

## The First B O O K.

## ANTIQUITIES:

O R,

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

## The INTRODUCTION.

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**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 shown him Quiet Seats, for the retreat of a People harass'd already with deadly Persecutions, and threatned 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 Collegues, thereupon sent of their Number Two Worthy Persons, namely Richerius and Quadrigarius, to assist this Undertaking; and unto these were joined several more, especially Lerus, 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 Murthered by their Apostate Governour, whose Martyrdom Lerus 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 Réceptacle 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 incroaching 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, wou'd 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 handed 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.

C H A P. I.

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

§. 1. IT 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 *Tornielus*, and of *Pagius*, about the Apostles Preaching the Gospel in America, has been sufficiently refuted by *Basnagius*. 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 whole World lyeth, were he, who like a *Dragon*, keeping a Guard upon the spacious and mighty *Orchards of America*, could have such a *Fascination* upon the Thoughts of Mankind, that neither this *Ballancing 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 *Loadstone*, 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, *ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας*, 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 *Atlantick Ocean*, *ἄμα Ἀφρικήν καὶ Ἀσίαν μείζων*, 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 *Resurrection 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, t'other just after, the first, famed *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 *Christiography* in Regions far enough beyond the Bounds wherein the Church of God had thro' all former Ages been circumscribed. Renown'd 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 *Genoese*, 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 compared 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 velivolis 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 e're 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 unrival'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 drovb my Reader with my self in a tedious Digression, if I enumerate all the Attempts made by a *Wil- loughby*, a *Frobrisher*, a *Gilbert*, and besides many others, an Incomparable *Rataletgh*, 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 swarish into *Florida*, and the rest of the Continent into 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 Embayed 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* thence ranging the Woods, and from the *wilder People* now surprized into Courtesie, 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 *History of a New-Englisk 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 satisfie 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 *Avril*. Said he, 'There is beyond the *Obi* a great River called *Kawoina*, 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 pieces 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 *Physiognomy* as those Islanders. Thus the *Vayvode* of *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-Francia*, 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 K. *James I.* did 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 Inclusive; 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; here 'twas that our Blessed *Jesuss* 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 Blessedness 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 fulfilment 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 *Angelicall 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'Oeconomy 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*,

*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 Enterprize*.

## C H A P. 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 to one 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 Neiberlands; where they settled at the City of Leyden, about Seven or Eight Years after their First Combination. And now in that City this People sojourned, 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 Wise, 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) Soured 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. Amis, 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 Ingenious 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 Perswasion. 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 Festus Hommius, employed this our Learned Robinson to dispute publicly in the University of Leyden against Episcopius, and the other Champions of that Grand Chalk-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 sorrowful Remembrances and Expressions affirmed, That all the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ had sustained 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 Profaneness. 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 confessed 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 whispered 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 *Walloons*, 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.*

§. 3 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 *Diversions* 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 dispatcht 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 Speedwell*, t'other, *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 *Ezra* 8. 21. *I proclaimed a Fast there, at the River Ahava, 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. *Delft-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 bad *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  
Peace

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 retiredness 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 Novelties 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 stowed 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 sit down somewhere about Hudson's River; but some of their Neighbours in Holland having a Mind themselves to settle a Plantation there, secretly and suttily 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 so 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 cast 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 Tent, 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 Taxony 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 sleet 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 Malta,

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 cast, 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 Terrour in them, than if they had been so many Devils. It is not long since I compared 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 Desarts 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 Desarts full of dismal Circumstances. All this they cheerfully underwent, in hope, that they should fertile 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 so Merit the Profection of the Crown of England, as to be never abandoned unto any further Persecutions, from any Party of their Fellow-Subjects, for their Consciencious Regards unto the Reformation. Their Proposal was, *Exiguam sedem Sacris, Littusque rogamus, Innocuum, Et cunctis undamq; auramq; Patentem.*

§. 8. Finding at their Arrival, that what other Powers they had, were made useles 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 Eschool for their Company; but with a poor and small Encouragement, as unto any Scituation. 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 manned 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 handful 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 astonished 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 hitherto 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 resolved that they would here pitch their Tents; and Sailing up to the Town of Plymouth [as with an hopeful Pro-



lepis, 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 *Laws*, 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 fared 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 Sickneses*; which in two or three Months carried off more than *Half* their Company. They were but meanly provided against these unhappy *Sickneses*; 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 *Kids*, 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 *Conjurations*, to obtain the Assistances 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 *Streights*, 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* here were hereby utterly nipt in the Bud. But our good God so order'd it, that one of the stolt *Indians*, call-

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 *Plymotheans* 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 Connrymen 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 terrifie 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 Harock 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?

### C H A P. 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 *Hobbamok*, 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 render'd 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 extreme hot Sun beat upon their

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 *Fasting* 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, caused 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, interested at first in the *Plymouth* Design, afterwards deferred 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 *Westonians*, who were *Church of England-men*, did not approve themselves like the *Plymouthians*, 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 *Penury*, 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 *Stockt* 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 *Hudibras*; 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 Excision 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* proposed 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 ordered 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 *Powwows*, using their ineffectual *Spells* and *Howls* 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 Combate, 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 finishing Two *Canoo's*, 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 provid'd Mortal to many of them. One of the *Westonians* 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* preserved, 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 *Plymotheans* 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 extrem danger of being wrack'd upon the Sands. Having with much Cost recruited their Loss, and increased 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, hindred 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 dispence the Sacraments among them, till the

Year 1629. when one Mr. *Ralph Smith* undertook the Pastoral Charge of this Holy Flock. 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 extream 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 expell'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 publickly in the Church confess with Tears, that the Censure of the Church was less than he deserved; he acknowledged, That he had slanderously abus'd 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 Miscarriages. These things he uttered so Pathetically, that they again permitted him to Preach among them; and some were so perswaded of his Repentance, that they profess'd they would fall down on their Knees, that the Censure pass'd on him should be remitted. But, Oh the deceitful Heart of Man! After Two Months time, he so notoriously renewed the Miscarriages which he had thus bewailed, that his own Wife, through her Affliction of 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 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

*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 warmed and filled*; 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, so 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 Filth 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 strokes 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 *Tar-mouth* in this Colony; the *Cow* was Fifty Five Foot long, the *Bone* was Nine or Ten Foot wide; a *Carr* 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 so does the good God here give his People to *snuff 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 Conscienciousness, 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, meerly 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, *'Tis 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, shewing 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 *Exercises*; that is to say, the *Preachments* of those whom they call'd *Gifted Brethren*, produced those *Discouragements* unto their *Ministers*, that almost all the *Ministers* 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 Ministers* 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 *Sc.aries*, namely, *Quakers* and *Seekers*, and other such *Enargumens*, [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 Interest*.

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 his *Ministers* 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 converse 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 persuaded, 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

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 Offering of that Holy *Flock*.

## C H A P. 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 without offence tender to the Reader the Words of such an Author.

Some among us (*writes he*) are angry with Calvin for calling Humane Rites, *Tolerabiles Ineptias*; they will not at the great Day be such unto the rigorous Imposers, 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 Impositions?*

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, Bloated 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're 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 bluss'd to see  
Themselves Eclips'd by such Deformity.  
Her Feav'rish Heat drinks down a Sea of Blood;  
Not of the Impious, but the Just and Good:  
Gainst whom she burns with unextinguish'd  
Rage,  
Nor can th' Exhausted World her Wrath as-  
swage.

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 replenished 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 *fealish, cursed before they had taken root*. Of all which *Catastrophe's*, I suppose none was more sudden than that of *Monfieur Finch*, whom in a Ship from *France*, trucking with the *Massachuset-Natives*; those Bloody Salvages, coming on Board without any other *Arms*, but *Knives* concealed under *Klaps*, 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 *enchanted Ground*, so that they were almost afraid of *Adventuring* any more.

§. 3. Several Persons in the West of *England*, having by *Filling-Voyages* to *Cape Ann*, the Northern Promontory of the *Massachuset-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 Discouragements, 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 would yet stay upon the Spot, he would procure a *Patent* for them, and send them over *Friens, Goods, Provisions*, and what was necessary to assist their Undertakings. *Mr. Conant*, then looking out a Scituation more Commodious for a *Town*, gave his Three disheartned 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 caused 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 *Merimuck*, and a certain other River there call'd *Charles River*, in the bottom of the *Massachuset-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, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Adderly, John Ven, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowel, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathanael Wright, Samuel Vassal, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Gess, Thomas Adams, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Thomas Hutchings, William Vassal, William Pinchou, and George Foxcraft*. 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 *Mannor of East-Greenwich* in *Kent*, and in common *Socage*. By this *Charter* they were empowered yearly to *Elect* their own Governour, Deputy-Governour 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 *Oar of Gold or Silver* found in the Territory, belong'd unto the Crown. So, soon after *Mr. Cradock* being by the Company chosen Governour, 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 called *Nabumkeick*. Of which place I have somewhere met with an odd Observation, that the Name of it was rather *Hebrew* than *Indian*; for נחום *Nahum*, signifies Comfort, and חיק *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 *Lincolnsire*, suffering also for his *Non-Conformity*: Both of which were Men eminent for Learning and Vittue, and who thus driven out of their Native Country, sought their Graves on the *American-Strand*, whereon the Epitaph might be inscribed that was on *Scipio's, Ingrata Patria, ne mortui*



*Mortui quidem habebis Ossa.* 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 hither.

'Tis 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 Offers of a Retreat for the pure Worshipers of the Lord into a Wilderness.

The Report of the Charter granted unto the Governour and Company of the Massachusetts-Bay, and the Entertainment and Encouragement, which Planters began to find in that Bay, came with a, —*Patrias, 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 Assillive 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 Expence 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, insomuch 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.

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'Fourthly,

Fourthly, We are grown to that Intemperance in all Excess of Riot, as no mean Estate almost will suffice a Man to keep Sail with his Equals, and he that fails 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 unsupportable Charge of Education) most Children, even the Best, Wittiest, and of the Fairest Hopes, are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown, 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 Earth of God's People in their Prayers for the Plantation, and also to encourage others to join the more willingly in it.

So Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Skelton, and other good People that arrived at Salem, in the Year 1527, 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 Lawes 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 enforced.

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 Fellowships 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 he 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 Stumbling-block before any, no, not 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

*ing 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 oppressingly 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 Puntilious 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 Fitness, 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 Salemites, observing that the Ministers did not use the Book of Common-Prayer in their Administrations; that they Administred 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. *Heròdiana Malitia, 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.