) has been carried with them out of *Africa* into *America* ; but these *Magua's* being by the *Narraganjets*, as was thought, hired thereunto, with a most *Indian Hospitality* cut 'em all to Pieces. By such Methods as these there was a quick period given to the *Pequot War* ; and the few *Pequots* that survived, finding themselves a Prey to all the other *Indians*, who now prided themselves in presenting the *English* with as many *Pequot Heads* as they could, whether by Violence, or by Stratagem, seize upon, submitted themselves unto the *English Mercy*. But the rest of the *Indians*, who saw a little handful of Englishmen *Majestice* and *Captiveate* seven Hundred of their Adversaries, and kill no less than Thirteen of their *Sachims* or little *Kings* in one short Expedition, such a Terror from God fell upon them, that after this the Land rested from War for near Forty Years together, even until the time when the Sins of the Land called for a new Scourge ; and the *Indians* by being taught the Use of *Guns*, which hitherto they had not learnt, were more capa-

ble to be made the Instruments of inflicting it. The *English Interest* in *America* must at last with Bleeding Lamentations cry out,

*Hec! Pavor Telis, Vulnera s'illa meis.*

For after this, the *Auri sacra Fames*, that cursed Hunger of *Lucre*, in the diverse Nations of *Europeans* here, in diverse Colonies bordering upon one another, soon furnish'd the Salvages with Tools to destroy those that furnish'd them ;

—Tools, pregnant with *Infernal Flame*,  
Which into *Hollow Engines*, long and round,  
Thick Ramm'd at th' other Bore, with Touch  
of Fire  
Dilated and Insuriate, doth send forth  
From far with Thund'ring Noise among their  
Foes  
Such Implements of *Mischief*, as to dash  
To Pieces and or'whelm whatever stands  
Adverse.—

§. 4. Indeed, there were some Approaches towards a War between the *English* and several Nations of the *Indians* divers times after this ; but they were happily prevented with an *Obstia Principis*. In the Year 1638, sundry *Vagabond English* murdered an *Indian* in the Woods, upon which the *Narraganjets*, whereof he was one, were going to rise : But when they saw the Justice of the Country in Executing Three *English* for the Murder of one *Indian*, it so Astonished them that they laid aside their Inclination to Insurrection. In the Year 1643, *Miantonimo* the King of the *Narraganjets*, having justly hired an *Indian* to Assassinate *Uncas* the King of the *Mohawks*, (but fail'd in the Attempt) a Disturbance was thereby Occasion'd ; which proceeded so far, that *Miantonimo* went forth to a Battle against *Uncas*, wherein *Uncas*, though he had but half the Number of Men, took *Miantonimo* Prisoner, and very fairly cut off his Head. In the next Year, an *Indian* murdering an *Englishman* in the Woods near *Connecticut*, and the *Sagamore* whereto he belonged refusing to Surrender the Murderer, things went on so far that the *Heady Indians* began to do *Hostile Actions*, until upon Second and Wiser Thoughts the Salvages did make a Surrender of the Murderer, and then those Clouds blew over alo.

About the same Year, the *Narraganjets* were so set upon Destroying the *Mohagins*, that the *New-Englanders* reckon'd themselves bound in Justice and Honour to defend *Uncas*, who had ever been true to the *English Interests* ; and upon this Account there was an Army raised from all the Colonies, which being on their March towards the Enemies Country, the Principal *Sachims* of the *Narraganjets*, by an early Application to *Boston* for Peace, put an happy stop to their Marching any further.

The *Narraganjets* obliged themselves to pay the Charges which in this Matter they had put the



the English unto, and send the Sons of their *Sachins* for Hostages until the said Payment should be made; but the *Indians* observing but a *Greek Faith* in the slow Fulfillments of their Promises, one Captain *Asherbon* had the Courage, with a very few *English*, to visit and enter the very *Wigwam* of the old *Sachin* *Ninigret*, and catching the *Sachin* there by his Hair, with a Pistol at his Breast, in plain *English* protested, That if he did not immediately take effectual Order to Answer the *English* Demands, he was a dead Man. An horrid Confirmation seized all the *Indians* upon the sight of so Extravagant an Action; and though Multitudes of them stood ready to fly upon Captain *Asherbon*, yet their Hearts failed them: They submitted, and there was an End. A Plot of one *Sequalon*, an Indian Prince near *New-Haven*, to Assassinate the chief Magistrates of the Neighbour Colony, and some other Villainous and Injurious Actions of the *Indians* towards divers other *English* People, caused more Disturbance in the Year 1646. but at last this also came to nothing. In the Year 1647. not only the *Narragansets* but the *Mobegs* also, by new Infidelities, obliged the *English* to demand Satisfaction from them, which being obtained, they proceeded unto no further Action; and in the Year following the *Narragansets* hiring the *Magua's* to Assist them in the Prosecution of their old Pique against *Uncas*, were again upon the very point of Committing Outrages upon the *English* too; but a merciful Providence of Heaven over-ruled it, as it in like manner did the Effects of a General Uproar likely to ensue upon certain Murders perpetrated by Outrageous *Indians* upon certain Persons of *New-Haven*, and of *Long-Island*, in the Year ensuing. About the Year 1653. there was a great Commotion and Agony raised in the Spirits of People throughout the Country, upon the Apprehension of an horrid Conspiracy among the *Indians* throughout the Country to cut off all the *English*; and there appeared strong Evidences to Confirm that Apprehension; but these Troubles likewise vanished. In the Year 1662. *Alexander*, the Son and Heir of old *Majigait*, not being such a Friend to the *English* as his Father had been before him, solicited the *Narragansets* to join with him in a Rebellion; upon the good proof whereof, the Government of *Plymouth* sent that Valiant and Excellent Commander, Major General *Winslow*, to fetch him down before them. The Major General used such Expedition and Resolution in this Affair, that, assisted with no more than Ten Men, he seized upon *Alexander* at an Hunting-House, notwithstanding his Numerous Attendants about him, and when the Raging *Sachin* saw a Pistol at his Breast, with a Threatning of Death to him if he did not quietly yield himself up to go down unto *Plymouth* with him, he yielded, though, it may be, not very quietly thereunto. *Alexander* was thereupon treated with no other than that Humanity and Civility which was always Essential to the Major General; nevertheless the in-

ward Fury of his own guilty and haughty Mind threw him into such a Fever as cost him his Life. His Brother *Philip* succeeded him in the *Sagamore-ship*, who after he had solemnly Renewed his Covenant of Peace with the *English*, most perfidiously broke it by making an attempt of War upon them in the Year 1671. wherein being seasonably and effectually Defeated, he humbly Confessed his Breach of Covenant, and subscribed Articles of Submission, whereof one was, That in case any future Difference did arise between him and the *English*, he would repair to the Government there to Relieve Matters, before he Engaged in any Hostile Attempts. Indeed, when the Duke of *Archette*, at his being made Governour of *Antwerp* Castle, took an Oath to keep it faithfully for King *Philip* of Spain, the Officer that gave him his Oath used these odd Words, If you perform what you promise, God help you; if you do it not, the Devil take you Body and Soul! And all the Standers-by cried, Amen. But when the Indian King *Philip* took an Oath to be faithful unto the Government of *New-England* no Body used these Words unto him; nevertheless you shall anon see whether these Words were not Expressive enough of what became of him!

§. 5. In the Year 1674. one *John Sausaman*, an Indian, that had been sent forth from the *English* to Preach the Gospel unto his Country-Men, addressed the Governour of *Plymouth* with Informations, that *Philip*, with several Nations of the *Indians* besides his own, were plotting the Destruction of the *English* throughout the Country. This *John Sausaman* was the Son of a Christian Indian; but he Apostatizing from the Profession of Christianity, lived like an Heathen in the Quality of a Secretary to King *Philip*; for he could Write, though the King his Master could not so much as Read. But after this, the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ recovered him from his Apostasy, and he gave such notable Evidences and Expressions of his Repentance, that he was not only admitted unto the Communion of the Lord's Table in one of the Indian Churches, but he was also employed every Lord's Day as an Interpreter among them. Nevertheless, because there was but this one Testimony of an Indian, and therefore of a suspected Original, there was little notice taken of it, until the Artificial Arguments of some too probable and unhappy Circumstances confirmed it. But before the truth of the Matter could be enquired into, poor *John* was Barbarously Murdered by certain *Indians*, who, that the Murder might not be Discovered, cut an Hole through the Ice of the Pond, where they met with him, and put in the Dead Body, leaving his Hat and his Gun upon the Ice, that so others might suppose him to have there drowned himself. It being rumoured that *Sausaman* was missing, the Neighbours did seek, and find, and bury his Dead Body; but upon the Jealousies on the Spirits of Men that he might have met with some foul Play for his Discovering of the Indian Plot, a Jury was empannell'd, unto whom



it appeared that his Neck was broken, which is one *Indian* way of *Murdering*, and that his Head was extremely Swollen, and that he had several other Wounds upon him, and that when he was taken out of the Pond, no Water Issued out of him. It was remarkable, that one *Tobias*, a Counsellor of King *Philip's*, whom they suspected as the Author of this Murder, approaching to the Dead Body, it would still fall a Bleeding afresh, as if it had newly been Slain ; yea, that upon the Repetition of the Experiment it still happened so, albeit he had been deceased and interred for a Considerable while before. Afterwards an Indian, called *Packson*, gave in his Testimony, that he saw this *Tobias*, with certain other Indians, killing of *John Saufaman* ; and it was further testified, that *John Saufaman* before he died had expressed his Fears, that those very Indians would be his Death. Hereupon *Tobias*, with Two other Indians, being apprehended, they were, after a fair Trial for their Lives, by a Jury consisting half of *English*, and half of *Indians*, Convicted, and so Condemned ; and though they were all successively turned off the Ladder at the Gallows, utterly denying the Fact ; yet the last of them happening to break or slip the Rope, did, before his going off the Ladder again, confess, That the other Indians did really Murder *John Saufaman*, and that he was himself, though no Actor in it, yet a Looker on. Things began by this time to have an Ominous Aspect. Yea, and now we speak of things Ominous, we may add, Some time before this, in a Clear, Still, Sunshiny Morning, there were divers Persons in *Maldon* who heard in the Air, on the South-East of them, a Great Gun go off, and presently thereupon the Report of Small Guns like Musket Shot, very thick discharging, as if there had been a Battle. This was at a time when there was nothing visibly done in any part of the Colony to occasion such Noises ; but that which most of all Astonished them was the Flying of Bullets, which came Singing over their Heads, and seemed very near to them, after which the sound of Drums passing along Westward was very Audible ; and on the same Day, in *Plymouth* Colony in several Places, invisible Troops of Horses were heard Riding to and fro. Now, Reader, prepare for the Event of these Prodiges, but count me not struck with a *Livian* Superstition in Reporting Prodiges, for which I have such Incontestable Assurance.

§. 6. *Philip*, conscious to his own Guilt, pushed on the Execution of his Plot as fast as he could ; he Armed his Men, and sent away their Women, and entertained many strange Indians that flock'd in unto him from several Parts of the Country, and began to be Tumultuous. The *English*, whose Innocency and Integrity had made them too secure, nevertheless, on these Alarums made several friendly Applications unto *Philip*, with their Advice, that he would no more allow of any thing that should look like Tumult among his People ; but they were entertained with Surly, Haughty, and Provoking

Insolence. The Indians proceeded in the Month of June unto the Rifting of several Houses in the Plantations near *Mount-Hope*, which was the Seat where *Philip* was Kennell'd with the Rest of these horrid Salvages ; and hereupon the Governour of *Plymouth* sent forth a small Army for the Defence of the Exposed Plantations. On June 24. a Day of Solemn Humiliation was kept through the Colony for the success of the Expedition ; and, Reader, behold what a Solemn Humiliation the displeasure of Heaven then dispensed unto them ; for at the Conclusion of the Day, as the Inhabitants of *Swanzy* were coming from their Prayers, the Lurking Indians discharged a Volley of Shot upon them, whereby one Man was Killed, and another Wounded ; and the Two Men that were sent for a Chirurgeon to relieve the Wounded, were also Killed : Which Slaughter was accompanied with the Murder of Six Men more in another part of the Town. So that now the War was begun by a Fierce Nation of Indians, upon an Honest, Harmless, Christian Generation of *English*, who might very truly have said unto the Aggressors, as it was of old said unto the *Ammonites*, *I have not sinned against thee, but thou dost me wrong to War against me* ; The Lord the Judge be Judge this Day between us ! *Plymouth*-Colony being thus involved in a War, immediately sent unto the other United Colonies for their Aid, who according to the Articles of the Union whereinto they were Confederated, immediately approved themselves true Brethren to the Colony in Adversity. On June 26. a Company of Troopers under the Command of Captain *Thomas Prentice*, and Footmen under the Command of Captain *Daniel Henshman*, marched out of *Boston* towards *Mount-Hope* ; and though some of a Melancholy Complexion had their Dark Thoughts, that a Total and Central Eclipse of the Moon in *Capricorn*, which gave them some Dark Hours the first Night of their March, might be Ominous of ensuing Disasters ; yet the Soldiers were generally of the Mind with *Marcus Caelius*, the Great Roman General, *That there was more Cause to be afraid of Sagittarius than of Capricornus*. A Company of Brisk Volunteers, under the Command of Captain *Samuel Mosely*, quickly overtook them, and so joined with *Plymouth* Forces, under the Command of Captain *Cudworth* at *Swansey*, June 28. Twelve of our Men, unwilling to lose a Minute of time, went that very Evening to discover the Enemy, who from the Bushes fired upon them, Killed One, and Wounded another, but were soon by our handful of Men put unto a shameful Flight. Our Army the next Morning made a Resolute Charge upon the Enemy, who presently fled from their Quarters, and left their whole Territory open to us ; entering whereof we found the mangled Bodies of some of our Country Men, whose Heads they had also stuck upon Poles ; and we found Bibles torn to Pieces in Defiance of our Holy Religion ; but we found in the Wigwags of the Enemy all the Marks of an

halfly



hasty departure; nor was *Philip* any more seen in his Country, till he returned thither the next Year to receive the Recompence of his *Perfidy*.

§. 7. The *English* little *Army* scowred the Woods, and with some loss to our selves, we now and then had Opportunity to inflict a greater loss upon the Enemy. But we took this Opportunity to March over into the *Narraganset*-Country, that with a *Sword* in our Hands we might renew and confirm our *Peace* with a most considerable Nation of *Indians* there, of whose Conjunction with *Philip* and his *Wompanoags* (for so were *Philip's* Nation called) we had more than ordinary cause to be afraid. The Effect of which was, that the *Sachims* of the *Narragansets* did, on July 15. Sign and Seal Articles of *Peace* with us, wherein they engaged that they would not only forbear all Acts of Hostility against the *English*, but also use their utmost Ability, by all Acts of Hostility, to destroy *Philip* and his Adherents, calling the God of Heaven to Witness for the true Performance of these Articles. In the mean time, Captain *Cudworth*, with his *Plymouth*-Forces, went upon the like Account unto another small Nation of the *Indians*, at a place called *Pocasset*, with a Design to hasten further afield for the help of the Two little Villages of *Middlebury* and *Darimouth*, now suffering under the Depredations of a Sculking Adversary. Captain *Fuller* and Captain *Church*, with Two small Detachments, had spent some time in the Woods of *Pocasset*, before a great Company of *Indians* compelled Captain *Fuller*, with his Men, to seek some shelter from a Shower of Bullets, in an House near the Water-side, where they defended themselves till a Sloop from *Rhode-Island* fetch'd them off: but Captain *Church* was got into a *Pease-Field*, where he, with his *Fifteen* Men, found himself suddenly surrounded with an Hundred and almost Five times *Fifteen* terrible *Indians*: Nevertheless, this Gentleman, like another *Shamgar*, had Courage enough in himself alone to have served an *Army*; he assured his Men with a strange Confidence, that not a *Bullet* should hurt them: which one, that was more faint-hearted than the rest, not believing, this Valiant Commander set him to gather a few Rocks together for a little Barricado to them: in the doing whereof, as he was carrying a Stone in his Arms to the Bank intended, a *Bullet*, which else would have killed him, struck upon that very Stone, and miss'd him, which Experiment presently restored *Manhood* unto him: So they fought it out bravely that whole Afternoon, without the least *Hurt* unto any One of their Number, but with *Death* given to as many as their Number of their Enemies. And at last, when their Guns by often Firing were become unserviceable, a Sloop of *Rhode-Island* fetch'd them off also. This Action was but a Whet unto the Courage of Captain *Church*, who halting over to the Main, borrowed Three Files of Men from the *Mossachusset*-Forces, and re-

turned unto *Pocasset*, where he had another Skirmish, in which he slew Fourteen or Fifteen of the Enemies, and struck such a Terror into the rest, that if they could have got away, those Quarterers would for a while have heard no more of them.

§. 8. The little Forces of the Two Colonies coming together again after the Treaty of *Narraganset*, they march'd from *Taunton*, July 18. Eighteen Miles, to a mighty Swamp where the *Indians* were lodged; and the *Indians* covering themselves with Green Boughs, a Subtlety of the same Nature, though not of the same Colour, that they affirm to be used by the *Cattle-Fish*, took the Advantage from the Thick Under-Woods to kill several of the *English*. But the *English* pursuing of them, they presently deserted an Hundred of their *Wigwags* which they had there Erected, and retired further into the Prodigious Thicket, where we presumed that we had 'em in a Pound; and so scarce Two Hundred Men being left there to keep an Eye upon them, the rest (except such as returned unto *Boston*) were dispatched unto the relief of *Mendham*, where, about July 14. the *Nipmuck-Indians*, another Nation of them that were Well-willers to *Philip's* Design, began to *Philippize* in Barbarous Murders. Our Forces kept a strict Eye upon the Motions of the *Enswamped* Enemy; but finding if once we squeezed our selves into those Inaccessibile Woods, we merely Sacrificed one another to our own Mistakes, by firing into every Bush that we saw to stir, as expecting a *Thief* in every Bush; we were willing rather to Starve the Beast in his Den, than go in to Fight him there. Heaven saw more Blood must be drawn from the Colonies, before *Heath* could be restored to them: *Philip* would have surrendered himself, if we had gone in to take him; whereas now becoming desperate, he with his best Fighting Men taking the Advantage of a Low Tide in the middle of the Night, waded themselves over on small Rafts of Timber, into the Woods that led unto the *Nipmuck*-Country, while our Forces that lay Encamped on the other Side perceived it not. An Hundred of the miserable Salvages that were left behind, made a Surrender of themselves to our Mercy; but *Philip's* escape now soon after Day-light being discovered, the *English*, assisted with a Party of *Monhegin-Indians*, pursued them as fast as they could, and in the pursuit slew about Thirty of them ere the Night obliged 'em to give over. However, *Philip* now escaping to the Westward, he enflamed the several Nations of the *Indians* in the West where-ever he came, to take part with him, until the Flame of War was raging all over the whole *Massachusset-Colony*. The First Scene of the Bloody Tragedy was in the *Nipmuck*-Country, whither Captain *Hutchinson*, accompanied with Captain *Wheeler*, went, Aug. 2. upon a Treaty of *Peace* with the *Indians* there, who had agreed with him a place of Meeting for the Consummation of the Treaty, and the Renovation of the Covenant, wherein they had



the Month before promised under their Hands, that they would not afflict *Philip* in his Hostilities. The *Indians* not coming to the place assigned, Captain *Hutchinson* rode a little further, and so far, that the Perfidious Villains, from an *Ambuscado*, mortally wounded him, and thot Eight more dead upon the Spot; but the rest fled back by a By-Path to *Suabog*, a small Village, where all the Inhabitants were just got into one House, resolving there to Live and Die together. The *Indians*, with *Philip's* Army newly arrived unto them, rush'd in like a Storm of Lightning upon this distressed Village, and having burnt all the rest, they furiously beset that one House, where a little Handful of Men bravely defended the little *Cottage*, which was all their *Castle* against an huge Army of cruel Tawnyes, who kept perpetually pouring in their Shot upon them for Two Days together, and thrusting Poles with Brands and Rags dipp'd in burning Brimstone, and many other Tricks, to set the *Cottage* on Fire. At last, after Six ineffectual Attempts to Burn this poor Hovel, (so in *Six Troubles they were delivered*, yea, in *Seven the Evil touch'd 'em* not!) they fill'd a Cart with Flax, Hemp, and other Combustible Matter, and kindling of it, they push'd it on with very long Poles that were Spliced one unto another; by which means this *Petite Flock* must have unavoidably become a Prey to these horrid *Wolves*, if a mighty Storm of Rain had not suddenly extinguish'd it. But, *Blessed be the Lord*, (might the Seventy Men, Women and Children in that House anon Sing!) *who hath not given us a Prey to their Teeth; our Soul is escaped as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers!* Our memorable Major *Willard*, on Aug. 4. in the Morning, setting forth with a Party of Men to visit and secure a Nation of *Suspected Indians*, in the Neighbourhood received, by a strange Accident, some seasonable Advice of the doleful Condition wherein our Brethren at *Suabog*, Thirty Miles distant from him, were *Ensnared*; and thereupon turning his Course thither, it came to pass, that although the *Indians* had placed sufficient *Ambushments* to cut off any Succours that should come that way, yet there was an *Unaccountable Befortment* to fallen upon them, that this Valiant Commander, with Forty-eight Men, arrived at Night unto the help of these *Beseged People*, and bravely raised the *Siege*, by driving the *Beasts of Prey* back to their *Dens*, after he had First Sacrificed many Scores of them unto the *Divine Vengeance*. Thus remarkably was this poor People delivered; but the Enemy Steering further Westward, Captain *Labrop*, Captain *Beers*, and others, were sent with more Forces to Track 'em; and if it were possible, to prevent their Poisoning and Seducing of the *Indians* upon *Connecticut-River*, whose Fidelity was now extremely doubted of.

§. 9. The Towns belonging unto the *Massachusetts-Colony* upon *Connecticut-River*, assisted now by Forces also from *Connecticut*, under the Command of Major *Robert Treat*, sent Soldi-

ers on Aug. 25. to Demand from their *Indians* a Proof of that Faithfulness which they had hitherto professed, but *Philip* had Bewitched them; they were fled from their Forts, having first killed an Old *Sachim* of their own that was not willing to go with them; they fired upon our Men from a *Swamp* when we were looking after them; and a Dispute continued for some Hours, wherein we lost *Nine Men* belonging to *Nine Towns*. Thus the *Devolutions of War* were carried into these Parts of the Country, while small Crews of *Salvages* here and there, in other Parts of the Country, were distressing People wonderfully. On Sept. 1. the *Indians* laid most of the Houses belonging to the hopeful Plantation of *Deerfield* in *Alhes*, while the *Garrison* was not strong enough to Salley forth upon 'em; and on the Day following they slew Eight Men abroad in the Woods at *Squabbeeg*, without making any Attempts upon the *Garrison*. Captain *Beers*, with about Thirty-six Men, were sent up to fetch off the People in these little *Garrisons*, but they found a *Serpent by the Way*, and *adder in the Path*: Hundreds of *Indians* from a thick *Swamp* Fired upon them, whereupon followed a desperate Fight, wherein the Captain and a Score of his Men sold their Lives at as good a Price as they could, but the rest fled into *Halley*, leaving Major *Treat* a few Days after to finish what they had undertaken.

The Towns thereabout now being tollerably *Garrison'd*, Captain *Labrop*, with about Eighty Men, carried Carts to fetch off the Corn that lay *Thresh'd* in *Deerfield*, but they fell themselves into a terrible *Tribulation*; for on Sept. 18. a vast Body of Seven or Eight Hundred *Indians* on the Road entertained them with an Assault, wherein the Courageous Captain having taken up a wrong Notion, that the best Course was to Fight with *Indians* in their own way of Sculking behind the Trees, and thence aiming at single Persons, thereby exposed himself to Ruin. If they had fought more in a Body, they might have carried all before them; for it has been observed, that *Indians* never durst look *Englishmen* in the Face; whereas now above Threescore of our Men, and most of them hopeful *Young Men*, were killed. Captain *Moseley* hearing the Reports which the *Guns* gave of this Battel, came up with an Handful of Men, though too late for the Rescue of Captain *Labrop*; and several times he Marched through and through that prodigious Clan of *Dragons*, and raked them for Five or Six Hours together, with the loss of no more than Two Men of his own; albeit the *Indians* afterwards confessed that they lost Ninety-six of themselves, and had more than Forty wounded. *New-England* had never yet seen so black a Day! The Inhabitants of *Springfield*, notwithstanding the firmest Assurances which the Nations of *Indians* near to them had given them of their Friendship and Faithfulness, were awakned by these things to enquire how far they might rest assured thereof, when



when all o'th' sudden the *Hostages* which these *Indians* had given were fled; and some *English* going to Visit them at their Fort, were Treacherously saluted with a Volley of Shot, which miserably wounded them; whereupon the Town was in all the Ungarrison'd Parts of it Fired by these Perfidious Caitifs. Thirty two Houses, and amongst the rest, the Minister's. with his well-furnished Library, were consumed before the Arrival of Major *Treat*, Major *Pinchon*, and Captain *Appleton*, put a stop to the Fury and Progress of an Insulting Enemy: Nor had the Inhabitants themselves escaped a *Massacre*, if an *Indian*, privy to the Plot, had not just in the Nick of time discovered it unto them. After this, the *English* Forces were ordered, by a merciful Providence of Heaven, to Rendezvous about *Norhampton*, *Hadley*, *Hatfield*, until it might be consider'd what there was further to be done; and now behold, Reader, a Comfortable Matter in the midst of so many *Tragedies*! The General Court then Sitting at *Boston*, appointed a Committee, who with the assistance of the Ministers in the Neighbourhood, might suggest what were the *Provoking Evils* that had thus brought the judgments of God in a Bloody War upon the Land, and what *Laws* might be Enacted for the Reformation of those *Provoking Evils*! The return of which Committee to the General Court was kindly received on Oct. 19. and Care taken further to prosecute the Intentions of it. Now as our Martyrologist, Mr. *Fox*, observes, that at the very Day and Hour when the Act of Reformation, in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* was put in Execution at *London*. God gave the Nation a Signal Victory at *Muscleborough*: Thus it was remark'd by some Devout Men, that on the very Day when the Vote was pass'd at *Boston* for the Reformation of Mis-carriages in the Land, our Forces had a notable Success an Hundred Miles off against the Common Enemy. Seven or Eight Hundred *Indians* broke in upon *Hatfield* at all Quarters, but our Forces being beyond their Expectation lodged in the Neighbourhood, the *Indians* were so terribly Defeated, that after the killing of but One Englishman in the Fight, they confessed the Town too hot for them, and fled to fast, that many of them lost their Lives in the River. This resolute Repulse gave such a Check to the Enemy, that the Western Plantations for a long while heard little or nothing further from them; some straggling Parties, indeed, were here and there Mischievous; but as Winter drew on, they generally retired unto the *Narraganset-Country*, where the Reader must now expect a considerable Action! 'Tis true, the *European* Campaigns for the Numbers of Men appearing in them, compared with the little Numbers that appear in these *American* Actions, may tempt the Reader to make a very Diminutive Buliness of our whole *Indian-War*; but we who felt our Claves Afflicted by unknown Numbers of Devils in Flesh on every side of us, and knew that our Minute Numbers em-

ploy'd in the Service against them, were proportionably more to us than mighty Legions are to Nations, that have existed as many Centuries as our Colonies have Years in the World, can scarce forbear taking the Colours in the Sixth Book of *Milton* to describe our Story: And speaking of our *Indians* in as high Terms as *Virgil* of his *Pismires*: *It nigrum campis Agmen!* At least we think our Story as considerable as that silly Business of the Invading and Conquering *Florida* by the *Spaniards*, under *Fernando de Soto*; and yet that Story the World has thought worthy to be read in divers Languages.

§. 10. The Commissioners of the United Colonies having manifest and manifold Proofs that the Great Nation of *Narraganset-Indians*, with whom the rest were now Harbour'd, had not only broken their Articles of Peace with the *English* in divers Instances, but were also Plotting to begin a War against us in the Spring, when they should have the Leaves of the Trees to Besiege them, took up a general Resolution, in the depth of Winter, to make a Vigorous Expedition against them. Accordingly an Army consisting of a Thousand at First, and afterwards Fifteen Hundred Men, under the Conduct of the truly Honourable *Joshua Winslow*, Esq; marched into the *Narraganset-Country*, where they no sooner arrived on Dec. 12. but about Forty *Indians* fell into their Hands; among whom, one was a Fellow named *Peter*, who having received some Disgust from his Countrymen, proved so Faithful and Useful a Guide unto our Forces, that they afterwards found that they could not well have liv'd without him. Several Mischiefs were done by the *Indians* whilst our Army were here waiting for their Brethren from *Conneticut*; especially their Surprisel of a remote Garrison belonging to one *Bull*, where about Fourteen Persons were Baited to Death by the terrible Dogs. But the *Conneticut*-Forces being also arrived on Dec. 18. they presently marched away by break of Day, the next Morning, through Cold and Snow, and very amazing Difficulties, enough to have Damn'd any ordinary Fortitude, for Eighteen Miles together. The *Indians* had a Fort raised upon an Island of about Five or Six Acres, in the midst of an horrid Swamp, which Fort, besides its *Palisadoes*, had a kind of Wall or Hedge about a Rod thick encompassing of it. The Entrance of this Fort was upon a long Tree over the Water, where but one Man could pass at a time, and this was way-laid after such a manner, that if our Men had attempted that Passage, they must have perished. Only by the help of *Peter* they discovered a Vulnerable Heel, as I may call it, yet left in the Fort at one Corner, where there was a Gap supplied only with long Trees about Four or Five Feet from the Ground, over which Men might pass their way; though against this they had Built a Block-House, from whence a Bloody Storm of Bullets, (and enough to make every Man like the poor Man in the Twelve Signs of the

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Almanack)



*Almanack*) was to be expected by them that should make their Approaches there. Our Men came up to the *Swamp* about One a Clock, and Immediately and Courageously pressing through the *Swamp*, from whence the *Indians* began to Fire upon 'em, they advanced unto that part of the Fort which was most accessible: Now having of nothing, but, *Mors certa, aut Victoria* Leta, in their Eye. Brave Captain *Moseley* and Captain *Davenport* led the *Van*; Captain *Gardner* and Captain *Johnson* were in the *Center*, Major *Appleton* and Captain *Oliver* brought up the *Rear* of the *Massachusetts-Forces*: General *Winslow* with *Plymouth-Forces*, under Major *Bradford* and Captain *Goram*, marched in the *Center*; and *Connecticut-Forces*, under Major *Treat* and Captain *Siely*, Captain *Gallop*, Captain *Mason*, Captain *Watts*, and Captain *Marshall*, made the *Rear* of the whole Body. Nothing in the World could be more Magnanimous than the Spirit which now carried on both Leaders and Soldiers in the Enterprize now before them: They leaped over the *Trees of Death*, into the Spot of Ground where *Death* in all its Terrors was to be Encountered; the Fall of the Valiant Leaders, no less than Six of them, namely, *Davenport*, *Gardiner*, *Johnson*, *Gallop*, *Siely* and *Marshall*, (tho' it rendred the Place worthy of the Name which the *Romans* put upon the abhor'd Place where their Beloved Commander *Drusus* died, namely, *Scelerata Castra*) did but add *Fire* to the Rage of the *Soldiers*; they beat the Enemy from one Shelter to another, till they had utterly driven them out of all their *Sconces*; and at last they set Fire to the Fort, from whence the Surviving *Indians* fled into a vast *Cedar-Swamp* at some distance off. I wish I could particularly give an *Immortal Memory* to all the Brave Men that signalized themselves in this Action. But among them all, *O quam te memorem*, Thou Excellent *SAMUEL NOWEL*, never to be forgotten! This now *Reverend*, and afterwards *Worshipful* Person, a Chaplain to the Army, was Author to a good Sermon preached unto the *Artillery Company* of the *Massachusetts*, which he Entitled, *Abraham in Arms*; and at this Fight there was no Person more like a true Son of *Abraham in Arms*, or that with more Courage and Hazardly fought in the midst of a Shower of Bullets from the surrounding *Salvages*. But,

*Longa referre mora est, qua consiliis, manuq;  
Utiliter fecit Spaciis Tempore Belli.*

No less than *Seven Hundred fighting Indians* were destroyed, as it was afterwards confessed in this desperate Action: besides *Three Hundred* which afterwards died of their Wounds, and *Old Men*, *Women*, *Children*, *Sans* number; but of the *English* about *Eighty Five* were slain, and an Hundred and Fifty wounded. And now, *Sic Magnus componere Parva!* Reader,

*And now their Mightiest quell'd, the Battel  
Swer'd,  
With many an Inroad gor'd; deformed Rout  
Enter'd, and foul Disorder; all the Ground  
With shiver'd Armour strown, and on a heap,  
Salvage and Sagamore lay overturn'd,  
And Fiery, Foaming Blacks; what flood recoil'd  
Oreweari'd, and with Panic Fear surpris'd*

Had the Assault been deferred one Day longer, there fell such a Storm of *Snom*, that for divers Weeks it must have been *Impracticable*; and at the end of those Weeks there came so violent and unusual a *Thaw*, that by making the way to the Fort Unpassable, it would have render'd it still more *Impracticable*. Just now was the Time for this Work; and the Work being so far accomplished, our Forces retreating after Day-light was almost spent, found it necessary to go back with many Wounded, and more *Wearry Men*, unto their Head Quarters, near *Eighteen Miles* off, in a dismal Night, through *Hardships*, that an whole Age would hardly parallel; which if the *Remaining Enemies* had known, they might easily have cut off all our *Enfeebled and Battered Army*. However such a Blow was now given to the Enemy as never could be recovered! And our Forces having in some following Weeks made now and then some happy *Gleanings* of their late *Victory*, until the Enemy was gone, they knew not whither, they returned unto their several Homes until the next Occasion.

§. 11. Deserted *Mendam* was this Winter laid in *Althes*. And the *French* from *Canada* sending *Recruits* unto the *Indians* for that purpose, the *Indians* thus Recruited on Feb. 10. fell upon the Town of *Lancaster*, where they Burned many Houses, and Murdered and Captived more than *Forty* persons. The Worthy Minister of the Town, Mr. *Rolandson*, had been at *Boston* to intercede for some speedy Succours; and though by this Journey from Home he was himself preserved, yet at his return he found his House on Fire, his Goods and Books all burned, and which was worse, his Wife, and Children, and Neighbour, in the Hands of the worst Barbarians in the World. This good Man, like *David* at *Ziklag*, yet believed, for the Recovery of his Relations out of those horrible Hands, which about Four or Five Months after was accomplished with wonderful Dispensations of Divine Providence, whereof the Gentlewoman her self has given us a *Printed Narrative*. Captain *Wadsworth*, with *Forty* resolute Men, compelled the *Indians* to quit the Place; but they soon did further Mischiefs at *Malborough*, *Sudbury*, *Chelmsford*; and Feb. 21. Two or Three Hundred of them came Wheeling down to *Medfield*, where they burnt near half the Town, and killed near a Score of the Inhabitants; and Feb. 25. *Weymouth* also suffered from these *Burners* no little Damage. An Army under the Command of that

Expert



Expert Leader, Major *Thomas Savage* about this time did make after the Indians as far as *Northampton*; and there was again a singular Providence of God in ordering this Matter: For had it not been for these Recruits, those Western Plantations had probably been cut off by a vast Body of Indians, which on *March 14.* in Three Places broke in upon the thin *Palasades*, wherewith *Northampton* was fortified, and killed Five Persons, and burned Five Houses, but met with a brave Repulse. On *March 10.* they did Mischievous things at *Groton* and *Sudbury*: And on *March 12.* they burnt almost all *Groton* to the Ground, and then called unto the English in the Garrison, *What will you do for an House to Pray in, now we have burnt your Meeting-House!* But the Enemy finding these Parts of the Country too many for them, they again translated the Scene of their Tragedies unto *Plymouth* Colony; where after they had on *March 12.* barbarously cut off Two Families under one Roof in *Plymouth*, and on *March 17.* laid all *Warehock*, but one House, in Ashes: Captain *Pierce* being fitted with Fifty Englishmen, and with Twenty *Christian-Indians*, did Courageously pursue them. This meritorious Captain was unhappily Trepann'd into an Ambushment of the Enemy, who, on *March 26. 1676.* by meer Multitude overpowered him; so that after he had first made a slaughter of an Hundred and Forty of them, he with Forty-nine Englishmen, (an hard Battel truly!) and Eight *Christian-Indians*, expired on the Bed of Honour. This was a very Disastrous Day! For on this Day also the Town of *Malborough* was all in Flames by another Assault from this Treacherous Adversary; and on this Day several People at *Springfield* became a Sacrifice unto their Fury; wherfore methinks, Reader, we want some Diverting Story to entertain us in the midst of so many horrible Accidents. I will therefore mention a pleasant Stratagem used by one of our *Christian-Indians* in the Fight when Captain *Pierce* lost his Life. This Indian, who, I durst say, never had read *Polyenus*, being pursued by an Enemy, becock himself unto a great Rock, where sheltering himself, he perceived that his Enemy lay on the other side ready with his Gun to discharge upon him whenever he should stir one step from the Place where he stood. He therefore took a Stick which he had at Hand, and hanging his Hat upon it, he gently and slowly lifted it up, until he thought his watchful Friend on the other side might be sensible of it: And accordingly the other taking this Hat for the Head of his Adversary, let fly immediately, and Shot through the Hat: Whereupon he briskly lift up his Head, and presently letting fly, not upon the Hat, but upon the Head of the Adversary, laid him Dead upon the Spot. In this Fight another Indian luckily saved not only himself, but an Englishman too, by pretending to run after the Englishman with his Hatchet, as if intending to Kill him therewithal. And another Indian as luckily saved

himself by besmearing his Tawny Face with wet Gunpowder, which made him look so like some of the adverse Party, who had Black'd their Faces, that they distinguished him not. Many such Passages and Policies are told of our *Christian-Indians*, who in Truth shew'd their Christianity by their being wonderfully Serviceable unto us in the War which now perplexed us. But, Reader, be content that this Paragraph relate a few more of the pernicious things done by the Barbarians, about this time, in several Parts of the Country; and for thy Comfort we will give in the Next a Relation of an Unexpected Alteration and Revolution. Know then, that in *March 28.* the Indians burnt about Forty Houses at *Rehoboth*; and on *March 29.* about Thirty Houses at *Providence*: For the English retiring into Garrisons, could not but leave their Houses open to the Impressions of the Adversary. In the beginning of April they were Mischievous at *Chelmsford* and *Andover*, and that they might by their Cruelty discover whose Children they were, they would cut out the Tongues of the Dumb Creatures, leaving them alive in Misery; and putting others of those poor Creatures alive into Hovels, they would set them on Fire. And although on *March 27.* about Forty Inhabitants of *Sudbury* made a Salley forth in the Night upon a Body of Three Hundred Indians, Killing Thirty of them, without losing one of their own; yet on *April 18.* the Indians made a fierce Assault upon *Sudbury*, wherein they burnt several Houses, and Killed a Dozen Persons that were coming from *Concord* for the Assistance of their Neighbours. But the worst part of the Story is, that Captain *Wadsworth*, one worthy to Live in our History, under the Name of *A Good Man*, coming up after a Long, Hard, Unwearied March, with Seventy Men unto the Relief of distressed *Sudbury*, found himself in the Woods on the sudden surrounded with about Five Hundred of the Enemy; whereupon our Men fought like Men, and more than so; but were so Overwhelmed, that he, with another *Good Man*, some Captain *Brattlebank*, and more than Fifty more, sold their Lives for the Deaths of about an Hundred and Twenty Indians. The Indians took Five or Six of the English Prisoners; and that the Reader may understand, *Crime ab uno*, what it is to be taken by such Devils Incarnate, I shall here inform him: They Stripp'd these unhappy Prisoners, and caused them to Run the Gantlet, and Whipped them after a Cruel and Bloody Manner; they then threw Hot Ashes upon them, and cutting off Collaps of their Flesh, they put Fire into their Wounds, and so with Exquisite, Leisurely, Horrible Torments, Roasted them out of the World.

§. 12. But a *Polybius* will tell me, *Non decet Historic Scriptorem, duntaxat Res Graues Legentibus Exponere*: And, I promittid my Reader a Turn of our Affairs. The Prayers of many Thousands of Pious People, poured out with the greatest Solemnity, did all this while,



*Celum Tundere*, and now they must, *Miseri-*  
*cordiam extorque.* The Maxim uttered by the  
 Renowned King of Sweden, *The Greater*  
*Army of Prayers is, the more certain and glorious*  
*will be the Victory!* Must now be fulfilled;  
 and the *Supplications* for our distressed Case,  
 made by not only the Churches of *New-Eng-*  
*land*, which were in the Distress, but also by the  
 Churches of *London*, of *Suffolk*, of *Dorset*, of  
*Devon*, of *Somerset*, of *Lancashire*, of *Dublin*,  
 (for which we now publicly return our Thanks)  
 must now be Answered. The *time limited* by  
 Heaven for the Success of the *Indian Treach-*  
*eries* was now almost expired: The Blasphemy,  
 and Infence, and prodigious Barbarity of the  
 Salvages, was come to a sufficient Height,  
 for the Lord God of *Zaboth* to Interpose his  
 own *Revenge*; and the Impossibility which  
 there appeared for our People to attend their  
*Husbandry* in the *Fields*, or to find out their  
*Enemy* in the *Woods*, did, as the *Spring* advanced,  
 throw us into an Extremity of Despair, to  
 wade through another *Summer* like the *Lost*.  
 But NOW was the time for Deliverance! There  
 was an *Evil Spirit* of *Dissention* strangely sent  
 among the *Indians*, which disposed them to se-  
 parate from one another: The *Demons*, who vi-  
 sibly exhibited themselves among them at their  
*Poisoning*, or *Conjuring*, signified still unto them,  
 that they could now do no more for them; the  
*Maquas*, a Powerful Nation in the West, made  
 a Descent upon them, ranging and raging  
 through the Desert with irresistible Fury; *fe-*  
*vers* and *Fluxes* became *Epidemical* among  
 them; and their being driven from their Plant-  
 ing and Fishing Places, drove them into too  
 much of a *Famine*, as brought *Mortal Sicknes*  
 upon them: Finally, a *Visible Smile* of Heaven  
 was upon almost all the Enterprizes of the *Eng-*  
*lish* against them: And an unaccountable Ter-  
 ror at the same time so Dispirited them, that  
 they were like Men under a *Escination*. It was  
 the *Promise* of God unto his Antient People.  
 The Lord thy God will send the *Hornet* among  
 thine *Enemies*, until they that are left, and hide  
 themselves from thee, be destroyed: And I never  
 saw a more sensible Confirmation of that *Pro-*  
*mise*, or Explication of that *Hornet*, than in  
 what now befel the *Enemies* of *New-England*.  
 They were just like *Beasts* that are stung with  
 a *Garabee*, or *Hornet*; they ran they knew not  
 whither, they knew not *wherefore*; they were  
 under such a *Consternation*, that the *English*  
 did even what they would upon them. I shall  
 never forget the Expressions which a desperate  
 Fighting sort of Fellow, one of their Generals,  
 used unto the *English* after they had Captivated  
 him; you could never have subdued us, but  
 (said he, striking on his Breast) the *Englishman's*  
*God* makes us afraid here! First, from *Con-*  
*necticut*-Colony, which the kind Providence of  
 our Lord Jesus Christ kept almost untouched in  
 this bloody War, there went forth in the Month  
 of *April*, under the Command of Captain *Den-*  
*ison*, Sixty-six *Volunteers*, with above an Hun-  
 dred *Friend-Indians*, who took and slew Seven-

ty-fix of the *Enemy*, among whom were some of  
 their chieftest Princes, and made great Havock  
 on their Stores, without losing any of their own:  
 And a little before this, a Party of *Connecticut*  
 Soldiers, with the like *Indian Assistance*, took  
 and slew Forty-four of the *Enemy*, without any  
 loss on our side, but among the Prisoners was  
*Quanoncher*, the mighty *Sachem* of *Narraganset*,  
 whom the *English* wisely delivered unto their  
 Tawny Auxiliaries for them to cut off his  
 Head, that so the Alienation between them and  
 the Wretches in Hostility against us might be-  
 come incurable. There were still here and  
 there little Mischiefs done by the *Enemy*; *Ply-*  
*mouthe*, *Taunton*, *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Haver-*  
*hill*, *Bradford*, *Woburn*, and other Places, did  
 sustain sundry Damages: But the main Cha-  
 racter of the Occurrents now happening on our  
 Part, was *Victory* over them. Remarkable was  
 the Fate of *Bridgewater*, a most *Praying*, and  
 most *Pious Town*, seated in the very mid of  
 the Dangers of the War; that although they  
 were often Assaulted by formidable Numbers  
 of the *Enemies*, yet in all their sharp Assaults  
 they never lost one of their Inhabitants, Young  
 or Old. They were solicited strongly to De-  
 sert their *Dwellings*, but they resolved that  
 they would keep their *Stations*; and now on  
 May 8. the *Indians* began to Fire the Town, but  
 the Inhabitants with notable Courage lifted  
 forth from their Garrisons to Fight the *Enemy*,  
 and God from Heaven at the same time fought  
 for them, with a Storm of *Lightning*, *Thunder*  
 and *Rain*, whereby a Considerable part of their  
 Houses were preserved. Thou, Church of  
*Bridgewater*,

O nimium Dilecta Deo, cui militat Aether,  
 Et Conjurati veniant ad Claustra Veni!

One that was no *Christian* so Sang the Favours  
 of Heaven to the Emperor *Theodosius*; and so  
 might the *Pagan* Foe now Sing of thy *Salvati-*  
*ons*! On May 6. our Forces, assisted with some  
*Christian* *Indians*, did good Execution upon  
 the *Enemy* near *Medfield*, and on May 11. did  
 the like at *Plymouth*. And on May 18. Two  
 Captive Lads escaping from the Hands of the  
*Enemy*, informed the Towns about *Northamp-*  
*ton*, that a considerable Body of the *Indians*  
 were securely Clanning together a few Miles  
 further up the *River*; whereupon about an  
 Hundred and Fourscore Active Men went out  
 immediately, and so surprized them, that they  
 Killed, as was judged, about an Hundred on the  
 Spot, and they drove as many more into that  
*Ancient River* that swept 'em away. But the  
*English* in the Retreat were unhappily circum-  
 vented by a Parcel of the *Enemy*, who slew  
 Captain *Turner*, and upwards of Thirty more,  
 although not without the loss of Three Hundred  
 of their own, as was afterwards by some of  
 themselves acknowledged. And on May 30.  
 the *Enemy* lost Five and Twenty in one Onset,  
 which they made upon *Hatfield*, Five being  
 Slain on our Part in the Action; as the Week  
 before



before this Twelve of them were Slain about Rehoboth, with the loss of but One of ours. New Forces, both in *Massachusetts-Colony*, and in *Connecticut-Colony*, were now sent forth to Distress the Enemy in their Places of Planting and Filching. The *Massachusetts* Forces quickly took and kill'd near Forty Indians, and the *Connecticut* Forces took and kill'd an Hundred; which Exploits were performed without losing a Man of our own. On June 12. Seven Hundred Indians made an Assault upon *Hadley*; but they were driven off with much loss to them, and very small to our selves; and at the very time when the Indians were thus Distressing of *Hadley*, the *Magua's* fell upon their Head-Quarters, and slaughtered their Women and Children, and carried away much Plunder with them. Thus the Conquest of the Indians went on at such a rate, that whereas, June. 29. 1675. was the first Fast publicly observed in this Colony on the Occasion of the Indian Troubles, now, June 29. 1676. was appointed a Day of *Thanksgiving* through the Colony for the comfortable Steps and Hopes that we saw towards the End of those Troubles.

§. 13. Reader, after this Day of *Thanksgiving* I shall have little to Report unto thee but what is a Cause of *Thankfulness*! The *Magua's* now fill upon *Philip*, and Kill him Fifty Men at a time; upon as odd an Occasion too as has been ordinarily heard of. He, as it is affirmed, being entertained among the *Magua's* the last Winter, used many means to seduce 'em, and persuade 'em unto a War against the *English*; and one of those means it seems was This: He kill'd some scattering *Magua's* in the Woods, and then told the Rest that the *English* did it; but One of them whom he thought Killed, was only Wounded, who, getting home unto his Countrymen, gave 'em to understand who was the true Murderer! And so the *Magua's*, whom he would have brought upon the *English*, he only brought upon himself: *Nec enim Lex Justior ulla!* *Philip* now returns to *Mount-Hope*, and finds it *Mount-Misery*, *Mount-Confusion*! A Prince in *Germany* long since hearing that a Neighbour Prince intended War upon him, immediately set himself upon the Reforming of the People under his Government; but his Adversary within a while after enquired what Preparation his Neighbour was making to Oppose him? And being informed that his chief Preparation was Reformation, he replied, *Nay then, let the Devil Fight him for all me; if he be at that, he'll be too hard for me to meddle with him.* The Churches of *New-England* now more than ever began to be at that; and now see the Effects of it. The Churches in *Plymouth-Colony* agreed upon a Day solemnly to Renew their COVENANT with God, and one another, on the very next Day, Major *Bradford*, with his *Plymouth* Forces, was not only by a strange Providence delivered from the Stratagems of the Ambushing Adversary, but also took and slew many of them, without the loss of one Englishman: And the *Squaw-Sachim* of

*Saconet*, with Ninety of her Subjects, hearing of his approach, submitted themselves unto his Mercy: Major *Bradford* was the *Oedipus*, by whom that *Sphinx* was conquered! On July 2. our Brethren of *Connecticut* in the *Narragansett* Country took and kill'd an Hundred and Four-score of the Indians, without losing a Man of their own; and in their March home they destroyed Threefcore more. Quickly after this, Two Hundred Indians in *Plymouth-Colony* were compelled by the Necessities upon them to surrender themselves; and upon Advice from them of another Party abroad, Eight *Englishmen*, accompanied with Fourteen of them, seized upon Twenty more, without any hurt unto themselves. In the Woods near *Dedham* there was more Execution done upon them: And a *Negro* that had been taken Captive by them, informed us, that near Two Hundred of them had formed a Design of an Attacque upon *Taunton*, which Information proved the Preservation of the Town: For Auxiliaries being seasonably sent thither, the Enemy met with a vigorous Repulse, without the loss of one Englishman in the Engagement. The *Massachusetts* Forces returned unto *Boston*, July 22. having taken and killed an Hundred and Fifty Indians, with the loss of but One Englishman: But the principal Actions, whereof *Plymouth* was now the Stage, must be done by the Hand of that worthy Man, Captain *Church*; whose very Name, now, might suggest unto the miserable Salvages, what they must be undone, by Fighting against; and whose Lot it was to be employ'd by the Providence of Heaven at the time and place of the Catastrophe, now waiting for a Generation Ripe for Desolation. This Gentleman made Havock among the Salvages, like another *Scanderbeg*; he went out with a small Party of about Eighteen *English*, and Twenty-two Friend Indians, and in one Week he had Four several Engagements with the Enemy, wherein he took and slew Seventy-nine of them, without losing One of his own; and by a particular Policy he still made his Captives to find out their Fellows for him, and set a Thief to catch a Thief, which facilitated his Enterprizes wonderfully. Nevertheless this hindered not Others from doing their part in Exterminating the Rabid Animals, which by a most unaccountable Syderation from Heaven, had now neither Strength nor Sense left 'em to do any thing for their own Defence. On July 25. Thirty-six *Englishmen* from *Dedham*, and *Medfield*, with Ninety Christian Indians, pursued, overtook, and captivated Fifty of the Enemy, without losing of a Man; and among these was *Pombam*, a great *Sachim* of the *Narragansetts*, who, after he was wounded so that he could not stand, but was left a considerable while for Dead, yet when an *Englishman* came near him, the Dying Beast, with a *Bellaine* Rage, got such hold on his Head, that he had killed him if there had not come in help to Rescue him. On July 27. *Sagamore John* submitted himself to the *English* Mercy, with an Hundred and Four-score *Nipmuck* Indians; and



that he might Ingratiate himself with the *English*, he brought in *Mateonas* with his Son, who had begun the War in the *Massachusetts-Colony* a little above a Year ago ; whereupon we ordered this very *Sagamore* to Shoot him to Death. On July 31. an Handful of Soldiers issuing out of *Bridgewater*, unexpectedly stumbled upon a Company of the Enemy, who being well armed, inapp'd their Guns at the *English* ; but, which was a Marvellous Accident, not one of them took Fire ; whereat a *Panick-Terror* fell upon them, so that we took Fifteen, we slew Ten, the rest fled ; of whom *Philip* himself was one, who left the Chief of his Treasure behind him. Not one of the *English* was hurt at this time ! This was the Success of a People that had just before solemnly renewed the consent of their Souls to the *Covenant of Grace*, and applied it unto the Holy Purposes of Reformation among them. On August 1. Captain *Church* again, with about Thirty *English* and Twenty Friend-Indians, took Twenty-three of the Enemy ; and the next Morning he came upon *Philip's* Head-Quarters, where they took and slew about an Hundred and Thirty of the Enemy, with the loss of but One of their own : *Philip* himself now also hardly escaping, but leaving his *Peeg*, and *Wife*, and *Son* behind him, which was no small Torment unto him. On Aug. 6. an *Indian-Deserter* informing the Inhabitants of *Taunton* where they might surprise more of the Enemy, Twenty Men of ours immediately brought in Thirty-six of them. The *Squanto-Sachim* of *Pocasset* flying from this *Broil* upon the Coast, now in that very place where he had furnished *Philip* with *Canoo's* for his Men a Year ago, the her self could not find a *Canoo*, but venturing over the River upon a *Raft*, which broke under her, she was drowned ; and some of the *English* not knowing who she was when they found her, stuck her Head upon a Pole in *Taunton*, which when the *Indians* that knew her, saw, they fell into such hideous and howling Lamentations as can scarce be imitated.

But now, Reader, prepare to make a just Reflection upon that Antient and Famous Passage of Sacred Scripture, *Wo to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled ; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee ; when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled ; and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee !* One thing which emboldned King *Philip* in all his Outrages, was an Assurance which his *Magicians* consulting their *Oracles* gave him, that no *Englishman* should ever Kill him ; and indeed if any *Englishman* might have had the Honour of Killing him, he must have had a good measure of *Grace* to have repressed the Vanity of Mind whereto he would have had some Temptations. But this will not extend the Life of that Bloody and Crafty Wretch above half his Days ! A Man belonging to *Philip* himself, being diffused at him for killing an *Indian* who had propounded an Expedient of

Peace with the *English*, ran away from him to *Rhode-Island*, where Captain *Church* was then Recruiting of his weary Forces ; and upon the Intelligence hereof, Captain *Church*, with a few Hands of both *English* and *Indians*, immediately set forth upon a New Expedition. That very Night *Philip* (like the Man in the Army of *Midian*) had been dreaming that he was slain into the Hands of the *English* ; and now just as he was telling his Dream, with Advice unto his Friends to fly for their Lives, left the Knave who had newly gone from them should shew the *English* how to come at them, Captain *Church*, with his Company, fell in upon them ; *Philip* attempted a Flight out of the Swamp, at which instant both an *Englishman* and an *Indian* endeavouring to Fire at him, the *Englishman's* Piece would not go off, but the *Indian's* presently Shot him through his Venemous and Murderous Heart ; and in that very place where he first contrived and commenced his Mischief, this *Agog* was now cut into Quarters, which were then hanged up, while his Head was carried in Triumph to *Plymouth*, where it arrived on the very Day that the Church there was keeping a Solemn Thanksgiving to God. God sent 'em in the Head of a *Leviathan* for a Thanksgiving-Feast.

ὅπως πᾶς ἀπὸλοιο, ἐν τῷ τοῦτονδε ἔξῃ.

*Sic pereat quisquis captavit talia posthac.*

At the time when King *Philip*, the Beginner of the War, was thus come to the Conclusion of his Life, several of his Men accompanied him into the other World ; and among the rest, that very *Indian* who Fired the First Gun at the *English* in this horrible War. But our *Lebbeus*, Captain *Church*, irresistibly still pursued his Victories at such a rate, that in a few Weeks there were, by his Means, at least Seven Hundred of the Enemy Subjugated ; and some of his Achievements were truly so Magnanimous and Extraordinary, that my Reader will suspect me to be Transcribing the silly Old Romances, where the *Knights* do Conquer so many Giants, if I should proceed unto the particular Commemoration of them. Albeit I must also say, there were many other Commanders, whom if we should measure by *Conduitt* rather than by Success, the Fame of Captain *Church* ought by no means to bring an Eclipse upon theirs ; and though it be an Envious Phrase at Sea, that the Vessel which by any Advantage Outsails another, does Wrong her ; I pray let not that Phrase get above, to make it interpreted as a Wrong to any other Valiant and Prudent Commander, that any One has had particular Successes attending of him. In our Wars there were Captains engaged, upon whose Graves there may be Engraved the Character given by Sir *Samuel Morland* of Captain *Jabir*, who lost his Life in the Wars of the poor *Waldenses* : They were Persons worthy to be Renowned unto all Posterity for their Zeal for  
the



the Service of God, and the Preservation of his poor afflicted Church; Persons whom all the Terrors of Death could never affright, bold as Lions in all their Enterprises, but meek as Lambs in the midst of all their Victories: Always lifting up their Hands towards Heaven from whence Deliverance came; and reciting sweet Passages of Scripture, wherein they were versed unto Admiration, to the great Encouragement of all their Followers.

§. 14. While those Parts of New-England, which had the Glory of Evangelical Churches in them, for a Defence to be created upon, were thus Tempted by a terrible War: there were other Parts lying in the North-East of New-England of a less Evangelical Temper, which felt a furious Eurocydon also beating upon them. The Designs of Lumber and Fishing, but especially of the Beaver-Trade with the Indians, which last was very scandalously managed, had produced many fine Settlements in the Province of Main, and the County of Cornwall, and the brave Regions lying beyond Piscataqua; but a great part of the English there grew too like the Indians, among whom they lived in their Unchristian way of Living; and instead of Erecting Churches among themselves, they neither Christianized the Pagans, nor by avoiding of the Vices which they rather taught the Pagans, did they take a due Course to preserve themselves from losing of Christianity in Paganism. Within Twenty Days after that Philip had begun the War at Mount Hope, in the Year 1675, the Indians, Two Hundred and Fifty Miles distant from him to the Northward, began the same Game upon the Remotest of these Plantations. Misunderstandings happened between the English and the Indians upon very odd Occasions; and many Rude, Wild, Ungovernable English, did, unto the extreme Dissatisfaction of the wiser sort, rashly add unto the Occasions which the Indians also took to grow Ungovernable. Their little Swagging at one another, advanced into Scuffling, and Scuffling into Fighting, so that at length there was Open War between them; and there were many little Encounters in the First Three or Four Months, wherein the English lost Fifty, and the Indians about Ninety of their People; but at last it came to very Cruel Depredations. I am not willing to tire my Reader with another long Walk into the Woods after these Ravening Salvages, or to Enumerate the many Successive Destructions with which the Indians at length broke up all the English Settlements to the Northward of Wells; and if I should particularly relate how Barbarously they Murdered my Dear Friend, that Exemplarily Good Man, Captain Thomas Lake, with many more at Arrowick-Island in Kennebeck-River, on August 14. 1676. I should but unto my self, Infandum Renouare Dolorem. Inasmuch as I am Writing a Church-History, I may be excused, though I do not concern my self any further with Provinces, where they made it so little of their own Concern to gather any Churches; it shall suffice

or me to Write thus much, that one of the First notable Outrages done by the Indians was at the House of one Wabaty at Casco, whom with his Wife, and Son, and Daughter-in-Law (with Child) and a Couple of Grand-Children, they Barbarously Butchered, and carried away Three Children into Captivity. Now this honest Old Man was one who would often say with Tears, That he believed God was displeased at him, inasmuch as albeit he came into New-England for the sake of the Gospel, yet he had left another place in the Country, where he had enjoyed the Gospel in the Communion of a gathered Church, and now had lived many Years in a Plantation where there was no Church at all, nor the Ordinances and Institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ. The Massachusetts-Colony sent out Forces under the Command of Captain Hawthorn, and Captain Sylls, and others, for the subduing of these Indians, and the success of Attempts against them was very various. But the Stunningst Wound of all given to them, was, when by a Contrivance of the English, near Four Hundred of them were, on Septem. 6. 1676. surpris'd at the House of Major Walden in Quechebo; whereof one half which were found Accessories to the late Rebellion were sold for Slaves; the rest were dismissed unto their own places; and at last, when both sides were weary, about the latter end of that Year, a sort of Peace was clapp'd up for the whole; so the Land had rest from War.

§. 15. I make no question that the Story of Og, the King of the Woody Balhan, Encountred and Conquered by Joshua, the Lord General of Israel, with his Armies passing into Canaan, was the very thing which the Gentiles, in After-Ages, did Celebrate under the Notion of the Serpent Python (which is the same with Typhon) destroy'd by Apollo. Og signifies a Burner, as well as the Name of Typhon, whom the Poets make a Theomachous Giant; and the Hebrews, for good Causes, affording the Name of Pesben or a Serpent unto such an Enemy, we need not wonder that he is also Named Python. The Land where the Gods gave Battel to Typhon, was according to Homer, in Agisus. And as we know Syria was the Land of Aram, so Strabo will tell us, that the Arimi are the Syrians; which, with the River Orontes, called Obites, as well as Typhon, in Caelo-Syria, designates the very Country of Og unto us. The Seat of the Transaction related by Homer to have been in Idun, which Learned Men have so long fought in Vain, that at last they said it was in Cimmerica, that is to say, No Man knows where; it is doubtless, by a long mistake of the Scribes, put for Isia, or the Land of Judaea; but when he adds that it was *γῆς αἰσίου*, in a Region abounding with Oaks, the Region of Balhan is unquestionably pointed at.

What Homer Sings about the *Τυφόνος ἱερὰ*, Typhonis Cubilia was not understood by Virgil, when he made a Sepulchre thereof, in his Translating



Translating the Matter into his Ninth *Aeneid*, because he had not read the Account which Scripture gives about *Og's* Bedstead of Iron. 'Tis as clear that *Apollo*, who was Antiently called *Pæan*, or an *Healer*, is the same with *Josbua*, whose Name is of a like Signification: And *Apollo* was called *Anaceus* likewise; but in Commemoration of *Josbua's* Exploits against the *Anakim*, the *Phenicia*, being also but *Bene-Anak*, or the Sons of *Anak* in the first Original. They by whom *Typhon* was Combated, came out of *Egypt*, and so did the Armies of *Josbua*; an *Hero*, of whose Mother because we read nothing, the must be called, *Asla*, or *Larona*, a *Latendo*. *Cadmus* the *Gibonite* carrying a Colony into *Græcia*, did use there to remember the Victories of *Josbua* in such Hymns as they had learned from their New Masters in *Canaan*; and of those Hymns, it is probable, the Hundred and Thirty-fifth Psalm in our Psalter might be one; yea, the *Græcian*, *ἱσταν* 14, 14, used in their *Pæanisms*, might be but rude remembrances of the *Hallelujahs* antiently used in these Hymns of *Israel*.

Reader, 'Twas not unto a *Delphos*, but unto a *Shiloh*, that the Planters of *New-England* have been making their Progress, and King *Philip* is not the only *Fyrion* that has been giving them Obstruction in their Passage and Progress thereunto. But if, *Infelix Exitus Persecutorum* is any Note of the *True Church*, I am sure *New-England* has a *True Church* to people it; for all the *Serpents*, yea, or *Giants*, that formerly molested that Religious Plantation, found themselves engaged in a fatal Enterprize. We have by a *True* and *Plain History* secured the Story of our Successes against all the *Ogs* in this *Woody Country* from falling under the Disguises of *Mythology*; but it Administers to us the Reflection which has been often made, that as of old the Ruins that still overlook the Persecutors of the poor *Piccardines* caused Men to say, *If a Man be weary of his Life, let him become an Enemy to the Piccardines!* The like Ruins have overwhelmed them that have Persecuted the poor *New-Englanders*. And we will not conceal

the Name of the God our Saviour, as an Heathen Country sometimes would, *Ne ab Hostibus Evocatus alio Commigraret*: No, 'tis our Lord JESUS CHRIST worshipp'd according to the Rules of his Blessed Gospel, who is the great PHOEBUS, that SUN of Righteousness, who hath so saved his Churches from the Delights of the Generations of the Dragon. 'Tis to our Lord JESUS CHRIST that we offer up our *Hallelujahs!*

But it must after all be confessed, that we have had one Enemy more pernicious to us than all the rest, and that is our own Backsliding Heart, which has plunged the whole Country into so wonderful a Degeneracy, that I have sometimes been Discouraged from Writing the Church-History of the Country, lest

————— *Mulier Formosa, Superne,*  
*Definat in Piscem.* —————

And since this Degeneracy has obtained so much among us, the Wrath of Heaven has raised up against us a Succession of other Adversaries and Calamities, which have cast the Land into great Confusions to Rescue us, from which the Jealous Kindness of Heaven has not made such Quick Descents as in former Times. Alas, that may Reader must now tell me,

*Cepisti melius quam desinis, ultima Primis*  
*Distant.* —————

For which Cause I now conclude our Church-History, leaving to the Churches of *New-England*, for their Admonition, an Observation which the Renowned *Comenius* has made upon the Famous Churches of *Bohemia*, That they were nearer to the Sanctuary than other Churches, by reason of a more pure Discipline professed and embraced among them; and therefore when they came to be depraved with Apostasies, the Lord poured out his Righteous Displeasure upon them, and quickly made them sad Examples to the other Churches of the Reformation.

God knows what will be the END.

## APPEN-



## APPENDIX.

*Decennium Luſuofum.*A N  
HISTORY

O F

## Remarkable Occurrences

In the Long

## W A R,

Which *NEW-ENGLAND* hath had with the *Indian*  
*Salvages*, from the Year 1688. to the Year 1698. Faith-  
 fully Compoſed and Improved.

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*The Second Edition.*

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The Dedication, Prefaced unto the *First Edition.*

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*To the People of NEW-ENGLAND.*

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S I R S,

**Y**OU are Welcome unto the *History* of  
 a Tedious War, and unto a *Period* of  
 that War ſo far in proſpect, as to ren-  
 der its *History* ſeaſonable.

Every *Reasonable* Man will readily allow that  
 it is a *Duty* to God, and a *Service* to the World,  
 for to preſerve the *Memory* of ſuch Matters, as  
 have been the more *Memorable Occurrences*  
 in the War that has for *Ten Years* together been

multiplying *Changes* and *Sorrows* upon us. And  
 the Author, in whoſe *Hiſtorical* Writings the  
 moſt *Inquiſitive Envy* has never to this Hour  
 detected ſo much as one Voluntary and Mate-  
 rial Miſtake, or One Farthing paid unto the  
 Readers in the Coin of *Candia*, has now choſen  
 to preſerve the *Memory* of theſe Matters while  
 they are *Freſh* and *New*, and one hath not  
*Fifty Years*, which is the Channel of the *River*  
 of *Oblivion*, to paſs over unto them. This *Ex-*  
*pedition*

H h h h h

pedition



petition is used in the publication of our *Decennium Lustrum*, in hope that if any mistake worth noting do appear in these Writings, it may like, and perhaps with, a *Second Edition*, be *Corrected and Amended*.

He expects no Thanks for his Essays to do Good, in this way or any other, unto any part of his Country, to whom he would gladly devote all his *Talents*, if he were a Thousand Times better *Talented* than he is; and though the most Ungrateful Treats Imaginable (which are too well known by the Name of *Country-pay*) should be given him, he would still be of that Opinion, *Kette feeßte Merces est*, If a Man may do Good, it is enough.

All the Favour he desires of you is, that you would not Enquire after him: or ask, who he is? But that as he is at best but an *Obscure* Person, he may continue in yet more *Obscurity*: Which will be a greater Pleasure to him than to be placed among the great Men of Achaia.

For indeed, he hath often thought on a passage written by Holy Mr. Row to his Excellent Son, I pray, That God would make use of my self and you, in such a way as that God only may be seen, and we not be taken Notice of at all; that he may have the Glory, and we may not be seen.

Could he have invited His EXCELENCY unto such a Glorious Table as that in a certain Cabinet at Florence, which is furnished with Birds and Flowers, all consisting of Neatly Polished Jewels inlaid into it, a Work Fifteen Years in Making, and worth an Hundred Thousand Crowns: Or could he have written a Book worthy to be laid up in the Cabinet of Darius: The Author might have been under a Temptation to have had his Name Engraved upon his Work. But a little boild Indian Corn in a Tray, is as much as our Best History of an Indian War, compos'd perhaps in fewer Days than there were Years in the War, may presume to be compar'd unto. And since our History will not afford such a Diversion unto His Excellency, under the Indispositions of His Health, as those of *Livy* and *Curtius* did unto the Princes that Recovered their lost Health by Reading them; nor can any passage here be so happy, as that which cured *Laurentius Medices* of a Malady by having it Read unto him: It will require no more than a Nameless Writer to assure that great Person on this Occasion, that all the good People of New-England make their fervent Vows unto the Almighty, For his Excellencies Prosperity, and the Welfare of his Excellent Lady, and of his Noble and Hopeful Offspring.

And the Naming of the Author, is as little Necessary to Qualifie him, that he may pay publick Acknowledgments unto the Honourable the Lieutenant Governour; not only for his Cares about the Publick, while it was Tempestuated with the Indian War, which now makes an History; but chiefly for his more than ordinary Tenderness of that Society, which has been the very Decus ac Tutamen of New-

England. The Nameless Writer of this History may Report, that with a greater Expectance than that of the First Founder, this Honourable Person proves that he Loves our Nation, by Building us another Edifice for the Supply of all our Synagogues, and STOUTHTON-HALL outshines HARVARD-COLLEGE: And he speaks kinder Language, as well as better Latin, than that Eminent Statesman in Flanders, whose Answer to a Petition for the Privileges of an University there to be restored, was, *Non curamus vestros Privilegios*. This Report may he give, without being obliged for to Confess any other Name than this, which he readily Confesses; One that was once a Member of Harvard-Colledge.

I Pray, Sirs, ask no further; let this Writing be like that on the Wall to *Belshazzar*, where the Hand only was to be seen, and not whose it was. The History is compiled with no Incontestable Veracity, and since there is no Ingenuity in it, but less than what many Pens in the Land might Command, he knows not why his Writing Anonymously may not Shelter him from the Inconveniencies of having any Notice one way or other taken of him. Though among his other small Furniture, he hath not left himself unfurnished with Skill in the Spanish Language, yet he never could bring himself to the belief of the Spanish Proverb, *Quien no parece, perece*; i. e. He that appears not, perishes, he that shows not himself to the World, is undone. At Malin there is an Academy of Sensible Persons, called, *The Nescienti*; or, *Hidden Men*; at Venice there is one of such Persons called, *The Incogniti*; and at Parma there is one of them, called, *The Innominati*. If there were nothing else Disagreeable in them, the Author of this History would be glad of an Admission into such an Academy.

The History is indeed of no very Fine Thread; and the Readers, who everywhere Fish for nothing but Carps, and who Love, like Augustus, to Tax all the World, may find Fault enough with it. Nevertheless, while the Fault of an Untruth can't be found in it, the Author pretends that the famous History of the Trojan War it self comes behind our little History of the Indian War; for the best Antiquaries have now confuted Homer; the Walls of Troy were, it seems, all made of Poets Paper; and the Siege of the Town, with the Tragedies of the Wooden Horse, were all but a piece of Poetry.

And if a War between Us, and an Handful of Indians do appear no more than a *Batrachomyomachie* to the World abroad, yet unto us at home it hath been considerable enough to make an History. Nor is the Author afraid of promising, that of all the Thirty Articles which make up this History, there shall not be One without something in it that may by our selves be justly thought Considerable.



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Should any *Petit Monsieur* complain, (as the Captain that found not himself in the *Tapestry Hangings*, which Exhibited the Story of the Spanish Invasion in 1588) that he don't find himself mentioned in this *History*, the Author has his Apology; he has done as well and as much as he could, that whatever was worthy of a Mention might have it: and if this Collection of Matters be not compleat, yet he supposes it may be more compleat than any one else hath made; and now he hath done, he hath not pull'd up the *Ladder* after him; others may go on as they please with a compleater Composure.

If the Author hath taken Delight in this *History*, and at all times, to Celebrate the *Merits* of such as have deserved well of his Country, [which he has here done, it may be, for some that never could afford him a good Word.] Especially, if he do erect *Statues* for *Dead Worthies*, when there is no Room left for *Flattery*, [for who will bestow *Paint* upon a *Dead Face*!] And if he do all this with all possible Concern, to avoid casting *Aspersions* upon others: Why should any betray such *ill Nature* as to be angry at it? *My good Country forgive him this Injury!*

*Huic Uni forsan poteram Succumbere culpa.*

But whatever this *History* be, it Aims at the doing of Good, as well as the telling of Truth;

and if its Aim shall be attained, *that* will be a sufficient *Reward* for all the Trouble of Writing it. When he desires any more, he'll give you his *Name*; in the mean time, as a far greater Man once was called, *Ludovicus Nihil*, which you may make *Lewis of Nothingham*: so the Author will count himself not a little favoured, if he may pass for one of no more Account than a *No-body*; which would certainly make a very blameless Person of him.

However, that the *History* may not altogether want a *Subscription*, the Author finding it a Custom among the Christian Writers of the *Orient*, when they have written a Treatise, to Subscribe it after this manner; *Scriptum per Servum vilem pauperem, omnibus Justitiis privatum, peccatorem magis quam omnis Caro*: Or, *Scriptit hoc pauper N. N. Or, Eji Scriptura servi pauperis, & qui Benevolentia Dei indiget, & misericordionibus*: he will accordingly Subscribe himself, *The Chief of Sinners*. Nevertheless, he will humbly lay claim to the Words used by the Nameless Author of a Treatise, Entitled, *The Faithful Steward*: 'Tho' I am worse than they speak of me, who cast disgrace upon me, and I can elpy Ten Faults in my self, where they can discern One; yet I can, thro' Grace, appeal to thee, O Lord, with some Comfort, that I am Displeased with my self for my Sins, and would fain please thee in all Things, at all Times, in all Places, and in every Condition.

Hhhhhhh 2

Decemium



Decennium Luctuosum :  
OR, THE  
REMARKABLES  
Of a Long  
WAR  
WITH  
INDIAN-SALVAGES.

*Nobis in arcto, & inglorius Labor. Tacit.*

INTRODUCTION.

**T**WENTY-three Years have Rouled away since the Nations of Indians within the Confines of New-England, generally began a Fierce War upon the English Inhabitants of that Country. The Flame of War then Raged thro' a great Part of the Country, whereby many whole Towns were laid in Ashes, and many Lives were Sacrificed. But in little more than One Year's time, the United Colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, with their united Endeavours, bravely Conquered the Salvages. The Evident Hand of Heaven appearing on the side of a People, whose Hope and Help was alone in the Almighty Lord of Hosts, extinguished whole Nations of the Salvages at such a Rate, that there can hardly any of them now be found under any Distinction upon the Face of the Earth. Only the Fate of our Northern and Eastern Regions in that War was very different from that of the rest. The Desolations of the War had overwhelmed all the Settlements to the North-East of Wells. And when the time arrived, that all Hands were weary of the War, a sort of a Peace was patched up, which left a Body of Indians, not only with horrible Murders Unrevenged, but also in the possession of no little Part of the Country, with Circumstances which the English might think not very Honourable. Upon this Peace the English returned unto their Plantations; their Number increased; they

Stock'd their Farms, and Sow'd their Fields; they found the Air as Healthful, as the Earth was Fruitful; their Lumber and their Fishery became a considerable Merchandize; continual Accessions were made unto them, until Ten or a Dozen Towns in the Province of Maine, and the County of Cornwall, were suddenly Started up into something of Observation.

But in the Year 1688. the Indians which dwelt after the Indian manner among them, commenced another War upon these Plantations which hath broke them up, and strangely held us in Play for Ten Years together. In these Ten Years there hath been a variety of Remarkable Occurrences; and because I have supposed that a Relation of those Occurrences may be Acceptable and Profitable to some of my Countrymen, I shall now with all Faithfulness Endeavour it. With all Faithfulness, I say, because tho' there should happen any Circumstantial Mistake in our Story, (for 'tis a rare thing for any Two Men concern'd in the same Action, to give the Story of it without some Circumstantial Difference) yet even this also I shall be willing to Retrait and Correct, if there be found any just Occasion: But for any one Material Error in the whole Composition, I challenge the most Sagacious Malice upon Earth to detect it, while matters are yet so fresh as to allow the Detection of it. I disdain to make the Apology once made by the Roman Historian; *Nemo Historicus*



*non aliquid mentitus, & habiturus sum mendaciorum Comites, quos Historie & eloquentie ramam Autores.* No, I will write with an Irreproachable and Incontestable Veracity; and I will write not one thing but what I am furnished with so good Authority for, that any Reasonable Man, who will please to Examine it, shall say, *I do well to insert it as I do.* And I will hope that my Reader hath not been Straying of Godefridus de Vall's Book, *De Arte nihil Credendi*; About The Art of Believing nothing. Wherefore having at the very Beginning thus given such a Knock upon thy Head, O Malice, that thou canst never with Reason Hiss at our History, we will proceed unto the several Articles of it.

## ARTICLE I.

## The Occasion and Beginning of the WAR.

IF Diodorus Siculus had never given it as a great Rule of History, *Historie primum Studium, primumque consideratio esse videtur, insolitum gravissimum, Causas principio causas investigare,* yet my Reader would have expected that I should Begin the History of our War, with an History of the Occurrences and Occasions which did Begin the War. Now, Reader, I am at the very first fallen upon a Difficult Point; and I am in danger of pulling a War upon my self, by endeavouring of thy Satisfaction. In truth I had rather be called a Coward, than undertake my self to Determine the Truth in this Matter; but having Armed my self with some good Authority for it, I will Transcribe Two or Three Reports of the Matter now in my Hands, and leave it unto thy own Determination.

One Account I have now lying by me, Written by a Gentleman of Dover in these Terms.

The Eastern Indians, and especially those of Saco and Ammonoscoggin, pretend many Reasons for the late Quarrel against the English, which began this long and bloody War.

1. 'Because the English refused to pay that Yearly Tribute of Corn, agreed upon in the Articles of Peace, formerly concluded with them by the English Commissioners.

2. 'Because they were Invaded in their Fishery, at Saco-River, by certain Gentlemen, who stopp'd the Fish from coming up the River with their Nets and Sains. This they were greatly affronted at, saying, *They thought (though the English had got away their Lands as they had, yet) the Fishery of the Rivers had been a Privilege reserved Entire unto themselves.*

3. 'Because they were Abused by the English, in Suffering, if not Turning their Cattel over to a certain Island to destroy their Corn.

4. 'But the Fourth and Main Provocation was, the Granting or Patenting of their Lands to some English; at which they were greatly Enraged, threatening the Surveyor to knock him

on the Head if he came to lay out any Lands there.

5. 'To these may be added the Common Abuses in Trading, viz. Drunkennells, Cheating, &c. which such as Trade much with them are seldom innocent of.

Doubtless these Indian Allegations may be answered with many English Vindications. But I shall at present Intermeddle no further than to offer another Account, which also I have in my Hands, written by a Gentleman of Casco.

It runs in such Terms as these.

'Many were the Outrages and Insultings of the Indians up the English, while Sir E. A. was Governour. At North-Yarmouth, and other places at the Eastward, the Indians killed sundry Cattel, came into Houses, and threatened to knock the People on the Head; and at several times gave out Reports that they would make a War upon the English, and that they were animated to do so by the French. The Indians behaving themselves so Insultingly, gave just Occasion of great Suspicion. In

Order for the finding out the Truth, and to Endeavour the preventing of a War, Captain Blackman, a Justice of Peace, with some of the Neighbourhood of Saco River, seized several Indians that had been Bloody Murderous Rogues in the First Indian War, being the Chief Ring-leaders, and most capable to do Mischief. The said Captain Blackman seized to the Number of between Sixteen and Twenty, in Order for their Examination, and to bring in the rest to a Treaty. The said Blackman soon sent the said Indians with a good Guard to Falmouth in Casco-Bay, there to be secured, until Orders could come from Boston concerning them. And in the mean time the said Indians were well provided with Provisions and suitable Necessaries. The rest of the Indians robb'd the English, and took some English Prisoners: Whereupon Post was sent to Boston. Sir Edmond Andros being at New-York, the Gentlemen of Boston sent to Falmouth some Soldiers for the Defence of the Country, and also the Worthipful Mr. Stoughton, with others, to Treat with the Indians in

Order for the settling of a Peace, and getting in of our English Captives. As soon as the said Gentlemen arrived at the Eastward, they sent away one of the Indian Prisoners to the rest of the Indians, to Summon them to bring in the English they had taken; also that their Sachims should come in to Treat with the English, in Order that a Just Satisfaction should be made on both Sides. The Gentlemen waited the return of the Indian Messenger; and when he returned he brought Answer, that they would meet our English at a Place called Macquoit, and there they would bring in the English Captives, and Treat with the English. And although the Place appointed by the Indians for the Meeting, was some Leagues distant from Falmouth, yet our English Gentlemen did Condescend to it; in hope of getting in our Captives; and putting



a stop to further Trouble. They dispatch'd away to the Place, and carried the *Indian* Prisoners with them, and staid at the Place appointed, expecting the coming of the *Indians* that had promised a Meeting. But they, like False, Perfidious Rogues, did not appear. Without doubt they had been Counsell'd what to do by the *French* and their Abettors, as the *Indians* did declare afterwards; and that they were near the Place, and saw our *English* that were to Treat with them, but would not shew themselves; but did endeavour to take an Opportunity to destroy our *English* that were to Treat them. Such was their Treachery! Our Gentlemen staid Days to wait their coming; but seeing they did not appear at the Place appointed, they returned to *Falmouth*, and brought the *Indian* Prisoners, expecting that the other *Indians* would have sent down some Reason why they did not appear at the place appointed, and to make some Excuse for themselves. But instead of any Compliance, they fell upon *North Yarmouth*, and there kill'd several of our *English*. Whereupon the Eastern Parts were ordered to get into Garrisons, and to be upon their Guard until further Orders from Sir *Edmond Andros*; and that the *Indian* Prisoners should be sent to *Boston*, which was done with great Care, and not one of them hurt; and Care taken daily for Provision. But Sir *E. A.* returning from *New-York*, set them all at Liberty; not so much as taking Care to Redeem those of our *English* for them that were in their Hands. I had kept one at *Falmouth* a Prisoner, to be a Guide into the Woods for our *English*, to find out the Haunts of our Heathen Enemies; but Sir *E. A.* sent an Express to me, that upon my utmost Peril I should set the said *Indian* at Liberty, and take Care that all the Arms that were taken from him, and all the rest of those Captain *Blackman* had seized, should be delivered up to them, without any Orders to receive the like of ours from them.

It will be readily acknowledged, that here was enough done to render the *Indians* Inexcusable for not coming in upon the Proclamation, which Sir *Edmond Andros*, then Governour of *New-England*, immediately Emitt'd thereupon, requiring them to Surrender the Murderers now among them. A *Spantiard*, that was a Soldier, would say, *That if we have a good Cause, the smell of Gunpowder in the Field is as sweet as the Incense at the Altar.* Let the Reader judge after these things, what scent there was in the Gunpowder spent for Nine or Ten Years together in our War with the *Indian-Savages*.

Now that while we are upon this Head, we may at once dispatch it, I will unto these Two Accounts add certain Passages of one more, which was Published in *September, 1689.*

Such were the *Obscure Measures* taken at that time of Day, that the Rise of this War hath been as dark as that of the River *Niles*; only the generality of *Thinking People* through

the Country can remember *When and Why* every one did foretel a War. If any *Wild English* (for there are such as well as of another Nation) did then Begin to Provoke and Affront the *Indians*, yet those *Indians* had a fairer way to come by Right than that of *Bloodshed*, nothing worthy of, or calling for, any *such* Revenge was done unto them. The most *Injured* of them all, (if there were any *such*) were afterwards dismissed by the *English* with Favours, that were then admirable even to *Our selves*; and these too, instead of Surrendering the Persons, did increase the Numbers of the Murderers. But upon the REVOLUTION of the Government, [*April, 1689.*] the State of the War became wholly New: And we are more arrived unto Righteousness as the Light, and Justice as the Noon Day. A great *Sacbin* of the East we then immediately applied our selves unto, and with no small Expences to our selves, we engaged him to employ his Interest for a good Understanding between us, and the Party of *Indians* then in Hostility against us. This was the Likely, the Only way of coming at those Wandering *Savages*: But that very *Sacbin* now treacherously of an *Embassador* became a *Traitor*, and annexed himself with his People to the Head of our Enemies, which have since been Ravaging, Pillaging and Murdering, at a rate which we ought to count Intolerable. The *Pemacook Indians*, of whom we were Jealous, we likewise Treated with; and while we were by our Kindnesses and Courtseys Endeavouring to render them utterly Inexcusable, if ever they sought our Harm; even then did these also by some *Evil Insigation*, (the Devils, no doubt!) quickly surprize a Plantation where they had been Civilly Treated a Day or two before, and Commit at once more *Plunder* and *Murder* than can be heard with any Patience.

Reader, having so placed these Three Accounts as to defend my Teeth, I think I may safely proceed with our Story. But because *Tacitus* teaches us to distinguish between the meer Occasions and the real Causes of a War, it may be some will go a little higher up in their Enquiries: They will Enquire whether no Body seized a parcel of *Wines* that were Land'd at a *French* Plantation to the Eastward? Whether an Order were not obtained from the King of *England*, at the Instance of the *French* *Embassador*, to restore these *Wines*? Whether upon the Vexation of this Order, we none of us ran a *New Line* for the Bounds of the Province? Whether we did not contrive our *New Line* so as to take in the Country of *Montieur St. Casteen*? Whether *Montieur St. Casteen* flying from our Encroachments, we did not seize upon his Arms and Goods, and bring them away to *Pemmaguid*? And Who were the *We* which did these things? And whether the *Indians*, who were extremely under the Influence of *St. Casteen*, that had Married a *Sagamore's* Daughter among them, did not from this ve-



ry Moment begin to be obstreperous? And whether all the Sober *English* in the Country did not from this very Moment foretel a War? But for any Answer to all these Enquiries I will be my self a *Tacitus*.

ARTICLE II.

*The First Acts of Hostility between the Indians and the English.*

WHEN one Captain *Sargeant* had seized some of the Principal *Indians* about *Saco* by Order of Justice *Blackman*, presently the *Indians* fell to seizing as many of the *English* as they could catch. Captain *Rowden*, with many more in one Place, and Captain *Gendal*, with fundry more in another Place, particularly fell into the Hands of these desperate *Man-Catchers*. *Rowden*, with many of his Folks, never got out of their Cruel Han's; but *Gendal*, with his, got a Release, one can scarce tell how, upon the return of those which had been detained in *Blood-flo*. Hitherto there was no spilling of *Blood*! But some time in *September* following, this Captain *Gendal* went up, with Soldiers and others, to a Place above *Casco*, called *Norih Yarmouth*, having Orders to Build *Stockado's* on both sides the River, for Defence of the Place, in Case of any sudden Invasion. While they were at Work, an *English* *Captive* came to 'em with Information, that Seventy or Eighty of the *Enemy* were just coming upon 'em; and he advised 'em, to yield quietly, that they might save their Lives. The Soldiers that went thither from the Southward being terrified at this Report, ran with an hasty Terror to get over the River; but with more Haste than Good Speed; for they ran directly into the Hands of the *Indians*. The *Indians* dragging these their Prisoners with 'em, came up towards the *Cascons*; who having but a very little time to consult, yet in this time resolved, First, That they would not be seized by the *Salvages*: Next, That they would free their Friends out of the Hands of the *Salvages* if it were possible: Thirdly, That if it were possible they would use all other Force upon the *Salvages*, without coming to down-right Fight. Accordingly they laid hold on their Neighbours, whom the *Salvages* had seized, and this with so much Dexterity, that they cleared them all, except One or Two; whereof the whole Number was about a Dozen. But in the Scuffle one *Sturdy* and *Surly* *Indian* held his Prey so fast, that one *Benedict* *Pulviser* gave the *Maistiff* a Blow with the Edge of his Broad Ax upon the Shoulder, upon which they fell to't with a Vengeance, and Fired their Guns on both Sides, till some on both Sides were Slain. These were, as one may call them, *The Scower-pit* of a long War to follow. At last the *English* victoriously chased away the *Salvages*, and returned safely unto the other side of the River.

And thus was the *Vein of New-England* first opened, that afterwards *Bled* for Ten Years together! The Skirmish being over, Captain *Gendal* in the Evening passed over the River in a *Canoo*, with none but a *Servant*; but Landing where the *Enemy* lay hid in the *Bulshes*, they were both Slain immediately. And the same Evening, one *Ryal*, with another Man, fell unawares into the Hands of the *Enemy*: *Ryal* was afterwards Ranfomed by *Monfieur St. Capteen*, but the other Man was barbarously Burchered. Soon after this the *Enemy* went Eastward, unto a Place call'd, *Merry-Meeting*, (from the Course of divers Rivers there) where several *English* had a *Sad-Meeting* with them; for they were killed several of them even in cold Blood, after the *Indians* had seized upon their Houses and their Persons. And about this time the *Town call'd, Sheepscote*, was entred by these Rapacious *Wolves*, who burnt all the Houses of the *Town*, five Two or Three. The People saved themselves by getting into the Fort, all but one Man; who going out of the Fort for to Treat with 'em, was Treacherously Assassinated. Thus the Place which was counted, *The Garden of the East*, was infested by Serpents; and a *Sword* Expell'd the poor Inhabitants. Little more Spoil was done by the *Salvages* before *Winter*, except only, that at a place called *Kennebunk*, near *Winter-Harbour*, they cut off Two Families, to wit, *Barrow's*, and *Buffe's*; but *Winter* coming on, the *Serpents* retired into their Holes. When *Summer* comes, Reader, look for *Tornados* enough to overset a greater Vessel than little *New-England*.

ARTICLE III.

*The First Expedition of the English against the Indians.*

WHEN the Keeper of the Wild Beasts at *Florence* has entertain'd the Spectators with their Encounters on the Stage, he has this Device to make 'em Retire into the several Dens of their *Seraglio*. He has a fearful *Machin* of Wood made like a great *Green Dragon*, which a Man within it rolls upon Wheels, and holding out a Couple of Lighted Torches at the Eyes of it, frights the fiercest Beast of them all into the Cell that belongs unto him. Sir *Edmond Andros*, the Governour of *New-England*, that he might Express his Resolutions to force the Wild Beasts of the East into Order, in the *Winter* now coming on, turned upon them as Effectual a *Machin* as the *Green Dragon* of *Florence*; that is to say, an Army of near a Thousand Men. With this Army he marched himself in Person into the *Caucascan* Regions, where he built a Fort at *Pemmaguid*, and another Fort at *Sheepscote* Falls, besides the Fort at *Sheepscote*. He and his Army underwent no little Hardship, thus in the depth of *Winter* to Expose themselves unto the Circumstances of a Campaign, in all the Bleak Winds and Thick Snows of that Northern Country. But it was hop'd, that

Good



Good Forts being thus Garrison'd with Stout Hearts in several Convenient Places, the Indians might be kept from their usual Retreats, both for *Planting*, and for *Fishing*, and lye open also to perpetual Incursions from the English in the fittest Seasons thereof : And it was thought by the most sensible, this Method would in a little while compel the Enemy to submit unto any Terms : Albeit others considering the Vast Woods of the Wilderness, and the French on the back of these Woods, fancied that this was but a project to *Hedge in the Cuckoo*. However, partly the *Army*, and partly the *Winter*, frighted the *Salvages* into their inaccessible *Dens* : And yet not One of the *Indians* was killed ; but Sickness and Service kill'd, it may be, more of our *English*, than there were *Indians* then in Hostility against them. The News of Matters approaching towards a *REVOLUTION* in *England*, cauled the Governor to return unto *Boston* in the Spring ; and upon his return therell out several odd Events, with *Rumours*, whereof I have now nothing to say, but that I *love my Eyes too well* to mention them. Some of the *Soldiers* took Advantage from the Absence of the Governor to desert their *Stations* in the *Army* ; and tho' this Action was by good Men generally Condemned as an *evil Action*, yet their Friends began to gather together here and there in little Bodies, to protect them from the Governor, concerning whom abundance of odd Stories then buzz'd about the Country, made 'em to Imagine, that he had carried 'em out only to Sacrifice 'em. Some of the principal Gentlemen in *Boston* consulting what was to be done in this Extraordinary Juncture, they Agreed, that altho' *New England* had as much to Justifie a *Revolution* as *Old*, yet they would, if it were possible, extinguish all Effays in the People towards an *Insurrection*, in daily hopes of Orders from *England* for our Safety : But that if the Country People, by any unresistable Violences pushed the Business on so far, as to make a *Revolution* unavoidable, then to prevent the Shedding of *Blood* by an ungoverned *Mobile*, some of the Gentlemen present should appear at the Head of it, with a *Declaration* accordingly prepared. He that Reads the *Narrative of Grievances* under the Male-Administrations of the Government then Tyrannizing, Written and Signed by the Chief Gentlemen of the Governor's Council, will not wonder at it, that a *Revolution* was now rendred indeed unavoidable. It was a Government, whereof *Ned Randolph*, a Bird of their own Feather, confess'd as we find in one of his published Letters, *That they were as Arbitrary as the Great Turk*. And for such a Government a better Similitude cannot perhaps be thought on than that of *Montieur Soultigne*, 'Tis like the Condition of Persons possessed with evil Spirits, which will go on *Hundred Leagues in less time than others can Ten* ; but at the *Fourtns End* find themselves to be so *Bruised* that they never can Recover it. The *Revolution* (and, ye *Tories*, a *Just* one) was accordingly made on the Eighteenth of *April*, which

Their Majesties, then happily Seated on the British Throne, kindly Accepted and Approved. The Governor and Magistrates of the *Massachusetts* Colony, which were in power *Three Years and Half* before, [a Period often observed] did some time after this resume their Places, and apply themselves to such *Aids of Government*, as Emergencies made necessary for them, fortified with a Letter from the King to *Authorize and Empower them in their Administrations*. Thus they waited for further Directions from the Authority of *England*, and such a Settlement as would most Conduce (which were the words of the King's Letter, bearing Date *Aug. 12. 1689.*) to the Security and Satisfaction of the Subjects in that Colony.

## ARTICLE IV.

A Flame Spreading upon the best Endeavours to Quench it.

IT was hop'd the War would now come to an immediate End ; but the Great God who Creates that Evil, had further Intentions to Chastise a *sinful People* by those who are not a People. The Government sent Captain *Greenleaf* to Treat with the *Indians* at *Penacook*, who answered him with false Pretences and Promises of Amity. They procured an Interview with some of the more Eastern *Sagamores*, who not only promised *Friendship* themselves, but also undertook to make our *Enemies* become our *Friends*. They sent unto the *Soldiers* yet remaining at *Pamunquid* for to keep their *Post*, Engaging to them that they should not want their *Pay*. But all this Care was defeated by *Methods of Mischief* too deep for our present Penetration. The *Salvages* began to renew their Hostilities at *Saco Falls*, in the Beginning of *April*, on a *Lord's Day* Morning, some while before the *Revolution*. The *Penacook* *Indians* were all this while peaceably Conversant at *Quochebo* ; and so long as that Conversation continued, the Inhabitants were very secure of any Danger, not only from those *Cat-Throats*, but also from their *Brethren*. Happy had it been for those honest People, if their Fear had made so much Haste as *my Pen* has done, to call 'em *Cat-Throats* ! For the *Penacookian* joining with the *Saconian* *Indians*, hovered about *Quochebo*, where one *Mesandowai*, a *Saganore*, being that Night kindly Entertained by Major *Richard Waldein*, horribly betray'd his kind Host, with the Neighbours, into the Hands of Murderers. Above an Hundred, some say Five Hundred of the *Indians*, about break of Day having Surprized the Secure and Silent *English*, they particularly rushed into the Garrison of the Generous Major, which was by *Simon Mesandowai* (for bestowing a *Heaven Name* upon him, we'll now call him so) opened for them, and having first Barbarously Murdered the Old Gentleman, who was Equivalent unto Two and Twenty, they then Murdered Two and Twenty more, and Captived Nine and Twenty of the People ; Burnt Four



## M A N T I S S A.

THE foregoing Article of our *Tragedies* hath related the taking of *Quacbecho*. The Condition of Two Persons under and after the Fate of *Quacbecho*, may have in it an Entertainment acceptable for some sort of Readers: It shall be in this place reported, from the Communications of Mr. *John Pike*, the worthy Minister of *Dover*, to whom I have been beholden, for Communicating to me many other Passages also which occur in this our History.

I. Mrs. *Elizabeth Heard*, a Widow of a good Estate, a Mother of many Children, and a Daughter of Mr. *Hall*, a Reverend Minister formerly Living at *Piscataqua*, now lived at *Quacbecho*; happening to be at *Portsmouth* on the Day before *Quacbecho* was cut off, she returned thither in the Night with One Daughter and Three Sons, all Masters of Families. When they came near *Quacbecho* they were astonish'd with a prodigious Noise of *Indians*, Howling, Shooting, Shouting, and Roaring, according to their manner in making an Assault. Their Distress for their Families carried them still further up the River, till they secretly and silently pass'd by some Numbers of the Raging Salvages. They Landed about an Hundred Rods from Major *Waldern's* Garrison; and running up the Hill, they saw many Lights in the Windows of the Garrison, which they concluded the *English* within had set up for the Direction of those who might seek a Refuge there. Coming to the Gate, they desired Entrance; which not being readily granted, they called earnestly, and bounced, and knocked, and cried out of their unkindness within, that they would not open to them in this Extremity. No Answer being yet made, they began to doubt whether all was well; and one of the young Men then climbing up the Wall, saw a horrible Tawny in the Entry, with a Gun in his Hand. A grievous Confusion seiz'd now upon them; and Mrs. *Heard*, sitting down without the Gate through Despair and Faintness, unable to stir any further, charg'd her Children to shift for themselves; for she must unavoidably sterve End her Days. They finding it impossible to carry her with them, with heavy Hearts forsook her; but then coming better to her self, she fled and hid among the *Barberry-Bushes* in the Garden: And then hastning from thence, because the Day-light advanced, she sheltered her self (though seen by Two of the *Indians*) in a Thicket of other Buthes, about Thirty Rods from the House. Here she had not been long before an *Indian* came towards her, with a Pistol in his Hand: The Fellow came up to her, and stared her in the Face, but said nothing to her, nor she to him. He went a little way back, and came again, and stared upon her as before, but said nothing; whereupon she asked him, *What he would have?* He fill'd said nothing, but went away

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Four or Five of the best Houses, took much Plunder, and so drew off; but kill'd Mr. *John Emmertson*, a worthy Preacher at *Berwick*, by declining to Lodge at the Hospitable Major's that Night, when frongly Invited, received a remarkable Deliverance. Hereupon Forces were dispatch'd for the Relief of what remained in *Quacbecho*; Captain *Noyes* also with more Forces visited *Penacook*, where though the *Men* escap'd him, he destroy'd the *Corn* of our New Enemies: But the skulking Enemies at the same time slew several Persons at an Out-Farm on the North-side of *Merrimack-River*. A Party of Men were soon after sent out of *Piscataqua*, under the Command of Captain *Wincal*, who went up to *Winnepissag Ponds*, (upon Advice of one *John Church*, who ran from them, that the *Indians* were there) where they kill'd One or Two of the *Monsters* they Hunted for, and cut down their *Corn*. Four young Men of *Saco*, desirous to join with them, went into the Woods to seek their *Horses*, and found their Deaths by an Ambush of *Indians*. Twenty-four Armed Men going forth from *Saco-Falls* to bury the Slain, had a brisk Encounter with the *Indians*, whom they pursued into a Vast Swamp, until a greater Number of *Indians* pouring in upon them, oblig'd 'em, with the loss of about Five or Six more, to retire from any further Action. But before the *Dog-Days* were out, there was more Bleeding still that prov'd fatal to us. On Aug. 2. one *Starkey* going early in the Morning from the Fort at *Pembaquid* unto New Harbour, fell into the Hands of the *Indians*, who to obtain his own Liberty inform'd them, that the Fort had at that Instant but few Men in it: And that one Mr. *Giles*, with Fourteen Men, was gone up to his Farm, and the rest scattered abroad about their Occasions. The *Indians* hereupon divided their Army; *Part* going up to the *Falls*, kill'd Mr. *Giles* and others; *Part*, upon the Advantage of the Tide, snapt the rest before they could recover the Fort. From a Rock near the Fort, which inconveniently overlook'd it, the *Affiliants* now overlook'd it, as over *Lincoln*, and grievously gaol'd the Defendants. Capt. *Weems* had but few with him that were able to Fight; and his own Face was in the Fight by an Accident horribly Scorched with Gunpowder. Wherefore the Day following they surrendered the Fort upon Capitulations for Life and Liberty; which yet the *Indians* broke, by Butchering and Captiving many of them. Capt. *Skynter*, and Capt. *Karbanh*, repairing to the Fort, from an Island about half a Mile distant from it, were both slain as they Landed on the Rocks; and Mr. *Parish*, as he lay with his Sloop in the *Barbican*, was also taken and slain. This, together with more Spoil done by the *Indians* on the *English* at *Sheepscote*, and *Kennebeck*, and other Places Eastward, caus'd the Inhabitants to draw off unto *Falmouth* as fast as they could: And well if they could have made good their Stand- ing there!



away to the House Co-hooping, and returned unto her no more. Being thus unaccountably preserved, she made several Essays to pass the River, but found her self unable to do it; and finding all Places on that side the River fill'd with Blood, and Fire, and hideous Outcries, thereupon she returned to her old *Bush*, and there poured out her ardent Prayers to God for help in this Distress. She continued in the *Bush* until the Garrison was Burnt, and the Enemy was gone; and then she stole along by the River side, until she came to a Boom, where she passed over. Many sad Effects of Cruelty she saw left by the *Indians* in her way; until arriving at Captain *Gerrish's* Garrison, she there found a Refuge from the Storm; and here she soon had the Satisfaction to understand, that her own Garrison, though one of the first that was assaulted, had been bravely Defended and Maintained against the Adversary. This Gentlewoman's Garrison was the most Extream Frontier of the Province, and more Obnoxious than any other, and more incapable of Relief; nevertheless, by her Presence and Courage it held out all the War, even for *Ten Years* together; and the Persons in it have enjoy'd very Eminent Preservations. The Garrison had been deserted, if she had accepted Offers that were made her by her Friends, of Living in more safety at *Portsmouth*; which would have been a Damage to the Town and Land: But by her Encouragement this Post was thus kept; and she is yet Living in much Esteem among her Neighbours.

II. Mrs. *Sarah Gerrish*, Daughter to Captain *John Gerrish* of *Quebec*, a very Beautiful and Ingenious Dame, about Seven Years of Age, lodg'd at the Garrison of her affectionate Grandfather, Major *Waldern*, when the *Indians* brought an horrible Destruction upon it. She was always very fearful of the *Indians*; but what Fear may we think now Surprised her, when they hereby bid her go into such a Chamber and call the People out? Finding only a little Child in the Chamber, she got into the Bed unto the Child, and hid her self in the Cloaths as well as she could. The Fell-Salvages quickly pull'd her out, and made her Dress for a March, but led her away with no more than one Stockin upon her, a terrible March through the thick Woods, and a Thousand other Miseries, till they came to the *Norway-Plains*. From thence they made her go to the end of *Winnipiseag* Lake, and from thence to the Eastward, through horrid Swamps, where sometimes they must Scramble over huge Trees fallen by Storm or Age for a vast way together, and sometimes they must Climb up Long, Steep, Tirefome, and almost Inaccessible Mountains. Her first Master was one *Sebundowit*, a dull sort of Fellow, and not such a Devil as many of 'em were; but he sold her to a Fellow that was a more bath and mad sort of a *Dragon*; and he carried her away to *Canada*.

A long and a sad Journey she had of it, thro' the midst of an hideous *Desart*, in the midst of

a dreadful *Winter*: And who can enumerate the Frights that she endured before the end of her Journey? Once her Master commanded her to loosen some of her upper-garments, and stand against a Tree while he charged his Gun; whereas the poor Child thrick'd out, *He's going to kill me!* God knows what he was going to do; but the Villain having charged his Gun, he call'd her from the Tree, and forbore doing her any Damage. Another time her Master ordered her to run along the Shore with some Indian Girls, while he paddled up the River in his Canoe. As they were upon a Precipice, a Tawny Wench violently push'd her Headlong into the River: But it so fell out, that in that very Place the *Bushes* hung over the Water; so that getting hold of them she recovered her self. The *Indians* ask'd her how she became so wet? But she durst not say how, through dread of the young *Indians*, who were always very Abusive to her when they had her alone. Moreover, once being spent with Travelling all Day, and lying down Spent and Wet at Night, she fell into so profound a Sleep that in the Morning she waked not. The Barbarous *Indians* left her *Asleep*, and covered with *Snow*; but at length waking, what Agonies may you imagine she was in, to find her self left a prey for *Bears* and *Wolves*, and without any Sufenance, in an howling Wilderness many Scores of Leagues from any Plantation? She ran crying after them; and Providence having ordered a *Snow* to fall, by means whereof the Track'd them until she overtook them. Now the young *Indians* began to Terrifie her with daily Intimations, *That she was quickly to be Roasted unto Death*; and one Evening much Fuel was prepared between Two Logs, which they told her was for her. A mighty Fire being made, her Master call'd her to him, and told her, that she should presently be Burnt Alive. At first she stood Amazed; afterwards she burst into Tears; and then she hung about the Tygre, and begg'd of him with an inexpressible Anguish, that he would save her from the Fire. Hereupon the Monster so relented as to tell her, *That if she would be a good Girl she should not be Burnt*.

At last they arrived at *Canada*, and she was carried into the *Lord Intendant's* House, where many Persons of Quality took much notice of her. It was a Week after this that she remained in the *Indian* Hands before the Price of her Ransom could be agreed on. But then the *Lady Intendant* sent her to the *Nunnery*, where she was comfortably provided for; and it was the Design, as was said, for to have brought her up in the *Romish Religion*, and then have Married her unto the Son of the *Lord Intendant*. She was kindly us'd there, until Sir *William Phips* lying before *Quebeck*, did, upon exchange of Prisoners, obtain her Liberty. After Sixteen Months Captivity she was restored unto her Friends; who had the Consolation of having this their Desirable Daughter again with them, returned from the



the Dead; but coming to be Sixteen Years Old, in the Month of July 1697. Death by a malignant Feavor, more irrecoverably took her from them.

## ARTICLE V.

*New Forces rais'd, and New Allions done.*

ON Aug. 28. 1689. Major Swain with Seven or Eight Companies rais'd by the *Massachusetts*-Colony, march'd Eastward; and soon after Major Church, with a Party of English and *Christian*-Indians, rais'd in *Plymouth*-Colony, follow'd them. While these were on their March, the Indians that lay skulking after the Indian-fashion in the thick Woods, took notice how many Men belong'd unto Lieut. Hackin's Garrison; And seeing 'em all go out unto their daily Work, nimbly ran fo between them and the Garrison, as to Kill 'em all (about Eighteen) but One, who being accidentally gone over the River, escap'd them. They then Attack'd the Garrison, in which there now were only Two Boys, (and one of them Lame) with some Women and Children; but these Two Boys very Manfully held 'em in play a Considerable while, and Wounded several of them, and kept 'em off, till the Assassins had found a way to set the House on a light Fire over their Heads. They then urging 'em to Surrender for the sake of the Goods, the Boys [*brave* Boys, truly!] would not, until they had Solemnly promis'd 'em their Lives: But the perfidious Wretches broke their Promise, for they presently kill'd Three or Four of the Children: However, one of these *Minutias*'s the Day after very happily got out of their Clutches. It was by a particular Accident that these *Indians* were deliver'd from falling into the Hands of Captain Garner, who pursu'd 'em Vigorously. But while the Forces now gone into the East were settling of Garrisons in convenient Places, a huge Body of *Indians* fell upon *Casco*, where one of their first Exploits was their killing of Captain Brackett. Nevertheless, Captain Hall, (a Valiant Soldier in the former War, and a Valiant Commander in this) with his Vigorous Lieutenant Dances, just then Arriving with his Company, the English hotly Engaged them for several Hours; and after a deal of true English Valour discover'd in this Engagement, and the loss of Ten or a Dozen Men, the *Indians* ran for it, with What loss on their Part we do not know: That with Some we do. Presently after this, Major Swain passing through Extream Difficulties to get at it, gave some Relief to a Garrison at *Blue Point*, which was beset by the *Indians*; who still Fle'd into their Inaccessible Swamps when our Bullets began to be hail'd upon them. It was judg'd, That here One or Two Opportunities of bringing the War unto an End were strangely mist and lost: But where the *Mismanagement* lay I cannot Remember; nor what were the *Faux Pas* of the Aftors. Our Honest Major will clear himself, who returning then to his Head Quarters at

*Berwick*, sent abroad Scouts to learn if it were possible where they might have the best Game at the *Chasse a La Bete noire*, then to be followed. Captain *W'swel* having with him a Party of *Indian* Auxiliaries, they were sent out under the Conduct of Lieutenant Flag: But coming to *Winnopisseag*, these *Indians* had a Consult in their own Language, and sending back their Lieutenant with Two *Indians*, Nineteen of them staid in that Country Eleven Days, nor having any English with them: At which the Major was justly and greatly Offended. It was then *Suggested*, and afterwards (by escap'd Captives) *Asserted*, that these Wretches found the Enemy, and Lodg'd with 'em Two Nights, and told 'em what they knew of the English Numbers and Motions. The Enemy then retired into the howling Desarts where there was no coming at them: And no Endeavours being able to reach them, the Army in the Month of November following was Dismiss'd: Only some Soldiers were left in Garrison at *Wells*, at *York*, at *Berwick*, and at *Quebec*, for the Assistance of the poor Inhabitants against any more Invasions. There has been little Doubt that our Northern *Indians* are Originally *Scythians*; and it is become less a Doubt, since it appears from later Discoveries, that the pretended Straits of *Anian* are a Sham; for *Asia* and *America* it seems are there Contiguous. Now of these our *Scythians* in *America* we have still found what *Justus Caesar* does report concerning them of *Asia*;

*Difficilius Invenire quam Interficere:*

It is harder to Find them, than to Kill them.

## A Digression,

*Relating some Wonderful Judgments of God.*

BEFORE we pass to another Year, stand Still, Reader, and Behold some Wonderful Events proper here to be Introduced. The Relation thereof shall be given as I have Received it.

Portsmouth, Feb. 27. 1693.

MONSIEUR Vincelotte of *Quebeck* arriv'd here the 25th of the Last Month, and since Embarked for France by way of *Bilboa*, as Agent to Represent the Affairs of *Canada*.

He says, That about Nine or Ten Years since, 'the Earl of Frontenac, Governor of that Place, (who died last November) did personally attempt to subdue the *Magua's*, &c. having no less than Fifteen Hundred Soldiers in his Army.

After a few Days March they (being much Wearied and very Thirsty) came unto a certain small Well, of which they drank very plentifully. But in a few Hours after sundry complained of much Illness, and according to their various Constitutions fell Sick (as it seem'd) of different Distempers; which occasion'd so great Disorder and Confusion in the Army,

that



that no less than *Four* well Men, for a while, were engaged in taking Care of every one that was Sick. About Three Days after, the *Magua* Scout narrowly observing the Motions of the *French*, rallied together as many as possible, to give a Check unto their Undertaking ; which they soon accomplished with very considerable Advantage. But the *French* appearing to Numerous, forced them to Retreat, and in pursuit of them, took and ranfackt a *Small Town*.

The *Sickness* by this time increased unto so great an Height, as to occasion a *Council of War*, which ordered their speedy Return, and in a short time no less than *Eight Hundred* Persons Died out of the Army.

Now about *Three Years* ago a certain Soldier, who belonged at that time to the Army, went into *France*. In a short time after his Arrival, he Robb'd one of the *Churches* of a considerable value of *Plate* ; but being soon discovered, he was Sentenced to be *Burnt* : He then sent unto sundry *Father Confessors*, unto whom he acknowledged his many *Sins* ; particularly the *Faſt* for which he was Condemned. But he therewithal ſaid, That he had something else of more considerable moment to impart, which did much afflict his Conſcience, namely, an Action of his about *Seven Years* before committed, when Lifted under the Conduct of the Earl of *Frontenac*, in an Enterprize againſt the *Sennakers* and *Magua's* ; (for ſaid he) *I was the only Perſon at that time Inſtrumental to the Death of near Eight Hundred Souls*. Having Received ſome *Aſſent* from ſome of the *Officers*, *I was prompted to ſeek ſome ſpeedy Revenge, which my own corrupt Nature, with the Inſpiration of Satan, did inſtantly accompliſh ; for being plentifully ſtored with ſome Rank Poiſon upon another account*. *I threw it all into a Well, of which the Thirſty Army drank freely, and in the Event it proved ſo fatal unto them*.

For the further Confirmation of this Report, *Monſieur Vincelotte* at the ſame time told me, That he was himſelf Wounded in the Engagement, and ſhould continue Lame to his *Dying Day*.

Reverend Sir, Your moſt Humble Servant,

S. Penhallow.

#### ARTICLE VI.

*New Affaults from the Indians, with ſome Remarkables of Captives taken in theſe Affaults.*

THE *Sun* and the *War* be again Returning ! The Year 1690. muſt begin very Inauſpiciously. In *February*, the *French* with *Indians* made a Deſcent from *Canada*, upon a Dutch Town called *Schenelada*, Twenty Miles above *Albany*, under the Government of *New-York* ; and

in that ſurprizing Incurſion, they killed about Sixty Perſons, whereof one was their Miniſter, and carried about Half as many into Captivity ; but the People there, aſſiſted by the *Magua's*, purſued them, and recovered ſome of their Captives from them. Upon the Advice of this Miſchief in the *West*, order was diſpatch'd unto Major *Frost* in the *East*, that the Towns there ſhould ſtand upon their Guard. The Major did his Duty ; but they did not theirs : They Dreamt that while the Deep Snow of the *Winter* continued, they were ſafe enough ; but this prov'd as Vain as a *Dream of a Dry Summer*. On *March 18.* the *French* with *Indians*, being half one, half *ſcother*, half Indianized *French*, and half *Frenchified* *Indians*, Commanded by *Monſieur Arrel* and *Hoop-Hood* fell ſuddenly upon *Salmon Falls*, deſtroying the beſt part of the Town with Fire and Sword. Near *Thirty* Perſons were Slain, and more than *Fifty* were led into what the Reader will by and by call, *The worſt Captivity in the World*. It would be a Long Story to tell, what a particular ſhare in this Calamity fell to the Family of One *Clement Short* : This Honelt Man, with his Pious Wife, and Three Children, were kill'd ; and Six or Seven of their Children were made Priſoners : The moſt of which arrived ſafe to *Canada*, through a Thouſand Hardſhips, and the moſt of theſe were with more than a Thouſand Mercies afterwards Redeemed from *Canada*, unto their Engliſh Friends again. But my Readers will be ſo Reaſonable as to Excuse me, if I do not mention the Fate of every Family that hath ſuffered a ſhare in the Calamity of this grievous War ; for 'tis impoſſible that I ſhould Know All that hath happened ; and it would be improper for me to Write All that I know : And very little is the Advantage of having a Name ſtanding upon Record only among unhappy Sufferers. About Seventy *Engliſh* went out after 'em, and came up with 'em : Nevertheleſs, through the Diſadvantages of their Feet by the Snow, they could make no Hand on it. Four or Five of theſe were kill'd, and as many of the Enemy ; but the Night put an End unto the Action. Ours took One Priſoner, a Frenchman, who Confell'd that they came from *Canada*, where both *French* and *Indians* were in Pay at Ten Livers per Month, and he particularly Declared the State of *Canada*. This Priſoner met with ſuch kind uſage from us, that he became a *Freeman of Chriſt*, and Embraced and Proteſted the *Proteſtant Religion*. But of the Priſoners which the Enemy took from us, there were Two which immediately met with a very Different Fate. Three *Indians* hotly purſued one *Thomas Toggood*, and One of them overtaking him, while the reſt perceiving it, ſtaid behind the Hill, he yielded himſelf a Priſoner. While the Salvage was getting *Strings* to bind him, he held his Gun under his Arm ; which *Toggood* obſerving, ſuddenly pluckt it from his Friend *Stark Naught*, Threatning and Proteſting that he would Shoot him down if he made any Noiſe ; and to a way he ran with it unto *Quebec*. If my Reader



der be inclined now to smile, when he thinks how simply poor *Isgrim* look'd, returning to his Mates behind the Hill, without either *Gun* or *Prey*, or any thing but *Strings*, to remember him of his *own Deserts*, the *Smiles* will all be presently turn'd into *Tears*. The *Indians* had now made a Prisoner of one *Robert Rogers*, and being on their Journey they came to an Hill, where this Man, being through his Compulency, (for which he was usually Nicknamed, *Robin Pork*) and an Insupportable and Intolerable Burden laid upon his Back, not so able to Travel as the rest, he Absconded. The Wretches missing him, immediately went in pursuit of him; and it was not long before they found his Burden cast in the way, and the Track of his going out of the way, which they followed, until they found him hidden in a *Hallow Tree*. They took him out, they stript him, they beat him, and prick'd him, and push'd him forward with their Swords, until they were got back to the Hill; and it being almost Night, they fastned him to a Tree with his Hands behind him, and made themselves a Supper, Singing, Dancing, Roaring and Uttering many Signs of Joy, but with Joy little enough to the poor Creature who foresaw what all this tended unto. They then cut a parcel of *Wood*, and bringing it into a plain place, they cut off the Top of a small Red Oak Tree, leaving the Trunk for a Stake, whereto they bound their Sacrifice. They first made a great Fire near this Tree of Death, and bringing him unto it, they bid him take his leave of his Friends, which he did in a doleful manner; no Pen, though made of an *Harpy's Quill*, were able to describe the Dolour of it! They then allow'd him a little time to make his Prayers unto Heaven, which he did with an extream Fervency and Agony: Whereupon they bound him to the Stake, and brought the rest of the Prisoners with their Arms tied each to other, so setting them round the Fire. This being done, they went behind the Fire, and thrust it forwards upon the Man, with much Laughter and Shouting; and when the Fire had burnt some while upon him, even till he was near stifled, they pull'd it again from him. They Danced about him, and at every Turn they did with their Knives cut Collops of his *Flesh* from his naked Limbs, and throw them with his Blood into his Face. When he was dead, they set his Body down upon the *Glowing Coals*, and left him tied with his Back to the Stake; where the *English Army* soon after found him. He was left for Us to put out the Fire with our Tears!

Reader, who should be the Father of these *Myrmidons*?

#### ARTICLE VII.

The Condition of the Captives that from time to time fell into the Hands of the Indians; with some very Remarkable Accidents.

WE have had Some Occasion, and shall have More, to mention Captives fal-

ling into the Hands of the *Indians*. We will here, without any thing worthy to be call'd A Digression, a little Stand Still, and with mournful Hearts look upon the Condition of the Captives in those cruel Hands. Their Condition truly might be express'd in the Terms of the Ancient Lamentations, (thus by some Translated) Lam. 4. 3. The Daughter of my People is in the Hands of the Cruel, that are like the Ostrich in the Wilderness. Truly the Dark places of New-England, where the *Indians* had their Unapproachable Kennels, were Habitations of Cruelty; and no Words can sufficiently describe the Cruelty undergone by our Captives in those Habitations. The Cold, and Heat, and Hunger, and Weariness, and Mockings, and Scourgings, and Insolencies endured by the Captives, would enough deserve the Name of Cruelty; but there was this also added unto the rest, that they must ever now and then have their Friends made a Sacrifice of Devils before their Eyes, but be afraid of dropping a Tear from those Eyes, lest it should upon that Provocation be next their own turn to be so Barbarously Sacrificed. Indeed, some few of the Captives did very happily escape from their Barbarous Oppressors, by a Flight wisely managed; and many more of them were bought by the *Krench*, who Treated them with a Civility ever to be acknowledged, until Care was taken to fetch 'em home. Nevertheless many Scores of them died among the *Indians*; and what usage they had may be gathered from the following Relations, which I have obtained from Credible Witnesses.

#### RELATION I.

JAMES Key, Son to John Key of Quoquecho; was a Child of about Five Years of Age, taken Captive by the *Indians* at Salmon Falls; and that Hellish Fellow, Hope-Hood, once a Servant of a Christian Master in Boston, was become the Master of this Little Christian. This Child lamenting with Tears the want of Parents, his Master Threatened him with Death if he did not refrain his Tears; but these Threatnings could not extinguish the Natural Affections of a Child. Wherefore upon his next Lamentations, this Monster stript him stark Naked, and lask'd both his Hands round a Tree, and Scourg'd him so, that from the Crown of his Head unto the Sole of his Foot he was all over Bloody and Swollen; and when he was tired with laying on his Blows on the Forlorn Infant, he would lay him on the Ground, with Taunts remembering him of his Parents. In this Misery the poor Creature lay horribly roaring for divers Days together, while his Master, gratified with the Music, lay contriving of new Torments wherewith to Martyr him. It was not long before the Child had a Sore Eye, which his Master said proceeded from his Weeping on the forbidden Accounts: Whereupon, laying hold on the Head of the Child with his Left Hand, with the Thumb of his Right he forced



forced the Ball of his Eye quite out, therewithal telling him, *That when he heard him Cry again he would serve i' other so too, and leave him never an Eye to weep withal.* About Nine or Ten Days after this Wretch had Occasion to remove with his Family about Thirty Miles further; and when they had gone about Six Miles of the Thirty, the Child being Tir'd and Faint, sat him down to rest, at which this Horrid Fellow being provoked, he Buried the Blade of his Hatchet in the Brains of the Child, and then chopp'd the Breathless Body, to pieces before the rest of the Company, and threw it into the River. But for the sake of these and other such Truculent Things done by *Hop-Hood*, I am resolv'd, that in the Course of our Story I will watch to see what becomes of that Hideous *Loup-garou*, if he come to his End, as I am apt to think he will, before the Story.

## RELATION II.

**M**ebetabel Goodwin, being a Captive among the *Indians*, had with her a Child about Five Months Old; which thro' Hunger and Hardship, the being unable to nourish it, often made most grievous Ejaculations. Her *Indian* Master told her, that if the Child were not quiet he would soon dispose of it; which caus'd her to use all possible Means that his *Netopship* might not be offended; and sometimes carry it from the Fire out of his hearing, where the fat up to the Waste in Snow and Frost for several Hours until it was lull'd asleep. She thus for several Days preserv'd the Life of her Babe, until he saw Cause to Travel with his own Cubs farther afield; and then left he should be Retarded in his Travel, he violently snatch'd the Babe out of its Mother's Arms, and before her Face knock'd out its Brains, and strip it of the few Rags it had hitherto enjoy'd, and order'd her the Task to go Walk the *Bloody Cloaths*. Returning from this *Melancholy Task*, she found the Infant hanging by the Neck in a Forked Bough of a Tree. She desired leave to lay it in the Earth; but he said, *It was better as it was, for now the Wild Beasts would not come at it, [I am sure they had been at it!] and she might have the Comfort of seeing it again if ever they came that way.* The Journey now before them was like to be very long, even as far as *Canada*, where his Purpose was to make Merchandise of his Captive, and glad was the Captive of such happy Tidings. But the desperate length of the Way, and want of Food, and grief of Mind, where-with the now Encountred, caus'd her within a few Days to faint under her Difficulties. When at length she sat down for some Repose, with many Prayers and Tears unto God for the Salvation of her Soul, she found her self unable to rise, until the espied her Furious Executioner coming towards her with Fire in his Eyes, the Devil in his Heart, and his Hatchet in his Hand, ready to bestow a Mercy-troak of Death upon her. But then this miserable

Creature got on her Knees, and with Weeping, and Wailing, and all Expressions of *Agony* and *Entreaty*, prevail'd on him to spare her Life a little, and the did not question but God would enable her to Walk a little faster. The merciless Tyrant was prevail'd withal to spare her this time; nevertheless her former Weakness quickly returning upon her, he was just going to Murder her; but a Couple of *Indians* just at that Instant coming in, suddenly call'd upon him to Hold his Hand; whereat such an Horror surpriz'd his Guilty Soul, that he ran away. But hearing them call his Name, he returned, and then permitted these his Friends to Ransom his Prisoner from him. After this, being Seated by a River side, they heard several Guns go off on the other side, which they concluded was from a Party of *Albany Indians*, who were Enemies unto these; whereupon this bold Blade would needs go in a Canoe to discover what they were. They Fired upon him, and Shot through him and several of his Friends before the Discovery could be made unto Satisfaction. But some Days after this, divers of his Friends gathered a Party to Revenge his Death on their Supposed Enemies, with whom they joyn'd Battle, and fought several Hours, until their Supposed Enemies did Really put 'em to the Rout. Among the Captives which they left in their Fight, one was this poor Goodwin, who was Overjoyed in seeing her self thus at Liberty; but the Joy did not last long, for these *Indians* were of the Same Sort with the other, and had been by their own Friends thus through a strange Mistake set upon. However, this Crew proved more favourable to her than the former, and went away silently with their Booty, being loth to have any Noise made of their foul Mistake. And yet a few Days after such another Mistake happened; for meeting with another Party of *Indians*, which they imagined in the *English* Interests, they furiously engaged each other, and many were killed and wounded on either Side, but they proved a Party of the *French Indians*, who took this poor Goodwin, and presented her to the *French* Captain, by whom she was carried unto *Canada*, where she continued Five Years, and then was brought safe back into *New-England*.

## RELATION III.

**M**A R T Plaisted, the Wife of Mr James Plaisted, was made a Captive by the *Indians* about Three Weeks after her Delivery of a Male Child. They then took her, with her Infant, off her Bed, and forced her to Travel in this her Weakness the best part of a Day, without any Respect of Pity. At Night the Cold Ground in the Open Air was her Lodging; and for many a Day she had no Nourishment, but a little Water with a little *Bears-flesh*; which rendred her so Feeble, that the with her Infant were not far from totally Starv'd. Upon her Cries to God there was at length some



ARTICLE VIII.

*A little Account of the greatest Action that ever New-England Attempted.*

I Have read or heard, that when the insufferable Abuses which the English Nation suffered from the *Abbeys* were in the Parliament complained of, the Total Dissolution of those *Abbeys* was much forwarded by a Speech of a Gentleman in the *House of Commons* to this purpose: That his own House had been much annoy'd by *Rooks* building in a *Tree* near unto it, and that he had used many Ineffectual ways to disturb and disroot these Mischievous *Rooks*, until at last he found out an *Infallible* way to be delivered from the *Rooks*, and that was to cut down the *Tree* that Lodged 'em. The Distress into which *New-England* was now fallen, made this very Comparison to be thought of: The *Indian Rooks* grievously infested the Country; and while the Country was only on the *Defensive* Part, their Men were Thinned, their Towns were Broken, and their *Treasures* Confumed, without any hope of seeing an End of these Troublesome Tragedies. The *French* Colonies to the Northward were the *Tree* in which those *Rooks* had their Nests; and the *French* having in Person first fallen upon the *English* of *New-England*, it was thought that the *New-Englanders* might very justly take this Occasion to reduce those *French* Colonies under the *English* Government, and so at once take away from all the *Rooks* for ever all that gave 'em any Advantage to Infest us. Accordingly, a *Naval Force*, with about Seven Hundred Men, under the Conduct of *Sir William Phips*, was dispatched away to *L'acady* and *Nova Scotia*. This Fleet setting Sail from *New-England*, April 28. 1693. in a Fortnight arrived at *Port-Royal*, and *Sir William* having the Fort Surrendered unto him, took Possession of that Province for the Crown of *England*. But this was only a step towards a far greater Action! There was no Speech about the Methods of Safety made, which did not conclude with a *Delenda est Carthago*. It was become the Concurring Resolution of all *New-England*, with *New-York*, that a Vigorous Attack should be made upon *Canada* at once, both by Sea and Land. A Fleet of *Thirty-two* Sail, under the Command of *Sir William Phips*, was Equipp'd at *Boston*, and began their Voyage, Aug. 9. and the whole *Matter* was put into *Form*, with so much Contrivance, and Caution, and Courage, that nothing but an Evident Hand of Heaven was likely to have given such a *Defeat* unto it, as has been indeed generally and remarkably given unto all the Colonies of *America*, when they have Invaded one another. If this Expedition did miscarry, and if *Canada* proved unto *New-England* what it prov'd unto the *Spaniards*, when at their Deserting it they call'd it, *E Capo de Nada*; or, *The Cape of nothing*, (whence the *Naime Canada*) there is no *New-Englander* but what will

some Supply sent in by her Master's taking a *Moose*, the Broth whereof Recovered her. But the must now Travel many Days thro' Woods, and Swamps, and Rocks, and over Mountains, and Frost and Snow, until the could stir no farther. Sitting down to rest, she was not able to rise, until her Diabolical Master help'd her up; which when he did, he took her Child from her, and carried it unto a River, where stripping it of the few Rags it had, he took it by the Heels, and against a Tree dash'd out its Brains, and then flung it into the River. So he returned unto the miserable Mother, telling her, *She was now eased of her Burden, and must walk faster than she did before!*

RELATION IV.

MART FERGUSON, taken Captive by the *Indians* at *Salmon Falls*, declares, that another Maid of about Fifteen or Sixteen Years of Age, taken at the same time, had a *Great Barden* Impos'd on her. Being over-born with her Burden, she burst out into Tears, telling her *Indian* Master, *That she could go no further*. Whereupon he immediately took off her Burden, and leading her aside into the Bushes, he cut off her Head, and *Scalping* it, he ran about Laughing and Bragging what an *Alt* he had now done; and showing the *Scalp* unto the rest, he told them, *They should all be served so if they were not patient*.

In fine, when the Children of the *English* Captives cried at any time, so that they were not presently quieted, the manner of the *Indians* was to dash out their Brains against a *Tree*.

And very often, when the *Indians* were on or near the Water, they took the small Children, and held 'em under Water till they had near Drowned them, and then gave 'em unto their Distressed Mothers to quiet 'em.

And the *Indians* in their Frolics would Whip and Beat the small Children, until they set 'em into grievous Outcries, and then throw 'em to their amazed Mothers for them to quiet 'em again as well as they could.

This was *Indian Captivity!*

Reader, A Modern Traveller assures us, that at the *Villa Ludovisa*, not far from *Rome*, there is to be seen the Body of a *Petrified Man*; and that he himself saw by a piece of the Man's Leg, broken for Satisfaction, both the *Bone* and the *Stone* Cruised over it. All that I will say, is, That if thou canst read these Passages without Relenting Bowels, thou thyself art as really *Petrified* as the Man at *Villa Ludovisa*.

*Nescio tu quibus es, Lector, Lecturus Ocellis;*  
*Hoc Scio quod Sicis Scribere non potui.*



will maintain, that it was with a less Disgraceful Mifcarriage, than what baffled every one of those that were made in this War againſt the *French Iſlands*, by more powerful Fleets of thoſe who were forward enough to reproach *New-England*. I am ſure he that reads the Account of what was done at *Martineco*, in the *Relation of the Voyage of M. de Gennes*, lately publiſhed, muſt be very eaſie in his Reflections upon what was done at *Canada*. And I will add, that if the *New-England-Men* return'd *re infecta* from *Canada*, yet they did not leave Two Hundred Men behind them to the Mercy of the *French*, as they who moſt reproached *New-England* ſoon after did at *Guadalupe*.

The fuller Narrative of theſe memorable things the Reader may find Written in *The Life of Sir William Phips*, lately publiſhed, of which I muſt here give this Atteſtation, That as my Acquaintance with the Author gives me Aſſurance of his being as willing to Retraſt a Miſtake, as unwilling to Commit one. and of his Care in whatever he Writes, to be able to make the Profeſſion of *Oculampadius*, *Notui aliquid Scribere, quod improbatum putem Chriſtum*: So I have compar'd this Narrative with the *Journals of the Expedition*; and I find the moſt Conteſted Paſſages of the Story, (nor did I ever hear of any more than one or two little Circumſtantial Paſſages Conteſted, as carrying a ſound a little too *Rhetorical*; but I ſay, I find them) to be the very Expreſs Words thereof contained in thoſe *Journals*; and more than ſo, that very Credible Perſons concern'd therein have readily offer'd their Depoſitions upon *Oath* to the Truth of what is Written. So I take my leave of that Hiſtory, and of *Sir William Phips*, the Memorable Subject of that Hiſtory, whom I leave under this

#### E P I T A P H.

*Bonus non eſt, qui non ad Invicidiam uſque  
Bonus eſt.*

#### [A Digreſſion.]

**R**EADER, ſince we can give no better an Account of the *laſt Engliſh Expedition* to *Canada*, why may we not for a Minute or two reſreſh our ſelves with a Story of an Old one?

In the very Year when the *Maſſachuſet-Colony* began, the *Engliſh* Attempted the Conqueſt of *Canada*; and though the *fiſt* Attempt Miſcarried, the *Second* Proſpered. The Story of it makes a Chapter in *Father Hennepin's Account* of the vaſt Country lately diſcovered betwixt *Canada* and *Mexico*; and this is the Sum of it.

While a Colony was forming it ſelf at *Canada*, an *Engliſh Fleet* was Equipp'd in the Year 1628. under the Command of Admiral *Kirk*, with a Deſign to take Poſſeſſion of that Country. In their Voyage having taken a *French Ship* at the

*Ile Percee*, they Sailed up the River as far as *Tadouſac*, where they found a Bark, in which they ſet alhoſe ſome Soldiers to ſeize on *Cape Tourment*. And here a Couple of *Savages* diſcovering them, ran away to adviſe the People of *Quebeck* that the *Engliſh* were approaching. When the Fleet arrived, the Admiral Summoned the Town to Surrender, by a Letter to *Monſieur Champelin* the Governour: But the Governour, notwithstanding his being to ſurprized with the Invaſion, made ſuch a reſolute Answer, that the *Engliſh* (though as the Hiſtorian ſays, *They are a People that will ſooner die than quit what they once undertake*) did conclude the Fort *Quebeck* was in a much better Condition for Defence than it really was; and therefore deſiſting from any further Attempt at this time, they returned into *England* with Reſolution further to purſue their Deſign at a more favourable Opportunity.

Accordingly on *July 19. 1629.* in the Morning, the *Engliſh Fleet* appear'd again over-againſt the Great Bay of *Quebeck*, at the Point of the *Ile of Orleans*; which Fleet conſiſted of Three Men of War and Six other Vellels. Admiral *Kirk* ſending a Summons form'd in very Civil Expreſſions for the Surrender of the Place, the miſerable State of the Country, which had been by the *Engliſh* Interceptions hindred of Supplies from *France* for Two Years together, oblig'd the *Sieur Champelin* to make a ſofter Answer than he did before. He ſent Father *Joſeph Le Caron* aboard the Admiral to Treat about the Surrender, and none of his Demands for Fifteen Day, and then for Five Days time to conſider on't, could obtain any longer time than till the Evening to prepare their Articles. Upon the Delivery of this Meſſage a Council was held, wherein ſome urg'd, that the *Engliſh* had no more than Two Hundred Men of regular Troops aboard, and ſome others which had not much of the Air of Soldiers; and that the Courage of the Inhabitants was much to be relied upon, and therefore it was beſt for to run the Riſk of a Siege: But *Monſieur Champelin* apprehending the Bravery of the *Engliſh*, remonſtrated unto the Council, that it was better to make a Surrender on good Terms, than be all cut in pieces by an unreaſonable Endeavour to defend themſelves. Upon this the Articles, regulating all Matters, were got ready, and Father *Joſeph* had his Commiſſion to carry them aboard the *Engliſh* Admiral, where the Signing of them was deferred until to Morrow. On *July 20.* the Articles of Capitulation were Signed on both Sides, and the *Engliſh* being Landed, were put in Poſſeſſion of *Canada* by the Governour of it. The *French* Inhabitants, who were then in the Country, had Twenty Crowns apiece given them. the reſt of their Effects remained unto the Conquerors; but thoſe who were willing to ſtay, were favoured by the *Engliſh* with great Advantages. The Fleet ſet Sail again for *England*, *Sept. 14.* and arrived at *Plymouth*, *Oct. 18.* in that Year.



## ARTICLE IX.

## Cafco Left.

WHEN the *Indians* at last perceived that the *New-Englanders* were upon a likely Design to swallow the *French Territories*, the *Project* of it began to have the same Operation upon them, that the *Success* of the Design would have made *Perpetual*; that is, to Dispirit them for giving the *New-Englanders* any further Molestations. Nevertheless, *Before* and *Until* they were thoroughly advised of what was a doing, and likely to be done, they did molest the Country with some Tragical Efforts of their Fury. Captain *James Convers* was Marching through the vast Wilderness to *Albany* with some Forces; which the *Massachusetts* Colony were willing to fend by Land (besides what they did fend by Sea unto *Quebeck*) for the assistance of the Army in the *West*, that was to go from thence over the *Lake*, and there fall upon *Mount Real*; but unhappy Tidings out of the *East* required the Diversion of those Forces thither. About the beginning of *May* the *French* and *Indians*, between Four and Five Hundred, were seen at *Casco*, in a great Fleet of *Canoes* passing over the Bay; but not seeing or hearing any more of them for Two or Three Weeks together, the *Ciscomians* flattered themselves with hopes that they were gone another way. But about *May* 16. those hopes were over; for one *Gresson*, a *Scotchman*, then going out early, fell into the Mouths of these hungry *Salvages*. It proved no kindness to *Casco*, tho' it proved a great one to himself, that a Commander so qualified as Captain *Willard* was called off Two or Three Days before. But the Officers of the Place now concluding that the whole Army of the Enemy were winking for an Advantage to surprize the Town, resolved that they would keep a strict Watch for Two or Three Days, to make some further Discovery before they Salley'd forth. Notwithstanding this, one Lieutenant *Clark*, with near Thirty of their Scoutest Young Men, would venture out as far as the Top of an Hill in the Entrance of the *Wood*, half a Mile distant from the Town. The out-let from the Town to the *Wood* was thro' a Lane that had a Fence on each side, which had a certain *Block-House* at one end of it; and the *English* were suspicious, when they came to enter the *Lane*, that the *Indians* were lying behind the Fence, because the *Castel* stood staring that way, and would not pass into the *Wood* as they use to do. This Mettlesome Company then ran up to the Fence with an *Huzza!* thinking thereby to discourage the Enemy, if they should be lurking there; but the Enemy were so well prepared for them, that they answered them with an horrible Vengeance, which kill'd the Lieutenant with Thirteen more upon the Spot, and the rest escaped with much ado unto one of the Garrisons. The Enemy then coming into Town, before all the Garrisons at once, except the *Fort*; which were Manfully Defended so long as their

Ammunition lasted; but that being spent without a Prospect of a Recruit, they quitted all the Four Garrisons, and by the Advantage of the Night got into the *Fort*. Upon this the Enemy setting the Town on Fire, bent their whole Force against the *Fort*, which had hard by it a deep *Gully*, that contributed not a little unto the Ruin of it; For the Besiegers getting into that *Gully*, lay below the danger of our Guns. Here the Enemy began their *Mine*, which was carried so near the Walls, that the *English*, who by Fighting Five days and Four Nights, had the greatest part of their Men killed and wounded, (Captain *Lawrence* mortally among the rest,) began a Parley with them. Articles were agreed, that they should have liberty to March unto the next *English* Town, and have a Guard for their Safety in their March; and the *French Commander*, lifting up his Hand, Swore by the Everlasting God for the Performance of these Articles. But the Agreement was kept as those that are made with *Hugonots* use to be: The *English* being first Admonished by the *French*, that they were all *Rebels* for Proclaiming the Prince of *Orange* their King, were Captived, and many of them cruelly Murdered by the *Indians*: Only some of them (and particularly Major *Davis*) were carried unto *Canada*, where the Gentry very civilly Treated them. The Garrisons at *Papodack*, *Sparwink*, *Black Point*, and *Blue Point*, were so difanimated at these Disasters, that without Orders they drew off immediately to *Saco*, Twenty Miles within *Casco*, and from *Saco* in a few Days also they drew off to *Wells*, Twenty Miles within the said *Saco*; and about half *Wells* drew off as far as Lieutenant *Storer's*. But the Arrival of Orders and Soldiers from the Government, stopp'd them from retiring any further; and *Hop-Hood*, with a Parry that staid for further Mischiefe, meeting with some resistance here, turn'd about, and having first had a Skirmish with Captain *Sherborn*, they appear'd the next Lord's-Day at *Newichawannick* or *Berwick*, where they Burnt some Houses, and Slew a Man. Three Days after they came upon a small Hamlet on the South side of *Piscataqua* River, called *Fox Point*, and besides the Burning of several Houses, they took half a Dozen, and kill'd more than a Dozen of the too Securely Ungarrisoned People; which it was as easie to do, as to have spoiled an ordinary *Hen-Roost*. But Captain *Floyd* and Captain *Greenleaf* coming upon those *Indians*, made some slaughter among them, recovered some Captives with much Plunder, and bestow'd a good Wound upon *Hop-Hood*, who lost his Gun (which was next his Life) in this Action.

All that shall further belong to this Paragraph of our Story, is, that when the *Indians* were got into the Woods, they made one *Goody Stockford* their Messenger to her Neighbours, whose Charity the so well Solicited, that she got a *Shalop* full of it unto *Casco*, where the *Indians* permitted us to Redeem several of the Prisoners.

[Villain! Those slaves  
not escape so: There  
must quickly be another  
stroke upon thee.]



## ARTICLE X.

*Harm Watch'd and Catch'd by the Indians, and  
Several rare Instances of Mortal Wounds up-  
on the English, not proving Mortal.*

THAT memorable Tygre, *Hope-Hood*, (call'd also *Wob-woa*.) finding the Coast hereabouts too Hot for him, went away with his Crew a great way to the *Westward*, with a Design to Bewitch another Crew at *Aquadotta* into his Affluence. Here a Party of *French Indians*, by a strange Mistake, supposing *Hope-Hood* and his Wretches to have been the *Indians* who had lately done some Spoil upon them at *Canada*, furiously fell upon them, and in their *Blind Fury* slew him and a considerable part of his Company. So we have now done with him: In the mean time, some other *Indians* came upon an helpless Place, call'd *Spruce Creek*, and kill'd an Old Man, and carried a Woman into Captivity, but tho' Captain *Convers* pursued 'em Three Days, they were too nimble for him. On July 4. Eight or Nine Persons working in a Field at a Place call'd *Lamperel River*, the *Seythe* of Death unhappily Mow'd them down in that Field of Blood: The *Indians* by Surprise kill'd 'em all, and carried a Lad Captive. About this time a Council of War was call'd at *Portsmouth*, by which 'twas thought advisable to send out Captain *Wissuel*, with a considerable Scout, for to Scour the Woods as far as *Casco*; and it being resolv'd, that one of the other Captains, with about Fourscore Stout Men, should accompany Captain *Wissuel* in this Action; they *All* with such a generous Emulation offer'd it, that it was necessary to determine it by a Lot, which fell upon Captain *Floyd*. On July 4. afflicted with Lieutenant *Andrews*, and a Detachment of of Twenty-two Men from *Wells*. they took their March from *Quochebo* into the Woods. But the Day following the Enemy set upon Captain *Hilton's* Garrison in *Exeter*, which Lieutenant *Bancroft* then Posted at *Exeter*, with the loss of a few of his Men relieved. At this time there happened a Remarkable thing. I know not whether the Story told by *Plato* be true, that one *Heras Armenius* (whom *Clemens* will have to be *Zoroaster*) being Slain in War, lay Ten Days among the Dead, and then being brought away, and on the Twelfth Day laid on a Funeral Pile, he came to Life again. But it is true, that one *Simon Stone* being here Wounded with Shot in Nine several places, lay for Dead, (as it was time!) among the Dead. The *Indians* coming to Strip him, attempted with Two several Blows of an Hatchet at his Neck to cut off his Head, which Blows added, you may be sure, more Enormous Wounds unto those *Port-holes* of Death, at which the Life of the poor Man was already running out as fast as it could. Being charged hard by Lieutenant *Bancroft*, they left the Man without *Scalping* him; and the *English* now coming to Bury the

Dead, one of the Soldiers perceived this poor Man to fetch a Gasp; whereupon an *Irish* Fellow then present, advis'd 'em to give him another Dab with an Hatchet, and so Bury him with the rest. The *English* detesting this Barbarous Advice, lifted up the Wounded Man, and poured a little Fair Water into his Mouth, at which he Coughed; then they poured a little Strong Water after it, at which he opened his Eyes. The *Irish* Fellow was ordered now to hale a Canoe ashore to carry the Wounded Men up the River unto a Chirurgeon; and as Teague was foolishly pulling the Canoe ashore with the Cock of his Gun, while he held the Muzzle in his Hand, his Gun went off and broke his Arm, whereof he remains a Cripple to this Day: But *Simon Stone* was thoroughly Cured, and is at this Day a very Lusty Man; and as he was Born with Two Thumbs on one Hand, his Neighbours have thought him to have at least as many *Hairs* as Thumbs!

Reader, Let us leave it now unto the Sons of *Æsculapius* to dispute out the Problem, What Wounds are to be judg'd Mortal? The Sovereign Arbitrer of Life and Death seems to have determin'd it, That no Wounds are Mortal, but such as he shall in his Holy Providence actually make so. On the one side let it be remembered, That a Scratch of a Comb has prov'd Mortal; that the Incomparable Anatomist *Spighius*, at the Wedding of his Daughter, gathering up the Reliques of a broken Glass, a Fragment of it scratch'd one of his Fingers; and all his Exquisite Skill in Anatomy could not prevent its producing an *Empyema* that killed him: That Colonel *Rositer*, cracking a Plumbstone with his Teeth, broke his Tooth, and lost his Life: That the Lord *Fairfax* cutting a Corn in his Foot, cut asunder the Thread of his Life: That Mr. *Fowler*, a *Vinner*, playing with his Child, received a little Scratch of a Pin, which turn'd unto a *Gangrene* that cost him his Life. And, Reader, let the Remembrance of such things cause thee to Live, preparing for Death continually. But then on the other side, that nothing may be despair'd of, remember *Simon Stone*. And, besides him, I call to Remembrance, that the *Indians* making an Assault upon *Deerfield* in this Present War, they struck an Hatchet some Inches into the Skull of a Boy there, even so deep, that the Boy felt the force of a Wrench us'd by 'em to get it out. There he lay a long while Weltring in his Blood: they found him, they Dress'd him, considerable Quantities of his Brain came out from time to time when they opened the Wound; yet the Lad recovered, and is now a Living Monument of the Power and Goodness of God. And in our former War there was one *Jabez Malsgrove*, who tho' he were Shot by the *Indians* with a Bullet that went in at his Ear, and went out at his Eye on the other side of his Head; and a Brace of Bullets that went into his Right Side, a little above his Hip, and passing thro' his Body within the Back-bone, went out at his Left Side; yet he recovered and lived many Years after it.



Certainly this Fellow was worthy to have been at least a Lackey to the *Hungarian Nobleman*, whose *Portraiture Dr. Patin* saw in a Gallery at *Innsbruck*, representing a Wound made in his Eye with a Lance, which penetrated into the Substance of the Brain, even to the hinder part of the Head, and yet proved not a *Mortal Wound*.

ARTICLE XI.

*A Worthy Captain dying in the Bed of Honour.*

ON July 6. Lord's-Day, Captain *Floyd* and Captain *Wiseval* sent out their Scouts before their *Breakfast*, who immediately returned with *Tidings of Breakfast* enough provided for those who had their Stomach sharp set for Fighting: *Tidings* of a considerable Track of the Enemy going to the Westward. Our Forces vigorously followed the Track, till they came up with the Enemy at a Place call'd *Wheelwright's Pond*, where they engaged 'em in a Bloody Action for several Hours. The manner of the Fight here was as it is at all times with *Indians*; namely, what your Artists at *Fighting* do call, *A la disbandad*: And here the Worthy Captain *Wiseval*, a Man worthy to have been *Shor* (if he must have been *Shor*.) with no *Gun* inferior to that at *Florence*, the Barrel whereof is all pure Gold, behaving himself with much Bravery, sold his Life as dear as he could; and his Lieutenant *Flag*, and Sergeant *Walker*, who were *Valiant in their Lives, in their Deaths were not divided*. Fifteen of ours were Slain, and more Wounded; but how many of the Enemy 'twas not exactly known, because of a singular Care used by them in all their Battels to carry off their *Dead*, tho' they were forced now to leave a good Number of them on the Spot. Captain *Floyd* maintained the Fight after the Death of Captain *Wiseval* several Hours, until so many of his Tired and Wounded Men drew off, that it was time for him to draw off also; for which he was blamed perhaps, by some that would not have continued it so long as he. Hereupon Captain *Convers* repaired with about a Score *Hands* to look after the Wounded Men, and finding Seven yet *Alive*, he brought 'em to the *Hospital* by Sun-rise the next Morning. He then returned with more *Hands* to Bury the *Dead*, which was done immediately; and *Plunder* left by the Enemy at their going off was then also taken by them. But the same Week these *Rovers* made their Descent as far as *Amesbury*, where Captain *For* being *Ensnared* by them, they Tortured him to Death; which Disaster of the Captain was an *Alarm* to the Town, and an Effectual Word of Command, causing 'em to fly out of their *Beds* into their *Garrisons*; otherwise they had all undoubtedly before next Morning slept their last; their *Beds* would have been their *Graves*. However, the Enemy Kill'd *Three Persons*, Burnt *Three Houses*, Butchered many Cattel; and so that *Scene* of the Tragedy being over, away they went.

In fine, from the *First Mischief* done at *Lamperel River*, to the *Last at Amesbury*, all belong'd unto one *Indian Expedition*, in which, though no *English Places* were taken, yet Forty *English People* were cut off.

ARTICLE XII.

*An Indian Fort or Two taken, and some other actions.*

Reader, I remember the *Prolixity* of *Gaiaciaridine* the Historian gave such Offence, that *Boccalini* brings in an Offender at *Verbosity*, ordered for his Punishment by the Judges at *Par-nassus*, to read that punctual Historian; but the poor Fellow begg'd rather to be Fleid Alive, than to be Tortured with reading an Historian, who in relating the War between the *Florentines* and *Pisans*, made longer Narrations about the Taking of a *Pigeon-House*, than there needed of the most Fortified Cattle in the World. For this Cause let me be excused. Reader, if I make *short Work* in our Story, and leave the Honest Actors themselves to run over Circumstances more at large, with their Friends by the Fire-side.

The Enemy appearing a little Numerous and Vexacious, the Government sent more Forces to break up the Enemies Quarters; and Auxiliaries both of *English* and *Indians*, under the Command of Major *Church*, assisted the Enterprize. About Three Hundred Men were dispatched away upon this Design in the beginning of *September*, who Landed by Night in *Casco Bay*, at a Place called *Macquoit*, and by Night Marched up to *Pechypoc-Fort*; where, from the Information of some escaped *Captives*, they had an Expectation to meet with the Enemy, but found that the Wretches were gone farther afield. They then Marched away to *Amonscoggin* Fort, which was about Forty Miles up the River; and Wading through many *Difficulties*, whereof one was a *Branch* of the River it self; they met with Four or Five *Savages* going to their Fort with Two *English* Prisoners. They sav'd the *Prisoners*, but could not catch the *Savages*; however, on the *Lord's Day* they got up to the Fort undiscovered, where, to their sorrowful Disappointment, they found no more than One and Twenty of the Enemy, whereof they took and slew Twenty. They found some considerable store of *Plunder*, and rescued Five *English Captives*, and laid the Fort in Ashes; but one Disaster they much complained of, that the Captain of the Fort, whose Name was *Agamcus*, alias, *Great Tom*, slipped away from the Hands of his too *Careless* Keepers. But if this piece of *Carelessness* did any Harm, there was another which did some Good: For *Great Tom* having terribly scared a Part of his Countrymen with the *Tidings* of what had happened; and an *English* Lad in their Hands also telling some Truth unto them; they betook themselves to such a *Flight* in their *Fright*, as gave one Mr. *Anthony Bracker*, then a Prisoner



Prisoner with 'em, an Opportunity to fly Four-score Miles another way. Our Forces returning to *Macquoit*, one of our Vessels was there *Carelessly* ran aground, and compelled thereby to stay for the next Tide; and Mr. *Bracket* had been miserably aground, if it had not so fell out; for he therby got thither before the was afloat, otherwise he might have perished, who was afterwards much Improved in Service against the Murderers of his Father. Arriving at *Winter Harbour*, a Party of Men were sent up the River, who coming upon a parcel of the *Mankeen Wolves*, then hunted for, killed some of them, and seized most of their Arms, and Stores, and Recovered from them an *Englishman*, who told them that the Enemy were intending to *Kendzvooz* on *Pechypscot Plain*, in Order to an Attempt upon the Town of *Wells*. Upon this they *Reimbark'd* for *Macquoit*, and repaired, as fast as they could unto *Pechypscot Plain*, and being divided into Three Parties, they there waited for the Approach of the Enemy. But being tired with one of the Three *Italian* Miseries, *Waiting for those who did not come*, they only possessed themselves of more Plunder there hid by the Enemy, and returned unto *Casco-Harbour*. The Enemy it seems *dogg'd* their Motions; and in the Night they made a Mischievous Assault upon such of the *English* Army as were too remiss in providing for their own Safety in their going ashore; killing Five of our *Plymouth* Friends, who had Lodg'd themselves in an House, without *Commanders* or *Centinels*. The *English*, as soon as the Light of the Day (which was the *Lord's Day*, Sept. 21.) gave 'em leave, quickly ran upon the Enemy, and eased the World of some of them, and made the rest Scamper from that part of the World, and got many of their Canoes, and not a little of their Ammunition, and their best Furniture for the Winter. The Army was after this Dimin'd, only an Hundred Men were left with Captain *Convers* and Lieutenant *Plaisted*, who spent their time as profitably as they could, in Scouting about the Frontiers, to prevent Surprizals from on Enemy which rarely did Annoy but when they could Surprise.

### ARTICLE XIII.

#### A Flag of Truce.

**N**EW-England was now quite out of Breath! A Tedious, Lingring, Expensive Defence, against an Ever-approaching and Unapproachable Adversary, had made it so. But nothing had made it more so, than the Expedition to Canada, which had Exhausted its best Spirits, and seem'd its *Ultimus Conatus*. While the Country was now in too great Amazements to proceed any farther in the War, the Indians themselves Entreat them to proceed no farther. The Indians came in to *Wells* with a Flag of Truce, and there Enuied some Overtures with the *English* Commissioners, Major *Hutchinson* and Captain *Townsend*, sent from *Boston* to join

with some others at *Wells*. At length a meeting was appointed and obtained at *Sagadahock*, Nov. 23. where the Redemption of Ten *English* Captives was accomplished; one of whom was Mrs. *Hull*, whom the *Indians* were very loth to part withal, because being able to write well, they made her serve them in the Quality of a *Secretary*: Another was named *Nathanael White*, whom the Barbarous *Canibals* had already tied unto a Stake, and cut off one of his Ears, and made him Eat it Raw, and intended for to have Roasted the rest of him alive: The poor Man being astonish'd at his own Deliverance! At last they Signed Articles, dated Nov. 29. 1691. wherein they engaged, that no *Indians* in those Parts of the World should do any Injury to the Persons or Estates of the *English* in any of the *English* Colonies, until the First of May next ensuing: And that on the said First of May they would bring into *Storer's* Garrison at *Wells* all the *English* Captives in their Hands, and there Make, and Sign, and Seal Articles of Peace with the *English*; and in the mean time give seasonable Advice of any Plots which they might know the *French* to have against them. To this Instrument were set the *Pawas* of *Edgeremer*, and Five more of their *Sagomores* and Noblemen.

But as it was not upon the *Firm Land*, but in their Canoes upon the Water, that they Signed and Sealed this Instrument; so, Reader, we will be Jealous that it will prove but a *Fluviating* and *Unstable* sort of a Business; and that the *Indians* will Do a Lie as they use to do. However, we will dismiss all our Soldiers to their several Homes, leaving only Captain *Convers* to keep *Wells* in some Order, until the First of May do show whether any more than a meer Flag of Truce be yet shown unto us.

### ARTICLE XIV.

#### Remarkable Encounters.

**A**T the Day appointed there came to the place Mr. *Danforth*, Mr. *Moodey*, Mr. *Vaughan*, Mr. *Brattle*, and several other Gentlemen, guarded with a Troop, to see how the *Frenchified* Indians would keep their Faith with the *Hereticks* of New-England. The *Indians* being poor *Musicians* for keeping of time, came not according to their Articles, and when Captain *Convers* had the Courage to go fetch in some of them, they would have made a Lying Excuse. That they did not know the time. They brought in Two Captives, and promised, that in Twenty Days more they would bring into Captain *Convers* all the rest; but finding that in Two and Twenty Days they came not, with much Concern upon his Mind he got himself supplied as fast as he could with Five and Thirty Men from the County of *Essex*. His Men were not come half an Hour to *Storer's* House, on June 9. 1691, nor had they got their *Indian Weed* fairly lighted into their



their Mouths, before fierce *Moxus*, with Two Hundred *Indians*, made an Attrack upon the Garrison. This Recruit of *Men*, thus at the very Nick of time, saved the Place; for *Moxus* meeting with a brave Repulse, drew off, and gave *Modockawando* cause to say, (as a Captive afterwards related it) *My Brother Moxus has mis'd it now, but I will go my self the next Year, and have the Dog Converts out of his Hole*. About this time the Enemy flew Two Men at *Berwick*, Two more at *Exeter*, and the biggest Part of Nine, loading a Vessel at *Cape Nidduck*. But about the latter end of July we sent out a small Army under the Command of Captain *March*, Captain *King*, Captain *Sherburn*, and Captain *Walten* (Converts lying Sick all Summer, had this to make him yet more Sick that he could have no part in these Actions) who landing at *Macquoit*, marched up to *Peclypscor*, but not finding any figus of the Enemy, marched down again. While the Commanders were waiting *Abore* till the Soldiers were got aboard, such great Numbers of *Indians* poured in upon them, that tho' the Commanders wanted not for Courage or Conduct, yet they found themselves obliged, with much ado, (and not without the Death of worthy Captain *Sherburn*) to retire into the Vessels which then lay aground. Here they kept pelting at one another all Night, but unto little other purpose than *this*, which was indeed Remarkable, That the Enemy was at this time going to take the *Isle of Shoales*, and no doubt had they gone they would have taken it, but having exhausted all their Ammunition on this Occasion, they desisted from what they designed. For the rest of the Year, the Compa- nion of Heaven towards distressed *New-England* kept the *Indians* under a strange Inad- verty; only on Sept. 28. Seven Persons were Murdered and Captived at *Berwick*; and the Day following Thrice Seven of *Sandy-Beach*. On Octob. 23. one *Goodridge* and his Wife were Murdered at *Rowly*, and his Children Captived. And the Day following the like Fate befel a Family at *Haverbil*. And this Year a very good strong Fort at *Cape Nidduck*, owned by a Widow, was unhappily Deserted; after which the Enemy came and burnt the Houses in it.

# ARTICLE XV.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Shubael Dummer, with the Fate of York.

*Quoties viri boni violenta morte perierunt toties apud Pios Crevit Fides Resurrectionis.*  
Grad. in Zech. 12. 7.

**B**UT the Winter must not pass over without a Storm of Blood! The Popish *Indians*, after long Silence and Repose in their Inaccessable Kennels, which made our Frontier Towns a little Remit their tired Vigilance, did, Jan. 25. 1691, set upon the Town of *York*, where the Inhabitants were in their unguarded Houses here

and there scattered, Quiet and Secure. Upon the Firing of a Gun by the *Indians*, which was their Signal, the Inhabitants looked out but unto their Amazement, found their Houses to be Invested with horrid Salvages, who immediately kill'd many of those unprovided Inhabitants, and more they took Prisoners. This Body of *Indians* consisting of divers Hundreds, then sent in their Summons to some of the *Garrison's Houses*; and those *Garrisons*, whereof some had no more than Two or Three Men in them, yet being so well Mann'd, as to Reply, That they would spend their Blood unto the last Drop, &c. they would surrender; these cowardly Mifcreants had not Mettle enough to meddle with 'em. So they retired into their howling Thickets, having first Murdered about Fifty, and Captived near an Hundred of that unhappy People. In this Calamity great was the Share that fell to the Family of Mr. SHUBAEL DUMMER, the Pastor of the little Flock thus prey'd upon; those Blood-Hounds, being set on by some *Romish Missionaries*, had long been wilthing, that they might Embrace their Handc in the Blood of some *New-English MINISTER*; and in this Action they had their Diabolical Satisfaction. Our Dummer, the Minister of *York*, was One of whom for his Exemplary Holiness, Humbleness, Modesty, Industry and Fidelity, *The World was not Worthy*. He was a Gentleman Well-Defended, Well-Tempered; Well-Educated; and now thort of Sixty Years of Age. Hemight have taken for his Coat of Arms the same that the Holy Martyr Hooper Prophetically did, *A Lamb in a flaming Bush, with Rays from Heaven shining on it*. He had been Solicited with many Temptations to leave his Place, when the Clouds grew Thick and Black in the *Indian Hostilities*, and were like to brak upon it; but he chose rather with a paternal Affection to stay amongst those who had been so many of them Converted and Edified by his Ministry; and he spent very much of his own Patrimony to subsist among them, when their Distresses made them unable to support him, as otherwise they would have done. In a word, he was one that might by way of Eminency be called, *A Good Man*. This Good Man was just going to take Horse at his own Door, upon a Journey in the Service of God, when the *Ygres* that were making their Depredations upon the *Sheep of York* seiz'd upon this their Shepherd; and they thot him so, that they left him Dead among the Tribe of *Abel* on the Ground. Thus was he as *Ambrose* in his Elegant Oration, *De obitu Fratris*, Expresses it, *Non nobis crepuisset periculis*. His Wife they carried into Captivity, where through Sorrows and Hardships among those *Dragons of the Desert*, the also quickly Died; and his Church, as many of them as were in that Captivity, endured this, among other Anguishes, that on the next Lord's Day, one of the Tawnties chose to Exhibit himself unto them, [A Devil as an Angel of Light!] in the Cloaths whereof they had stript the Dead Body of this their Father. Many were the Tears



that were dropt throughout *New-England* on this Occasion; and these among the rest: For tho' we do not, as Tradition tells us, the *Andelivians* did use to do by the *Blood of Abel*, yet we cannot but mournfully Sing of the *Blood of such an Abel*.

## E P I T A P H.

**D**umner the Shepherd Sacrific'd  
By Wolves, because the Sheep he priz'd.  
The Orphans Father, Churches Light,  
The Love of Heav'n, of Hell the Spight.  
The Countries Gapman, and the Face  
That Shone, but knew it not, with Grace.  
Hunted by Devils, but Reliev'd  
By Angels, and on high Receiv'd.  
The Martyr'd Pelican, who Bled  
Rather than leave his Charge Unfed.  
A proper Bird of Paradise,  
Shot, and Flown thither in a Trice.

Lord, bear the Cry of Righteous *Dumner's*  
Wounds,  
Ascending still against the Salvage Hounds,  
That Worry thy dear Flocks: and let the Cry  
Add Force to Theirs that at thine Altar lye.

To Complement the Epitaph of this Good Man,  
there now needs no more than the famous old  
*Chaucer's* Motto,

*Mors mihi erumnarum Requies.*

## ARTICLE XVI.

The Memorable Action at Wells.

**A** Vessel, the Name whereof I know not, [Reader, let it be the *Charity*] being immediately dispatched unto *Sagadebeck*, by the *Charitable Companions* of the more Southward Neighbours, with Effects to accomplish it, happily Effected the Redemption of many that were taken Captives at *Tork*. But the rest of the People in that broken Town talking of Drawing off the Government, sent Captain *Convers* and Captain *Greenleaf*, with such Encouragements unto them to keep their Station, as prevailed with 'em still to Stand their Ground. In *February* Major *Hutchinson* was made Commander in Chief, and Forces under the Command of Captain *Convers*, Captain *Floyd*, and Captain *Thaxter*, were by him so prudently Posted on the *Frontiers*, that by maintaining a continual Communication, it became a Difficult thing for the Enemy to make any more Approaches. Lieutenant *Wilson* particularly hearing of a Man shot at in *Quochecho-Woods*, went out with a Scout of about Eighteen Men, who came upon the *Indians* that had shot at the Man, and killed and wounded all but one of the whole Company. But now, Reader, the longest Day in the Tear is to come on, and if I mistake not, the bravest *Action* in the War fell out upon it. *Modocka-*

*waondo* is now come, according to his Promise a Twelve-month ago. Captain *Convers* was lodg'd in *Storer's* Garrison at *Wells* with but Fifteen Men; and there came into *Wells* Two Sloops, with a Shallop, which had aboard supplies of Ammunition for the Soldiers, and Contribution for the Needy. The *Cattel* this Day came Frighted, and Bleeding out of the Woods, which was a more certain Omen of *Indians* a coming, than all the *Prodigies* that *Livy* Reports of the sacrificed Oxen. *Convers* immediately issued out his Commands unto all Quarters, but especially to the Sloops just then arrived. The Sloops were Commanded by *Samuel Storer*, and *James Gouge*, and *Gouge's* being Two Miles up the River, he wisely brought her down undiscovered unto *Storer's*, by the advantage of a Mist then prevailing. A careful Night they had on't! The next Morning before Day-Light, one *John Diamond*, a Stranger that came in the Shallop on a Visit, came to Captain *Convers* Garrison, where the Watch invited him in; but he chose rather to go aboard the Sloops, which were little more than a Gun-hot off; and, alas, the Enemy issuing out from their Lurking-places, immediately seiz'd him, and haled him away by the Hair of the Head, (in spite of all Attempts used by the Garrison to Recover him) for an horrible Story to be told by and by concerning him. The General of the Enemies Army was *Monseigneur Burniff*, and one *Monseigneur Labrocree* was a principal Commander; (the Enemy said, he was Lieutenant General: the Enemy said, divers other Frenchmen of Quality, accompanied with *Modockwaondo*, and *Moxias*, and *Egeremet*, and *Warumbo*, and several more Indian Sagamores; the Army made up in all about Five Hundred Men, or Fierce things in the shape of Men, all to Encounter Fifteen Men in one little Garrison, and about Fifteen more Men [worthily called *Such*!]) in a Couple of open Sloops. *Diamond* having informed 'em how 'twas in all Points, (only that for Fifteen, by a mistake he said *Thirty*) they fell to Dividing the Persons and Plunder, and agreeing that such an English Captain should be Slave to such a one, and such a Gentleman in the Town should serve such a one, and his Wife be a Maid of Honour to such or such a *Squaw* proposed, and Mr. *Wheelwright* instead of being a Worthy Counsellor of the Province, which he now is!) was to be the Servant of such a *Necop*, and the Sloops, with their Stores, to be so and so parted among them. There wanted but One Thing to Consummate the whole Matter, even the Chief Thing of all, which I suppose they had not thought of; that was, for Heaven to deliver all this Prize into their Hands: But, *Aliter Statutum est in Cælo*! A Man habited like a Gentleman made a Speech to them in English, Exhorting 'em to Courage, and Assuring 'em, that if they would Courageously fall upon the English, all was their own. The Speech being Ended, they fell to the Work, and with on horrid Shout and Shot, made their Assault upon the Feeble Garrison: But the English answered with



a brisk Volley, and sent such a Leadens Shower among them, that they retired from the Garrison to spend the Storm of their Fury upon the Sloops. You must know, that Wells Harbour is rather a Creek than a River, for 'tis very Narrow, and at low Water in many Places Dry; nevertheless, where the Vessels ride it is Deep enough, and so far off the Bank, that there is from thence no leaping Aboard. But our Sloops were forely incommoded by a Turn of the Creek, where the Enemy could lye out of danger so near 'em, as to throw Mud Aboard with their Hands. The Enemy was also privileged with a great Heap of Plank lying on the Bank, and with an Hay Stack, which they strengthened with Posts and Rails; and from all these Places, they poured in their Vengeance upon the poor Sloops, while they so placed smaller Parties of their Salvages, as to make it impossible for any of the Garrisons to afford 'em any relief. Lying thus with a Dozen Yards of the Sloops, they did with their Fire Arrows, divers times desperately set the Sloops on Fire: But the brave Defendants, with a Swab at the end of a Rope tied unto a Pole, and so dip't into the Water, happily put the Fire out. In brief, the Sloops gave the Enemy to brave a Repulse, that at Night they Retreated: When they renewed their Assault, finding that their Fortitude would not assure the Success of the Assault unto them, they had recourse unto their Policy. First, an Indian comes on with a Slab for a Shield before him; when a Shot from one of the Sloops pierced the Slab, which fell down instead of a Tombstone with the dead Indian under it: On which, as little a Fellow as he was, I know not whether some will not reckon it proper to inscribe the Epitaph which the Italians use to bestow upon their Dead Popes, *When the Dog is Dead, all his Malice is Dead with him*. Their next Stratagem was this: They brought out of the Woods a kind of a Cart, which they Trimm'd and Rigg'd, and Fitted up into a thing that might be called, A Chariot: Whereon they built a Platform, shot-proof in the Front, and placed many Men upon the Platform. Such an Engine they understood how to Shape, without having Read (I suppose) the Description of the Platens in Vegetius! This Chariot they push'd on towards the Sloops, till they were got, it may be, within Fifteen Yards of them; when lo one of the Wheels, to their Admiration, sunk into the Ground. A Frenchman stepping to heave the Wheel with an helpful Shoulder, Storer shot him down; another stepping to the Wheel, Storer with a well-placed Shot, sent him after his Mate: So the Rest thought it was best let it stand as it was. The Enemy kept Gauling the Sloop from their several Batteries, and calling 'em to Surrender, with many fine Promises to make them happy, which ours answered with a just Laughter, that had now and then a mortiferous Bullet at the End of it. The Tide Rising, the Chariot overfet, so that the Men behind it lay open to the Sloops, which immediately Displaced an horrible Slaughter among them; and they that could get away, got as fast, and as

far off as they could. In the Night the Enemy had much Discourse with the Sloops; they enquired, *Who were their Commanders?* And the English gave an Answer, which in some other Cafes and Places would have been too true, *That they had a great many Commanders*: But the Indians replied, *You Lie, you have none but Convers, and we will have him too before Morning!* They also knowing that the Magazine was in the Garrison, lay under an Hill-side, Pelting at that by times; but Captain Convers once in the Night, sent out Three or Four of his Men into a Field of Wheat for a Shot, if they could get one. There seeing a Black Heap lying together, Ours all at once let Fly upon them a Shot, that slew several of them that were thus Caught in the Corn, and made the rest glad that they found themselves able to run for it. Captain Convers was this while in much Distress about a Scout of Six Men which he had sent forth to Newichawanick the Morning before the Arrival of the Enemy, ordering them to Return the Day following. The Scout return'd into the very Mouth of the Enemy that lay before the Garrison; but the Corporal having his Wits about him, call'd out aloud, (as if he had seen Captain Convers making a Silley forth upon 'em) *Captain Wheel about your Men round the Hill, and we shall Catch 'em; there are but a few Rogues of 'em!* Upon which the Indians imagining that Captain Convers had been at their Heels, besook themselves to their Heels; and our Folks got safe into another Garrison. On the Lord's-day Morning there was for a while a deep Silence among the Assaults, but at length getting into a Body, they marched with great Formality towards the Garrison, where the Captain ordered his handful of Men to lye Snug, and not to make a Shot, until every Shot might be likely to do some Execution. While they thus beheld a formidable Crew of Dragons, coming with open Mouth upon them to Swallow them up at a Mouthful, one of the Soldiers began to speak of Surrendering; upon which the Captain vehemently protested, *That he would lay the Man Dead who should so much as mutter that base Word any more!* And so they heard no more on it: But the Vallant Storer was put upon the like Protestation, to keep 'em in good Fighting Trim aboard the Sloops also. The Enemy now approaching very near, gave Three Shouts that made the Earth ring again; and Crying out in English, *Fire, and fall on brave Boys!* The whole Body drawn into Three Ranks, Fired at once. Captain Convers immediately ran into the several flankers, and made their best Guns Fire at such a rate, that several of the Enemy fell, and the rest of 'em disappeared almost as nimbly as if there had been so many Spectres: Particularly a Parcel of them got into a small deserted House, which having but a Board-Wall to it, the Captain sent in after them those Bullets of Twelve to the Pound, that made the House too hot for them that could get out of it. The Women in the Garrison on this occasion took up the Amazonian Stroke, and not only



brought Ammunition to the Men, but also with a Man's Resolution fired several times upon the Enemy. The Enemy finding that things would not yet go to their Minds at the Garrison, drew off to try their Skill upon the Sloops, which lay still abreast in the Creek, laid fast one to another. They built a great Fire-Work about Eighteen or Twenty Foot Square, and fill'd it up with combustible Matter, which they fired, and then they set it in the way for the Tide now to Float it up unto the Sloops, which had now nothing but an horrible Death before them. Nevertheless their demands of both the Garrison and the Sloops to yield themselves, were answered no otherwise than with Death upon many of them, spit from the Guns of the besieged. Having tow'd their Fire-Work as far as they durst, they committed it unto the Tide; but the distressed Christians that had this deadly Fire swimming along upon the Water towards them, committed it unto God: And God looked from Heaven upon them in this prodigious Article of their Distress. These poor Men cried, and the Lord heard them, and saved them out of their Troubles: The Wind, unto their Astonishment, immediately turn'd about, and with a fresh Gale, drove the Machin Ashore on the other side, and split it so, that the Water being let in upon it, the Fire went out. So the godly Men that saw God from Heaven thus Fighting for them, cried out with an Astonishing Joy, *If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, they had swallowed us up quick; blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their Teeth; our Soul is Escaped as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers!* The Enemy were now in a pitiful Pickle with Toiling and Molling in the Mud, and black'ned with it, if Mud could add Blackness to such Miscreants; and their Ammunition was pretty well Exhausted: So that now they began to draw off in all Parts, and with Rats get over the River, some where of breaking, there did not a few Cool their late Heat by falling into it. But first, they made all the spoil they could upon the Cattel about the Town; and giving one Shot more at the Sloops, they kill'd the only Man of ours that was kill'd aboard 'em. Then after about half an Hours Consultation, they sent a Flag of Truce to the Garrison, advising 'em with much Flattery to Surrender; but the Captain sent 'em Word, *That he wanted for nothing but for Men to come and Fight him.* The Indian replied unto Captain Convers, *Being you are so Stout, why don't you come and Fight in the open Field like a Man, and not Fight in a Garrison like a Squaw?* The Captain rejoined, *What a Fool are you? Do you think Thirty Men a match for Five Hundred?* No, (says the Captain, counting, as well he might, each of his Fifteen Men to be as good as Two!) *Come with your Thirty Men upon the Plain, and I will meet you with my Thirty as soon as you will.* Upon this the Indian answered, *Nay, me own English Fashion is all one Fool, you kill me, me kill you! No, better ye somewhere and Shoot a Man, and be no*

*see! That the best Soldier!* Then they fell to Coaking the Captain with as many fine Words as the Fox in the Fable had for the Allurement of his Prey unto him; and urged mightily, that Ensign Hill, who stood with the Flag of Truce, might stand a little nearer their Army. The Captain for a good Reason to be presently discerned, would not allow that: Whereupon they fell to Threatning and Raging, like to many defeated Devils, using these Words, *Damn ye, we'll cut you as small as Tobacco before to-morrow Morning.* The Captain bid 'em to make Haste, for he wanted Work: so the Indian throwing his Flag on the Ground, ran away, and Ensign Hill nimbly Stripping his Flag, ran into the Valley; but the Salvages presently Fired from an Ambushment behind an Hill, near the Place where they had urged for a Parley.

And now for poor John Diamond! The Enemy Retreating (which opportunity the Sloops took to Burn down the Dangerous *Log-Stock*) into the Plain, out of Gun-shot they fell to Torturing their Captive John Diamond after a manner very Diabolical. They Stripped him, they Scalped him Alive, and after a Castration, they finished that Article in the Punishment of Traitors upon him; they slit him with Knives between his Fingers and his Toes; they made cruel Gashes in the most fleshy Parts of his Body, and stuck the Gashes with Firebrands which were afterwards found sticking in the Wounds. Thus they Barchered One poor Englishman with all the Fury that they would have spent upon them all; and performed an Exploit for Five Hundred Furies to brag of at their coming home. Ghastly to Express! What was it then to Suffer? They returned then unto the Garrison, and kept Firing at it now and then till near Ten a Clock at Night; when they all marched off, leaving behind 'em some of their Dead; whereof one was Monsieur Laboree, who had about his Neck a Pouch with about a Dozen Reliques ingeniously made up, and a Printed Paper of Indulgencies, and several other Implements; and no doubt, thought himself in as good Safety as if he had all the Spells of Lapland about him: But it seems none of the Amulets about his Neck would save him from a Mortal Shot in the Head. Thus in Forty-eight Hours was finished an Action as Worthy to be Related, as perhaps any that occurs in our Story. And it was not long before the Valiant Gouge, who bore his part in this Action, did another that was not much inferior to it, when he suddenly recovered from the French a valuable Prey, which they had newly taken upon our Coast.

I doubt, Reader, we have made this Article of our History a little too long. We will finish it when we have Remark'd, that albeit there were too much Feebleness discovered by my Countrymen in some of their Actions during this War at Sea, as well as on Shore, yet several of their Actions, especially at Sea, deserve to be Remembered. And I cannot but particularly bespeak a Remembrance for the Exploit



performed by some of my Neighbours in a Vessel going into *Barbadoes*. They were in fight of *Barbadoes* assaulted by a *French Vessel*, which had a good number of Guns, and between *Sixty* and *Seventy Hands*. Our Vessel had *Four Guns*, and *Eight Fighting Men*. [Truly such!] with *Two Tawny Servants*. The Names of these *Men* were *Barret*, *Sunderland*, *Knoles*, *Nash*, *Morgan*, *Fofdyke*, and *Two* more that I now forget. A desperate Engagement ensued, wherein our *Eight Mariners* managed the matter with such Bravery, that by the help of Heaven they killed between *Thirty* and *Forty* of the *French Assailants*, without losing one of their own little Number: And they sank the *French Vessel* which lay by their side, out of which they took *Twenty-seven* Prisoners, whereof *some* were wounded, and all crying for *Quarter*. In the Fight the *French Pennant*, being by the Wind fastened about the Top-Mast of the English Vessel, it was torn off by the sinking of the *French Vessel*, and left pleasantly flying there. So they sail'd into *Barbadoes*, where the *Assembly* voted them one Publick Acknowledgment of their Courage and Conduct in this brave Action, and our *History* now gives them another.

ARTICLE XVII.

The Fort at Pemmaguid.

HIS Excellency Sir William Phips being arrived now the Governour of *New-England*, applied himself with all possible Vigour to carry on the War: And the Advice of a New Slaughter some time in July made by the *Indians*, on certain poor Husbandmen in their Meadows, at the Northside of *Merrimack-River*, put an Accent upon the Zeal of the Designs, which he was now vigorously prosecuting. He raised about *Four Hundred* and *Fifty Men*, and in pursuance of his Instructions from *Whitehall*, he laid the Foundations of a Fort at *Pemmaguid*, which was the finest thing that had been seen in these Parts of *America*. Captain *Wing*, assisted with Captain *Bancroft*, went thro' the former Part of the Work; and the latter Part of it was finished by Captain *March*. His Excellency attended in this Matter, with these worthy Captains, did in a few Months dispatch a Service for the King, with a *Prudence*, and *Industry*, and *Thriftiness*, greater than any Reward they ever had for it. The Fort called, *The William-Henry*, was built of Stone in a *Quadrangular Figure*, being about *Seven Hundred* and *Thirty Seven Foot* in Compaſs, without the Outer Walls, and an *Hundred* and *Eight Foot Square*, within the Inner ones; *Twenty-eight* Ports it had, and *Fourteen* (if not *Eighteen*) Guns mounted, whereof *Six* were *Eighteen-Pounders*. The Wall on the South-Line, fronting to the Sea, was *Twenty-two Foot High*, and more than *Six Foot Thick* at the Ports, which were *Eight Foot* from the Ground. The

greater Flanker or Round Tower at the Western-End of this Line, was *Twenty-nine Foot High*. The Wall on the East Line was *Twelve Foot High*, on the North it was *Ten*, on the West it was *Eighteen*. It was computed that in the whole there were laid above *Two Thousand Cart-Loads* of Stone. It stood about a Score of Rods from *High-Water Mark*; and it had generally at least *Sixty Men* posted in it for its Defence, which if they were *Men*, might easily have maintained it against more than *Twice Six Hundred Assailants*. Yea, we were almost ready to flatter our selves, that we might have writ on the Gates of this Fort, as the French did over that of *Namur*, (yet afterwards taken by *K. William*) *Reddi, non Vinci potest*. Now as the Architect that built the strong Fortresses at *Narke* in *Poland*, had, for his Recompence, his Eyes put out, lest he should build such another; Sir William Phips was almost as hardly Recommended for the building of this at *Pemmaguid*. Although this Fort thus Erected in the Heart of the Enemies Country, did to break the Heart of the Enemy, that indeed they might have call'd it, as the French did theirs, upon the River of the *Illinois*; the Fort of *Crevecoeur*; and the Tranquillity After Enjoy'd by the Country, (which was very much more than Before) was, under God, much owing thereunto: Yet the Expence of maintaining it, when we were so much impoverished otherwise, made it continually complained of as one of the Countries Grievances. The Murmurs about this Fort were so Epidemical, that if we may speak in the Foolish Cant of *Astrology*, and Prognosticate from the Aspect of *Saturn* upon *Mars* at its Nativity, *Fort William-Henry*, *Thou hast not long to Live! Before the Year Ninety-nix Expire, thou shalt be demolished*. In the mean time let us accompany Major *Church* going with a Company to *Penobscot*, where he took *Five Indians*; and afterwards to *Taconet*, where the *Indians* discovering his Approach, set their own Fort on Fire themselves, and flying from it, left only their Corn to be destroy'd by him. And so we come to the End of 1692. only we are stop'd a little with a very strange Parenthesis.

ARTICLE XVIII.

A Surprising Thing laid before the Reader for him to judge, (if he can) what to make of it.

Reader, I must now address thee with the Words of a Poet:

*Dicam Insigne Recens, adhue Indictum ore alio. Horat.*

But with *Truths* more confirmed, than what useth to come from the Pen of a Poet. The Story of the Prodigious War, made by the Spirits of the Invisibile World upon the People of *New-England*, in the Year 1692. hath Entertain'd a great Part of the English World with a just Astonishment: And I have met with some strange

things;



things, not here to be mentioned, which have made me often think, that this inexplicable *War* might have some of its Original among the *Indians*, whose chief *Sagamores* are well known unto some of our Captives to have been horrid *Sorcerers*, and hellish *Conjurers*, and such as Converſed with *Demons*. The Sum of that Story is Written in *The Life of Sir William Phips*; with ſuch Irreproachable Truth, as to deſe the utmoſt Wiſe and Cunning of all our *Sadduces* to confute it in ſo much as one Material Article: And that the Balant and Latrant Noiſes of that ſort of People may be for ever Silenced, the Story will be abundantly Juſtified, when the further Account written of it by Mr. *John Hale* ſhall be publiſhed: For none can ſuſpect a Gentleman ſo full of Diſtinction at the proceedings then uſed againſt the ſuppoſed *Witchcrafts*, as now that Reverend Perſon is, to be a *Superſtitious Writer* upon that Subject.

Now in the time of that matchleſs *War*, there fell out a thing at *Gloceſter* which falls in here moſt properly to be related: A Town ſo ſituated, Surrounded, and Neighbour'd, in the County of *Effex*, that no Man in his Wits will imagine, that a Dozen *Frenchmen* and *Indians* would come and alarm the Inhabitants for Three Weeks together, and Engage 'em in ſeveral Skirmiſhes. while there were Two Regiments Raiſed, and a Detachment of Threeſcore Men ſent unto their Succour, and not One Man hurt in all the Actions, and all End unaccountably. And becauſe the Relation will be Extraordinary, I will not be my ſelf the Author of any one Clause in it; but I will Tranſcribe the Words of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, who did me the Favour, with much Critical Caution, to Examine *Witneſſes*, not long after the thing happened, and then ſent me the following Account.

*A ſaithful Account of many Wonderful and Surprising Things which happened in the Town of Gloceſter in the Year 1692.*

**E** *Benezer Baſſon*, about Midſummer, in the Year 1692. with the reſt of his Family, almoſt every Night heard a Noiſe as if Perſons were going and running about his Houſe. But one Night being abroad late, at his return Home he ſaw Two Men come out of his Door, and run from the end of the Houſe into the Corn. But thoſe of the Family told him, there had been no Perſon at all there; whereupon he got his Gun, and went out in purſuit after them, and coming a little Diſtance from the Houſe, he ſaw the Two Men ſtart up from behind a Log, and run into a little Swamp, ſaying to each other, *The Man of the Houſe is come now, elſe we might have taken the Houſe.* So he heard not ſaw no more of them.

Upon this the whole Family got up, and went with all ſpeed to a *Garrifon* near by;

and being juſt got into the *Garrifon*, they heard Men ſtamping round the *Garrifon*. Whereupon *Baſſon* took his Gun and ran out, and ſaw Two Men again running down an Hill into a Swamp. The next Night but one, the ſaid *Baſſon* going toward a freſh Meadow, ſaw Two Men, which looked like *Frenchmen*, one of them having a bright Gun upon his Back, and both running a great Pace towards him, which cauſed him to make the beſt of his way to the *Garrifon*, where being come, ſeveral heard a Noiſe as if Men were ſtamping and running not far from the *Garrifon*. Within a Night or Two after this, the Perſons in the *Garrifon* heard a Noiſe, as if Men were throwing Stones againſt the Barn. Not long after this, *Baſſon*, with *John Brown*, ſaw Three Men about a Gunſhot off the *Garrifon*, which they endeavoured to Shoot at, but were diſappointed by their running to and fro from the Corn into the Buſhes. They were ſeen Two or Three Nights together; but though the aboveſaid ſtrove to ſhoot at them, they could never attain it. On July 14. *Baſſon* and *Brown*, with the reſt of the Men in the *Garrifon*, ſaw, within Gunſhot, half a Dozen Men; whereupon all the Men but One made haſte out of the *Garrifon*, marching towards them. *Baſſon* preſently overtook Two of them which run out of the Buſhes, and coming cloſe to them, he preſented his Gun at them, and his Gun miſſing Fire, the Two Men returned into the Buſhes. *Baſſon* then called unto the other Perſons, which were on the other ſide of the Swamp, and upon his call they made Answer, *Here they are! Here they are!* *Baſſon* then running to meet them, ſaw Three Men walk ſoftly out of the Swamp by each other's Side; the middlemoſt having on a white Watcoat. So being within Two or Three Rods of them, he ſhot, and as ſoon as his Gun was off, they all fell down. *Baſſon* then running to his ſuppoſed Prey, cried out unto his Companions, whom he heard on the other ſide of the Swamp, and ſaid, *He had kill'd Three! He had kill'd Three!* But coming almoſt unto them, they all roſe up, and One of them ſhot at him, and hearing the Bullet whiſt by him, he ran behind a Tree, and loaded his Gun; and ſeeing them lye behind a Log, he crept toward them again, telling his Companions, *They were here!* So his Companions came up to him, and they all ran directly to the Log with all ſpeed; but before they got thither, they ſaw them ſtart up, and run every Man his way; One of them run into the Corn, whom they purſued, and hemm'd in; and *Baſſon* ſeeing him coming toward himſelf, ſhot at him, and he was getting over the Fence, and ſaw him fall off the Fence on the Ground, but when he came to the Spot, he could not find him. So they all ſearch'd the Corn; and as they were ſearching, they heard a great Diſcouſing in the Swamp, but could not underſtand what they ſaid; for they ſpoke in an unknown Tongue. Afterwards looking out from the *Garrifon*, they ſaw ſeveral



mal Men skulking among the *Corn* and *Bushes*, but could not have a Shot at them.

The next Morning, just at Day-break, they saw One Man come out of the Swamp not far from the Garrison, and stand close up against the Fence, within Gun-shot. Whereupon *Isaac Primer*, with a long Gun, shot at him with *Swan-shot*, and in a moment he was gone out of sight, they saw him no more. Upon this *Bapton* went to carry News to the Harbour; and being about half a Mile in his way thither, he heard a Gun go off, and heard a Bullet whist close by his Ear, which cut off a Pine-bush just by him, and the Bullet lodg'd in an Hemlock-Tree. Then looking about he saw Four Men running towards him, one with a Gun in his Hand, and the other with Guns on their Shoulders. So he ran into the Bushes, and turning about, shot at them, and then ran away, and saw them no more. About Six Men returned from the Harbour with him, searching the Woods as they went; and they saw where the Bullet had cut off the Pine-bush, and where it was lodg'd in the Hemlock-Tree, and they took the Bullet out, which is still to be seen. When they were come to the Garrison, they went to look for the Tracks of the strange Men that had been seen, and saw several Tracks, and whilst they were looking on them, they saw one which look'd like an *Indian*, having on a blue Coat, and his Hair ty'd up behind, standing by a Tree, and looking on them. But as soon as they spake to each other, he ran into a Swamp, and they after him, and one of them shot at him, but to no purpose. One of them also saw another, which look'd like a *Frenchman*, but they quickly lost the sight of him.

July 15. *Ezekiel Day* being in Company with several others, who were ordered to Scout the Woods, when they came to a certain Fresh Meadow, Two Miles from any House, at some distance from the said Meadow, he saw a Man which he apprehended to be an *Indian*, clothed in Blue, and as soon as he saw him start up and run away, he shot at him; whereupon he saw another rise up a little way off, who also ran with speed; which, together with the former, were quickly out of sight; and though himself, together with his Companions, diligently sought after them, they could not find them. The same Day *John Hammond*, with several other Persons, scouting in the Woods, saw another of these *strange Men*, having on a blue Shirt and white Breeches, and something about his Head; but could not overtake him.

July 17. Three or Four of these *Unaccountable Troublers* came near the Garrison; but they could not get a shot at them. *Richard Dolliver* also, and *Benjamin Ellary*, creeping down an Hill upon Discovery, saw several Men come out of an Orchard, walking backward and forward, and striking with a Stick upon *John Row's* deserted House, (the Noise of which was heard by others at a considerable Di-

stance;) *Ellary* counting them to be Eleven in all; *Dolliver* shot at the midst of them, where they stood thickest, and immediately they dispersed themselves, and were quickly gone out of sight.

July 18. Which was the time that Major *Appleton* sent about Sixty Men from *Ipswich*, for the Towns Assistance under these *inexplicable Alarms*, which they suffered Night and Day for about a Fortnight together; *John Day* testifies, that he went in Company with *Ipswich* and *Glocester* Forces, to a Garrison about Two Miles and an half from the Town; and News being brought in, that Guns went off in a Swamp not far from the Garrison, some of the Men, with himself, ran to discover what they could; and when he came to the Head of the Swamp, he saw a Man with a blue Shirt, and bushy black Hair, run out of the Swamp, and into the Woods; he ran after him with all speed, and came several times within shot of him; but the Woods being thick, he could not obtain his design of Shooting him; at length he was at once gone out of sight; and when afterwards he went to look for his Track, he could find none, though it were a low misty Place that he ran over.

About July 25. *Bapton* went into the Woods after his Cattel, and saw Three Men stand upon a Point of Rocks which look'd toward the Sea. So he crept among the Bushes till he came within Forty Yards of them; and then presented his Gun at them, and Snap, but his Gun mis'd Fire, and so it did above a Dozen Times, till they all Three came up towards him, walking a slow Pace, one of them having a Gun upon his Back. Nordid they take any more Notice of him, than just to give him a Look; though he snapt his Gun at them all the while they walked toward him, and by him; neither did they quicken their Pace at all, but went into a parcel of Bushes, and he saw them no more. When he came home he snapt his Gun several times, sometimes with but a few Corns of Powder, and yet it did not once mis Fire. After this there occurred several strange things; but now concluding they were but *Spectres*, they took little further Notice of them.

[Several other Testimonies, all to the same Effect with the foregoing, my Friend has added, which for brevity I omit; and only add, the most considerable of these Passages were afterward Sworn before one of Their Majesties Council.]

Reverend and truly Honoured Sir, According to your Request I have Collected a brief Account of the Occurrences remark'd in our Town the last Year. Some of them are very Admirable things, and yet no less True than Strange. If we may believe the Afflictions of Credible Persons. Tho' because of great Haste it is a rough Draught, yet there is nothing written but what the Persons mentioned would, if duly called, confirm the Truth of by Oath.



I might have given you a larger Account of only several who Saw and Heard some of the most Remarkable things are now beyond Sea. However, I hope the Substance of what is Written will be enough to satisfy all Rational Persons, that *Glocester* was not Alarmed last Summer for above a Fortnight together by real *French* and *Indians*, but that the *Devil* and his Agents were the cause of all the Molestation which at this time befel the Town; in the Name of whose Inhabitants I would take upon me to Entreat your Earnest Prayers to the Father of Mercies, that those Apparitions may not prove the sad Omens of some future and more horrible Molestations to them.

May 19.  
1692.

S I R,

Your very humble Servant,

J. E.

NOW, Reader, albeit that passage of the Sacred Story, 2 Chron. 20. 22. *The Lord set Ambushments against the Children of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, and they were smitten*, is by the best Expositors thus understood; that there was the Ministry of the *Holy Angels* wondrously Employ'd in this Matter; the *Angels* in the shape of *Moabites* and *Ammonites* fell upon them of Mount *Seir*, and upon this apprehended Provocation they then all fell upon one another, until the whole Army was destroyed: Nevertheless I entirely refer it unto thy Judgment, (without the least offer of my own) whether *Satan* did not now set Ambushments against the good People of *Glocester*, with *Demons* in the shape of Armed *Indians* and *Frenchmen* appearing to considerable Numbers of the Inhabitants, and mutually Firing upon them for the best part of a Month together. I know the most Considerate Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood unto this Day believe this whole matter to have been a Prodigious Piece of the Strange descent from the *Invisible World*, then made upon other Parts of the Country. And the publication of this Prodigy, among other Wonders of the *Invisible World* among us, has been delay'd until now, that so the Opinion of our most considerate Gentlemen about it might have time for a thorough Concoction: And that the Gentlemen of the Order of St. *Thomas* may have no Objection to make against it. But be it what it will, they are not a few profane *Squibs* from the Sons of the Extravagant *Bekkar*, that will be a fit Explication for things thus Attested, and so very Marvellous.

#### ARTICLE XIX.

PACEM, Te Poscimus Omnes.

IN the Year 1693. His Excellency sent away Captain *Convers* to draw off the fittest of the Officers and Soldiers quartered in the East

for a March; and causing about Three Hundred and Fifty more to be Levied, gave him what he had merited above a Year ago; even a Commission of *Major*, and Commander in Chief over these Forces. While *Major Convers* was at *Wells*, hearing of some *Indians* that were seen in the Woods, he surpris'd them all; and finding that they had cut off a poor Family at *Oyster River*, he gave the chief of them something of what they also had merited. Going to *Pembaquid* after some Service there, they Sailed up *Sheepscote River*, and then marched through the Woods to *Taconet*, which being deserted by the *Indians*, they ranged through many other Woods; but could meet with none of their Enemies. Repairing then to *Saco*, they began another Fort, which was carried on by that worthy Gentleman *Major Hook*, and the truly commendable Captain *Hill*, and proved a matter of good Consequence unto the Province. While these things were doing sometime in *July*, the Straggling *Indians* did some Spoil upon *Quabog*, a remote Village in the Road unto *Connecticut*; but Advice being dispatch'd unto the Towns upon *Connecticut-River*, a Party immediately Salley'd out after the Spoilers, and leaving their Horses at the Entrance of a Swamp, whither by their Track they had followed them, they came upon the secure Adversary, and kill'd the most of them, and recovered the Captives, with their Plunder; and returning Home, had some Reward for so brisk an Action.

But now the *Indians* in the East, probably disheartened by the Forts Erecting that were like to prove a fore Annoyance to them in their Enterprizes; and by the fear of wanting Ammunition, with other Provisions, which the *French* were not so able just now to dispence unto them; and by a presumption that an Army of *Magua's*, [part of those terrible *Cannibals* to the Westward, whereof 'tis affirm'd by those who have published the Stories of their Travels among them, that they have destroy'd no less than Two Million Salvages of other Nations about them, through their being supplied with Fire-Arms, before Hundreds of other Nations [lying between them and the River *Mississippi*] was come into their Country, because they found some of their *Squa's* killed upon a *Whortle-berry Plain*; all the Charms of the *French Friar*, then Resident among them, could not hinder them from suing to the English for Peace. And the English being so involved in Debts, that they scarce knew how to prosecute the War any further, took some Notice of their Suit. Accordingly a Peace was made upon the Ensting Articles.

Province



Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England.

*The Submission and Agreement of the Eastern Indians at Fort William Henry in Pennsylvania, the 11th Day of August, in the Fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, William and Mary, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, &c. 1693.*

Whereas a Bloody War has for some Years now past been made and carried on by the Indians within the Eastern Parts of the said Province, against Their Majesties Subjects the English, through the Instigation and Influences of the French, and being sensible of the Miseries which we and our People are reduced unto, by adhering to their ill Council: We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, being Sagamores and Chief Captains of all the Indians belonging to the several Rivers of Penobscot and Kennebeck, Amarefocin and Saco, Parts of the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay within Their said Majesties Sovereignty, having made Application unto his Excellency Sir William Phips, Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over the said Province, that the War may be put to an end, do lay down our Arms, and cast our selves upon Their said Majesties Grace and Favour. And each of us respectively for our selves, and in the Name and with the free Consent of all the Indians belonging unto the several Rivers aforesaid, and of all other Indians within the said Province of and from Merrimack River, unto the most Easterly Bounds of the said Province; hereby acknowledging our hearty Subjection and Obedience unto the Crown of England; and do solemnly Covenant, Promise and Agree, to and with the said Sir William Phips, and his Successors, in the Place of Captain General and Governour in Chief of the aforesaid Province or Territory, on Their said Majesties behalf in manner following, viz.

That at all time and times for ever, from and after the date of these Presents, we will cease and forbear all Acts of Hostility towards the Subjects of the Crown of England, and not offer the least Hurt or Violence to them, or any of them, in their Persons or Estate: But will henceforward hold and maintain a firm and constant Amity and Friendship with all the English.

Item. We abandon and forsake the French Interest, and will not in any wise adhere to Join with, Aid or Assist them in their Wars or Designs against the English, nor Countenance, Succour or Conceal any of the Enemy Indians of Canada, or other Places, that shall happen to come to any of our Plantations within the English Territory, but secure them, if in our Power, and deliver them up unto the English.

That all English Captives in the Hands or Power of any of the Indians within the Limits aforesaid, shall with all possible speed be set at Liberty, and returned Home without any Ransom or Payment to be made or given for them, or any of them.

That Their Majesties Subjects the English, shall and may peaceably and quietly enter upon, improve, and for ever enjoy all and singular their Rights of Lands, and former Settlements and Possessions within the Eastern Parts of the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay, without any Pretensions or Claims by us, or any other Indians, and be in no wise molested, interrupted, or disturbed therein.

That all Trade and Commerce, which hereafter may be allowed between the English and Indians, shall be under such Management and Regulation, as may be Stated by an Act of the General Assembly, or as the Governor of the said Province for the time being, with the Advice and Consent of the Council, shall see Cause to Direct and Limit.

If any Controversie or Difference at any time hereafter happen to arise between any of the English and Indians, for any real or supposed Wrong or Injury done on one side or the other, no private Revenge shall be taken by the Indians for the same, but proper Application be made to Their Majesties Government upon the Place, for Remedy thereof, in a due Course of Justice; we hereby submitting our selves to be Ruled and Governed by Their Majesties Laws, and desire to have the Benefit of the same.

For the more full Manifestation of our Sincerity and Integrity in all that which we have herein before Covenanted and Promised, we do deliver unto Sir William Phips, Their Majesties Governor as aforesaid, Abassombamett, Brother to Edgeremutt, Wenongahewitt, Cousin to Madockawando, and Edgeremutt, and Bagatawawongon; also Sheepcoat John, to abide and remain in the Custody of the English, where the Governour shall direct, as Hostages or Pledges for our Fidelity, and true Performance of all and every the foregoing Articles, reserving Liberty to exchange them in some reasonable time for a like number, to the acceptance of the Governor and Council of the said Province, so they be Persons of as good Account and Esteem amongst the Indians, as those which are to be exchanged. In Testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our several Marks and Seals, the Day and Year first above-written.

The above-written Instrument was deliberately read over, and the several Articles and Clauses thereof Interpreted unto the Indians, who said they well understood and consented therunto, and was then Signed, Sealed, and Delivered in the Presence of us,

John Wing.  
Nicholas Manning.  
Benjamin Jackson.  
Edgeremutt.



Edger nett.  
 Madock stando.  
 Wassamomet of Naxidgewock.  
 Wenohson of Tecomet in behalf of Moxis.  
 Ketteramogis of Narridgewock.  
 Abanguit of Penobscot.  
 Bomgteen.  
 Nizamemet.  
 Webenes.  
 Awansomeck.  
 Robin Doney.  
 Madaumbia.  
 Pagaubaret, alias, Nathaniel.

John Hornybrook,  
 John Bagatawonggo, alias, } Interpre-  
 Sheepcoat John. } ters.  
 Phill. Ounjakis, Squaw.

## ARTICLE XX.

*Bloody Fishing at Oyfter River, and Sad Work at Groton.*

**A** Tears Breathing time was a great Favour of Heaven to a Country quite out off Breath with numberless Calamities. But the Favour was not so thankfully enjoyed as it should have been. And now *The Clouds return after the Rain.* The *Speñre* that with Burning Tonges drove *Xerxes* to his War upon the *Grecians*, had not lost his Influence upon our *Indians*. The Perfidy of the *Indians* appeared first in their not restoring the *English Captives* according to their *Covenant*; but the perfidious Wretches excused this with many *Protestations*. That which added unto our *Jealousies* about them, was their Insolent Carriage towards a *Sloop*, Commanded by Captain *Wing*; and the Information of a Fellow called *Heltor*, that the *Indians* intended most certainly to break the *Peace*, and had promised the *French Priests*, taking the *Sacrament* thereupon, to destroy the first *English Town* they could Surprize. Rumours of *Indians* Lurking about some of the Frontier-Plantations, now began to put the poor People into *Consternation*; but upon an Imagination that they were only certain *Beaver-Hunters*, the Confirmation of the People went off into *Security*. 'Tis affirmed by *English Captives*, which were then at *Canada*, that the Desolation of *Oyfter River* was commonly talk'd in the Streets of *Quebeck* Two Months before it was effected; for the Spies had found no Town so secure as *That*. And now what was Talk'd at *Quebeck* in the Month of *May*, must be Done at *Oyfter River* in the Month of *July*; for on Wednesday, July 18. 1694, the Treacherous Enemy, with a great Army fell upon that Place, about break of Day, and Kill'd and Captiv'd Ninety Four, (or an Hundred) Persons; about a Score of whom were Men belonging to the Trained Band of the Town. Several Persons Remarkably escaped this Bloody Deluge, but none with more Bravery than one *Thomas Bickford*, who had an House, a little Pallisado'd, by the River side, but no Man

in it besides himself. He dexterously put his Wife, and Mother, and Children aboard a Canoe, and sending them down the River, he Alone betook himself to the Defence of his House, against many *Indians* that made an Assault upon him. They first would have perswaded him with many fair *Promises*, and then terrified him with as many fierce *Threatnings*, to yield himself; but he Floured and Fired at them, daring 'em to come if they durst. His main *Stratagem* was to change his *Livery* as frequently as he could; appearing sometimes in one *Coat*, sometimes in another, sometimes in an *Hat*, and sometimes in a *Cap*; which caus'd his Besiegers to mistake this One for many Defendants. In fine, the pitiful Wretches despairing to Beat him out of his House, e'en left him in it; whereas many that opened unto them, upon their Solemn Engagements of giving them Life and good Quarter, were barbarously Butchered by them; and the Wife of one *Adams*, then with Child, was with horrible Barbarity ripped up. And thus there was an end of the *Peace* made at *Pemmaguid!* Upon this, the Friends of Mrs. *Urfula Cutt*, (Widow of Mr. *John Cutt*, formerly President of *New-Hampshire*.) desired her to leave her Farm, which was about a Mile above the Bank exposed to the Enemy, on the South side of *Piscataqua River*. She thank'd them for their Care; but added, that she believed the Enemy had now done their Do for this time; and however, by the End of the Week her *Business* at the Farm would be all dispatched, and on Saturday she would repair to her Friends at the Bank. But alas! before the End of the Week, she saw the End of her Life: On Saturday, about One or Two a Clock in the Afternoon, the *Business* at the Farm was Dispatched sure enough! The *Indians* then kill'd this Gentlewoman and Three other People, a little before they had finished a point of Husbandry then in their Hands. Nor did the Storm go over so: Some Drops of it fell upon the Town of *Groton*, a Town that lay, one would think, far enough off the Place where was the last Scene of the Tragedy. On July 27. about break of Day *Groton* felt some surprizing Blows from the *Indian Hatchets*. They began their Attacks at the House of one Lieutenant *Lakin*, in the Out-skirts of the Town; but met with a Repulse there, and lost one of their Crew. Nevertheless, in other Parts of that Plantation, (when the good People had been so tired out as to lay down their *Military Watch*) there were more than Twenty Persons killed, and more than a Dozen carried away. Mr. *Gershon Hobart*, the Minister of the Place, with part of his Family, was Remarkably preserved from falling into their Hands, when they made themselves the Masters of his House; though they Took Two of his Children, whereof the one was Killed, and the other some time after happily Rescued out of his Captivity.



I remember, the *Jews* in their Book *Taanith*, tell us, *The Elders Proclaimed a Fast in their Cities on this Occasion, because the Wolves had devoured Two little Children beyond Jordan.* Truly, the *Elders of New-England* were not a little concerned at it, when they saw the *Wolves* thus devouring their Children, even on this side of *Merrimack*!

## ARTICLE XXI.

*More English Blood Swallowed, but Revenged.*

**R** Eader, We must after this, ever now and then, expect the happening of some unhappy Accident. The *Blood-thirsty Salvages*, not content with Qualling the *Blood* of Two or Three Persons, found at Work in a Field at *Spruce-Creek*, on *Aug. 20.* and of another Person at *York*, the same Day, (Captivating also a Lad which they found with him;) they did on *Aug. 24.* Kill and Take Eight Persons at *Kittery*. Here a little Girl about Seven Years Old, the Daughter of one Mr. *Downing*, fell into their Barbarous Hands; they Knock'd her o'th' Head, and barbarously Scalped her, leaving her on the *Cold Ground*, (and it was then very *Cold*, beyond what use to be,) where the lay all the Night ensuing: Yet she was found *Alive* the next Morning, and recovering, she is to this Day *Alive* and Well; only the place broke in her Skull will not endure to be closed up. He had another Daughter, which at the same time almost miraculously escaped their Hands. But so could not at another time *Joseph Pike* of *Newbury*, the Deputy Sheriff of *Essex*, who on *Sept. 4.* Travelling between *Amesbury* and *Haverhil*, in the Execution of his Office, with one *Long*, they both had an Arrest of Death served upon them from an *Indian Ambuscado*. *Bommafeen*, a Commander of Prime Quality among the *Indians*, who had set his Hand unto the late *Articles of Submission*, came, *Nov. 19.* with Two other *Indians*, to *Pemmaguid*, as loving as Bears, and as harmless as Tygres; pretending to be just Arrived from *Canada*, and much Afflicted for the late *Mischiefs*, (whereof there was Witness that he was a Principal Actor,) but Captain *March* with a sufficient Activity seized them; as *Robin Doney*, another Famous Villain among them, with Three more, had been seized at *Saco Fort* a little before. *Bommafeen* was convey'd unto *Boston*, that he might, in a close Imprisonment there, have time to consider of his Treacheries and his Cruelties, for which the Justice of Heaven had thus delivered him up. When he was going to *Pemmaguid*, he left his Company with a strange Reluctancy and Formality, as if he had pre-figured the Event; and when at *Pemmaguid* he found the Event of his coming, he discovered a more than ordinary Disturbance of Mind; his *Passions* Foam'd and Boil'd like the very *Waters* at the Fall of *Niagara*.

But being thus fallen upon the mention of that *Vengeance*, wherewith Heaven purfued the chief of the *Salvage Murderers*, it may give some Diversion unto the Reader, in the midst of a long and a sad Story, to insert a Relation of an Accident that fell out a little after this time.

The *Indians*, (as the Captives inform us) being Hungry, and hardly beset, pass'd through deserted *Calco*, where they spied several *Horses* in Captain *Bracket's Orchard*; Their famished *Squad's* begg'd them to Shoot the *Horses*, that they might be revived with a little *Roast-meat*, but the Young Men were for having a little Sport before their Supper. Driving the *Horses* into a Pond, they took one of them, and furnish'd him with an *Halter*, suddenly made of the *Mann* and the Tail of the Animal, which they cut off. A Son of the Famous *Hegon* was ambitious to mount this *Pegasaan Steed*; but being a pitiful Horseman, he order'd them, for fear of his falling, to tie his Legs fast under the *Horse's* Belly. No sooner was this *Beggar set on Horse-back*, and the Spark, in his own Opinion, throughly Equip'd, but the Mettlefome *Horse* furiously and pretently ran with him out of sight. Neither *Horse nor Man* were ever seen any more; the astonish'd *Tawnies* howl'd after one of their Nobility, disappearing by such an unexpected Accident. A few Days after they found one of his *Legs*, (and that was *all*;) which they buried in Captain *Bracket's* Cellar, with abundance of Lamentation.

## ARTICLE XXII.

*A Conference with an Indian-Sagamore.*

**B**UT now *Bommafeen* is fallen into our Hands, let us have a little Discourse with him.

Behold, Reader, the Troubles and the Troublers of *New-England*! That thou may'st a little more exactly behold the *Spirit* of the Matter; I'll recite certain Passages occurring in a Discourse that pass'd between this *Bommafeen* (who was one of the *Indian Princes*, or *Chieftains*;) and a Minister of the Gospel, in the Year 1696.

*Bommafeen* was with some other *Indians* now a Prisoner in *Boston*. He desired a Conference with a Minister of *Boston*, which was granted him. *Bommafeen*, with the other *Indians*, assenting and assenting to it, then told the Minister, that he pray'd his Instruction in the *Christian Religion*; inasmuch as he was afraid, that the *French* in the *Christian Religion*, which they taught the *Indians*, had abused them. The Minister enquired of him, what of the things taught 'em by the *French* appear'd most suspicious to 'em: He said, the *French* taught 'em, that the Lord *JESUS CHRIST* was of the *French Nation*; that his Mother, the Virgin *Mary*, was a *French Lady*; that they were the *English* who had Murdered him; and that whereas he rose from the Dead, and went up to the Heavens, all that would Recommend them:



themselves unto his Favour, must Revenge his Quarrel upon the *English* as far as they can. He ask'd the Minister whether these things were so, and pray'd the Minister to instruct him in the true *Christian Religion*. The Minister considering, that the Humour and Manner of the *Indians* was to have their Discourses managed with much of *Similitude* in them, look'd about for some agreeable Object, from whence he might with apt *Resemblances* convey the *Idea's* of Truth unto the Minds of *Salvages*; and he thought none would be more agreeable to them than a *Tankard of Drink*, which happened then to be standing on the Table. So he proceeded in this *Method* with 'em.

He told them, [still with proper *Actions* Painting and Pointing out the *Signs* unto them,] That our Lord *JESUS CHRIST* had given us a *Good Religion*, which might be resembled unto the *Good Drink* in the *Cup* upon the Table.

That if we take this *Good Religion*, (even that *Good Drink*.) into our Hearts, it will do us Good, and preserve us from Death.

That God's Book, the Bible, is the *Cup* wherein that *Good Drink* of Religion is offered unto us.

That the *French* having the *Cup* of *Good Drink* in their Hands, had put *Poison* into it, and then made the *Indians* to Drink that *Poisoned Liquor*, whereupon they run Mad, and fell to killing of the *English*, though they could not but know it must unavoidably issue in their own Destruction at the last.

That it was plain the *English* had put no *Poison* into the *Good Drink*; for they set the *Cup* wide open, and invited all Men to Come and See before they Taste, even the very *Indians* themselves; for we Translated the Bible into *Indian*. That they might gather from hence, that the *French* had put *Poison* into the *Good Drink*, inasmuch as the *French* kept the *Cup* fast shut, (the Bible in an *Unknown Tongue*.) and kept their Hands upon the Eyes of the *Indians*, when they put it unto their Mouths.

The *Indians* expressing themselves to be well satisfied with what the Minister had hitherto said, pray'd him to go on, with showing 'em what was the *Good Drink*, and what was the *Poison* which the *French* had put into it.

He then set before them distinctly the chief *Articles* of the *Christian Religion*, with all the Simplicity and Sincerity of a *Protestant*: Adding upon each, *This is the Good Drink in the Lord's Cup of Life*: And they still protested, *That they liked it all*.

Whereupon he Demonstrated unto them, how the *Papists* had in their idolatrous Popery, some way or other depraved and alter'd every one of these *Articles*, with Scandalous *Ingredients* of their own Invention; adding upon each, *This is the Poison which the French have put into the Cup*.

At last he mentioned this Article.

To obtain the Pardon of your Sins, you must confess your Sins to God, and pray to God,

that he would Pardon your Sins for the Sake of *Jesus Christ*, who died for the Sins of his People: God loves *Jesus Christ* infinitely, and if you place your Eye on *Jesus Christ* only, when you beg the Pardon of your Sins, God will Pardon them. You need confess your Sins to none but God, except in Cases where Men have known your Sins, or have been hurt by your Sins; and then these Men should know that you confess your Sins; but after all, none but God can Pardon them.

He then added, *The French have put Poison into this Good Drink*; they tell you, that you must confess your Sins to a Priest, and carry Skins to a Priest, and submit unto a Penance enjoined by a Priest; and this Priest is to give you a Pardon. There is no need of all this; 'Tis nothing but *French Poison*, all of it.

The Wretches appearing astonish'd to meet with one who would so fairly put them into a glorious way to obtain the Pardon of their Sins, and yet take no *Bever-skins* for it, in a Rapure of Astonishment they fell down on their Knees, and got his Hand into theirs, and fell to kissing of it with an extream show of Affection.

He shaking them off with dislike of their Posture, *Bonmaseen*, with the rest of them, stood up; and first lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, declaring, that God should be Judge of his Heart in what he said, he then said, Sir, I thank you for these things; I resolve to Spit up all the *French Poison*; you shall be my Father; I will be your Son; I beseech you to continue to instruct me in that Religion which may bring me to the Salvation of my Soul!—Now God knows what Heart this *Indian* had when he so expressed himself: To Him let us leave it.

But so much for this Digression.

## ARTICLE XXIII.

More Mischiefs in Spite of Treaties.

EXCEPT it were the falling of Two Soldiers belonging to *Saco* Garrison into the Hands of the Enemy, who took the one, and kill'd the other, some time in *March*, 1695, many Months pass'd away without any Action between Them and Us; and it is reported by returned Captives, that the Hand of God reach'd them, when the Hand of Man could not find them, and a Mortal Sickness did at a strange rate carry off Multitudes of them. At length, upon the Mediation of Old *Sheepscot John*, once a Praying Indian of the Reverend *ELLIOT'S* *Catechumens*, but afterwards a *Pagan*, and now a *Papish* Apostate, a great Fleet of Canoes came into an Island, about a League from the Fort at *Pemnaquid*, May 20. 1693. and after they had laid still there all the Lord's-Day, on Monday Morning they sent unto the *English* for another Treaty. They declared, their Design was to Exchange Captives, and renew the Peace; and condemn'd themselves for their Violating the Peace made



made near Two Years ago. *Eight Captives* they immediately delivered up; and upon a Grant of a *Truce* for Thirty Days, Colonel *John Phillips*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Hawthorn*, and Major *Convers*, were sent Commissioners unto *Pemmaquid* for the Management of that Affair. Our Commissioners, with good Reason, demanding a Surrender of all the *English Captives*, according to former Agreement, before they would allow any new Propositions of Peace to be offered, the *Indians*, disgusted that their Idol *Bomasseen* was left at *Boston*, broke off the Conference, and went off in Discontent. Advice was immediately dispatch'd into all Parts of the *Eastern Country* to stand well upon their Guard: notwithstanding which, on July 6. Major *Hammond* of *Kittery* fell into the Hands of the *Lurking Indians*; and the next Week Two Men at *Exeter* were kill'd by some of the same Dangerous *Lurkers*. Major *Hammond* was now aboard a *Canoe*, intending to put ashore at *Saco*; but some of the *Garrison-Soldiers* there, not knowing that they had such a good Friend aboard, inadvertently Fired upon the *Canoe*; and so the *Indians* carried him clear away. They Transported him at length to *Canada*, where he met with Extraordinary Civilities; Count *Frontenac*, the Governor himself, Nobly purchased him of his Tawny Master, and sent him home to *New-England* by a Vessel which also fetch'd from thence a Considerable number (perhaps near *Thirty*) of *English Prisoners*. In *August* the House of one *Rogers* at *Billerica* was plundered, and about Fifteen People Kill'd and Taken by *Indians*, which, by appearing and approaching, 'tis said on Horse-back, were not suspected for *Indians*, [for, *Who set them on Horse back?*] till they surprized the House they came to. And about the same time, Sergeant *Haley* venturing out of his Fort at *Saco*, stepped into the *Snarers of Death*. On *Sept. 9.* Sergeant *March*, with Three more, were Killed by the *Indians*, and Six more at the same time Wounded at *Pemmaquid*. Rowing a *Gondula* round an high Rocky Point above the *Barbican*. On *Oct. 7.* the *Indians* entered the House of one *John Brown* at *Newbury*, carrying away Nine Persons with them; whereupon Captain *Greenleaf* nimbly pursuing the Murderers, did unhappily so stumble on them in the Night, that they Wounded the good Man, and made their Escape over the River. The Captain Retook all the Captives; but the *Indians* in their going off strook them all so violently on the Head with the Clubs, which I remember a *French Historian* somewhere calls by the frightful Name of *Head-breakers*, that they afterwards all of them Died, except a *Lad* that was only hurt in the Shoulder. Some of them lingered out for half a Year, and some of them for more than a whole Year; but if the Doctors closed up the Wounds of their Heads, they would grow *Light-headed*, and Faint, and Sick, and could not bear it; so at last they died with their very Brains working out at their Wounds.

But having thus run over a *Journal of Deaths*

for the Year 1695. let us before the Year be quite gone see some Vengeance taken upon the Heads in the House of the Wicked. Know then, Reader, that Captain *March* Petitioning to be dismiss'd from his Command of the Fort at *Pemmaquid*, one *Chub* succeeded him. And this *Chub* found an Opportunity, in a pretty *Clubbed manner*, to Kill the Famous *Ederemett* and *Abenquid*, a Couple of Principal *Sagamores*, with One or Two other *Indians*, on a Lord's Day, the Sixteenth of *February*. Some that well enough liked the Thing which was now done, did not altogether like the Manner of doing it, because there was a pretence of *Treaty* between *Chub* and the *Sagamores*, whereof he took his Advantage to lay violent Hands on them. If there were any unfair Dealing (which I know not) in this Action of *Chub*, there will be another *February* not far off, where, in the *Avengers of Blood* will take their Satisfaction.

## ARTICLE XXIV.

## Still Mischief upon Mischief.

THE next whole Year, namely 1696. had it not been for the Degree of a Famine, which the Alteration of the Course of Nature in this, as well as other Parts of the World, threatned us withal, would have been a Year of Less Trouble than some of the rest in our Troublesome Decad. The most unexpect'd Accident of this Year shall be told when we arrive unto the Month of *August*; but in the mean time it was a Matter of some Uneasiness, that on *May 7.* one *John Church* of *Quebec*, who had been a Captive, escaped from the Hands of the *Indians*, almost Seven Years before, was now Slain and Stript by their Barbarous Hands: And on *June 24.* one *Thomas Cole* of *Wells* and his Wife were Slain by the *Indians*, returning Home with Two of his Neighbours and their Wives, all Three Sisters, from a Visit of their Friends at *York*: And on *June 26.* at several Places within the Confines of *Portsmouth*, several Persons, Twelve or Fourteen, were Massacred, (with some Houses Burnt,) and Four Taken, which yet were soon Retaken; among whom there was an Ancient Woman Scalp for Dead, and no doubt the *Salvages* upon producing her Scalp, received the Price of her Death from those that hired them, and yet she so recovered as to be still Alive. Moreover, on *July 26.* the Lord's Day, the People at *Quebec* returning from the Publick Worship of God, Three of them were killed, Three of them were wounded, and Three of them were carried away Prisoners to *Penobscot*; which last Three were nevertheless in less than Three Weeks returned. But now we are got into fatal *August*, on the Fifth or Sixth Day of which Month, the *French* having taken one of the *English Men of War*, called, *The Newport*, and Landed a few Men, who joined with the *Indians* to pursue their Buifness, *Chub* with an unaccountable baseness

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did



did Surrender the Brave Fort at *Pemmaguid* into their Hands. There were Ninety-five Men double-armed in the Fort, which might have defended it against Nine times as many Affailants; that a Fort now should be so bafely given up! Imitating the Stile of *Homer* and *Virgil*, I cannot forbear crying out, *O mere Novangle, neque enim Novangle!* And yet if you read the Story Written by the *Sieur Froger*, how poorly *St. James's Fort* in *Africa* was given up to the *French* in the Year 1695, you'll fay the things done in *America* are not so bad as what have been done in either Parts of the World. The Enemy having Demolished so fair a Citadel, now grown mighty *Uppish*, Triumph'd, as well they might, exceedingly; and threatned that they would carry all before them. The Honourable Lieutenant-Governor *Stoughton*, who was now Commander in Chief over the Province, immediately did all that could be done to put a stop unto the Fury of the Adversary. By Sea he sent out Three Men of War, who, disdanted by the Winds, came not soon enough to engage the *French*. By Land the *Indians* being so Posted in all Quarters, that the People could hardly stir out, but about half a Score of the poor People in their Fields here and there were pick'd off; he sent Colonel *Gidney* with Five Hundred Men, who perceiving the *Salvages* to be drawn off, only strengthened the Garrisons, and returned. The Lieutenant-Governor, that he might not in any other Point be wanting to the Publick Safety, hereupon dispatched Colonel *Hawthorn*, with a suitable number of Soldiers and Frigates, unto *St. John's*, with Orders to fetch away some great Guns that were lying there, and join with Major *Church*, who was gone with Forces that way to Attack the Fort at *St. John's*, which was the Nest of all the *Wasps* that stung us; but the Difficulty of the Cold Season so discouraged our Men, that after the making of some few Shot, the Enterprize found it self under too much Congelation to proceed any further. So we will afflict our selves no further for this Year; except only with mentioning the Slaughter of about Five poor Soldiers, belonging to *Saco-Fort*, Oct. 12. who had a Discov'ry of the Enemy Reasonable enough to have made their Escape; yet not agreeing about the way of making it, as if led by some Fatality to their Destruction, or as if they had been like the *Squirrels*, that must run down the Tree Squeaking and Crying into the Mouths of the *Rattle-Snakes* that fix their Eyes upon them, they went back into the very Path where the *Indian Ambush* was lying for them.

## ARTICLE XXV.

A Notable Exploit; wherein, Dux Famina Facti.

ON March 15. 1697. the *Salvages* made a Descent upon the Skirts of *Haverhill*, Murdering and Captiving about Thirty-nine Per-

sons, and Burning about half a Dozen Houses. In this Broil, one *Hannah Duffan* having lain in about a Week, attended with her Nurse, *Mary Neff*, a Widow, a Body of terrible *Indians* drew near unto the House where she lay, with Designs to carry on their Bloody Devastations. Her Husband hastened from his Employments abroad unto the relief of his Distressed Family; and first bidding Seven of his Eight Children (which were from Two to Seventeen Years of Age) to get away as fast as they could unto some Garrison in the Town, he went in to inform his Wife of the horrible Distress come upon them. E'er she could get up, the fierce *Indians* were got so near, that utterly despairing to do her any Service, he ran out after his Children; resolving that on the Horse which he had with him, he would Ride away with That which he should in this Extremity find his Affections to pitch most upon, and leave the rest unto the Care of the Divine Providence. He overtook his Children about Forty Rod from his Door; but then such was the Agony of his Parental Affections, that he found it impossible for him to distinguish any one of them from the rest; wherefore he took up a Courageous Resolution to Live and Die with them all. A Party of *Indians* came up with him; and now though they Fired at him, and he Fired at them, yet he Manfully kept at the Reer of his Little Army of Unarmed Children, while they Marched off with the Pace of a Child of Five Years Old; until by the Singular Providence of G. d. he arrived safe with them all unto a Place of Safety about a Mile or two from his House. But his House must in the mean time have more dismal Tragedies acted at it. The Nurse trying to escape with the New-born Infant, fell into the Hands of the Formidable *Salvages*; and those furious *Tawnies* coming into the House, bid poor *Duffan* rise immediately. Full of Astonishment she did so; and sitting down in the Chimney with an Heart full of most fearful Expedition, she saw the raging Dragons rise all that they could carry away, and set the House on Fire. About Nineteen or Twenty *Indians* now led these away, with about half a Score of other *English Captives*; but e'er they had gone many Steps, they dash'd out the Brains of the Infant against a Tree; and several of the other Captives, as they began to Tire in their sad Journey, were soon sent unto their Long Home; the *Salvages* would presently Bury their Hatchets in their Brains, and leave their Carcasses on the Ground for Birds and Beasts to Feed upon. However, *Duffan* (with her Nurse) notwithstanding her present Condition, Travelled that Night about a Dozen Miles, and then kept up with their New Masters in a long Travel of an Hundred and Fifty Miles, more or less, within a few Days ensuing, without any sensible Damage in their Health, from the Hardships of their Travel, their Lodging, their Diet, and their many other Difficulties. These Two poor Women were



now in the Hands of those whose *Tender Mercies are Cruelties*; but the good God, who hath all *Hearts in his own Hands*, heard the Sighs of these *Prisoners*, and gave them to find unexpected Favour from the Master who laid claim unto them. That *Indian Family* consisted of Twelve Persons; Two Stout Men, Three Women, and Seven Children; and for the Shame of many an *English Family*, that has the Character of *Prayerless* upon it, I must now Publish what these poor Women assure me: 'Tis this, in Obedience to the Instructions which the *French* have given them, they would have *Prayers* in their Family no less than Thrice every Day; in the *Morning*, at *Noon*, and in the *Evening*; nor would they ordinarily let their Children *Eat or Sleep* without first saying their *Prayers*. Indeed these *Idolaters* were like the rest of their whiter Brethren *Persecutors*, and would not endure that these poor Women should retire to their *English Prayers*, if they could hinder them. Nevertheless, the poor Women had nothing but *Fervent Prayers* to make their Lives Comfortable or Tolerable; and by being daily sent out upon Business, they had Opportunities together and afunder to do like another *Hannab*, in *Pouring out their Souls before the Lord*: Nor did their praying Friends among our selves forbear to *Pour out Supplications* for them. Now they could not observe it without some Wonder, that their *Indian Master* sometimes when he saw them dejected would say unto them, *What need you Trouble your self? If your God will have you delivered, you shall be so!* And it seems our God would have it so to be. This *Indian Family* was now Travelling with these Two Captive Women, (and an *English Youth* taken from *Worcester* a Year and half before,) unto a *Rendezvous of Salvages*, which they call a *Town* somewhere beyond *Pennacook*; and they still told these poor Women, that when they came to this Town they must be *Striped*, and *Scourg'd*, and Run the *Gantlet* through the whole Army of *Indians*. They said this was the *Fashion* when the Captives first came to a Town; and they derided some of the Faint-hearted *English*, which they said, fainted and swoon'd away under the Torments of this Discipline. But on April 30. while they were yet, it may be, about an Hundred and Fifty Miles from the *Indian Town*, a little before break of Day, when the whole Crew was in a *Dead Sleep*, (Reader, see if it prove not so!) one of these Women took up a Resolution to intimate the Action of *Jael* upon *Sisera*; and being where she had not her own Life secured by any *Law* unto her, she thought she was not forbidden by any *Law* to take away the Life of the *Murderers*, by whom her Child had been Butchered. She heartened the *Nurse* and the *Youth* to assist her in this Enterprize; and all furnishing themselves with *Hatchets* for the purpose, they struck such home Blows upon the Heads of their *Sleeping Oppressors*, that e'er they could any of them struggle into any effectual

resistance, at the Feet of those poor Prisoners, they bow'd, they fell, they lay down; at their Feet they bow'd, they fell; where they bow'd, there they fell down Dead. Only one *Squanto* escaped sorely Wounded from them in the Dark; and one Boy, whom they reliev'd asleep, intending to bring him away with them, suddenly wak'd and Scuttled away from this Desolation. But cutting off the *Scalps of the Ten Wretches*, they came off, and received *Fifty Pounds* from the General Assembly of the Province, as a *Recompence* of their Action; besides which, they received many *Presents of Congratulation* from their more private Friends; but none gave 'em a greater Taste of Bounty than Colonel *Nicholson*, the Governour of *Maryland*, who hearing of their Action, sent 'em a very generous Token of his Favour.

# ARTICLE XXVI.

Remarkable Salvations; and some Remarkable Disasters.

BESIDES a Man taken at *York* in *May*, and another Man kill'd at *Hatfield* in *June*, and a Third kill'd at *Groton*, and a Fourth with Two Children carried Captives, there fell out more *Mischief*, with no small *Mercy*, on *June 10.* at *Exeter*. The Day before, some Women and Children would needs ramble without any Guard into the Woods to gather *Strawberries*; but some that were willing to Chastise them with a *Fright* for their Presumption, made an *Alarm* in the Town, whereupon many came together in their Arms. The *Indians*, it seems, were at this very time unknown to the *English*, lying on the other side of the Town ready to make a *Destructive Assault* upon it; but supposing this *Alarm* to be made on their Account, they therefore supposed themselves to be discovered. Wherefore they laid aside their Purpose of attempting the Destruction of the Town, and contented themselves with *Killing* one Man, *Taking* another, and *Wounding* a Third. But on *July 4. Lord's-Day*, Major *Charles Frost*, who had been a Person of no little Consequence to our Frontiers, returning from the Publick Worship of God in *Berwick*, (to repair unto which, about Five Miles from his own House, he had that Morning express'd such an *Earnestness*, that much notice was taken of it,) pass'd several more dangerous Places without any Damage; but in a Place, on a little Plain by the Turn of a *Path*, where no Danger was expected, the *Adder* in the *Path* surpriz'd him; the *Indians* having stuck up certain Boughs upon a Log, there Mortally Shot him, with Two more, while his Two Sons that were in the Front of the Company happily escap'd: And the Two Young Men that Rode Post unto *Wells* with these *Tidings*, in their going back had their own Death added for another Article of such unhappy *Tidings*. About the latter end of this Month also, *Three Men Mowing* the Meadows at *Newichawannie*, were then-



themselves *Cutdown* by the *Indians*, tho' one of the *Movers* bravely flew one of the *Murderers*. But the most Important Action of this Year was a little further off. About the beginning of *July*, Major *March* was employ'd with about Five Hundred Soldiers, not only to Defend the *Frontiers*, but also to seek out, and beat up the *Enemies Quarters*. In the mean time, the Lieutenant Governor apprehending an *Invasion* from a formidable *French Fleet* on the Coast of *New-England*, with his accustomed Prudence and Vigour applied himself to put the whole Province into a Posture of Defence : And the *Militia*, with the several *Forces*, especially that of *Boston*, (very much through the Contrivance and Industry of Captain *Fairweather*), were brought into so good a Posture, that some could hardly forbear too much Dependence on our Preparations. But it being more particularly Apprehended, that in the intended *Invasion*, the *Indians*, assisted by the *French*, would make a Descent upon our *Frontiers* by Land, Major *March* was advised therefore to employ some of his Forces in Scouting about the Woods. Before the Major arrived at *Tork*, a Party of the Enemy kill'd a Man that stood Centinel for some of his Neighbours at Work in the Marsh at *Wells*; and catching another *Alive*, they carried him a Mile and half off, and Roasted him to Death : But Captain *Bracker*, that followed them quite as far as *Kennebunk*, did but almost overtake them : For truly, Reader, our Soldiers cannot, as Antiquity reports the Old *Grecian* and *Roman* Soldiers could, March at a running Pace or Trot heavily Loaded, Five and Twenty Miles in Four Hours ; but rather suspect whether those Reports of Antiquity be not Roman-tick. Three Soldiers of *Saco Fort*, after this cutting some *Fire-wood* on *Cow-Island*, for the use of the Fort, were by the *Indians* cut off ; while that Lieutenant *Fletcher* with his Two Sons, that should have Guarded them, went a *Fowling* ; and by doing so, they likewise fell into the *Snares*. The *Indians* carrying these Three Captives down the River in one of their *Canoos*, Lieutenant *Larabe*, that was abroad with a Scout, way-laid them ; and Firing on the foremost of the *Canoos* that had Three Men in it, they all Three fell and sank in the River of Death. Several were killed aboard the other *Canoos* ; and the rest ran their *Canoos* ashore, and escaped on the other side of the River ; and one of the *Fletchers*, when all the *Indians* with him were killed, was delivered out of the Hands which had made a Prisoner of him ; tho' his poor Father afterwards died among them. Hereupon Major *March*, with his Army, took a Voyage farther Eastward, having several *Transport Vessels* to accommodate them. Arriving at *Casco-Bay*, they did, upon the Ninth of September, come as Occult as they could, further East among the Islands, near a Place called *Corbin's Sounds* ; and Landed before Day at a Place called *Damascotta River* ; where, before half

of them were well got ashore, and drawn up, the scarce yet expected Enemy entertained them with a *Volley* and an *Huzza* ! None of ours were hurt ; but Major *March* repaid 'em in their own *Leadens Coin* ; and it was no sooner Light but a *Considerable Battel* ensued. The Commanders of the *Transport Vessels* were Persons of such a Mettle, that they could not take any patience forbear going ashore to take a part of their *Neighbours Fare* ; but the Enemy seeing things operate this way, fled into their Fleet of *Canoos*, which hitherto lay out of fight, and got off as *fast* and as *well* as they could, leaving some of their *Dead* behind them, which they never do, but when under extrem Difficulties. Our Army thus beat 'em off, with the loss of about a Dozen Men, whereof one was the Worthy Captain *Dymock* of *Barnstable* ; and about as many Wounded, whereof one was Captain *Philips* of *Charlestown* ; and in this Action Captain *Whiting*, a Young Gentleman of much *Worth* and *Hope*, Courageously acting his Part as Commander of the *Forces* ; the *Helpers of the War*, which the Colony of *Connecticut* had Charitably lent unto this Expedition, had his Life remarkably rescued from a Bullet grazing the top of his Head. But there was a Singular Providence of our Lord *Jesus Christ* in the whole of this Matter. For by the seasonable Arrival and Encounter of our Army, an horrible Descent of *Indians*, which probably might have laid whole Plantations Desolate, was most happily Defeated. And at the same time, the Signal Hand of Heaven gave a Defeat unto the Purposes of the *French Squadrons* at Sea, so that they had something else to do, than to Visit the Coast of *New-England*.

## ARTICLE XXVII.

The End of the Year ; and, we hope, of the War.

O Thou Sword of the Wilderness, when wilt thou be quiet ? On Sept. 11. A Party of the Enemy came upon the Town of *Lancaster*, then prepared for *Mischief* by a wonderful Security, and they did no little *Mischief* unto it. Near Twenty were killed, and among the rest Mr. *John Whiting*, the Pastor of the Church there : Five were carried Captive ; Two or Three Houses were burnt, and several Old People in them. Captain *Brown* with Fifty Men pursued them, till the Night stopp'd their pursuit ; but it seems a strange Dog or two, unknown to the Company, did by their Barking alarm the Enemy to rise in the Night, and Strip and Sculp an *English* Captive Woman, and fly so far into the Woods, that after Two Days Bootless Labour our Men returned. November arrived before any farther Bloodshed ; and then 'twas only of one Man in the Woods at *Oyster-River*. December arrived with the welcome Tidings of a Peace concluded between *England* and *France* ; which made us hope that



that there would be little more of any *Bloodshed* at all. The *Winter* was the severest that ever was in the Memory of Man. And yet *February* must not pass without a Stroke upon *Pemmaquid Chub*, whom the Government had mercifully permitted, after his *Examination*, to retire unto his Habitation in *Andover*. As much out of the way as to *Andover*, there came above Thirty *Indians*, about the middle of *February*, as if their Errand had been for a *Vengeance* upon *Chub*, whom (with his Wife) they now Maffacred there. They took Two or Three Houses, and Slew Three or Four Persons; and Mr. *Thomas Barnard*, the worthy Minister of the Place, very narrowly escaped their *Fury*. But in the midst of their *Fury* there was one piece of *Mercy*, the like whereof had never been seen before: For they had got Colonel *Dudley Bradstreet*, with his Family, into their *Hands*; but perceiving the Town muttering to follow them, their *Hearts* were so changed, that they dismissed their Captives without any further Damage unto their Persons. Returning back by *Haverhill*, they kill'd a Couple, and a Couple they took, with some remarkable Circumstances worthy to be made a *distinct History*. But, Reader, we are now in Haste for to have our *present History* come unto an End: And though the end of this *Year* did not altogether prove the end of the *War*; for on *May 9. 1698.* the *Indians* Murdered an old Man at *Spruce-Creek*, and carried away Three Sons of that old Man, and wounded a Man at *Tork*: Yet we were not without prospect of our Troubles growing towards a Period: And even in that very Murder at *Spruce-Creek* there fell out one thing that might a little encourage our Hopes concerning it. The Murderer was a famous kind of a *Giant* among the *Indians*; a Fellow Reputed Seven Foot High: This Fellow kill'd the poor old Man in cold Blood, after he had Surrendered himself a Prisoner: But behold, before many Hours were out, this famous and bloody Fellow accidentally shot himself to Death by his Gun going off, when he was foolishly pulling a Canoe to the Shore with it.

The last bloody Action that can have a Room in our Story is this.

The *Indians*, (though sometimes it hath been much doubted, *What Indians!*) have in this *War* made several Descents upon some of the upper Towns that were our most *Northerly Settlements* upon *Connecticut-River*. But the Pious and Honest People in those Towns, have always given them a brave Repulse, and had a notable Experience of the Divine Favour to them in their Preferences. *Deerfield* has been an Extraordinary Instance of Courage in keeping their *Station*, though they have lived all this while in a very *Pirabiroth*; and their worthy Pastor Mr. *John Williams*, deserves the Thanks of all this Province, for his Encouraging them all the ways Imaginable to *Stand* their Ground. Once the *Enemy* was like to have surprised them into a grievous Desolation; but *he*, with his Praying, and Valiant Little Flock, most hap-

pily repelled them. And now about the middle of *July, 1698.* a little before *Sun-set*, *Four Indians* killed a Man and a Boy in *Hatfield Meadows*, and carried away Two Boys into Captivity. The Advice coming to *Deerfield* in the Night, they presently Dispatched away Twelve Men to way-lay the *Enemy* coming up the River; having first look'd up unto the Lord *Jesus Christ*, that they might find the *Enemy*, and harm none but the *Enemy*, and Rescue the Children which the *Enemy* had seized upon. After a Travel of near Twenty Miles, they perceived the *Indians* in their *Canoes* coming up the River, but on the other side of it, within a Rod or Two of the opposite Shore: Whereupon they so *Shor* as to hit one of the *Indians*, and then they all Jumpt out of the *Canoes*, and one of the Boys with them. The wounded *Salvage* crawled unto the Shore; where his *Back* being broken, he lay in great Anguish, often Endeavouring with his Hatchet for to knock out his own *Brains*, and tear open his own *Breast*, but could not: And another *Indian* seeing the Two Boys getting one to another, design'd 'em a Shot, but his Gun would not go off: Whereupon he followed 'em with his Hatchet for to have knock'd 'em on the Head; but just as he came at 'em, one of our Men sent a *Shor* into him that spoil'd his Enterprize; and so the Boys getting together into one *Canoe*, brought it over to the Friends thus concerned for them. These good Men seeing their Exploit performed thus far; Two *Indians* destroy'd, and Two *Children* deliver'd, they fell to *Praising of God*; and One young Man particularly kept thus Expressing himself; *Surely, 'tis God, and not we, that have wrought this Deliverance!* But as we have sometimes been told, that even in the Bearing of a *Pulse*, the dilating of the Heart, by a *Disstole* of Delight, may be turned into a contracting of it, with a *Systole* of Sorrow: In the beating of a few *Pulse*, after this, they sent Five or Six Men with the *Canoe*, to fetch the other which was lodged at an Island not far off, that they might pursue the other *Indians*: When those Two *Indians* having hid themselves in the High-grass, unhappily Shot a quick *Death* into the young Man, whose Expressions were but now recited. This hopeful young Man's Brother-in-Law was intending to have gone out upon this Action; but the young Man himself importuned his Mother to let him go: Which, because he was an *only Son*, she denied; but then fearing he did not well to *withhold her Son* from the Service of the Publick, she gave him leave: Saying, *See that you do now, and as you go along, resign, and give up your self unto the Lord; and I desire to resign you to him!* So he goes, and so he dies; and may he be the last that falls in a long and sad *War* with *Indian Salvages!*



## ARTICLE XXVIII.

## The Epilogue of a long Tragedy.

FOR the present then the *Indians* have done Murdering; they'll do so no more till next Time. Let us then have done Writing, when we have a little informed our selves what is become of the chief Murderers among those Wretches, for whom, if we would find a Name of a length like one of their own *Indian* Long-winded words, it might be,

*Bombar-do-gladio-fun-ha-sti-flammi-loquentes.*

Major *Convers*, and Captain *Alden*, in pursuance of Instructions received from the Lieut. Governour and Council, arriving at *Penobscot* on Octo. 14. 1698. were there informed, that *Madockawando*, the noted Sagamore, with several other *Sachims* of the East, were lately Dead. And Six Days after this, the chief *Sachims* now living, with a great Body of *Indians*, entertained them with a Friendly Discourse; wherein they said, That the Earl of *Frontenac* had sent them word, there was a Peace concluded between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and that one of the Articles in the Peace was, for Prisoners on both sides to be Returned, and they were resolved to Obey the Earl of *Frontenac* as their Father; and accordingly such Prisoners of ours as they had now at Hand might immediately Return, if we could Persuade them, for they would not Compel them. When our English Messengers argued with them upon the *Perfidiousness* of their making a New War after their Submission, the *Indians* replied, That they were Intigated by the *French* to do what they did, against their own Inclinations; adding, That there were Two *Jesuits*, one toward *Annoscooggin*, the other at *Narridagawoy*, both of which they desired the Earl of *Bellomont*, and the Earl of *Frontenac*, to procure to be Removed; otherwise it could not be expected that any Peace would continue long. The *Indians* also, and the English Prisoners, gave them to understand, that the last Winter, many, both *Indians* and English Prisoners, were starved to Death; and particularly, Nine *Indians* in one Company went a Hunting, but met with such hard Circumstances, that after they had Eat up their Dogs, and their Cats, they died horribly Famished: And since the last Winter, a grievous and unknown Disease is got among them, which consumed them wonderfully. The Sagamore *Sagadoek* further told them, That the *Kennebeck* *Indians* would fain have gone to War again this last Summer, but the other Refused, whereupon they likewise Desisted: And they Resolved now to Fight no more; but if any Ill Accident or Action should happen on either side, he did in the Name of the *Indians* Desire, that we would not presently make a War upon it, but in a more amicable way compose the Differences.

That the *Indian* Affairs might come to be yet more exactly understood, the General Assembly of the Province employ'd Colonel *John Phillips*, and Major *Convers*, to settle them. These Gentlemen took a Difficult and a Dangerous Voyage, in the Depth of Winter, unto the Eastern Parts in the Province-Galley, then under the Command of Captain *Cyprian Southack*; and the Principal *Sagamores* of the *Indians* there coming to them, did again Renew and Subscribe the Submission which they had formerly made in the Year 1693. with this Addition unto it.

And whereas, notwithstanding the aforesaid Submission and Agreement, the said *Indians* belonging to the Rivers aforesaid, or some of them, thro' the ill Counsel and Instigation of the *French*, have perpetrated sundry Hostilities against His Majesties Subjects the *English*, and have not delivered and returned home several English Captives in their Hands, as in the said Submission they Covenanted.

Wherefore we whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, *Sagamores*, Captains, and Principal Men of the *Indians* belonging unto the Rivers of *Kennebeck*, *Ammonoscoggin*, and *Saco*, and Parts adjacent, being sensible of our great Offence and Folly, in not complying with the aforesaid Submission and Agreement, and also of the Sufferings and Mischiefs that we have hereby exposted our selves unto, do in all Humble and most Submissive manner cast our selves upon His Majesties Mercy, for the Pardon of all our Rebellions, Hostilities, and Violations of our Promises, praying to be Received into His Majesties Grace and Protection; and for, and on behalf of our selves, and of all other the *Indians*, belonging to the several Rivers and Places aforesaid, within the Sovereignty of His Majesty of Great Britain, do again acknowledge and profess our hearty and Sincere Obedience unto the Crown of *England*, and do solemnly Renew, Ratifie, and Confirm all and every of the Articles and Agreements contained in the aforesaid Recited Commission. And in Testimony thereof, we the said *Sagamores*, Captains, and Principal Men, have hereunto set our several Marks and Seals at *Casco-Bay*, near *Mares-Point*, the Seventh Day of January, in the Tenth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King *WILLIAM* the Third, Annoque Domini, 1698.

Subscribed by

In the Presence of  
James Convers.  
Cyprian Southack.  
John Gills, Interpreter,  
And Scodook,  
alias Sampson.

Moxus, — and a  
Great Number more.

At this time also, the *Indians* Restored as many of the English Captives in their Hands as were able to Travel above an Hundred Miles in this terrible Season of the Year, from their Head-quarters down to the Sea-side; giving all possible



possible Satisfaction for the Restoration of the Rest as Early in the Spring as there could be any Travelling.

The Condition of these *Captives* has afforded many very *Remarkable Things*, whereof 'tis a Thousand Pities that so many are lost. But because One of the Two Gentlemen Employ'd as *Commissioners* for the Treaty with the *Indians*, took certain Minutes of *Remarkable Things* from some of the *Captives*, I am willing to give the Reader a Taste of them.

At Mares-Point in Casco-Bay,  
Jan. 14. 1657.

THE *Captives* informed me, that the *Indians* have Three Forts at *Narridagwog*, and *Narrackomago*, and *Anasacanty*. And at each of these Forts they have a *Chappel*, and have *Images* in them.

They informed me, that Three *Captives* in one *Wigwam* were starved to Death last Winter.

*Mary Fairbanks*, and *Samuel Hutchings*, and some other *Captives*, told me, that *Jonathan Hutchin* belonging to *Spruce-Creek*, a Lad Fourteen Years old, they met him crying for want of *Vitnals*, for in Two or Three Days he had nothing to Eat. Afterward as he was going to fetch some Wood, he felt something hard in his Bosom. He put in his Hand, and unto his Astonishment he found there Two Great Large Ears of *Indian Corn*, which were very well Roasted. He Eat them, and knew not how they came unto him.

Some other of the *Captives* told me, that one *Mary Catter*, (which Person we now brought home with us, belonging to *Kittery*) her Master, and many other *Indians*, came down to *Casco-Bay*. There seeing some Sloops, or Shallops, they thought they were the *English* coming upon them, and ran away into the Woods, and left the said *Mary Catter* very Sick in the *Wigwam*, without any thing at all to Eat. They staid away many Days; but left a Fire in the *Wigwam*. She lay wishing for something to Eat, and at length in came a *Turtle*. She got that, and Eat it; but afterwards began to Despair of out-living the *Famine*, which was returned upon her. At length, when she was very Hungry, in came a *Partridge*; she took a Stick and Struck it, and Drest it, and Eat it. And by that time she was Hungry again; her Master came to look after her.

They tell of several of the *Indians* that have kill'd themselves with their own Guns, in taking them out of their *Canoes*.

*Afscambuit* sent *Thomastin Rouse*, a Child of about Ten Years old, unto the Water-side to carry something. The Child cried: He took a Stick and struck her down: She lay for Dead: He took her up, and threw her into the Water: Some *Indians* not far off ran in

and fetch'd her out. This Child we have now brought Home with us.

This *Afscambuit* hath killed and taken this War, (they tell me) an Hundred, and Fifty Men, Women, and Children. A Bloody Devil.

This is the Paper of Minutes.

The Reader now has nothing but Peace before him. Doubtless he comforts himself with Hopes of Times better to Live in, than to Write of!

BUT that which yet more assures a Break of Day after a long and sad Night unto us, is, That the Best King at this Day upon Earth, and the Greatest Monarch that ever Sway'd the Scepter of Great Britain, hath Commision'd a Noble Person, who hath in him an Illustrious Image of his own Royal Virtues, to take the Government of these Provinces, and he is accordingly Arrived now near our Horizon. When the Schools of the Jews delivered, that there were Three Great Gifts of the Good God unto the World, the Law, the Rain, and the Light; *R. Zelra* added. I pray let us take in Peace for a Fourth. All these Four Gifts of God are now enjoy'd by New England: But I must now ask, that our Hope of a Fifth may be added unto the Number: which is, A GOVERNOUR of Signalized Virtues. To the truly Noble Earl of BELMONT the whole *English Nation* must own it self Endeighted while it is a Nation, for the most Generous and Successful Zeal with which he Labour'd for those *Acts of Parliament*; by Assenting whereunto, the Mighty WILLIAM hath Irradiated England with Blessings; that it never saw before His Happy Reign: Blessings richly worth all the Expences of a Revolution. England owes no less Immortal Statues unto the Earl of Belmont, than Ireland unto his Illustrious Antecessors. But the Continent of America must now Share in the Influence of that Noble Person, whose Merits have been Signalized on the most famous Islands of Europe, and the greatest Person that ever set Foot on the English Continent of America is now Arrived unto it. We are now satysfying our selves in the expectations of the Great and Good Influences to be derived from the Conduct of a Governour; in whom there will meet,

—Virtus & Summa potestas.

And now, Reader; I will conclude our History of the Indian War, in Terms like those used by the Syrian Writer at the Conclusion of his Book;

Finis, per Auxilium Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, mense Duodecimo, per manus peccatorum pauperum & Errantis.



## ARTICLE XXIX.

## Quakers Encountred.

FOR the present then we have done with the Indians : But while the Indians have been thus molesting us, we have suffered Molestations of another sort, from another sort of Enemies, which may with very good Reason be cast into the same History with them. If the Indians have chosen to prey upon the Frontiers and Out-Skirts of the Province, the Quakers have chosen the very same Frontiers, and Out-Skirts for their more Spiritual Assaults; and finding little Success elsewhere, they have been Labouring incessantly, and sometimes not unsuccessfully, to Enchant and Poison the Souls of poor People, in the very Places where the Bodies and Estates of the People have presently after been devoured by the Salvages. But that which makes it the more agreeable, to allow the Quakers an Article in our History of the Indians, is, that a certain silly Scribler, the very First-born of Nonsensicality, (and a First born too, that one might Salute as the Martyr Polycarp once did the wicked Marcion, (One Tom Maule, at this time living in Salem. hath exposed unto the Publick a Volume of Nonsensical Blaphemies and Heresies, wherein he sets himself to Defend the Indians in their Bloody Villanies, and Revile the Country for Defending it self against them. And that the Venom of this Pamphlet might be improved unto the Height of Slanderous Wickedness, there hath been since added unto it in another Pamphlet, a parcel of Ingredients compounded for Mischief, as if by the Art of the Apothecary. None but he whom the Jews in their Talmuds call, *Bentamalion*, could have inspired such a Slanderer ! Have the Quakers ever yet Censured this their Author for Holding forth in his *Alcoran*, [pag. 221.] That the Devil, Sin, Death, and Hell, are but Nothing, they are but a Non-Entity : And, [pag. 183.] That all Men who have a Body of Sin remaining in them, are Witches ? I have cause to believe that they never did ! Nor that they ever advised him to pull in his Horns, from goring the sides of New-England with such Passages as those in [pag. 195.] the same horrible Pamphlet : God hath well rewarded the Inhabitants of New-England for their Unrighteous Dealings towards the Native Indians, whom now the Lord hath suffered to reward the Inhabitants with a double measure of Blood, by Fire and Sword, &c. And those Unrighteous Dealings he Explains to be the killing of the Indians, (or Murdering of them) by the Old Planters of these Colonies in their first Settlement. Thus are the Althes of our Fathers vilely staled upon by one, who perhaps would not stick at the Villany of doing as much upon their Baptism it self. I must tell you, Friends, that if you don't publicly give forth a Testimony to dese Tom Maule, and his Works, it will be thought by some, who it may

be don't wish you so well as I do, that you own this *Bloody Stuff* : Which doubtless you'll not be so ill advised as to do. But certainly if the good People of New-England now make it not a Proverb for a Liar of the First Magnitude, he is as very a Liar as TOM MAULE, they will deprive their Language of one Significant Expression which now offers it self unto them.

Let us now leave our Friend Maule's Works as a fit Volume to be an Appendix unto the Famous *Tartaretus*, and worthy of a Room in *Pantagruel's Library*. The fittest way to answer him, would be to send him to *Boston Woods* !

In the mean time I owe unto the Publick a piece of History, which it may be for the Safety of our Northern Towns to be acquainted withal. Know, Sirs, that once the Famous George Keith undertook to be the Champion of our New-English Quakers, and bid fair to be the very *Dalac*, or *Prestor John*, of all the English Tartars; but a Minister of Boston, upon that occasion, publishing a Book, entitled, *Little Flocks guarded against grievous Wolves*, could not but complain of it as a very Scandalous Thing in George Keith, to maintain the Points of the Foxian Quakerism, while he really differed from them. All this while George Keith was admired by our Quakers as an *Apoll*, or an *Oracle* : But he finding it impossible to maintain the gross Tenets of the common Quakers, preach'd unto them the Necessity of believing on a Christ without, as well as a Christ within. Hereupon there grew such alienations between him and the other Quakers, (who had been taught by George Fox to say, *The Devil is in them who say, they are saved by Christ without them*) that he not only has written divers Learned Books to confute those very Doctrines of the Common Quakers, which the Pastors of New-England had upon his Provocation written against, but also has therefore undergone a Storm of Persecution from the Friends in Pennsylvania : Yea, 'tis verily thought that poor George would have been made a Sacrifice to Squire Samuel Jennings, and the rest of the Pennsylvania Dragons; and that since a Crime which their Laws had made Capital, was mention'd in the *Mitimus* whereby Keith was committed, they would have Hang'd him, if a Revolution upon their Government had not set him at liberty. Being by the Fines, and Goals, and Pierce Usages of the Quakers in Pennsylvania, driven over to England, the wonderful Hand of God hath made this very Man, I think I may say, incomparably the greatest Plague that ever came upon that Sect of *Energumens*. Although he do himself still retain the Name of a Quaker, yet he hath in one Treatise after another Earnestly called upon the Divines throughout the Nation more Vigorously to Employ their Talents against the Quakers, as a more Dangerous Generation of People than they are well aware; and he did in the Year 1696. with the leave of the Lord Mayor, Challenge the Quakers to make their



their Appearance at *Turners-Hall*, in the chief City of Europe; where he proved unto the Satisfaction of a vast Assembly, that the chief Writers of the *Quakers* assert *Christ* neither to be *God*, nor *Man*; and that they deny *Christ* to be pray'd unto; and that they had affirm'd, *Christ's outward Blood shed on the Ground*, to be no more than the Blood of another Saint; and that they had charged him with *New Doctrine*, for directing to Faith in *Christ* without us, as well as within us; and that at their Meetings they had censured him, for saying, That *Christ's Body* came out of the Grave, which they say, *It never did*: And many more such horrid Matters. To confirm these things, besides the grievous Bites which *Francis Bagg*, one of their late Friends hath given them, one *Daniel Leeds*, without wholly calling off the Profession of a *Quaker*, hath lately Printed a Book, wherein he produces above *Threescore* Instances of the Flat Contradictions which he hath observed in the Books of the Friends, that have most pretended unto *Infallibility*; and he demonstrates from evident Matter or Fact, that though they declared unto the World, That their Sufferings had been greater, and more unjust, than the Sufferings of *Jesus* and his Apostles; yet they themselves were no sooner mounted into the Seat of Government, than they fell to Persecuting as bad as any in the World. Albeit *Fox* writes, *They that cause People to be put in Prison*, and have their Goods taken away, are *Disorderly Teachers*, and shall be rooted out: Nevertheless, *Leeds* proves by many Examples, that the *Penitencians* did it even upon their own Friends, for meer Scruples of their Consciences. 'Tis reported, the *Quakers* are so confounded at this Book of *Leeds*, that they have been at the charge to buy up the whole Impression of it, and so to Stifle and Smother it: If it be so, I hope 'twill but produce a New Impression of so rare a Book. The Marvellous Providence of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, having thus employ'd the Pens of the *Quakers* themselves to warn you, that you beware of *Quakerism*, it will be a marvellous Infatuation in any of you, after this to be led away with that Error of the Wicked. Reader, make a Pause, and here Admire the Marvellous Providence of our Lord *Jesus Christ*! The first and great Apostle of the *Quakers*, even *George Fox*, the Shoe-maker, in his Great Mystery, pag. 94. excludes from the Church of *Christ* those who are not *Infalible* in Discerning the Hearts of other Men. Whereas now in Spite of all their *Infalibility*, such Friends as *Keith* (and *Leeds*) whom they once admired, profess that they never in their Hearts believed, as the Common *Foxian Quakers* do, and *Quakerism* suffers from none in the World more than *Keith*. But that I may a little Suggest unto you certain Methods of Encountering those Adversaries of your Faith, which go about seeking whom they may deceive, and whom I do here offer to prove as horrid Idolaters, as even those that worshipp'd the *Kans of Egypt*, if it be fairly demanded of me, I will first Recite unto you certain Passages of a Discourse, which a Minister of *Boston*

had with a very Buse and Noisie Teacher among the *Quakers*, (and another of the Friends) in his return from his Visitation unto some of our Northern Towns, where the giddy People had cry'd him up for a *None-Such*.

*Quaker*. We are come to give thee a Friendly Visit.

*Minister*. I am glad to see you at my House; you shall be welcome to the best Entertainment my House can afford you.

But will you do me the Favour to let me understand the Designs upon which you visit these Parts of the Country?

*Quaker*. I come to Preach *Jesus Christ*.

*Minister*. Excuse me—What *Christ*, I pray?

*Quaker*. The same *Christ* that appeared unto *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and that appeared unto *Moses* in the Bush, and that was with *Israel* in the Wilderness—

*Minister*. I would interrupt you. I perceive that we shall be drawn into some Discourse. Matter of Argument will occur, I foresee, in our Discourse. Argument sometimes does draw forth Words that may have too much Warmth in them, I purpose none such: But if you are sensible that I do let fall any one such Word in our Disputation, do me the favour to take notice of it unto me, and I'll immediately correct it. Now if you please—

*Quaker*. Thou speakest very well. This is, but according to the good Report we have heard of, thee.

*Minister*. Friend, I am sensible that you are come among us to Preach a Religion, different from that which is commonly Preached, Professed, and Practised in the Country. If you approve the Religion of the Country, I can't see where's the Sense of it, for you to take such tedious Journeys for our Illumination. I pray be so kind as to let me know what point in our holy Religion you do not Approve?

*Quaker*. 'Tis not my Business here to Enquire into thy Religion. I am come to Preach the Religion of *Jesus Christ*; the same that the Holy Prophets and Apostles believed; even the inward Manifestation of *Christ* in our Hearts—

*Minister*. To make short Work on it; I perceive you both to be that sort of People we call *Quakers*. Now there is among the *Quakers* that extreme Uncertainty, Variety, and Contradiction, that no Man can say what you hold, any further than each Individual Person will confess his own Tenets. I must therefore pray the favour of you to tell me; do you own *George Fox's* Book, Entituled, *The Great Mystery*?

*Quaker*. 'Tis none of our Business to tell what Books we own, and what we do not own: And it is none of thy Business to Ask us. I say, we own *Jesus Christ* and his Inward Manifestation in our Hearts. And that's enough!

*Minister*. You'll excuse me: I do again ask, whether you do own *George Fox's* Book of *The Great Mystery*? Because doubtless you have Read it. And if you'll ask me as much con-

Nnnnnnn

ceping



cerning any Book under Heaven, (that I have Read) *Whether I own it, or, How much I own of it, I'll Answer you with all the Freedom in the World.*

Quaker. *I say, what hast thou to do with George Fox ? Or to Examine me ?*

Minister. Yes, Friend, I do, and must, and will Examine *You*. For you are come to Hold-forth unto as many of my Flock as you can ; and the Word of God bids me to Try you. And I have to do with George Fox too ; because George Fox in his Writings has to do with me. And if you will sincerely tell me, whether you own George Fox, or no, I shall more probably tell *what* you are. In short, if you'll say, you Deny and Renounce George Fox, then I must go another way to Work with you. If you'll say, you own him, then I must endeavour to save you from some of his Damnable Heresies.

Quaker. *What Heresies ?*

Minister. Numberless. But I do at this time call to mind Three of them.

First, *That the Soul of Man is without Beginning, and Infinite.* This is, if I forget not, in the 90th Page of that Book.

Secondly, *That it is not contrary to the Scripture, that God the Father took upon him Humane Nature.* And, *That the Scripture does not tell People of a Trinity, nor Three Persons in God ; but that these Three Persons were brought in by the Pope.*

This is in pag. 246.

Thirdly, *That they that are not compleat in Sanctification, are not compleat in Justification.*

This is in pag. 284.

What say ye, Sirs ?

Quaker. *What hast thou to do to Rake into the Ashes of the Dead ? Let George Fox alone. Hast thou any thing to charge upon me ?*

Minister. I shall know if you'll tell me, whether you own George Fox, or no. And you can tell me if you will. I would be more Civil to you, Sirs.

Quaker. *I never saw that Book of George Fox.*

[And so said the other Quaker that was with him.]

Minister. Sirs, you astonish me ! What ! Never see George Fox's Book of *The Great Mystery* ! 'Tis impossible ! This thing is to me a *Mystery* ! Sirs, that Book is the very Bible of Quakerism. 'Tis Essential unto a Quaker, at least unto a Teaching Quaker as you are, to be Indoctinated from that Book. Never see it, Man !—However, if you say so, I must believe it.

Quaker. [Fell into an Harangue, Repeating what he had Preached abroad about the Country ; which, because I would misrecite nothing, I dare not undertake exactly to Recite in this Place.]

Minister. I perceive our Conversation will be to little Advantage, except we get a little closer to some certain Point, which I have hitherto endeavoured, but ineffectually.

Sirs, There are several Points which I would willingly bring you to. And there happening

to be several of my honest Neighbours at Hand, I have pray'd them (with your leave) to walk in, that they may be Witnesses of what passes between us.

First, I'll begin, if you please, with *this*.

I told you at the beginning, I would not willingly Treat you with one *hard Word*. There is an *hard Word* which will presently occur by the unavoidable Course of Disputation. I would Pray you to ease me of the Trouble of speaking it. You shall your self have the speaking of it.

Quaker. *What's that ?*

Minister. I pray, Friend, what doth the Scripture say of them that say, *They know Jesus Christ, and yet keep not His Commandments ?*

Quaker. *Nay, what dost thou say the Scripture says in that case ?*

Minister. You will compel me I see—I say then, the Scripture says, *He that says I know Him, and keeps not His Commandments, is a Liar, and the Truth is not in him.* 'Tis in 1 *Joh. 2. 4.*

Quaker. *And what then ?*

Minister. Why *this* then. He that says I know Jesus Christ, and yet keeps not the Commandments of Jesus Christ, is a Liar, and the Truth is not in him.

You say, *You know Jesus Christ.* But you must give me leave to say, that you keep not the Commandments of Jesus Christ.

Therefore—pray Sirs, do you help out the Conclusion. I am loth to speak it. You know what it is.

Quaker. Yes, yes, *We know well enough what Conclusion thou wouldst be at : Thou wouldst say, that we are Liars, and that the Truth is not in us.*

Minister. Right ! Since it must be so.

Quaker. *But what Commandment of Jesus Christ is there that we don't keep ?*

Minister. The Commandment of Jesus Christ is, for his Disciples to be Baptized with Water ; but you Quakers do not keep that Commandment of Jesus Christ.

Quaker. *How dost thou prove that Jesus Christ commanded Baptism with Water ?*

Minister. I know you must have the word Water, or nothing will content you : else I would have urged for a sufficient Proof, our Lords Commanding His Ministers to Baptize Men, [Math. 28. 19.] this Command expresses our Duty. 'Tis not our Duty to Baptize Men with the Holy Spirit. This belongs not unto Us, but unto Him, whose that Holy Spirit is. You will not say we Sin, if we don't Baptize the Disciples in all Nations with the Holy Spirit. So then it must be a Baptism with Water which is there Commanded by our Lord. But as I said, you must have the word Water, and you shall have it.

The Apostle Peter said—

Quaker. *The Apostle Peter ! The Apostle Peter ! Thou dost not prove that Jesus Christ Commanded Baptism with Water, and now thou art come to the Apostle Peter !*

Minister. Stay, Friend, not so fast ! Will you say then, that the Commandments brought by the



the Apostle Peter, as the Commandments of Jesus Christ, are not the Commandments of Jesus Christ! But however, I'll mend the Expression--  
The Spirit of Jesus Christ in the Apostle Peter, (now I hope it fits you!)—

Quaker. [J. S.] Thou art a Monster, all Mouth, and no Ears—

Minister. —Pretsee talk Civilly; don't make me believe that I am at Ephesus. If I were in one of your Houses, I would not give you such Language; you had but now a greater Liberty to use your Mouth than I have hitherto taken; and my Ears were Patient. But you foresee my Argument is going to Pinch you. 'Tis but Civility to let me finish it.

Quaker. Thou wast to prove that Jesus Christ Commanded Baptism with Water. And thou hast not proved it. And therefore thou speakest Falsely.

Minister. What do you mean? These little Shuffles won't help you.

I say, The Spirit of Jesus Christ in the Apostle Peter, after our Lord's Attention, when it was impossible for John's Baptism (which was into the Messiah suddenly to come, not already come) to have Place, did say, in *Act. 10. 47.* Can any Man forbid Water, that these should not be Baptised, which have received the Holy Ghost.

Quaker. How does this prove that Jesus Christ Commanded these to be Baptised with Water?

Minister. Thus—

If Jesus Christ had not Commanded Baptism with Water, any Man might have then forbid it. But no Man could forbid it.

Therefore Jesus Christ Commanded it.

Quaker. Therefore! Therefore! Argo! Argo! Why dost thou think Religion is to be proved by thy Therefore's, by thy Argo's?

Minister. Friend, I perceive the Word therefore is a very dead-doing sort of a Word to rely. I'll dismiss this terrible Word. I'll only say, the Reason why none could forbid Believers to be Baptised with Water, was merely because Jesus Christ Commanded it.

Quaker. BECAUSE. Why the Word because is as bad as the Word therefore.

Minister. [Smiling.] It may be so. But in the mean time you are wonderfully unreasonable! I say, why could none forbid Water for the faithful to be Baptised?

Quaker. Who says none could forbid Water?

'Tis only said, Can any Man forbid Water?

Minister. I pray Sirs, and is not this, none can?

But I'll bring the Matter to bear upon you without those Two dangerous Words, THEREFORE and BECAUSE, at which you are so terrified.

I will put the Matter into the Form of a Question: And your Answer to this Question, shall put an End to our present Velitations.

Quaker. What have we to do to Answer thy Questions?

Minister. My Question is, Whether a Man might not forbid in the Wor-

ship of Jesus Christ, what Jesus Christ himself hath no way Commanded?

You can Answer this Question if you will; and I desire, I demand your Answer.

Quaker. What? For us to answer thy Questions! That would be to Enslave our selves.

Minister. I am very sensible of that. Therefore take Notice you are enslaved in the Tails of your own miserable Delusions. But still I say, Answer my Question.

Quaker. Do you see Neighbours? Friend M, was to prove that Jesus Christ commanded Baptism, and now he's come to a Question!

Minister. So I am truly. And I see 'tis a Question that puts you into a Sweat. I beseech you to Answer it. I require you to Answer it. What shall I say? I desire you to Answer it. Pardon my Cogency; you Force me to!

Quaker. I say, how does a Question prove that Jesus Christ commanded Baptism with Water? And why dost thou Baptise Infants?

Minister. Nay, I'll keep you to the Question, Your Answer to the Question will prove it. I am designing to make you your selves prove it. And, Sirs, I do here offer to you, that I will give the best Answer I can to any Question in the World that you shall put unto me: Why are you so loth to Answer one short Question of mine?

Quaker. I be not obliged to Answer thy Question?

Minister. I must contrive some fair way to Compel some Answer unto this one Question. Give me leave therefore to tell you, that if you do not Answer this Question, you go away conquered and confounded. Yea, Sirs, I must in faithfulness tell you that you carry away the dreadful Mark of Hereticks upon you, even, to be Condemned in your own Conscience. You go away Self-Condemned, that you don't keep the Commandments of Jesus Christ; and therefore that you are—what you Remember the Apostle John said concerning you.

Quaker. I don't Condemn thee for using Baptism with Water.

Minister. This is no Answer to the Question still: For you don't observe it your self; neither you, nor any Quakers under Heaven. Wherefore I still urge for an Answer.

Quaker. Thou art not Croil to us: Is it thy Civility to Strangers? We have heard a great Fame of thee, for thy Croil and Obliging Carriage towards others that are not of thy Perswasion. But now thou are univert to us. That which I have to say, is, I will keep to that Book, the Bible, and I will Preach what is in that Book.

Minister. [Taking up the Bible] Friend, you pretend then to understand this Book. I do here make you this offer, that I will immediately turn you to Ten several Places in one Book of this Holy Bible, [the Chronicles] and if you can give me a Tolerable Solution of any one of them, I'll acknowledge that you are worthy to Preach out of it.

Quaker. Canst thou do it thy self?

Minister. I humbly hope I can.

Quaker. How dost thou know that I can't?

Nnnnnnn 2

Minister:



*Minister.* I say you *Can't*. Now do you Accept my offer: If you can I'll own, that I have wrong'd you.

*Quaker.* What's that to thee what I can do?

*Minister.* Look you Neighbours; I think 'tis to no purpose to proceed unto any other Points, with such unreasonable Folks as these. You see how 'tis. If you desire it, I'll proceed.

*Neighbours.* No, Sir, 'tis to no purpose, they are a People of no Reason.

*Quaker.* *Nay, Friend M—* I would not have thee to be so Hard upon us; I mean thee no Harm. I hear thou takest a great deal of pains for the good of thy People; and they will do well, to Hearken to thee. I have rebuked some of them for speaking Evil of thee. Yea, it is my Judgment, that thou, and other such Ministers as thou art, ought Honourably to be maintained by the People.

*Minister.* You differ from all your Friends, methinks. What? Would you have us to be Hirelings? 'Tis very strange to hear a Quaker plead for the Maintenance of our Ministry. But for your satisfaction I'll tell you, the People whom I serve I never once in all my Life asked for any Maintenance or Salary; and I never made any Agreement with them about any Salary in all my Life.

*Quaker.* *I say, I would not have thee too Hard upon us.* New-England has Persecuted our Friends at a grievous Rate.—

*Minister.* *Nay, Friends,* be not you too Hard upon me about that Matter. I approve Persecution as Little as any of you all. I abhor it, I have Preach'd against it, I have Writ against it, I have Bewail'd the Mistakes that some good Men have committed in it. I would have you Treated with all the Civility imaginable. I would not have the Civil Magistrate inflict upon you the damage of one Farthing for your Consciences.

*Quaker.* But now you may see how the Judgments of God are come upon the East-Country, by the Indians for your Persecution.

*Minister.* I can't tell that neither. For tho' I am sorry at my Heart that ever you were Persecuted: Yet I can't say, That because Boston was guilty of Persecution, therefore New-chawanic, and Casco-Bay, (Places in other Provinces) that never had any such thing in it, must be cut off.

*Quaker.* Yea, they Persecuted at the Eastward. There were Two Women of our Friends cruelly Scourged there.

*Minister.* I suppose you refer to a Story published by one George Bishop, a Quaker: He Complains bitterly of the New-England Persecution, because there came Two Quaker Women Stark Naked into our Publick Assemblies, and they were carried unto the Whipping-post for it. This was in the Northern Parts of the Country, as I have been told. These Baggages, I believe, were the Persecuted Women you talk of!

*Quaker.* Well, and what if they did appear

Naked, to show the People the Nakedness of their Sins?

*Minister.* For shame, Sirs, let us have no more of this Talk.

*Quaker.* Why didst thou treat George Keith so hardly?

*Minister.* He deserved it when I so Treated him. And you Quakers have since Treated him Ten Times worse than ever I did. You write whole Books of Railing against him. I never got him into Goals, and under Fines. I should have been Troubled at any that would have done so. But you have done it. Therefore I believe 'tis best for you to leave that Subject.

And so after a few other small Passes, the Saw-wood Mill: The Conference ended.

There are Five or Six Witnesses which I have to attest unto the Truth of this Relation which I have here given, of a Conference with a Quaker, which had all the Friends fir and near wondering (as well as wandring) after him. And yet these Cretians boasted among their Friends, how much they had confounded the Minister in this Conference.

All that I would presume now to Comment unto those Towns, which have such Quakers annoying of them, is this, Brethren, carry it well, even with all convenient Civility and Humanity, towards this Poor Deluded People; while you Charge your Children and Servants that they do not go unto their Meetings: And cast not your selves also into Temptation by needlessly being there. But after all, yea, before all, make an Experiment which the good People at Lyn made a little while ago, with a Success truly observable and memorable.

The Quakers made a more than ordinary Descent upon the Town of Lyn, and Quakerism suddenly spread there at such a rate as to Atarum the Neighbourhood. The Pastor of the Church there Indicted a Day for Prayer with Fastings, to implore the help of Heaven against the unaccountable Enchantment; and the good People presented accordingly, on July 19. 1694. their fervent Supplications unto the Lord, that the Spiritual Plague might proceed no further. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ gave a Remarkable Effect unto this holy Method of Encountering the Charms of Quakerism: It proved a better Method than any Coercion of the Civil Magistrate: Quakerism in Lyn received (as I am informed) a Death-Wound from that very Day; the Number of Quakers in that Place hath been so far from Increasing, that I am told, it hath since rather Decreased notably. Now let other Endangered Plantations go and do likewise.

The Quakers are such Enemies to the Holy Religion, which is the Life of New-England, that you must Excuse my Concern to have you Fortify'd against their Attempts also, while I am giving you an History of your other Enemies. What all of them would be at, methinks, was a little intimated by what one of them once declared. The Globe-Tavern was near our Publick and Spacious Meeting-House at Salem; and a No-



Noted *Quaker* there caufed a Paper to be fet up on the Door of that Meeting-Houfe, which had fuch Stuff as this written in it.

*Beware, Beware, and Enter not !  
But rather to the Globe, and fpend a Pot.*

This is but like a Paſſage mentioned in the Life of that Excellent Man, Mr. P. Henry lately published. A Debauched Gentleman in his Revels, Drinking and Swearing, at *Malpas*, was reproved by a *Quaker* then in his Company. Why, ſaid the Gentleman, I'll ask thee one Queſtion, Whether it is better for me to follow Drinking and Swearing, or to go and hear *Henry*? The *Quaker* Answered; *Nay, of the Two rather follow thy Drinking and Steeking.* Behold the Spirit of *Quakeriſm* ! When I once compelled a *Quaker* to confeſs that the Body of Jeſus of *Nazareth* roſe from the Grave, and went up into the Heavens, he begg'd me that I would not improve his Confeſſion, as if made on the behalf of all his Friends. And another of them, as I hear, publicly Held-forth in one of his late *Sermonations*, that the *Huſks* of the *Swine*, on which the *Prodigal* fed in the Parable, were the Bread and Wine in that which People call The Sacrament.

But what will become of thoſe Forlorn Villages, that ſhall reſign themſelves to the Conduct of that *Light within*, which our Sacred Scriptures indeed never expreſſy mention but once or twice, and then call it *Real Darkneſs*; and which may lead Men to all this Wickedneſs: There was among the *Mahometans* in the Eaſtern Parts of the World a Set called *Bateniſts*, from the *Arabic*, *Baten*, (which ſignifies *within*): who were the Enthuſiaſts that followed The *Light within*, like our *Quakers*. and on this Principle they did ſuch numberleſs Villanies, that the World was not able to bear them. None of all their Diabolical *Raveries* which I know I am now pulling on my ſelf, and which I value no more than if they came from the *Poulties* of *Malabar*, ſhall frighten me from Solliciting your *Chriſtian* Cares and Prayers, that you be not over-run with *Engliſh Bateniſts*. And I muſt Sollicitouſly make the Obſervation, that although ſuch a Number of *Quakers* in our Nation be a dreadful Judgment of God upon Men, ſmiting them with *Spiritual Plagues* for their Unfruitfulneſs and Unthankfulneſs under the Goſpel; nevertheless, 'tis a ſpecial Favour of God, that the Number of *Quakers* is no greater; for if they ſhould multiply, not only would *Chriſtianity* be utterly Extinguiſhed, but *Humanity* it ſelf Externally. It is well known, that when a *Quaker* had ſtole an *Hour-glaſs*, their *Mahomet*, *George Fox*, (of whom *Sol. Eccles.* in a Sheet, call'd, *The Quakers Challenge*, page 6. ſays, *He was the Chriſt*.) thus Vindicated it, [Great Myſt, pag. 77.] *As for any being moved of the Lord, to take away your Hour-glaſs from you, by the Eternal Power it is owned. Reader, doſt thou even Tremble to think what a Dark*

*Land* we ſhould have, if it ſhould ever be fill'd with theſe pretended Followers of the *Light*; who wear the Name of *Tremblers*? In truth, I know not unto what better one might compare them, than unto the *Machovelons* growing upon *St. Lucia*; Trees which bear Apples of ſuch an Odour and Colour as invites People to Eat thereof; but it is horribly Dangerous to do ſo; for there is no Antidote that can ſecure a Man from ſpeedy Death, who hath once taſted of them. The Leaf of the Trees makes an Ulcer on any place touched with it; the Dew that falls from them fetches off the Skin; the very *Shadows* ſwell a Man, ſo as to Kill him, if he be not ſpeedily helped.

## ARTICLE XXX.

*Things to Come.*

FROM Relating of *Things paſt*, it would no doubt be very acceptable to the Reader if we could paſs to *Foretelling of Things to come*. Our *Curioſity* in this point may eaſily come to a Degree *Culpable* and *Criminal*. We muſt be humbly content with what the God in whoſe Hands are our Times hath Reveal'd unto us.

Two things we will venture to Infer.

Fiſt, For our ſelves at home, let us remember an awful ſaying of our *Goodwin*, quoted by my Reverend Friend Mr. *Noyes*, in his late excellent Sermon at our Annivary Election.

As you look for Storms in Autumn, and Froſts in Winter, ſo expect Judgments where the Goſpel hath been Preached; for the Quarrel of the Covenant muſt be Avenged.

Secondly, For the Church abroad, I am far from deſerting what was aſſerted in the Sermon Preached at our Annivary Election, in the Year 1696. The *Tidings* which I bring unto you are, that there is a Revolution and a Reformation at the very Door, which will be vaſtly more wonderful than any of the Deliverances yet ſeen by the Church of God from the beginning of the World. I do not ſay that the next Year will bring on this *Happy Period*; but this I do ſay, the bigger part of this Aſſembly, may, in the Courſe of Nature, live to ſee it. Theſe things will come on with horrible Comotions, and Concuſſions, and Confuſions: The mighty Angels of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt will make their Deſcent, and ſet the World a Trembling at the Approaches of their Almighty Lord: They will Shake Nations, and Shake Churches, and Shake mighty Kingdoms, and Shake once more, not Earth only, but Heaven alſo.

Unto theſe Two Things my Reader will not miſ-improve it, I hope, if I add a Third lately fallen into my Hands; and never yet fo expoſed unto the Publick.



A Wonderful Matter Incontestably Demonstrated, and much desired by some good Men to be in this place Communicated.

MR. John Sadler, a very Learned and a very pious Man, and a most Exemplary Christian, lay Sick in his Bed at his Manor of Warmwell in Dorsetshire: In the Year 1652, in the time of his Illness he was visited by Mr. Culbert Bound, the Minister of Warmwell.

Mr. Sadler then desired his Man, (one Thomas Gray) to see that there should be no Body else in the Room, and lock the Door, and give him the Key.

He then sat up in his Bed, and asked Mr. Bound and the Attendant Gray, whether they saw no Body? And whether they did not hear what a Person said that stood at the Corner of the Chamber? They replied, No. He wondered at it, and said, The Man spoke so loud that the whole Parish might hear him.

Hereupon calling for a Pen and Ink, he wrote what was told him, and made them set their Hands to it; for he told them, The Man would not be gone till he had seen that done.

The Articles written down were,

I. That there would, after so many Months, be a Plague in London, whereof so many would die, [naming the Number.]

II. That the greatest part of the City would be Burnt, and Pauls he particularly shew'd him Tumbled down into Ruins, as if beaten down with great Guns.

III. That there would be Three Sea-Fights between the English and the Dutch.

IV. That there would appear Three Blazing Stars; the last of which would be terrible to behold. [He said, the Man shew'd him the Star.]

V. That afterwards there would come Three small Ships to Land in the West of Weymouth, which would put all England in an Uproar, but it would come to nothing.

VI. That in the Year 1688, there would come to pass such a thing in the Kingdom, as all the World would take notice of.

VII. That after this, and after some further Disturbance, there would be Happy Times: And a Wonderful Thing would come to pass, which he was not now to declare.

VIII. That he and his Man (Gray) should die before the Accomplishment of these things; but Mr. Bound should live to see it.

IX. For the Confirmation of the whole, the Man thus appearing told him, that he should be Well the next Day; and there would come Three Men to visit him, one from Ireland, one from Guernsey, and his Brother Bingham.

Accordingly the Day following Mr. Sadler went abroad: And this Day there accidentally met at his House, and so Dined with him, first the Lord Steel, who had been Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and now returning

from thence in his way to London, came to see Mr. Sadler: Secondly, Monsieur de la Marsh, a French Minister from Guernsey; and Lastly, his Brother Bingham.

Mr. Bound and Gray, within Three Days after this, made Affidavit of it before Colonel Giles Strangeways, and Colonel Cocker, who is yet Alive.

Mr. Daniel Sadler, and Mr. John Sadler, the Sons of this Old Mr. Sadler, very Serious and Worthy Christians, are at this time living in Rotterdam; one of them is His Majesties Agent for Transportation.

Mr. Daniel Sadler, making his Applications to Mr. Bound for his Testimony about this Matter, the said Old Mr. Bound, in a Letter dated, Warmwell, Aug. 30. O. S. 1697, asserts the Matter at large unto him; and Subscribes, This I shall Testify before the King himself, if occasion be, when he comes into England.

Tours, Culbert Bound, yet Minister of Warmwell.

Mr. Daniel Sadler has this Testimony further fortified by a Letter from one Mr. Robert Loder; telling him, that he had met with an Old Copy of the Depositions aforesaid, which accordingly he Transcribes for him; and several yet living in Dorchester affirmed unto him the Truth of the Story.

The Copies of these Letters are now in Boston in New-England.

Mr. John Sadler adds his Testimony, That his Father told unto his Mother and himself, that he had been told of Remarkable things to come to pass, particularly the Burning of London and Pauls. But that they were not acquainted with all the Matters he foretold unto Mr. Bound and Gray. Only he Remembers well they Two were with him in his Chamber alone; and his Father went abroad within a Day or Two; and that (according to the Sign he had given to them,) the Three Persons aforesaid visited him. He adds, that his Father spoke of leaving in Writing the things that had been shewn to him; and that a little after he saw once a thin Octavo Manuscript in his Father's Study, which he believed had those things in it; but after that he could never find it. This Testimony is dated in October 1697.

A Worthy and a Godly Gentleman, at this time living in Rotterdam, and well acquainted with both Mr. Daniel and Mr. John Sadler, sends this to Mr. Increase Mather in New-England, with a Letter dated 26. March. 1698.

Reader, I am not Ignorant that many Cheats and Shams have been imposed upon the World, under the Notion of Communications from the Invisible World, and I hope I am not becoming a Visionary. But Fancies and Juggles have their Foundation laid in Realities; there would never have been Impostures of Apparitions, and of Communications from the Invisible World, if there never had been Really some such things



things to be Counterfeited and Imitated. *Wise Men* therefore will count it a *Folly* in its *Exaltation* and *Extremity*, to deride all Instances of *Strange things* arriving to us from the *Invisible World*, because that *Some Things* have been *Delusions*. No, 'tis a *Wisdom* that is pleasing to God, and useful to the World, for a due Notice to be taken of *Rare Things*, wherein we have *Incontestable Proofs* of an *Invisible World*, and of the Interest it hath in *Humane Affairs*. The Narrative of Mr. *Sadler* is advantaged with such *Incontestable Proofs*, and contains in it such notable Passages, that I believe I do well to lay it before *Serious Men*, and I believe no *Serious Men* will play the *Buffoon* upon it. By no means pretend I to pass any Judgment upon this *Remarkable Narrative*; by no means do I presume to tell what I think of it, any more than this, that it is *Remarkable*. Nevertheless, for the Caution of unwary Readers, I will annex the Words of an Excellent Writer upon *Divine Providence*.

‘ Watch against an Unmortified *Ich* after  
‘ Eccentric or Extraordinary Dispensations of  
‘ Providence. *Luther* said, *The Martyrs*, with-  
‘ out the Apparition of *Angels*, being confirmed  
‘ by the Word of God alone, died for the Name  
‘ of Christ; and why should not we acquiesce?  
‘ And he observeth how the Devil hath greatly  
‘ deluded Parties who have been gaping after  
‘ *Visions*.

Nor will it be unprofitable to recite the Words of another Author, whom I must Quote, as R. *David Kimchi* did use to Quote R. *Joseph Kimchi*, under the Title of *Adoni Avi*.

‘ Evil Angels do now appear more often than  
‘ Good ones. ‘Tis an unwarrantable and a very  
‘ Dangerous thing for Men to wish that they  
‘ might see *Angels*, and Converse with them.  
‘ Some have done so, and God hath been provoked with them for their Curiosity and Presumption, and hath permitted Devils to come unto them, whereby they have been Deceived and Undone.

More Particular Prognostications upon the future State of NEW-ENGLAND.

**B**UT, Oh, my Dear NEW-ENGLAND, give one of thy Friends leave to utter the Fears of thy best Friends concerning thee; and consider what fearful Cause there may be for thee to expect sad Things to Come? If every *Wise Man* be a *Prophet*, there are some yet in thee that can *Prophesie*. *Predictions* may be form'd out of thee.

#### ¶ Reasonable Expectations.

I. Where *Schools* are not Vigorously and Honourably Encouraged, whole *Colonies* will sink apace into a Degenerate and Contemptible Condition, and at last become horribly Barbarous: And the first Instance of their Barbarity will be, that they will be undone for want of Men, but not see and own what it was that undid them.

II. Where Faithful Ministers are Cheated and Grieved by the Sacrilege of People that Rebel against the Express Word of Christ, Let him that is Taught in the Word, Communicate unto him that Teacheth in all good things, the Righteous Judgments of God will impoverish that People; the Gospel will be made lamentably Unsuccessful unto the Souls of such a People; the Ministers will either be fetch'd away to Heaven, or have their Ministry made woefully Inipid by their Encumbrances on Earth.

III. Where the Pastors of Churches in a Vicinity despise or neglect Formed Associations for Mutual Assistance in their Evangelical Services, Wo to him that is alone. 'Tis a sign either that some of the Pastors want Love to one another, or that others may be Conscious to some Fault, which may dispose them to avoid Inspection; but fatal to the Churches will be the Tendency of either.

IV. Where Churches have some Hundreds of Souls under their Discipline; but the single Pastors are not strengthened with Consistories of Elders, or an agreeable number of Wise, and Good, and Grave Men, chosen to join with the Pastor, as their President in that part of his Work, which concerns the Well-ruling of the Flock, their Discipline will by Degrees be utterly lost; the Grosest Offenders will by Degrees, and thro' Parties, be scarce to be dealt withal.

V. Where Pastors do not quicken Orderly Private Meetings of both Elder and Younger Christians, for Exercises of Religion in their Neighbourhood, the Power of Religion will necessarily decay among those Christians; the Seed sown in the Publick will not so much prosper, for want of being Warred in private: And when the Pastor shall fall Sick, there will not be so much as one Company of Christians in all his Flock that can come together to pray for his Life.

VI. Where Churches, professing a great Reformation, shall in their Constitution cease to Represent unto the World the Holiness of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his Heavenly Kingdom, they will become loathsome to that Holy Lord; their Glory is gone, and their Defence goes with it; the dreadful Wrath of Heaven will Astonish the World with the things which it will do unto them.

VII. Where Churches are loth to give unto Councils regularly upon Complaints enquiring into their Administrations, an Account thereof, 'tis much to be suspected, that they are Chargeable with Male-Administrations; and if the Advice of regular Councils come once to be Trod under Foot by any Particular Churches, all serious Men will be afraid of joining to such Unaccountable Societies.

VIII. Where a mighty Body of People in a Country are violently set upon running down the Ancient Church State in that Country, and are violent for the Hedge about the Communion at the Lord's Table to be broken down; and for those who are not admitted unto the Communion, to stand on equal Terms in all Votes with them



them that are; the Churches there are not far from a Tremendous Convulsion, and they had need use a Marvellous Temper of Resolution with Circumspection to keep it off.

IX. Where Churches are bent upon Backsliding, and carried away with a strong Spirit of Apostasy, whatever Minister shall set himself to withstand their Evil Bents, will pull upon himself an inexpressible Contempt and Hatred; be his Merits never so Great, a Thousand Arts will be used for to make him Little; he had need be a Man of Great Faith, and Great Prayer; but God will at length Honour such a Man with wonderful Recompences.

X. Where a Fountain shall become Corrupt, there the Streams will no longer Make Glad the City of God.

XI. The Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ we have with much Expence lately sent unto several of our Southern Plantations: If it be rejected, there are Terrible things to come upon them; 'twere better to have lived in Sodom, than in one of those Plantations.

XII. God prepare our dear Brethren in Conscience, for certain Changes that are Impending over them.

Finally, There was a Town called Amycle, which was Ruined by Silence. The Rulers, because there had been some false Alarums, forbade all People under Pain of Death to speak of any Enemies approaching them: So, when the Enemies came indeed, no Man durst speak of it, and the Town was lost. Corruptions will grow upon the Land, and they will gain by Silence: 'Twill be so Invidious to it, no Man will dare

to speak of the Corruptions; and the Fate of Amycle will come upon the Land.

Reader, I call'd these things Prophecy; but I with I be not all this while Writing History.

Now if any discerning Persons apprehend any Dangers to Impend over New-England, from any of the Symptoms mentioned, it is to be hoped they will employ their best Thoughts, how to Anticipate those Dangers. And whereas 'tis the Sense of all Men, who discern any thing, that it is in vain to hope for any Good, until a Spirit of Grace be poured out from Heaven to dispose Men unto it; I beg them to consider, whether the only way to obtain that Spirit of Grace be not humbly to ask it by Prayer with Fasting before the God of Heaven.

It was therefore an Article in an Advice agreed by some of the Principal Ministers in this Province; and with the mention of that Advice, (which doubtless, all but the Sleeping will follow) I'll conclude; 'Solemn Days of Prayer with Fasting, Celebrated in our Churches, to Implore the Grace of God, for the Rising Generation would probably be of Blessed Consequence, for the turning of our Young People unto the God of our Fathers. The more there is this way ascribed unto Grace, the more the Grace of God is like to be Communicated; and there is in this way a natural and a plentiful Tendency to awaken our Unconverted Youth unto a Sense of their Everlasting Interests; which, were it generally accomplished, a Remarkable Reformation were therein Effected.



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## Observable Things.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
TEN YEARS

Rouled away under the great Calamities of a

WAR  
WITH  
INDIAN-SALVAGES,

Repeated and Improved in a SERMON at Boston  
Lecture, 27<sup>d</sup>. 7<sup>m</sup>. 1698.

JUDG. VI. 3, 5, 6.

The Children of the EAST came up against them; and they entred into the Land  
to Destroy it; and Israel was greatly Impoverished.

## P R E F A C E.

WHEN the Israelites were engaged in a WAR, they made choice of a Priest among them, to serve some of their greatest Occasions in it, and after a *Sacred Untion* bestow'd upon him, we are told by *Maimonides*, he was call'd *Masbuch Milchamah*, that is to say. *Unitus Belli*; which was as much as to say, *The Priest of the War*.

To bring unto a People profitable Advices and Reflections upon a WAR, wherein they are Engaged, and found the *Siluer Trumpet* of the Gospel, with agreeable Notes unto them in it, is to do in some sort the Office of the *Masbuch Milchamah*; and this Office the ensuing Discourse presumes to do, with Endeavours that the Voice of Heaven, by the *Trumpet* of our late War, may

be heard giving a certain Sound in these *Echo's* of it.

The History of a long War hath with all possible Care of Truth been given you. The Author earnestly prays, that if the least material Mistake have happened in the History, he may be Advised, and it may be Corrected. The Noise that may be made by a few Sordid People here and there in a Room Tophetized with Smoke, and Rhume, and Spittle, and Malice, and Lies, crying out concerning the most Conscientious Eilays to preserve Memorable Truths, *They are a parcel of Lies!* He values not. But he now tenders to the Acceptance of the more Civilized Readers an Improvement of Memorable Truths, which it was His Duty to make, and it will be, *Theirs* to mind.

O O O O O O

T H E



THE  
REMARKABLES

Of a Long

WAR,

Collected and Improved.

Boston Lecture, 27d. 7m. 1698.

**I**F a Book of some Consequence be laid open before one that cannot Read, he may Look and Gaze upon it; but unto what purpose, as long as he cannot understand it? This very Comparison is by the Great *Austin* well applied unto the Judgments of God. And I will therefore so far improve the Comparison, as to observe, that the Judgments of God, under which we have been Languishing for Ten Years together, are a sort of a Book put into our Hands; a Book indeed all Written in Blood; a Book yet full of Divine Lessons for us. But can every Man Read this Terrible Book? No, methinks I see the Book managed like the Book brought unto the Blessed Prophet of Old in *Isa. 29. 12.* *The Book is delivered unto him that is not Learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I am not Learned.* It will certainly be a Work well becoming a Minister of the Gospel, and every serious Christian will be glad of seeing the Work done; to take this Book, and help you as well as we can to *Spell* the Divine Lessons contained in it.

*Christians,* Let us now do a Work, for which the great God hath given us that Warrant, and that Command in

P S A L. CVII. 43.

Who is Wise, and will observe these Things:

**T**HE Various and Marvellous Dispensations of the Divine Providence towards

the Children of Men, are in this Elegant *Psalms* admirably set before us. Among those Dispensations there is a particular Mark set upon this, That the God of Heaven Turns a Fruitful Land into Barrenness, for the Wickedness of them which dwell therein; and though Men have Sown Fields there, and have multiplied greatly, yet they are again diminished, and brought low through Oppression, Affliction, and Sorrow. Of such Dispensations is this Passage to be understood, as a Question, *Who is Wise, and will observe these things?* But if you will rather take it as a Sentence, it still comes to the same Sense, *Who is Wise will observe these things.* And the French Version very Expressively intimates the Design, as well as the Event of this Observation; that so they may consider the Favours of the Lord. No less than Ten Years have rolled away since we have been plunged into the Distresses of a WAR with a Barbarous Enemy. In this WAR we have seen the Fruitful Land of almost one whole Province, and another whole County, turned into Barrenness; doubtless not without Provocations of Wickedness in them who dwell therein; Men had Sown Fields there along the Shore in Settlements for an Hundred Miles together, and had Multiplied Greatly into a Cluster of Towns, (besides lesser Villages,) that might Challenge the Name of a Decapolis; but in this WAR we have seen them diminished again, and brought low, through Oppression, Affliction, and Sorrow. I am



to lead you this Day thro' a Spacious Country, which has been on many Accounts the most Charming part of *New-England*; and I must herewithal say, *Come, behold the Works of this Lord, what Desolations he has made in that Land.* Sirs, tis time for you to *Observe these things*; and this, not with a meer *Atheism*, but with a more *Profitable* Observation. I must not be Discouraged from this Holy Service, by the vain Scofs of those that *Blaspheme* all Attempts, to *Consider the Wondrous Works of God*, as if it were nothing but a *Telling of News in the Pulpit*. The biggest part of the Holy Bible, which is but a Relation of *such Wondrous Works*, would be Scoffed by such *Prophane Men*, if they might not thereby become *Obnoxious*. No, if *Whoso is Wise will observe these things*, then let no Man call it Folly to make the *Observation*. A long WAR is the *Text* which I am now to insist upon: And if we would approve our selves *Wise*, after all the *Stripes* that have in this WAR been given us, these things will occur to our *Observation* in it.

I. In this WAR that hath been upon us, *Who is Wise may observe* the Consequence of Entertaining the *Gospel* of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and Obtaining and Maintaining the *Ordinances* of that Glorious Gospel. The *Gadarens* of Old were loth to have any thing of CHRIST in their *Coast*: And anon comes *Roman War* which distressed all the Land: But the woful Town of *Gadara* was the very first Place Be sieged in that *War*, and bad things were done upon it. Alas, how little of an *Evangelical Church-State* was there to be seen among all our *Eastern Settlements*! It hath been for the want of this, that the Judgments of God have more than once forbidden them to be called *Settlements*. The Towns were generally without *Preachers* of CHRIST, and much more generally without *Churches* of CHRIST, for to Irradiate 'em: Yea, not one of the Towns that are utterly broken up, had any *Minister* in it for a long while before their Final Darkness came upon them. Such a *Way of Living* did content many of them, that it were horrible to tell what Ignorance of CHRIST they were thereby sunk into. I would never have told you, that some Young Men, Twenty Years Old, in this Land, never so much as once heard the Name of Christ in all their Lives, if I did not think that the God of Heaven required us all to Mourn before him for such an *Horrible thing in the Land*. Indeed, the strange Disasters which attended the First Effays to settle that good Country, made many People imagine the *Indian Sorcerers* had Enchanted the Ground, so that no *English* could Thrive on such an Enchanted Soil. But had they carried the *Gospel* of the Lord Jesus Christ with them, doubtless they had Confuted that vain Imagination; all the *Spells* of Hell would have been Insignificant; there would not have prevailed any *Enchantment* against a *Gods-Spel* which we have in our *Gospel*. The

*Original Design* of NEW-ENGLAND, was to settle *Congregations*, wherein the Lord Jesus Christ might be known and served according to his *Gospel*, and instruct *Counties* that should be the Nurseries of those *Congregations*. The Plantations of the East had little of this *Illustrous Design* in their Eye; the Enjoyments of *Gods* were did seem too much to little too many of them. For this Cause we must believe it is, that our Lord JESUS CHRIST looking down from Heaven upon their *Unchristian Undertakings*, Thunder-thunder them with his Indignation: He *cast the Footstapling Root*, but suddenly he *Curst* their Habitation. When some of our Eastern People have been Pining away under the Fatigues of their Captivity among the Indians, who had Stript them of all they had, then they cried out, *Now, now the Lord is Punishing of us for our leaving of his Ordinances, and removing to a Place of no Gospel for larger Accommodations in the World, and expelling our Children to be Bred up like the very Indians, in to whose Hands we are fallen!* That which Invites one to think it may be for this Cause, is the Singular *Distinction* and *Protection* which the CHURCHES of our Lord have enjoyed throughout the whole Progress of their calamity. No Places that have had CHURCHES gathered in them, have all this while been broken up, however, some of them have had much *Bread of Adversity, and Water of Affliction*. The Enemy that have come in upon our Land like a *Flood*, carried all before them as an *irresistible Torrent*, until they came to Places that have CHURCHES as it were to *Garrison* them. The Almighty Lord hath check'd the *Proud Waves*, and said, *Hitherto ye shall come, and no further!* But here let me add a very observable thing: The Lord had some of his *Elected* among our Eastern People, but he has brought those *Elected* Home unto himself, by Burning them out of their Homes, and their Habitations. The Indians have driven 'em thither, and as they have met with the Gospel of Christ, and have been effectually called unto the Lord, and joined unto our Churches, and blessed the Name of God for bringing them unto these Churches. *Perilous! perilous!* Now *who is Wise, and will observe these things*, cannot but wish, that the Folly of Erecting Plantations without the Worship of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, may be no more committed among us. It was wholesome Counsel given, and usually taken in the beginning of New-England: 'Let Christians no where sit down without good Ministers, but let them rather tarry where they are, as *Ezra* tarried by the River *Abana*, till he had got some *Levites* to go with them. And it was even then observed, that Places which made Beginnings any long while without Ministers, were with miserable *Unsettledness* broken all to pieces. I suppose our Eastern Country will shortly again be Peopled: But let the People which intend there to settle themselves in the Fear of God, remember

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ber this Admonition; don't venture to form *Towns* without the Gospel in them any more. If the lamentable Experience which you have more than once had, of a Blast from Heaven upon Enterprises to Live without the Gospel of the Son of God, will not inspire you with more of Wisdom for the future, I will foretel your Fate in those awful Words, *Psal. 28. 5. Because they regard not the Works of the Lord, nor the Operation of his Hands, he shall destroy them, and not build them up.* Yea, but let all *New-England* at the same time learn what the Welfare or the Ruin of all will turn upon. The whole World was made for our Lord *Messiah*, and the Curse of God will more or less plague the World, according to the Respects which that *Second Adam*, our Lord *Messiah* finds in it. But *New-England* is by a more Eminent Profession that *Immanuel's Land*. Let the Interests of the Christian Religion in Reformed Churches be pursued and preserved among us, then *All will go well!* Our Acknowledgment of our Lord JESUS CHRIST in CHURCHES, that shall be so ordered, as to represent him and his Kingdom unto the World, this will be our *Glory*; and this *Glory* will be our *Defence*; or as 'tis promised in *Isa. 4. 5. Upon all the Glory shall be a Defence.* But if once the Spirit of this World eat out the Spirit and Power of Religion, and the Order of our Churches, and Mens Value for a Room in the Churches be lost, then write *Ichabod* upon all our *Glory*; and let us expect that our Holy Lord will *Sweep us out of his Mouth.*

II. In the War that hath been upon us, *Who so is Wise, may observe* in the very Instruments of our Calamity, shrow'd Intimations of the *Provoking Evils*, for which the Righteous God hath Chastised us by such Instruments.

When the Miseries of the *Sword* are inflicted on a People, it becomes them to consider what *Provocations* they have given to the Almighty God, who makes *Peace*, and creates *Evil*; for 'tis he, the Lord, who doth all these things. The *Sword* by which we have been so grievously harraased, hath been in the Hands of God; and if our Father had not been very angry, would he have taken a *Sword* into his Hands? We are Blind before Lightnings, we are Deaf unto Thunder, if we do not sensibly perceive the Anger of God in the Tremendous Rebukes that we have suffered: And we are unaccountably and inexcusably Stupid, if we do not enquire, What means the Heat of this Anger? It was once the Commination of God in *Ezek. 7. 24. 27. I will bring the worst of the Heathen, and they shall possess their Houses, and the Hands of the People of the Land shall be Troubled:* Such Trouble hath come upon us from the worst of the Heathen! But what was the Cause of all? It follows, *I will do unto them after their Way, and I will judge them according to*

*their Deserts, and they shall know that I am the Lord.* It is but reasonable for us now to look back upon our own Way, and see how much we have Deserved all this Vengeance by going out of the Way. Two Persons in their Travels beholding the horrid Ruins of *Germany*, one of them said, *Hic fuit Hostilitas*, behold the Fruit of Hostility! His Friend answered, *Hic fuit Iniquitas*, behold the Fruit of Iniquity! If you will Travel over our *East Country*, how frequent, how dismal Occasions will you see to Sigh, See what has been done by Hostility! But there will be as many Occasions for a sadder Sigh than that: Namely, See the sad Effects of Iniquity! Now in this Contemplation I do not go to charge them that were once Inhabitants of the now Ruined Plantations with any Sins, but what are more or less to be found in all our Colonies. I ask no more from our Brethren, who yet Survive the Desolations that have come upon their Estates and Neighbours in those Plantations, but that they join with the rest of us all in Searching and Trying of our Ways, and in Judging of our selves. For, alas, Every Mouth must be stop'd, and all the Land is become Guilty before God! Let us all then Enquire, what may have been those Provoking Evils, for which the Holy and Blessed God hath given the *Sword* a Commission so dreadfully to devour us? But then let us be sure to enquire wisely concerning that matter. And here I will not Enquire, whether those that went before us, might never be too forward in any Unjustifiable Encroachments, to Possess and Command those Lands which have since proved so Expensive unto us? Older Men than I are able to manage that Enquiry, though I also have heard it made. But that whereupon I rather bespeak your Thoughts, is this: Will you please to Enquire into the Properties and Qualities of our Adversaries? 'Tis possible, that in their Properties and Qualities we may read something of those Mis-carriages, for which our God hath raised them up to be our Adversaries. It hath been commonly seen, that when the People of God have finfully come to Imitate the Evil Manners of other Nations, God hath made those very Nations to be a fore Scourge unto them. And the Sense of this was that which long ago caused many sensible Persons to foretel, which of the Neighbour Nations would bring our dear *England* low. Now since the Indians have been made by our God, The Rod of his Anger, 'tis proper for us to Enquire, whether we have not in some Instances too far imitated the Evil Manners of the Indians? The Indians are infamous, especially for Three Scandalous Vices. First, They are Liars of the first Magnitude; one cannot believe a Word they speak. Secondly, They are Sluggards to a Proverb; they are for any way of Living rather than Work. Thirdly, They are abominably Indulgent unto their Children; there is no Family Government among them. Will you now Enquire, Sirs, how far we have Indianized in e-

Very



very one, but especially the last of these *Evil Manners*; If we find these *Indian Vices* to grow Epidemical among us, Oh! don't wonder, that our God hath been with *Indian Hatchets* cutting down the *Tree* that brings forth *Fruits* thus disagreeable to him that Planted it.

Now *who's is Wise will observe these things*. And yet the *Observation* may extend it felt a little further. Sometimes the Sovereign God chuses a Nation remarkably Laudable for some good Thing, to punish his own People for the want of that Thing. Thus when the *Christian Churches* fell into *Idolatry*, God sent the *Mohametsans* upon them, to *Torment* them with one *Woe* after another horribly; and the *Mohametsans* are very Remarkable for this, that they are great *Haters of Idolatry*, and where-ever they come they destroy those *Idols*, and *Works of Mens Hands*, which are adored in the *Antichristian Apostacy*. Well, but can any good Thing be reported of our *Indian-Invaders*? Yes, there is one good Thing which the *French* have taught them; there is *Family-Prayer* among them, a daily *Family-Worship* upheld among them. I *Fear*, I *Fear*, this is more than can be said of many *English Sufferers*, that have been amoy'd by those *Indian-Invaders*. It may be, the *Wretched Indians* have cut off multitudes of *Families*, to whom they might have said, *These Families never Pray'd unto God once in a Month, and we have done it every Day!* And many of our poor *Folks* never heard any *Family-Prayer* in their Lives, till they were dragg'd into the *forlorn* and howling *Wigwams* of those wretched *Salvages*. I have heard it said, that in a *Town* of it may be more than *Seventy Families*, that have had not been *Twice Seven Families* that have had any constant *Invocation* of God in them. If it be so, then hear the Voice of God in it, when he sent those *Monstrous* and *Furious Barbarians* to burn down such *Prayerless Houses*: The Voice of Heaven in it, is, *If Indians will pray in their Families more than English, then let Indians destroy those English Families*. It was once the direful *Imprecation*, in *Jer. 10. 25. Pour out thy great Wrath upon the Heathen that know thee not, and upon the Families that call not on thy Name*. Truly, God has used a Sort of *Heathens*, to pour out his great *Wrath* upon *Families*, which in this one Point were worse than those *Heathens*, that they did not call on his Name. For God's sake be so *Wise as to observe these things*, and let *Family-Prayer* be no where neglected throughout the Land, lest while God is punishing us by the *Pagans*, we become worse than *Pagans*. Let me faithfully and solemnly Advise you; *Sirs*, A *Prayerless Family* is a *Pagan Family*. Do not now imagine, that it is only the more Strict and Severe Doctrine of a *Non-Conformist* that now smites your Consciences, it is the Doctrine of a *Christian*, and it may be, 'twill have the more Force upon some of you, if I tell you, that the late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in a

Book on that Subject, has this Passage; *That constant Family Worship is so Necessary to keep alive a Sense of God and Religion in the Minds of Men, that he sees not how any Family that Neglects it can in Reason be Esteemed a Family of Christians, or indeed to have any Religion at all*. I will add but this Word unto all the rest: If after this there be a *Prayerless Family* among us, I would, if I could, Write upon their Door, *Lord Have mercy upon us*; for there is a *Plague* in that *Pagan Family*.

III. In the *WAR* that hath been upon us, *who's is Wise may observe*, that the very *Objects* of our *Sins* have been made the very *Engines* of our *Plagues*. It is a thing *Extraordinarily Observable*, though it ordinarily happens; that, *In quo quis peccat, in eo puniatur*; Men are *Plagued* by those very things with which they have *Sin'd*. If an *Eli* omit his Duty towards his *Children*, it follows, in *1 Sam. 2. 33.* those very *Children* shall consume *thine Eyes*, and grieve *thine Heart*. I am very much mistaken, if our *Eyes* have not been consumed, and if our *Hearts* not grieved, by those to whom we have omitted our Duty exceedingly. The grand Crime of the *Jews* was in Relation to the *Romans*, and God made the *Romans* the Destroyers of the *Jews*. You will now demand of me, whether I think that we are chargeable with any Crime relating to the *Indians*, which have been so bloodily Destroying of us. I must freely tell you, I think we are. The old *Britains* did not what they should have done, to Convert the *Saxons* unto Christianity; and when the *Britains* were afterwards fearfully Destroy'd by the *Saxons*, their Famous Countryman *Gildas* told them, *This is the Vengeance of God upon you, because you did no more for the Conversion of those Miserable Heathens*. And I admire that the *English Protestants* in *Ireland*, after such Massacres from the *Irish Papists*, do no more Effectually make this Reflection. But that which I am now to Reflect upon, is this: Had we done but half so much as the *French Papists* have done, to Prostitute the *Indians* of our East unto the *Christian Faith*, instead of being *Snarers* and *Traps* unto us, and *Scourges* in our Sides, and *Thorns* in our Eyes, they would have been a *Wall* unto us both by *Night* and *Day*. What a *Sting* was there in those Words which the *Indians* have used unto some of our *Captives*, Had the *English* been as careful to *Instruct* us as the *French*, we had been of your Religion! Indeed, it can scarce, without an harsh *Catechesis*, be called, *The Christian Faith*, which the *French Papists* have made the *Salvages* to swallow: But if the *Salvages* had been *Enlightened* with *The Christian Faith* from us, the *French Papists* could never have infill'd into them those *French Poisons*, that have made such *Raging Devils* of them. Through the Blessing of God, upon the Endeavours of good Men in this one *Massachusetts-Province*, the *Indians* have mostly Embraced the *Christian*



## Christian Religion.

[\* Of that Matter see a Printed Account, at the end of Mr. Noyes's Election-Sermon; wherein I have here this to add, That an hopeful and worthy Young Man, Mr. Experience Mayhew, omitted in that Printed Journal, merely because he was more largely mentioned in the annexed Proposals in the Gentlemen that made it, which are not Printed with it, must now have the Justice done him of this Character, That in the Evangelical Service of the Lord Jesus Christ among the Indians, there is no Man that Exceeds that Mr. Mayhew, if there be any that Equals him. So I am informed concerning him.]

the East had so much of their Drink and Bone, what is become of them, every one of them? The Sword has been Drunk with the Blood of the English, in the Hands of those very Indians which have been so often Drunk among them. And these Bloody Merchants of the Souls of the Indians, when they have summed up all their Gains, the Foot of the Account has been this, *Wo to him that gives his Neighbour Drink, that puts the Bottel to him to make him Drunk. Those Men are not Wise, but Mad, who can Observe these things, and now dare to Repeat this Iniquity, or dream that any Gains are to be got by feeding the Indian Lust of Drunkenness.*

IV. In the WAR that hath been upon us. *Whofo is wise, may observe the Loud Calls of Heaven to all Ranks of Men, in the sharp Strokes of Heaven on all Ranks of Men. As it was said in Mic. 6. 9. The Lord's voice crieth unto the City, and the Man of Wisdom shall see thy Name; hear ye the Rod: So I say, There has been a Voice of God unto all the Country in that Indian Rod which hath been used upon us: And Men of Wisdom, in all Ranks of Men, will Observe, and See, and Hear, the meaning of this Rod; inasmuch as all Ranks of Men have smarted under it; yea, it has fetch'd Blood from all Ranks of Men among us. We will a little particularize 'em. And first of all, you that are our Honour'd Shepherds; will you Observe how many of our Shepherds have been worried unto Death by the Scythian Wolves of our Wilderness? Two of our MAGISTRATES have been Treacherously and Barbarously Killed by the Indian Murderers: They whom God entrusted with the Sword of Justice, have had their Lives taken away by the Sword of the Wicked. I persuade my self, that the rest will be so wise as to Observe these things, and Observe how to answer the just Expectation of God in their Administrations. After this, Oh! Why*

*should not our Civil Rulers, with more Zeal than ever set themselves to ponder, How may I most glorifie God and Christ, and serve his dear People with my Opportunities!*

Two of our MINISTERS have been Struck down into the Earth by the Indian Dragons. They that have used nothing but the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, for the faving of all about them, have had the Destroyers coming upon them, and have been twisted for of the Sword. I assure my self, that the rest will be so wise as to Observe these things, and Observe how to fulfil our Ministry, with a very Excited Watchfulness. May all our Scattered Pastors, upon such a thing befallen our Brethren, resolve with themselves, *Am unworthy I spared? I will do more for my Lord, and more for my flock, and more for all the Churches, than ever I did.*

We will pass on, there have been some rich Men, that were finely Scuriuated, and had all things richly to Enjoy: But this War has reduced them to such Necessity, that within less than One Year they have come to beg their Bread: All their Treasures have been Treasures of Snow; one Summer has melted all away to nothing. I Remember the Jewell Tailours tell us of a Gentlewoman, who had a Thousand Thousand Pieces of Gold given with her at her Marriage, by her Father Nicodemus for her Portion; and yet she was reduced unto such Penury, that the pick'd Barley-Corns out of the Cartels Dung for her Food. Have not we seen almost such Vicissitudes? Rich Men, if you are Wise, (which the Rich are not always!) you will Observe these things, and upon the Observation say, *Well, what Man in his Right Wits will now set his Heart upon such Transitory, as all Sublunary Vanities! Oh! My Soul, do thou make sure of a better and a lasting Substance in Heaven; for earthly Riches take themselves Wings, and flee away towards Heaven.*

Again, there have been abundance of poor Men, who have been by this War plunged Rill into deeper Poverty: They have gone without a Bit of Bread for many Days together. The Straits, the Wants, the Cares of Widows, and Orphans, or of those that have had many Mouths to Feed, especially in our Exposed Frontiers, none can Express them, none can Conceive them, but they, (not they!) who did Endure them all. Poor Men, if you are wise, (which the Poor may be!) You will Observe these things, and upon the Observation say, *Well, I had need make sure that my Soul may not be Starved by wanting the Bread of Life, and that my Soul may not be Naked without the Garments of Righteousness; how desperately am I Circumstanced, if I go down from one Hell unto another at the Last!*

Once more, how many Women have been made a prey to those Brutish Men that are Skillful to Destroy? How many a fearful Thing has been



been suffered by the fearful Sex, from those Men that one would fear as Devils rather than Men: Let the Daughters of our Zion think with themselves what it would be for fierce Indians to break into their Houses, and brain their Husbands and their Children before their Eyes, and lead them away a long Journey into the Woods; and if they began to fail and faint in the Journey, then for a tawny Salvage to come with Hell-fire in his eyes, and cut 'em down with his Hatchet; or, if they could miraculously hold out, then for some filthy and ugly Squaw, to become their insolent Mistresses, and insolently to abuse 'em at their Pleasure a Thousand inexpressible Ways; and if they had any of their Sucking Infants with them, then to see those tender Infants handled at such a rate, that they should beg of the Tygres to dispatch 'em out of Hand. Such things as these. I tell you, have often happened in this lamentable War. And now, O ye Handmaids of the Lord, will you not be so wise as to Observe these things? But upon the Observation say, Well, I will bless God for my Enjoyments; my Afflictions, be they never so many, are not such as my Neighbours have seen: My Enjoyments are more than my Afflictions. But, Oh! Let me love and serve the good God, that has distinguished me with His Mercies.

It is to be added: We have had our old Men, whose Gray Hairs have not come down to the Grave in Peace. Young Indians have with grievous Flouts and Wounds butchered many of our old English Men. The Gray Hairs of our old Men have been dyed Red with their own Blood, and their Carcasses have been thrown unto the Swayne to mangle them. Old Men, if you are wise Men, you will observe these things; but observing of them. say, Oh! Let my hoary Head be found in the Way of Righteousness!

But our young Men are they whom the Fury of War hath been chiefly poured out upon. Alas, alas, for our young Men! They are the Persons with whom it seems to have been the very Errand of this War, to manage the terrible Contrivance of God. New-England sets a peculiar Accent of Grief upon this, among all her Lamentations; The Lord has trodden under Foot my mighty Men in the midst of me, he hath called an Assembly against me, to crush my young Men. Come then, my young Men, be so wise as to observe these things; and upon the Observation say, Lord, let not me, and the rest of my Generation, continue among the Generation of thy Wrath. Yea, to have done; Children also have not been excused from a Share in the Blows of this hideous War. Little Boys and Girls, even these little Chickens, have been seized by the Indian Vultures. Our little Birds have been spirited away by the Indian Devourers, and brought up in a vile Slavery, till some of them have quite forgot their English Tongue, and their Christian Name, and their whole Religion. Yea, those Babylonians have dy'd out the Brains of our little ones against the Stones. And our little ones have been hideously whipt

unto Death by those merciless Tygres, whose tender Mercies are Cruelty. Children, God make you so wise as to observe these things; and upon the Observation, Oh! fee that you become serious, pious, orderly Children; obedient unto your Parents, conscientious to keep the Lord's Day, and afraid of committing any Wickedness.

Upon the whole, when a dead Man was thrown into the Grave of Eliza, a Touch from the Bones of the Prophet in the Grave rais'd him from the Dead. I am desiring that Religion may be revived out of the Death which has too much enfeebled it among us. Behold, Sirs, I have now cast you into the Graves of our dead Friends; it may be, by wisely observing of them, and the things that have befallen them, we may be somewhat rais'd out of our deadly Security. Let our Observation of these things give some Life to the Practice of Religion among us.

V. In the WAR that hath been upon us, Whofo is wise, may observe those Tragical Things undergone by many in Captivity, that are full of Admonition unto us, that have never felt the Tragedies of such a Captivity. Several Hundreds of our Neighbours, first and last, have been carried into Captivity, by the most beastly and bloody things that ever wore the Shape of Men in the World. New-England makes that Moan in Lam. i. 18. Hear, I pray you, all People, and behold my Sorrow, my Virgins and my young Men are gone into Captivity. But Oh, the prodigious and stupendous Things that they have undergone in this Captivity! What weary Days and Nights have rouled over the miserable Captives, while they have not had a Bit of Meat allow'd 'em, except what a Dog would hardly meddle with. While they have sometimes been pinched with the bitter Frost, without Rags to cover their Nakedness, and sometimes been parched with the burning Heat, without any Cordial or Shelter to refresh them: While they have seen their nearest Relations torn in pieces alive before their Eyes, and yet those Eyes afraid of dropping a Tear at the mournful Sight: Yea, while they have every Hour look'd when they should be themselves roasted alive to make a Feast and a Sport for the horrid Cannibals! Need I tell you, That those Devils Incarnate have tied their Captives unto Trees, and first cutting off their Ears, have made them to eat their own Ears, and then have broiled their whole Bodies with flow Fires, dancing the mean while about them, and cutting out Collaps of their Flesh, till with lingering Tortures they have martyred them to Death! Such Things have been done by the Inhumane Salvages upon our Captives, that it is a sort of Inhumanity barely to mention them. Now, shall we be wise, to observe these things? The Observation must be made with that Admonition in Luk. 13. 4, 5. Think ye, that these were Sinners above all Men? I tell you, Nay, but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish. Wherefore let us penitently confess, that we have all defect



ved those miserable things, wherewith some have been so marked out by the Sovereignty of Heaven. In the things that have been done to our Captives, the Great Lord of Hosts hath dealt with us as *Generals* use to do upon the Seditious and Mutiny of Military Legions : He makes a sort of Decimation among the Offenders, and by what he does to some, he declares what he might justly do to all the rest. We must all ascribe it unto the mere Sovereign Mercy of God, that we are not every one of us broken in the Place of Dragons, as these desolate Captives were. That which the Scripture calls the Place of Dragons, I remember one of the Jewish Rabbi's expounds, *A Wilderness*. Truly our Wilderness hath been, The Place of Dragons. But while we observe these things, we shall not be wise, if we do not learn, *Oh! what an evil and a bitter thing is our Sin! And what horrendous Miseries must we expect among the Devils, if we die with our Sin unpardoned!*

VI. In the WAR that hath been upon us *Who is wise, may observe, a Work, a strange Work* of Heaven, as it were *Devising* of Ways, very strangely to differ all sorts of People, in all sorts of Interests. Truly the very Character of our Calamity hath all along been this; the great God has written still upon it, we may read upon it in a very legible Character those Words in *Jer. 18. 11. Thus saith the Lord, Behold I frame Evil against you, I devise a Device against you.* It hath been as if Ways had been deliberately and exquisitely studied, and as if with much *Contrivance* plotted for to bring us all within the Reach of the general Calamity. We have now languished thro' *Ten Years*, which have been the saddest, and the darkest, and the stormiest Years that ever we saw. If the History of these *Ten Years* were to be written, I am thinking what should be the Title; truly it might be entitled, as *Ezekiel's* Roll was, *Lamentation, and Mourning, and Wo.* Yea, you shall now have the History of these *Ten Years* written for you; I'll give it you in as expressive Words as can be; even in those Words, 2 Chron. 15. 5, 6. *In those times there was no Peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great Vexations were upon all the Inhabitants of the Countries, for God did vex them with all Adversity.* There is a Variety of Adversity with which the tedious War it self hath vexed us. The general Fate of the War hath involved numberless Families in several Circumstances of Adversity; and the Expensive part of the War hath been an heavy Scourge of Adversity upon those that could not be reach'd by the destructive part of it. You could not but observe these things: But then have you not observed what a further Variety of Adversity hath been contemporary with this vexatious War. Alas, there hath been such a Complication of other Distresses added unto the War, in the time of it, that *No-body*, no, I say, *No-body* hath been left free from those Dolorous Ejulations, *I am one that hath been afflicted by the Rod of the Wrath of God.*

A great King of Persia, having by Death lost the nearest Relation he had in the World, and being too passionate a Mourner for his Loss, an ingenious Man undertook to raise the dead Relation unto Life again, if the King would but furnish him in one Point that he apprehended necessary. It was demanded, *What that was?* And it was replied, *Furnish me but with the Names of Three Persons who have never met with any Sadness and Sorrow, and by writing those Names on the Monument of the Dead, I'll bring the Dead Person to Life.* Truly, the *Ten Years* of our War have let many *Ten Hundreds* of Persons a mourning over their dead Friends; we have seen everywhere the Mourners go about the Streets: Now I durst make you this Offer, that if you can find *Three Persons* who have met with no Matter of Sadness and Sorrow in these *Ten Years*, with the Names of them, we'll fetch your dead Friends to Life again. It was said in *Job 21. 17. God distributeth Sorrows in his Anger.* You may observe a marvellous Distribution of Sorrows made among us by the Anger of God.

And here, *First*, I say nothing of that amazing time, when the evil Angels in a puerile natural, and in an unparallel'd manner being let loose among us, God cast upon us the Fierceness of his Anger, and Wrath, and Indignation, and Trouble. It was the threatening of God against a People which he had call'd his Children, in *Deut. 32. 23, 24. I will heap Mischief upon them; I will spend my Arrows upon them; they shall be devoured with a bitter Destruction.* What was the bitter Destruction thus threatened unto an Apostatizing People? I remember the Famous Jew, *Onkelos*, renders it, *They shall be vexed with evil Spirits;* and indeed that Sense well agrees with what follows, *I will send upon them the Poison of the Serpents of the Dust.* Sirs, for our Apostasy (which is the very Sin of the evil Spirits!) the God of Heaven a while ago turned in the Armies of Hell upon us; and in that matchless Dispensation of God we underwent a bitter Destruction from the *Poison of the Serpents of the Dust.*

But there are other Points, not a few, wherein the great God hath heaped Mischief upon us, and fulfill'd unto us that Holy Commination, *Ezek. 7. 26. Mischief shall come upon Mischief.* What shall I say? While the Lord of Hosts hath been against us, the Hosts of Lord have been so too; all the Elements have, as it were, been up in Arms against us.

Particularly you may observe, That Epidemical Sicknesses have, in these Years, been once and again upon us; wherein the Angels of Death have shot the Arrows of Death into such as could not be reach'd by the Bullets of the Indian Enemy. This one Town did in one Year lose, I suppose, at least Six or Seven Hundred of its People by one contagious Mortality. And tho' of about Three and Twenty Hundred Men that we employ'd in one Action, we did, in that Action, lose hardly Thirty Men, yet how many Hundreds did afterwards miserably perish?

Again,



Again, you may observe, That the Harvest hath once and again grievously failed in these Years, and we have been *struck thro' with the terrible Famine*, almost as much as if the Indian Enemy had been all the while skulking about our Fields. The very *Curse of Nature* hath been altered among us; a lamentable Cry for Bread, Bread, hath been heard in our Streets: The Towns that formerly supply'd other Places with Grain, had now been famished, if other Places had not sent in a Supply to them, and had a black Prospect of being famished, notwithstanding that Supply.

Once more you may observe, That the Sea hath in these Years been swallowing up our Neighbours and their Estates, far more than the *Sword of the Wilderness*. Alas, the devouring Displeasure of God hath said concerning us, *Though they go to hide themselves from my Sight as for upon the Sea, thence will I command the Serpent, and he shall bite them*. And here, hath it been enough, that our Vessels, enough to make an huge Fleet, have been taken by the French Enemy? A certain Writer hath computed it, That in only the first Two or Three Years of the War the English Nation lost unto the French more than Fifteen Millions of Pounds Sterling. But no part of the English Nation hath been more frequently or sensibly prey'd upon by the French, than what hath gone out of New-England, ever since the War began. I say, has this been enough? No, the Wrath of God said, *This is not enough!* I appeal to you that have been Owners of Vessels, or Sailors in them, whether horrible Shipwrecks have not been multiplied since the War began, very much more than ever they were before: Ah, Lord! How many of us have shed Rivers of Tears over our dear Friends that have been Buried in the Ocean.

Moreover, you may observe, That in these Years those very things which were intended for our Defence, have oftentimes been so much improved for our Damage, that it was hard for us to say which was the greater, the Defence, or the Damage, which we had from them. It was a lamentable time with the Jews, when that *Curse* came upon them, *That which should have been for their Welfare, let it become a Trap, and pour out thine Indignation upon them*. Truly, the Indignation of God hath been poured out upon us in this Fruit of the *Curse*, no less frequently than sensibly, that some things which should have been for our Welfare, have at the same time served also to enrap the Persons and Interests of many People into sore Inconveniences. There is no need of explaining this Article; they that have been under this Indignation of God know the explaining of it.

Finally, You may observe what untimely Ends, and what surprizing Fates, have come upon our Sons in these Years of the Wrath of the Right Hand of the most High. When Crasus was in War taken by Cyrus, this Captive made unto the Conqueror this Remark upon the Difference between Peace and War: O Sir, I see that

in a time of Peace the Sons bury their Fathers, but in a time of War the Fathers bury their Sons. Truly Sirs, our time of War has in various Ways of Mortality been embittered with this Remark, *The Fathers have been burying their Sons all the Country over!* Many of us have had our Sons, even those very Sons, of whom we said, *This same shall comfort us!* We have had them violently snatch'd away from us, and cropt in the very Flower of their Youth, and they have left us deploring, *Oh, my Son, with all my Heart could I have died for thee, my Son, my Son!* But in the midst of these deplorable things God hath given up several of our Sons into the Hands of the fierce Monsters of Africa. Mahometan Turks, and Moors, and Devils, are at this Day oppressing many of our Sons with a Slavery, wherein they wish for Death, and cannot find it, a Slavery, from whence they cry and write unto us, *It had been good for us that we had never been born.*

—Quis talia sando  
Temperet a Lacrymis? —

Thus, as Job sometimes complained, Chap. 10. 17. *Thou renewest thy Witnesses against me, and increasest thine Indignation upon me, Changes and War are against me*: Thus in our long VVar we have seen those Changes on all Hands, and in all Kinds, which have witness'd against us the dreadful Indignation of God. God threatened his People, (so I read it.) Amos 2. 13. *Behold I will press your Place as a full Cart presses the Sheaf*: 'Tis an Allusion to the old way of threshing the Corn, by drawing a loaden Cart with Wheels over the Corn. *g. d. You shall undergo Tribulation.*] Ah, New-England, thou hast been under such a Tribulation!

Sirs, Have you not observed these things? But you must wisely observe them. And a wise Observation of these things will cause you to see, That the VVar which hath been upon us hath been a War of GOD. The Indians have been but a small part of those Armies, which the great GOD hath been bringing out against us for Ten Years together; and we may conclude, that all the Land have been more or less concerned in those Crimes for which the Almighty GOD hath been with these Armies managing his Controverfie with us: Our Confession must be *Peccavimus omnes, VVe have all gone astray!* But shall we not upon this Observation take up some Resolution? If we are wise, we shall thus resolve; *'Tis time, 'tis time, 'tis high time for us to make our Peace with God. O let us not go on to harden our selves against God; we are not stronger than he: But let us all fly to the Lord Jesus Christ, who is our Peace, and so lay down the Arms of Rebellion, that God may be reconciled unto us.*

VII. In the WAR that hath been upon us, who so wisely, may observe those Dispensations of Heaven towards us, that have carry'd more than

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or



ordinary *Humiliations* in them. It was said concerning *Miriam*, (the Type of the now Leprous and Outcast Church of *Israel*, *The Lord batten that Seventh Day wherein it shall be restored!*) Numb. 12. 14. *If her Father had Spit in her Face, should she not be ashamed?* Ah, *New-England*, thy Father hath been Spitting in thy Face with most *bumbling Dispensations*; God hath been bringing of thee down to sit in the Dust. When the War commenced, *New-England* might say, *Ally God will humble me!*

For, First, Shall our Heavenly Father put a Rod into the Hands of *base Indians*, and bid them to Scourge his Children! Oh! The *Humiliation* of such *Rebellious Children*! Oh! The *Provocation* that certainly such *Sons* and such *Daughters* have given him! It was a very *bumbling* thing that the Lord threatened unto his *Provoking Sons* and *Daughters* in Deut. 32. 21. *I will move them to Jealousie with those which are not a People; I will provoke them to Anger with a foolish Nation.* Should a Child of yours be *Refractory*; and you, Sir, should bid a *Negro* or an *Indian Slave* in your House, Go, take that Child, and Scourge him till you fetch Blood of him! Surely this would be to humble him unto the uttermost. Thus doth thy God humble thee, O *New-England*, by putting thee over into the vile Hands of those which are not a People, but a foolish Nation.

Again, Who are they by whose means we are now crying out, we are brought very low? When the most high God was determined Effectually to humble his People, he said, in Jer. 37. 10. *Though ye had smitten the whole Army of the Chaldeans, that fight against you, and there remained but wounded Men among them, yet should they rise up every Man in his Tent, and burn this City with Fire.* Truly we had smitten the whole Army of the *Indians* that fought against us Three and Twenty Years ago, from one end of the Land unto the other; only there were left a few wounded Men among them in the East; and now they have risen up every Man, and have set the whole Country on Fire. Certainly a more *bumbling* Matter cannot be related!

Moreover, Is it not a very *bumbling* thing, that when about an Hundred *Indians* durst begin a War upon all these Populous Colonies, an Army of a Thousand *English* raised must not kill one of them all; but instead thereof, more of our *Soldiers* perish by Sickness and Hardship than we had *Enemies* then in the World? Our God has humbled us!

Is it not a very *bumbling* thing, that when the Number of our *Enemies* afterwards Increased, yet an handful of them should, for so many Summers together, continue our *Unconquered Spoilers*, and put us to such vast Charges, that if we could have bought them for an Hundred Pound an Head, we should have made a saving Bargain of it? Our God has humbled us!

Is it not a very *bumbling* thing, that we should have had several fair Opportunities to have brought this War unto a final Period, but we should still, by some fatal Oversight, let slip

those Opportunities? Our God has humbled us!

Is it not a very *bumbling* thing, that whatever Expeditions we have undertaken, for the most part we have come off *Losers*, and indeed but plunged our selves into deeper Straits, by our Undertakings? Our God has humbled us!

Is it not a very *bumbling* thing, that more than One or Two of our Forts have Surrendered, and one of them that was almost Impregnable given away with a most shameful Surrender, by one that hath since Received something of what he deserved? Thus our God has humbled us!

Is it not a very *bumbling* thing, that we should have Evil pursuing of us at such a rate, that in other Lands afar off, and on the Exchange in London Strangers have made this Reflection; *Doubleless New-England is a Country in ill Terms with Heaven?* But is our God has humbled us!

What shall I say? Is it not a very *bumbling* thing, that when Peace is restored unto the whole *English Nation*, and when Peace is enjoyed by all America, poor *New-England* should be the only Land still Embroid'd in War? But thus, our God, thou hast humbled us, and shewn us great and sore Troubles, and brought us down into the Depths of the Earth!

O my dear People, How can I Observe these things, and not, like *Josiah*, now fall to the Earth on my Face before the Lord, and say, What shall I say? But if you will wisely observe these things, you will now get up, and sanctify your selves, and put away the accursed thing from among you, O *New-England Israel!*

Certainly the high and lofty one, who dwells in the high and holy place, expects that we should be a very humbled People. I beseech you, Sirs, Observing these things, let us in all the Methods of Repentance humble our selves under the mighty Hand of God. After such *bumbling* things as have befallen us, God forbid that it should be said of us, as in Jer. 44. 10. *They are not humbled even unto this Day!*

VIII. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *Who* is Wife, may Observe the *Compassions* of God, wonderfully Exercited, and Manifested, and Magnified, in the midst of our Confessions. There was a Time when a Bush burned with Fire, and yet the Bush was not consumed: Whereupon said *Moses*, in Exod. 3. 3. *I will now turn aside, and see this great sight!* Sirs, I am now to call upon you, O turn aside, and see such a great sight as that!

Indeed, in the midst of all our Lamentations, we must own, with the Church, in Lam. 3. 22. *It is of the Lord's Mercies that we are not Consumed, because his Compassions fail not.* But there are many particular and astonishing Articles of Mercy which we have seen in this tedious War. Sirs, Come now to observe some of those things with prepared Hallelujahs!



It was the Petition in *Hab. 3. 2.* O Lord, in *Wrath remember Mercy.* New-England, thy God hath heard this Petition for thee in very wonderful Instances!

For, First, After a very Amazing manner has *Mercy been remembered* in the midst of *Wrath*, when we have been rescued by the *Mercy* of God, at the very point of our being else ruined by his *Wrath.* Lord, *Thou hast shewed thy People hard things, and made us Drink the Wine of Astonishment.* But our *Extremity* hath been God's *Opportunity* to relieve us. Several times in the late Years of our *Affliction* we have been brought unto a dismal *Non-plus* in our Affairs, and we would scarce imagine it possible for us to subsist any longer. But just then the Bowels of our Compassionate God have been moved for us! He hath said, *How shall I give thee up, O New-England? How shall I give thee up, O Massachusetts?* And so he would not *Execute upon us the Fierceness of his Anger*, but with some unexpected Succours from the *Machin of Heaven* he hath relieved us. We have several times been like a little Vessel in a *Storm*; the swelling Waves have *Dashed*, and *Raged*, and *Roared*; the Rude Billows have been going Over us, and we have been ready to *Sink.* But just then our Compassionate Lord Jesus Christ hath *awaked* for our Safety, and marvellously calmed our Circumstances! O thou Land, strangely Saved by the Lord, say now, as in *Psal. 136. 23.* O give thanks unto the Lord, who remembered us in our low Estate, because his Mercy endureth for ever! When our *Debris* have become Insupportable, God has then Remembered us in our low Estate, because his Mercy endureth for ever, and strangely Extricated us. When our *Foes* have been as an *Overflowing Scourge*, like to carry all before them, God has then Remembered us in our low Estate, because his Mercy endureth for ever, and strangely lifted up a Standard against them. When fearful *Divisions* have arisen among us, and horrid *Convulsions* have been ready to pull all to Pieces— I don't care to Remember them any farther than to say, God has then Remembered us in our low Estate, because his Mercy endureth for ever, and strangely healed those Breaches that left the Land a Trembling.

Moreover, it hath been a very strange thing, and a wondrous Remembrance of Mercy in the midst of *Wrath*, that the *Indians* have been unaccountably *Refrained* from giving us an Hundredth Part of the Trouble, which they might have done, had they but known, or us'd their own Advantages. This one thing, whosoever does wisely Observe it, must needs ascribe it unto a special Operation of that God, who *Forms the Spirit of Man within him.* It was the Promise of God unto his People. *Exod. 34. 24.* No Man shall desire thy Land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God. The Faithful God strangely fulfilled this Promise for many Hundreds of Years together; no Enemy desired the Land of that People, at the time of their going up to Worship the Lord in his

Temple: And whereas the *Roman Enemy* did at length desire their Land, at the time of their going up to the *Passover*, this one thing was enough to prove that the *Messiah* was come, and the *Passover* no longer Commanded. It shows, that there is a strange Operation of God upon the *Minds* of Men, to Curb, and Check, and Blind the *Evil-minded.* Well, we have had our *Frontier Towns*, in many of which the Lord Jesus Christ hath been Worshipped, and Sought, and Serv'd continually. Had the lurking Enemy done as they might have done; how easily might one Dozen of them have kept the Towns in such perpetual and perplexing Alarms, as would have caused them even to have broken up! And what unknown Mischiefs might a few more of 'em have brought upon our Scattered Plantations! I do again and again say, This is from the strange Operation of God, upon the *Minds* of the Enemy, that they have no more disturbed our Land. For my own Part I will observe it, and admire it in such Terms as *Austin* used upon a Remarkable Providence; *Quisquis non videt, Cecus; Quisquis videt, nec Laudat, Ingratus; Quisquis Laudanti reluctatur, Insanus:* They are Blind and Mad that are insensible of it!

Yet again, have not our *English Prisoners* been favoured with such a Remembrance of Mercy in the midst of *Wrath*, as ought never to be Forgotten? The Mercy of God inclined the French to Buy 'em out of the Hands of the *Indians*, and use them with an Exemplary Humanity and Civility. The Mercy of God preserved many of them alive, under prodigious and incredible Hardships, and at length Returned many Scores of them Home. And may not our *English Women*, that were Prisoners, take notice of one Singular Mercy shewn by God unto them, in preserving them from Violations by the *Outrageous Lusts* of the Salvages? This one thing will be thought by some almost as great and strange an Instance of an Immediate Interposition of the Angels of God, as the muzzling of the Lions in the Den of *Daniel!* O ye Redeemed of the Lord, you, whom he hath Redeemed from the Hand of the Enemy, give thanks to the Lord, for he is good? Charge your own Souls, that you never forget his Benefits; ask your own Souls, What you shall render to the Lord for all his Benefits: And Remember that Admonition of the Lord Jesus Christ unto you, *Sin no more, lest a worse thing do come unto thee.*

Furthermore, who could not see Mercy Remembered in the midst of *Wrath*, when God hath put it into the Hearts of his People in the Southern Parts of the Country, to make *Liberal Contributions* of Money, and Corn, and Men, for the Relief of the Northern Parts? More than once has the Noble Charity of our Brethren in Plymouth, and in *Conneticut*, as well as of this Town, been Expressed in such Contributions. Their Alms are gone up for a Memorial before the Lord! The Blessing of many that have been ready to Perish hath come upon you, O ye Merciful



*ciful Children of God, and you shall obtain Mercy from him.*

Once more, was every *Mercy Remembered* in the midst of *Wrath*, more conspicuously than when powerful *Adversaries* designing Inroads upon us, have been diverted wonderfully. Advice hath been seasonably dispatched unto us, of the Intentions in our Enemies to fall upon our Frontiers, and this *Advice* hath proved our *Safety*. Yea, sometimes when we have had no *Advice*, a strange Direction from Heaven has led us to those *Actions*, which have as much defeated the Intentions of our Enemies, as if we had received the fullest *Advice* in the World. Besides this, *Boston*, and *Salem*, and *Portsmouth* especially, will they ever forget the *last Year*? It was a *Year of Salvation*; yea, it was a *Year of Miracles*! Never, never such a *Year* passed over us. The Almighty shew'd that Favour to his People of old, *Zech. 9. 8. I will Encamp about my House, because of the Army, because of him that passeth by, and because of him that returneth.* Alexander in an Expedition to the *Southward* did pass by the Land of *Israel*, and he did *Return* again to the *Northward*, without hurting that Land that had the *House of God* in it. Formidable *French Squadrons* have more than once passed by to the *Southward*, and have returned again to the *Northward*, intending doubtless a *destroying Visit* into this Land by the way; but our Lord Jesus Christ hath *Encamped about his House here, because of the Navy*. Yea, once, *O New-England, the Lord thy God*, he that would be the *Holy One* of New-England, gave *Carthage* for thy *Ransom*, he gave *Men for thee*, and *Spaniards for thy Life*. Another time, when a *Force* likely enough to have carried all before them, were almost arrived unto us, we are advised that God sent such a sudden, and such a wasting *Sickness* among them, as to make them, for want of Hands, to desist from their Attempt. These were illustrious *Deliverances*! And yet give me leave to say, we did the last Year see another *Deliverance*, that for ought I know may be equal to any of the rest. There was an *English Fleet* of our good Friends with a direful Plague aboard 'em, intending *Hither*, had they come as they intended, what an horrible Desolation had cut us off; let the Desolate Places that some of you have seen in the Colonies of the *South* declare unto us; and that they did not come, it was the *Signal Hand of Heaven*, by which the *goings of Men are ordered*.

In fine, because God being full of *Compassion*, would not stir up all his *Wrath*, he hath *Remembered Mercy* to us in the midst of *Wrath*, by Raising us up *Generous Benefactors*, who have been able and willing to oblige us with their *Benefits*. It must be with shame acknowledged, our Usage of our *Publick Servants* has commonly been such, that for any *thinking Man* to be willing at all to serve the *Publick*, seems to be a Mark and Fruit of no little *Generosity*. Nevertheless, we have had Persons of *Exemplary Patience*, and *Prudence*, and *Self-denial*, sitting at

the *Helm* of our *Government*, all this while that the horrible *Tempest* hath been enough to make any Man living *Stick* of being there. We have had Persons who have *Disburied* and *Expended* of their *Estates*, and considerably *Damified* their *Interests* for us in our *Distresses*, when yet they foreknew what *pay* they should have after all. Yea, we have had, and still have, [I can at this moment fasten my Eye upon some of them in the Assembly where I am now speaking] brave *Men*, who have bravely *Jeopardized* their *Lives* in the high *Places* of the *Field* for our *Defence*. O Treat 'em not with vile *Ingratitude*, after all the Service they have done: *Prefer* them on all fit Occasions while they Live, *Embaln* their *Memories*, and *Requite* their *Families* when they are Dead. But while we are thankful to *them*, let us much more give Thanks to *God* for them, even for such *Gifts* of *Heaven* as we have Enjoyed in them.

Well, will you *wisely Observe* these things? *Wisely!* That is to say, *Thankfully and Fruitfully*. It may be, if more *Distinct* and *Solemn THANKSGIVINGS* were made unto *God our Saviour* for these things, the *Reliques* of our Enemies would quickly feel the Rebukes of God upon them; not unlike those in *2 Chron. 20. 22. When they began to Sing and to Praise, the Lord set Ambushments against their Enemies, and they were smitten.*

IX. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *who so is Wise, may Observe* those things that may mightily Encourage our *Prayer*, and our *Faith*, for a Total Ruin to be hastened on the *Remainders of our Enemies*.

There yet Remains a Knot of our Enemies in those *Inaccessible Thickets*, where we despair ever to Find 'em out; but I will Read their Doom from *Psal. 21. 8, 9, 10. Thine Hand, O Lord, shall find out all thine Enemies, thy Right Hand shall find out those that hate thee; the Lord shall swallow them up in his Wrath, and the Fire shall devour them; their Fruit shalt thou destroy from the Earth, and their Seed from among the Children of Men.* What Remains for us, is, that we do by *Prayer* and *Faith* put our Enemies over, into those Omnipotent Hands that can find them out, and cut them off. Oh! Let us keep our Hands lifted up in *Prayer*, for a Total Dissipation of those *Amalekites*, which have thus long and thus far prevailed against us! We have already had many *Notable Answers of Prayer* in this our War: Every one of our *Deliverances* have been very *Notably Such!* We cannot say, How many particular Persons have received *Answers of Prayer* in the particular Troubles which this *Evil time* hath Ensnared them withal. Doubtless many a *Christian* has in this time had opportunity to say, *This poor Man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his Troubles!* And several Towns, that have had a *Remarkable Protection* of God upon them in this long Time of *Danger*, they have had a *Praying People* in them, and that

Praying



Praying People have been the *Chariots and the Horse-men* thereof. Why else does *Deerfield* Stand? How should our Prayer be *Quickened* by such Experiences! But there is this further *Quickening* for it, that with the Cry of our Prayer, there will go up unto the Lord the Cry of Blood; much Innocent, and Righteous, and Precious Blood. Cries to Heaven from the Ground against those *Bloody and Crafty Men*, that have *Treacherously* shed it. Certainly they must not *Live out all their Days!* And we have this prevailing Plea against them in the Court of Heaven! That they have most *falsely* Broken their Covenants in their Outrages. We may venture to present our Memorials in the Court of Heaven against these *Covenant-Breakers*, who are *Implacable and Unmerciful*; and we may use the Words of *Jehoiab* against his Heathen Adversaries, *The Lord the Judge be Judge between us and them!* We may use the Words of *Jehoshaphat* against his Heathen Adversaries, *O our God, wilt thou not Judge them?* *Uladiass*, the King of Hungary, Scandalously breaking his League with *Amurath* the Turkish Emperor, brought an Army into the Field against him. The Turkish Army being horribly Broken and Slain, and almost Vanquished by the Hungarian, *Amurath* in his Anguish took out of his Bosom the written League that *Uladiass* had made with him, and holding it up in his Hands with his Eyes to Heaven, he cried out, *Behold, O Crucified Christ, the League which thy Christians in thy Name have made with me, and now without cause do Violate; if thou be a God, revenge the wrong that is now done unto thy Name, and shew thy Power upon a Perjurious People, who in thy Deeds deny their God!* Immediately the Course of the Battle turn'd; the Perjurious King was kill'd; and the Turks won a most unexpected Victory. Truly we may in like manner now take the Instrument of the *Submission and Agreement* of the Eastern Indians, which Thirteen of their Chief Commanders did Sign more than Five Years ago; and holding it up to Heaven, we may cry out, *Ab, Lord God of Truth, wilt thou not be Revenged upon the false Wretches that have broken this League!* Doubtless our God will Execute a dreadful Vengeance upon them, if we humbly make our Suit unto him for it; and he has ways for his Vengeance to come at them, which we cannot imagine. 'Tis affirmed, that several times in this War our Enemies have in the Woods met with Parties of Indians, which were their own Friends, but by a Mistake apprehending each to be Enemies unto each other, they have hotly fallen upon one another, and many have been kill'd on both Sides before the Mistake was discovered. Yea, 'tis affirmed, that not a few of the Chief Murderers among our Enemies have accidentally killed themselves; the most Murderous Indians have in a little while been their own Executioners. Who can tell what *Strange Ways*, the God unto whom Vengeance belongeth, hath to inflict it on a Generation of his Curse?

Only let us remember to plead the *Sacrifice of our Lord JESUS CHRIST* in our Prayer, with our Faith for the *Perfection of our Deliverance*. Our Lord JESUS CHRIST hath been a *Sin-Offering* for the Congregation, and a *Sacrifice* pleadable, not only for Persons, but also for Peoples that belong unto him. We read in 1 Sam. 7. 9, 10. *Samuel offered a Burnt-Offering* *obediently unto the Lord, and Samuel cried unto the Lord of Israel, and the Lord heard him; and the Lord Thundered with a great Thunder, on that Day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them.* When we cry to the Lord, let us plead the *Burnt-Offering* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and plead, that God has more glorified his Justice in the Sufferings of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, than if our Houses were all fill'd with the Cries of our People *Martired by Indian Salvages*. Then will our God *Thunder with a great Thunder* of his Consuming Wrath upon our *Indian Philistines!* That Note which the Great Calvin has above an Hundred times over in his Commentaries on the *Psalm*, *Nunquam irrita, fore preces, or, Prayers will never be lost!* *Prayers will never be lost!* It will much often be repeated in our Blessed Experience, if our Prayers do present before God that Blessed Sacrifice, of which he says, 'Tis a *sweet Odour* to me!

X. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *Whofo is Wise, may observe* those loud Calls to a Reformation of our *Miscarriages*, which 'tis a Dangerous and a Desperate thing to neglect any longer. It was the Voice of the Blessed God in *Psalm* 81. 13, 14. *O that my People had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my Ways!* I should soon have subdued their Enemies, and turned my Hand against their Adversaries. Ah, New-England, thy God hath not soon subdued thine Enemies, nor soon turned his Hand against thine Adversaries; but let 'em Vex thee for Ten Years together. Surely thou hast not Hearkened unto him, nor Walked in his Ways! In that which was called, *The Holy War*, the Embassadors of a Saracen Prince demanded of a Famous Christian General, how he came to have, *Mannis tam Dodos ad Præliandum*, Hands that were so able to Fight? The Christian General replied, *Quia Manus Semper habuit puras*, because I never defiled my Hands with any *Nororious Wickedness*. Alas, our Hands have made but poor Work at Fighting. 'Tis time for us then to Reform all the *Nororious Wickednesses* in our Hands! Do we Dream that the Almighty hath spent all his *Arrows?* No, after all that for Ten Years together have been spent upon us, there are yet more *Arrows* and Judgments left in the Quiver of God: And except we Turn unto him, who can say, what *Arrows* he may next Ordain against us? The Roman Emperor Upbraided his General *Tereñtis* for losing a Battle; but the General having too much occasion to say so much, replied, *Sir, I must tell you, that it is you that lost the Day for us, by your open Fighting against the God of Heaven*



Heaven as you do. If it be asked, how 'tis come to pass that we have Sped so ill in many a Battle since this War began? Some will blame one, and some will blame another; but I will take leave to tell all them that lead an Ungodly Life, *Sirs, 'Tis to you that we owe all our Ill Success!* I need not Quote one of the Ancients, namely *Seneca*, for that Observation, *Quaveris, quidni sunt mores pravi, quam Hostes Infensissimi*. We have had enough in our own Experiments to convince us, *That our worst Enemies are our Vices, which provoke Heaven to Chastise us with all our other Enemies*: And indeed, if our Ways did please the Lord, our Enemies would be at peace with us. Observe wisely, and you cannot but Observe the Language of Heaven in the Circumstances thro' which we have passed for a whole Decad of Years together, to be that in *Lev. 26. 23, 24*. *If ye will not be reformed by me by these things, but will walk contrary unto me, then will I also walk contrary unto you, and I will punish you yet Seven times for your Sins*. And that the Demand of REFORMATION may be loud enough, it arrives to us now with a more than Ordinary Accent of Authority upon it. We have seen, and blessed be God that we have seen, the greatest Monarch that ever sat upon the British Throne, issuing out his Royal Proclamation, upon the Pious Address of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament; a Proclamation, wherein that Illustrious Prince declares his Royal Resolution to Discontinue all Vice whatsoever, and requires all Officers whatsoever to be Vigilant in the Discovery, Prosecution and Punishment thereof. We have seen a most Excellent GOVERNOR, who is the greatest Person that ever set Foot on the English Continent of America, beginning his Government with Proclaiming for the Suppression of all Vice in one of his Provinces: That Noble Person has therein done like a Vicegerent of GOD! His very Honourable Lieutenant hath worthily done his part, with the Advice of his Council, in another of his Provinces. If these things prove but meet Formalities among a People, *Hating to be Reformed* after all, what will they be, but more Terrible Prognosticks of Tremendous and Amazing Desolations at Hand, than so ma-

ny *Blazing Stars* on Fire in Heaven over us. It is to be hoped, the Ministers of the Gospel will do what belongs to them for the Assistance of all *Holy Essays* about Reformation; and their Churches, if call'd upon, will join with them in the Methods of Covenant, and of Discipline, for the promoting of it. Yea, it is to be hoped, that we shall all Zealously, in our several Stations, do all that we can for the Pleasing of God, and for the Correction, and Suppression, and Reformation of the Sin that may be Displeasing to him. It is a thing very Notorious unto us, that *Idleness, Drunkenness, Uncleanness, Cheating, Lying, Profane Swearing*, and above all, that which is the Root of all, the *Prophanation of the Lord's-Day*, gains Ground upon us. Let all that have any Power in their Hands, unto the utmost of their Power endeavour to keep under those Enormities. But Lost of all, nay, I should rather say First of all, O let every Man set upon Self-Reformation with all his Might! I remember that passage in *Prov. 18. 17*. *He that is first in his own Cause seemeth right*, is Translated by the Vulgar Latin, so as to carry a further and an useful Admonition in it; *Iustus primus est Accusator sui*, A just Man, before he meddles with the Reproof of others, will First Accuse himself, and search the State of his own Soul and Life, and faithfully Reform it. Oh! That very much of this might be done among us! How doth an Army of Thrice Ten Thousand Men presently Turn from East to West, because Every One Turns One? Sirs, We have Wisely Observed the things that have in our afflicted Years befallen us, and we have now, to good purpose, heard a Sermon of Observations upon those things, if we will now retire, and ponder seriously with our selves, *What is there amiss in my own Heart, and in my own Life, and in my own Family; and by what Reformation of my self may I best answer the Expectation of the God who has Chastised us all.*

We have been under the Lamentable Punishments of our Sins for Two Lustres of Years together; 'tis time for every Man, and for all of us, as One Man, to say, as in *Lam. 3. 40*. *Let us search and try our Ways, and turn again unto the Lord.*

## F I N I S.

### E R R A T A.

R Eader, *Caribagena* was of the mind, that unto those Three Things which the Ancients held Impossible, there should be added this Fourth, to find a Book Printed without Errata's; It seems, the Hands of *Briareus*, and the Eyes of *Argus*, will not prevent them.



**D**iscourses and Sermons on several *Divine Subjects*, by the late Reverend and Learned Divine, *David Clarkson*, B. D. sometime Fellow of *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*. Folio.

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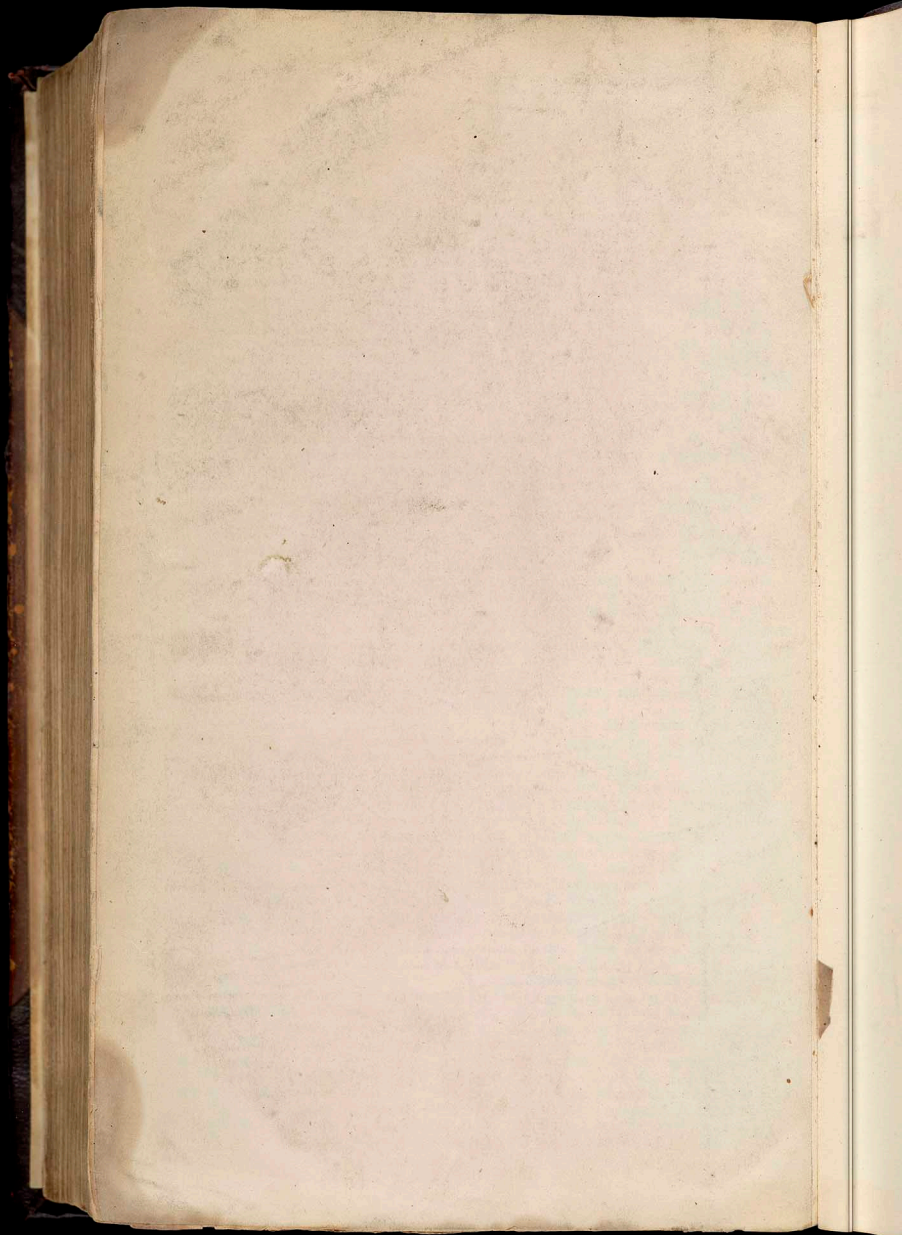
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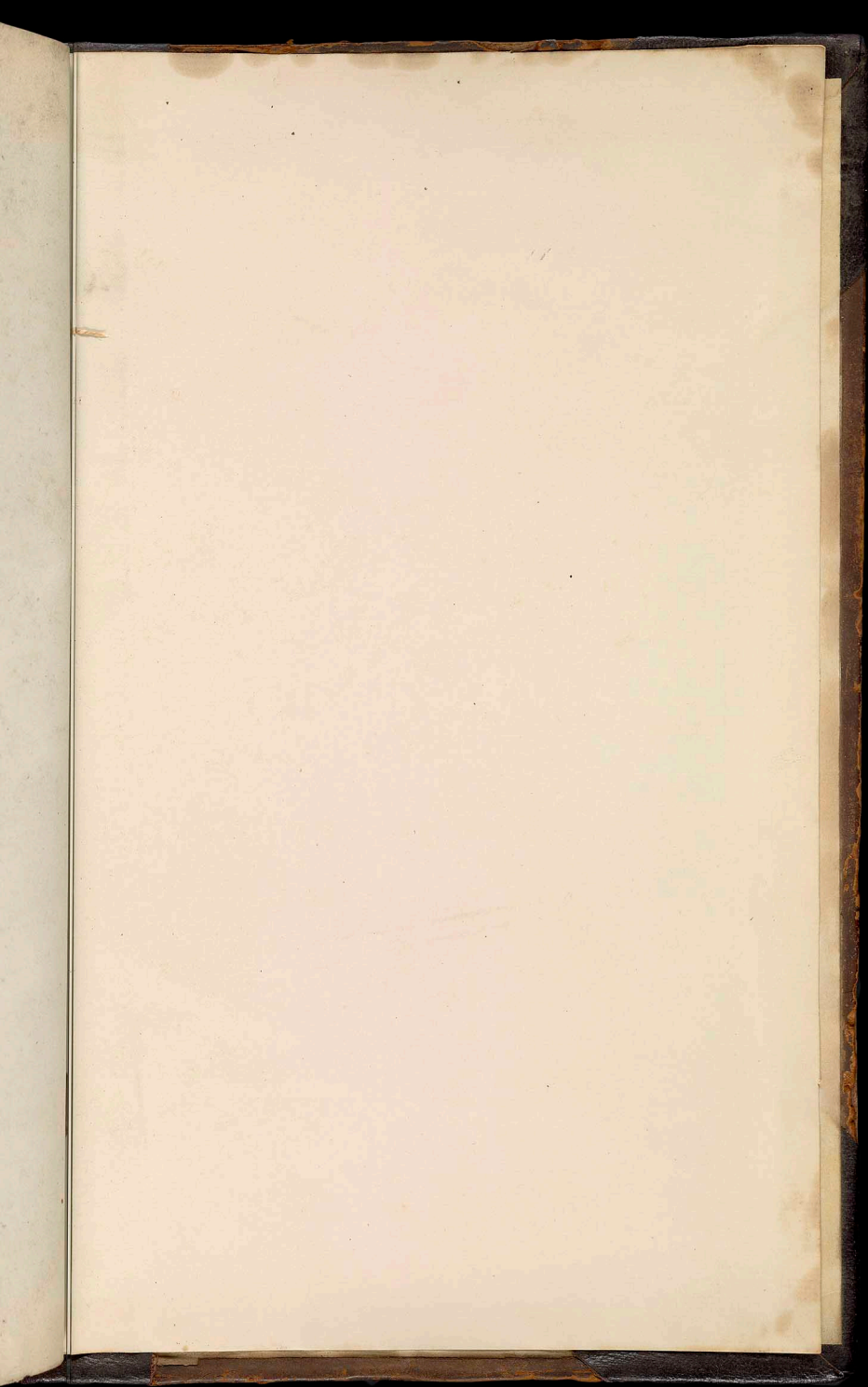
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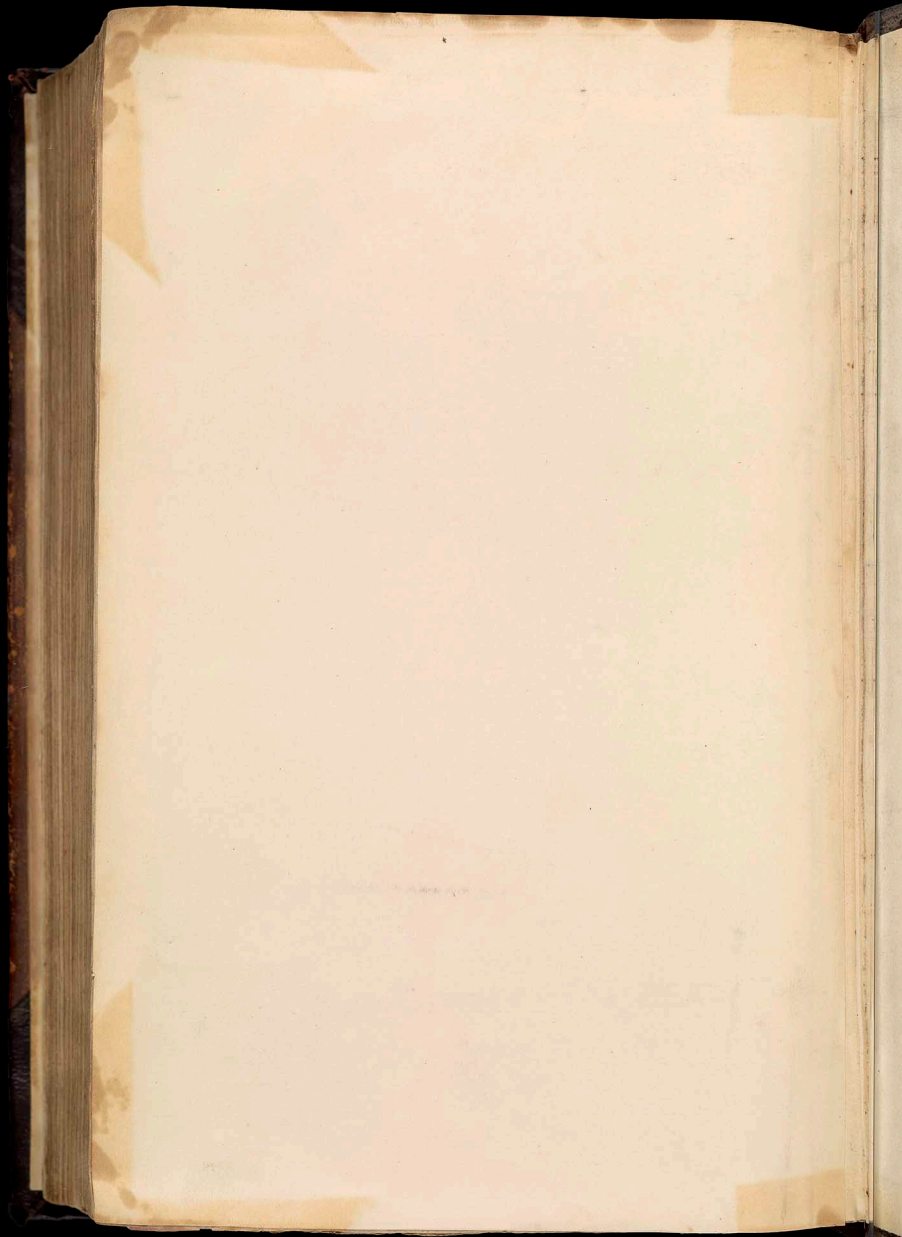














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