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Cotton Mather's

Magnalia Christi Americana :

OR, THE

Ecclesiastical History

OF

NEW-ENGLAND,

FROM

Its First Planting in the Year 1620. unto the Year
of our LORD, 1698.

In Seven BOOKS.

- I. Antiquities : In Seven Chapters. With an Appendix.
- II. Containing the Lives of the Governours, and Names of the Magistrates of *New-England* : In Thirteen Chapters. With an Appendix.
- III. The Lives of Sixty Famous Divines, by whose Ministry the Churches of *New-England* have been Planted and Continued.
- IV. An Account of the University of *Cambridge* in *New-England* ; in Two Parts. The First contains the Laws, the Benefactors, and Vicissitudes of *Harvard College* ; with Remarks upon it. The Second Part contains the Lives of some Eminent Persons Educated in it.
- V. Acts and Monuments of the Faith and Order in the Churches of *New-England*, passed in their Synods ; with Historical Remarks upon those Venerable Assemblies ; and a great Variety of Church-Cases occurring, and resolved by the Synods of those Churches : In Four Parts.
- VI. A Faithful Record of many Illustrious, Wonderful Providences, both of Mercies and Judgments, on divers Persons in *New-England* : In Eight Chapters.
- VII. *The Wars of the Lord*. Being an History of the Manifold Afflictions and Disturbances of the Churches in *New-England*, from their Various Adversaries, and the Wonderful Methods and Mercies of God in their Deliverance : In Six Chapters : To which is subjoined, An Appendix of Remarkable Occurrences which *New-England* had in the Wars with the *Indian* Salvages, from the Year 1688, to the Year 1698.

By the Reverend and Learned COTTON MATHER, M. A.
And Pastor of the North Church in *Boston*, *New-England*.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Thomas Parkhurst*, at the *Bible* and
Crowns in *Cheapside*. MDCCII.



ANTIQUITIES.

The First Book *John Adams*
OF THE
New-English History.

REPORTING,

The DESIGN where-on, } The several COLONIES
The MANNER where-in, } of NEW-ENGLAND
And the PEOPLE where-by, } were Planted.

WITH

A NARRATIVE of many Memorable Passages,

Relating to the

Settlement of these Plantations;

AND

An Ecclesiastical MAP of the Country.

By the Endeavour of

COTTON MATHER.

Tantæ Molis erat, pro CHRISTO condere Gentem.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, at the Bible and Three
Crowns in Cheapside near Mercers Chappel, 1702.

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A N

ATTESTATION

T O T H I S

Church-History

O F

NEW-ENGLAND.

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

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

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

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

For the Lord our God hath in his infinite Wisdom, Grace and Holiness, contrived and established His *Covenant*, so as he will be the God of his *People*, and of their *Seed* with them, and after them, in their *Generations*; and in the Ministerial Dispensation of the *Covenant of Grace*, in, with, and to his *visible Church*, He hath promised *Covenant-Mercies* on the Condition of *Covenant-Duties*. *If my People, who are called by my Name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my Face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear their Prayers, forgive their Sins, and heal their Land; and mine Eyes, and mine Heart, shall be upon them perpetually for Good!* That so the *Faithfulness* of God may appear in all *Generations* for ever, that if there be any *Breach* between the Lord and his *People*, it shall appear plainly to lye on his *Peoples* part. And therefore he has taken care, that his own *Dealings* with his *People* in the Course of his *Providence*, and their *Dealings* with him in the Ways of *Obedience* or *Disobedience*, should be *Recorded*, and so transmitted for the Use and Benefit of *After-times*, from *Generation to Generation*; as, (*Exodus* 17. 14.) *The Lord said unto Moses, write this for a Memorial in a Book; and, (Dent. 31. 19.) Write ye this Song for you, that it may be a Witness for me against the Children of Israel; and (Psal. 102. 18.) This and that shall be written for the Generation to come, and the People that shall be created shall praise the Lord.* Upon this Ground it was said (in *Psal. 44. 1.*) *We have heard with our Ears, O God, and our Fathers have told Us, what Work thou hast in their Days in times of Old, how thou castest out the Heathen, and plantedst them; so likewise in Psal. 78. v. 3 to the 8th.) Upon the same account it may be said, (Psal. 111. last.) I will make thy Name to be remembered to all Generations: And this is one Reason why the Lord commanded so great a part of the *Holy Scriptures* to be written in an *Historical* way, that the wonderful Works of God towards his *Church* and *People*, and their Dealings towards him again, might be known unto all *Generations*: And after the *Scripture*, so far as the Lord in his *Holy Wisdom* hath seen meet, He hath stirred up some or other to write the *Acts and Monuments* of the *Church of God* in all *Ages*; especially since the *Reformation of Religion* from *Antichristian Darkness*, was *vigorously* and in a great *Measure* successfully endeavoured in the foregoing Century, by such *Learned and Pious* Men, as the Lord inclined and enabled thereunto.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thirdly, That the True *Original* and *Design* of this Plantation may not be lost, nor buried in *Oblivion*, but known and remembered for ever, [*Psal. 111. 4. He hath made his wonderful Works to be remembered. Psal. 105. 5. Remember ye the marvellous Works which he hath done.*]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Epigramma in *MATHEROS*.

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

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

*Salem, the 25th of the
First Month 1697.*

John Higginson.

A Prefatory Poem,

On that Excellent Book, Entituled,

Magnalia Christi Americana :

Written by the Reverend

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

To the Candid Reader.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nicholas Noyes, Teacher of the Church at Salem.

Reverendo Domino,

D. COTTONO MADERO,

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

Cottonus Maderus.

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

Nomina Sanctorum, quos Scribis, clara duorum
Nomine Cerno Tuo; Virtutes Lector easdem
Candidus inveniet Tecum, Charitate refertas.
Doctrina Eximius Doctos, Pietate pioque
Tu bene describis, describere nescit at alter.
Doctorum es Natus, Domino Spirante Renatus;
De bene quaesitis gaudeto Tertius Haeres;
Nomen praesagit, nec non Anagrammata, vates.

Cottonus Maderus.

Anagr. { *Unctas demortuos.*
 { *Senatus Doctorum.*

Unctas demortuos, decoratur Laude Senatus
Doctorum, Merita, fit praesens praterita atas,
Huic exempla patent, & postera Progenitores
Non ignorabit, patriisque superbiat Actis;
More, Fide, cultu, quoque patriissare studebit;
Gratum opus est Domino, Patriae nec inutile nostrae;
Orbi fructificat. Fer Fertilitatis Honorem,
Scribendo Vitas alienas, propria scripta est.

Celeberrimi

COTTONI MATHERI,

Celebratio ;

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

*Quod Patrios Manes revocasti a Sedibus altis,
Sylvestres Musæ grates, Mathere, rependant.
Hæc nova Progenies, veterum sub Imagine, cælo
Arte Tua Terram visitans, æmissa, salutat.
Grata Deo Pietas ; Grates persolvimus omnes :
Semper Honos, Nomenque Tuum, Mathere, manebunt.*

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

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

B. Thompson.

To the Reverend
Mr. COTTON MATHER,
O N H I S
History of New-England.

I N this Hard Age, when Men such Slackness show,
To pay *Loves* Debts, and what to *Truth* we owe,
You to step forth, and such Example shew,
In paying what's to God and Country due,
Deserves *our* Thanks: *Mine* I do freely give :
'Tis fit that with the *Raised Ones* you Live.

Great your Attempt. No doubt some Sacred Spy,
That Leiger in your Sacred Cell did ly,
Nurs'd your first Thoughts, with gentle Beams of Light,
And taught your Hand Things past to bring to fight :
Thus led by secret sweetest Influence,
You make Returns to God's good Providence :
Recording how that mighty Hand was nigh,
To trace out Paths not known to mortal Eye,
To those brave Men, that to this Land came o'er,
And plac'd them safe on the *Atlantick Shore* :
And how the same Hand did them after save,
And say, *Return*, oft on the Brink o'th' Grave ;
And gave them room to spread, and blest'd their Root,
Whence, hung with Fruit, now many Branches shoot.

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

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

Timothy Woodbridge, Minister of *Hartford*.

Ad Politum Literaturæ, atque Sacrarum Literaturum Antifitem,
Angliæque Americanæ Antiquarium Callentiffimum,
Reverendum Dominum,

D. COTTONUM MATHERUM,

Apud Bostonenses V. D. M.

Epigramma.

Cottonus Matherus.

Anagr.

Tu tantum Cohors es.

Epigramma.

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

A Pindaric.

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

J. Danforth, V. D. M. Dorcest^r.

To the Learned and Reverend

Mr. COTTON MATHER,

On his Excellent *Magnalia*.

S I R,

MY Muse will now by Chymistry draw forth
The Spirit of your Names Immortal worth.

Cottonius Matherus.

Anagr.

Tuos Tecum ornasti.

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

Grindal Ransom, Pastor of Mendon.

In Jesu Christi

MAGNALIA AMERICANA,

Digesta in Septem Libros,

Per Magnum, Doctissimumque Virum,

D. Cottonum Matherum,

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

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

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

Nullus erat, nisi brutus homo : Sine lege, Deoque.
Numa dat *Antiquis*, *Solon*que & *Jura Lycurgus*.
Hic nihil, & nullæ (modo sic sibi vivere) *Leges*.
Jam decreta vide, & *Regum diplomata*, curque,
Ne sibi vivat homo, nostrorum vivere *Regi* est.
Dic tot habendo *Deos*, legisque videndo peritos;
Centenosque viros, celebres virtute, Statumque
Quem *Novus Orbis* habet; *Quantum mutatus ab illo es!*

Res bona. Nec sat erit, & *Rege* & *Lege* beatum,
Possit vehi super *Astra*. Deum tibi noscere, fas est.
Nil *Lex*, nil *Solon*, nil & sine *Numine Numa*.

Sit *Deus*, ignotosque *Deos* fuge. Multa *Poetæ*
De *Jove* finxerunt, *Neptuno* & *Marte*, Diisque
Innumerabilibus. *Magnique Manitto* pependit
Non conversa *Deo Gens Americana*, *Manitto*,
Quem velut *Artificem* colit, & ceu *Numen* adorat.

E tenebris *Lux* est. In *abyss*o cernere *Cælum* est,
Ignotumque Deum, notum *INDIS*, *Biblia Sancta*
Indica, *Templa*, *Preces*, *Psalms*, multosque *Ministros*.
Ut *Christum* discant, *Indorum* *Idiomate* *Numen*
Utitur, & sese patefecit ubique locorum.

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

Pat *Cantabrigie Domus Harvardina* Cathedram
Cuilibet, & cur non daret *Indis*, Profelytifque?
Trans Mare non opus est ad *Pallada* currere. *Pallas*
Hic habitat, confertque *Gradus*; modo *Pallada* discas,
Defistasque gradum. Quantum *Sapientia* confert!
Forte novas, pluresque artes *Novus Orbis* haberet,
Quotquot in *America* licet *Admiranda* super sint,
Singula non narro. Nec opus tibi singula narrem.
Multa fidem superant, multorum *Exempla* docebunt,
Plura quot *Orbis* habet *Novus Admiranda*, quot artes,
Et quot in *America* degunt ubicunque *Coloni*.
Deque *Veneficiis* quid erit tibi noscere? *I* usus
Sperne *Diabolicos*. Sunt hic *Magnalia Christi*.
Ne timeas *Umbram*. Corpus sine corpore spectrum est.
Pax rara in terris. *Ætas* quasi *ferrea*. *Bellum*
Sceptra gerens, gladiosque ferox ubicunque *Noverca* est.
Destruit omnia, destruit oppida, destruit artes.
Mars nulli cedit. Nihil exitialius armis.
Testis adest. *Europa* docet lacrymabile *Bellum*,
Hispani, *Belgæ*, *Germani*, & quotquot in *Orbe*
Sunt *Veteri*, *Rigidisq;* plagis vexantur & armis.
Quas *Sectas* vetus *Orbis* habet, quæ dogmata *Carnis*?
Primum *Roma* locum tenet, *Enthusiasta* secundum,
Arminius tandem, *Menno* & *Spinosa* sequuntur.
Quisque incredibiles poterit dignoscere *Sectas*?
Non tot cernuntur fidei discrimina, nec tot
Hæreticos novus Orbis habet, quod & *Enthea* res est.
Tu dilecte *Deo*, cujus *Bostonia* gaudet
Nostra *Ministerio*, seu cui tot scribere *Libros*,
Non opus, aut labor est, & qui *Magnalia Christi*
Americana refers, scriptura plurima. Nonne
Dignus es, agnoscere inter *Magnalia Christi*?
Vive *Liber*, totique *Orbi* *Miracula* monstres,
Quæ sunt extra *Orbem*. *Cottone*, in sæcula vive;
Et dum *Mundus* erit, vivat tua *Fama* per *Orbem*.

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

Henricus Selijns,

Ecclesiæ Neo-Eboracensis Minister *Belgicus*.

A General INTRODUCTION.

Ἐρῶ δὲ τῆτο, ἡ ἥβ' ἐντοδξαμένων ὠφελείας ἐνεκα.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A General Introduction.

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

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

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

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

§. 4. But whether *New-England* may Live any where elſe or no, it muſt Live in our *History*!

HISTORY, in general, hath had ſo many and mighty Commendations from the Pens of thoſe Numberleſs Authors, who, from *Herodotus* to *Hovel*, have been the profeſſed Writers of it, that a tenth part of them Tranſcribed, would be a Furniture for a *Polyantha in Folio*. We, that have neither liberty, nor occaſion, to quote thoſe Commendations of *History*, will content our ſelves with the Opinion of one who was not much of a profeſſ'd *Historian*, expreſſed in that paſſage, whereto all Mankind ſubſcribe, *Historia eſt Teſtis temporum, Nuntia vetuſtatis, Lux veritatis, vita memoria, magiſtra vitæ*. But of all *History* it muſt be confeſſed, that the *Palm* is to be given unto *Church History*; wherein the *Dignity*, the *Suavity*, and the *Utility* of the Subject is tranſcendent. I obſerve, that for the Deſcription of the whole *World* in the Book of *Geneſis*, that *Fiſt-born* of all *Historians*, the great *Moſes*, implies but one or two Chapters, whereas he implies, it may be *ſeven times* as many Chapters, in deſcribing that one little *Pavilion*, *The Tabernacle*. And when I am thinking, what may be the Reason of this *Difference*, methinks it intimates unto us, That the *Church* wherein the Service of God is performed, is much more Precious than the *World*, which was indeed created for the Sake and Uſe of the *Church*. 'Tis very certain, that the greateſt Entertainments muſt needs occur in the *History* of the *People*, whom the *Son of God* hath Redeemed and Purified unto himſelf, as a *Peculiar People*, and whom the Spirit of God, by *Supernatural Operations* upon their Minds, does cauſe to live like *Strangers* in this *World*, conforming themſelves unto the *Truths* and *Rules* of his Holy Word, in Expectation of a *Kingdom*, whereto they ſhall be in another and a better *World* advanced. Such a *People* our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* hath procured and preſerved in all *Ages viſible*; and the *Dispensations* of his wonderful *Providence* towards this *People* (for, O

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§.6. But shall I prognosticate thy Fate, now that,

Parve (sed invidico) ne me, Liber, ibis in Urbem.

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

Me, me, ad sum qui scripsi; tu me convertite Ferrum.

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

Seneca

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Seneca themselves, and our Jerom, reproaching him, as a Man of no Judgment, nor Skill in Sciences; while Padianus affirms of him, that he was himself, *Usque adeo invidiæ Expers, ut si quid erudite dictum inspiceret alterius, non minus gauderet ac si suum esset.* How should a Book, no better labour'd than this of ours, escape Zoilian Outrages, when in all Ages, the most exquisite Works have been as much vilified, as Plato's by Scaliger, and Aristotle's by Lactantius? In the time of our K. Edward VI. there was an Order to bring in all the Teeth of St. Apollonia, which the People of his one Kingdom carried about them for the Cure of the *Tooth ach*; and they were so many, that they almost fill'd a Tun. Truly Envy hath as many Teeth as Madam Apollonia would have had, if all those pretended Reliques had been really hers. And must all these Teeth be fastned on thee, *Only Book*? It may be so! And yet the Book, when ground between these Teeth, will prove like Ignatius in the Teeth of the furious Tygers, *The whiter Manchet for the Churches of God.* The greatest and fiercest Rage of Envy, is that which I expect from those IDUMÆANS, whose Religion is all Ceremony, and whose Charity is more for them who deny the most Essential things in the Articles and Homilies of the Church of England, than for the most Conscientious Men in the World, who manifest their being so, by their Dissent in some little Ceremony: Or those Persons whose Hearts are notably expressed in those words used by one of them ['tis Howel in his *Familiar Letters*, Vol. 1. Sect. 6. Lett. 32.] *I rather pittie, than hate, Turk or Infidel, for they are of the same Metal, and bear the same Stamp, as I do, tho' the Inscriptions differ; If I hate any, 'tis those Schismatics that puzzle the sweet Peace of our Church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to Hell on a Brownists Back.* The Writer whom I last quoted, hath given us a Story of a young Man in *High-Holbourn*, who being after his death Dissected, there was a Serpent with divers tails, found in the left Ventricle of his Heart. I make no question, that our Church-History will find some Reader disposed like that Writer, with an Heart as full of Serpent and Venom as ever it can hold: Nor indeed will they be able to hold, but the Tongues and Pens of those angry Folks, will scourge me as with Scorpions, and cause me to feel (if I will feel) as many Lashes as Cornelius Agrippa expected from their Brethren, for the Book in which he expos'd their Vanities. A Scholar of the great JUELS, made once about fourscore Verses, for which the Censor of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in the beginning of Queen Maries Reign, publicly and cruelly scourged him, with one Lash for every Verse. Now in those Verses, the young Man's Prayers to the Lord JESUS CHRIST, have this for part of the answer given to them.

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

*Sed tu, crede mihi, vires Scriptura resumet,
Tolleturque suo tempore missa nequam.*

In English.

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

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

Hoc volo; nunc nobis carmina nostra placent:

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

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

Excepit Lapidés, cui petra Christus erat:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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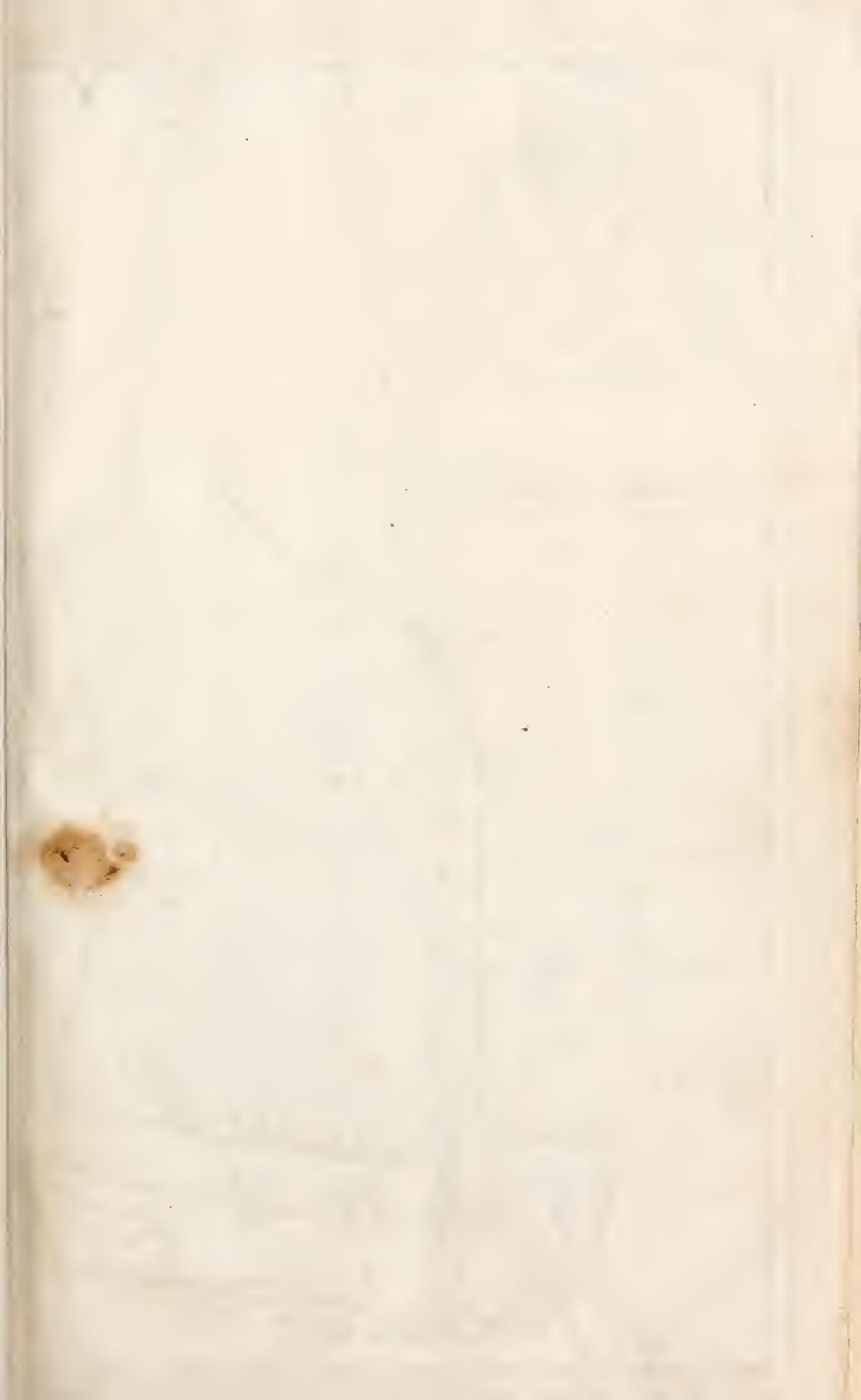
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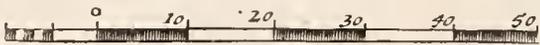
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A Scale of English Miles

44

43

42

41

PART OF
EAST
NEW
JARSEY

Y O

N E W

JARSEY

R

K

LONG ISLAND

Iroquois Lake

Hudsons River

Connecticut River

Hoye Island
Whales Island
New Albion
Bears Island

Squakheag
Hadfield
Northampton
Westfield
Springfield
Enfield
Windsor
Fresh Water River
Hartford
Wethersfield
Middletown
Skone River

Esopus
Johnsons Kil
Colonie
Magdalens Island
Sopers Kil
Wappus Kil

Farmin Town

Wagwaskeck
Newark
Esopus
Fryersfield
Trombles
Stratford
Middletown
Newburgh
Frons Mill
Branford
Hanchel
Gulford
Seybrack
Lin

Spectacle
Hogquack
Horseneck
Eatons Neck
Cromes P.
Sharp P.
Meritticks Bay
Wresh Pond
Robins I.
South Bl.
New York
Manhattan
Flushing
Mylers couk
Sechem Pond
Hampsted Plain
Flat land
Gravesend
Flat land
South Sand Beach

Indicot Tree

Casco Bay

E W

N G

N D

Penicook

Merrimack River

Wells
He Deck

Nepunkat River

Dover

Keteri

Pascataway River

Excester

Ambury

Portsmouth

Hampton

Bacon Island

Haveril

Bradford

Salisbury

Newberry

Shoals Islands

Wenesisick

Tippsfield

Rowley

Ipowick

Worcester

Groton

Cheney

Andover

Wenham

Salem

Woburn

Reading

Lincoln

Marble Head

Nahant

Pulling Point

Marlborough

Water Town

Mendon

Shirbon

Medfield

Waver River

Quanabaug

Wabaquasset

Potaxet R.

Warwick

Geneva or Canonics

Swampfort

Naraganset

Manchester

Mount Prospect

Block Island

Pond Montague P.

Wage Harbor

Providence R.

Woodcock

Seaconck

Bridgewater

Plymouth

Plymouth

Mount Hope

Taunton

Colony

Pocasset

Monument Bay

Elizabeths Island

Middle Ground

Martins Vineyard

Sturgions I.

Cape Cod

West Harbor

East Ham

Yarmouth

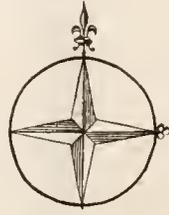
Sandwich

Barnstable

Monimoy

Old Rose and Crown

Nantucket I.

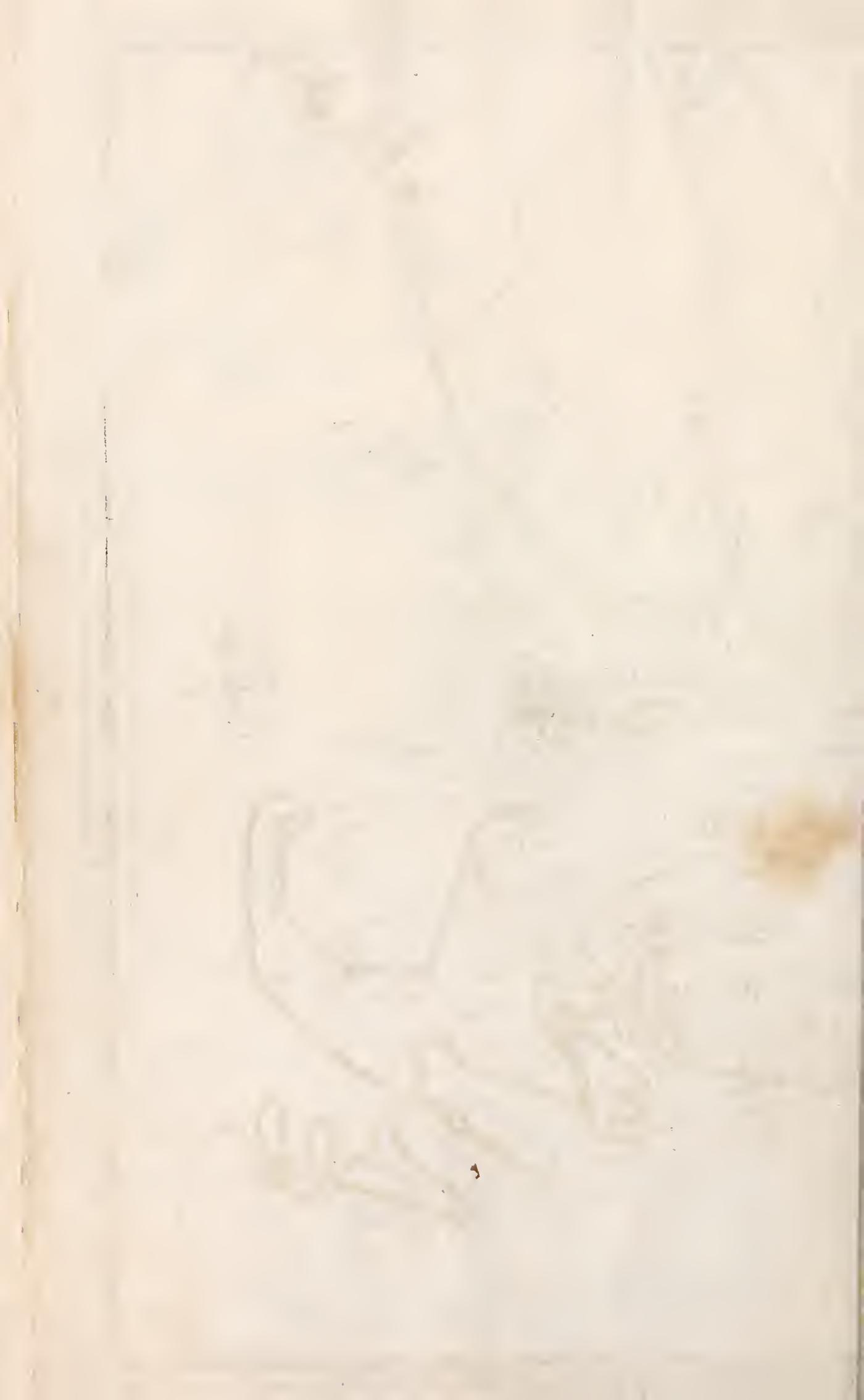


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The First B O O K.

ANTIQUITIES:

OR,

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

The INTRODUCTION.

π ' N

IT 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 Quadrigatius, to assist this Undertaking; and unto these were joined several more, especially Larius, and, who became a Leader to the rest, Corquillerius, an eminent Man, for the Cause of Christianity, then residing at Geneva. Embark'd in three Ships, well fitted, they came to the American Country, whither they had been invited; and they soon set up an Evangelical Church Order, in those Corners of the Earth where God in our Lord Jesus Christ had never before been called upon. But it was not long before some unhappy Controversies arose among them, which drove their Principal Ministers into Europe again, besides those Three that were Murdered by their Apostate Government, whose Martyrdom Larius procured Crispin to Commemorate in his History, but I now omit

in this of ours, Ne me Crispini scriinia 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 Receptacle 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 ineroaching 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. **I**T is the Opinion of some, though 'tis but an Opinion, and but of some Learned Men, That when the Sacred Oracles of Heaven assure us, *The Things under the Earth* are some of those, whose *Knees are to bow in the Name of Jesus*, by those Things are meant the Inhabitants of *America*, who are *Antipodes* to those of the other *Hemisphere*. I would not Quote any Words of *Lactantius*, tho' there are some to Countenance this Interpretation, because of their being so *Ungeographical*: Nor would I go to strengthen the Interpretation by reciting the Words of the *Indians* to the first *White Invaders* of their Territories, *We hear you are come from under the World to take our World from us*. But granting the uncertainty of such an Exposition, I shall yet give the Church of God a certain Account of those Things, which in *America* have been Believing and Adoring the glorious Name of Jesus; and of that Country in *America*, where those Things have been attended with Circumstances most remarkable. I can contentedly allow that *America* (which as the Learned *Nicolas Fuller* Observes, might more justly be called *Columbina*) was altogether unknown to the *Penmen* of the Holy Scriptures, and in the *Ages* when the Scriptures were Penned. I can allow, that those Parts of the Earth, which do not include *America*, are in the inspired Writings of *Luke*, and of *Paul*, stiled, *All the World*. I can allow, that the Opinion of *Tornielius*, 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 out 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 λιβύης καὶ ἀσίας μέλλον*, 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 *Christiano-geography* 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

he had known *America* could not have given a better *Quadripartita vestis Domini Jesu, quadripartitam figuravit ejus Ecclesiam, 1010 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 redious Tempest over unto these Western Countries; and at his return he gave to *Colon*, or *Columbus*, an account of what he had seen, but soon after died of a Disease he had got on his dangerous Voyage. However, I shall expect my Reader ere long to grant, that some things done since by Almighty God for the *English* in these Regions, have exceeded all that has been hitherto done for any other Nation: If this *New World* were not found out first by the *English*; yet in those regards that are of all the greatest, it seems to be found out more for them than any other.

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

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

§. 5. After a discouraging Series of Disasters attending the Endeavours of the *English* to swarm into *Florida*, and the rest of the Continent unto the Northward of it, called *Virginia*, because the first *White Born* in those Regions was a *Daughter*, then Born to one *Ananias Dare*, in the Year 1585. The Courage of one *Bartholomew Gosnold*, and one Captain *Bartholomew Gilbert*, and several other Gentlemen; served them to make yet more Essays upon the like Designs. This Captain *Gosnold* in a small Bark, on *May 11. 1602.* Made Land on this Coast in the Latitude of *Forty-Three*; where, tho' he liked the *Welcome* he had from the Salvages that came aboard him, yet he disliked the *Weather*, so that he thought it necessary to stand more Southward into the Sea. Next Morning he found himself 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* then 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-English Israel*.

§. 6. Perhaps my Reader would gladly be informed how *America* came to be first Peopled; and if *Hornius's* Discourses, *De origine Gentium Americanarum*, do not satisfy him, I hope shortly the most Ingenious *Dr. Woodward*, in his *Natural History of the Earth*, will do it. In the mean time, to stay thy Stomach, Reader, accept the Account which a very sensible *Russian*, 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 *Smatensko*. 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 *Jesus* intended a Resting-place, must I say? Or only an Hiding-place for those Reformed *CHURCHES*, which have given him a little Accomplishment of his Eternal Father's Promise unto him; to be, we hope, yet further accomplished, of having the utmost Parts of the *Earth* for his Possession?

§. 7. The Learned *Joseph Mede* conjectures that the *American Hemisphere* will escape the Conflagration of the *Earth*, which we expect at the descent of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST* from *Heaven*: And that the People here will not have a share in the 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 *Netherlands*; where they settled at the *City of Leyden*, about *Seven or Eight Years* after their *First Combination*. And now in that *City* this *People* 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 *Wife*, *Grave*, *good Man*, *Mr. William Brewster*, the *ruling Elder*. Indeed *Mr. John Robinson* had been in his *younger time*, (as very *good Fruit* hath sometimes been, before *Age* hath *Ripened* it) *Sowed* 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 *Perfwasion*. 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 *Univerfity* of *Leyden* against *Episcopius*, and the other *Champions* of that *Grand Choak-weed* of *true Christianity*: And when he *Died*, not only the *Univerfity*, and *Ministers* of the *City*, accompanied him to his *Grave*, with all their *accustomed Solemnities*, but some of the *Chief* among them with *forrowful Repentments* and *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 delirious 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 Maſteſty 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 Maſteſty'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 induc'd 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 *Adventures*, 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 *Diverſion* 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 ſer 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 Wilderiness, may be called a right Way, such was the way of this little Israel, now going into a Wilderiness.

§. 6. Their design was to have sat down somewhere about Hudson's River; but some of their Neighbours in Holland having a Mind themselves to settle a Plantation there, secretly and sinfully 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 Tenth, but Nine Parts of Ten, (yea, 'tis said, Nineteen of Twenty) among them: So that the Woods were almost cleared of those pernicious Creatures, to make Room for a better Growth. It is Remarkable, that a Frenchman who not long before these Transactions, had by a Shipwreck been made a Captive among the Indians of this Country, did, as the Survivers reported, just before he dy'd in their Hands, tell those Tawny Pagans, that God being angry with them for their Wickedness, would not only destroy them all, but also People the place with another Nation, which would not live after their Brutish Manners. Those Infidels then Blasphemously reply'd, God could not kill them; which Blasphemous mistake was confuted by an horrible and unusual Plague, whereby they were consumed in such vast Multitudes, that our first Planters found the Land almost covered with their unburied Carcases; and they that were left alive, were smitten into awful and humble Regards of the English, by the Terrors which the Remembrance of the Frenchman's Prophecie had Imprinted on them.

§. 7. Inexpressible the Hardships to which this chosen Generation was now exposed! Our Saviour once directed his Disciples to deprecate a slight 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, 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 chearfully underwent, in hope, that they should settle the Worship and Order of the Gospel, and the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in these Regions, and that thus enlarging the Dominion, they should thereby so Merit the Protection of the Crown of England, as to be never abandoned unto any further Persecutions, from any Party of their Fellow-Subjects, for their Consciencious Regards unto the Reformation. Their Proposal was, *Exiguam sedem Sacris, Littusque rogamus, Innocuum, & 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 Eschol 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 sared 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 encountred, were attended with and productive of *deadly Sicknesses*; which in two or three Months carried off more than *Half* their Company. They were but meanly provided against these unhappy *Sicknesses*; but there died sometimes *Two*, sometimes *Three* in a Day; till scarce *Fifty* of them were left alive; and of those *Fifty*, sometimes there were scarce *Five* well at a time to look after the Sick. Yet their profound Submission to the Will of God, their Christian Readiness to help one another, accompanied with a joyful Assurance of another and better World, carried them chearfully 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 flowed 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 stolen *Indians*; cal-

led *Squanto*, had escaped out of *Spain* into *England*; where he lived with one *Mr. Slany*, from whom he had found a way to return into his own Country, being brought back by one *Mr. Dermer*, about half a Year before our honest *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 entred 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 Conntrymen 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 Havock among them, as the Distemper had already made among them a few Years before. Thus was the *Tongue of a Dog* made useful to a feeble and sickly *Lazarus*! Moreover, our *English Guns*, especially the great ones, made a formidable Report among these Ignorant *Indians*; and the hopes of enjoying some Defence by the *English*, against the Potent Nation of *Narraganset-Indians*, now at War with these, made them yet more to Court our Friendship. This very strange Disposition of things, was extremely advantageous to our distressed *Planters*: And who sees not herein the special *Providence* of the God who disposeth all?

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 *Englithman's God in Heaven*. And besides the assistance of *Squanto*, they had also the help of another *Indian*, called *Hobhamok*, 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 extream 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 deserted it; and in the Year 1622, sent over two Ships with about Sixty Men, to begin a Plantation in the *Massachusetts-Bay*. These Beginners being well refreshed at *Plymouth*, travelled more Northward unto a place known since by the Name of *Weymouth*; where these *Westonians*, who were *Church of England-men*, did not approve themselves like the *Plymothbeans*, 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 *Pennury*, 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 Murther of *them* also. In pursuance of this *Plot*, Captain *Standish*, the Commander of the *Militia* of *Plymouth*, Lodging on a Night, with Two or Three Men in an *Indian* House, the *Indians* propos'd that they might begin the Execution of their Malice by the Assassination of the Captain, as soon as ever he should be fallen asleep. However, the watchful Providence of God so 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 Cruel Hellish *Powwaws*, 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 sollicit'd 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 *Skitmilshes*, 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 pale and frighted Countenance, acknowledged the whole Mischief intended by the *Indians* against the *English*. Releasing this Fellow, they sent him to the *Sachim* of the *Massachusetts*, with Advice of what he must look for, in Case he committed any Hostility upon the Subjects of the King of *England*; whereof there was this Effect, that not only that *Sachim* hereby terrified, most humbly begg'd for Peace, and pleaded his Ignorance of his Mens Intentions; but the rest of the *Indians*, under the same Terror, withdrew themselves to Live in the unhealthy *Swamps*, which prov'd Mortal to many of them. One of the *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 withed 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 encreased the Number of their *Passengers*, they put out again to Sea; but after they had got half Way, one of the saddest and longest Storms that had been known since the Days of the Apostle *Paul*, drove them home to *England* again, with a Vessel well nigh torn to pieces. tho' the Lives of the People, which were above an Hundred, mercifully preserved. This Man, by all his tumbling backward and forward, was by this time grown so Sick of his *Patent*, that he vomited it up; he assigned it over to the Company, but they afterwards obtained another, under the Umbrage whereof they could now more effectually carry on the Affairs of their New Colony. The *Passengers* went over afterwards in another Vessel; and quickly after that another Vessel of *Passengers* also arrived in the Country: Namely, in the Year 1623. Among these *Passengers* were divers Worthy and Useful Men, who were come to seek the Welfare of this little *Israel*; tho' at their coming they were as diversly affected, as the Rebuilders of the Temple at *Jerusalem*: Some were grieved when they saw how bad the Circumstances of their Friends were, and others were glad that they were no worse.

§. 5. The Immature Death of Mr. *Robinson* in *Holland*, with many ensuing Disasters, 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 sound in the Repentance which he now expressed. Repentance, I say; for he did now publicly in the Church confess with Tears, that the Censure of the Church was less than he deserved; he acknowledged, That he had slanderously 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 periwaded 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, Ob 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

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 Fish of less Dimensions, they are since passed on to the catching of *Whales*, whose Oil is become a *Staple-Commodity* of the Country: *Whales*, I say, which living and moving *Islands*, do now find a way to this Coast, where, notwithstanding the desperate hazards run by the *Whale-Catchers* in their thin *Whale-Boats*, often torn to pieces by the 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 *Tarmouth* in this Colony; the *Cow* was Fifty Five Foot long, the *Bone* was Nine or Ten Foot wide; a *Cart* upon *Wheels* might have gone in at the Mouth of it; the *Calf* was Twenty Foot long, for unto such vast *Calves*, the *Sea-Monsters* draw forth their *Breasts*. But so does the good God here give his People to suck the abundance of the Seas!

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

this Colony; and having left an Example of wonderful Prayerfulness, Watchfulness, Thankfulness, Usefulness, exact 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 Perswasion, I do not know that they have been Persecuted with any harder Means, than those of kind Conferences to reclaim them. There have been also some unhappy Sectaries, namely, Quakers and Seekers, and other such Energumens, [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!

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

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

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

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

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

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 blust'd to see
Themselves Eclips'd by such Deformity.
Her Fear'ish 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 replenish'd with many Hundreds of People, who had thriven to many Thousands of Pounds; and had all the force of the Bay too, to assist them in the maintaining of their Settlements. But the same or the like inauspicious

rious 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 *Massachuset* Colony was at last formed upon more glorious *Aims*: All proving like the Habitations of the *foolish, cursed before they had taken root*. Of all which *Catastrophe's*, I suppose none was more sudden than that of Monsieur *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 *Flaps*, immediately Butchered with all his Men, and set the Ship on Fire. Yea, so many Fatalities attended the *Adventurers* in their Essays, that they began to suspect that the *Indian* Sorcerers had laid the place under some *Fascination*; and that the *English* could not prosper upon such *enchanted Ground*, so that they were almost afraid of *Adventuring* any more.

§ 2. Several Persons in the West of *England*, having by *Fishing-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 more would yet stay upon the Spot, he would procure a *Patent* for them, and send them over *Friends, Goods, Provisions*, and what was necessary to assist their Undertakings. Mr. *Conant*, then looking out a 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 *Merimack*, 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 Goff*, *Thomas Adams*, *John Brown*, *Samuel Brown*, *Thomas Hutchings*, *William Vassal*, *William Pinchon*, 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 *Seccession*, and enjoy the Liberty and the Exercise of their own Perswasions, about the Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ. Whereupon Petitioning the King to confirm what they had thus purchased with a *New Patent*, he granted them one, bearing Date from the Year 1628. which gave them a Right unto the Soil, holding their Titles of Lands, as of the Manor of *East Greenwich* in *Kent*, and in common *Socage*. By this *Charter* they were empowered yearly to *Elect* their own 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. *Endicott* 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* *Nabum*, signifies Comfort, and *קייק* *Keik*, signifies an *Haven*; and our *English* not only found it an *Haven of Comfort*, but happened also to put an *Hebrew Name* upon it; for they call'd it *Salem*, for the *Peace* which they had and hoped in it; and so it is called unto this Day.

§ 4. An Entrance being thus made upon the Design of Planting a Country of *English* and *Reformed Churches*; they that were concerned for the Plantation, made their Application to Two *Non-Conformist* Ministers, that they would go over to serve the *Cause of God* and of *Religion* in the beginning of those Churches. The one of these was Mr. *Higginson*, a Minister in *Leicestershire*, silenced for his *Non-Conformity*; the other was Mr. *Skelton*, a Minister of *Lincolnshire*, suffering also for his *Non-Conformity*: Both of which were Men eminent for Learning and Virtue, and who thus driven out of their Native Country, 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 Offa. 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 ming'ed 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 Worshippers 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 *Afflictive* to Men of Estate, Breeding and Conversation. As the *Hazard* which they ran in this Undertaking was of such Extraordi-

uariness, 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 *Desart*, for the *pure Enjoyment* of all his *Ordinances*. It is now Reasonable that before we pass any further, the *Reasons* of this Undertaking should be more exactly made known unto *Posterity*, especially unto the *Posterity* of those that were the *Undertakers*, lest they come at length to Forget and Neglect the *true Interest* of *New-England*. Wherefore I shall now Transcribe some of *them* from a Manuscript, wherein they were then tendred unto Consideration.

General Considerations for the Plantation of New-England.

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

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

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

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' *Fourthly*,

‘ *Fourthly*, We are grown to that Intemperance in all *Excesses of Riot*, as no mean Estate almost will suffice a Man to keep Sail with his *Equals*, and he that 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 *Faith* of God's People in their Prayers for the *Plantation*, and also to encourage others to join the more willingly in it.

§. 6. Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Skelton, and other good People that arrived at *Salem*, in the Year 1629. resolved, like their Father *Abraham*, to begin their *Plantation* with calling on the *Name of the Lord*. The great Mr. *Hilderham* 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 *Plymotheans*, to their great Satisfaction, laid before them what *Warrant*, they judged, that they had in the *Laws* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, for every Particular in their *Church Order*.

Whereupon having the Concurrence and Countenance of their Deputy Governour, the Worshipful *John Endicott*, 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 Jealousies and Suspicions, Back-Bittings, Censurings, Provokings, secret Risings of Spirit against them; but in all Offences to follow the Rule of our Lord Jesus, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as 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

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

We Resolve to approve our selves to the Lord in our particular Callings; shunning Idleness, as the Bane of any State; nor will we deal hardly or 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 Punctilious Uniformity: But none were admitted without regard unto a Blameless and Holy Conversation. They did all agree with their Brethren of Plymouth in this Point, That the Children of the Faithful were Church-Members, with their Parents; and that their Baptism was a Seal of their being so; only before their admission to Fellowship in a Particular Church, it was judged Necessary, that being free from Scandal, they should be examined by the Elders of the Church, upon whose Approbation of their Fittness, they should Publickly and Personally own the Covenant; so they were to be received unto the Table of the Lord: And accordingly the Eldest Son of Mr. Higginson, being about Fif-

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

§. 8. It is to be Remembred, 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. *Herodiana 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 threaten'd 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 Yeats 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.

C H A P. V.

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

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

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

§. 3. *Reader*, If ever the *Charity* of a Right Christian, and Enlarged Soul, were exemplarily seen in its proper *Expansions*, 'twas in the Address which thou hast now been Reading : But if it now puzzle the Reader to Reconcile these Passages with the *Principles* declared, the *Practices* followed, and the *Persecutions* undergone, by these *American Reformers*, let him know, that there was more than one *Distinction*, whereof these excellent Persons were not Ignorant. First, They were able to Distinguish between the *Church of England*, as it contained the whole *Body of the Faithful*, scattered throughout the Kingdoms, tho' of different Perswasions about some *Rites* and *Modes* in Religion ; many Thousands of whom our *Nor-Engles* knew could comply with many things, to which our *Consciences* otherwise enlightened and

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

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

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

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

—————*He try'd*
To Live without her, lik'd it not, and Dy'd.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C H A P. VI.

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

§. 1. IT was not long before the *Massachusetts* Colony was become like an *Hive*, overstock'd with *Bees*; and many of the new Inhabitants entertained thoughts of *swarming* into Plantations extended further into the Country. The Colony might fetch its own Description from the Dispensations of the Great God, unto his Ancient *Israel*, and say,

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

§. 2. It was in the Year 1635. that this Design was first formed; and the Disposition of the Celebrated Mr. Thomas Hooker, with his People now in Cambridge, to engage in the Design, was that which gave most Life unto it. They then sent their Agents to view the Country, who returned with so Advantageous a Report, that the next Year there was a great Remove of good People thither: On this Remove they that went from Cambridge became a Church upon a Spot of Ground now called Hartford; they that went from Dorchester became a Church at Windsor; they that went from Watertown sat down at Wethersfield; and they that went from Roxbury were In-Churched higher up the River at Springfield, a place which was afterwards found within the Line of the Massachusetts-Charter. Indeed the first Winter after their going thither proved an hard one; and the grievous Disappointments which befel them, thro' the unseasonable Freezing of the River, whereby their Vessel of Provisions was detained at the Mouth of the River, Threescore Miles below them, caused them to Encounter with very Disastrous Difficulties. Divers of them were hereby obliged in the Depth of Winter to Travel back into the Bay; and some of them were frozen to Death in the Journey.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reverend and Dear Sir,

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

In the Year 1647. besides much other Lading, a far more Rich Treasure of Passengers, (Five or Six of which were Persons of chief Note and Worth in *New-Haven*) put themselves on Board a *New Ship*, built at *Rhode-Island*, of about 150 Tuns; but so walty, that the Master, (*Lawberton*) often said she would prove their Grave. In the Month of *January*, cutting their way thro' much Ice, on which they were accompanied with the Reverend Mr. *Davenport*, besides many other Friends, with many Fears, as well as Prayers and Tears, they set Sail. Mr. *Davenport* in Prayer with an observable *Emphasis* used these Words, *Lord, if it be thy pleasure to bury these our Friends in the bottom of the Sea, they are thine; save them!* The Spring following no Tidings of these Friends arrived with the Ships from *England*: *New-Haven's* Heart began to fail her: This put the Godly People on much Prayer, both Publick and Private, *That the Lord would (if it was his Pleasure) let them hear what he had done with their dear Friends, and prepare them with a suitable Submission to his Holy Will.*

In *June* next ensuing, a great *Thunder-storm* arose out of the *North-West*; after which, (the *Hemisphere* being serene) about an Hour before Sun-set a SHIP of like Dimensions with the aforesaid, with her Canvas and Colours abroad (tho' the Wind Northernly) appeared in the Air coming up from our Harbour's Mouth, which lyes Southward from the Town, seemingly with her Sails filled under a fresh Gale, holding her Course North,

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

Your Humble Servant,

James Pierpont.

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

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

they always dwelt peaceably together ; never-
 theless there are few of those Towns, but
 what have seen their Body of *Indians* uter-
 ly Extirpated by nothing but *Mortality* wast-
 ing them.

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

§. 8. While the *South-West* Parts of *New-*
England were thus filled with New Colonies,
 the *North-East* Parts of the Country were not
 forgotten. There were ample Regions beyond
 the Line of the *Massachusetts-Patent*, where
 new Settlements were attempted, not only by
 such as deligned a *Fishing-Trade* at Sea, or a
Bever-Trade on Shore ; nor only by some that
 were uneasy under the *Massachusetts-Government*
 in a *Day of Temptation*, which came upon
 the First Planters ; but also by some very se-
 rious Christians, who propounded the Enlarge-
 ment and Enjoyment of our Lord’s Evangelical
 Interests in those Territories. The Effect
 of these *Excursions* were, That several well-
 constituted Churches were gathered in the
 Province of *East-Hampshire*, besides one or two
 in the Province of *Main*, whereto were added
 a large number of other Congregations, where-
 in weekly *Prayers* and *Sermons* were made,
 altho’ the Inhabitants belonging to those Con-
 gregations, proceeded not so far as to all the
 Ordinances of a more compleat *Church State*
 among them. That which contributed more
 than a little to the growth of *Christianity* in
 those Parts of *New-England*, was the Appli-
 cation, which the People being tired with ma-
 ny Quarrellsome Circumstances about their Go-
 vernment, made unto the *General Court* of
 the *Massachusetts-Bay*, to be taken under their
 Protection ; which Petition of theirs being an-
 swered by that *General Court*, surely after a
 more Charitable and Accountable manner, than
 such Authors as *Ogilby* in his *America* have re-
 presented it, [*Vos magis Historicis, Lectores,*
Credite veris!] there followed many Suc-
 cessful Endeavours to spread the good
 Effects and Orders of the *Gospel* along that
 Coast.

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

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

C H A P. VII.

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

A M A P of the Country.

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

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

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

I. **I**N *Plymouth Colony* there are *Three Counties*; and the several *Congregations* therein are thus Accommodated.

Plymouth County Ministers.

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

Barnstable County Ministers.

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

Bristol County Ministers.

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

Swanſy,
Tanton, Mr. *Samuel Danſorth*, H. C.

Hereto an Ecclesiastical Reckoning may annex the Islands of

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

II. **I**N *Maſſachuſet Colony* are *Four Counties*, and the ſeveral *Congregations* in them are ſo ſupplied.

The County of Suffolk Ministers.

Boston, Of the *Old Church*, Mr. *James Allen*, Mr. *Benj. Wadſworth*, H. C.
Of the *North Church*, Mr. *Increase Mather*, Preſident of the Colledge, and his Son *Cotton Mather*, H. C.
Of the *South Church*, Mr. *Samuel Wilboard*, H. C.
Besides these, there is in the Town a ſmall Congregation that Worſhip God with the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; ſerved generally by a Change of Perſons, occaſionally viſiting theſe Parts of the World.
And another ſmall Congregation of *Antipedo-Baptiſts*, wherein Mr. *Emblin* is the ſettled Miniſter.
And a *French Congregation* of *Proteſtant Refugees*, under the Paſtoral Cares of *Monſieur Daille*.

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

The County of Middleſex Ministers.

- Billerica*, Mr. *Samuel Whiteing*, H. C.
- Cambridge*, Mr. *William Brattle*, H. C.

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

The County of Essex Ministers.

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

The County of Hampshire Ministers.

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

To which, if we add the Congregations in Piscataqua.

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

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

And in the Province of Main.

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

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

Hartford County Ministers.

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

New-London-County Ministers.

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

New-Haven-County Ministers.

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

Fairfield-County Ministers.

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

R E M A R K S upon the Catalogue of
Plantations.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The BOSTONIAN EBENEZER.

S O M E

Historical Remarks

On the State of

B O S T O N,

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

With Some

Agreeable Methods

F O R

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

Humbly Offered by a Native of BOSTON.

Ezek. 48. 35. *The Name of the City from that Day shall be, THE*
L O R D I S T H E R E.

*Urbs Metropolis, ut sit maxima Auctoritatis, constituatur præcipuum pietatis Exemplum
& Sacrarium. Aphor. Polit.*

The History of BOSTON, Related and Improved.

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

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

I S A M. VII. 12.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wherefore, First, Let God in our Lord Jesus Christ, have the Glory of bestowing on us all the help that we have had. When the Spirit of God came upon a Servant of his, he cried out unto David, in 1 Chron. 12. 18. Thy God helpeth thee. This is the voice of God from Heaven to Boston this Day, Thy God hath helped thee: Thou hast by thy Sin destroyed thy self, but in thy God hath been thy help. A Great Man once building an Edifice, caus'd an Inscription of this Importance to be written on the Gates of it, Such a place Planted me, such a place Watered me, and Caesar gave the Increase. One that pass'd by with a witty Sacarism, wrote under it, Hic Deus nihil fecit; i. e. God, it seems, did nothing for this Man. But the Inscription upon our Ebenezer, owning what help this Town hath had, shall say, Our God hath done all that is done! Say then, O helped Boston, say, as in Psal. 121. 2. My help is from the Lord which made Heaven and Earth. Say as in Psal. 94. 17. Unless the Lord had been my help, my Soul had quickly dwelt in silence. And boldly say, 'Tis only because the Lord has been my helper, that Earth and Hell have never done all that they would unto me.

Let our Lord JESUS CHRIST be praised as our Blessed Helper: That Stone which the Foolish Builders have refused, Oh! Set up that Stone; even that high Rock, set him on high in our Praises, and say, That That is our Ebenezer. 'Tis our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who in his Infinite Compassions for the Town hath said, as in Isa. 63. 5. I looked, and there was none to help; therefore my own Arm hath brought Salvation unto it. It is foretold concerning the Idolatrous Roman Catholicks, That together with the Lord Jesus Christ, they shall Worship other Mauzzim; that is to say, other Protectors. Accordingly, all their Towns ordinarily have singled out their Protectors among the Saints of Heaven; such a Saint is Entitled unto the Patronage of such a Town among them, and such a Saint for another: Old Boston, by Name, was bur Saint Botolph's Town. Whereas Thou, O Boston, shalt have but one Protector in Heaven, and that is our Lord JESUS CHRIST. Oh! Rejoice in him alone, and say, The Lord is my Fortress and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ecclesiarum Clypei.

The Second BOOK

OF THE

New English History :

CONTAINING THE

LIVES

OF THE

GOVERNOURS, and the *Names* of the MAGISTRATES, that have been SHIELDS unto the CHURCHES of *NEW-ENGLAND*, (until the Year 1686.)

Perpetuated by the Essay of COTTON MATHER.

*Priscaq; ne Veteris vaneſcat Gloria Sacti,
Vivida deſenſant, quæ Monumenta damur.*

*Qui Aliis præſunt, tanto privatis Hominibus Meliores eſſe Oportet,
Quanto Honoribus & Liguitate antecellunt. Panorinitan.*

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

Optimus quiſq; Nobiliſſimus. Plato.

L O N D O N :

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

INTRODUCTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ecclesiarum Clypei.

The Second B O O K
 OF THE
 New English History.

C H A P. I.

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

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

§. I. **I**T has been a Matter of some Observation, that although Yorkshire be one of the largest Shires in England, yet, for all the Fires of Martyrdom which were kindled in the Days of Queen Mary, it afforded no more Fuel than one poor Leaf; namely, John Leaf, an Apprentice, who suffered for the Doctrine of the Reformation at the same Time and Stake with the Famous John Bradford. But when the Reign of Queen Elizabeth would not admit the Reformation of Worship to proceed unto those Degrees, which were proposed and pursued by no small number of the Faithful in those Days, Yorkshire was not the least of the Shires in England that afforded Suffering Witnesses thereunto. The Churches there gathered were quickly molested with such a raging Persecution, that if the Spirit of Separation in them did carry them unto a further Extream than it should have done, one blameable Cause thereof will be found in the Extremity of that Persecution. Their Troubles made that Cold Country too Hot for them, so that they were under a necessity to seek a Retreat in the Low Countries; and yet the watchful Malice and Fury of their Adversaries rendred it almost impossible for them to find what they sought. For them to leave their Native Soil, their Lands and their Friends, and go into a Strange Place, where they must hear Forreign Language, and live meanly and hardly, and in other Employments than that of Husbandry, wherein they had been Educated, these must needs have been such Discouragements as could have been Conquered by none, save those who sought first the Kingdom of God, and the Righteousness thereof. But that which would have made these Discouragements the more Unconquerable unto an ordinary Faith, was the terrible Zeal of their Enemies to Guard all Ports, and Search all Ships, that none of them should be carried off. I will not relate the sad things of this kind, then seen and felt by this People of God; but only exemplifie those Trials with one short Story. Divers of this People having Hired a Dutchman then lying at Hull, to carry them over to Holland, he promised faithfully to take them in between Grimsty and Hull; but they coming to the Place a Day or Two too soon, the appearance of such a Multitude alarmed the Officers of the Town adjoining, who came with a great Body of Soldiers to seize upon them. Now it happened that one Boat full of Men had been carried Aboard, while the Women were yet in a Bark that lay Aground in a Creek at Low-Water. The Dutchman perceiving the Storm that was thus beginning Ashore, swore by the Sacrament that he would stay no longer for any of them; and so taking the Advantage of a Fair Wind then Blowing, he put out to Sea for Zealand. The Women thus left near Grimsty-Common, bereaved of their Husbands, who had been hurried from them, and forsaken of their Neighbours, of whom none durst in this Fright stay with

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

with Pastime and Frolicks; and this gentle Re-proof put a final stop to all such Disorders for the future.

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

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

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

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

Daughter by another, whom he Married in this Land.

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

§. 10. At length he fell into an Indisposition of Body, which rendred him unhealthy for a whole Winter; and as the Spring advanced, his Health yet more declined; yet he felt himself not what he counted Sick, till one Day; in the Night after which, the God of Heaven so fill'd his Mind with Ineffable Consolations, that he seem'd little short of Paul, rapt up unto the Unutterable Entertainments of Paradise. The next Morning he told his Friends, That the good Spirit of God had given him a Pledge of his Happiness in another World, and the First-fruits of his Eternal Glory: And on the Day following he died, May 9. 1657. in the 59th Year of his Age. Lamented by all the Colonies of New-England, as a Common Blessing and Father to them all.

O mibi si Similis Contingat Clausula Vitæ!

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

E P I T A P H.

Νομὸς Τεσῶν ἀγίων ἀνθρώπων.

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

C H A P. II.

S U C C E S S O R S.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Jam Cinis est, & de tam magus restat Achille,
Nescio quid; parvam quod non bene compleat
Urnam.*

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

C H A P. III.

Patres Conscripti: Or, A S S I S T E N T S.

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

MAGISTRATES in the Colony of New-Plymouth.

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

Edward Winslow, Gov.
William Bradford.
Miles Standish.
John Howland.
John Alden.
John Done.
Stephen Hopkins.
William Gilson.

Afterwards at several times were added,

<i>Thomas Prince</i> .	1634.
<i>William Collier</i> .	1634.
<i>Timothy Hatherly</i> .	1636.
<i>John Brown</i> .	1636.
<i>John Jenny</i> .	1637.
<i>John Atwood</i> .	1638.
<i>Edmund Freeman</i> .	1640.
<i>William Thomas</i> .	1642.
<i>Thomas Willet</i> .	1651.
<i>Thomas Southworth</i> .	1652.
<i>James Cudworth</i> .	1656.
<i>Josiah Winslow</i> .	1657.
<i>William Bradford</i> . F.	1658.

Thomas

<i>Thomas Hinkley.</i>	1658.	mouth Colony, in the Year 1669. Since the ⁿ
<i>James Brown.</i>	1665.	there have been added at several times,
<i>John Freeman.</i>	1666.	
<i>Nathanael Bacon.</i>	1667.	<i>Constant Southworth.</i>
		<i>Daniel Smith.</i>
		<i>Barnabas Lotthrop,</i>
		<i>John Thatcher.</i>
		<i>John Walley.</i>
		1670.
		1674.
		1681.

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

CH A P. IV.

Nehemias Americanus. *The LIFE of JOHN WINTHROP, Esq;*
Governour of the MASSACHUSET COLONY.

Quicumq; Venti erunt, Ars nostra certe non aberit. Cicer.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—*Maria & Terras, Cælumq; profundum,
Quippe ferant, Rapidi, secum, vertantq; per
Auras*;

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

' Lord Jesus Christ hath disclaimed it, not only
 ' by *Practice*, but also by *Precept*, which we
 ' have in his Gospel, *Mat. 20. 25, 26.* It is
 ' true indeed, that *Magistrates*, as they are
 ' *Church-Members*, are accountable unto the
 ' *Church* for their Failings; but that is when
 ' they are out of their Calling. When *Uzziab*
 ' would go offer Incense in the *Temple*, the
 ' Officers of the *Church* called him to an ac-
 ' count, and withstood him; but when *Afa* put
 ' the Prophet in Prison, the Officers of the
 ' *Church* did not call him to an account for that.
 ' If the *Magistrate* shall in a *private way*
 ' wrong any Man, the *Church* may call him to
 ' an Account for it; but if he be in Pursuance of
 ' a Course of *Justice*, though the thing that he
 ' does be *unjust*, yet he is not accountable for it
 ' before the *Church*. As for my self I did nothing
 ' in the Causes of any of the *Brethren*, but by
 ' the Advice of the *Elders* of the *Church*. More-
 ' over, in the *Oath* which I have taken there
 ' is this Clause, *In all Causes wherein you are to*
 ' *give your Vote, you shall do as in your Judg-*
 ' *ment and Conscience you shall see to be Just,*
 ' *and for the publick Good.* And I am satisfied,
 ' it is most for the Glory of God, and the *pub-*
 ' *lick Good*, that there has been such a *Sentence*
 ' passed; yea, those *Brethren* are so divided
 ' from the rest of the Country in their Opinions
 ' and Practices, that it cannot stand with the
 ' *publick Peace* for them to continue with us;
 ' *Abraham* saw that *Hagar* and *Ishmael* must be
 ' sent away. By such a Speech he marvel-
 ' lously convinced, satisfied and mollified the
 ' *uneasie Brethren* of the *Church*; *Sic cunctus*
 ' *Pelagi cecidit Frigor*— And after a little pati-
 ' ent waiting, the *differences* all so wore away,
 ' that the *Church*, meerly as a Token of Respect
 ' unto the Governour, when he had newly met
 ' with some *Losses* in his Estate, sent him a Pre-
 ' sent of several *Hundreds* of Pounds. Once
 ' more there was a time, when some active Spi-
 ' rits among the *Deputies* of the Colony, by their
 ' endeavours not only to make themselves a *Court*
 ' of *Judicature*, but also to take away the *Negative*
 ' by which the *Magistrates* might check their
 ' *Votes*, had like by over-driving to have run the
 ' whole Government into something too *Democ-*
 ' *cratical*. And if there were a Town in Spain
 ' undermined by *Coneys*, another Town in *Thrace*
 ' destroyed by *Moles*, a Third in *Greece* ranversed
 ' by *Frogs*, a Fourth in *Germany* subverted by
 ' *Rats*; I must on this Occasion add, that there
 ' was a Country in *America* like to be confound-
 ' ed by a *Swine*. A certain *stray Sow* being found,
 ' was claimed by Two several Persons with a
 ' Claim so equally maintained on both sides, that
 ' after Six or Seven Years *Hunting* the Busi-
 ' ness, from one Court unto another, it was
 ' brought at last into the *General Court*, where
 ' the final Determination was, *that it was im-*
 ' *possible to proceed unto any Judgment in the*
 ' *Case*. However in the debate of this Matter,
 ' the *Negative* of the *Upper-House* upon the
 ' *Lower* in that Court was brought upon the
 ' Stage; and agitated with so hot a Zeal, that a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Non Habitus, non ipse Color non Gressus
Euntis,
Non Species Eadem, que fuit ante, manet.*

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

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

*Nuper Eram Judex ; Jam Judicor ; Ante Tribunal,
Subsistens paveo, Judicor ipse modo.*

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

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

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

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

E P I T A P H.

*Ἄνθ' ἐγένετο χρεὶς τὴν εὐσίαν, ἢ δίκαιος,
καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐμεθ' ἡμῶν εὐλοτιμύτας :
Μνημῆιον αἰώνιον αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν τὰ τῶν
Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη*

VIR FUIT INDOLE BONUS, AC JUSTUS:
ET POPULARIUM GLORIÆ AMANTISSI-
MUS :
QUIBŪS ETERNUM RELIQUIT MONU-
MENTUM,
Novanglorum MOENIA.

C H A P. V.

S U C C E S S O R S.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

bridge; but upon Mr. Hooker's removal to *Hartford*, he removed to *Ipswich*; nevertheless, upon the Importunity and Necessity of the Government for his coming to dwell nearer the Center of the whole, he fixed his Habitation at *Roxbury*, Two Miles out of *Boston*, where he was always at Hand upon the Publick Exigencies. Here he died, *July 31. 1653.* in the Seventy-Seventh Year of his Age; and there were found after his Death, in his Pocket, these Lines of his own Composing, which may serve to make up what may be wanting in the Character already given him.

*Dim Eyes, Deaf Ears, Cold Stomach, shew
My Dissolution is in View.
Eleven times Seven near liv'd have I,
And now God calls, I willing Die.
My Shuttle's shot, my Race is run,
My Sun is set, my Day is done.
My Span is measur'd, Tale is told,
My Flower is faded, and grown old.
My Dream is vanish'd, Shadow's fled,
My Soul with Christ, my Body Dead.
Farewel Dear Wife, Children and Friends,
Hate Heresie, make Blessed Ends.
Bear Poverty, live with good Men;
So shall we live with Joy agen.
Let Men of God in Courts and Churches watch
O're such as do a Toleration hatch,
Lest that Ill Egg bring forth a Cockatrice,
To poison all with Heresie and Vice.
If Men be left, and otherwise Combine,
My Epitaph's, I Dy'd no Libertine.*

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

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

*Now I believe Tradition, which doth call
The Muses, Virtues, Graces, Females all.
Only they are not Nine, Eleven, or Three;
Our Auth'ress proves them but an Unity.
Mankind, take up some Blushes on the score;
Monopolize Perfection hence no more.
In your own Arts confess your selves out-
done;
The Moon bath totally Eclips'd the Sun:
Not with her Sable Mantle muffling him,
But her bright Silver makes his Gold look
dim:
Just as his Beams force our pale Lamps to
wink,
And Earthly Fires within their Ashes shrink.*

What else might be said of Mr *Dudley*, the Reader shall Construe from the Ensuing

E P I T A P H.

*Helluo Librorum, Icterum E bli theca
Communis, Sacra ylt her E florie.
Ad Mensam Comes, hinc jaundus, Rostra di-
fertus,
(Non Cumulus verbis, pondus, Acumen erat,)
Morum acris Censor, validus Defensor amansq;
Et Sane E Canæ Catholice fidei.
Angli-novi Columen, Summum Decus atq; Se-
natus;
Thomas Dudleius, conditur hoc Tumulo. E. R.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

-----*Extinctus amabitur idem.*

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

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

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

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

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

E P I T A P H.

SIMON BRADSTREET.

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

And Add,

*Extinctum luget quem tota Nov-Anglia Patrem,
O Quantum Claudit parvula Terra Virum!*

C H A P. VI.

Id est, Viri Animati: Or, ASSISTANTS.

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

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

MAGISTRATES of the <i>Massachuset-Colony.</i>			
<i>John Winthrop, Gov.</i>		<i>Nathanael Saltonstal,</i>	1679
<i>Thomas Dudley, Deputy Gov.</i>		<i>Humphrey Davy,</i>	1679
<i>Matthew Cradock,</i>	1629	<i>James Russel,</i>	1680
<i>Thomas Goff,</i>	1629	<i>Samuel Nowel,</i>	1680
<i>Sir Richard Saltonstal,</i>	1629	<i>Pcter Tilton,</i>	1680
<i>Isaac Johnson,</i>	1629	<i>John Richards,</i>	1680
<i>Samuel Aldersley,</i>	1629	<i>John Hull,</i>	1680
<i>John Venn,</i>	1629	<i>Bartholomew Gidney,</i>	1680
<i>John Humsfrey,</i>	1629	<i>Thomas Savage,</i>	1680
<i>Simon Wbercomb,</i>	1629	<i>William Brown,</i>	1680
<i>Increase Nowel,</i>	1629	<i>Samuel Appleton,</i>	1681
<i>Richard Perry,</i>	1629	<i>Robert Pike,</i>	1682
<i>Nathanael Wright,</i>	1629	<i>Daniel Fisher,</i>	1683
<i>Samuel Vassal,</i>	1629	<i>John Woodbridge,</i>	1683
<i>Theophilus Eaton,</i>	1629	<i>Elisha Cook,</i>	1684
<i>Thomas Adams,</i>	1629	<i>William Johnson,</i>	1684
<i>Thomas Hutchins,</i>	1629	<i>John Hawthorn,</i>	1684
<i>George Foxcroft,</i>	1629	<i>Elisha Hutchinson,</i>	1684
<i>William Vassal,</i>	1629	<i>Samuel Sewal,</i>	1684
<i>William Pinchon,</i>	1629	<i>Isaac Addington,</i>	1686
<i>John Pocock,</i>	1629	<i>John Smith,</i>	1686
<i>Christopher Cowlfson,</i>	1629		
<i>William Coddington,</i>	1629	<i>Major-Generals of the Military Forces in the</i>	
<i>Simon Bradstreet,</i>	1629	<i>Colony, successfully chosen.</i>	
<i>Thomas Sharp,</i>	1629	<i>Thomas Dudley.</i>	
<i>Roger Ludlow,</i>	1630	<i>John Endicot.</i>	
<i>Edward Rosfiter,</i>	1630	<i>Edward Gibbons.</i>	
<i>John Endicot,</i>	1630	<i>Robert Sedgwick.</i>	
<i>John Winthrop, Jun.</i>	1632	<i>Humfry Atherton.</i>	
<i>John Haines,</i>	1634	<i>Daniel Denison.</i>	
<i>Richard Billingham,</i>	1635	<i>John Leveret.</i>	
<i>Asterion Hough,</i>	1635	<i>Daniel Gookin.</i>	
<i>Richard Dummer,</i>	1635		
<i>Henry Vane,</i>	1636	<i>Secretaries of the Colony, successfully chosen:</i>	
<i>Roger Hartackenden,</i>	1636	<i>William Burgis.</i>	
<i>Israel Stoughton,</i>	1637	<i>Simon Bradstreet.</i>	
<i>Richard Saltonstal,</i>	1637	<i>Increase Nowel.</i>	
<i>Thomas Flint,</i>	1643	<i>Edward Rawson.</i>	
<i>Samuel Symons,</i>	1643		
<i>William Hibbons,</i>	1643	<i>That these Names are proper and worthy to</i>	
<i>William Tyng,</i>	1643	<i>be found in our Church-History, will be ac-</i>	
<i>Herbert Pelham,</i>	1645	<i>knowledged, when it is considered, not only</i>	
<i>Robert Bridges,</i>	1647	<i>that they were the Members of Congregational</i>	
<i>Francis Willoughby,</i>	1650	<i>Churches, and by the Members of the Churches</i>	
<i>Thomas Wiggan,</i>	1650	<i>chosen to be the Rulers of the Commonwealth,</i>	
<i>Edward Gibbons,</i>	1650	<i>and that their exemplary Behaviour in their</i>	
<i>John Glover,</i>	1652	<i>Magistracy was generally such as to adorn the</i>	
<i>Daniel Gookin,</i>	1652	<i>Doitrine of God our Saviour, and according to</i>	
<i>Daniel Denison,</i>	1654	<i>the Old Jewish Wishes, prohibutum est Homini,</i>	
<i>Simon Willard,</i>	1654	<i>instar principis Dominari super populum, &</i>	
<i>Humphrey Atherton,</i>	1654	<i>cum elatione Spiritus, sed, כַּעֲבוּה וּרְאָה, cum</i>	
<i>Richard Russel,</i>	1659	<i>mansuetudine ac Timore: But also that their</i>	
<i>Thomas Dansforth,</i>	1659	<i>Love to, and Zeal for, and Care of these</i>	
<i>William Hawthorn,</i>	1662	<i>Churches, was not the least part of their Cha-</i>	
<i>Eleazer Lusher,</i>	1662	<i>raeter.</i>	
<i>John Leveret,</i>	1665	<i>The Instances of their Concern for the Wel-</i>	
<i>John Pinchon,</i>	1665	<i>fare of the Churches were innumerable. I will</i>	
<i>Edward Tyng,</i>	1668	<i>single out but one from the rest, because of</i>	
<i>William Stoughton,</i>	1671	<i>some Singular Subserviency to the Designs of</i>	
<i>Thomas Clark,</i>	1673	<i>our Church-History, therein to be propos'd. I'll</i>	
<i>Joseph Dudley,</i>	1676	<i>do it only by Transcribing an Instrument, pub-</i>	
<i>Peter Bulkeley,</i>	1677	<i>lished Anno 1668. in such Terms as these.</i>	

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

Reverend and Beloved in the Lord,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Edward Rawson, Secret.

C H A P. VII.

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

Superiores sint, qui superiores esse sciunt.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Per Varios Casus; per tot Discrimina Rerum,

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

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

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

§. 8. For

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

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

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

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

E P I T A P H.

Part of EDWARD HOPKINS, Esq;

But Heaven, not brooking that the Earth should share

In the least Atom of a Piece so rare,
Intends to Sue out, by a New Revise,
His Habeas Corpus at the Grand Assize.

C H A P. VIII.

S U C C E S S O R S.

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

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

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

C H A P. IX.

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

*Justitiæ Cultor, Rigidi Servator Honesti,
In Commune Bonum.*

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

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

§. 3. His Father being removed unto *Cove-*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—————*Sedes, ubi Fata, Quies*
Ostendunt.

Now let his Gravestone wear at least the following

E P I T A P H.

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

C H A P. X.

S U C C E S S O R S.

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

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

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

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

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

C H A P. XI.

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

-----Et Nos aliquod Nomenq; Decusq;
Gessimus.-----

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

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

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

§. 3. The Son of *Scipio Africanus* proving a degenerate Person, the *People* forced him to pluck off a *Signet-Ring*, which he wore with his *Father's Face* engraven on it. But the Son of our Celebrated Governour *Winthrop*, was on the other side so like unto his Excellent Father for early *Wisdom* and *Virtue*, that arriving at *New-England* with his *Father's Family*, Nov. 4. 1631. he was, though not above *Twenty Three Years* of Age, by the *Unanimous Choice* of the *People*, chosen a *Magistrate* of the *Colony*, whereof his *Father* was the *Governour*. For this *Colony* he afterwards did many *Services*, yea, and he did them *Abroad* as well as *at Home*; very particularly in the Year 1634. when returning for *England*, he was by bad *Weather* forced into *Ireland*, where being invited unto the House of *Sir John Clotworthy*, he met with many *Considerable Persons*, by conferring with whom, the Affairs of *New-England* were not a little promoted; but it was another *Colony* for which the *Providence* of *Heaven* intended him to be such another *Father*, as his own Honourable *Father* had been to *this*.

§. 4. In

§. 4. In the Year 1625. Mr. *Wimbrop* returned unto *New-England*, with Powers from the Lord *Say* and the Lord *Brook*, to settle a Plantation upon the *Long River* of *Connecticut*, and a Commission to be himself the Governour of that Plantation. But inasmuch as many good People of the *Massachuset-Colony* had just before this taken Possession of Land for a *New-Colony* thereabouts, this Courteous and Peaceable Gentleman gave them no Molestation; but having wisely Accommodated the Matter with them, he sent a convenient number of Men, with all Necessaries, to erect a Fortification at the Mouth of the River, where a *Town*, with a *Fort*, is now distinguished by the Name of *Say-Brook*, by which happy Action, the *Planters* further up the River had no small Kindness done unto them; and the *Indians*, which might else have been more Troublefome, were kept in Awe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

§. 9. His Father, as long ago as the Year 1643. had seen Cause to Write unto him an Excellent Letter, wherein there were these among other Passages.

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

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

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

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

E P I T A P H I U M.

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

C H A P. XII.

A S S I S T E N T S.

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

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

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

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

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

MAGISTRATES after the Two Colonies	Matthew Gilbert,	1677
were content, according to their Charter, to	Andrew Leet,	1678
become ONE, were,	John Wadsworth,	1679
	Robert Chapman,	1681
John Wintthrop, Gov.	James Fitch,	1681
John Mason,	Samuel Mason,	1683
Matthew Allyn,	Benjamin Newberry,	1685
Samuel Willys,	Samuel Talcot,	1685
Nathan Gold,	Giles Hamlin,	1685
John Talcot,		
Henry Woolcot,	While the Colonies were Clusters of Rich	
John Allyn,	Grapes, which had a Blessing in them. Such	
Samuel Sherman,	Leaves as these (which is in the Proverbs of	
James Richards,	the Jewish Nation, a Name for Magistrates)	
William Leet,	happily defended them from the Storms that	
William Jones,	molest the World.	
Benjamin Fen,	Those of the least Character among them,	
Fasper Crane,	yet came up to what the Roman Common-	
Daniel Clark,	wealth required in their Magistrates.	
Alexander Bryans,		
James Bishop,	Populus Romanus delegit Magistratus, quasi	
Anthony Howkins,	Reipublicæ Villicos, in quibus, si qua præterea	
Thomas Wells,	est Ars, facile patitur; sin minus, virtute eorum	
John Nash,	& Innocentia Contentus est. Cic. Orat. Pro	
Robert Treat,	Plan.	
Thomas Topping,		

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

April 27.
1697.

Nath. Mather,
John Howe,
Matth. Mead.

Pietas in Patriam:

T H E

L I F E

O F H I S

E X C E L L E N C Y

Sir William Phips, Knt.

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

N E W - E N G L A N D.

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

Written by one intimately acquainted with Him.

Discite Virtutem ex Hoc, verumque Laborem.

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

May it please your Excellency,

TH E Station in which the Hand of the God of Heaven hath disposed His Majesties Heart to place your Honour, doth so manifestly entitle your Lordship to this ensuing Narrative, that its being thus Presented to your Excellencies Hand, is thereby both Apologized for and Justified. I believe, had the Writer of it, when he Penned it, had any Knowledge of your Excellency, he would himself have done it, and withal, would have amply and publickly Congratulated the People of *New-England*, on account of

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

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

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

April 27.
1697.

My Lord,

Your Excellencies most

Humble Servant,

Nath. Mather.

T H E

T H E

L I F E

OF His EXCELLENCY

Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, Knt.

L A T E

G O V E R N O U R

O F

NEW-ENGLAND.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Seamen, and partly by his exact and punctual Care to have his Employers defrauded of nothing that might conscientiously belong unto them, he had less than *Sixteen Thousand Pounds* left unto himself: As an acknowledgment of which *Honesty* in him, the Duke of *Albemarle* made unto his Wife, whom he never saw, a Present of a *Golden Cup*, near a Thousand Pound in value. The Character of an *Honest Man* he had so merited in the whole Course of his Life, and especially in this last act of it, that this, in Conjunction with his other serviceable Qualities, procured him the Favours of the Greatest Persons in the Nation; and *he that had been so diligent in his Business, must now stand before Kings, and not stand before mean Men.* There were indeed certain *mean Men*, if base, little, dirty Tricks, will entitle Men to Meanness, who urged the King to seize his *whole Cargo*, instead of the Tenth, upon his first Arrival; on this pretence, that he had not been rightly inform'd of the *True state of the Case*, when he Granted the *Patent*, under the Protection whereof these *particular Men* had made themselves Masters of all this Mighty Treasure; but the King replied, That he had been *rightly informed* by Captain *Phips* of the whole Matter, as it now proved; and that it was the Slanders of one then present, which had, unto his Damage, hindered him from hearkning to the Information: Wherefore he would give them, he said, no Disturbance; they might keep what they had got; but Captain *Phips*, he saw, was a Person of that *Honesty, Fidelity and Ability*, that he should not want his Countenance. Accordingly the King, in Consideration of the Service done by him, in bringing such a Treasure into the Nation, conferr'd upon him the Honour of *Knighthood*; and if we now reckon him, *A Knight of the Golden Fleece*, the Stile might pretend unto some Circumstances that would justify it. Or call him, if you please, *The Knight of Honesty*; for it was *Honesty* with *Industry* that raised him; and he became a Mighty River, without the running in of Muddy Water to make him so. Reader, now make a Pause, and behold *One Raised by God!*

§. 7. I am willing to Employ the Testimonies of others, as much as may be, to support the Credit of my History: And therefore, as I have hitherto related no more than what there are others *Others* enough to avouch; thus I shall chuse the Words of an Ingenious Person Printed at *London* some Years ago, to express the Sum of what remains, whose Words are these; 'It has always been Sir *William Phips's* Disposition to seek the *Wealth* of his People with as great Zeal and Unweariedness, as our *Publicans* use to seek their *Loss* and *Ruin*. At first it seems they were in hopes to gain this Gentleman to their Party, as thinking him *Good Natur'd*, and easie to be flattered out of his Understanding; and the more, because they had the advantage of some, no very good,

'Treatment that Sir *William* had formerly met with from the People and Government of *New-England*. But Sir *William* soon shewed them, that what they expected would be his *Temptation* to lead them into their *little Tricks*, he embraced as a Glorious Opportunity to shew his *Generosity* and *Greatness of Mind*; for, in Imitation of the Greatest Worthies that have ever been, he rather chose to join in the Defence of his Country, with some Persons who formerly were none of his Friends, than become the Head of a *Faction*, to its Ruin and Desolation. It seems this Noble Disposition of Sir *William*, joined with that Capacity and good Success wherewith he hath been attended, in Raising himself by such an Occasion, as it may be, all things considered, has *never happened to any before him*, makes these Men apprehensive; — And it must needs heighten their trouble to see, that he neither hath, nor doth spare himself, nor any thing that is near and dear unto him, in promoting the Good of his Native Country.

When Sir *William Phips* was *per ardua & aspera*, thus raised into an *Higher Orb*, it might easily be thought that he could not be without Charming Temptations to take the way on the left hand. But as the Grace of God kept him in the midst of none of the strictest Company, unto which his Affairs daily led him, from abandoning himself to the lewd Vices of *Gaming, Drinking, Swearing and Whoring*, which the Men that made England to *Sin*, debauch'd so many of the Gentry into, and he deserved the Salutations of the *Roman Poet* :

*Cum Tu, inter scabiem tantam, & Contagia
Lucri,*

Nil parvum sapias, & adhuc Sublimia cures :

Thus he was worthy to pass among the Instances of *Heroick Vertue* for that *Humility* that still Adorned him: He was *Raised*, and though he prudently accommodated himself to the *Quality* whereto he was now *Raised*, yet none could perceive him to be *Lifted up*. Or, if this were not *Heroick*, yet I will Relate one Thing more of him that must certainly be accounted so. He had in his own Country of *New-England* met with *Provocations* that were enough to have Alienated any Man Living, that had no more than *Flesh and Blood* in him, from the Service of it; and some that were Enemies to that Country, now lay hard at him to join with them in their Endeavours to Ravish away their *Ancient Liberties*. But this Gentleman had studied another way to *Revenge* himself upon his Country, and that was to serve it in all its Interests, with all of his, even with his *Estate, his Time, his Care, his Friends, and his very Life!* The old *Heathen* Virtue of *PIETAS IN PATRIAM*, or, *LOVE TO ONES COUNTRY*, he turned into *Christian*; and so notably exemplified it, in all the Rest of his *Life*, that it will be an *Essential Thread* which is to be now interwoven into all that remains of his

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nulla quesita Scelere Potentia diuturna.

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

and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

given a *Life* so often to me: I thank God, he hath brought me to see my self altogether unhappy, without an Interest in the Lord Jesus Christ, and to close heartily with him, desiring him to Execute *All his Offices* on my Behalf. I have now, for some time, been under serious *Resolutions*, that I would avoid whatever I should know to be Displeasing unto God, and that I would *Serve him all the Days of my Life*. I believe *no Man will Repent the Service of such a Master*. I find my self *unable* to keep such *Resolutions*, but my serious *Prayers* are to the Most High, that he would *enable* me. God hath done so much for me, that I am sensible I owe my self to him; *To him would I give my self, and all that he has given to me*. I can't express his Mercies to me. But as soon as ever God had smiled upon me with a Turn of my Affairs, I had laid my self under the *VOWS* of the Lord, *That I would set my self to serve his People, and Churches here, unto the utmost of my Capacity*. I have had great Offers made me in *England*; but the Churches of *New-England* were those which my Heart was most set upon. I knew, *That if God had a People any where, it was here*: And I *Resolved to rise and fall with them*; neglecting very great Advantages for my *Worldly Interest*, that I might come and enjoy the Ordinances of the Lord Jesus here. It has been my Trouble, that since I came Home I have made no more haste to get into the *House of God*, where I *desire to be*: Especially having heard so much about the *Evil* of that Omission. I can do little for God, but I desire to wait upon him in his Ordinances, and to live to his Honour and Glory. My being Born in a part of the Country, where I had not in my *Infancy* enjoyed the *First Sacrament* of the *New-Testament*, has been something of a *Stumbling-Block* unto me. But though I have had Profers of *Baptism* elsewhere made unto me, I resolved rather to defer it, until I might enjoy it in the Communion of these Churches; and I have had awful Impressions from those Words of the Lord Jesus in *Matth. 8. 38*. *Whosoever shall be ashamed of me, and of my Words, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed*. When God had blessed me with something of the World, I had no Trouble so great as this, *Lest it should not be in Mercy*; and I trembled at nothing more than being *put off with a Portion here*. That I may make sure of *better things*, I now offer my self unto the Communion of this Church of the Lord JESUS.

Accordingly on *March 23. 1690*. after he had in the Congregation of *North-Boston* given himself up, *first unto the Lord, and then unto his People*, he was *Baptized*, and so received into the *Communion* of the Faithful there.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nil Actum credens, si quid superesset agendum.

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

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

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

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

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

Sir William Phips, Knight, General and Commander in Chief, in and over Their Majesties Forces of *New-England*, by Sea and Land;

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

THE War between the Two Crowns of England and France, doth not only sufficiently Warrant, but the Destruction made by the French and Indians, under your Command and Encouragement, upon the Persons and Estates of Their Majesties Subjects of *New-England*, without Provocation on their part, hath put them under the Necessity of this Expedition, for their own Security and Satisfaction. And although the Cruelties and Barbarities us'd against them, by the French and Indians, might, upon the present Opportunity, prompt unto a severe Revenge, yet being desirous to avoid all Inhumane and Unchristian-like Actions, and to prevent shedding of Blood as much as may be;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and Contrived them in such a manner, as to make it impossible to Counterfeit any of them, without a speedy Discovery of the *Counterfeit* : Besides which, they were all Signed by the Hands of *Three* belonging to that *Committee*. These *Bills* being of several Sums, from *Two Shillings*, to *Ten Pounds*, did confess the *Massachusetts-Colony* to be *Endebted* unto the person, in whose Hands they were, the Sums therein expressed ; and Provision was made, that if any *Particular Bills* were Irrecoverable Lost, or Torn, or Worn by the Owners, they might be Recruited without any Damage to the *whole in general*. The *Publick Debts* to the *Sailors* and *Soldiers*, now upon the point of *Mutiny*, (for, *Arma Tenenti, Omnia dat, qui Justa negat!*) were in these *Bills* paid immediately : But that further *Credit* might be given thereunto, it was Ordered that they should be accepted by the *Treasurer*, and all Officers that were Subordinate unto him, in all *Publick Payments*, at *Five per Cent.* more than the Value expressed in them. The People knowing that the *Tax-Act* would, in the space of Two Years at least, fetch into the *Treasury* as much as all the *Bills of Credit*, thence emitted, would amount unto, were willing to be furnished with *Bills*, wherein 'twas their Advantage to pay their *Taxes*, rather than in any other *Specie*; and so the *Sailors* and *Soldiers* put off their *Bills*, instead of *Money*, to those with whom they had any Dealings, and they *Circulated* through all the Hands in the *Colony* pretty Comfortably. Had the *Government* been so settled, that there had not been any doubt of any *Obstruction*, or *Diversion* to be given to the *Prosecution* of the *Tax-Act*, by a *Total Change* of their Affairs then depending at *Whitehall*, 'tis very certain, that the *Bills of Credit* had been better than so much ready *Silver*; yea, the *Invention* had been of more use to the *New-Englanders*, than if all their *Copper Mines* had been opened, or the *Mountains of Peru* had been removed into these *Parts of America*. The *Massachusetts Bills of Credit* had been like the *Bank Bills of Venice*, where though there were nor, perhaps, a *Ducat* of *Money* in the *Bank*, yet the *Bills* were esteemed more than *Twenty per Cent.* better than *Money*, among the *Body of the People*, in all their Dealings. But many people being afraid, that the *Government* would in half a Year be so overturned, as to Convert their *Bills of Credit* altogether into *Wast Paper*, the *Credit* of them was thereby very much impaired; and they, who first received them, could make them yield little more than *Fourteen* or *Sixteen Shillings* in the *Pound*; from whence there arose those *Idle Suspicions* in the Heads of many more *Ignorant* and *Unthinking Folks* concerning the use thereof, which, to the *Incredible Detriment* of the *Province*, are not wholly laid aside unto this Day. However, this Method of paying the *Publick Debts*, did no less than save the *Publick* from a perfect *Ruin*: And ere many Months were expired,

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

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

A *Brigantine*, whereof Captain *John Rainsford* was Commander, having about Three-score Men aboard, was in a very stormy Night, *Octob. 28. 1690.* stranded upon the desolate and hideous Island of *Antecosta*, an Island in the mouth of the Mighty River of *Canada*; but through the singular Mercy of God unto them, the Vessel did not, immediately, stave to pieces, which if it had happened, they must have, one way or another, quickly perished. There they lay for divers Days, under abundance of bitter Weather, trying and hoping to get off their Vessel; and they solemnly set apart one Day for Prayer with *Fasting*, to obtain the Smiles of Heaven upon them in the midst of their Distresses; and this especially, That if they must go Athoar, they might nor, by any stress of Storm, lose the *Provisions* which they were to carry with them. They were at last convinced, that they must continue no longer on Board, and therefore, by the Seventh of *November*, they applied themselves, all Hands, to get their *Provisions* Athoar upon the dismal Island where they had nothing but a sad and cold Winter before them; which being accomplished, their Vessel *overset* so, as to take away from them all expectation of getting off the Island in it. Here they now built themselves Nine small Chimney-less things that they called *Houses*; to this purpose employing such *Boards* and *Planks* as they could get from their shattered Vessel, with the help of *Trees*, whereof that squalid Wilderness had enough to serve them: and they built a particular *Store-House*, wherein they carefully Lodg'd and Lock'd the poor quantity of *Provisions*, which though scarce enough to serve a very abstemious Company for *one Month*, must now be so stinted, as to hold out *Six* or *Seven*; and the Allowance agreed among them could be no better than for One Man, *Two Biskets, half a pound of Pork, half a pound of Flower, one Pint and a quarter of Pease, and two Salt Fishes per Week.* This little Handful of Men were now a sort of *Commonwealth*, extraordinarily and miserably separated from all the rest of Mankind; (but I believe, they thought little enough of an *Utopia*: Wherefore they consulted and concluded such *Laws* among themselves, as they judged necessary to their subsistence, in the doleful Condition whereinto the *Providence* of God had cast them; now

—*Penitus toto divisos Orbe.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sir,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sir,

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

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Liberties

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

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

The Effects of all this was, that Sir William Phips was now invested with a Commission under the King's Broad-Seal to be *Captain General, and Governour in Chief* over the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*: Nor do I know a Person in the World that could have been proposed more acceptable to the Body of the People throughout *New-England*, and on that score more likely and able to serve the King's Interests among the People there, under the Changes in some things unacceptable, now brought upon them. He had been a *Gideon*, who had more than once ventured his Life to save his Country from their Enemies; and they now, with universal Satisfaction said, *Thou shalt rule over us*. Accordingly, having with Mr. Mather kissed the King's Hand on *January 3d, 1691*. he hastned away to his Government; and arriving at *New-England* the *Fourteenth of May* following, attended with the *Non-such-Frigat*, both of them were welcomed with the loud Acclamations of the long *shaken* and *shatter'd* Country, whereto they were now returned with a Settlement so full of happy Priviledges.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And there was this one thing more that rendred his Government the more desirable; that whereas 'tis impossible for a meer Man to govern without some *Error*; whenever this Governour was advifed of any Error in any of his Administrations, he would immediately retract it, and revoke it with all possible Ingenuity; so that if any occasion of just Complaint arose, it was usually his endeavour that it should not long be complain'd of.

—O, *Falices nimium, sua si Bona, norant, Nov-Angli.*—

But having in a *Parenthesis* newly intimated, that his Excellency, when he entred on his Government, found one thing that was remarkably *Disastrous* begun upon it: Of that one thing we will now give some account.

Reader, prepare to be entertained with as prodigious Matters as can be put into any History! And let him that writes the next *Thaummatographia Pneumatica*, allow to these Prodiges the chief place among the Wonders.

§. 16. About the time of our Blessed Lord's coming to reside on Earth, we read of so many possessed with Devils, that it is commonly thought the Number of such miserable *Engumens* was then increased above what has been usual in other Ages; and the Reason of that Increase has been made a Matter of some Enquiry. Now though the Devils might herein design by *Preternatural Operations* to blast the *Miracles* of our Lord Jesus Christ, which point they gained among the Blasphemous *Pharisees*; and the Devils might herein also design a Villanous Imitation of what was coming to pass in the *Incarnation* of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein God came to dwell in *Flesh*; yet I am not without suspicion, that there may be something further in the Conjecture of the Learned *Bartholinus* hereupon, who says, *It was Quod judei prater modum, Artibus Magicis dediti Demonem Advocaverint*, the *Jews*, by the frequent use of *Magical Tricks*, called in the *Devils* among them.

It is very certain, there were hardly any People in the World grown more fond of *Sorceries*, than that unhappy People: The *Talmuds* tell us of the little *Parchments* with Words upon them, which were their common *Amulets*, and of the *Charms* which they mutter'd over *Wounds*, and of the various *Enchantments* which they used against all sorts of Disasters whatsoever. It is affirmed, in the *Talmuds*, that no less than Twenty-four Scholars in one School were killed by *Witchcraft*; and that no less than *Fourscore* Persons were Hanged for *Witchcraft* by one Judge in one Day. The

Gloss adds upon it, That the Women of Israel had generally fallen to the Practice of Witchcrafts; and therefore it was required, that there should be still chosen into the Council one skilful in the Arts of Sorcerers, and able thereby to discover who might be guilty of those Black Arts among such as were accused before them.

Now the Arrival of Sir William Phips to the Government of New-England, was at a time when a Governour would have had Occasion for all the Skill in Sorcery, that was ever necessary to a Jewish Councillor; a time when Scores of poor People had newly fallen under a prodigious Possession of Devils, which it was then generally thought had been by Witchcrafts introduced. It is to be confessed and bewailed, that many Inhabitants of New-England, and Young People especially, had been led away with little Sorceries, wherein they did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God; they would often cure Hurts with Spells, and practise detestable Conjurations with Sieves, and Keys, and Pease, and Nails, and Horse-shoes, and other Implements, to learn the things for which they had a forbidden and impious Curiosity. Wretched Books had stoln into the Land, wherein Fools were instructed how to become able Fortune-Tellers: Among which, I wonder that a blacker Brand is not set upon that Fortune-Telling Wheel, which that Sham-Scribler, that goes under the Letters of R. B. has promised in his *Delights for the Ingenious*, as an honest and pleasant Recreation: And by these Books, the Minds of many had been so poisoned, that they studied this *Finer Witchcraft*; until 'tis well, if some of them were not betray'd into what is Groffer, and more Sensible and Capital. Although these *Diabolical Divinations* are more ordinarily committed perhaps all over the whole World, than they are in the Country of New-England, yet, that being a Country Devoted unto the Worship and Service of the Lord JESUS CHRIST above the rest of the World, He signalized his Vengeance against these Wickednesses, with such extraordinary Dispensations as have not been often seen in other places.

The Devils which had been so play'd withal, and, it may be, by some few Criminals more Explicitly engaged and employed, now broke in upon the Country, after as astonishing a manner as was ever heard of. Some Scores of People, first about Salem, the Centre and First-Born of all the Towns in the Colony, and afterwards in several other places, were Arrested with many *Preternatural Vexations* upon their Bodies, and a variety of cruel Torments, which were evidently inflicted from the Demons, of the Invisible World. The People that were Infested and Infested with such Demons, in a few Days time arrived unto such a Refining Alteration upon their Eyes, that they could see their Tormentors; they saw a Devil of a Little Stature, and of a Tawny Colour, attended still

with Spectres that appeared in more Humane Circumstances.

These Tormentors tendred unto the afflicted a Book, requiring them to Sign it, or to Touch it at least, in token of their consenting to be Listed in the Service of the Devil; which they refusing to do, the Spectres under the Command of that Blackman, as they called him, would apply themselves to Torture them with prodigious Molestations.

The afflicted Wretches were horribly Distorted and Convulsed; they were Pinched Black and Blue; Pins would be run every where in their Flesh; they would be Scalded until they had Blisters raised on them; and a Thousand other things before Hundreds of Witnesses were done unto them, evidently *Preternatural*: For if it were *Preternatural* to keep a rigid Fast for Nine, yea, for Fifteen Days together; or if it were *Preternatural* to have one's Hands ty'd close together with a Rope to be plainly seen, and then by unseen Hands presently pull'd up a great way from the Earth before a Croud of People; such *Preternatural* things were endured by them.

But of all the *Preternatural* things which besel these People, there were none more unaccountable than those, wherein the prestigious Demons would ever now and then cover the most Corporeal things in the World with a Fascinating Mist of Invisibilty. As now; a Person was cruelly assaulted by a Spectre, that, she said, run at her with a Spindle, though no Body else in the room could see either the Spectre or the Spindle: At last, in her Agonies, giving a snatch at the Spectre, she pulled the Spindle away; and it was no sooner got into her Hand, but the other Folks then present beheld that it was indeed a Real, Proper, Iron Spindle; which when they locked up very safe, it was nevertheless by the Demons taken away to do farther Mischiefs.

Again, a person was haunted by a most abusive Spectre, which came to her, she said, with a Sheet about her; though seen to none but her self. After she had undergone a deal of Teaze from the Annoyance of the Spectre, she gave a violent Snatch at the Sheet that was upon it; wherefrom she tore a Corner, which in her Hand immediately was beheld by all that were present, a palpable Corner of a Sheet: And her Father, which was now holding of her, catch'd, that he might keep what his Daughter had so strangely seized; but the Spectre had like to have wrung his Hand off, by endeavouring to wrest it from him: However he still held it; and several times this odd Accident was renewed in the Family. There wanted not the Oaths of good credible People to these particulars.

Also, it is well known, that these wicked Spectres did proceed so far as to steal several Quantities of Money from divers People, part of which Individual Money was dropt sometimes out of the Air, before sufficient Spectators, into

into the Hands of the Afflicted, while the *Speitres* were urging them to subscribe their *Covenant with Death*. Moreover, *Poisons* to the Standers-by, wholly *Invisibly*, were sometimes forced upon the Afflicted; which when they have with much Reluctancy swallowed, they have *swoln* presently, so that the common Medicines for *Poisons* have been found necessary to relieve them: Yea, sometimes the *Speitres* in the *struggles* have so dropt the *Poisons*, that the Standers-by have smelt them, and view'd them, and beheld the *Pillows* of the miserable stained with them.

Yet more, the miserable have complained bitterly of *burning Rags* run into their forceably distended *Mouths*; and though no Body could see any such *Clothes*, or indeed any *Fires* in the Chambers, yet presently the *scalds* were seen plainly by every Body on the Mouths of the Complainers. and not only the *Smell*, but the *Smoke* of the Burning sensibly fill'd the Chambers.

Once more, the miserable exclaimed ex-treamly of *Branding Irons* heating at the Fire on the Hearth to mark them; now though the Sanders-by could see no *Irons*, yet they could see distinctly the Print of them in the *Athes*, and *smell* them too as they were carried by the *not-seen Furies*, unto the Poor Creatures for whom they were intended; and those Poor Creatures werethereupon so *Stigmatized* with them, that they will bear the *Marks* of them to their *Dying Day*. Nor are these the *Tenth Part* of the *Prodigies* that fell out among the Inhabitants of *New-England*.

Flakty People may *Burlesque* these Things, but when Hundreds of the most sober People in a Country, where they have as much *Mother-Wit* certainly as the rest of Mankind, know them to be *True*, nothing but the absurd and froward Spirit of *Salducism* can Question them I have not yet mentioned so much as one Thing that will not be justified, if it be required by the *Oaths* of more considerate Persons than any that can ridicule these odd *Phenomena*.

But the worst part of this astonishing *Tragedy* is yet behind; wherein Sir *William Phips*, at last being dropt, as it were from the *Machin of Heaven*, was an Instrument of easing the Distresses of the Land, now so darkned by the *Wrath of the Lord of Hosts*. There were very worthy Men upon the Spot where the *assault from Hell* was first made, who apprehended themselves call'd from the *God of Heaven*, to sift the business unto the bottom of it; and indeed, the continual *Impressions*, which the outcries and the havocks of the *afflicted People* that lived nigh unto them caused on their Minds, gave no little Edge to this Apprehension.

The Persons were Men eminent for *Wisdom* and *Virtue*; and they went about their enquiry into the matter, as *driven* unto it by a *Conscience of Duty* to God and the World. They did in the first Place take it for granted, that there are *Witches*, or wicked Children of Men, who upon *Covenanting* with, and *Commissioning* of *Evil Spirits*, are attended by their Ministry to

accomplish the things desired of them: To stitifie them in which Perswasion, they had not only the *Affertions* of the *Holy Scripture*; *Affertions*, which the *Witch-Advocates* cannot evade without Shifts, too foolith for any *Prudent*, or too profane for any *Honest Man* to use; and they had not only the well-attested *Relations* of the gravest Authors from *Bodin* to *Bovet*, and from *Binsfeld* to *Brombal* and *Baxter*; to deny all which, would be as reasonable as to turn the *Chronicles* of all Nations into *Romances* of *Don Quixot* and the *Seven Champions*; but they had also an *Ocular Demonstration* in one, who a little before had been executed for *Witchcraft*, when *J-seph Dudley*, Esq; was the Chief Judge. There was one whose *Magical Images* were found, and who *confessing her Deeds*, (when a Jury of Doctors returned her *Compos Mentis*) actually shewed the whole Court, by what *Ceremonies* used unto them, the directed her *Familiar Spirits* how and where to Cruciate the Objects of her Malice; and the Experiments being made over and over again before the whole Court, the *Effect* followed exactly in the Hurts done to People at a distance from her. The Existence of such *Witches* was now taken for granted by those good Men, wherein so far the generality of reasonable Men have thought *they run well*; and they soon received the *Confessions* of some *accused* Persons to confirm them in it; but then they took one thing more for granted, wherein 'tis now as generally thought *they went out of the Way*. The Afflicted People vehemently accused several Persons in several Places, that the *Speitres* which afflicted them, did exactly resemble *them*; until the Importunity of the Accusations did provoke the Magistrates to examine them. When many of the *accused* came upon their Examination, it was found, that the *Demons* then a thousand ways abusing of the poor *afflicted* People, had with a marvellous exactness *represented* them; yea, it was found, that many of the *accused*, but casting their Eye on the *afflicted*, the *afflicted*, though their Faces were never so much another way, would fall down and lye in a sort of a Swoon, wherein they would continue, whatever Hands were laid upon them, until the Hands of the *accused* came to touch them, and then they would revive immediately: And it was found, that various kinds of *natural Actions*, done by many of the *accused* in or to their own Bodies, as *Leaning*. *Bending*. *Turning Awry*; or *Squeezing* their Hands, or the like, were presently attended with the like things *preternaturally* done upon the Bodies of the *afflicted*, though they were so far asunder, that the *afflicted* could not at all observe the *accused*.

It was also found, that the *Flesh* of the Afflicted was often *Bitten* at such a rate, that not only the *Print of Teeth* would be left on their *Flesh*, but the very *Slaver* of *Spittle* too: And there would appear just such a *set of Teeth* as was in the *accused*, even such as might be clearly distinguished from other Peoples. And usually the *afflicted* went through a terrible

terrible deal of seeming Difficulties from the tormenting *Speñtres*, and must be long waited on, before they could get a Breathing Space from their *Torments* to give in their Testimonies.

Now many good Men took up an Opinion, That the *Providence* of God would not permit an *Innocent Person* to come under such a *Speñtral Representation*; and that a concurrence of so many Circumstances would prove an *accused Person* to be in a *Confederacy* with the *Demons* thus afflicting of the Neighbours; they judged, that except these things might amount unto a *Conviction*, it would scarce be possible ever to *Convict* a *Witch*; and they had some *Philosophical Schemes* of *Witchcraft*, and of the Method and Manner wherein *Magical Poisons* operate, which further supported them in their Opinion.

Sundry of the *accused Persons* were brought unto their *Trial*, while this Opinion was yet prevailing in the Minds of the *Judges* and the *Juries*, and perhaps the most of the People in the Country, then mostly Suffering; and though against some of them that were Tried there came in so much *other Evidence* of their Diabolical Compacts that some of the most *Judicious*, and yet *Veheement* Opposers of the Notions then in Vogue, publicly declared, *Had they themselves been on the Bench, they could not have Acquitted them*; nevertheless, divers were *Condemned*, against whom the *chief Evidence* was founded in the *Speñtral Exhibitions*.

And it happening, that some of the *Accused* coming to confess themselves *Guilty*, their *Shapes* were no more seen by any of the *afflicted*, though the Confession had been kept never so Secret, but instead thereof the *Accused* themselves became in all Vexations just like the *Afflicted*; this yet more confirmed many in the Opinion that had been taken up.

And another thing that quickned them yet more to Act upon it, was, that the *Afflicted* were frequently entertained with *Apparitions* of *Ghosts* at the same time that the *Speñtres* of the supposed *Witches* troubled them: Which *Ghosts* always cast the Beholders into far more Consternation than any of the *Speñtres*; and when they exhibited themselves, they cried out of being *Murdered* by the *Witchcrafts*, or other *Violences* of the Persons represented in the *Speñtres*. Once or Twice these *Apparitions* were seen by others at the very same time that they shew'd themselves to the *afflicted*; and seldom were they seen at all, but when something unusual and suspicious had attended the Death of the Party thus appearing.

The *afflicted* People many times had never heard any thing before of the Persons appearing in *Ghost*, or of the Persons *accused* by the *Apparitions*; and yet the *accused* upon Examination have confessed the Murders of those very Persons, though these *accused* also knew nothing of the *Apparitions* that had come in against them; and the *afflicted* Persons likewise,

without any private Agreement or Collusion, when successively brought into a Room, have all asserted the same *Apparitions* to be there before them: These *Murders* did seem to call for an Enquiry.

On the other Part, there were many Persons of great Judgment, Piety and Experience, who from the beginning were very much dissatisfied at these Proceedings; they feared lest the *Devil* would get so far into the *Faith* of the People, that for the sake of many *Truths*, which they might find him telling of them, they would come at length to believe all his *Lies*, whereupon what a Desolation of *Names*, yea, and of *Lives* also, would ensue, a Man might without much *Witchcraft* be able to prognosticate; and they feared, lest in such an extraordinary Descent of *Wicked Spirits* from their *High Places* upon us, there might such *Principles* be taken up, as, when put into *Practice*, would unavoidably cause the *Righteous* to perish with the *Wicked*, and procure the Blood-shed of Persons like the *Gibonites*, whom some learned Men suppose to be under a false Pretence of *Witchcraft*, by *Saul* exterminated.

However uncommon it might be for *guiltless Persons* to come under such unaccountable Circumstances, as were on so many of the *Accused*, they held *some things there are, which if suffered to be Common, would subvert Government, and Disband and Ruin Humane Society, yet God sometimes may suffer such Things to evene, that we may know thereby how much we are beholden to him for that restraint which he lays upon the Infernal Spirits, who would else reduce a World into a Chaos*. They had already known of one at the Town of *Groton* hideously agitated by *Devils*, who in her Fits cried out much against a very Godly Woman in the Town, and when that Woman approached unto her, though the Eyes of the Creature were never so shut, she yet manifested a violent Sense of her approach: But when the Gracious Woman thus Impeached, had prayed earnestly with and for this Creature, then instead of crying out against her any more, she owned, that she had in all been deluded by the *Devil*. They now saw, that the more the *Afflicted* were Harkned unto, the more the number of the *Accused* increased; until at last many scores were *cried out* upon, and among them, some, who by the *Unblameableness*, yea, and *Serviceableness* of their whole Conversation, had obtained the Just Reputation of *Good People* among all that were acquainted with them. The Character of the *afflicted* likewise added unto the common Distaste; for though some of *them* too were *Good People*, yet others of them, and such of them as were most Flippent at *Accusing*, had a far other Character.

In fine, the Country was in a dreadful Ferment, and wise Men foresaw a long Train of Dismal and Bloody Consequences. Hereupon they first advised, that the *afflicted* might be kept asunder in the closest Privacy; and one particular Person (whom I have cause to know)

in pursuance of this Advice, offered himself singly to provide Accommodations for any six of them, that so the Success of more than ordinary Prayer with Fasting, might, with Patience, be experienced, before any other Courses were taken.

And Sir William Phips arriving to his Government, after this ensnaring horrible Storm was begun, did consult the neighbouring Ministers of the Province, who made unto his Excellency and the Council a return, (drawn up at their desire by Mr. Mather the Younger, as I have been inform'd) wherein they declared.

We judge, that in the Prosecution of these and all such Witchcrafts, there is need of a very Critical and Exquisite Caution: Lest by too much Credulity for things received only upon the Devil's Authority, there be a Door opened for a long Train of miserable Consequences, and Satan get an Advantage over us; for we should not be Ignorant of his Devices.

As in complaints upon Witchcrafts, there may be Matters of Enquiry, which do not amount unto Matters of Presumption; and there may be Matters of Presumption, which yet may not be reckoned Matters of Conviction; so 'tis necessary that all Proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding Tenderness towards those that may be complained of; especially if they have been Persons formerly of an unblemished Reputation.

When the first Enquiry is made into the Circumstances of such as may lye under any just Suspicion of Witchcrafts, we could wish that there may be admitted as little as is possible of such Noise, Company, and Openness, as may too hastily expose them that are Examined; and that there may nothing be used as a Test for the Trial of the Suspected, the lawfulness whereof may be doubted among the People of God: But that the Directions given by such judicious Writers as Perkins and Bernard, be consulted in such a Case.

Presumptions, whereupon Persons may be committed, and much more Convictions, whereupon Persons may be condemned as guilty of Witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more considerable, than barely the accused Persons being represented by a Spectre to the afflicted: Inasmuch as it is an undoubted and a notorious Thing, that a Daemon may, by God's Permission, appear even to ill Purposes in the shape of an Innocent, yea, and a Virtuous Man: Nor can we esteem Alterations made in the Sufferers, by a look or touch of the accused, to be an infallible Evidence of Guilt; but frequently liable to be abused by the Devil's Legerdemains.

We know not whether some remarkable Affronts given to the Devils, by our disbelieving of those Testimonies whose whole Force and Strength is from them alone, may not put a Period unto the Progress of a direful Calamity begun upon us, in the accusation of so many Persons, whereof, we hope, some are yet clear from the great Transgression laid unto their Charge.

The Ministers of the Province also being Jealous lest this *Counsel* should not be duly followed, requested the President of *Harvard-Colledge* to Compose and Publish (which he did) some *Cases of Conscience* referring to these Difficulties: In which Treatise he did, with Demonstrations of incomparable Reason and Reading, evince it, that Satan may appear in the Shape of an Innocent and a Virtuous Person, to afflict those that suffer by the Diabolical Molestations: And that the Ordeal of the Sight, and the Touch, is not a Conviction of a Covenant with the Devil, but liable to great Exceptions against the Lawfulness, as well as the Evidence of it: And that either a Free and Fair Confession of the Criminals, or the Oath of two Credible Persons proving such Things against the person accused, as none but such as have a Familiarity with the Devil can know, or do, is necessary to the Proof of the Crime. Thus,

*Cum misit Natura Feras, & Monstra per Orbem,
Misit & Alciden qui Fera Monstra domet.*

The Dutch and French Ministers in the Province of *New York*, having likewise about the same time their Judgment asked by the Chief Judge of that Province, who was then a Gentleman of *New-England*, they gave it in under their Hands, that if we believe no Venefick Witchcraft, we must Renounce the Scripture of God, and the Consent of almost all the World; but that yet the Apparition of a Person afflicting another, is a very Insufficient Proof of a Witch; nor is it Inconsistent with the Holy and Righteous Government of God over Men, to permit the Affliction of the Neighbours, by Devils in the Shape of Good Men; and that a Good Name, obtained by a Good Life, should not be Lost by Meete Spectral Accusations.

Now upon a Deliberate Review of these things, his Excellency first Reprieved, and then Pardoned many of them that had been Condemned; and there fell out several strange things that caused the Spirit of the Country to run as vehemently upon the Acquitting of all the accused, as it by mistake ran at first upon the Condemning of them. Some that had been zealously of the Mind, that the Devils could not in the Shapes of good Men afflict other Men, were terribly Confuted, by having their own Shapes, and the Shapes of their most intimate and valued Friends, thus abused. And though more than twice Twenty had made such voluntary, and harmonious, and uncontrollable Confessions, that if they were all Sham; there was therein the greatest Violation made by the Efficacy of the Invisible World, upon the Rules of Understanding Humane Affairs, that was ever seen since God made Man upon the Earth, yet they did so recede from their Confessions, that it was very clear, some of them had been hitherto, in a sort of a Præternatural Dream, wherein they had said of themselves, they knew not what themselves:

In fine, The last Courts that sat upon this *Thorny Business*, finding that it was impossible to Penetrate into the whole Meaning of the things that had happened, and that so many *unsearchable Cheats* were interwoven into the Conclusion of a Mysterious Business, which perhaps had not crept thereinto at the *Beginning* of it, they *cleared the accused* as fast as they *Tried* them; and within a little while the *afflicted* were most of them delivered out of their *Troubles* also: And the Land had Peace restored unto it, by the *God of Peace, treading Satan under Foot*. *Erasmus*, among other Historians, does tell us, that at a Town in *Germany*, a *Demon* appearing on the Top of a Chimney, threatened that he would set the Town on *Fire*, and at length scattering some Ashes abroad, the whole Town was presently and horribly Burnt unto the Ground.

Sir *William Phips* now beheld such *Demons* hid oussly scattering *Fire* about the Country, in the Exasperations which the Minds of Men were on these things rising unto; and therefore when he had well Canvased a *Cause*, which perhaps might have puzzled the Wisdom of the wisest Men on Earth to have managed, without any *Error* in their Administrations, he thought, if it would be any *Error* at all, it would certainly be the *safest* for him to put a stop unto all future Prosecutions, as far as it lay in him to do it.

He did so, and for it he had not only the Printed Acknowledgments of the *New-Englanders*, who publickly thanked him, *As one of the Tribe of Zebulun, raised up from among themselves, and Spirited as well as Commissioned to be the Steers-man of a Vessel besogg'd in the Mare Mortuum of Witchcraft, who now so happily steered her Course, that she escaped Shipwrack, and was safely again Moored under the Cape of Good Hope; and cut asunder the Circæan Knot of Enchantment, more difficult to be Dissolved than the famous Gordian one of Old*.

But the *QUEEN* also did him the Honour to write unto him those Gracious Letters, wherein her Majesty commended his Conduct in these *Inexplicable* Matters. And I did right in calling these Matters *Inexplicable*. For if, after the Kingdom of *Sweden* (in the Year 1669, and 1670.) had some Hundreds of their Children by Night often carried away by *Spectres* to an *Hellish Rendezvous*, where the Monsters that so *Spirited* them, did every way *Tempt* them to Associate with them; and the Judges of the Kingdom, after *extraordinary Supplications* to Heaven, upon a strict Enquiry, were so satisfied with the *Confessions* of more than Twenty of the *accused*, agreeing exactly unto the *Depositions* of the *afflicted*, that they put several Scores of *Witches* to Death, whereupon the Confusions came unto a Period; yet after all, the chiefest Persons in the Kingdom would Question whether there were any *Witchcrafts* at all in the whole Affair; it must not be wondred at, if the People of *New-England* are

to this Hour full of *Doubts*, about the *Steps* which were taken, while a *War* from the *Invisible World* was Terrifying of them; and whether they did not kill some of their *own side* in the *Smoke and Noise* of this Dreadful *War*. And it will be yet less wondred at, if we consider, that we have seen the whole *English Nation* alarumed with a *Plot*, and both *Houses of Parliament*, upon good Grounds, Votting their Sense of it, and many Persons most justly *Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd*, for their share in it: When yet there are enough, who to this Day will pretend, that they cannot comprehend how much of it is to be accounted *Credible*. However, having related these wonderful Passages, whereof, if the *Veracity* of the Relator in any one Point be contested, there are whole *Clouds of Witnesses* to vindicate it, I will take my leave of the Matter with an wholesome Caution of *Lactantius*, which, it may be, some other Parts of the World besides *New-England* may have occasion to think upon; *Efficacium Demones, ut que non sunt, sic tamen, quasi sint, conspicienda Hominiibus exhibeant*.

But the *Devils* being thus vanquished, we shall next hear, that some of his most devoted and resembling *Children* are so too.

§. 17. As one of the first *Actions done* by Sir *William*, after he came to the Age of *Doing*, was to save the Lives of many poor People from the Rage of the *Diabolical Indians* in the *Eastern* Parts of the Country, so now he was come to the Government, his Mind was very vehemently set upon recovering of those Parts from the Miseries, which a New and a Long War of the *Indians* had brought upon them. His *Birth* and *Youth* in the *East*, had rendred him well known unto the *Indians* there; he had Hunted and Fished many a weary Day in his Childhood with them; and when those rude Savages had got the Story by the End, that he had found a *Ship full of Money*, and was now become all one-a-King! They were mightily astonished at it: But when they farther understood that he was become the Governour of *New-England*, it added a further Degree of Consternation to their Astonishment. He likewise was better acquainted with the Scituation of those Regions than most other Men; and he consider'd what vast Advantages might arise to no less than the whole *English Nation*, from the *Lumber*, and *Fishery*, and *Naval-stores*, which those Regions might soon supply the whole Nation withal, if once they were well settled with good Inhabitants.

Wherefore Governour *Phips* took the first Opportunity to raise an Army, with which he Travelled in Person, under the *East Country*, to find out and cut off the Barbarous Enemy, which had continued for near four Years together, making horrible Havock on the Plantations that lay all along the Northern *Frontiers* of *New-England*: And having pursued those worse than *Scythian Wolves*, till they could be no longer followed, he did with a very laudable *Skill*, and unusual *Speed*, and with less *Cost* unto the

the Crown, than perhaps ever such a thing was done in the World, erect a strong Fort at *Pemmaquid*.

This Fort he contrived so much in the very Heart of the Country now possessed by the Enemy, as very much to hinder the several Nations of the Tawnies from *Clanning* together for the Common Disturbance; and his Design was, that a sufficient Garrison being here posted, they might from thence, upon Advice, issue forth to surprize that Ferocious Enemy. At the same time he would fain have gone in Person up the Bay of *Funda*, with a convenient Force, to have spoiled the Nest of Rebellious *Frenchmen*, who being Rendezvouzed at *St. John's*, had a yearly Supply of Ammunition from *France*, with which they still supplied the *Indians*, unto the extream Detriment of the *English*; but his Friends for a long time would not permit him to expose himself unto the Inconveniencies of that Expedition.

However, he took such Methods, that the *Indian Kings of the East*, within a little while had their Stomachs brought down, to sue and beg for a *Peace*: And making their appearance at the New-Fort in *Pemmaquid*, Aug. 11. 1693. they did there Sign an Instrument, wherein, lamenting the Miseries which their Adherence to the *French Counsels* had brought them into, they did for themselves, and with the Consent of all the *Indians* from the River of *Merri-mack*, to the most Easterly Bounds of all the Province, acknowledge their Hearty Subjection and Obedience unto the Crown of *England*, and Solemnly Covenant, Promise and Agree, to and with *Sir William Phips*, Captain General and Governour in Chief over the Province, and his Successors in that place, That they would for ever cease all Acts of Hostility towards the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, and hold a constant Friendship with all the *English*. That they would utterly abandon the *French Interests*, and not Succour or Conceal any Enemy *Indians*, from *Canada* or elsewhere, that should come to any of their Plantations within the *English Territories*: That all *English Captives*, which they had among them, should be returned with all possible speed, and no Ransom or Payment be given for any of them: That Their Majesties Subjects the *English*, now should quietly enter upon, and for ever improve and enjoy all and singular their Rights of Lands, and former Possessions, within the Eastern Parts of the Province, without any Claims from any *Indians* or being ever disturbed therein: That all Trade and Commerce, which hereafter might be allowed between the *English* and the *Indians*, should be under a Regulation stated by an Act of the *General Assembly*, or as limited by the Governour of the Province, with the Consent and Advice of his Council. And that if any Controversie hereafter happen between any of the *English* and the *Indians*, no private Revenge was to be taken by the *Indians*, but proper Applications to be made unto His Majesties Government, for the due remedy thereof: Sub-

mitting themselves herewithal to be Governed by His Majesties Laws.

And for the Manifestation of their Sincerity in the Submission thus made, the Hypocritical Wretches delivered Hostages for their Fidelity; and then set their Marks and Seals, no less than Thirteen Sagamores of them, (with Names of more than a *Persian* length) unto this Instrument.

The first Rise of this *Indian War* had hitherto been almost as dark as that of the *River Nilus*: 'Tis true, if any *Wild English* did rashly begin to provoke and affront the *Indians*, yet the *Indians* had a fairer way to obtain Justice than by Bloodshed: However, upon the *New-English Revolution*, the State of the War became wholly *New*: The Government then employed all possible ways to procure a good Understanding with the *Indians*; but all the *English* Offers, Kindnesses, Courtesies were barbarously requited by them, with New Acts of the most perfidious Hostility. Notwithstanding all this, there were still some *Nice People* that had their Scruples about the Justice of the War; but upon this New Submission of the *Indians*, if ever those *Rattle-snakes* (the only *Rattle-snakes*, which, they say, were ever seen to the Northward of *Merimack-River*) should stir again, the most scrupulous Persons in the World must own, That it must be the most unexceptionable piece of Justice in the World for to extinguish them.

Thus did the God of Heaven bless the unwearied Applications of *Sir William Phips*, for the restoring of *Peace* unto *New-England*. when the Country was quite out of Breath, in its Endeavours for its own Preservation from the continual Outrages of an inaccessible Enemy, and by the Poverty coming in so like an armed Man, from the unsuccessfulness of their former Armies, that it could not imagine how to take one step further in its Wars. The most happy Respite of *Peace* beyond *Merimack-River* being thus procured, the Governour immediately set himself to use all possible Methods, that it might be *Peace, like a River*, nothing short of *Everlasting*.

He therefore prevailed with Two or Three Gentlemen to join with him, in sending a Supply of *Necessaries for Life* unto the *Indians*; until the General Assembly could come together to settle the *Indian-Trade* for the Advantage of the Publick, that the *Indians* might not by Necessity be driven again to become a *French Propriety*; altho' by this Action, as the Gentlemen themselves were great Losers in their Estates, thus he himself declared unto the Members of the General Assembly, that he would upon Oath give an Account unto them of all his own Gains, and count himself a Gainer, if in lieu of all they would give him one *Beaver-Hat*. The same Generosity also caused him to take many a tedious Voyage, accompanied sometimes with his *Fidus Achates*, and very dear Friend, Kinsman and Neighbour, Colonel *John Philips*, between *Boston* and *Pemmaquid*; and this in the bitter Weeks of the *New-English*, which is almost a *Russian Winter*:
He

He was a sort of *Confessor* under such Torments of *Cold*, as once made the *Martyrdom* of *Muria*, and others, Commemorated in Orations of the Ancients; and the *Snow* and *Ice* which *Pliny* calls, *The Punishment of Mountains*, he cheerfully endured, without any other Profit unto himself, but only the *Pleasure* of thereby establishing and continuing unto the People the Liberty to *Sleep* quietly in their *warm Nests* at home, while he was thus concerned for them abroad. *Non mihi sed Populo*, the Motto of the Emperor *Hadrian*, was Engraved on the Heart of *Sir William*: NOT FOR MY SELF, BUT FOR MY PEOPLE: Or that of *Maximin*, *Quo major, hoc Laboriosior*, the more Honourable, the more Laborious.

Indeed the *Restlessness* of his Travels to the *Southern* as well as the *Eastern* parts of the Country, when the publick Safety call'd for his Presence, would have made one to think on the Translation which the King of *Portugal*, on a very Extraordinary Occasion, gave the Fourth Verse in the Hundred and Twenty-first *Psalms*. *He will not Slumber, nor will he suffer to Sleep the Keeper of Israel*. Nor did he only try to *Cicurate* the *Indians* of the *East*, by other Prudent and Proper Treatments; but he also furnished himself with an *Indian* Preacher of the Gospel, whom he carried unto the *Eastward*, with an Intention to Teach them the Principles of the *Protestant Religion*, and Unteach them the mixt *Paganry* and *Popery* which hitherto *Diaboliz'd* them. To Unteach them, I say; for they had been Taught by the *French* Priests *this* among other things, that the Mother of our Blessed Saviour was a *French Lady*, and that they were *Englishmen* by whom our Saviour was Murdered; and that it was therefore a *Meritorious* thing to destroy the *English* Nation. The Name of the Preacher whom the Governour carried with him, was *Nabauton*, one of the Natives; and because the passing of such Expressions from the Mouth of a poor *Indian*, may upon some Accounts be worthy of *Remembrance*; let it be *Remembred*, that when the Governour propounded unto him such a *Mission* to the *Eastern Indians*, he replied, *I know that I shall probably Endanger my Life, by going to Preach the Gospel among the Frenchified Indians; but I know that it will be a Service unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore I will venture to go.*

God grant that his *Behaviour* may be in all things, at all times, according to these his *Expressions*! While these things were doing, having Intelligence of a *French* Man of War expected at *St. John's*, he dispatched away the *Non-such-Frigat* thither to intercept him: nevertheless by the gross *Negligence*, and perhaps *Cowardice* of the Captain, who had lately come from *England* with Orders to take the Command of her, instead of one who had been by *Sir William* a while before put in, and one who had signalized himself by doing of notable Service for the King and Country in it, the *Frenchman* arrived unladed, and went away

untouch'd: The Governour was extremely offended at this notorious *Deficiency*; it cast him into a great Impatience to see the *Nation* so wretchedly served; and he would himself have gone to *Saint John's* with a Resolution to *Spoil* that Harbour of *Spoilers*, if he had not been taken off, by being sent for home to *Whitehall*, in the very midst of his Undertakings.

But the Treacherous *Indians* being poisoned with the *French* Enchantments, and furnished with brave *New Coats*, and *New Arms*, and all new Incentives to *War*, by the *Man of War* newly come in; they presently and perfidiously fell upon two *English* Towns, and Butchered and Captived many of the Inhabitants, and made a *New War*, which the *New-Englanders* know not whether it will end until either *Canada* become an *English Province*, or that State arrive, wherein they shall beat *Swords* into *Plough-shares*, and *Spears* into *Pruning-hooks*. And no doubt, the taking off *Sir William Phips* was no small Encouragement unto the *Indians* in this Relapse, into the Villanies and Massacres of a *New Invasion* upon the Country.

§. 18. Reader, 'tis time for us to view a little more to the *Life*, the *Picture* of the Person, the *Actions* of whose *Life* we have hitherto been looking upon. Know then, that for his *Exterior*, he was one *Tall*, beyond the common Set of Men, and *Thick* as well as *Tall*, and *Strong* as well as *Thick*: He was, in all respects, exceedingly *Robust*, and able to Conquer such Difficulties of *Diet* and of *Travel*, as would have kill'd most Men alive: Nor did the *Fat*, whereinto he grew very much in his later Years, take away the Vigour of his Motions.

He was Well-set, and he was therewithal of a very *Comely*, though a very *Manly* Countenance: A Countenance where any true skill in *Physiognomy* would have read the Characters of a *Generous Mind*. Wherefore passing to his *Interior*, the very first thing which there offered it self unto Observation, was a most incomparable *Generosity*.

And of this, besides the innumerable Instances which he gave in his usual Hatred of *Dirty* or *Little Tricks*, there was one Instance for which I must freely say, *I never saw Three Men in this World that Equall'd him*; this was his wonderfully *Forgiving Spirit*. In the vast Variety of *Business*, through which he Raced in his time, he met with many and mighty *Injuries*; but although I have heard all that the most venomous *Malice* could ever *Hiss* at his Memory, I never did hear unto this Hour, that he did ever once deliberately *Revenge an Injury*.

Upon certain *Affronts* he has made sudden *Returns* that have shewed *Choler* enough, and he has by *Blow*, as well as by *Word*, chastised *Incivilities*: He was, indeed, sufficiently impatient of being *put upon*; and when *Base Men*, surprizing him at some *Disadvantages* (for else few Men durst have done it) have some-

rimes drawn upon him, he has, without the *Wicked Madness* of a *Formal Duel*, made them feel that he knew how to *Correct Fools*. Nevertheless, he ever declined a *Deliberate Revenge* of a *Wrong* done unto him; though few Men upon *Earth* have, in their *Vicissitudes*, been furnished with such frequent *Opportunities of Revenge*, as *Heaven* brought into the Hands of this *Gentleman*.

Under great Provocations, he would commonly say, *'Tis no Matter, let them alone; some time or other they'll see their Weakness and Rashness, and have occasion for me to do them a Kindness: And they shall then see I have quite forgotten all their Baseness.* Accordingly 'twas remarkable to see it, that few Men ever did him a *Mischief*, but those Men afterwards had occasion for him to do them a *Kindness*; and he did the *Kindness* with as forgetful a *Bravery*, as if the *Mischief* had never been done at all. The Emperor *Theodosius* himself could not be readier to *Forgive*; so worthily did he verify that Observation.

*Quo quisque est Major, magis est Placabilis Ira,
Et Faciles Motus, Mens Generosa capit.*

In those Places of *Power* whereto the Providence of *God* by several *Degrees* raised him, it still fell out so, that before his *Rise* thereunto he underwent such things as he counted very hard *Abuses*, from those very Persons over whom the *Divine Providence* afterwards gave him the *Ascendant*.

By such *Trials*, the *Wisdom* of *Heaven* still prepared him, as *David* before him, for *successive Advancements*; and as he behaved himself with a marvellous *Long-suffering*, when he was *Tried*, by such *Mortifications*, thus when he came to be *advanced*, he convinced all *Mankind*, that he had perfectly *Buried* all the old *Offences* in an *Eternal Amnesty*. I was my *Self* an *Ear-witness*, that one, who was an *Eye-witness* of his Behaviour under such *Probations* of his *Patience*, did, long before his *Arrival* to that *Honour*, say unto him, *Sir, Forgive those that give you these Vexations, and know that the God of Heaven intends, before he has done with you, to make you the Governour of New-England!* And when he did indeed become the *Governour* of *New-England*, he shew'd that he still continued a *Governour of himself*, in his *Treating* all that had formerly been in ill *Terms* with him, with as much *Favour* and *Freedom*, as if there had never happened the least *Exasperations*: Though any *Governour* that *Kens Hobbianism*, can easily contrive *Ways* enough to *wreak* a *Spite*, where he owes it.

It was with some *Christian Remark*, that he read the *Pagan-story* of the *Renowned Fabius Maximus*, who being preferred unto the highest Office in the *Commonwealth*, did, through a *Zeal* for his *Country*, overcome the greatest *Contempts* that any *Person of Quality* could have received. *Minutius* the *Master* of the

Horse, and the next *Person in Dignity* to himself, did first privately *Traduce* him, as one that was *no Soldier*, and less *Politician*; and he afterwards did both by *Speeches* and *Letters* prejudice not only the *Army*, but also the *Senate* against him, so that *Minutius* was now by an *unprecedented Commission* brought into an *Equality* with *Fabius*.

All this while the great *Fabius* did not throw up his *Cares* for the *Commonwealth*, but with a wondrous *Equality of Mind* endured equally the *Malice* of the *Judges*, and the *Fury* of the *Commons*; and when *Minutius* a while after was with all his *Forces* upon the *Point* of perishing by the *Victorious Arms* of *Hannibal*, this very *Fabius*, not listening to the *Dictates of Revenge*, came in and helped him, and saved him; and so by a rare *Virtue*, he made his worst *Adversaries* the *Captives* of his *Generosity*.

One of the *Antients* upon such an *History*, cried out, *If Heathens can do thus much for the Glory of their Name, what shall not Christians do for the Glory of Heaven!* And *Sir William Phips* did so much more than thus much, that besides his meriting the *Glory* of such a *Name*, as *PHILIPPIUS MAXIMUS*, he therein had upon him the *Symptoms* of a *Title* to the *Glory of Heaven*, in the *Seal* of his own *Pardon* from *God*. Nor was this *Generosity* in His *EXCELLENCY* the *Governour of New-England*, unaccompanied with many other *Excellencies*; whereof the *Piety* of his *Carriage* towards *God* is worthy to be first *Mentioned*.

It is true, He was very *Zealous* for all Men to enjoy such a *Liberty of Conscience*, as he judged a *Native Right* of *Mankind*: And he was extremely *Troubled* at the *over-boiling Zeal* of some good Men, who formerly took that wrong *Way* of reclaiming *Hereticks* by *Persecution*. For this *Generosity*, it may be, some would have compared him unto *Gallio*, the *Governour of Achaia*, whom our *Preachers*, perhaps with *Mistake* enough, think to be condemned in the *Scripture*, for his not appearing to be a *Judge*, in *Matters* which indeed fell not under his *Cognizance*.

And I shall be content that he be compared unto that *Gentleman*; for that *Gallio* was the *Brother of Seneca*, who gives this *Character* of him, *That there was no Man who did not love him too little, if he could Love him any more; and, That there was no Mortal so Dear to any, as he was to all; and, That he hated all Vices, but none more than Flattery.*

But while the *Generosity* of *Sir William* caused him to desire a *Liberty of Conscience*, his *Piety* would not allow a *Liberty of Prophaneness*, either to himself or others. He did not affect any mighty *show* of *Devotion*; and when he saw any that were *evidently careful* to make a *show*, and especially, if at the same *Time* they were notoriously *Defective* in the *Duties of Common Justice* or *Goodness*, or the *Duties of the Relations* wherein *God* had *stationed* them, he had an *extream Aversion* for them.

Nevertheless he did show a Consciencious Desire to observe the Laws of the Lord Jesus Christ in his *Conversation*; and he Conscienciously attended upon the Exercises of *Devotion* in the Seasons thereof, on *Lectures*, as well as on *Lord's Days*, and in the *Daily Sacrifice*, the Morning and Evening Service of his own Family; yea, and at the *Private Meetings* of the Devout People kept every *Fortnight* in the Neighbourhood.

Besides all this, when he had *great Works* before him, he would invite good Men to come and *Fast* and *Pray* with him at his House for the Success thereof; and when he had succeeded in what he had undertaken, he would prevail with them to come and keep a Day of Solemn *Thanksgiving* with him. His *Love* to Almighty God, was indeed manifested by nothing more than his *Love* to those that had the *Image* of God upon them; he heartily, and with real *Honour* for them, *Loved* all *Godly Men*; and in so doing, he did not confine *Godliness* to this or that Party, but where-ever he saw the *Fear of God*, in one of a *Congregational*, or *Presbyterian*, or *Antipædobaptist*, or *Episcopalian* Perswasion, he did, without any Difference, express towards them a Reverent Affection.

But he made no Men more welcome than those *good Men*, whose *Office* 'tis to promote and preserve *Goodness* in all other Men; even the *Ministers* of the Gospel: Especially when they were such as faithfully discharged their *Office*: And from these at any time, the least Admonition or Intimation of any good thing to be done by him, he entertained with a most obliging Alacrity. His *Religion* in truth, was one Principle that added *Virtue* unto that vast *Courage*, which was always in him to a Degree *Heroical*. Those terrible Nations which made their Descents from the *Northern* on the *Southern* Parts of *Europe*, in those Elder Ages, when so to *swarm out* was more frequent with them, were inspired with a *Valiant Contempt of Life*, by the Opinion wherein their Famous *Odin* instructed them. *That their Death was but an Entrance into another Life, wherein they who died in Warlike Actions, were bravely Feasted with the God of War for ever*: 'Tis in expreffible how much the *Courage* of those fierce Mortals was fortified by that Opinion.

But when Sir *William Phips* was asked by some that observed his *Valiant Contempt of Death*, what it was that made him so little afraid of *Dying*, he gave a better grounded Account of it than those *Pagans* could; his Answer was, *I do humbly believe, that the Lord Jesus Christ shed his Precious Blood for me, by his Death procuring my Peace with God: And what should I now be afraid of dying for?*

But this leads me to mention the *Humble* and *Modest* Carriage in him towards other Men, which accompanied this his *Piety*. There were certain *Pomps* belonging unto the several *Places of Honour*, through which he passed; *Pomps* that are very taking to Men of *little Souls*:

But although he rose from so *little*, yet he discovered a *Marvellous Contempt* of those *Airy things*, and as far as he handsomely could, he declined, being *Ceremoniously*, or any otherwise than with a *Dutch Modesty* waited upon. And it might more truly be said of him, than it was of *Aristides*, *He was never seen the Prouder for any Honour that was done him from his Countrymen*.

Hence, albeit I have read that *Complaint*, made by a *Worthy Man*, *I have often observed, and this not without some blushing, that even good People have had a kind of Shame upon them, to acknowledge their low beginning, and used all Arts to hide it*. I could never observe the least of that Fault in this *Worthy Man*; but he would speak of his own *low beginning* with as much *Freedom* and *Frequency*, as if he had been afraid of having it forgotten.

It was counted an *Humility* in King *Agathocles*, the Son of a *Potter*, to be served therefore in *Earthen Vessels*, as *Plutarch* hath informed us: It was counted an *Humility* in Archbishop *Willigis*, the Son of a *Wheeleright*, therefore to have *Wheels* hung about his Bed-Chamber, with this Inscription, *Recole unde Veneris*, i. e. *Remember thy Original*. But such was the *Humility* and *Lowliness* of this *Rising Man*! Not only did he after his return to his Country in his Greatness, one Day, make a splendid Feast for the *Ship-Carpenters* of *Boston*, among whom he was willing at his Table to Commemorate the *Mercy* of God unto him, who had once been a *Ship-Carpenter* himself, but he would on all Occasions *Permit*, yea, *Study* to have his *Meannesses* remembered.

Hence upon frequent Occasions of Uneasiness in his Government, he would chuse thus to express himself, *Gentlemen, were it not that I am to do Service for the Publick, I should be much easier in returning unto my broad Ax again!* And hence, according to the *Affable* Courtesie which he ordinarily used unto all sorts of Persons, (quite contrary to the *Asperity* which the old Proverb expects in the *Raised*) he would particularly, when Sailing in sight of *Kennebeck*, with Armies under his Command, call the *Young Soldiers* and *Sailors* upon Deck, and speak to them after this Fashion; *Young Men, It was upon that Hill that I kept Sheep a few Years ago; and since you see that Almighty God has brought me to something, do you learn to Fear God, and be Honest, and mind your Business, and follow no bad Courses, and you don't know what you may come to!* A Temper not altogether unlike what the advanced *Shepherd* had, when he wrote the *Twenty-third Psalm*; or when he Imprinted on the *Coin* of his Kingdom the Remembrance of his *Old Condition*: For *Christianus Gerson*, a *Christianized Jew*, has informed us, That on the one side of *David's Coin* were to be seen his old *Pouch* and *Crook*, the instruments of *Shepherdry*; on the other side were enstamped the *Towers of Zion*.

In fine, our Sir *William* was a Person of so sweet a Temper, that they who were most intimately acquainted with him, would commonly pronounce him, *The best Conditioned Gentleman in the World!* And by the continual Discoveries and Expressions of such a Temper, he so gained the Hearts of them who waited upon him in any of his Expeditions, that they would commonly profess themselves willing still, *to have gone with him to the end of the World.*

But if all other People found him so kind a Neighbour, we may easily infer what an Husband he was unto his Lady. Leaving unmentioned that *Virtue* of his *Chastity*, which the Prodigious Depravation brought by the Late Reigns upon the Manners of the Nation, has made worthy to be mentioned as a *Virtue* somewhat *Extraordinary*; I shall rather pass on to say, That the *Love*, even to *Fondness*, with which he always treated her, was a Matter not only of *Observation*, but even of such *Admiration*, that every one said, *The Age afforded not a kinder Husband!*

But we must now return to our Story.

§. 19. When Persons do by Studies full of *Curiosity*, seek to inform themselves of things about which the God of Heaven hath forbidden our *Curious Enquiries*, there is a marvellous *Impression*, which the *Demons* do often make on the Minds of those their *Votaries*, about the *Future* or *Secret* Matters unlawfully enquired after, and at last there is also an horrible *Possession*, which those *Fatidic Demons* do take of them. The *Snares* of Hell, hereby laid for miserable Mortals, have been such, that when I read the Laws, which *Angellius* affirms to have been made, even in *Pagan Rome*, against the *Vaticinatores*; I wonder that no *English* Nobleman or Gentleman signalizes his regard unto *Christianity*, by doing what even a *Roman Tully* would have done, in promoting *An Act of Parliament* against that *Paganish* Practice of *Judicial Astrology*, whereof, if such Men as *Austin* were now living, they would assert, *The Devil first found it, and they that profess it are Enemies of Truth and of God.*

In the mean time, I cannot but relate a wonderful Experience of Sir *William Phips*, by the Relation whereof something of an *Antidote* may be given against a *Poison*, which the Diabolical *Figure-Flingers* and *Fortune-Tellers* that swarm all the World over may insinuate into the Minds of Men. Long before Mr. *Phips* came to be Sir *William*, while he sojourned in in *London*, there came into his Lodging an Old *Astrologer*, living in the Neighbourhood, who making some *Observation* of him, though he had small or no *Conversation* with him, did (howbeit by him wholly undesired) one Day send him a Paper, wherein he had, with Preterences of a Rule in *Astrology* for each Article, distinctly noted the most material Passages that were to befall this our *Phips* in the remaining part of his Life; it was particularly Asserted and Inserted, That he should be engaged in a

Design, wherein by Reason of Enemies at *Court*, he should meet with much delay; that nevertheless in the *Thirty-Seventh* Year of his Life, he should find a *mightry Treasure*; that in the *Forty-First* Year of his Life, his *King* should employ him in as great a *Trust beyond Sea*, as a Subject could easily have: That soon after this he should undergo an hard *Storm* from the Endeavours of his Adversaries to reproach him and ruin him; that his Adversaries, though they should go very near gaining the Point, should yet miss of doing so; that he should hit upon a vastly *Richer Matter* than any that he had hitherto met withal; that he should continue *Thirteen Years* in his *Publick Station*, full of Action, and full of Hurry; and the rest of his Days he should spend in the Satisfaction of a *Peaceable Retirement*.

Mr. *Phips* received this undesired Paper with Trouble and with Contempt, and threw it by among certain loose Papers in the bottom of a Trunk, where his Lady some Years after accidentally lit upon it. His Lady with Admiration saw, step after step, very much of it accomplished; but when she heard from *England*, that Sir *William* was coming over with a Commission to be Governour of *New-England*, in that very Year of his Life, which the Paper specified; she was afraid of letting it lye any longer in the House, but cast it into the *Fire*.

Now the thing which I must invite my Reader to remark, is this, That albeit Almighty God may permit the *Devils* to *Predict*, and perhaps to *Perform* very many particular things to Men, that shall by such a *Presumptuous and Unwarrantable Fuggle* as *Astrology* (so Dr. *Hall* well calls it!) or any other *Divination*, consult them, yet the *Devil* which foretel many *True* things, do commonly foretel some that are *False*, and it may be, propose by the things that are *True* to betray Men into some fatal Misbelief and Miscarriage about those that are *False*.

Very singular therefore was the Wisdom of Sir *William Phips*, that as he ever Treated these *Prophecies* about him with a most *Pious Neglect*, so when he had seen all but the *Two last* of them very punctually fulfilled, yea, and seen the beginning of a Fulfilment unto the *last but one* also, yet when I pleasantly mentioned them unto him, on purpose to Try whether there were any occasion for me humbly to give him the serious *Advice*, necessary in such a Case to Anticipate the *Devises of Satan*, he prevented my *Advice*, by saying to me, *Sir, I do believe there might be a cursed Snare of Satan in those Prophecies: I believe Satan might have leave to foretel many things, all of which might come to pass in the beginning, to lay me asleep about such things as are to follow, especially about the main Chance of all; I do not know but I am to die this Year: For my part, by the help of the Grace of God, I shall endeavour to live as if I were this Year to die.* And let the Reader now attend the Event!

§. 20. 'Tis a Similitude which I have Learned from no less a Person than the great *Basil*: That as the Eye sees not those Objects which are applied close unto it, and even lye upon it; but when the Objects are to some distance removed, it clearly discerns them: So, we have little sense of the Good which we have in our Enjoyments, until God, by the removal thereof, teach us better to prize what we once enjoyed. It is true, the Generality of sober and thinking People among the *New-Englanders*. did as highly value the Government of Sir *William Phips*, whilst he lived, as they do his *Memory*, since his Death; nevertheless it must be confessed, that the Blessing which the Country had in his indefatigable Zeal, to serve the Publick in all it's Interests, was not so valued as it should have been.

It was mention'd long since as a notorious Fault in *Old Egypt*, that it was *Loquax & Ingeniosa in Contumeliam Præfectorum Provincia*: *si quis forte vitaverit Culpam, Contumeliam non effugit*: And *New-England* has been at the best always too faulty, in that very Character, *A Province very Talkative, and Ingenious for the vilifying of its Publick Servants*.

But Sir *William Phips*, who might in a *Calm* of the Commonwealth have administr'd all things with as General an Acceptance as any that have gone before him, had the Disadvantage of being set at *Helm* in a time as full of *Storm* as ever that *Province* had seen; and the People having their Spirits put into a *Tumult* by the discomposing and distemp'ring Variety of Distasters, which had long been rendring the time Calamitous, it was natural for them, as 'tis for all Men then, to be complaining; and you may be sure, the Rulers must in such Cases be always complain'd of, and the chief Complaints must be heaped upon those that are *Commanders in Chief*. Nor has a certain Proverb in *Asia* been improper in *America*, *He deserves no Man's good Word, of whom every Man shall speak well*.

Sir *William* was very hardly *Huddled* (or *Tongued* at least) in the Liberty which People took to make most unbecoming and injurious Reflections upon his Conduct, and Clamour against him, even for those very Actions which were not only *Necessary* to be done, but highly *Beneficial* unto themselves; and though he would ordinarily smile at their *Frowardness*, calling it *his Country Pay*, yet he sometimes resent'd it with some uncalinefs; he seem'd unto himself sometimes almost as bad as *Rolled* about in *Regulus's* Barrel; and had occasion to think on the *Italian* Proverb, *To wait for one who does not come, to lye a Bed not able to sleep; and to find it impossible to please those whom we serve; are three Grievs enough to kill a Man*.

But as *Froward* as the People were, under the *Epidemical Vexations* of the Age; yet there were very few that would acknowledge unto the very Last, *It will be hardly possible for us to see another Governour that shall more intirely*

Love and Serve the Country: Yea, had the Country had the Choice of their own *Governour*, 'tis judg'd their *Votes*, more than Forty to One, would have still fallen upon him to have been the Man: And the *General Assembly* therefore on all occasions renewed their Petitions unto the King for his Continuance.

Nevertheless, there was a little Party of Men, who thought they must not *sleep till they had caus'd him to fall*: And they so vigorously prosecuted certain Articles before the Council-board at *Whitehall* against him, that they imagin'd they had gain'd an *Order* of His Majesty in Council, to suspend him immediately from his Government, and appoint a *Committee* of Persons nominated by his Enemies, to hear all *Depositions* against him; and to a Report of the whole to be made unto the King and Council.

But His Majesty was too well inform'd of Sir *William's* Integrity to permit such a sort of Procedure; and therefore he signified unto His most Honourable Council, that nothing should be done against Sir *William*, until he had Opportunity to clear himself; and thereupon he sent His Royal Commands unto Sir *William* to come over. To give any retorting Accounts of the Principal Persons who thus adversaried him, would be a Thing so contrary to the Spirit of Sir *William Phips* himself, who at his leaving of *New-England* bravely declared that he *freely forgave them all*; and if he had return'd thither again, would never have taken the least revenge upon them, that *This* alone would oblige me, if I had no other Obligations of Christianity upon me, to forbear it; and it may be, for some of them, it would be *to throw Water upon a drowned Mouse*.

Nor need I to produce any more about the *Articles* which these Men exhibited against him, than *This*; that it was by most Men believed, that if he would have conniv'd at some *Arbitrary Oppressions* too much used by some kind of Officers on the King's Subjects, *Few* perhaps, of *None* of those Articles had ever been formed; and that he apprehended himself to be provided with a full *Defence* against them all.

Nor did His Excellency seem loth to have had his Case Tried under the *Brazen Tree* of *Gariac*, if there had been such an one, as that mentioned by the *Fabulous Murtadi*, in his *Prodigies of Egypt*, a Tree which had Iron Branches with sharp *Hooks* at the end of them, that when any false Accuser approached, as the Fabel says, immediately flew at him, and stuck in him, until he had ceased Injuring his Adversary.

Wherefore in Obedience unto the King's Commands, he took his leave of *Boston* on the seventeenth of *November*, 1694. attended with all proper Testimonies of Respect and Honour from the *Body* of the People, which he had been the *Head* unto; and with *Addresses* unto their Majesties, and the Chief Ministers of State from the *General Assembly*, humbly imploring,

ploring, that they might not be deprived of the Happiness which they had in such an *Head*.

Arriving at *Whitehall*, he found in a few Days, that notwithstanding all the Impotent Rage of his Adversaries particularly vented and printed in a *Villanous Libel*, as well as almost in as many other ways as there are Mouths, at which *Fyal* sometimes has vomited out its Infernal Fires, he had all *Humane Assurance* of his returning in a very few Weeks again the Governour of *New-England*.

Wherefore there were especially *two Designs*, full of Service to the whole *English Nation*, as well as his own particular Country of *New-England*, which he applied his *Thoughts* unto. *First*, He had a new *Scene of Action* opened unto him, in an opportunity to supply the Crown with all *Naval Stores* at most *easy Rates*, from those *Eastern Parts* of the *Massachusetts Province*, which through the Conquest that he had made thereof, came to be Inferred in the *Massachusetts Charter*. As no Man was more *capable* than he to improve this Opportunity unto a vast Advantage, so his *Inclination* to it was according to his *Capacity*.

And he longed with some Impatience to see the King furnished from his *own Dominions*, with such floating and stately Castles, those *Wooden-Walls* of Great Britain, for much of which he has hitherto Traded with *Foreign Kingdoms*. *Next*, if I may say *next* unto this, he had an Eye upon *Canada*; all attempts for the reducing whereof had hitherto proved Abortive.

It was but a few Months ago that a considerable Fleet, under Sir *Francis Wheeler*, which had been sent into the *West-Indies* to subdue *Martenico*, was ordered then to call at *New-England*, that being recruited there, they might make a further Descent upon *Canada*; but Heaven frowned upon that Expedition, especially by a terrible Sickness, the most like the *Plague* of any thing that has been ever seen in *America*, whereof there Died, e'er they could reach to *Boston*, as I was told by Sir *Francis* himself, no less than *Thirteen Hundred* Sailers out of *Twenty One*, and no less than *Eighteen Hundred* Soldiers out of *Twenty-four*.

It was now therefore his desire to have satisfied the King, that his whole Interest in *America* lay at Stake, while *Canada* was in *French* Hands: And therewithal to have laid before several Noblemen and Gentlemen, how beneficial an Undertaking it would have been for them to have pursued the *Canadian-Business*, for which the *New-Englanders* were now grown too Feeble; their Country being too far now, as *Bede* says *England* once was, *Omni Milite & florida Juventutis Alacritate spoliata*.

Besides these *two Designs* in the *Thoughts* of Sir *William*, there was a *Third*, which he had Hopes that the King would have given him leave to have pursued, after he had continued so long in his Government, as to have obtained the more *General Welfare* which he design-

ed in the former Instances. I do not mean the making of *New-England* the Seat of a *Spanish Trade*, though so vastly profitable a thing was likely to have been brought about, by his being one of an Honourable Company engaged in such a Project.

But the *Spanish Wreck*, where Sir *William* had made his first *good Voyage*, was not the *Only*, nor the *Richest* Wreck, that he knew to be lying under the Water. He knew particularly, that when the Ship which had Governour *Boadilla* Aboard, was cast away, there was, as *Peter Martyr* says, an entire Table of Gold of *Three Thousand Three Hundred and Ten Pound Weight*.

The Duke of *Albemarle's* Patent for all such *Wrecks* now expiring, Sir *William* thought on the *Motto* which is upon the *Gold Medal*, bestowed by the late King, with his *Knighthood* upon him, *Semper Tibi pendeat Hamus*: And supposing himself to have gained sufficient Information of the right Way to such a *Wreck*, it was his purpose upon his Dismission from his Government, once more to have gone unto his old *Fishing-Trade*, upon a mighty Shelf of Rocks and Bank of Sands that lye where he had informed himself.

But as the Prophet *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, in their *Psalms* upon the Grants made unto their People by the Emperors of *Persia* have that Reflection, *Man's Breath goeth forth, he returns to his Earth; in that very Day his thoughts perish*. My Reader must now see what came of all these considerable *Thoughts*. About the middle of *February*, 1694. Sir *William* found himself indisposed with a Cold, which obliged him to keep his Chamber; but under this Indisposition he received the Honour of a Visit from a very Eminent Person at *Whitehall*, who upon sufficient Assurance, had him *Get well as fast as he could, for in one Months time he should be again dispatched away to his Government of New-England*.

Nevertheless his Distemper proved a sort of *Malignant Fever*, whereof many about this time died in the City; and it suddenly put an End at once unto his *Days* and *Thoughts*, on the *Eighteenth of February*; to the extream surprize of his Friends, who Honourably Interr'd him in the Church of *St. Mary Woolnoth*, and with him, how much of *New-England's* Happiness!

§. 21. Although he has now *no more a Portion for ever in any Thing that is done under the Sun*, yet Justice requires that his *Memory* be not forgotten. I have not all this while said *He was Faultless*, nor am I unwilling to use for him the Words which Mr. *Calamy* had in his Funeral Sermon for the Excellent Earl of *Warwick*, *It must be confessed, lest I should prove a Flatterer, he had his Infirmities, which I trust Jesus Christ hath covered with the Robe of his Righteousness: My Prayer to God is, that all his Infirmities may be Buried in the Grave of Oblivion, and that all his Virtues and Graces may Supervive; although perhaps they were no Infirmities*

firmities in that Noble Person, which Mr. Calamy counted fo.

Nevertheless I must also say, That if the Anguish of his Publick Fatigues threw Sir *William* into any *Faults* of *Passion*; they were but *Faults* of *Passion* soon Recall'd: And *Spots* being soonest seen in *Ermin*, there was usually the *most* made of them that could be, by those that were least *Free* themselves.

After all, I do not know that I have been, by any personal Obligations or Circumstances, charmed into any *Partiality* for the *Memory* of this Worthy Man; but I do here, from a real Satisfaction of Conscience concerning him, declare to all the World, that I reckon him to have been really a very *Worthy Man*; that few Men in the World rising from so mean an *Original* as he, would have acquitted themselves with a Thousand Part of his *Capacity* or *Integrity*; that he left unto the World a notable Example of a Disposition to *do Good*, and encountered and overcame almost invincible *Temptations* in doing it.

And I do most solemnly Profess, that I have most conscientiously endeavoured the utmost Sincerity and Veracity of a *Christian*, as well as an *Historian*, in the *History* which I have now given of him. I have not written of Sir *William Phips*, as they say *Xenophon* did of *Cyrus*, *Non ad Historie Fidem, sed ad Effigiem veri imperii*; what *should* have been, rather than what *really was*. If the *Envy* of his few *Enemies* be not now *Quiet*, I must freely say it, That for many Weeks before he died, there was not one Man among his *personal Enemies* whom he would not readily and cheerfully have done all the kind Offices of a *Friend* unto: Wherefore though the Gentleman in *England* that once published a *Vindication* of Sir *William Phips* against some of his *Enemies*, chose to put the Name of *Publicans* upon them, they must in *this* be counted worse than the *Publicans* of whom our Saviour says, *They Love those that Love him*.

And I will say this further, That when certain Persons had found the *Skull* of a *Dead Man*, as a *Greek Writer* of *Epigrams* has told us, they all fell a Weeping, but only one of the Company, who Laughed and Flouted, and through an unheard-of Cruelty, threw *Stones* at it, which *Stones* wonderfully rebounded back upon the Face of him that threw them, and miserably wounded him: Thus if any shall be so *Unchristian*, yea, so *Inhumane*, as libellously to throw *Stones* at so deserved a Reputation as this Gentleman has died withal, they shall see a *Just Rebound* of all their *Calumnies*.

But the Name of Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS* will be heard Honourably mentioned in the *Trumpets* of *Immortal Fame*, when the Names of many that *Antipathied* him will either be Buried in *Eternal Oblivion*, without any *Sacerdotes* to preserve them; or be remembered, but like that of *Judas* in the *Gospel*, or *Pilate* in the *Creed*, with *Eternal Infamy*.

The old *Persians* indeed, according to the Report of *Agathias*, exposed their *Dead Friends* to be Torn in Pieces by *Wild Beasts*, believing that if they lay long *unworried*, they had been *unworthy* Persons; but all attempts of surviving *Malice* to demonstrate in that way the *worth* of this *Dead Gentleman*, give me leave to *Rate off* with *Indignation*.

And I must with a like Freedom say, That great was the Fault of *New-England* no more to value a Person, whose *Opportunities* to serve all their Interests, though very Eminent, yet were not so Eminent as his *Inclinations*. If this whole Continent carry in its very Name of *AMERICA*, an unaccountable *Ingratitude* unto that Brave Man who first led any numbers of *Europeans* thither, it must not be wondered at, if now and then a particular Country in that Continent afford some Instances of *Ingratitude*: But I must believe, that the *Ingratitude* of many, both to God and Man, for such *Benefits* as that Country of *New-England* enjoy'd from a Governour of their own, by whom they enjoyed *great quietness*, with very *worthy Deeds* done unto that Nation by his *Providence*, was that which hastned the Removal of such a *Benefactor* from them.

However, as the *Cyprians* buried their Friends in *Honey*, to whom they gave *Gall* when they were Born; thus whatever *Gall* might be given to this Gentleman while he lived, I hope none will be so base, as to put any thing but *Honey* into their Language of him now after his *Decease*. And indeed, since 'tis a frequent thing among Men to wish for the Presence of our *Friends*, when they are *dead and gone*, whom, while they were present with us, we undervalued; there is no way for us to fetch back our Sir *William Phips*, and make him yet Living with us, but by setting up a *Statue* for him, as 'tis done in these Pages, that may out-last an ordinary *Monument*.

Such was the Original Design of erecting *Statues*, and if in *Venice* there were at once no less than an Hundred and Sixty-two Marble, and Twenty-three Brazen *Statues*, erected by the Order, and at the Expence of the Publick, in Honour of so many Valiant Soldiers, who had merited well of that Commonwealth, I am sure *New-England* has had those, whose Merits call for as good an acknowledgment: and, whatever they did *before*, it will be well, if *after* Sir *William Phips*, they find many as meritorious as he to be so acknowledged.

Now I cannot my self provide a better *Statue* for this Memorable Person, than the *Words* uttered on the occasion of his Death in a very great Assembly, by a Person of so Diffus'd and Embalm'd a Reputation in the Church of God, that such a Character from *him* were enough to immortalize the Reputation of the Person upon whom he should bestow it.

The *Grecians* employ'd still the most Honourable and Considerable Persons they had among them, to make a *Funeral Oration* in Commendation of Soldiers that had lost their Lives

Lives in the Service of the Publick: And when Sir *William Phips*, the Captain General of *New-England*, who had often ventured his Life to serve the Publick, did expire, that Reverend Person, who was the President of the only University then in the *English America*, Preached a Sermon on that Passage of the Sacred Writ, Isa. 57. 1. *Merciful Men are taken away, none considering that the Righteous are taken away from the Evil to come*; and in it gave Sir *William Phips* the following Testimony.

'This Province is Beheaded, and lyes a Bleeding. A GOVERNOUR is taken away, who was a *Merciful Man*; some think too *Merciful*: And if so, 'tis best Erring on that Hand; and a *Righteous Man*; who, when he had great Opportunities of gaining by *Injustice*, did refuse to do so.

'He was a known Friend unto the best Interests, and unto the Churches of God: Not ashamed of owning them: No, how often have I heard him expressing his Desires to be an Instrument of *Good* unto them! He was a Zealous *Lover* of his *Country*, if any Man in the World were so: He exposed himself to serve it; he ventured his *Life* to save it: In that, a true *Nehemiah*, a Governour that sought the welfare of his *People*.

'He was one who did not seek to have the Government cast upon him: No, but instead thereof to my Knowledge he did several times Petition the King, that this People might always enjoy the great Priviledge of choosing their own Governour; and I have heard him express his Desires, that it might be so, to several of the Chief Ministers of State in the Court of *England*.

'He is now Dead, and not capable of being Flattered: But this I must testify concerning him, That though by the Providence of God

'I have been with him at Home and Abroad, near at Home, and afar off, by Land and by Sea, I never saw him do any evil Action, or heard him speak any thing unbecoming a Christian.

'The Circumstances of his Death seem to intimate the Anger of God, in that he was in the Midst of his Days removed; and I know (though Few did) that he had great Purposes in his Heart, which probably would have taken Effect, if he had lived a few Months longer, to the great Advantage of this Province; but now he is gone, there is not a Man Living in the World capacitated for those Undertakings; *New-England* knows not yet what they have lost!

The Recitation of a Testimony so great, whether for the Author, or the Matter of it, has now made a Statue for the Governour of *New-England*, which

Nec poterit Ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

And there now remains nothing more for me to do about it, but only to recite herewithal a well-known Story related by *Suidas*, That an Envious Man, once going to pull down a Statue which had been raised unto the Memory of one whom he maligned, he only got this by it, that the Statue falling down, knock'd out his Brains.

But Poetry as well as History must pay it's Dues unto him. If *Cicero's* Poem, intituled, *Quadrige*, wherein he did with a Poetical Chariot extol the Exploits of *Cesar* in *Britain* to the very Skies, were now Extant in the World, I would have Borrowed some Flights of That at least, for the Subject now to be Adorned.

But instead thereof, let the Reader accept the ensuing *Elegy*:

UPON THE
 D E A T H
 O F

Sir William Phips, Knt.

Late Captain General and Governour in Chief of the Province
 of the *Massachuset-Bay* in *New-England*, who Expired in *London*,
 Feb. 18. 169⁴.

*And to Mortality a Sacrifice
 Falls He, whose Deeds must Him immortalize !*

Rejoice Messieurs; Netops rejoice; 'tis
 true,
 Ye Philistines, none will rejoice but You:
 Loving of All He Dy'd; who Love him not
 Now, have the Grace of Publicans forgot.
 Our Almanacks foretold a great Eclipse,
 This they foresaw not, of our greater PHIPS.
 PHIPS our great Friend, our Wonder, and our
 Glory.

The Terror of our Foes, the World's rare Story.
 England will Boast him too, whose Noble Mind
 Impell'd by Angels, did those Treasures find,
 Long in the Bottom of the Ocean laid,
 Which her Three Hundred Thousand Richer
 made,

By Silver yet ne'er Canker'd, nor defil'd
 By Honour, nor Betray'd when Fortune smil'd.
 Since this bright Phœbus visited our Shour,
 We saw no Fogs but what were rais'd before:
 Those vanish'd too; barras'd by Bloody Wars
 Our Land saw Peace, by his most generous
 Cares.

The Wolvish pagans at his dreaded Name,
 Tam'd, shrunk before him, and his Dogs be-
 came!
 Fell Moxus and fierce Dockawando fall,
 Charm'd at the Feet of our Brave General.

Fly-blow the Dead, Pale Envy, let him not
 (What Hero ever did?) escape a Blot.
 All is Distort with an Inchant'd Eye,
 And Heighth will make what's Right still stand
 awry.

He was, Oh that He was! His Faults we'll tell,
 Such Faults as these we knew, and lik'd them
 well.

Just to an Injury; denying none
 Their Dues; but Self-denying oft his own.

Good to a Miracle; resolv'd to do
 Good unto All, whether they would or no.
 To make Us Good, Great, Wise, and all Things
 else,

He wanted but the Gift of Miracles.
 On him, vain Mob, thy Mischiefs cease to
 throw;

Bad, but alone in This, the Times were so.

Stout to a Prodigy; living in Pain
 To send back Quebeck-Bullets once again.
 Thunder, his Musick, sweeter than the
 Spheres,
 Chim'd Rearing Canons in his Martial Ears.

Frigats of armed Men could not withstand,
 'Twas try'd, the Force of his one Swordless
 Hand: which in one, all of Briareus had,
 And Hercules's twelve Toils but Pleasures made.

Too Humble; in brave Stature not so Tall,
 As low in Carriage, slooping unto all.
 Rais'd in Estate, in Figure and Renown,
 Not Pride; Higher, and yet not Prouder grown.
 Of Pardons full; ne'er to Revenge at all,
 Was that which He would Satisfaction call.

True to his Mate; from whom though often
 flown.
 A Strangery et to every Love but one.
 Write Him not Childnets, whose whole People
 were
 Sons, Orphans now, of His Paternal Care.

Now lest ungrateful Brands we should incur,
 Your Salary we'll pay in Tears, GREAT SIR!

To England often blown, and by his Prince
 Often sent laden with Preferments thence.
 Prefer'd each Time He went, when all was done
 That Earth could do, Heaven fetch'd Him to a
 Crown.

'Tis He: With Him Interr'd how great de-
 signs!

Stand Fearless now, ye Eastern Firrs and Pines.
 With Naval Stores not to enrich the Nation,
 Stand, for the Universal Conflagration.
 Mines, opening unto none but Him, now stay
 Close under Lock and Key, till the Last Day:
 In this, like to the Grand Aurifick Stone,
 By any but Great Souls not to be known.
 And Thou Rich Table, with Bodilla lost,
 In the Fair Galeon, on our Spanish Coast.
 In weight Three Thousand and Three Hundred
 Pound,

But of pure Massy Gold, lye Thou, not found,
 Safe, since He's laid under the Earth asleep,
 Who learnt where Thou dost under Water keep.

But Thou Chief Loser, Poor NEW-ENGLAND,
 speak

Thy Dues to such as did thy Welfare seek,
 The Governour that vow'd to Rise and Fall
 With Thee, Thy Fate shows in His Funeral.
 Write now His Epitaph, 'twill be Thine own,
 Let it be this, A PUBLICK SPIRIT'S GONE.
 Or, but Name PHIPS; more needs not be ex-
 prest;

Both Englands, and next Ages, tell the Rest.

The End of the Second B O O K.

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P O L Y B I U S.

The Third B O O K

O F T H E

New English History :

C O N T A I N I N G T H E

L I V E S

O F M A N Y

Reverend, Learned, and Holy DIVINES,
(arriving *such* from *Europe* to *America*) by whose
Evangelical Ministry the Churches of *NEW-
ENGLAND* have been Illuminated.

By C O T T O N M A T H E R.

Testor, -- Christianum de Christiano vera proferre.

Πάντων ἡγὰρ Θεὸν πολιτευσαμένων ὁ βίος τοῖς εὐσεβέσιν ὠφελιμώτατος, εἴχ' ὑπό-
δειγμα μόνον ἀλλὰ ἐν παγκόσμιαις ὑπάρχων πρὸς ἀρετὴν.

Simeon Metaphrast. in Vitâ Chrysofomi.

Equidem efferor studio Patres vestros, quos colui, & dilexi, videndi.

Cic. de Senec.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Thomas Parkhurst*, at the *Bible* and *Three
Crowns*, in *Cheapside*. 1 7 0 2.

THE HISTORY OF

THE NEW ENGLAND

AND

THE HISTORY OF THE

LIVES

OF

THE

OF

THE

OF

OF

OF

OF

INTRODUCTION.

WHat was it that obliged Jerom to write his Book, *De Viris Illustribus*? It was the common Reproach of old cast upon the Christians, That they were all poor, weak, unlearned Men. The sort of Men sometime called Puritans, in the English Nation have been reproached with the same Character; and as a malignant Stapleton, counted the Terms of an Ass, and a Fool, good enough to treat our incomparable Whitaker. No less basely are the best of Protestants often term'd and thought, by the Men, who know no Christianity but Ceremony. There hath been too much of that Envy, that Sapienior sis Socrate, Doctior Augustino, Calvenianus, Si modò dicare, clam, vel propalam, mox Tartaris, Mofcis, Afris, Turcisque, sævientibus, jacebis execrator. A Wretchedness often seen in English; I shall not English it. This is one thing that has laid me under Obligation, here to write a Book, *De Viris Illustribus*: In the whole whereof, I will with a most Conscientious and Religious Regard of Truth, save our History from any share, in that old Complaint of Melchior Canus, Dolenter hoc dico, multò à Laertio severius Viras Philosophorum scriptas esse, quàm à Christianis, Vitas Christianorum: The Lives of Philosophers more truly written, than the Lives of Christians.

Reader, Behold these Examples; admire and follow what thou dost behold Exemplary in them. They are offered unto the Publick, with the Intention sometimes mentioned by Gregory: Ut qui Præceptis non accendimur, saltem Exemplis incitemur; atque ac Appetitu Rectitudinis nil sibi meus nostra difficile æstimet, quod perfectè peragi ab aliis videt: That Patterns may have upon us the force which Precepts have not.

If a Man were so absurd, as to form his Ideas of the Primitive Christians, from the monstrous Accusations of their Adversaries, he would soon perswade himself, that their God was the Deus Christianorum Ononychites, whose Image was erected at Rome. And if a Man should have no other Ideas of the Puritan Christians in our Days, than what the Tory-Pens of the Sons of Bolsecus have given them, we would think that it was a just thing to banish them into the cold Swamps of the North America. But when Truth shall have liberty to speak, it will be known, that Christianity never was more expressed unto the Life, than in the Lives of the Persons that have been thus reproached, among the Legions of the Accuser of the Brethren. It speaks in the ensuing Pages! Here, behold them, of whom the World was not worthy, wandering in Desarts!

Arnobius was put upon an Apology, against our particular Calumny, among the rest, That at the Meetings of the Christians, a Dog ty'd unto the Candlestick, drew away the Light, whereupon they proceeded unto the most Adulterous Confusions in the World. And a great Man in his Writings does affirm, I have heard this very thing, told more than once, with no small Confidence concerning the Puritans:

Reader, thou shalt now see, what sort of Men they were: Zion is not a City of Fools. As Ignatius in his famous Epistles to the Trallians, mentioning their Pastor, Polybius, reports him, A Man of so good and just a Reputation, that the very Atheists did stand in fear of him. I hope our POLYBIUS, will afford many deserving such a Character.

It was mentioned as the Business and Blessedness of John Baptist, To turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children. After a deal of more ado about the Sence of the passage thus translated, I contented my self with another Translation, To turn the Hearts of the Fathers WITH the Children; because I find the Preposition, *ὁμ*, as well as the Prefix *π*, in Mal. 4. 6. whence the passage is taken to be rendred With, rather than To. The Sence therefore I took to be, That John should convert both Old and Young. But further Thought hath offered unto me a further Gloss upon it: To turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, is to turn the Children by putting the Hearts of the Fathers into them; to give them such Hearts as were in Abraham, and others of their famous and faithful Fathers.

Reader, The Book now in thy Hands, is to manage the Design of a John Baptist, and convey the Hearts of the Fathers unto the Children.

Archilocus being desirous to give prevailing and effectual Advice unto Lycambes, by an elegant Propopoeia, brought in his dead Father, as giving the Advice he was now writing, and as it were put his Pen into his Father's Hand. Cicero being to read a Lecture of Temperance and Modesty unto Clodia, raised up her Father Appius Caius from the Grave, and in his Name delivered his Directions. And now, by introducing the Fathers of New-England, without the least Fiction, or Figure of Rhetorick, I hope the plain History of their Lives, will be a powerful way of propounding their Fatherly Counsels to their Posterity. A Stroke with the Hand of a dead Man, has before now been a Remedy for a Malady not easily remedied.

The Third B O O K.

De Viris Illustribus.

In Four P A R T S.

CONTAINING

The LIVES of near Fifty Divines,

Considerable in the

Churches of New-England.

Credunt de nobis quæ non probantur, & nolunt inquiri, ne probentur non esse, quæ malunt credidisse. Tert. Apol.

Having entertained my Readers with a more imperfect *Catalogue*, of many Persons whose Memories deserve to be embalmed in a *Civil History*; I must so far consider, that it is an *Ecclesiastical History*, which I have undertaken, as to hasten unto a fuller and larger Account of those Persons who have been the *Ministers* of the Gospel, that fed the *Flocks in the Wilderness*: And indeed, *New-England* having been in some sort an *Ecclesiastical Country* above any in this World, those Men that have here appeared most considerable in an *Ecclesiastical Capacity*, may most reasonably challenge the most Consideration in our *History*.

Take then a *Catalogue* of *New-England's* first Ministers, who tho' they did not generally affect the Exercise of *Church-Government*, as confined unto *Classes*, yet shall give me leave to use the Name of *Classes* in my marshalling of them.

The First CLASSIS.

IT shall be of such as were in the *actual Exercise* of their Ministry, when they left *England*, and were the Instruments of bringing the *Gospel* into this *Wilderness*, and of settling Churches here according to the Order of the *Gospel*.

הַסְדִּים רִאשׁוֹנִים: Or, Our First Good Men.

1. **M**R. Thomas Allen of Charles-Town.
2. Mr. John Allen of Dedham.
3. Mr. Avery of Marblehead.
4. Mr. Adam Blackman of Stratford.
5. Mr. Richard Binman of Gloucester.
6. Mr. Bruce of Braintree.
7. Mr. Edmund Brown of Sudbury.
8. Mr. Peter Bulkely of Concord.
9. Mr. Jonathan Burr of Dorchester.
10. Mr. Charles Chauncey of Scituate.
11. Mr. Thomas Cebbet of Lyn.

12. Mr. Flyn

12. Mr. *John Cotton* of *Boston*.
13. Mr. *Timothy Dalton* of *Hampton*.
14. Mr. *John Davenport* of *New-Haven*.
15. Mr. *Richard Denton* of *Stamford*.
16. Mr. *Henry Dunstar* of *Cambridge*.
17. Mr. *Samuel Eaton* of *New-Haven*.
18. Mr. *John Elliot* of *Roxbury*.
19. Mr. *John Fisk* of *Chelmsford*.
20. Mr. *Henry Flint* of *Braintree*.
21. Mr. *Fordham* of *Southampton*.
22. Mr. *Green* of *Reading*.
23. Mr. *John Harvard* of *Charles-Town*.
24. Mr. *Francis Higginson* of *Salem*.
25. Mr. *William Hook* of *New-Haven*.
26. Mr. *Thomas Hooker* of *Hartford*.
27. Mr. *Peter Hobart* of *Hingham*.
28. Mr. *Ephraim Huct* of *Windsor*.
29. Mr. *Hull* of the *Ile of Shoals*.
30. Mr. *James* of *Charles Town*.
31. Mr. *Jones* of *Fairfield*.
32. Mr. *Knight* of *Topsfield*.
33. Mr. *Knowles* of *Water-Town*.
34. Mr. *Leverick* of *Sandwich*.
35. Mr. *John Lothrop* of *Barnstable*.
36. Mr. *Richard Mather* of *Dorchester*.
37. Mr. *Maud* of *Dover*.
38. Mr. *Maverick* of *Dorchester*.
39. Mr. *John Mayo* of *Boston*.
40. Mr. *John Millar* of *Yarmouth*.
41. Mr. *Moxon* of *Springfield*.
42. Mr. *Samuel Newman* of *Rehoboth*.
43. Mr. *Norris* of *Salem*.
44. Mr. *John Norton* of *Boston*.
45. Mr. *James Noyse* of *Newberry*.
46. Mr. *Thomas Parker* of *Newberry*.
47. Mr. *Ralph Partridge* of *Duxbury*.
48. Mr. *Peck* of *Hingham*.
49. Mr. *Hugh Peters* of *Salem*.
50. Mr. *Thomas Peters* of *Say-brook*.
51. Mr. *George Phillips* of *Watertown*.
52. Mr. *Philips* of *Dedham*.
53. Mr. *Abraham Pierson* of *Southampton*.
54. Mr. *Peter Prudden* of *Milford*.
55. Mr. *Reyner* of *Plymouth*.
56. Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers* of *Roxly*.
57. Mr. *Nathanael Rogers* of *Ipswich*.
58. Mr. *Saxton* of *Scituate*.
59. Mr. *Thomas Shepard* of *Cambridge*.
60. Mr. *Zachary Symms* of *Charles-Town*.
61. Mr. *Skelton* of *Salem*.
62. Mr. *Ralph Smith* of *Plymouth*.
63. Mr. *Smith* of *Wethersfield*.
64. Mr. *Samuel Stone* of *Hartford*.
65. Mr. *Nicholas Street* of *Newhaven*.
66. Mr. *William Thompson* of *Braintree*.
67. Mr. *William Watham* of *Marblehead*.
68. Mr. *Nathanael Ward* of *Ipswich*, and his Son, Mr. *John Ward* of *Haverhil*.
69. Mr. *John Warham* of *Windsor*.
70. Mr. *Weld* of *Roxbury*.
71. Mr. *Wheelright* of *Salisbury*.
72. Mr. *Henry Whitfield* of *Guilford*.
73. Mr. *Samuel Whiteing* of *Lyn*.
74. Mr. *John Wilson* of *Boston*.
75. Mr. *Witherel* of *Scituate*,

76. Mr. *William Worcester* of *Salisbury*.
77. Mr. *Young* of *Southbold*.

Behold, one *Seven* more than *Seven Decads* of Persons, who being devoted unto the *Sacred Ministry* of our Lord, were the first that *enlightned* the dark Regions of *America* with their Ministry! Know Reader, that it was by a particular *Diversion* given by the Hand of Heaven, unto the *Intentions* of that Great Man, Dr. *William Ames*, that we don't now find his Name among the first in the Catalogue of our *New-English Worthies*: One of the most Eminent and Judicious Persons that ever lived in this World, was *Intentionally* a *New-England-Man*, tho' not *Eventually*, when that *Profound*, that *Sublime*, that *Subtil*, that *Irrefragable*, yea that *Angelical Doctor*, was designing to transport himself into *New-England*; but he was hindred by that Providence, which afterwards permitted his *Widow*, his *Children*, and his *Library*, to be translated hither. And now, *our Fathers, where are they? These Prophets have they lived for ever?* 'Twas the Charge of the Almighty to other Kings, *Touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm*: But the *King of Terrors* pleading an Exemption from that Charge, has now *touched* every one of these *Holy Men*; however, all the *harm* it has done unto them, has been to carry them from this *present evil World*, unto the *Spirits of just Men made perfect*. I may now write upon all these *Old Ministers of New-England*, the Epitaph which the *Apostle* hath left upon the *Priests* of the *Old Testament*, *These were not suffered to continue, by reason of Death*; adding the Clause which he hath left upon the *Patriarchs* of that Testament, *These all died in Faith*.

Wherefore we pass on to

The Second CLASSIS.

IT shall be of *Young Scholars*, whose *Education* for their designed Ministry, not being finished, yet came over from *England* with their Friends, and had their Education perfected in this Country, before the *College* was come unto Maturity enough to bestow its *Laurels*.

1. Mr. *Samuel Arnold* of *Marshfield*.
2. Mr. *John Bishop* of *Stamford*.
3. Mr. *Edward Bulkly* of *Concord*.
4. Mr. *Carter* of *Woburn*.
5. Mr. *Francis Dean* of *Andover*.
6. Mr. *James Fitch* of *Norwich*.
7. Mr. *Hunford* of *Norwalk*.
8. Mr. *John Higginson* of *Salem*.
9. Mr. *Hough* of *Reading*.
10. Mr. *James* of *Easthampton*.
11. Mr. *Roger Newton* of *Milford*.
12. Mr. *John Sherman* of *Watertown*.
13. Mr. *Thomas Thacher* of *Boston*.
14. Mr. *John Woodbridge* of *Newberry*.

Of these *two Sevens*, almost All are gone, where to be is, *By far the Best of All*. But these were not come to an Age for Service to the Church of God, before the Wisdom, and Prudence of the *New-Englanders*, did remarkably signify it self, in the Founding of a COLLEGE, from whence the most of their Congregations were afterwards supplied; *a River, the Streams whereof made glad the City of God*. From that Hour *Old-England* had more Ministers from *New*, than our *New-England* had since then, from *Old*; nevertheless after a Cessation of Ministers coming hither from *Europe*, for Twenty Years together, we had another set of them, *Coming over to help us*: Wherefore take yet the Names of *Two Sevens* more.

We will now proceed unto,

The Third CLASSIS.

IT shall be of such Ministers, as came over to *New-England* after the Re-establishment of the *Episcopal Church-Government in England*, and the *Persecution*, which then hurricano'd, such as were *Non Conformists* unto that Establishment.

1. Mr. James Allen of Boston.
2. Mr. John Baily of Watertown.
3. Mr. Thomas Baily of Watertown.
4. Mr. Barnet of New-London.
5. Mr. James Brown of Swansea.
6. Mr. Thomas Gilbert of Topsfield.
7. Mr. James Keith of Bridgewater.
8. Mr. Samuel Lee of Bristol.
9. Mr. Charles Morton of Charlestown.
10. Mr. Charles Nicholet of Salem.
11. Mr. John Oxenbridge of Boston.
12. Mr. Thomas Thornton of Yarmouth.
13. Mr. Thomas Walley of Barnstable.
14. Mr. William Woodrop of Lancaster.

It is well known, that quickly after the Revival of the English *Hierarchy*, those, whose Consciences did not allow them to worship God, in some Ways and Modes then by *Law established*, were pursued with a Violence, which, doubtless many thousands of those whom the *Church of England*, in its National Constitution acknowledges for her *Sons*, were so far from *Approving* or *Assisting*, that they *Abhorred* it. What *Spirit* acted the Party that Raised this Persecution, one may guess from a Passage, which I find in a Book of Mr. Giles Firmius. A Lady assured him, that she signifying unto a Parliament-Man, her Dislike of the *Act of Uniformity*, when they were about it, and saying, *I see you are laying a Snare in the Gate*, he replied, *Ay, if we can find any way to catch the Rogues, we will have them!* It is well known that near *Five and Twenty Hundred* faithful Ministers of the Gospel, were now silenced in *One Black Day*, because they could not comply with some things, by themselves counted *sinful*, but by the Impos-

ers confessed *Indifferent*. And it is affirmed, that by a modest Calculation, this Persecution procured the *Untimely Death of Three Thousand Non-Conformists*, and the Ruine of *Threescore Thousand Families*, within *Five and Twenty Years*. Many retired into *New-England*, that they might have a little *Rest at Noon*, with the *Flocks of our Lord* in this Wilderness: But setting aside some Eminent Persons of a *New English Original*, which were driven back out of *Europe* into their own Country again, by that Storm. *These few* were the most of the Ministers, that fled hither from it. I will not presume to give the Reasons, why, *No more*; but observing a Glorious Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ, in moving the *Stars* to shine, where they were most wanted, I will conclude; lamenting the Disaster of *New England*, in the Interruption, which a particular Providence of Heaven gave unto the Designs of that Incomparable Person Dr. John Owen, who had gone so far as to ship himself, with Intents to have taken this Country in his way to his Eternal Rest: It must have been our singular Advantage and Ornament, if we had thus enjoyed among us, One of the *Greatest Men*, that this last Age produced.

REMARKS.

Especially upon the First Class, in our Catalogue of Ministers.

I. ALL, or Most, of the Ministers that make up our *Two first Classes*, came over from *England* within the *Two first Lustres* of Years, after the first Settlement of the Country. After the Year 1640. that part of the *Church of England*, which took up Arms in the *Old Cause* of the *Long Parliament*, and which among all its *Parliament-Men*, Commanders, Lord-Lieutenants, Major-Generals, and Sea-Captains, had scarce any but *Conformists*; I say, *That part* of the *Church of England*, knowing the *Puritans* to be generally inclinable unto those Principles of such Writers as *Bilson* and *Hooker*, whereupon the *Parliament* then acted; and seeing them to be generally of the truest *English Spirit*, for the Preservation of the *English Liberties* and Properties, for which the *Parliament* then declared, (altho' there were some *Non-Conformists* in the King's Army also :) it was found necessary to have the Assistance of that considerable People. Whereupon ensued such a *Change of Times*, that instead of *Old England's* driving its best People into *New*, it was it self turned into *New*. The Body of the *Parliament* and its Friends, which were *Conformists* in the beginning of that miserable War, before the War was ended, became such as those *Old Non-Conformists*, whose Union with them in *Political Interests* produced an Union in *Religious*. The *Romanizing Laudians* miscarried in their Enterprize; the *Anglicane Church* could not be carried over to the *Gallicane*. This was

not the first Instance of a *Shipwrack* befalling a Vessel bound for *Rome*; nor will it be the last: A Vessel bound such a Voyage, must be *Shipwrack'd*, tho' *St. Paul* himself were aboard.

II. The Occasion upon which these Excellent *Ministers* retired into an Horrid Wilderness of *America*, and encountered the dismal Hardships of such a Wilderness, was the Violent *Persecution*, wherewith a prevailing Party in the Church of *England* harassed them. In their own Land they were hereby deprived, not only of their *Living*s, but also of their *Liberty* to exercise their Ministry, which was dearer to them than their *Living*s, yea, than their very *Lives*: And they were exposed unto extreme *Sufferings*, because they conscientiously dissented from the Use of some things in the Worship of God, which they accounted *Sins*. But I leave it unto the Consideration of Mankind, whether this *forbidding of such Men to do their Duty*, were no Ingredient of that Iniquity, which immediately upon the Departure of these Good Men brought upon Great Britain, and especially upon the Greatest Authors of this Persecution, *A Wrath unto the uttermost*, in the ensuing Desolations. All that I shall add upon it, is, That, I remember, the Prophet speaking of what had been done of old, by the *Assyrians*, to the Land of the *Chaldeans*, uses an Expression, which we translate, in *Isa. 23. 12. He brought it unto Ruine*: But there is a *Punic* Word, *Mapatra*, which old *Festus* (and *Servius*) affirm to signify, *Cottages*; according to *Pbilargyrius*, it signifies, *Casas in Eremo habitantium*: Now that is the very Word here used, *מפלה* and the Condition of *Cottagers in a Wilderness*, is meant, by *The Ruine*, there spoken of. Truly, such was the *Ruine*, which the Ceremonious Persecutors then brought upon the most Conscientious *Non-Conformists*, unto their Unscriptural Ceremonies. But as the Kingdom of *Darkness* uses to be always at length overthrown by its own Policy, so will be at last found no advantage unto that Party in the Church of *England*, that the *Orders* and *Actions* of the Churches by them thus produced, become an *History*.

III. These *Ministers* of the Gospel, which were (without any *Odious Comparison*) as Faithful, Painful; Useful *Ministers*, as most in the Nation; being thus *exiled* from a *Sinful Nation*, there were not known to be left so many *Non-Conformist* *Ministers*, as there were Counties in *England*: And yet they were quickly so multiplied, that a Matter of *Twenty Years* after, there could be found far more than *Twenty Hundred*, that were so grounded in their *Non-Conformity*, as to undergo the Loss of all things, rather than make *Shipwrack* of it. When *Antiochus* commanded all the *Books* of Sacred Scripture to be burnt, they were not only preserved, but presently after they appeared out of their hidden Places, being Translated into the Greek Tongue, and carried abroad unto many other Patrons. It was now thought, there was effectual Care taken, to destroy all those *Men*, that made these *Books* the only Rule of their

Devotions; but behold, they presently appeared in greater Numbers, and many other Nations began to be Illuminated by them.

IV. *Most*, if not *All*, of the *Ministers*, who then visited these Regions, were either attended or followed, with a Number of pious People; who had lived within the reach of their Ministry in *England*. These, who were now also become generally *Non-Conformists*, having found the powerful Impressions of those Good Mens Ministry upon their Souls, continued their sincere Affections unto that Ministry, and were willing to accompany it unto those utmost *Ends of the Earth*. Indeed, the *Ministers* of *New-England* have this always to recommend their unto a Good Regard with the Crown of *England*, that the most flourishing Plantation in all the *American* Dominions of that Crown, is more owing to *them*, than to any sort of Men whatsoever.

V. Some of the *Ministers*, and many of the *Gentlemen*, that came over with the *Ministers*, were Persons of considerable Estates; who therewith charitably brought over many poor Families of Godly People, that were not of themselves able to bear the Charges of their Transportation; and they were generally careful also to bring over none but Godly *Servants* in their own Families, who, afterwards by God's Blessing on their Industry have arrived, many of them, unto such plentiful Estates, that they have had Occasion to think of the Advice, which a famous Person, gave in a Publick Sermon, at their first coming over; *You (said he) that are Servants, mark what I say; I desire and exhort you to be kind a while hence, unto your Master's Children. It won't be long before, you that came with nothing into the Country, will be rich Men, when your Masters, having buried their Rich Estates in the Country, will go near to leave their Families in a mean Condition; wherefore, when it shall be well with you, I charge you to remember them.*

VI. The *Ministers* and *Christians*, by whom *New-England* was first planted, were a chosen Company of Men; picked out of, perhaps, all the Counties in *England*, and this by no *Human Contrivance*, but by a strange *Work of God* upon the *Spirits* of Men that were, no ways, acquainted with one another, inspiring them, as *one Man*, to secede into a Wilderness, they knew not *where*, and suffer in that Wilderness they know not *what*. It was a reasonable Expression once used by that eminent Person, the present Lieutenant-Governour of *New-England* in a very great Assembly, *God sifted three Nations, that he might bring choice Grain into this Wilderness.*

VII. The *Design* of these *Refugees*, thus carried into the *Wilderness*, was, that they might there, *sacrifice unto the Lord their God*: It was, that they might maintain the *Power of Godliness* and practise the *Evangelical Worship* of our Lord Jesus Christ, in all the Parts of it, without any *Human Innovations* and *Impositions*: Defended by *Charters*, which at once gave them

them so far the *Protection* of their King, and the *Election* of so many of their own Subordinate Rulers under him, as might secure them the *Undisturbed Enjoyment* of the *Church-Order* established amongst them. I shall but repeat the Words once used in a Sermon preached unto the *General Court* of the *Massachusetts-Colony*, at one of their Anniversary Elections. 'The Question was often put unto our Predecessors, *What went ye out into the Wilderness to see?* And the Answer to it, is not only too *Excellent*, but also too *Notorious*, to be dissolved. 'Let all Mankind know, that we came into the *Wilderness*, because we would worship God without that *Episcopacy*, that *Common Prayer*, and those unwarrantable *Ceremonies*, with which the *Land of our Fore-Fathers Sepulchres* has been defiled; we came hither because we would have our Posterity settled under the pure and full *Dispensations* of the Gospel; defended by *Rulers, that should be of our selves*.

VIII. None of the least Concerns, that lay upon the Spirits of these *Reformers*, was the Condition of their *Posterity*: For which cause in the First Constitution of their *Churches*, they did more generally with more or less *Expressiveness* take in their Children, as under the *Church-watch* with themselves. They also did betimes endeavour the Erection of a *College*, for the training up of a successive Ministry in the Country; but because it was likely to be some while before a Considerable Supply could be expected from the *College*, therefore they took notice of the younger, hopeful *Scholars*, who came over with their Friends from *England*, and assisted their liberal Education; whereby being fitted for the Service of the *Churches*, they were in an orderly manner called forth to that Service. Of these we have given you a Number; whereof, I think, all but *One* or *Two* are now gone unto their *Fathers*.

IX. Of these Ministers, there were some few, suppose *Ten* or a *Dozen*, that after divers Years, returned into *England*, where they were eminently serviceable unto their Generation; but, by far, the biggest part of them, continued in this Country, *erving their Generation by the Will of God*. Moreover, I find near half of them signally Blessed with *Sons*, who did work for our Lord Jesus Christ, in the Ministry of the Gospel, yea some of them as *Mr. Chancy*, *Mr. Elliot*, *Mr. Hobart*, *Mr. Mather*, had (tho' not like *R. Jose*, a wise Man among the Jews, of whom they report, that he had *Eight Sons*, who were also celebrated for wise Men among them; yet) not less than *Four* or *Five* Sons a piece thus employed: And though *Mr. Parker*, living always a *single Man*, had no Children, yet he was instrumental to bring up no less than *Twelve* useful Ministers. Among the Jews they that have been instructed by another, are called, *The Sons of their Instructor*. We read, *These are the Generations of Aaron and Moses*; when we find none but the Sons of *Aaron* in the enumerated *Generations*. But in the *Talmud*, it is thus ex-

pounded, *Hos Aaron genuit, Moses vero docuit, ideoq; ejus Nomine censentur*. (Thus the Sons of *Merob*, are called the Sons of *Michal*, as the *Talmud* judges, because by her educated) And on this account no less than *Twelve*, were the *Sons* of *Mr. Parker*. I may add, that some of our Ministers, having their *Sons* comfortably settled, at, or near, the Place of their own Ministry, the People have thereby seen a comfortable *Succession* in the Affairs of Christianity; thus, the Writer of this History, hath, he knows not how often, seen it; that his *Grandfather*, baptized the *Grand-Parent*, his *Father* baptized the *Parent*, and *He* himself has baptized the *Children* in the same Family.

X. In the Beginning of the Country, the *Ministers* had their frequent *Meetings*, which were most usually after their Publick and Weekly or Monthly *Lectures*, wherein they consulted for the Welfare of their Churches; nor had they ordinarily any Difficulty in their Churches, which were not in these *Meetings* offered unto Consideration; for their mutual Direction and Assistance: And these *Meetings* are maintained unto this Day. The *private Christians* also had their *private Meetings*, wherein they would seek the *Face*, and sing the *Praise* of God; and Confer upon some Questions of *Practical Religion*, for their mutual Edification. And the Country still is full of those *Little Meetings*; yet they have now mostly left off one Circumstance, which in those our *primitive Times*, was much maintained; namely, their concluding of their more Sacred Exercises with *Suppers*; whereof, I sincerely think, I cannot give a better Account, than *Tertullian* gives of the *Suppers* among the Faithful, in his more *primitive Times*; *Therein their Spiritual Gains countervailed their Worldly Costs; they remembered the Poor, they ever began with Prayer*; [and other Devotions] *In Eating and Drinking they relieved Hunger, but show'd no Excess. In feeding at Supper they remembered they were to pray in the Night. In their Discourse they considered that God heard them: And when they departed, their Behaviour was so Religious and modest, that one would have thought, we had rather been at a Sermon, than at a Supper. Our Private Meetings of good People to pray and praise God, and hear Sermons, either preached perhaps by the younger Candidates for the Ministry, (who here use to form themselves, at their Entrance into their Work,) or else repeated by exact Writers of Short-Hand after their Pastors; and sometimes to spend whole Days in Fasting and Prayer, especially when any of the Neighbourhood are in Affliction, or when the Communion of the Lord's Table is approaching; those do still abound among us; but the Meals that made Meetings of them, are generally laid aside. I suppose, 'twas with some Eye to what he had seen in this Country, that *Mr. Firmin* has given this Report in a Book Printed 1681. Plain Mechanicks have I known, well Catechised, and Humble Christians, excellent in Practical Piety: They kept their Station, did*

not aspire to be Preachers, but for Gifts of Prayer, few Clergy-Men must come near them. I have known some of them, when they did keep their Fasts, (as they did often) they divided the Work of Prayer: The first begun with Confession; the second went on with Petition for themselves; the third with Petition for Church and Kingdom; the fourth with Thanksgiving: Every one kept his own part, and did not meddle with another part. Such excellent Matter, so compacted without Tautologies; each of them for a good time, about an Hour, if not more, apiece; to the wondering of those which joined with them. Here was no reading of Liturgies: These were old Jacob's Sons, they could wrestle and prevail with God.

XI. Besides the Ministers enumerated in the three Classes of our Catalogue, there might a fourth Class be offered, under the Name of the Anomalies of New-England. There have at several times arrived in this Country, more than a Score of Ministers from other parts of the World, who proved either so erroneous in their Principles, or so scandalous in their Practices, or so disagreeable to the Church Order, for which the Country was planted, that I cannot well crowd them into the Company of our Worthies:

Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur.

And, indeed, I had rather my Church History should speak nothing, than speak not well of them that might else be mentioned in it: Being entirely of Plutarch's Mind, That it is better it should never be said, there was such a Man as Plutarch at all, than to have it said, that he was not an honest, and a worthy Man. I confess, there were some of those Persons, whose Names deserve to live in our Book for their Piety, altho' their particular Opinions were such, as to be disserviceable unto the declared and supposed Interests of our Churches. Of these there were some Godly Anabaptists; as namely, Mr. Hanserd Knollys, (whom one of his Adversaries called, Absurd Knowles) of Dover, who afterwards removing back to London, lately died there, a good Man, in a good old Age. And Mr. Miles of Swansey, who afterwards came to Boston, and is now gone to his Rest. Both of these have a respectful Character in the Churches of this Wilderness. There were also some Godly Episcopals; among whom has been commonly reckoned Mr. Blackstone; who, by happening to sleep first in an Hovel, upon a Point of Land there, laid claim to all the Ground, whereupon there now stands the Metropolis of the whole English America, until the Inhabitants gave him Satisfaction. This Man was, indeed, of a particular Humour, and he would never join himself to any of our Churches, giving this Reason for it: *I came from England, because I did not like*

the Lord-Bishops; but I can't join with you, because I would not be under the Lord-Brethren. There were some likewise that fell into gross Miscarriages, and the Hunter of Souls having stuck the Darts of some extreme Disorder into those poor Hearts, the whole Flock pushed them out of their Society. Of these, tho' there were some so recovered, that they became true Penitents; yet inasmuch as the Wounds which they received by their Falls, were not in all regards thoroughly cured, I will choose rather to forbear their Names, than write them with any Blots upon them. For the same Cause, tho' I have his Name in our Catalogue, yet I will not say which of them it was, that for a while became a Seeker, and almost a Quaker, and seduced a great part of his poor People, into his bewildring Errors: At last the Grace of God recovered this Gentleman out of his Errors, and he became a very good and sound Man, after his Recovery: But alas, it was a perpetual Sting unto his penitent Soul, that he could not now reduce his wandering Flock, which he had himself seduced into the most unhappy Aberrations. They wandred on obstinately still in their Errors; and being irrecoverable, he was forced thereby unto a Removal from them, taking the Charge of a more Orthodox Flock, upon Long Island.

Nor know I where better than among these Anomalies, to mention one Mr. Lenthal, whom I find a Minister at Weymouth, about the Year 1637.

He had been one of good Report and Repute in England; whereas, here, he not only had imbibed some Antinomian Weaknesses, from whence he was by Conference with Mr. Cotton soon recovered; but also he set himself to oppose the way of gathering Churches. Many of the common People eagerly fell in with him, to set up a Church State, wherein all the Baptised might be Communicants, without any further Trial of them; for which end many Hands were procur'd unto an Instrument, wherein they would have declared against the New England Design of Church-Reformation, and would have invited Mr. Lenthal to be their Pastor, in opposition thereunto.

Mr. Lenthal, upon the Discourses of the Magistrates and Ministers before the General Court, who quickly check'd these Disturbances, by sending for him, as quickly was convinced of his Error and Evil, in thus disturbing the good Order of the Country. His Conviction was followed with his Confession; and in open Court, he gave under his Hand a laudable Retraction: Which Retraction he was ordered also to utter in the Assembly at Weymouth, and so no further Censure was passed upon him.

In Four Parts we will now pursue the Design before us.

JOHANNES in Eremo.

MEMOIRS, relating to the LIVES,
Of the Ever-MEMORABLE

Mr. JOHN COTTON, *who Died 23. D. 10. M. 1652.*

Mr. JOHN NORTON, *who Died 5. D. 2. M. 1663.*

Mr. JOHN WILSON, *who Died 7. D. 6. M. 1667.*

Mr. JOHN DAVENPORT, *who Died 15. D. 1. M. 1670.*

Reverend and Renowned MINISTERS of the GOSPEL, *All, in the more Immediate Service of One Church, in Boston.*

A N D

Mr. THOMAS HOOKER, *who Died 7. D. 5. M. 1647.*

Pastor of the Church at Hartford, New-England.

Preserv'd by COTTON MATHER.

The First Part.

*Forte nimis Videor Laudes Cantare MEORUM;
Forte nimis cineres Videor celebrare repostos;
Non ita me Facilem Sine Vero Credite!*

To the R E A D E R.

That little part of the Earth which this Age has known by the Name of *New-England*, has been an Object of very signal, both *Frowns* and *Favours* of Heaven. Besides those *Stars of the first Magnitude*, which did sometimes *shine*, and at last *set* in this Horizon, there have been several Men of Renown, who were preparing and fully resolved to transport themselves hither, had not the Lord seen us unworthy of more such Mercies. It is still fresh in the Memory of many yet living, that that Great Man, *Dr. John Owen*, had given order for his passage in a Vessel bound for *Boston*; being invited to succeed the other famous *Johns*, who had been *burning* and *shining* Lights in that which was the first Candlestick, set up in this populous Town; but a special Providence diverted him. Long before that, *Dr. Ames*, (whose Family, and whose Library *New-England* has had) was upon the Wing for this *American Desert*: But God then took him to the *heavenly Canaan*. Whether he left his Fellow upon Earth I know not: Such Acuteness of *Judgment*, and affectionate *Zeal*, as he excelled in, seldom does meet together in the same Person. I have often thought of *Mr. Paul Bayne*, his Farewel Words to *Dr. Ames*, when going for *Holland*; *Mr. Bayne* perceiving him to be a Man of extraordinary Parts,

Parts, *Beware* (said he) of a *Strong Head, and a Cold Heart*. It is rare for a *Scholastical Wit*, to be joined with an *Heart warm in Religion*: But in him it was so. He has sometimes said, that he could be willing to walk twelve Miles on his Feet, on condition he might have an Opportunity to *preach* a Sermon: And he seldom did preach a Sermon without *Tears*. When he lay on his Death-bed, he had such Tasts of the *First-fruits of Glory*, as that a Learned Physician (who was a *Papist*) wondring, said, *Num Protestantes sic solent mori*: Is the Latter End of *Protestants* like this Man's? But altho' some excellent Persons, have, by a Divine Hand been kept from coming into these *Ends of the Earth*, yet there have been others, who whilst living made this *Land* (which before their Arrival was an *Hell of Darknes*) to be a place full of *Light and Glory*; amongst whom the *Champions*, whose Lives are here described, are worthy to be reckoned as those that have *attained to the First Three*.

There are many who have (and some to good purpose) endeavoured to collect the memorable Passages that have occurred in the *Lives* of eminent Men; by means whereof Posterity has had the knowledge of them. *Hierom* of old, wrote *De Viris Illustribus*: The like has been done by *Gennadius*, *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Prochorus*, and other ancient Authors. Of later Times, *Schopfius*, his *Academia Christi*; *Meursius*, his *Athene Batavae*; *Verbeiden*, his *Elogia Theologorum*, *Melchier Adams*, *Lives of Modern Divines*, have preserved the Memories of some that did worthily, and were in their Day famous. There are two learned Men who have very lately engaged in a Service of this nature, *viz.* *Paulus Freherus*, who has published two Volumes in *Folio*, with the Title of, *Theatrum virorum Eruditione clarorum, ad hæc usque Tempora*. He proceeds as far as the Year 1680. The other is *Henningus Witten*, who has written, *Memoriae Theologorum nostri seculi*. It is a *trite* (yet a *true*) Assertion, that *Historical Studies* are both profitable and pleasant. And of all *Historical Narratives*, those which give a faithful Account of the *Lives* of eminent Saints, must needs be the most edifying. The greatest part of the *Sacred Writings* are *Historical*; and a considerable part of them is taken up in relating the *Actions*, *Speeches*, *exemplary Lives*, and *Deaths*, of such as had been choice Instruments in the Hand of the Lord, to promote his *Glory* in the *World*. No doubt but that the Commemoration of the *remarkable Providences* of God towards his Servants, will be some part of their Work in Heaven for ever, that so he may have *Eternal Praises* for the Wonders of his *Grace* in *Christ* towards them. It must needs therefore be in it self, a thing pleasing to God, and a special Act of *Obedience* to the *Fifth Commandment*, to endeavour the preservation of the *Names*, and *Honour* of them, who have been *Fathers* in *Israel*. On which account, I cannot but rejoice in what is here done. Altho' *New-England* has been favoured with many faithful and eminent Ministers of God, there are only *Three* of them all, whose *Lives* have been as yet

published, *viz.* *Mr. Cotton*, whose *Life* was written by his immediate Successor *Mr. Norton*; and my Father *Matther*, whose was done by another Hand, and is Republished in *Mr. Sam. Clark's* last Volume; and *Mr. Eliot*, whose was done by the same Hand which did these, and has been several times Reprinted in *London*. Here the Reader has presented to him *Five* of them, who were amongst the chief of the *Fathers*, in the Churches of *New-England*. The same Hand has done the like Office of *Love and Duty*, for many others who were the *Worthies* of *New-England*, not only in the Churches, but in the *Civil State*, whom the Lord *Christ* saw meet to use as Instruments, in planting the *Heavens*, and laying the Foundation of the *Earth*, in this *New-World*. If these find a candid Acceptance, *those* may possibly see the *Light* in due time.

Whether what is herewith emitted and written by my *Son*, be as to the *Manner* of it, well performed, I have nothing to say, but shall leave it unto others to judge, as they shall see cause; only as to the *Matter* of the *History*, I am ascertained that things are truly related. For altho' I had little of Personal Acquaintance with *Mr. Cotton*, being a Child not above Thirteen Years old when he died. I shall never forget the last Sermon which he preached at *Cambridge*, and his particular Application to the Scholars there, amongst whom I was then a Student newly admitted; and my Relation to his Family since, has given me an opportunity to know many observable things concerning him. Both *Bostons* have reason to Honour his Memory; and *New-England-Boston* most of all, which oweth its Name and Being to him, more than to any one Person in the *World*: He might say of *Boston*, much what as *Augustus* said of *Rome*, *Lateritiam reperi, marmoream reliqui*: He found it little better than a Wood or Wilderness, but left it a famous Town with two Churches in it. I remember, *Dr. Lightfoot*, in Honour to his Patron, *Sir Roland Cotton*, called one of his Sons, *Cotton*: It doth not repent me, that I gave my Eldest Son that Name, in Honour to his Grandfather: And the Lord grant that both of us may be *Followers of him, as he followed Christ*.

As for the other three *Worthies* who have taught the Word of God in this place, they had their peculiar Excellencies.

Mr. Wilson (like *John* the Apostle) did excel in *Love*; and he was also strong in *Faith*. In the time of the *Pequod War*, he did not only hope, but had assurance, that God would make the *English* Victorious. He declared, That he was as certain of it, as if he had with his Eyes seen the Victories obtained; which came to pass according to his Faith. I well remember, that I heard him once say, that when one of his Daughters was sick, and given up as dead, past recovery, he desired *Mr. Cotton* to pray with that Child; And (said he) whilst *Mr. Cotton* was praying, I was sure that Child should not then die, but live. That Daughter did live to be the Mother of many

Children; two of which are now useful Ministers of Christ: And she is still living, a pious Widow, another *Anna, serving God day and night*. When Mr. Norton was called from the Church of *Ipswich* to *Boston*, Mr. *Nathanael Rogers* (that excellent Man, who was Son to the famous Mr. *Rogers* of *Deulham*, in *Essex*, and Pastor of the Church of *Ipswich*, in *N. E.*) opposed Mr. Norton's removal from *Ipswich*: Some saying, that Mr. *Wilson* would by his Argument, or Rhetorick, or both, get Mr. Norton from them at last; Mr. *Rogers* replied, *That he was afraid of his Faith, more than his Arguments*. Sometimes he was transported with a Propheticall *Affatus*, of which there were marvellous Instances. His Conversation was both pleasant and profitable; in that he could relate many *Memorable Providences*, which he himself had the certain knowledge of. Whilst I am writing this, there comes to my mind, one very pleasant, and yet very serious Story, which he told me, and I do not remember that ever I met with it any where but from him. It was this: There was one Mr. *Snape*, a Puritan Minister, who was by the Bishops cast into Prison, for his *Nonconformity*; when his Money was spent, the Jailor was unkind to him: But one Day as Mr. *Snape* was on his Knees at Prayer, the Window of his Chamber being open, he perceived something was thrown into his Chamber; but resolved he would finish his Work with God, before he would divert to see what it was. When he arose from his Knees, he saw a *Purse* on the Chamber-floor, which was full of *Gold*, by which he could make his Keeper better natured than he had been. Many such Passages could that good Man relate.

Mr. Norton was one whose Memory, I must acknowledge, I have peculiar cause to love and honour. I was his Pupil several Years. He had a very *Scholastical Genius*. In the Doctrine of *Grace* he was exceeding clear; indeed another *Austin*. He loved and admired Dr. *Twiss* more than any Man that this Age has produced. He has sometimes said to me, Dr. *Twiss* is *Omni Exceptione Major*. He was much in Prayer: He would very often spend whole Days in Prayer, with *Fasting* before the Lord alone in his Study. He kept a strict daily *Watch* over his own Heart. He was an *hard Student*. He took Notice in a private *Diary*, how he spent his time every day: If he found himself not so much inclined to Diligence and Study, as at other times, he would reflect on his Heart and Ways, lest haply some unobserved Sin should provoke the Lord to give him up to a slothful listless Frame of Spirit. In his *Diary*, he would sometimes have these Words, *Leve desiderium ad studendum: Forsan ex peccato admisso*. I bless the Lord that ever I knew Mr. Norton, and that I knew so much of him as I did.

As for Mr. *Davenport*, I have in a Preface to his Sermon on the *Canticles*, which are transcribed for the Press, and now at *London*, given what Account I could then obtain, concerning the remarkable Passages of his Life. I several times

desired him to imitate *Junius*, and some others, who had written their own *Lives*. He told me, he did intend it: But I could not find any thing of that nature among his Manuscripts, when many Years ago I had an occasion to seek after it. He was a *Princely Preacher*. I have heard some say, who knew him in his younger Years, that he was then very fervent and vehement, as to the manner of his Delivery: But in his later Times, he did very much imitate Mr. *Cotton*, whom in the Gravity of his Countenance, he did somewhat resemble. *Sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat*.

The Reader will find many observable Things in what is here related concerning Mr. *Hooker*. Yet great pity it is, that no more can be collected of the *Memorables* relating to so good and so great a Man as he was; then whom *Connecticut* never did, and perhaps never will, see a greater Person. Mr. *Cotton*, in his Preface to Mr. Norton's Answer to *Apollonius*, says of Mr. *Hooker*, *Dominatur in Concionibus*. Dr. *Ames* used to say, *He never knew his Equal*: There was a great Intimacy between them two. I remember my Father told me, That Mr. *Hooker* was the Author of that large Preface which is before Dr. *Ames*, his *Fresh Suit against Ceremonies*. He would sometimes say, *That next to converting Grace, he blessed God for his Acquaintance with the Principles and Writings of that Learned Man, Mr. Alexander Richardson*. It was a *Black Day* to *New-England*, when that great Light was removed.

There are some who will not be pleased, that any Notice is taken of the hard Measure which these excellent Men had from those persecuting Prelates, who were willing to have the World rid of them. But it is impossible to write the History of *New-England*, and of the *Lives* of them who were the chief in it, and yet be wholly silent in that matter. That eminent Person, Dr. *Tillotson* (the late Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*) did, not above four Years ago, sometimes express to me, his Resentments of the Injury which had been done to the first Planters of *New-England*, and his great dislike of Arch Bishop *Laud's* Spirit towards them. And to my knowledge, there are Bishops at this Day, of the same Christian Temper and Moderation with that Great and Good Man, lately dead. Had the *Sees* in *England*, fourscore Years ago, been filled with such Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, as those which King *William* (whom God grant long to Live and to Reign) has preferred to Episcopal Dignity, there had never been a *New-England*. It was therefore necessary that it should be otherwise then, than at this Day, that so the Gospel in the Power and Purity of it, might come into these dark Corners of the Earth, and that here might be seen a *Specimen* of the *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*, wherein dwells *Righteousness*, which shall e'er long be seen all the World over, and which, according to his Promise we look for.

Boston, New-England,
May 16. 1695.

INCREASE MATHER.

The INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **W**hen the God of Heaven had carried a Nation into a *Wilderness*, upon the Designs of a Glorious Reformation, he there gave them a singular Conduct of his *Presence* and *Spirit*, in a certain *Pillar*, which by Day appear'd as a *Cloud*, and by Night as a *Fire* before them; and the Report of the Respect paid by the *Israelites* unto this *Pillar*, became so noised among the *Gentiles*, that the *Pagan Poets* derided them on this Account,

Nil prater Nubes & cali Lumen adorant,

[Which is, I suppose, the true Reading of that famous Verse in *Juvenal*: And I thus translate it,]

Only the Clouds and Fires of Heav'n they do worship at all Times.

But I must now observe unto my Reader, that more than a Score of Years, after the beginning of the *Age* which is now expiring, our Lord *Jesus Christ*, with a thousand Wonders of his Providence, carried into an *American Wilderness*, a People persecuted for their desire to see, and seek a Reformation of the Church, according to the Scripture: Of which matter I cannot give a *briefser*, and yet *fuller* History, than by reciting the memorable Words of that Great Man, *Dr. John Owen*, who in his *Golden Book of Communion with God*, thus expresses it: 'They who hold *Communion* with the Lord *Jesus Christ*, will admit *nothing*, practice *nothing*, in the *Worship* of God, but what they have his *War-rant* for; unless it comes in his *Name*, with a, *Thus saith the Lord Jesus*, they will not hear an *Angel from Heaven*: They know, the *Apostles* themselves were to teach the *Saints*, only *what he commanded them*: And you know, how many in this very Nation, in the Days not long since passed, yea how many *Thousands*, left their *Native Soyl*, and went into a vast and howling *Wilderness*, in the uttermost parts of the *World*, to keep their *Souls* undefiled and chaste unto their dear Lord *Jesus*, as to this of his *Worship* and *Institutions*. Now tho' the *Reformed Church* thus fled into the *Wilderness*, enjoy'd not the miraculous *Pillar*, vouchsafed unto the *Erratick Church of Israel*, for about forty Years together; yet for that Number of Years, we enjoy'd many a *Person*, in whom the good *Spirit* of God, gave a Conduct unto us, and mercifully dispensed those directing, defending, refreshing Influences, which were as necessary for us, as any that the celebrated *Pillar of Cloud*, and *Fire*, could have afforded. The *great and good Shepherd* of the Church, favoured his distressed *Flocks in the Wilderness*, with many *Pastors*, that were learned, prudent, and holy, beyond

the common Rates, and *Men after his own Heart*: And it would be an Ingratitude many ways pernicious, if the Churches of *New England* should not, like those of the *Primitive Times*, have their *Diptychs*, wherein the Memory of those Eminent *Confessors*, may be recorded and preserved.

§ 2. Four or five of those eminent Persons are now to have their Lives described unto us, and offered unto the Contemplation and Imitation, especially of the *Generation* which are now rising up, *after the Death of Cotton*, and of the *Elders* that out-lived him, and had seen all the *Great Works of the Lords*, which he did for *New-England*. I saw a fearful *Degeneracy*, creeping, I cannot say, but rushing in upon these Churches; I saw to multiply continually our *Dangers*, of our losing no small Points in our *first Faith*, as well as our *first Love*, and of our giving up the *Essentials* of that *Church Order*; which was the very End of these Colonies; I saw a visible *shrink* in all Orders of Men among us, from that *Greatness*, and that *Goodness*, which was in the *first Grain*, that our God brought from *Three sisted Kingdoms*, into this Land, when it was a *Land not sown*; that while the *Papists* in *Europe* have grown better of late Years, by the Growth of *Jansenism* among them, the *Protestants* have prodigiously waxed worse, for a Revolt unto *Pelagianism*, and *Socinianism*, or what is *half way* to it, has not been more surprizing to me, than to see that in *America*, while those parts which were at first Peopled by the *Refuse* of the *English Nation*, do sensibly amend in the Regards of *Sobriety* and *Education*, those Parts which were planted with a more noble *Vine*, do so fast give a Prospect of affording only the *degenerate Plants of a strange Vine*. What should be done for the stop, the turn of this *Degeneracy*? It is reported of the *Scythians*, who were, doubtless, the *Ancestors* of the *Indians* first inhabiting these Regions, that in *Battels*, when they came to stand upon the *Graves* of their *dead Fathers*, they would there stand immovable, 'till they dy'd upon the spot: And, thought I, why may not such a Method now effectually engage the *English* in these Regions, to stand fast in their *Faith* and their *Order*, and in the *Power of Godliness*? I'll shew them, the *Graves* of their *dead Fathers*; and if any of them do retreat unto a Contempt or Neglect of *Learning*, or unto the *Errors of another Gospel*, or unto the *Superstitions of Will-Worship*, or unto a *worldly*, a *selfish*, a *little* Conversation, they shall undergo the irresistable Rebukes of their Progenitors, here fetch'd from the dead, for their Admonition; and I'll therewithal advertise my *New-Englanders*, that if a Grand-child of a *Moses* become an *Idolater*, he shall, [as the Jews remark upon *Judg. 18. 30.*] be destroy'd, as if not a *Moses*, but a *Manasseh*, had been his Father. Besides, *Plus Vivitur Exemplis quam Præceptis!*

§ 3. Good Men in the Church of *England*, I hope,

hope, will not be offended at it, if the *Unreasonable Impositions*, and *Intolerable Persecutions*, of certain Little-Soul'd Ceremony-Mongers, which drove these worthy Men out of their Native Country, into the horrid Thickets of *America*, be in their Lives complained and resented. For, distinguishing between a *Romanizing Faction* in the Church of England, and the *True Protestant Reforming Church* of England, (Things as different as a *Jewel*, from an *Heylin*, or a *Grindal*, from a *Laud*!) the First Planters of *New-England*, at their first coming over, did in a Publick and a Printed Address, call the Church of England, their *Dear Mother*, desiring their Friends therein, *To recommend them unto the Mercies of God, in their constant Prayers, as a Church now springing out of their own Bowels*: Nor did they think, that it was their *Mother* who turned them out of Doors, but some of their angry *Brethren*, abusing the Name of their *Mother*, who so harshly treated them. As for the *Romanizing Faction* in the Church of England, or, that Party, who resolving (altogether contrary to the Desire of the most Eminent Persons, by whom the *Common-Prayer* was made *English*) that the *Reformation* should never proceed one Jot further than the *First Essay* of it, in the former Century, did make certain *Unscriptural Canons*, whereby all that could not approve, subscribe, and practise, a multitude of, (by themselves confessed purely *Humane*) Inventions in the Worship of God, were accursed, and *Ipso Facto* Excommunicate; and by the Ill-obtained Aid of Bitter *Laws* to back these *Canons*, did by Fines and Goals and innumerable Violences, contrary to the very *Magna Charta* of the Nation, ruine many Thousands of the soberest People in the Kingdom; and who continually made as many *Shibboleths* as they could, for the *Discovering* and the *Extinguishing* of all real *Godliness*, and never gave over prosecuting their *Tripartite Plot*, of *Arminianism*, and a Conciliation with the *Patriarch* of the *West*, and *Arbitrary Government* in the *State*, until at last they threw all into the lamentable Confusions of a *Civil War*; the Churches of *New-England* say, *Come not into their Secret, O my Soul*. We dare not be guilty of the *Schism*, which we charge upon that Party in the Church of England: And if any Faction of Men will require the *Assent* and *Consent* of other Men, to a vast Number of *Disputable* and *Uninstituted* things, and, it may be, a *Mathematical Falshood*, among the first of them, and utterly renounce all *Christian Communion* with all that shall not give that *Assent* and *Consent*, we look upon those to be *Separatists*; we dare not be so *Narrow-Spirited*: The Churches of *New-England* profess to make only the *Substantials* of the *Christian Religion* to be the *Terms* of our Sacred Fellowship: We dare make no Difference between a *Presbyterian*, a *Congregational*, an *Episcopalian*, and an *Antipedo-baptist*, where their *Visible Piety*, makes it probable, that the Lord Jesus Christ has received them. And such Reverend Names, as *Hall*, and *Kidder*, most Worthy *Bishops* now adorning the *English*

Church, as well as the Names of such Reverend and Excellent Persons among the *Dissenters*, as *Bates*, *Annesly*, *How*, *Mead*, and *Alsop*, (with many Others) are, on that Score, together Precious unto this part of the *Christian America*. On the other side, the *True Protestant Reforming Church* of England, contains the whole *Body of the Faithful*, scattered through the *English Dominions*, though of different Perswasions about some *Rites* and *Modes*, and lesser Points of Religion: And all the Friends of the last *Reformation*, who, whether they think there needs a *further Progress* in that Work or no, yet are willing to make the Word of God the *Rule* of their serving him, do come under this Denomination. Those Divines, who, with *Arch-Bishop Usher* in the Head of them, did more than Fifty Years ago, give in a Paper touching the *Innovations* of Doctrine and of Discipline in the *Church of England*, and make near Forty Exceptions against things in the *Liturgy*, were still as good Members of that Church, as they that *Hated to be Reformed*; and the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, which made the *Catechisms* now used among us, were as genuine *Sons of the Church* after they became *Non-Conformists*, as while they lived in *Conformity*, which every one of them, except *Eight* or *Nine*, did when they first came together. One who is at this Day a Right Reverend Bishop, has in his *Irenicum*, well expressed the Sense which I believe, the biggest Party of Christians in the Realm, Three to One have of those matters, which have been, *The Apples of Strife* among us: 'That Christ, who came to take away the In-supportable Yoke of the *Jewish Ceremonies*, certainly did never intend to gall the Necks of the *Disciples* with another instead of it; and it would be strange, the Church would require more than Christ himself did, and make more Terms of *Communion*, than our Saviour did of *Disciple-ship*. The Grand *Commission* the Apostles were sent out with, was only to *Teach, What Christ had commanded them*; not the least Intimation of any *Power*, given them to impose or require any thing, beyond what he himself had spoken to them, or they were directed to, by the immediate Guidance of the *Spirit of God*. — And, [Speaking of the Reason, why our first Compilers of the *Common-Prayer*, took in so much of the *Popish Service*] 'Certainly, those Holy Men, who did seek by any means, to draw in others, at such a distance from their Principles, as the *Papists* were, did never intend, by what they did for that end, to exclude any truly tender Consciences, from their *Communion*; That which they laid as a *Bait* for them, was never intended by them as an *Hook* for those of our own Profession. And if this be the *True Church of England*, give me leave to say, The Churches of *New-England*, are no inconsiderable part of it; and that accordingly we may have a Room in it, I may safely in the Name of them all, offer, (as did the Renowned Author of our *Martyr-Books*, when they demanded

manded *Subscription* from him,) *To subscribe the New Testament.*

Upon the whole then, if any be displeas'd at my Report of the Unjust *Impositions* and *Persecutions*, which drove into *America*, as Good *Christians*, and *Protestants*, as any that were left behind them, it will not be the *True Church of England*; for why should *That* be called, *The Church of England*, which has caus'd Thousands of as real and thorough *Christians*, as any upon Earth, to say, *It is no better to dwell in the Wilderness, than with such an Contentious and Angry One!* That *Church of England*, which alone is worthy to be call'd *so*, will bewail, as I know divers Excellent Persons now in the *Episcopal Sees* have done, the Injuries offer'd unto our *Puritan Fathers*.

§ 4. Let my Reader, thus prepar'd, now entertain himself, as far as he pleaseth, with our Four *Johns*, to whose *Lives*, I have upon the Counsel and Command of an Ever-Honour'd Parent, Appended the *Life* of a Famous *Thomas* in this Publication; *Johns*, with whom among the Five or Six Hundred Noted Persons of *that Name*, celebrated by *One* Historian, I find not many that were worthy to be compar'd; *Johns*, fuller of Light and Grace and the Good Spirit, than all those Four or Five and Twenty of *that Name*, who have sat in the Chair that pretends to *Infallibility*. And, if he pleaseth, let him see that Old Little Observation confirm'd, that as the Name *Henry* has been happy in *Kings*, *Elizabeth* in *Queens*, *Edward* in *Lawyers*, *William* in *Physicians*, *Francis* in *Scolars*, *Robert* in *Souldiers* and *State-men*, so *John* has been happy in *Divines*. Even a Divine *Jehojadab*, when he comes to be reckon'd among the *Priests* of the Lord, must have put upon him, the Name of *John* [1 Chron. 6. 9.] But let him consider these *Lives*, as tender'd unto the Publick, upon an Account no less than that of keeping *Alive*, as far as this poor *Essay* may contribute thereunto, the Interests of *Dying Religion* in our Churches. I remember a Learned Man's Conjecture, That [in 1 Tim. 3. 15.] it is *Timothy*, and not *The Church*, which is call'd, *The Pillar and Ground of Faith*: Such Able, Holy, and Faithful Ministers as *Timothy*, are the Great *Proclaimers* and *Preservers* of *Truth*, for the Church of God: Such were these Famous *Johns* while they *Lived*, and now they are *Dead*, I have done my Endeavour that they may still be *Such* unto the Churches, unto whom I owe my *All*. I'll say but this, the last Words of the most Renowned Prebend of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Peter du Moulin*, who died a very Old Man, about Eleven Years ago, were, *Since Calvinism is cried down* [Actum est de Religione Christi apud Anglos,] *Christianity is in Danger to be lost in the English Nation*. Alluding to what he said, about his *John Calvin*, I will take leave to say with respect unto our *John Cotton*, and the rest that here accompany him, *Christianity will be lost among us, if their Faith and Zeal, must all be buried with them*: Which, God forbid! As there would be an hazard, that the Early and Better Times of *New-Eng-*

land would have the *True Story* thereof, within a while, as irrecoverably lost, as the *Story* of the World, relating to those Times, which *Varro* distinguish'd unto *Incognit*, and *Fabulous*, preceding the *Historical*, and we should shortly have as wretched Narratives of the first *Persons* and *Actions* in this Land, as *Justin* gives of the *Jews*, when he makes *Moses* the Son of their *Joseph*, and the Sixth of their *Kings*, or when he makes *Them* Expell'd from *Egypt*, because the Gods would not otherwise allay a *Plague* that rag'd there, or such as are given by *Pliny*, when he makes *Moses* a *Magician*, or *Strabo*, that makes him an *Egyptian Priest*; if no speedy *Care* be taken to preserve the *Memorables* of our *First Settlement*; so I wish, the *Laudable Principles* and *Practices* of that *First Settlement*, may be kept from utterly being lost in our *Apostasies*, by the *Care* which is now taken thus to preserve what was *Memorable*, of the *Men* that have deliver'd them down unto us.

§ 5. Finally; When the *Apostles* had set before *Christians* the *Saints*, which were a *Cloud of Witnesses*, by imitating of whose Exemplary Behaviour we might *Enter into Rest*, he concludes with a *Looking unto Jesus*; or, according to the Emphasis of the Original, *A Looking off* (from them) *unto Jesus*, as the incomparably most perfect of all. So, Let my Reader do, when all that was *Imitable* in the *Lives* of these Worthy Men, has had his *Contemplation* and *Admiration*; They all yet had their *Defects*, and therefore, *Look off unto Jesus*; *Following Them* no farther than they *Followed Him*. It is a notable Passage, [in Luk. 7. 28.] which we mis-translate; *The Least in the Kingdom of God, is Greater than John*. In the Greek, what we translate, *The Least*, is, *He that is Lesser*; that is, *He that is Younger*. [*Minor* still has been the same with *Junior*.] Our Lord means *Himself*; who was *Lesser*, that is, *Younger* than *John* his *Fore-runner*; but, *Greater than He!* Truly, whatever was Excellent in these our *Johns*, I would pray, that the *Minds* of all that see it, may be rais'd still to think, *Our Precious Lord Jesus Christ, is greater than these Johns*: All their *Excellencies* are in him *Transcendently*, *Infinitely*; as they were from *Him* deriv'd. *High Thoughts* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, provok'd by *Reading* the *Descriptions* of these his *Excellent Servants*, that had in them a little of *Him*, and were no farther *Excellent* than as they had so, will make me an abundant *Recompence*, for all the *Difficulties*, and all the *Temptations*, with which my *Writing* is attend'd. And as it quickens the *Foys* of my hastening *Death*, when I have through *Grace*, a Prospect of being then in that State whereto the *Spirits* of these *Just Men made Perfect*, are all of them *Gathered*, so I would have *This* now to out-do all those *Foys*, *To be with Jesus Christ, That surely, is by far the best of all.*

Monumenta Sepulchralia Justis non faciunt, nam Dicta eorum Sunt Memoriae Eorum.

Sentent. Judaic. in *Bereschit. Rabba.*

C H A P. I.

COTTONUS Redivivus: Or, The LIFE of Mr. JOHN COTTON.

In quo Lumen Religionis & Devotionis, Fumus generatus ex Lumine Scientiæ non exstinguit, ille perfectus est: Sed Quis est Hic, ut adoremus eum? Algazel, in Libro Stateræ. Resp. Hic est! —

§ 1. **W**ERE I Master of the Pen, wherewith *Palladius* embalmed his *Chrysoftom*, the Greek Patriark, or *Posidonius* Eternized his *Austin*, the Latin Oracle, among the Ancients; Or, were I owner of the Quill wherewith among the Moderns, *Beza* celebrated his Immortal *Calvin*, or *Fabius* immortalized his Venerable *Eeza*; the Merits of *John Cotton* would oblige me to employ it, in the preserving his Famous Memory. If *Boston* be the chief Seat of *New England*, it was *Cotton* that was the Father and Glory of *Boston*: Upon which account it becomes a piece of pure *Justice*, that the *Life* of him, who above all Men gave *Life* to his Country, should bear no little Figure in its intended History; and indeed if any Person in this Town or Land, had the *Blessedness* which the *Roman* Historian long since pronounced *such*, even, *To do things worthy to be Writ, and to Write Things worthy to be Read*, it was *He*; who now claims a Room in our Pages. If it were a Comparison sometimes made of the Reformers, *Pomeranus* was a Grammarian, *Justus Jonas* was an Orator, *Melancthon* was a Logician, but *Luther* was *All*: Even that Proportion, it may without *Envy* be acknowledged, that *Cotton* bore to the rest of our *New English* Divines; He that, whilst he was *Living* had this Vertue extraordinarily Conspicuous in him, *That it was his delight always, to acknowledge the Gifts of God, in other Men*, must now he is *Dead*, have other Men to acknowledge of him what *Erasmus* does of *Jerom*, *In hoc uno conjunctum fuit & Eximium, quicquid in aliis partim admiramur*.

§ 2. There was a good *Heraldry* in that Speech of the Noble *Romanus*, *It is not the Blood of my Progenitors, but my Christian Profession that makes me Noble*. But our *John Cotton*, besides the Advantage of his *Christian Profession*, had a Descent from Honourable *Progenitors*, to render him doubly Honourable. His immediate *Progenitors* being by some Injustice, deprived of great Revenues, his Father *Mr. Roland Cotton* had the Education of a *Lawyer* bestowed by his Friends upon him, in hopes of his being the better capacitated thereby to recover the Estate, whereof his Family had been wronged. and so the Profession of a *Lawyer*, was that unto which this Gentleman applied himself all his Days. But our *John Cotton*, in this Happier than *Austin*, whose Father was careful to make an *Orator* than a *Christian* of him, while his Gracious Mother was making him on greater Accounts, a Son of her many Tears, had a very

pious Father in this worthy *Lawyer*, as well as a pious Mother, to Interest him in the Covenant of God. That worthy Man was indeed very singular in two most Imitable Practices. One was, that when any of his Neighbours desirous to sue one another, adressed him for Counsel, it was his manner, in the most perswasive and obliging Terms that could be, to endeavour a *Reconciliation* between both Parties, preferring the *Consolations* of a *Peace maker*, before all the *Fees*, that he might have got by blowing up of *Differences*. Another was, that every Night it was his Custom to *Examine himself*, with Reflections on the Transactions of the Day past; wherein, if he found that he had not either *Done* good unto others, or *Got* good unto his own Soul, he would be as much grieved as ever the Famous *Titus* was, when he could complain in the Evening, *Amici Diem Perdidit!* Of such Parents was *Mr. John Cotton* born, at the Town of *Derby*, on the Fourth of *December*; in the Year 1585.

§ 3. The Religious Parents of *Mr. Cotton*, were solicitous to have him indued with a *Learned* as well as a *Pious* Education; and being neither so *Rich*, that the *Mater Artis* could have no room to do her part, nor so *Poor* that the *Res Augusta Domi*, should clog his Progress, they were well fitted thereby, to bestow such an Education upon him. His first Instruction was under a good School-Master, one *Mr. Johnson*, in the Town of *Derby*: Whereon the Intellectual Endowments of all sorts, with which the *God of our Spirits* adorned him, so discovered themselves, that at the Age of *Thirteen*, his Proficiency procured him Admission into *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*. Indeed the Proverb, *Soon Ripe soon Rotten*, has often been too hastily applied unto *Rathe ripe Wits*, in young People; not only *Occolampadius* and *Melancthon*, who commenced *Batchelours of Arts*, at *Fourteen* Years of Age, and *Luther*, who commenced *Master of Arts* at *Twenty*; but also our *Dr. Fuel* sent unto *Oxford*, our *Dr. Usher* sent into *Dublin*, and our *Mr. Cotton* sent unto *Cambridge*, all at the Age of *Thirteen*, do put in a *Bar* to the Universal Application of that Proverb. While *Mr. Cotton* was at the University, his Diligent Head, with *Gods Blessings*, made him a *Rich Scholar*; and his generous Mind found no little *Nourishment* by that *Labour*, which like the Sage Philosopher, he found *sweeter than Idleness*: Insomuch that his being Elected Fellow of *Trinity Colledge*, as the Reward of his quick Proficiency, was diverted by nothing but this, that the extraordinary Charges for their

their Great *Hall* then in Building, did put by their *Election*. And there was this Remarkable in the Education of this *Chosen Vessel*, at the University: That while he continued *there*, his Father's Practice was, by the special Providence of God, augmented so much beyond what it been *before*, as was enough to maintain him there: Upon which Observation Mr. *Cotton* afterwards would say, 'Twas God that kept me at the University! Indeed some have said, That the great Notice quickly taken of the Eminency in the *Son*, was one Reason, why his Father not only came to be complemented on all sides, and *Omnes Omnia Bona dicere, & laudare Fortunae ejus, qui Filium haberet Tali Ingenio praeditum*, but also had his *Clients* more than a little multiplied.

§ 4. Upon the Desires of *Emanuel-Colledge*, Mr. *Cotton* was not only removed unto that Colledge, but also preferred unto a *Fellowship* in it; in order whereunto, he did according to the Critical and Laudable *Statutes* of the House, go through a very severe *Examen* of his Fitness for such a Station; wherein 'twas particularly remarked, that the *Poese* trying his *Hebrew* Skill by the Third Chapter of *Isaiah*, a Chapter which, containing more hard Words than any one *Paragraph* of the Bible, might therefore have puzzled a very good *Hebrician*, yet he made nothing of it. He was afterwards the *Head Lecturer*, the *Dean*, the *Catechist*, in that Famous Colledge; and became a *Tutor* to many Scholars, who afterwards proved Famous Persons, and had cause to bless God for the Faithful, and Ingenious and Laborious *Communicativeness* of this their *Tutor*. Here, all his Academical Exercises, whether in *Disputations* or in *common Places*, or whatever else did so smell of the *Lamp*, that the Wit, the Strength, the Gravity, and the Fulness, both of *Reason* and of *Reading* in them, caused him to be much admired by the Sparkling Wits of the University. But *One* thing among the rest, which caused a great Notice to be taken of him, throughout the whole University, was his *Funeral Oration* upon Dr. *Some*, the Master of *Peter House*, wherein he approved himself such a Master of *Periclean*, or *Ciceronian* Oratory, that the Auditors were even ready to have acclaimed, *Non Vox Hominem Sonat!* And that which added unto the Reputation, thus raised for him, was an *University Sermon*, wherein aiming more to preach *Self* than *Christ*, he used such Florid Strains, as extremely recommended him unto the most, who relished the *Wisdom of Words* above the *Words of Wisdom*: Though the pompous Eloquence of that Sermon, afterwards gave such a Distast unto his own *Renewed Soul*, that with a Sacred Indignation he threw his Notes into the Fire.

§ 5. Hitherto we have seen the *Life* of Mr. *Cotton*, while he was not yet *Alive!* Though the Restraining and Preventing *Grace* of God, had kept him from such Out-breakings of Sin, as Defile the Lives of most in the World, yet like the *Old Man*, who for such a cause order-

ed this Epitaph to be written on his Grave, *Here lies an Old Man, who lived but Seven Years*, he reckoned himself to have been but a *Dead Man*, as being *Alienated from the Life of God*, until he had experienced that *Regeneration*, in his own Soul, which was thus accomplished. The Holy Spirit of God had been at work upon his *Young Heart*, by the Ministry of that Reverend and Renowned *Preacher of Righteousness*, Mr. *Perkins*; but he resisted and smothered those *Convictions*, through a vain *Perswasion*, that if he became a *Godly Man*, 'twould spoil him for being a *Learned One*. Yea, such was the Secret Enmity and Prejudice of an *Unregenerate Soul*, against *Real Holiness*, and such the *Torment*, which our Lords *Witnesses* give to the Consciences of the *Earthly-minded*, that when he heard the Bell toll for the Funeral of Mr. *Perkins*, his Mind secretly rejoiced in his Deliverance, from that Powerful Ministry, by which his Conscience had been so oft Beleagured: The Remembrance of which thing afterwards, did break his Heart exceedingly! But he was, at length, more effectually awakened, by a Sermon of Dr. *Sibs*, wherein was discoursed the Misery of those, who had only a *Negative Righteousness*, or a Civil, Sober, Honest *Blamelessness* before Men. Mr. *Cotton* became now very sensible of his own miserable Condition before God; and the *Arrows* of these Convictions, did stick so fast upon him, that after no less *Three Years* Disconsolate Apprehensions under them, the *Grace* of God made him a thoroughly *Renewed Christian*, and filled him with a Sacred *Joy*, which accompanied him unto the *Fulness of Joy* for ever. For this Cause, as Persons truly converted unto God have a mighty and lasting Affection for the Instruments of their Conversion; thus Mr. *Cotton's* Veneration for Dr. *Sibs*, was after this very particular and perpetual; and it caused him to have the *Picture* of that Great Man, in that part of his House, where he might oftentime look upon it. But so the *Token* of sore Temptations and Afflictions and long spiritual Trials, fitted him to be an eminently useful Servant of God in his Generation!

§ 6. Some time after this Change upon the Soul of Mr. *Cotton*, it came unto his turn again to preach at *St. Maries*; and because he was to preach, an High Expectation was raised, through the *whole University*, that they should have a Sermon, flourishing indeed, with all the *Learning* of the *whole University*. Many Difficulties had Mr. *Cotton* in his own Mind now, what Course to steer. On the one side he considered, That if he should preach with a Scriptural and Christian *Plainness*, he should not only wound his own *Fame* exceedingly, but also tempt Carnal Men to revive an Old Cavil, *That Religion made Scholars turn Dunces*, whereby the Name of God might suffer not a little. On the other side, he considered, That it was his Duty to preach with such a *Plainness*, as became the *Oracles* of God, which are intended for the Conduct of Men in the

Paths of Life, and not for *Theatrical* Ostentations and Entertainments, and the Lord needed not any *Sin* of ours to maintain his own Glory. Hereupon Mr. *Cotton* resolved, that he would preach a plain Sermon, even such a Sermon, as in his own Conscience he thought would be most pleasing unto the Lord Jesus Christ; and he discoursed practically and powerfully, but very solidly upon the plain Doctrine of Repentance. The vain Wits of the University, disappointed thus, with a more excellent Sermon, that shot some troublesome Admonitions into their Consciences, discovered their Vexation at this Disappointment, by their not *Humming*, as according to their sinful and absurd Custom, they had formerly done; and the Vice-Chancellor, for the very same Reason also, graced him not, as he did others that pleased him. Nevertheless, the Satisfaction which he enjoyed in his own *faithful Soul*, abundantly compensated unto him, the loss of any Human Favour or Honour; nor did he go without many Encouragements from some Doctors, then having a better Sense of Religion upon them, who prayed him to persevere in the *good way of Preaching*, which he had now taken. But perhaps the greatest Consolation of all, was a notable Effect of the Sermon then preached! The famous Dr. *Preston*, then a Fellow of *Queen's Colledge* in Cambridge, and of Great Note in the University, came to hear Mr. *Cotton* with the same *itching Ears*, as others were then led withal. For some good while after the beginning of the Sermon, his frustrated Expectation caused him to manifest his Uneasiness all the ways that were then possible; but before the Sermon was ended, like one of *Peter's* Hearers, he found himself *pierced at the Heart*: His Heart within him was now struck with such Repentments of his own *interior state* before the God of Heaven, that he could have no Peace in his own Soul, till with a *wounded Soul*, he had repaired unto Mr. *Cotton*; from whom he received those further Assurances, wherein he became a *Spiritual Father*, unto one of the greatest Men in his Age.

§ 7. The well-disposed People of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, after this, invited Mr. *Cotton* to become their Minister; with which Invitation, out of a sincere and serious desire to serve our Lord in his Gospel, after the solemnest Addresses to Heaven for Guidance in such a solemn Affair, he complied. At this time the Mayor of the Town, with a more corrupt Party, having procured another Scholar from *Cambridge*, more agreeable to them, would needs have him to preach before Mr. *Cotton*: But the *Church-Warden* pretending to more of Influence upon their Ecclesiastical Matters, over ruled it. However when the matter came to a *Vote*; amongst those to whom the Right of Election did by Charter belong, there was an *Equi-Vote* for Mr. *Cotton*, and that other Person; only the Mayor, who had the Casting Vote, by a strange Mistake pricked for Mr. *Cotton*. When the Mayor saw his Mistake, a new Vote was urged and granted; wherein it again proved an *Equi Vote*; but

the Mayor most unaccountably mistook again, as he did before. Extremely displeas'd hereat, he pressed for a *Third Vote*; but the rest would not consent unto it; and so the Election fell upon Mr. *Cotton*, by the *involuntary Cast* of that very Hand, which had most opposed it. This Obstruction to the Settlement of Mr. *Cotton* in *Boston*, being thus conquered, another follow'd: For the Bishop of the Diocese, having understood that Mr. *Cotton* was infected with *Puritanism*, set himself immediately to discourage his being there; only he could object nothing, but, *That Mr. Cotton being a Young Man, he was not so fit upon that Score, to be over such a numerous and such a fallious People*. And Mr. *Cotton* having learned no otherwise to value himself, than to concur with the Apprehensions of the Bishop; intended therefore to return unto *Cambridge*: But some of his Friends, against his Inclination, knowing the *truc way of doing it*, soon charmed the Bishop into a declared Opinion, that Mr. *Cotton* was an Honest, and a Learned Man. Thus the Admission of Mr. *Cotton* unto the Exercise of his Ministry in *Boston*, was accomplished.

§ 8. Mr. *Cotton* found the more *peaceable* Reception among the People, through his own want of internal Peace; and because his continual Exercises, from his *Internal Temptations* and Afflictions, made all People see, that instead of serving this or that Party, his chief care was about the Salvation of his *own Soul*. But the Stir, which had been made in the Town, by the *Arminian Controversies*, then raging, put him upon further Exercises; whereof he has himself given us a Narrative in the ensuing Words: 'When I was first called to *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, so it was, that Mr. *Baron*, Son of Dr. *Baron*, (the Divinity-Reader of *Cambridge*) first broached, that which was then called *Lutheranism*, since *Arminianism*; as being indeed himself, Learned, Acute, Plausible in Discourse, and fit to insinuate into the Hearts of his Neighbours. And tho' he were a *Physitian* by Profession (and of good Skill in that Art) yet he spent the greatest Strength of his Studies, in clearing and promoting the *Arminian* Tenents. Whence it came to pass, that in all the great Feasts of the Town, the chiefest Discourse at the Table, did ordinarily fall upon *Arminian* Points, to the great Offence of Godly Ministers, both in *Boston*, and Neighbour-Towns. I coming among them, a *young Man*, thought it a part both of Modesty and Prudence, not to speak much to the Points, at first, among Strangers and Ancients: Until afterwards, after hearing of many Discourses, in Publick Meetings, and much private Discourse with the Doctor, I had learned at length, where all the great Strength of the Doctor lay. And then observing (by the Strength of Christ) how to avoid such Expressions as gave him any advantage in the Expressions of others, I began publickly to preach, and in private Meetings to defend the Doctrine of God's *Eternal Election*, before all!

Foreſight of Good or Evil, in the Creature; and the Redemption (*ex gratia*) only of the Elect; the effectual Vocation of a Sinner, *Per irresistibilem Gratia vim*, without all respect of the Preparations of Free Will; and finally, the Impossibility of the Fall of a sincere Believer, either totally or finally from a State of Grace. Hereupon, when the Doctor had objected many things, and heard my Answers to those *Scruples*, which he was wont most plausibly to urge; presently after our Publick Feasts, and Neighbourly Meetings, were silent from all further Debates about *Predestination*, or any of the Points which depend thereupon, and all Matters of Religion were carried on calmly and peaceably.

About half a Year after, Mr. Cotton had been at Boston, thus usefully employ'd, he visited Cambridge, that he might then and there proceed *Batchellor of Divinity*; which he did: And his *Concio ad Clerum*, on Mar. 5. 13. *Vos estis Sal Terræ*, was highly esteemed by the Judicious. Nor was he less admired for his very singular Acuteness in *Disputation*, when he answered the *Divinity Act* in the Schools; wherein he had for his Opponent a most acute Antagonist, namely Dr. Chappel, who was afterwards Provost of Trinity Colledge in Dublin; and one unhappily successful in promoting the *New Pelagianism*:

§ 9. Settled now at Boston, his dear Friend, holy Mr. Bayns, recommended unto him a pious Gentlewoman, one Mrs. Elizabeth Horrocks, the Sister of Mr. James Horrocks; a famous Minister in Lancashire, to become his Consort in a Married Estate. And it was remarkable, that on the very Day of his Wedding to that eminently Vertuous Gentlewoman, he first received that Assurance of God's Love unto his own Soul, by the Spirit of God, effectually applying his Promise of *Eternal Grace* and *Life* unto him; which happily kept with him all the rest of his Days: For which cause he would afterwards often say, *God made that Day, a Day of double Marriage to me! The Wife*, which by the Favour of God he had now found, was a very great help unto him, in the Service of God; but especially upon this, among many other Accounts, that the People of her own Sex, observing her more than ordinary Discretion, Gravity, and Holiness, would still improve the Freedom of their Address unto her, to acquaint her with the Exercises of their own Spirits; who acquainting her Husband with convenient Intimations thereof, occasioned him in his Publick Ministry more particularly and profitably, to discourse those things that were of everlasting Benefit.

§ 10. After he had been three Years in Boston, his careful Studies and Prayers brought him to apprehend more of Evil remaining Unreformed in the Church of England, than he had heretofore considered; and from this time he became a Conscientious Non-Conformist, unto the Unscriptural Ceremonies and Constitutions, yet maintained by that Church; but such was his Interest in the Hearts of the People, that his Non-Conformity instead of being disturbed, was indeed

embraced by the greatest part of the Town. However, at last, Complaints being made against him unto the Bishops Courts, he was for a while, then put under the Circumstances of a silenced Minister; in all which while, he would still give his Presence at the Publick Sermons, tho' never at the Common Prayers of the Conformable. He was now offered, not only the Liberty of his Ministry, but very great Preferment in it also; if he would but Conform to the *Scrupled Rites*, tho' but in one Act, and but for one Time: Nevertheless, his tender Soul, afraid of being thereby polluted, could not in the least comply with such Temptations. A Storm of many Troubles upon him, was now gathering; but it was very strangely diverted! For that very Man who had occasioned this Affliction to him, now became heartily afflicted for his own Sin in doing of it; and a steadfast, constant, prudent Friend; presenting a Pair of Gloves to a Proctor of an higher Court, then appeal'd unto that Proctor without Mr. Cotton's knowledge, swore, *In Animam Domini*, that Mr. Cotton was a Conformable Man: Which things issued in Mr. Cotton's being restored unto the Exercise of his Ministry.

§ 11. The Storm of Persecution being thus blown over, Mr. Cotton enjoyed Rest for many Years. In which time he faithfully employed his great Abilities, not in gaining Men to this or that Party of Christians, but in acquainting them with the more essential and substantial Points of Christianity. In the space of Twenty Years that he lived at Boston, on the Lord's Days in the Afternoons, he thrice went over the Body of Divinity in a Catechistical way; and gave the Heads of his Discourse to young Scholars, and others in the Town, that they might answer to his Questions in the Congregation; and the Answers he opened and applied unto the general Advantage of the Hearers. Whilst he was in this way handling the Sixth Commandment, the Words of God which he uttered were so quick and powerful, that a Woman among his Hearers, who had been married sixteen Years to a Second Husband, now in Horror of Conscience, openly confessed her murdering her former Husband, by Poison, tho' thereby she exposed her self to the Extremity of being burned. In the Forenoons of the Lord's Days, he preached over the first six Chapters in the Gospel of John, the whole Book of Ecclesiastes; the Prophecy of Zephaniah, the Prophecy of Zechariah, and many other Scriptures. When the Lord's Supper was administered; which was once a Month, he handled the Eleventh Chapter in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and the Thirteenth Chapter in the Second Book of the Chronicles; and some other pertinent Paragraphs of the Bible. In his Lectures, he went through the whole First and Second Epistles of John; the whole Book of Solomon's Song; the Parables of our Saviour to the Seventeenth Chapter of Matthew. His House also was full of young Students; whereof some were sent unto him out of Germany, some out of Holland, but most out of Cambridge: For Dr. Preston would still advise

his many young Pupils, to go live with Mr. Cotton, that they might be fitted for Publick Service; insomuch, that it was grown almost a Proverb, *That Mr. Cotton was Dr. Preston's Seasoning Vessel*: And of those that issued from this learned Family, famous and useful in their Generation, the well-known Dr. Hill was not the least. Moreover, he kept a *Daily Lecture* in his House, which, as very Reverend Ear-Witnesses have expressed it, *He performed with much Grace, to the Edification of the Hearers*: And unto this Lecture many pious People in the Town, would constantly resort, until upon a suspicion of some Inconveniency, which might arise from the growing *Numerousness* of his Auditory, he left it off. However, besides his Ordinary Lecture every *Thursday*, he preached *thrice* more; every Week, on the *Week-Days*; namely on *Wednesdays* and *Thursdays*, early in the Morning, and on *Saturdays* at Three in the Afternoon. And besides these immense Labours, he was frequently employ'd on *extraordinary Days*, kept *Pro Temporis & Causis*, whereon he would spend sometimes no less than *Six Hours* in the *Word and Prayer*. Furthermore, 'twas his Custom, once a Year, to visit his Native-Town of *Derby*, where he was a notable Exception to the General Rule of, *A Prophet without Honour in his own Country*; and by his vigilant Cares, this Town was for many Years kept supplied with able and faithful Ministers of the Gospel. Thus was this *good Man* a most indefatigable *Doer of Good*.

§ 12. The good Spirit of God, so plentifully and powerfully accompanied the Ministry of this excellent Man, that a great *Reformation* was thereby wrought in the Town of *Boston*. *Profaneness* was extinguished, *Superstition* was abandoned, *Religion* was embraced and practised among the *Body* of the People; yea, the *Mayor*, with most of the Magistrates, were now called *Puritans*, and the *Satanical Party* was become insignificant. As to the matter of *Non-Conformity*, Mr. Cotton was come to forbear the *Ceremonies* enjoyed in the Church of *England*; for which he gave this Account. 'The Grounds were two: *First*, The *Significacy* and *Efficacy* put upon 'em, in the Preface to the Book of *Common-Prayer*: That they were neither *dumb nor dark, but apt to stir up the dull Mind of Man, to the remembrance of his Duty to God, by some notable and special signification, whereby he may be edified*; or Words to the like purpose. The *Second* was the Limitation of *Church-Power*, even of the highest *Apostolical Commission*, to the *Observation of the Commandments of Christ*, Mat. 28. 20. Which made it appear to me utterly unlawful for any *Church-Power* to enjoyn the *Observation of indifferent Ceremonies*, which Christ had not commanded: And all the *Ceremonies* were alike destitute of the *Commandment of Christ*, tho' they had been *indifferent* otherwise; which, indeed others have justly pleaded they were not. But this was not all: For Mr. Cotton was also come to believe, That *Scripture-Bishops*

were appointed to rule no larger a Diocese than a *particular Congregation*; and that the *Ministers of the Lord*, with the *Keys of Ecclesiastical Government*, are given by him to a *Congregational Church*. It hence came to pass, that our Lord Jesus Christ was now worshipped in *Boston*, without the use of the *Liturgy*, or of those *Vestments*, which are by *Zanchy* called *Execrables Vestes*; yea, the Sign of the *Cross* was laid aside, not only in *Baptism*, but also in the *Mayor's Mace*, as worthy to be made a *Nehushtan*, because it had been so much abused unto *Idolatry*. And besides all this, there were some Scores of pious People in the Town, who more exactly formed themselves into an *Evangelical Church-State*, by entering into *Covenant with God*, and with one another, *To follow after the Lord, in the Purity of his Worship*. However, the main Bent and Aim of Mr. Cotton's Ministry was, *To preach a crucified Christ*; and the Inhabitants of *Boston* observed, that God blessed them in their *Secular Concernments*, remarkably the more, through his dwelling among them: For many *Strangers*, and some too, that were Gentlemen of good Quality, resorted unto *Boston*, and some removed their Habitations thither, on his Account; whereby the Prosperity of the place was very much promoted.

§ 13. As his *Desert* of it was very high, so the *Respect* which he met withal was far from low. The best of his Hearers loved him greatly, and the worst of them feared him, as knowing that he was a *righteous and an holy Man*. Yea, such was the *Greatness* of his Learning, his Wisdom, his Holiness, that *Great Men* took no little notice of him. A very Honourable Person rode thirty Miles to see him; and afterwards professed, *That he had as lieve hear Mr. Cotton's ordinary Exposition in his Family, as any Ministers publick Preaching that he knew in England*. Whilst he continued in *Boston*, Dr. *Preston* would constantly come once a Year to visit him, from his exceeding Value for Mr. Cotton's Friendship. Arch-Bishop *Williams* did likewise greatly esteem him for his incomparable Parts; and when he was *Keeper of the Great Seal*, he recommended Mr. Cotton to the Royal Favour. Moreover, the Earl of *Dorchester* and of *Lindsey*, had much regard unto him; which happened partly on this occasion: The Earl's coming into *Lincolnshire*, about the Dreining of some Fenny Grounds. Mr. Cotton was then in his Course of Preaching on *Gal. 2. 20*. Intending to preach on the Duties of *living by Faith in Adversity*; but considering that these Noble-men were not much acquainted with *Afflictions*, he altered his Intentions, and so ordered it, that when they came to *Boston*, he discoursed on the Duties of *living by Faith in Prosperity*: When the Noble-men were so much taken with what they heard, that they assured him, If at any time he should want a *Friend at Court*, they would improve all their Interest for him. And when Mr. Cotton did plainly, but wisely admonish them, of certain *Pastimes on the Lord's Day*, whereby they gave some Scandal, they took it

most kindly from him, and promised a *Reformation*. But none of the *Roses* cast on this applauded *Astor*, smothered that humble, that loving, that gracious Disposition, which was his perpetual *Ornament*.

§ 14. At length, doubtless to chastise the seldom unchastised Evils of *Divisions*, crept in among the Christians of *Boston*, it pleased the God of Heaven to deprive them of Mr. *Cotton's* Ministry, by laying a *Tertian Ague* upon him for a Year together. But being invited unto the Earl of *Lincoln's*, in pursuance to the Advice of his Physicians, that he should *change the Air*, he removed thither; and thereupon he happily recovered. Nevertheless, by the same Sickness he then lost his excellent Wife; who having lived with him *Childless* for Eighteen Years, went from him now, to be *for ever with the Lord*; whereupon he travelled further a field, unto *London*, and some other places, whereby the recovery of his lost Health was further perfected. About a Year after this, he practically appeared in opposition to *Tertullianism*, by proceeding unto a *Second Marriage*; wherein one Mrs. *Sarah Story*, a virtuous Widow, very dear to his former Wife, became his Consort; and by her he had both *Sons and Daughters*.

§ 15. Altho' our Lord had hitherto made the Discretion and Vigilancy of Mr. *Thomas Leveret* (afterwards a doubly honoured Elder of the Church, in another Land) the happy occasion of diverting many Designs to molest Mr. *Cotton* for his *Non-Conformity*, yet when the Sins of the place had ripened it, for so dark a Vengeance of Heaven, as the removing of this eminent Light, a Storm of Persecution could no longer be avoided. A debauch'd Fellow in the Town, who had been punished by the Magistrates for his Debaucheries, contrived and resolved a *Revenge* upon them, for their *Justice*: And having no more effectual way to vent the cursed Malice of his Heart, than by bringing them into Trouble at the *High Commission Court*, up he goes to *London*, with Informations to that Court, that the Magistrates did not *kneel at the Sacrament*, nor observe some other Ceremonies by Law imposed. When some that belonged unto the Court signified unto this Informer, that he must put in the *Minister's Name*: Nay, (said he) *the Minister is an honest Man, and never did me any wrong*: But it being further pressed upon him, that all his Complaints would be insignificant, if the *Minister's Name* were not in them, he then did put it in: And *Letters Missive* were dispatched incontinently, to Convent Mr. *Cotton*, before the infamous *High Commission Court*. But before we relate what became of Mr. *Cotton*, we will enquire what became of his Accuser. The Renowned Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*, having been on his Lecture Day, just before his going to preach, advised, that Mr. *Cotton* was brought into this trouble, he took occasion to speak of it in the *Sermon*, with just *Lamentations* for it; and among others, he used Words to this purpose: *As for that Man, who hath caused a faithful Pastor, to be driven from his Flock, he is a*

Wisp, used by the Hand of God, for the scowering of his People: But mark the Words now spoken by a Minister of the Lord! I am verily persuaded, the Judgments of God, will overtake the Man that has done this thing: Either he will die under an Hedge, or something else, more than the ordinary Death of Men shall befall him. Now behold, how this Prediction was accomplished: This miserable Man quickly after this, dy'd of the *Plague*, under an *Hedge*, in *Yorkshire*; and it was a long time, e'er any could be found, that would bury him. *This 'tis to turn Persecutor.*

§ 16. Mr. *Cotton* knowing that *Letters Missive* were out against him, from the *High Commission Court*, and knowing, that if he appeared there, he could expect no other, than to be choaked with such a *perpetual Imprisonment*, as had already murdered such Men as *Bates* and *Udal*, he concealed himself as well as he could, from the raging *Pursuivants*. Application was made, in the mean time, to the Earl of *Dorset*, for the Fulfilment of his old Engagement unto Mr. *Cotton*; and the Earl did indeed intercede for him, until the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, who would often wish, *Oh! that I could meet with Cotton!* rendered all his Intercessions both ineffectual and unseasonable. Hereupon that Noble Person sent word unto him, That if he had been guilty of *Drunkennes*, or *Uncleanness*, or any such lesser Fault, he could have obtained his Pardon; but inasmuch as he had been guilty of *Non-Conformity*, and *Puritanism*, the Crime was unpardonable; and therefore, said he, *You must fly for your Safety*. Doubtless, it was from such unhappy Experiments, that Mr. *Cotton* afterwards published this Complaint: *The Ecclesiastical Courts, are like the Courts of the High-Priests and Pharisees, which Solomon by a Spirit of Prophecy stileth, Dens of Lions, and Mountains of Leopards. And those who have to do with them, have found them Markets of the Sins of the People, the Cages of Uncleanness, the Forges of Extortion, the Tabernacles of Bribery, and they have been contrary to the End of Civil Government, which is, The Punishment of Evil-Doers, and the Praise of them which do well.*

§ 17. Mr. *Cotton*, therefore, now, with *Supplications* unto the God of Heaven for his Direction, joined *Consultations* of good Men on Earth; and among others, he did with some of his *Boston* Friends, visit old Mr. *Dod*, unto whom he laid open the difficult Case now before him, without any Intimation of his own Inclination, whereby the Advice of that holy Man, might have been at all forestalled. Mr. *Dod* upon the whole, said thus unto him: *I am old Peter, and therefore must stand still, and bear the Brunt; but you being young Peter, may go whether you will, and ought, being persecuted in one City, to flee unto another.* And when the *Boston* Friends urged, *That they would support and protect Mr. Cotton, tho' privately; and that if he should leave them, very many of them would be exposed unto extreme Temptation*: He readily answered,

answered, *That the removing of a Minister, was like the draining of a Fish-pond; the good Fish will follow the Water, but Eels, and other Baggage Fish, will stick in the Mud.* Which things when Mr. Cotton heard, he was not a little confirmed in his Inclination to leave the Land. Nor did he forget the Concession of Cyprian, *That a reasonable Flight, is in effect, a Confession of our Faith:* For it is a Profession that our Faith is dearer unto us, than all the Enjoyments from which we fly. But that which is further memorable in this matter, is, That as the Great God often makes his Truth to spread by the Sufferings of them that profess the Truth; Four hundred were converted by the Death of one persecuted *Cecilia*: And the Scotch Bishop would leave off burning of the Faithful, because the Smoke of *Hamilton* infected as many as it blew upon. Thus the Silencing and Removing of Mr. Cotton, which was to him, a thing little short of Martyrdom, was an occasion of more thorough Repentance in sundry of his bereived People, who now began to consider, that God by taking away their Minister, was punishing their former Unfruitfulness under the most fruitful Ministry, which they had thus long enjoyed. And there was yet another such effect of the matter, which is now to be related.

§ 18. To avoid them that thirsted for his Ruine, Mr. Cotton travelled under a chang'd Name and Garb, with a full purpose of going over for *Holland*; but when he came near the place, where he would have shipped himself, he met with a Kinsman, who vehemently and effectually perswaded him to divert into *London*. Here the Lord had a Work for him to do, which he little thought of. Some Reverend and Renowned Ministers of our Lord in that Great City, who yet had not seen sufficient Reason to expose themselves unto Persecutions for the sake of Non-Conformity, but look'd upon the imposed Ceremonies as indifferent and sufferable Trifles, and weigh'd not the Aspect of the *Second Commandment*, upon all the Parts and Means of Instituted Worship, took this Opportunity for a Conference with Mr. Cotton; being perswaded, That since he was no Passionate, but a very Judicious Man, they should prevail with him rather to conform, than to leave his Work and his Land. Unto the Motion of a Conference Mr. Cotton most readily yielded: And first, all their Arguments for Conformity, together with Mr. *Byfield's*, Mr. *Whately's*, and Mr. *Sprint's*, were produced; all of which Mr. Cotton answered, unto their wonderful Satisfaction. Then he gave his Arguments for his Non-Conformity, and the Reasons why he must rather forgo his Ministry, or at least his Country, than wound his Conscience with unlawful Compliances: The Issue whereof was, that instead of bringing Mr. Cotton back to what he had now forsaken, he brought them off altogether from what they had hitherto practis'd: Every one of those eminent Persons, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye*, and Mr. *Davenport*, now became all that he was, and at last left the Kingdom for their being so. But

Mr. Cotton being now at *London*, there were three places which offered themselves to him for his Retreat; *Holland*, *Barbadoes*, and *New-England*. As for *Holland*, the Character and Condition, which famous Mr. *Hooker* had reported thereof, took off his Intentions of removing thither. And *Barbadoes* had not near such encouraging Circumstances, upon the best Accounts, as *New-England*; where our Lord Jesus Christ had a more than ordinary thing to be done for his Glory, in an *American Wilderness*, and so would send over a more than ordinary Man, to be employed in the doing of it. Thither, even to that Religious and Reformed Plantation, after the solemnest Applications to Heaven for Direction, this great Person bent his Resolutions: And Letters procured from the Church of *Boston*, by Mr. *Winthrop*, the Governour of the Colony, had their Influence on the matter.

§ 19. The God that had carried him through the Fire of Persecution, was now graciously with him in his Passage through the Water of the *Atlantic Ocean*, and he enjoyed a comfortable Voyage over the great and wide Sea. There were then three eminent Ministers of God in the Ship; namely, Mr. Cotton, Mr. *Hooker*, and Mr. *Stone*; which glorious *Triumvirate* coming together, made the poor People in the Wilderness, at their coming, to say, That the God of Heaven had supplied them, with what would in some sort answer their three great Necessities; Cotton for their Cloathing, Hooker for their Fishing, and Stone for their Building: But by one or other of these three Divines in the Ship, there was a Sermon preached every Day, all the while they were aboard, yea they had three Sermons, or Expositions, for the most part every Day: Of Mr. Cotton in the Morning, Mr. Hooker in the Afternoon, Mr. Stone after Supper in the Evening. And after they had been a Month upon the Seas, Mr. Cotton received a Mercy, which God had now for Twenty Years denied unto him, in the Birth of his Eldest Son, whom he called *Sea-born*, in the Remembrance of the never-to-be-forgotten Blessings, which he thus enjoyed upon the Seas. But at the end of Seven Weeks they arrived at *New-England*, September 3. in the Year 1633. Where he put a-shore at *New-Boston*, which in a few Years, by the Smile of God; especially upon the Holy Wisdom, Conduct, and Credit of our Mr. Cotton, upon some Accounts of Growth, came to exceed *Old Boston* in every thing that renders a Town considerable. And it is remarkable, that his Arrival at *New-England*, was just after the People there, had been by solemn Fasting and Prayer seeking unto God, that inasmuch as they had been engaging to walk with him in his Ordinances, according to his Word, he would mercifully send over to them, such as might be Eyes unto them in the Wilderness, and strengthen them in discerning and following of that Word.

§ 20. There were divers Churches gathered in the Country, before the Arrival of Mr. Cotton; but upon his Arrival, the Points of Church-Order

Order, were with more of Exactness revived, and received in them, and further observed in such as were gathered after them. He found the whole Country in a perplexed and a divided Estate, as to their *Civil Constitution*, but at the Publick Desire, preaching a Sermon on those words, *Hag. 2. 4. Be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord; and be strong, O Josphua, Son of Josedech the High-Priest; and be strong all ye People of the Land, saith the Lord, and work: For I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts.* The good Spirit of God, by that Sermon, had a mighty Influence upon all Ranks of Men, in the *Infant-Plantation*; who from this time carried on their Affairs, with a new Life, Satisfaction, and Unanimity. It was then requested of Mr. Cotton, That he would, from the Laws wherewith God governed his ancient People, form an *Abstract* of such as were of a Moral and a Lasting Equity: Which he performed as acceptably as judiciously. But inasmuch as very much of an *Athenian Democracy*, was in the Mould of the Government, by the *Royal Charter*, which was then acted upon, Mr. Cotton effectually recommended it unto them, that none should be *Electors*, nor *Elected* therein, except such as were *visible Subjects* of our Lord Jesus Christ, personally confederated in our Churches. In these, and many other ways, he propounded unto them, an Endeavour after a *Theocracy*, as near as might be, to that which was the Glory of *Israel*, the peculiar People.

But the *Ecclesiastical Constitution* of the Country, was that on which he employ'd his peculiar Cares; and he was one of those *Olive-Trees*, which afforded a singular Measure of Oyl, for the Illumination of our *Sanctuary*.

§ 21. *The Churches now had Rest, and were edified: And there were daily added unto the Churches, those that were to be saved.* Now, tho' the poor People were fed with the *Bread of Adversity*, and the *Waters of Affliction*, yet they counted themselves abundantly compensated by this, that *their Eyes might see such Teachers*, as were now to be seen among them. The Faith and the Order in the Churches, was generally glorious, whatever little *popular Confusions*, might in some few places eclipse the *Glory*. But the warm *Sunshine* will produce a Swarm of *Insects*; whilst Matters were going on thus prosperously, the Cunning and Malice of Satan, to break the *Prosperity* of the Churches, brought in a Generation of *Hypocrites*, who crept in unawares, turning the *Grace of our God* into *Lasciviousness*. A Company of *Antinomian* and *Familistical Sectaries*, were strangely crouded in among our more Orthodox Planters; by the Artifices of which busie *Opinionists*, there was a dangerous Blow given, first unto the *Faith*, and so unto the *Peace* of the Churches. In the Storm thus raised, it is incredible what *Obloquy* came to be cast upon Mr. Cotton, as if he had been the *Patron* of these *Destroyers*; merely because they willing to have a *great Person in admiration*, because of advantage, falsely used the Name of this *great Person*, by the Credit thereof to

disseminate and dissemble their *Errors*; and because the chief of them in their private Conferences with him, would make such fallacious *Profession of Gospel-Truths*, that his *Chrittian* and abused *Charity*, would not permit him to be so hasty as many others were, in *Censuring* of them. However, the Report given of Mr. Cotton on this occasion, by one *Baily*, a *Scotchman*, in a most scandalous Pamphlet, called, *A Dissuasive*, written to cast an *Oidium* on the Churches of *New-England*, by vilifying him, that was one of their most eminent Servants, are most horrid Injuries: For there being upon the Encouragement of the Success which the old *Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesine, and Chalcedonian Councils* had, in the extinguishing of several successive Heresies, a *Council* now called at *Cambridge*, Mr. Cotton, after some *Debates* with the Reverend Assembly, upon some controverted Points of *Justification*, most vigorously joined with the other Ministers of the Country, in testifying against the *hateful Doctrines*, whereby the Churches had been troubled. Indeed there did happen *Paroxisms* in this *Hour of Temptation*, between Mr. Cotton, and some other zealous and worthy Persons, which tho' they did not amount unto the *heat and height* of those that happened between *Chrysofom* and *Epiphanius*, or between *Hierom* and *Ruffinus*, yet they inclined him to meditate a *Removal* into another *Colony*. But a certain scandalous Writer, having publicly reproached Mr. Cotton, with his former Inclination to *Remove*, there was thereby provoked his publick and patient Answer; which being a summery Narrative of this whole Business, I shall here transcribe it.

There was a Generation of *Familists* in our own, and other Towns, who under pretence of holding forth what I had taught, touching Union with Christ, and evidencing that Union, did secretly vent sundry and dangerous Errors and Heresies, denying all *inherent Righteousness*, and all evidencing of a *good Estate* thereby in any sort, and some of them also denying the *Immortality of the Soul*, and the *Resurrection of the Body*. When they were questioned by some Brethren about those things, they carried it, as if they had held forth nothing, but what they had received from me: Whereof, when I was advised to clear my self, I publicly preached against those Errors. Then said the Brethren to the Erring Party, *See your Teacher declares himself clearly to differ from you. No matter* (say the other) *what he saith in publick, we understand him otherwise, and we know what he saith to us in private.* Yea, and I my self could not easily believe, that those Erring Brethren and Sisters, were so corrupt in their Judgments as they were reported; they seeming to me forward Christians, and utterly denying any such Tenents, or any thing else, but what they received from my self. All which bred in sundry of the Country, a Jealousie that I was in secret a *Fomentor of the Spirit of Familism*, if not *leavened* my self that way. Which I

discip-

discerning, it wrought in *me* Thoughts (as it did in many other sincerely and Godly Brethren of our Church) not of a *Separation* from the Churches, but of a *Removal* to *Newhaven*, as being better known to the Pastor, and some others *there*, than to such as were at that time jealous of *me here*. The true Ground whereof was an *Inward Loathness to be Troublesome unto Godly Minds*, and a Fear of the Unprofitableness of my *Ministry* there, where my way was suspected to be Doubtful and Dangerous. I chose therefore rather to meditate a *Silent Departure* in Peace, than by tarrying here, to make way for the breaking forth of *Temptations*. But when, at the *Synod*, I had discovered the Corruption of the Judgment of the *Erring Brethren*, and saw their Fraudulent Pretence of holding forth no other, but what they received from *me* (when as indeed they plead for Gross Errors contrary unto my Judgment) I thereupon did bear Witness against them; and when in a private Conference with some Chief *Magistrates* and *Elders*, I perceived, that my Removal upon such Differences was unwelcome to them, and that such Points need not to occasion any *Distance* (neither in *Place* nor in *Heart*) amongst Brethren, I then rested satisfied in my abode amongst them, and so have continued, by the Grace of Christ unto this Day.

'Tis true, such was Mr. Cotton's Holy Integrity, that when he perceived the Advantage, which Erroneous and Heretical Persons in his Church, had from his abused Charity, taken to spread their Dangerous Opinions, before he was aware of them, he did publicly sometimes with *Tears* bewail it, *That the Enemy had sown so many Tares whilst he had been asleep*. Nevertheless 'tis as true, that nothing ever could be *Baser* than the *Disingenuity* of those *Pamphleteers*, who took Advantage *hence*, to catch these *Tears* in their Venemous *Ink-horns*, and employ them for so many *Blots* upon the Memory of a *Righteous Man*, worthy to be had in *Everlasting Remembrance*.

§ 22. When the Virulent and Violent Edwards had been after a most Unchristian manner, bespattering the Excellent *Burroughs*, That Reviled Saint, in his Answer, had that Passage; *The Extreme Eagerness of some to asperse our Names, makes us to think, that God hath made more use of our Names, than we were aware of*, — We see by their Anger even almost to Madness, bent that way, that they had little Hope, to prevail with all their Argument against the Cause we profess, till they could get down our Esteem (such as it was) in the Hearts of the People — But our Names are not in the Power of their Tongues and Pens; they are in the Hands of God, who will preserve them so far, as he hath use of them; and further, we shall have no use of them our selves. That Bitter Spirit in *Baily*, must for such Causes expose Name of the Incomparable Cotton, unto Irreparable Injuries: For, from the meer *Hearsays* of that Uncharitable Writer, hastily Pub-

lished unto the World, the Learned and Worthy Dr. *Hoornbeck*, not much less against the Rules of *Charity*, Printed a Short Account of Mr. Cotton, whereof an Ingenious Author truly says, *There was in it, Quot fere Verba, tot Errores famosissimi; neque tantum quot Capita, tot Carpenda, sed quot fere Sententiarum punctula, tot Dispungenda*. That Scandalous Account, it is pity it should be Read in *English*, and greater pity that ever that Reverend Person should make it be Read in *Latin*; but this it was; Cottonus, *horrore Ordinis Episcopalis, in Aliud Extremum prolapsus, Omnia plebi absque Vinculo Ecclesiarum concedebat*. — Cottonus iste, *primum in Anglia, alterius Longe Sententie fuerat, unde, & plurimorum Errorum Heresiumque Rexus, Maximus Ordinis istius, vel potius ATAXIAS, promotor extitit; habuitque secum, quemadmodum Monranus olim Maximillam, Suam Hutchinsonam, de quavari & prodigiosa multa referunt*. From these miserable *Historians*, who would Imagine what a *Slur* has been abroad cast upon the Name of as Holy, as Learned as Orthodox, and Eminent a Servant of our Lord, in his *Reformed Churches*, as was known in his Age! Among the rest, it is particularly observable how a Laborious and Ingenious Foreigner, in his *Bibliotheca Anglorum Theologica*, having in his *Index* mentioned a *Book* of this our Mr. Cotton's, under the *Sryle* of *Johannis Cottoni, Via Vitæ, Liber Utilissimus*, presently adds, *Alius Johannes Cottonus male Nota Homo*: Whereas 'twas only by the Misrepresentations of contentious and unadvised Men, that *John Cotton*, the Experimental Author of such an useful *Book*, must be branded with a *Note* of Infamy. But if the Reader will deal justly, he must join these Gross Calumnies upon Cotton, with the Fables of *Luthers Devil*, *Zuinglius's Dreams*, *Calvin's Brands*, and *Junius's Cloven Foot*. If *Hoornbeck* ever saw Cotton's mild, but full Reply to *Baily*, which as the Good Spirited *Beverly* says, would have been esteemed a sufficient Refutation of all these wretched Slanders, *Nisi Fratrum quorundam aures erunt ad veritatem, tanquam Aspidum, obturata*, 'tis impossible to excuse his wrongful Dealings with a *Venerable Minister* of our Lord! Pray, Sir, charge not our Cotton with an *Horror Ordinis Episcopalis*; until you have chastised your Friend *Honorius Reggius*, that is *Georgius Hornius*, for telling us, as *Voetius* quotes it; *Multorum Animos Subiit Recordatio illius, quod Venerabilis Beza, non sine Prophetia Spiritu, olim rescripsit Knoxo, Ecclesie Scoticae Reformatori: Sicut Episcopi Papatum pepererunt, ita Oculis pæne ipsis jam cernitur, Psuedo Episcopos, patus Reliquiæ, Epicureismum Terris Inveduros. Atque hæc præmittere Visum, ut eo manifestius esset Britanniam diutius Episcopos non potuisse ferre, nisi in Papisum & Atheismum Labi vellet*. Charge not our Cotton with an *Omnia Plebi absque Vinculo Aliarum Ecclesiarum concedebat*; until, besides the whole Scope and Scheme of his Ecclesiastical Writings, which allow no more still unto the *Fraternity*, than

Parker, Amcs, Cartwright; and advance no other than that *Aristocrasie*, that *Beza*, *Zanby*, *Whitaker*, *Bucer*, and *Blondel* pleaded for; you have better construed his Words in his Golden Preface to *Norton's Answer* unto the *Sylloge Quæstionum*, *Neque nos Regimen proprie dictum alibi quam penes Presbyteres stabilendum Cupimus: Convenimus ambo in Subiecto Regiminis Ecclesiastici: Convenimus etiam in Regula Regiminis, ut Administrentur Omnia Juxta Canonem Sacrarum Scripturarum: Convenimus etiam in Fine Regiminis, ut Omnia Transfigantur ad Edificationem Ecclesiæ, non ad Pompam aut Luxum Secularem: Synodes nos, una Vobiscum, cum opus fuerit, & Suscipimus & veneramur. Quantulum est, quod Restat, quod Distat! Adus Regiminis, quos vos a Synodis peragi Vellestis, eos a Synodis porrigi Ecclesiis, & ab Ecclesiis, ex Synodali DIORTHOSEI peragi peteremus.* Charge not our *Cotton* with an *ATAXIAS Promotor* *Exitit*, until you, your self, *Doctor*, have revoked your own *two Concessions*, which are all the *Ataxies* that ever could, with so much as the least *Preence*, be imputed unto this *Renowned Person*; *Ecclesia particularis quolibet Subiectum est Adequatum & proprium plenæ potestatis Ecclesiasticæ; nec Congruè dicitur ejus Synodo Dependens, And, Neque enim Synodi in alias Ecclesias potestatem habent Imperantem, quæ Superiorum est, in Inferiores sibi Subditos; Non-Communionis Sententia Potestatem Summam denotat.* As for the *Cottonus Plurimorum Errorum Hæresumque Reus*, were *Old Austin* alive; he would have charged no less a *Crime* than that of *Sacrilege* upon the *Man*, that thus without all *Colour*, should *Rob* the *Church* of a *Name* which would justly be *Dear* unto it; for as the *Great Caryl* hath expressed it, *The Name of Cotton is as an Ointment poured forth.* But for the *Top* of all these *Calumnies*, *Cottoni Hutchinsona*, instead of a *Resemblance* to *Montani Maximilla*, the truer *Comparison* would have been, *Mulier ista, quæ per Calumniam notissimam Objiciebatur Athanasio*; All the *Favour* which that *Prophetess* of *Thyatira* had from this *Angelical Man*, was the *fame*, that the provoked *Paul* show'd unto the *Pythons*. In fine, The *Histories* which the *World* has had of the *New-English Churches*, under the *Influence* of *Mr. Cotton*, I have sometimes thought much of a *piece*, with what we have in the *Old Histories* of *Lysimachus*; That when a *Leprous*, a *Scabby* sort of a *People* were driven out of *Egypt* into the *Wilderness*, there was a certain *Man* call'd *Moses*, who counselled them to march on in a *Body*, till they came to some *Good Soyl*. This *Moses* commanded them to be kind unto no *Man*; To give *Bad Advice* rather than *Good*, upon all *Occasions*; and to destroy as many *Temples* as they could find; So, after much *Travel* and *Trouble*, they came to a *Fruitful Soyl*, where they did all the *Mischief* that *Moses* had recommended and built a *City*, which was at first called *Hierosyla*, from the spoiling of the *Temples*: But afterwards, to shun the *Disgrace* of the *Occasion*,

they changed it into *Hierosolyme*, and bore the *Name* of *Hierosolymitans*. But thus must a *Bad Report*, as well as a *Good Report*, follow such a *Man* as *Mr. Cotton*, whose only *Fault* after all, was that, with which that *memorable Ancient Nazienzen* was taxed sometimes; namely, the *Fault of Mansuetude*.

§ 23. These *Clouds* being thus happily blown over, the rest of his *Days* were spent in a more settled *Peace*; and *Mr. Cotton's* growing and spreading *Fame*, like *Joseph's Bough*, Ran over the *Wall* of the *Atlantic Ocean*, unto such a *Degree*, that in the *Year 1641*. Some *Great Persons* in *England*, were intending to have sent over a *Ship* on purpose to fetch him over, for the sake of the *Service*, that such a *Man* as *He*, might then do to the *Church of God*, then *Travelling* in the *Nation*. But although their *Doubt* of his *Willingness to Remove*, caused them to forbear that *Method* of obtaining him, yet the *Principal Members* in both *Houses of Parliament* wrote unto him, with an *Importunity* for his *Return* into *England*; which had prevailed with him, if the *Dismal Showres of Blood*, quickly after breaking upon the *Nation*, had not made such *Affictive Impressions* upon him, as to prevent his purpose. He continued therefore in *Boston* unto his *Dying Day*; counting it a *great Favour of Heaven* unto him, that he was delivered from the *Unsettledness of Habitation*, which was not among the least of the *Calamities* that *Exercised* the *Apostles* of our *Lord*. *Nineteen Years* and odd *Months* he spent in this *Place*, doing of *Good* publickly and privately, unto all sorts of *Men*, as it became a *Good Man full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghost*. Here in an *Expository* way, he went over the *Old Testament* once, and a *Second Time* as far as the *Thirtieth Chapter* of *Isaiah*; and the whole *New Testament* once, and a *Second time*, as far as the *Eleventh Chapter* to the *Hebrews*. Upon *Lord's-Days* and *Lecture-Days*, he *Preached* thorow the *Acts of the Apostles*; the *Prophecies* of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*; the *Books* of *Ezra*, the *Revelation*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, *Second* and *Third Epistles* of *John*, the *Epistle* to *Titus*, both *Epistles* to *Timothy*; the *Epistle* to the *Romans*; with innumerable other *Scriptures* on *Incidental Occasions*. Though he had also the most *Remarkable Faculty*, perhaps of any *Man* living, to *Meet* every *Remarkable Occasion*; with *pertinent Reflections*, whatever *Text* he were upon, without ever wandering out of sight from his *Text*: And it is possible there might sometimes be a particular *Operation of Providence*, to make the *Works* and *Words* of *God* meet in the *Ministry* of his *Holy Servant*. But thus did he *Abound in the Works of the Lord!*

§ 24. At length, upon *Desire*, going to preach a *Sermon* at *Cambridge*, (which he did, on *Isa. 54. 13. Thy Children shall be all taught of the Lord*; and from thence gave many *Excellent Councils* unto the *Students* of the *Colledge* there) he took *Wet* in his *Passage* over the *Ferry*; but he presently felt the *Effect* of it, by

the failing of his *Voice* in Sermon-time; which ever until *now*, had been a clear, neat, audible Voice, and easily heard in the most Capacious Auditory. Being *found so doing*, as it had often been his declared Wish, *That he might not out live his Work!* (saying upon higher Principles than once *Curius Dentatus* did, *Malle esse Mortuum, quàm Vivere*; that he had rather *Be Dead*, than *Live Dead*: And with *Seneca*, *Ultimum malorum est ex vivorum Numero exire, ante quam moriaris* :) His Illness went on to an Inflammation in his *Lungs*; from whence he grew somewhat *Asthmatical*; but there was a Complication of other *Scorbutic Affects*, which put him under many Symptoms of his approaching End. On the Eighteenth of *November*, he took in Course for his Text, the Four last Verses of the Second Epistle to *Timothy*, giving this Reason for his insisting on so many Verses at once, *Because else* (he said) *I shall not Live to make an End of this Epistle*; but he chiefly insisted on those Words, *Grace be with you all*. Upon the *Lord's Day* following, he preached his last Sermon on *Joh. 1. 14*. About that *Glorious of the Lord Jesus Christ*, from the *Faith* to the *Sight* whereof, he was now hastening. After this in that *Study*, which had been *Perfumed* with many such *Days* before, he now spent a *Day* in Secret *Humiliations* and *Supplications*, before the *Lord*; seeking the Special Assistances of the Holy Spirit, for the Great Work of *Dying*, that was now before him. What *Glorious Transactions* might one have heard passing between the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and an Excellent Servant of his, now coming unto him, if he could have had an *Hearing Place* behind the *Hangings* of the Chamber, in such a *Day*! But having finished the Duties of the *Day*, he took his Leave of his Beloved *Study*, saying to his Consort, *I shall go into that Room no more!* And he had all along *Presages* in his Heart, that God would by his Present Sickness, give him an *Entrance into the Everlasting Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ*. Wherefore, *Setting his House in Order*, he was now so far from unwilling to Receive the *Mercy-Stroke of Death*, as that he was desirous to be with him, *With whom to be, is by far the best of all*. And although the chief Ground of his *Readiness* to be gone, was from the unutterably Sweet and Rich *Entertainments*, which he did by *Fore-tast*, as well as by *Promise*, know that the *Lord* had reserved in the Heavenly Regions for him, yet he said, it contributed unto this *Readiness* in him, when he consider'd the *Saints*, whose Company and Communion he was going unto; particularly *Perkins, Ames, Preston, Hilderham, Dod*, and others, which had been peculiarly Dear unto himself; besides the Rest, in that *General Assembly*.

§ 25. While he thus lay sick, the *Magistrates*, the *Ministers* of the Country, and *Christians* of all sorts, resorted unto him, as unto a *Publick Father*, full of sad Apprehensions, at the withdraw of such a *Publick Blessing*; and the *Gracious Words* that proceeded out of his Mouth,

while he had Strength to utter the profitable Conceptions of his Mind, caused them to reckon these their *Visits* the *Gainfullest* that ever they had made. Among others, the *then* President of the *Colledge*, with many Tears, desired of Mr. *Cotton* before his Departure, to bestow his Blessing on him; saying, *I know in my Heart, they whom you Bless shall be blessed*. And not long before his Death, he sent for the Elders of the Church, whereof he himself was also an Elder; who having, according to the Apostolical Direction, pray'd over him, he exhorted them to *Feed the Flock over which they were Overseers*, and encrease their *Watch* against those *Declensions* which he saw the *Professors* of Religion falling into: Adding, *I have now through Grace, been more than Forty Years a Servant unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and have ever found him a good Master*. When his Colleague Mr. *Wilson*, took his Leave of him with a Wish, that God would lift up the *Light of his Countenance* upon him, he instantly replied, *God hath done it already, Brother!* He then called for his *Children*, with whom he left the *Gracious Covenant* of God, as their never Failing Portion: And now desired, that he might be left *Private* the rest of his Minutes, for the more Freedom of his Applications unto the *Lord*. So lying *Speccleless* a few Hours, he breathed his Blessed Soul into the Hands of his Heavenly Lord; on the Twenty third of *December* 1652. entering on the Sixty Eighth Year of his own Age: And on the *Day*, yea at the *Hour*, of his constant Weekly Labours in the *Lecture*, wherein he had been so long serviceable, even to all the Churches of *New-England*. Upon *Tuesday* the Twenty Eighth of *December*, he was most Honourably Interred, with a most numerous Concourse of People, and the most Grievous and Solemn *Funeral* that was ever known perhaps upon the *American Strand*; and the Lectures in his Church, the whole Winter following, performed by the Neighbouring Ministers, were but so many *Funeral Sermons* upon the Death and Worth of this *Extraordinary Person*: Among which, the First, I think, was preached by Mr. *Richard Maiber*, who gave unto the bereaved Church of *Boston* this great Character of their Incomparable *Cotton*, *Let us pray, that God would raise up some Eleazar to succeed this Aaron: But you can hardly expect, that so large a Portion of the Spirit of God should dwell in any one, as dwelt in this Blessed Man!* And generally in the other Churches through the Country, the Expiration of this *General Blessing* to them all, did produce *Funeral Sermons* full of Honour and Sorrow; even as many Miles above an Hundred, as *New-haven* was distant from the *Massachusetts-Bay*, when the Tidings of Mr. *Cotton's* Decease arrived there, Mr. *Davenport* with many Tears bewailed it, in a Publick Discourse on that in *2 Sam. 1. 26*. *I am distressed for thee, my Brother Jonathan, very pleasant hast thou been unto me*. Yea, they speak of Mr. *Cotton* in their *Lamentations* to this Day!

It is a memorable Saying of *Algazel*, *In quo Lumen Religionis & Devotionis, Fumus generatus ex Lumine Scientie non extinguit, ille perfectus est: Sed quis est hic, ut adoremus eum?* Reader, I will shew thee such a Man; One in whom the *Light of Learning* accompanied the *Fire of Goodness*, met in an High Degree: But thou shalt *Adore* none but the Lord *Jesus Christ*, who made him such a Man.

§ 26. How vast a Treasure of *Learning* was laid in the *Grave*, which was opened on this Occasion, can scarce *Credibly* and *Sufficiently* be related. Mr. *Cotton* was, indeed, a most *Universal Scholar*, and a *Living System* of the *Liberal Arts*, and a *Walking Library*. It would be endless to recite *all* his particular Accomplishments, but only *Three Articles* of Observation shall be offered. First, For his *Grammar*, he had a very singular Skill in those *Three Languages*, the Knowledge whereof was the *Inscription on the Cress* of our Saviour, proposed unto the *Perpetual Use* of his Church. The *Hebrew* he understood so exactly, and so readily, that he was able to *Discourse* in it. In the *Greek* he was a Critick, so Accurate and so well Versed, that he need not, like *Austin*, to have studied it in his *Reduced Age*. Thus, if many of the *Ancients* committed gross Mistakes in their *Interpretations* of the *Scriptures*, through their want of Skill in the *Originals*, Mr. *Cotton* was better qualified for an *Interpreter*. He both wrote and spoke *Latin* also with great Facility; and with a most *Ciceronian Elegancy*, Exemplified in one *Published Composure*. Next, for his *Logic*, he was compleatly furnished therewith to encounter the *subtilest Adversary* of the *Truth*. But although he had been Educated in the *Peripatetick* way, yet like the other *Puritans* of those times, he rather affected the *Ramian Discipline*; and chose to follow the *Methods* of that Excellent *Ramus*, who like *Justin* of old, was not only a *Philosopher*, but a *Christian*, and a *Martyr* also; rather than the more *Empy*, *Trifling*, *Altercative Notions*, to which the *Works* of the *Pagan Aristotle* derived unto us, through the *Mangling Hands* of the *Apostate Porphyrie*, have disposed his *Disciples*. Lastly, for his *Theologie*, There 'twas that he had his *Greatest Extracordinariness*, and most of all, his *Textual Divinity*. His Abilities to *Epound the Scriptures*; caused him to be *Admired* by the *Ablest* of his *Hearers*. Although his *Incomparable Modesty* would not permit him to speak any more than the *Least* of *Himself*, yet unto a private Friend he hath said, *That he knew not of any Difficult Place in all the whole Bible, which he had not weighed, some what unto Satisfaction*. And hence, though he ordinarily bestowed much pains upon his *Publick Sermons*, yet he hath sometimes *Preached* most *Admirably*, without any *Warning* at all; and a *New Note* upon a *Text* before him, occurring to his mind, but just as he was going into the *Assembly*, has taken up his *Discourse* for that *Hour*, so *Pertinently* and *Judiciously*, that the most *Critical* of his *Auditors*, imagined

nothing *Extempore*. Indeed his *Library* was vast, and vast was his *Acquaintance* with it; but although amongst his *Readings*, he had given a *Special Room* unto the *Fathers*, and unto the *School men*, yet at last, he prefer'd one *Calvin* above them all. If *Erasmus*, when offered a *Bishoprick* to write against *Luther*, could answer, *There was more Divinity in a Page of Luther, than in all Thomas Aquinas*; 'Tis no wonder that *Salmasius* could so *Venerate Calvin*, as to say, *That he had rather be the Author of that One Book, The Institutions written by Calvin, than have written all that was ever done by Grotius*. Even such a *Calvinist* was our *Cotton*! Said he, *I have read the Fathers and the School-men, and Calvin too; but I find, That he that has Calvin has 'em all*. And being asked, why in his *Latter Days* he indulged *Nocturnal Studies* more than formerly, he pleasantly replied, *Because I love to sweeten my mouth with a piece of Calvin before I go to sleep*.

§ 27. Indeed in his *Common Preaching*, he did as *Basil* reports of *Ephrem Syrus*, *Plurimum distare a Mundana Sapientia*; and though he were a *Great Scholar*, yet he did *Conscientiously* forbear making to the *Common People* any *Ostentation* of it. He had the *Art* of *concealing his Art*; and thought with *Sobnius*, *Non minus est Virtus Populariter quam Argute Loqui*, and Mr. *Dod*, *That Latin for the most part was Flesh in a Sermon*. Accordingly, when he was *Handling the Deepest Subjects*, a *Speech* of that *Import* was frequent with him, *I desire to speak so, as to be understood by the meanest Capacity!* And he would sometimes give the same Reason for it; which the *Great Austin* gave; *If I Preach more Scholastically, then only the Learned, and not the Unlearned, can so understand as to profit by me; but if I Preach plainly, then both Learned and Unlearned will understand me, and so I shall profit all*. When a *Golden Key* of *Oratory* would not so well open a *Mystery* of *Christianity*, he made no stick to take an *Iron One*, that should be less *Rhetorical*. You should bear few *Terms of Art*, few *Latinities*, no *Exotic* or *Obselete Phrases*; obscuring of the *Truths*, which he was to bring unto the *People of God*. Nevertheless his more *Judicious* and *Observing Hearers*, could by his most *Untrim'd Sermons* perceive that he was a man of more than *Ordinary Abilities*. Hence when a *Dutchman* of *Great Learning*, heard Mr. *Cotton* *Preach* at *Boston*, in *England*, he professed, *That he never in his Life saw such a Conjunction of Learning and Plainness, as there was in the Preaching of this worthy Man*. The *Glory* of *God*, and not his own *Glory*, was that at which he aimed in his *Labours*; for which cause, at the end of his *Notes*, he still inserted that *Clause*, *Tibi Domine: Or, For thy Glory, O God!* For his *Delivery*, though it were not like *Farels*, *Noisy* and *Thundring*, yet it had in it a very awful *Majesty*, set off with a *Natural* and *Becoming Motion* of his *Right Hand*; and the *Lord* was in the *Still Voice* at such a *Rate*, that Mr. *Wilson* would say, *Mr. Cotton Preaches with such*

Authority, Demonstration, and Life, that methinks, when he preaches out of any Prophet, or Apostle, I hear not him; I hear that very Prophet and Apostle; yea, I hear the Lord Jesus Christ himself speaking in my Heart. And the Success which God gave to these *plain Labours* of his faithful, humble, diligent Servant, was beyond what most Ministers in the Country ever did experience: There have been few that have seen so many and mighty Effects, given to the *Travels of their Souls*.

§ 28. He was even from his Youth to his Age, an indefatigable Student, under the Conscience of the Apostolical Precept, *Be not slothful in Business, but fervent in Spirit serving the Lord.* He was careful to redeem his Hours, as well as his Days; and might lay claim to that Character of the blessed Martyr, *Sparing of Sleep, more sparing of Words, but most sparing of Time.* If any came to Visit him, he would be very Civil to 'em, having learn'd it as his Duty, *To use all Gentleness towards all Men:* And yet he would often say with some regret, after the departure of a Visitant, *I had rather have given this Man an handful of Money, than have been kept thus long out of my Study:* Reckoning with *Pliny*, the Time not spent in Study, for the most part, *sweel'd away.* For which cause he went not much abroad; but he judged ordinarily that more Benefit was obtain'd, according to the Advice of the Wise King, by conversing with the *Dead* [in Books], than with the *Living* [in Talks:] And that *needless Visits* do commonly unframe our *Spirits*, and perhaps disturb our *Comforts.* He was an *early Riser*, taking the Morning for the *Muses*; and in his latter Days forbearing a Supper, he turn'd his former *Supping-time*, into a Reading, a Thinking, a Praying-time. Twelve Hours in a Day he commonly studied, and would call that a *Scholar's Day*; resolving rather to wear out with *Using*, than with *Rusting.* In truth, had he not been of an healthy and hearty Constitution, and had he not made a careful, tho' not curious *Diet* serve him, instead of an *Hippocrates*, his continued *Labour* must have made his *Life*, as well as his *Labour*, to have been but of a short continuance. And, indeed, the Work which lay upon him, could not have been performed, without a *Labour* more than ordinary. For besides his constant Preaching, more than once every Week, many Cases were brought unto him far and near, in resolving whereof, as he took much time, so he did much good, being a most excellent *Casuis*t. He was likewise very deeply concerned in peaceable and effectual Disquisitions of the Controversies about *Church-Government*, then agitated in the Church of God. And tho' he chiefly gave himself to Reading, and Doctrine, and Exhortation, depending much on the Ruling Elders to inform him, concerning the State of his particular Flock, that he might the better order himself in *the Word and Prayer*, yet he found his *Church-Work*, in this regard also, to call for no little Painfulness, Watchfulness, and Faithfulness.

§ 29. He was one so clothed with *Humility*, that according to the Emphasis of the Apostolical Direction, by this *Livery* his Relation as a *Disciple* to the *lowly Jesus*, was notably discovered; and hence he was *patient* and *peaceable*, even to a Proverb. He had a more than common Excellency in that *cool Spirit*, which the Oracles of Wisdom describe, as *the excellent Spirit in the Man of Understanding*; and therefore Mr. Norton would parallel him, with *Moses* among the *Patriarchs*, with *Melancthon* among the *Reformers.* He was rather excessive than defective in *Self-denial*, and had the *Nimia Humilitas*, which *Luther* sometimes blamed in *Staupicius*: Yea, he was at last himself sensible, that some fell very deep into the Sin of *Corah*, through his extreme *Forbearance*, in matters relating to his own *just Rights* in the Church of God. He has, to a Judicious Friend, thus expressed himself. *Angry Men have an advantage above me; the People dare not set themselves against such Men, because they know it wont be born; but some care not what they say or do about me, because they know I wont be angry with them again.* One would have thought the Ingenuity of such a Spirit should have broke the *Hearts of Men*, that had indeed the *Hearts of Men* in them; yea, that the hardest *Flints* would have been broken, as is usual, upon such a soft Bag of *Cotton!* But alas! he found it otherwise, even among *some* who pretended unto *high Attainments* in Christianity. Once particularly, an humorous and imperious Brother, following Mr. Cotton home to his House, after his Publick Labours, instead of the grateful Respects with which those Holy Labours were to have been encouraged, rudely told him, That his Ministry was become generally, either dark, or flat: Where to this meek Man, very mildly and gravely, made only this Answer: *Both, Brother, it may be, both: Let me have your Prayers that it may be otherwise.* But it is remarkable, that the Man sick thus of wanton Singularities, afterwards died of those damnable Heresies, for which he was deservedly Excommunicated. Another time, when Mr. Cotton had modestly replied unto one that would much Talk and Crack of his Insight into the *Revelations*: *Brother, I must confess my self to want Light in those Mysteries.* The Man went home, and sent him a *Pound of Candles*: Upon which Action this good Man bestowed only a silent Smile. He would not set the *Beacon* of his Great Soul on fire, at the landing of such a little Cock-boat. He learned the Lesson of *Gregory*, *It is better, many times, to fly from an Injury by Silence, than to overcome it by Replying:* And he used that Practice of *Gryneus*, *To Revenge Wrongs by Christian Taciturnity.*

I think, I may not omit, on this occasion, to transcribe a remarkable passage, which that good Man, Mr. Flavel, reports, in a Sermon on *Gospel-Unity.* His Words are these:

' A Company of vain wicked Men, having
' inflamed their Blood in a Tavern at *Boston*,
' and seeing that Reverend, Meek, and Holy
' Mini-

Minister of Christ, Mr. Cotton, coming along the Street, one of them tells his Companion, *I'll go, (saith he) and put a Trick upon Old Cotton.* Down he goes, and crossing his way, whispers these Words into his Ear, *Cotton (saith he) thou art an old Fool.* Mr. Cotton replied, *I confess I am so: The Lord make both me and thee wiser than we are, even wise unto Salvation.* He relates this passage to his wicked Companions, which cast a great Dump upon their Sports, in the midst of a Frolick.

And it may pass for a Branch of the same Temper in him, that he extremely hated all *Allotrio-Episcopacy*: And tho' he knew as practically as most Men in the World, *That we have a Call to do good, as often as we have Power and Occasion*; yet he was slow of apprehending any Occasion at all, tho' he might have had never so much Power to meddle for Good, any where, but within the Sphere of his own proper Calling. As he understood that *Leontius* blamed *Constantine*, for interposing too far in *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, thus Mr. Cotton, on the other side, had a great Aversion from engaging in any *Civil* ones. He would Religiously decline taking into his Cognizance all *Civil Controversies*, or *Umpirages*, and whatever looked heterogeneous to the Calling of one, whose whole Business 'twas to feed the Flock of God. Nevertheless, in the Things of God, of Christ, of Conscience, his *condescending Temper* did not hinder him from the most *immovable Resolution*. He would not so *follow Peace with all Men*, as to abandon or prejudice, one Jot, the Interests of Holiness.

§ 30. His *Command over his own Spirit*, was particularly observable in his Government of his *Family*, where he would never correct any thing in a *Passion*; but first, with much deliberation shew what Rule in the Holy Word of God, had been violated, by the Fault lately committed. He was indeed one that *ruled well his own House*. He therein Morning and Evening read a Chapter, with a little Applicatory Exposition, before and after which he made a Prayer; but he was very short in all, accounting as Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Bains*, and other great Saints did before him, *That it was a thing inconvenient many ways to be tedious in Family Duties*. He also read constantly a Portion of the Scripture alone, and he prayed over what he read: Pray'd I say; for he was very much in Prayer, a very Man of Prayer; he would rarely sit down to study, without a Prayer over it, referring to the Presence of God accompanying what he did. It was the Advice of the Ancient, *Si vis esse Semper cum Deo, Semper Ora, Semper Lege*: And agreeably hereunto, Mr. Cotton might say with *David*, *Lord, I am still with thee*. But he that was with God all the Week, was more intimately with him on his own Day, the chief Day of the Week, which he observed most Conscientiously. The Sabbath he began the Evening before: For which keeping of the *Sabbath from Evening to Evening*, he wrote Arguments before his coming to *New-England*: And I suppose,

'twas from his Reason and Practice, that the Christians of *New-England* have generally done so too. When that *Evening* arriv'd, he was usually larger in his *Exposition* in his *Family*, than at other times: He then *Catechised* his Children and Servants, and prayed with them, and sang a Psalm; from thence he retired unto *Study* and secret *Prayer*, till the time of his going unto his Repose. The next *Morning*, after his usual *Family Worship*, he betook himself to the Devotions of his Retirements, and so unto the Publick. From thence towards *Noon*, he repaired again to the like Devotions, not permitting the Interruption of any other Dinner, than that of a small Repast carried up unto him. Then to the Publick, once more: From whence returning, his first Work was *Closet-Prayer*, then *Prayer* with Repetitions of the *Sermons* in the *Family*. After *Supper* he still sang a Psalm; which he would conclude with uplifted Eyes and Hands, uttering this *Doxology*; — *Blessed be God in Christ our Saviour!* Last of all, just before his going to *Sleep*, he would once again go into his Prayerful Study, and there briefly recommended all to that God, *whom he served with a pure Conscience*.

But there was one point of *Sabbath-keeping*, about which it may not be unuseful for me to transcribe a passage, which I find him writing to Mr. *N. Rogers*, in the Year 1630.

Studying for a Sermon upon the Sabbath day, so far as it might be any wearisome Labour to *Invention* or *Memory*, I covet (when I can) willingly to prevent it; and would rather attend unto the quickning of my *Heart and Affections*, in the Meditation of what I am to deliver. My Reason is, much *Reading* and *Invention*, and *Repetition* of things, to commit them to *Memory*, is a weariness to the *Flesh* and *Spirit* too; whereas the *Sabbath day* doth rather invite unto an holy Rest. But yet if God's Providence have straitned my time in the *Week-days* before, by concurrence of other Business, not to be avoided, I doubt not, but the Lord, who allowed the *Priests* to employ their *Labour*, in killing the *Sacrifices* on the *Sabbath-day*, will allow us also to labour in our Callings on the Sabbath, to prepare our Sacrifice for the People.

These were his *ordinary Sabbaths*: But he also kept *extraordinary* ones, upon the just occasions for them. He was in *Fasting* often, and would often keep *whole Days by himself*, wherein he would with solemn *Humiliations* and *Supplications*, implore the wanted Mercies of Heaven; yea, he would likewise by himself, keep whole Days of *Thanksgiving* unto the Lord: Besides the many Days of this kind, which he celebrated in Publick Assemblies with the People of God. Thus did this Man of God continually.

§ 31. Without *Liberality* and *Hospitality*, he had been really as undeserving of the Character of a *Minister of the Gospel*, as the Sacrilegious Niggardliness of the People, does often endeavour to make Ministers incapable of answering that Character. But Mr. Cotton was most exemplary

emplary for this Vertue; wherein there are of his Children, that have also learned of him. The Stranger and the Needy were still entertained at his Table, *Episcopaliter & Benigne*, as was the Phrase instructively used, for a *charitable Entertainment* of old. It might be said of him, as once it was of the Generous *Corinthian*, *Semper aliquis in Cottoni Domo*: He was ever shewing of Kindness to Somebody or other. What *Posidonius* relates of *Austin*, and what *Peter Martyr* affirms of *Bucer*, was very true of our *Cotton*: *His House was like an Inn, for the constant Entertainment which he gave upon the Account of the Gospel*. And he would say, *If a Man want an Heart for this Charity, it is not fit such a Man should be ordained a Minister*: Consenting therein to the great Canonist, *Hospitalitas usque adeo Episcopis est necessaria, ut si ab ea inveniantur aliam, Jure prohibentur Ordinari*. While he lived quietly in *England*, he was noted for his bountiful Disposition, especially to Ministers driven into *England* by the Storms of Persecution, then raging in *Germany*: For which cause *Libingus*, *Saumer*, *Tolner*, and others of the *German* Sufferers, in their Accounts of him, would stile him, *Fautor Doctissimus, Clarissimus, Fidelissimus, plurimumque Honorandus*. It was remarkable, that he never omitted inviting unto his House, any Minister travelling to, or through the Town, but only that one Man, who perfidiously betray'd Mr. *Hildersham*, with his *Non-Conformist* Associates, into the Hands of their Enemies. And after he came to *New-England*, he changed not his Mind with his Air; but with a *Quantum ex Quantillo!* continued his *Beneficence* upon all occasions, tho' his Abilities for it were much diminished; which brings to mind a most memorable Story. A little Church, whereof the worthy Mr. *White* was Pastor, being by the strange and strong Malice of their prevailing Adversaries, forced of *Barnudas* in much Misery, into a Desert of *America*, the Report of their Distresses came to their Fellow-Sufferers, tho' not alike Sufferers, at *New-England*. Mr. *Cotton* immediately applied himself to obtain a Collection, for the Relief of those distressed Saints; and a Collection of about 700 *l.* was immediately obtained, whereof Two hundred was gathered in that one Church of *Boston*, where there was no Man who did exceed, and but one Man who did equal, this *Devotus* of *Liberal Things*, in that Contribution. But behold the wonderful Providence of God! This Contribution arrived unto the poor People on the very Day, after they had been brought unto a Personal Division of the little *Meal* then left in the *Barrel*; upon the spending whereof, they could foresee nothing but a lingering Death; and, on that very Day, when their Pastor had preach'd unto them, upon that most suitable Text, *Psal. 23. 1. The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want.*

§ 32. The Reader that is inquisitive after the *Prosopography* of this Great Man, may be informed; that he was of a Clear, Fair, Sanguine Complexion, and like *David* of a ruddy Counte-

nance. He was rather *low* than *tall*, and rather *fat* than *lean*, but of a becoming Mediocrity. In his younger Years his *Hair* was brown, but in his latter Years as white as the Driven Snow. In his Countenance there was an inexpressible sort of Majesty, which commanded Reverence from all that approached him: This *Cotton* was indeed the *Cato* of his Age, for his Gravity; but had a Glory with it which *Cato* had not. I cannot indeed, say, what they Report of *Hilary*, that *Serpents were not able to look upon him*; nevertheless, it was commonly observed, that the worser sort of Serpents, would from the Awe of his Presence keep in their Poisons. As the Keeper of the Inn, where he did use to lodge, when he came to *Derby*, would profanely say to his Companions, That he wished Mr. *Cotton* were gone out of his House; for *he was not able to Swear, while that Man was under his Roof*. So other wicked Persons could not shew their Wickedness, whilst this holy and righteous Man was in the Company. But the exacter Picture of him, is to be taken from his Printed Works, whereof there are many, that praise him in the *Gates*, tho' few of them were Printed with his own Knowledge or Consent.

We will mention a Catalogue of his Works, because (as it was said of *Calvin's*),

*Chara quibus fuerat Cottoni Vita, laborum
Gratior ejusdem Vita perennis erit.*

The Children of *New-England* are to this day most usually fed with his excellent *Catechism*, which is entituled, *Milk for Babes*.

His well-known Sermons on the First Epistle of *John*, in *Folio*, have had their Acceptance with the Church of God; tho' being preached in his Youth, and not published by himself, there are some things therein, which he would not have inserted.

There are also of his abroad, Sermons on the Thirteenth of the *Revelations*, and on the *Vials*, and on *Rev. 20. 5, 6. and 2 Sam. 7.* last in *Quarto*.

As also, a Savory Treatise, entituled, *The Way of Life*. The Reverend Prefacer whereto saith, *Ever since I had any knowledge of this judicious Author, I have look'd upon him as one intrusted with as great a part of the Churches Treasure, as any other whatsoever.*

Several Volumes of his Expositions upon *Ecclesiastes* and *Canticles*, are also published in *Octavo*.

As likewise, *A Treatise of the New Covenant*: Which being only a *Posthumous Piece*, and only Notes written after him, is accordingly to be judged of.

And there have seen the Light, An Answer to Mr. *Ball*, about Forms of Prayer. A Discourse about the Grounds and Ends of *Infant-Baptism*. A Discourse about *Singing of Psalms*, proving it a Gospel-Ordinance. An *Abstract of Laws* in *Christ's Kingdom*, for Civil Government. A Treatise about the *Holiness of Church-Members*; proving, that visible Saints are the matter

matter of a Church. Another Discourse upon *Things indifferent*, proving that no Church Governours have Power to impose *indifferent Things*, upon the Consciences of Men. Add hereto, The Way of the Churches in *New-England*: And that Golden Discourse of *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*: In a written Copy whereof, yet in our Hands, there were some things which were never Printed, maintaining, that in the Government of the Church, *Authority* is peculiar to the *Elders* only; and answering all the *Brownistical* Arguments to the contrary. But whereas there may occur a passage in his Book of *The Way of the Churches*, which may have in it a little more of the *Morrellian* Tang, Reader, 'twas none of Mr. Cotton's; Mr. Cotton was troubled when he saw such a passage, in an imperfect Copy of his Writings, exposed unto the World, under his *Name*, a gainst his *Will*: And he took an opportunity, in the most publick manner, to declare as much unto the World.

He was also sometimes put upon writing yet more *Polemically*. Indeed there was one occasion of so writing, which he declined meddling withal; and that was this: Mr. Cotton having in his younger Years, written to a private Friend some things, tending (at his desire) to clear the Doctrine of *Reprobates*, from the Exceptions of the *Arminians*; and this Manuscript falling into Dr. *Twiss's* hand, that learned Man publish'd it, with his own Confutation of certain passages in it, which did not agree so well with the Doctor's own *Supralapsarian Scheme*. Now when Mr. Cotton saw himself reviled for this Cause by *Baily*, as being *Pelagian*, he only made this meek Reply: *I hope God will give me Opportunity e'er long to consider of this, the Doctor's Labour of Love. I bless the Lord, who has taught me to be willing to be taught, of a far meaner Disciple, than such a Doctor, whose Scholastical Acuteness, Pregnancy of Wit, Solidity of Judgment, and Dexterity of Argument, all Orthodox Divines do highly honour, and whom all Arminians and Jesuites do fall down before, with Silence. God forbid I should shut my Eyes against any Light brought to me by him. Only I desire I may not be condemned as a Pelagian, or Arminian, before I be heard.*

Moreover, Mr. *Cawdry* fell hard upon him; to whom he prepared an Answer, which was afterwards Published and Seconded by Dr. *Owen*. But besides these, he was twice compelled unto some other *Eristical* Writings: Once in Answer to *Baily*; another time in Answer to *Williams*: In both of which, like *Job*, he turned the Books which his Adversaries had written against him, into a *Crown*. I believe, never any meer Man, under such open and horrid Injuries, as these two Reporters heaped upon Mr. Cotton, did Answer with more Christian Patience: His Answers are indeed a Pattern for all Answerers to the World's end. But it was particularly remarkable, that in this matter, certain Persons, who had fallen under the Censures of the Civil Authority in the Country, singled out Mr. Cotton

for the Object of their Displeasure, altho' he had, *most of all Men*, declined Interresting himself in the Actions of the Magistrate, and had also done *more than all Men*, to obtain Healing and Favour for those ungrateful Delinquents. However, the venomous Tongues all this while, only lick'd a *File*, which made themselves to bleed; his *Fame*, like the *File*, remained invulnerable; and if Mr. Cotton would from his own profitable Experience, have added another Book unto this Catalogue, it might have been on the Subject handled by *Plutarch*, *De Capienda ex Hostibus Utilitate*. This is the *Elenchus* of Mr. Cotton's published Writings; whereupon we might make this Conclusion.

*Digna Legi Scribis, Facis & Dignissima Scribi;
Scripta probant Doctum, Te, Tua, Facta, pro-
bum.*

§ 33. The things which have been related, cause us to account Mr. Cotton an extraordinary Person.

*Dives eras Donis, etiamque Fidelis in Usu,
Lucratus Domino multa Talenta tuo.
Multus eras Studis, multusq; Laboribus, uno
Te, Fora, Tempa, Domus, Te, cupiere frui.
Multa Laborabas Scribendo, Multa Docendo,
Invigilans Operi, Nocte Dieque, Dei.
Multa Laborabas Scribendo, Multa Ferendo,
Quæ nisi Cottono, vix Subeunda forent.
Tu non unus eras, sed Multi; Multus in Uno,
Multorum Donis præditus Unus eras.
Uno Te amisso, Multos Amisimus in Te,
Sed neque per Multos Restituendus eris.*

These were some of the Lines, which the Renowned *Bulkly* justly wept upon his Grave. Yea, we may, on as many Accounts as these Days will allow, reckon him to have been a *Prophet of the Lord*: And when we have entertain'd our selves with a Memorable Demonstration of it, in one surprizing and stupendious Article of our *Church History*, we will put a Period unto this part of it.

At the time when some unhappy Persons were just going from hence to *England*, with certain *Petitions*, which had a tendency to disturb the good Order of Things in both Church and State, then settling among us, Mr. Cotton in the ordinary Courte of his Lectures on the *Canticles*, preached on *Cant. 2. 15. Take us the Foxes, the little Foxes, which destroy the Vines*. Having thence observed, *That when God has delivered his Church from the Dangers of the persecuting Bear and Lyon, then there were Foxes that would seek by Policy to undermine it: And, That all those who go by a Fox-like Policy to undermine the Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ, shall be taken and overtaken by his Judgments*. He came at length to his Application, where with a more than ordinary Majesty and Fervency, he after this manner expressed himself.

' First, Let such as live in this Country take heed, how they go about in any indirect Way
' or

or Course to prejudice the Churches of the
 Lord Jesus Christ in the Land, or the Govern-
 ment of the Land. If you Do, The Keeper
 of Israel, who neither slumbereth nor sleepeth,
 will not take it well at your Hands. He that
 brought this People hither, and preserved them
 from the Rage of Persecution, and made this
 Wilderness an Hiding-Place for them, whilst
 he was Chastising our Nation, with the other
 Nations round about it, and has manifested
 his Gracious Presence in the midst of these
 His Golden Candlesticks, and secured us from
 the Plots of the late Archbishop, and his Con-
 federates abroad, and from the Plots of the
 Heathen here at home; there is no Question
 But He will defend us from the Undermin-
 ings of False Brethren, and such as are join-
 ed with them. Wherefore let such know,
 That this is, in many respects, Immanuel's
 Land, and they shall not prosper that rise up
 against it, but shall be Taken every One of
 them in the Snares they lay for it. This I
 speak as a Poor Prophet of the Lord, accor-
 ding to the Word of His Grace now before us!
 But in the Second Place, whereas many of
 our Brethren are going to England, Let me
 direct a Word unto Them also. I desire the
 Gracious Presence of our God may go with
 you, and his Angels guard you, not only from
 the Dangers of the Seas, while you are there-
 upon, but also from the Errors of the Times,
 when you arrive. Nevertheless, if there be
 any among you, my Brethren, as 'tis Reported
 there are, that have a Petition to prefer unto
 the High Court of Parliament, that may con-
 duce to the Distraction and Annoyance of the
 Peace of our Churches, and the weakning the
 Government of the Land where we Live, Let
 Such know, the Lord will never suffer them
 to prosper in their Subtil, Malicious, Despe-
 rate Undertakings against his People, who
 are as tender unto him as the Apple of his
 Eye. But if there be any such among You,
 who are to Go, I do exhort you, and I would
 advise you in the Fear of God, that when the
 Terrors of the Almighty shall beset the Vessel
 wherein you are, when the Heavens shall
 frown upon you, and the Billows of the Sea
 shall swell above you, and the Dangers of
 Death shall threaten you, as I am verily per-
 swaded they will; I would have you then to
 Consider your Ways. I will not give the
 Counsel that was taken concerning Jonas, to
 cast such a Person into the Sea; God forbid!
 But I counsel such to come then unto a Reso-
 lution in themselves to Desist from their En-
 terprises, and Cast their Petitions into the Sea.
 It may be, that Hardness of Heart and Stout-
 ness of Spirit may cause you to persist, and
 yet in Mercy to some Gracious Persons among
 you, the Lord may deliver the Ship from Ut-
 ter Destruction for their sakes. But the Lord
 hath further Judgments in Store: He is the
 God of the Land, as well as of the Sea. I
 speak this also, as an unworthy Prophet of
 the Lord!

These Things were then uttered by a Person,
 that was as little of an Enthusiast, as most Men
 in the World. Now attend the Event!

That Ship, after many Stresses of Weather
 in the Harbour, puts out to Sea; but at Sea it
 had the Terriblest Passage, perhaps, that ever
 was heard of; The Mariners not being able to
 take any Observation of either Sun or Star, for
 Seven Hundred Leagues together. Certain well
 disposed Persons aboard, now calling to Mind
 the Words of Mr. Cotton, thought it necessary
 to admonish the Persons, who were carrying
 over the Malignant Papers against the Country;
 and some of those Papers were by them there-
 upon given to the Seamen, who immediately
 cut them in pieces and threw them over-board.
 The Storm forthwith abated; however there
 afterwards came up New Storms, which at last
 hurried the Ship among the Rocks of Scilly;
 where they yet received a Deliverance, which
 most of them that consider'd it, pronounced Mi-
 raculous. When the Rude Cornish Men saw
 how Miraculously the Vessel had escaped, they
 said, God was a Good Man to save them so! But
 the most Instructed Obligated Passengers kept a
 Day of Solemn Thanksgiving to God; in which
 even the Profanest Persons on Board, under the
 Impression of what had happened, then bore a
 part. However, the Corn-fields in New-Eng-
 land, still stood Undisturbed, notwithstanding
 the Various Names affixed unto the Tails of
 Petitions against their Liberties. For, as Mr.
 Cotton elegantly expressed it, God then Rocqued
 Three Nations, with shaking Dispensations, that
 he might procure some Rest unto his People in
 this Wilderness!

§ 34. This was Mr. Cotton! What more he
 was, let these Lines, taking no License but
 from the Real Truth, Delineate.

Upon the Tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John
 Cotton, late Teacher of the Church of Boston
 in New-England.

HERE lies Magnanimous Humility;
 Majesty, Meekness; Christian Apathy
 On soft Affections; Liberty in Thrall;
 A Noble Spirit, Servant unto All;
 Learnings Great Master-piece, who yet would fit
 As a Disciple, at his Scholars Feet:
 A Simple Serpent, or Serpentine Dove,
 Made up of Wisdom, Innocence and Love:
 Neatness Embroider'd with It self alone,
 And Civils Canonized in a Gown;
 Embracing Old and Young, and Low and High,
 Ethies Imbodyed in Divinity;
 Ambitious to be Lowest, and to Raife
 His Brethrens Honour on his own Decays;
 (Thus doth the Sun retire into his Bed,
 That being gone the Stars may shew their head)
 Could Wound at Argument without Division,
 Cut to the Quick, and yet make no Incision:
 Ready to Sacrifice Domestick Notions
 To Churches Peace, and Ministers Devotions:
 Himself, indeed (and Singular in That)
 Whom All Admired He Admired not:

Liv'd Like an *Angel* of a Mortal Birth,
 Convers'd in *Heaven* while he was on *Earth* :
 Though not, as *Moses*, Radiant with Light
 Whose Glory Dazell'd the Beholders Sight,
 Yet so Divinely Beautif'd, you'd Count
 He had been Born and Bred upon the *Mount* :
 A Living Breathing *Bible* ; Tables where
 Both *Covenants*, at Large, engraven were ;
Gospel and *Law*, in's Heart, had Each its Column ;
 His Head an Index to the Sacred Volume ;
 His very Name a *Title-Page* ; and next,
 His Life a *Commentary* on the Text.
 O, What a Monument of Glorious Worth,
 When, in a *New Edition*, he comes forth,
 Without *Errata's*, may we think he'll be
 In *Leaves* and *Covers* of Eternity !
 A Man of Might, at Heavenly Eloquence,
 To Fix the *Ear*, and Charm the *Conscience* ;
 As if *Apollo* were Reviv'd in Him,
 Or he had Learned of a *Seraphim* :
 Spake *Many Tongues* in One : One Voice and Sense
 Wrought, *Joy* and *Sorrow*, *Fear* and *Confidence* :
Rocks Rent before him, *Blind* Receiv'd their Sight,
Souls Levell'd to the *Dunghill*, stood *Upright* :
Infernal Furies, Burt with Rage to see
 Their Prisoners *Captiv'd* into *Liberty* :
 A *Star* that, in our Eastern *England*, Rose,
 Thence hurry'd by the Blast of Stupid Foes,
 Whose Foggy *Darkness*, and Benumbed Senses,
 Brookt not his Daz'ling Fervent Influences :
 Thus did he move on *Earth*, from *East* to *West* ;
 There he went *down*, and *up* to *Heaven* for Rest.
 Nor from himself, whilst Living, doth he vary,
 His Death hath made him an *Ubiquitary* :
 Where is his *Sepulchre* is Hard to say,
 Who, in a *Thousand Sepulchres*, doth lay
 (Their *Hearts*, I mean, whom he hath Left Behind,
 In Them) his Sacred Reliques, now, Enshrin'd.
 But Let his Mourning Flock be Comforted,
 Though *Moses* be, yet *Joshua* is not Dead :
 I mean Renowned *Norton* ; worthy he,
 Successor to our *Moses*, is to be.
 O Happy *Israel* in *America*,
 In such a *Moses*, such a *Joshua*.

B. Woodbridge.

§. 35. Three Sons, and Three Daughters, was
 this Renowned *Walker with God* Blessed withal.
 His *Eldest* Son did spend and end his Days in
 the Ministry of the *Gospel*, at *Hampton* : Being
 esteem'd a thorough *Scholar*, and an able *Prea-*
cher, and though his Name were *Sea-born*, yet
 none of the lately Revived Heresies were more
 Abominable to him, than that of his Name-
 fake, *Pelagius* [or, *Morgan*] of whom the *Wit-*
ness of the Ancient *Poet* is true,

Pestifero Vomuit coluber Sermone Britannus.

His *Second* Son was a Minister of the *Gospel*,
 at *Plymouth* ; and one by whom, not only the
English, but also the *Indians* of *America*, had
 the Glad Tidings of *Salvation*, in their own
 Language carried unto them.

Of his Two Younger Daughters, the first was
 Married unto a Merchant of Good Fashion,
 whose Name was Mr. *Egginton* ; but she did
 not long survive the *Birth* of her first Child,
 as that Child also did not survive many Years
 after the *Death* of her Mother. The next is at this
 time Living, the Consort of one well known in
 both *Englands*, namely, *Increase Mather*, the
 President of *Harvard Colledge*, and the Teacher
 of a Church in *Boston*.

The Youngest of his Sons, called *Roland*, and
 the Eldest of his Daughters, called *Sarah*, both
 of them died near together of the *Small-Pox*,
 which was raging among the Inhabitants of
Boston, in the Winter of the Year 1649. The
 Death of those two Lovely Children, required
 the Faith of an *Abraham*, in the Heart of their
 Gracious Father ; who indeed most exemplarily
 Expressed what was required. On this Occasion,
 I find, that on a spare Leaf of his *Almanack*,
 he wrote in *Greek Letters* these *English Verses* ;

In *Saram*.

Farewel, dear Daughter *Sara*, Now Thou'rt gone,
 (Whither thou much desiredst) to thine Home :
 Pray, my Dear Father, Let me now go Home !
 Were the last Words thou spak'it to me alone.
 Go then, sweet *Sara*, take thy *Sabbeth Rest*,
 With thy Great Lord, and all in Heaven Blest.

In *Rolandum*.

Our Eldest Daughter, and our Youngest Son,
 Within Nine Days, both have their full Race run.
 On th' *Twentieth* of th' *Eleventh*, Died She,
 And on the *Twenty Ninth* Day Died He.
 Both in their *Lives* were *Lovely* and *United*,
 And in their *Deaths* they were not much *Divided*.
 Christ gave them *Both*, and He takes both again
 To live with Him ; *Blest* be His Holy Name.

In *Utrumque*.

Suffer, Saith Christ, Your Little Ones,
 To Come forth, Me unto,
 For of such Ones my Kingdom is,
 Of Grace and Glory too.
 We do not only Suffer them,
 But Offer them to Thee,
 Now, Blessed Lord, Let us Believe,
 Accepted, that they be :
 That Thou hast Took them, in Thine Arms,
 And on them Put thine Hand,
 And Blessed them with Sight of Thee,
 Wherein our Blessings Stand.

But he has at this Day Five Grandsons, all
 of them Employed in the Publick Service of the
Gospel ; whereof, Let the Reader count him
 the Meanest, that is the *Writer* of this *History* ;
 and accept further one Little Piece of *History*,
 relating hereunto.

The Gathering of the *Second Church* in *Bo-*
ston, was evidently very much to the Disadvan-
 tage of Mr. *Cotton*, in many of his Interests.

But he was a *John*, who reckoned his *Joy fulfilled in This*, That in his own *Decrease* the Interests of the Lord Jesus Christ would *Increase*; and therefore, with an *Exemplary Self-Denial*, divesting himself of all carnal Respects, he set himself to encourage the Foundation of that *Church*, out of Respect unto the Service and Worship of our *Common Lord*. Now, it has pleased the Lord so to order it, That many Years after his *Decease*, that *Self-Denial* of his Holy Servant, has turned unto some Account, in the Opportunities which *That very Church* has given unto *His Children*, to Glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Conduct of it: His Son-in-Law has been been for more than *Thrice Ten Years*, and his Grandson for more

than *Twice Seven Years*, the Ministers of the Gospel, in *That very Church*, accommodated with happy Opportunities, *To serve their Generation*.

Epitaphium.

JOHANNES COTTONUS,

*Cujus Ultima Laus est,
Quod fucrit inter Nov-Anglos Primus.*

CHAP. II.

NORTONUS *Honoratus*, the LIFE of Mr. JOHN NORTON.

§ 1. THERE was a Famous *John* whose Achievements are by our Lord Embazoned in those Terms; *He was a Burning and a Shining Light*. In the Tabernacle of Old, erected by the Order and for the Worship of God, there were those Two Things, a Candlestick and an Altar; in the One a *Light* that might never go out, in the other a *Fire* that might never be extinguished; and yet such an Affinity between these, that there was a *Fire* in the *Light* of the one, and a *Light* in the *Fire* of the other. Such a Mixture of both *Faith* and *Love* should be in those that are employed about the Service of the *Tabernacle*: And though the *Tabernacle* erected for our Lord in this Wilderness, had many such *Burning and Shining Lights*; yet among the *Chief* of them is to be reckoned, that *John* which we had in our Blessed *Norton*.

§ 2. He was Born the Sixth of *May*, 1606. at *Starford* in *Hartfordshire*; descended of Honourable Ancestors. In his early Childhood he discovered a Ripeness of Wit, which gave just Hopes of his proving *Extraordinary*: And under Mr. *Strange* in the School of *Bunningford*, he made such a Proficiency, that he could betimes write Good *Latin*, with a more than common Elegancy and Invention. At *Fourteen Years* of Age, being sent unto *Peter-House*, he staid there, till after his taking of his *First Degree*; where a *Romish* Emiffary, taking a curious and exact Observation of his Notable Accomplishments, used all the Methods he could think of, to have seduced him over unto the *Romish* Irreligion: But God intending him to be a *Pillar* in his own *Temple*, mercifully prevented his hearkening unto any Temptations to become a *Support* unto the *Tower of Babel*.

§ 3. In his *Youth* he was accustomed unto some *Youthful Vanities*; especially unto *Card-Playing*; an Evil which he did first *Ponder* and *Reform* upon a Serious Admonition, which a *Servant* of his Father's gave unto him. When

he came to consider that a *Lot* is a *Solemn Appeal* unto the God of Heaven, and even by the rudest Gentiles counted a *Sacred Thing*, he thought that *Playing* with it, was a Breach of the *Third Commandment* in the Laws of our God; it should be used, he thought, rather *Prayerfully* than *Sportfully*. He considered, that the *Papists* themselves do not allow these *Games* in *Ecclesiastical Persons*, and the *Fathers* do reprove them with a vehement Zeal in *all sorts of Persons*. He considered, that when the *Roman Empire* became *Christian*, severe *Edicts* were made against these *Games*, and that our Protestant *Reformers* have branded them with an Infamous Character; wherefore inclining now to follow *Whatsoever things are of a Good Report*, he would no longer meddle with *Games* that had so much of a *Scandal* in them.

§ 4. An Extreme Disaster befalling his Father's Estate, he left the *University*; and became at once *Usher* to the School, and *Curate* in the Church at *Starford*: Where a *Lecture* being maintained by a Combination of several Godly and Able Ministers, he on that Occasion fell into Acquaintance with several of them; especially Mr. *Jeremiah Dyke*, of *Epping*, by whose Ministry the Holy Spirit of God, gave him a Discovery of his own manifold Sinfulness and Wretchedness in an *Unregenerate State*, and awakened him unto such a *Self-Examination*, as drove him to a *Sorrow* little short of *Despair*; but after some time, the same Holy Spirit, enabled him to receive the *Christ* and *Grace*, rendered in the *Promises* of the *Gospel*, with an *Unspeakable Consolation*. Whereupon he thought himself concerned in that Advice of Heaven, *When thou art Converted, Strengthen thy Brethren!*

§ 5. Having before this been well studied in the *Tongues* and *Arts*, he was the better fitted for the higher Studies of *Divinity*; whereto he now wholly addicted himself: And being in his

his own happy Experience acquainted with *Faith*, and *Repentance*, and *Holiness*, he did from that Experience now make *Lively Sermons* on those points unto his Hearers. He soon grew Eminent in his Ministry; setting off the Truths he deliver'd, not only with such *Ornaments* of *Laconic* and well contriv'd Expression, as made him worthy to be called, *The Master of Sentences*, but also with such *Experimental Passages* of Devotion, as made him admired for *A Preacher seeking out Acceptable Words*.

§ 6. His Accomplishments render'd him as capable of *Preferments*, as most in his Age; but *Preferments* were then so clogg'd with Troublefome and Scrupulous *Impositions*, that Mr. Norton, as well as other Conscientious Young Ministers, his Contemporaries, declined meddling with them. His *Aversion*, and indeed *Antipathy* to *Arminianism* (after he was, as *Bradwardin* speaks, *Gratie Radio Visitatus*,) and his Dislike of the *Ceremonies*, particularly hindered him from a Considerable Benefice, where to his Unkle might have helped him. Dr. *Sibs* also, the Master of *Katharine Hall* in *Cambridge*, taken with his Abilities, did earnestly sollicite him, to have accepted of a *Fellowship* in that College; but his Conscience being now satisfied in the *Unlawfulness* of some things then required in Order thereunto, would not permit him to do it. One asked once a great Prelate at Court, how it came to pass, that such a Preacher (an Ancient Chaplain there) a Wise, Grave, Holy Man, did not *Rise*? Meaning by way of *Preferment*: The Prelate answered him, *Truly, let me tell you, That I verily think, he never will Rise until the Resurrection*. Truly, Let me now tell the World, That such were the Principles of Mr. Norton, there was no likelihood of his *Rising* in this World, as things then went in the World. Wherefore he contented himself with a more Private Life, as Chaplain in two Knights House at *High Laver* in *Essex*, namely, Sir *William Masham's*; there waiting, till God might furnish him with *Unexceptable Opportunities*, for his more Publick Preaching of the Gospel. But generally, all those who had any Taste of his Ministry, had a very high Opinion of it; nor was there any Man in that part of the Country more esteemed than he was, for all sorts of Excellencies; insomuch, that when he came away, an Ancient Minister said, *He believed there was not more Grace and Holiness left in all Essex, than what Mr. Norton had carried with him*.

§ 7. His Natural Temper had a Tincture of *Choler* in it; but as the sowrest and hardest *Fruits* become the most *Pleasant*, when tempered with a due Proportion of *Sweetness* added thereunto, so the *Grace* of God *sweetned* the Disposition of this good Man, into a most *Affable*, *Courteous*, and *Complaisant* Behaviour, which render'd him exceeding *Amiable*. Indeed when the Apostle speaks of the *Spirit*, and *Soul* and *Body*, being *Sanctified*, some do by *Spirit* understand the Natural Temper, or *Humour*; and accordingly the *Spirit* of this *Quick* Man

being *Sanctified*, he became a Man of an *Excellent Spirit*.

§ 8. Vast was the Treasure of *Learning* in this Reverend Man. He was not only a most Accurate *Grammarians*, which is abundantly manifested by his Printed Works in Divers Languages; but an Universal *Scholar*: Nevertheless, 'twas as a *School-man* that he show'd himself the most of a *Scholar*. He accounted that the Excellency of a *Scholar*, lay more in *Distinctness of Judgment*, than in *Elegancy of Language*; and therefore, though he had a neater Style than most other Men, yet he was Desirous to furnish himself *ad pugnam*, rather than *ad Pompam*. Hence having intimately acquainted himself with the *Subtilties* of *Scholastic Divinity*, he made all to illustrate the *Doctrine of Christ and of Grace*, unto which he made all the Spoils of the *School's* gloriously subservient. He was a most *Elegant Preacher*, and the True Follower of Dr. *Sibs*!

§ 9. But let his *Excellencies* have been what they will, there was in those Days a *Set of Men*, resolv'd that the Church of God should lose the Benefit of all those Excellencies, except the Person which had them, could comply with certain *Uninstituted Rites* in the Worship of God; which our Mr. Norton could not; and it was that which made him ours. This drove him to the remote Regions of *America*, where he *hoped*, as well he *might*, that there would never be done so *unreasonable* a Thing, as to obstruct that *Evangelical Worship* of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the sake whereof those Regions have been added unto the *English Dominions*. Wherefore in the Year 1634. having married a Gentlewoman both of Good Estate, and of Good Esteem, he took shipping for *New-England*, accompanied in the same Ship with the Famous Mr. *Thomas Shepard*.

§ 10. In the Road betwixt *Harwich* and *Yarmouth*, he very narrowly escaped a Terrible Shipwrack: For by the Vehemency of a Storm all their Anchors gave way, so that they were driven within a Cable's Length of the *Sands*; but yet the *Anchor* of their *Hope* in God, held fast unto the *last*. Mr. *Shepard* having taken the *Mariners* above Decks, Mr. Norton took the *Passengers* between Decks, and each of them with their Company, applied themselves unto *Fervent Prayer*, whereto the Almighty God gave a present Answer in their wonderful Deliverance. After this *Tempest*, which disappointed their Voyage to *New-England* for that Season, Mr. Norton returned unto his Friends in *Essex*; where Mr. *Dyke* welcomed him, as one come from the dead; professing to him, *That he would have given many Pounds for such a Tryal of his Faith, as this his Friend had newly met withal*.

§ 11. The next Year Mr. Norton renewed his Voyage to *New-England*; but intervening Accidents made it very late in the Year, before he could begin the Voyage: And so, coming upon the *American Coast* in the Month of *October*, they encountred with another very terrible

Storm, which lasted Eight and forty Hours with great extremity, and had broken the Vessel to pieces, if it had not had a strength more than ordinary. One Wave remarkably washed some of the *Sea-men* overboard on one side, and then threw them in again on t'other; and so vehement was the Storm, that they were forced at length to undergird the Ship with the *Cable*, that they might keep her sides together. But within ten Days after this, they were brought safe into *Plymouth* Harbour.

§ 12. There had been some Overtures between him and Mr. *Winslow*, the Agent of *Plymouth*, now on board with him, about his accepting of a Settlement in that Plantation; and the People of *Plymouth* now courteously and earnestly invited him, accordingly to continue with them. Nevertheless, the State of Things in the *Masachusetts*-Colony, was more agreeable unto him; and the Church of *Ipswich* made their speedy Applications unto him, to take the Pastoral Charge of them. This occasioned his Deliberation with his Friends in the Bay, what Course to steer.

§ 13. While he sojourned in his unsettled State at *Boston*, he came into Acquaintance with the Ministers thereabouts, who entertained him with a very high Opinion of him; especially Mr. *Mather* of *Dorchester*, who tho' of longer standing than he, yet consulted him as an Oracle, in Matters of greatest Consequence unto him; and found him so accomplished and experienced a Person, that he maintained a most valuable Friendship with him to the last. Yea, tho' he were yet a young Man, and short of Thirty, when he first came into the Country, yet the Magistrates of the Colony soon became so sensible of his Abilities, as to make use of him in some of their most arduous Affairs. And there happened several Occasions to try the Scholastick Emmencies, whereto he was arrived; one of which was, when there was in these Parts a *French Friar*, who found in Mr. *Norton*, a Protestant, equal to his own School-men, and well-acquainted with them all. Indeed there was in him the Union of *two Excellencies*, which do not always meet. It was the Character of *Hortensius*, that he was weak in Writing, and yet able to Speak: It was the Character of *Abercius*, that he was weak in Speech, and yet able in Writing: But our *Norton* was in both of these a very able Person.

§ 14. It was the Church of *Ipswich*, that our Lord gave so rich a thing, as his eminent Servant *Norton*: But besides the constant Labours of this holy and fruitful Man, in that particular Church, he there did several great Services of a more extensive Influence to the whole Church of God; whereof one was this: *Guilielmus Apolloni*, at the Direction of the Divines in *Zealand*, in the Year 1644. sent over to *New England* a Number of Questions, relating to our Way of Church-Government; whereto the Ministers of *New-England* unanimously imposed upon Mr. *Norton* the Task of drawing up an Answer, which he finished in the Year 1645.

And it was, I suppose, the first *Latin* Book that ever was written in this Country. What Satisfaction it gave, may be gathered, not only from the Attestations of Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Sympson*, thereunto; but also from the Expressions of Dr. *Hornbeck*, who frequently magnifies the Reason, and the Candour of our *New English* Divine, even in those Points, wherein he does himself dissent from him. Nor is it amiss to add the words in Dr. *Fuller's* Church-History, hereupon; which are: *Of all the Authors I have perused concerning these Opinions, none to me co. as more Informative than Mr. John Norton, one of no less Learning than Modesty, in his Answer to Apollonius, Pastor in the Church of Middleburgh.*

§ 15. It will do no hurt for me to repeat one Passage on this Occasion, which to me seemed worthy of some Remark. While Mr. *Norton* was deeply engaged in writing his *Latin* Account of our Church-Discipline, some of his more Accurate and Judicious Hearers, imagined that his Publick Sermons wanted a little of that Exactness, which did use to attend them; whereof one said something to that Mr. *Whiting*, whom I may well call the *Angel* in the Church of *Lyn*. Mr. *Whiting* hereupon in a very respectful and obliging manner, spoke to Mr. *Norton*, saying, *Sir, There are some of your People, who think that the Services wherein you are engaged for all the Churches, do something take off the Edge of the Ministry, wherewith you should serve your own particular Church: I would intreat you, Sir, to consider this matter; for our greatest Work is to preach the Gospel unto that Flock, whereof we are Overseers.* Our great and good Man took the excellent Oyl of this Intimation, with the Kindness which became such a Man, and made it serviceable unto his holy Studies.

§ 16. Another considerable Service, which then called for the Studies of this excellent Man, was the advising, modelling, and recommending the Platform of Church-Discipline, agreed by a Synod at *Cambridge*, in the Year 1647. Into that Platform he would fain have had inserted, certain Propositions concerning the Watch, which our Churches are to have over the Children born in them; which Propositions were certainly the first Principles of *New-England*: Only the fierce Oppositions of one eminent Person, caused him that was of a peaceable Temper, to forbear urging them any further; by which means, when those very Propositions came to be advanced and embraced in another Synod, more than twice seven Years after, many People did ignorantly count them *Novelties*. Moreover, when the Synod first assembled, it was a thing of some unhappy Consequence, that the Church of *Boston* would not send any Messengers unto it: But Mr. *Norton* preaching the next Lecture there, wherein he handled the Nature of Councils, and the Power of Civil Magistrates to call such Assemblies, and the Duty of the Churches in regarding their Advice, the Church of *Boston* were therewithal so satisfied, as to testify their Communion with the rest of the Churches, by send-

ing three Messengers to accompany their Elders now in the *Synod*. And when the Result of the *Synod* came to try its Acceptance in the Churches, he did his part, especially in his own, with a prudent and pious Diligence to obtain it; which was happily accomplished.

§ 17. There was yet one Comprehensive Service more, which this Learned Man here did for the Church of God; and that was this: A Gentleman of *New-England* had written a Book, entituled, *The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption*: Wherein he pretends to prove, *That Christ suffered not for us those unutterable Torments of God's Wrath, which are commonly called Hell-Torments, to redeem our Souls from them; and that Christ bore not our Sins by God's Imputation, and therefore also did not bear the Curse of the Law for them.* The General Court of the Colony, concerned that the Glorious Truths of the Gospel might be rescued from the Confusions, whereinto the Essay of this Gentleman had thrown them, and afraid lest the Church of God abroad should suspect that *New-England* allow'd of such *exorbitant Aberrations*, appointed Mr. Norton to draw up an Answer to that *Erroneous Treatise*. This Work he performed with a most Elaborate and Judicious Pen, in a Book afterwards published under the Title of, *A Discussion of that Great Point in Divinity, The Sufferings of Christ: And the Questions about his Active and Passive Righteousness, and the Imputation thereof.* In that Book the true Principles of the Gospel are stated with so much *Demonstration*, as is indeed unanswerable. The Great Assertion therein explained and maintained, is, (according to the express Words of the Reverend Author), 'That the Lord Jesus Christ as *God-Man, and Mediator, according to the Will of the Father, and his own voluntary Consent, fully obeyed the Law, doing the Command in a way of Works, and suffering the Essential Punishment of the Curse, in a way of obedient Satisfaction unto Divine Justice, thereby exactly fulfilling the first Covenant: Which Active and Passive Obedience of his, together with his Original Righteousness, as a Surety, God, of his rich Grace, actually imputeth unto Believers; whom, upon the Receipt thereof, by the Grace of Faith, he declareth and accepteth, as perfectly Righteous, and acknowledgeth them to have a Right unto Eternal Life.*

And in every Clause of this Position, the Author expressed not his own Sense alone, but the Sense of all the Churches in the Country: In Testimony whereof, there was published at the End of the Book, an Instrument signed by five considerable Names, *Cotton, Wilson, Mather, Symmes, and Tompson*, who in the Name of others, declare, 'As they believe, they do also profess, That the Obedience of Christ to the whole Law, which is the Law of Righteousness, is the Matter of our Justification; and the Imputation of our Sins to Christ (and thereupon his suffering the Sense of the Wrath of God upon him for our Sin) and the Imputa-

tion of his Obedience and Sufferings to us, are the formal Cause of our Justification; and that they who deny this, do now take away both of these, both Matter and Form of our Justification, which is the Life of our Souls, and of our Religion, and therefore called the Justification of Life.

This being the Primitive Doctrine of Justification, among the Churches of *New-England*; the things that were judged opposite hereunto, in the Renowned *Richard Baxter's Aphorisms of Justification*, did then give a great and just Offence unto the Faithful in this Country: Yea, they look'd upon many things in his Writings, to be; as *Photius* has it, upon some things in *Clemens Alexandrinus*; that is to say, Things expressed, *in ómnibus, not safely and soundly*; albeit, the other more Practical and Savory Books of that *Holy Man*, were highly valued in these *American Regions*; and not a few have here blessed God for him, and for his Labours. And as in those *Elder Days of New-England*, the Esteem which our Churches had for that eminent Man, did not hinder them from rejecting that *New Covenant of Works*, with which they thought he confounded that most important Article, upon the Notions whereof the Church either stands or falls: Thus it is a Grief of Mind unto our Churches at this Day, to find that great and good Man, in some of his *last Works*, under the blinding Heat of his Indignation against some which we also account unjustifiable, yea, dangerous Opinions and Expressions of Dr. *Cripp*, reproaching some of the most undoubted Points in our *common Faith*. We read him unaccountably enumerating among Errors, which he says, have corrupted Christianity, and subverted the Gospel, such things as these:

'They feign, That God made a Covenant with Adam, that if he stood, God would continue him, and his Posterity; and if he fell, God would take it, as if all his Posterity, then personally sinned in him.——Feigning God to make Adam, not only the Natural Father and Root of Mankind, but also arbitrarily, a constituted Representor of all the Persons that should spring from him. Whence they infer, that Christ was by God's Imposition, and his own Sponson, made the Legal Representative Person of every one of the Elect, taken singularly: So that what he did for them, God reputeth them to have done by him. Hereby they falsely make the Person of the Mediator, to be the Legal Person of the Sinner.

'They forge a Law, that God never made, that faith, *Thou or thy Surety, shall obey perfectly, or die.*

'They feign God to have made an Eternal Covenant with his Son.

'They feign Christ to have made such an exchange with the Elect, as that having taken all their Sins, he hath given them all his Righteousness; not only the Fruit of it, but the Thing in it self.

‘ They say, That by the Imputation of Christ’s Righteousness, *Habitual* and *Actual*. We are judged perfectly just.

‘ They talk of *Justification* in meer ignorant Confusion : — They say, That to justify is not to make righteous, but to judge righteous.

‘ They err grossly, saying, That by [*Faith imputed for Righteousness*] and [*our being justified by Faith*] is not meant, the *Act*, or *Habit* of Faith, but the *Object*, Christ’s Righteousness : Not sticking thereby to turn such Texts into worse than *Nonsense*. [All these are Mr. Baxter’s Words, in his *Defense of Christ*, chap. 2.]

These Things, which our Churches with Amazement, behold Mr. Baxter thus calling *Fictions*, *Falshoods*, *Forgeries*, *Ignorant Confusions*, and *gross Errors*, were defended by Mr. Norton, as the Faith once delivered unto the Saints : Nor do our Churches at this Day consider them, as any other, than *glorious Truths of the Gospel*; which, as they were maintain’d by Mr. Norton. So two Divines, which were the Scholars of Mr. Norton, well known in both *Englands*, *Nathanael*, and *Increase Mather*, (*Fratrum dulce Par*;) and a third, a worthy Minister of the Gospel, Mr. *Samuel Willard*, now living in the same House from whence Mr. Norton went, unto that not made with Hands, have in their Printed Labours most accurately expressed them, and confirmed them. Hence, altho’ as on the one side, I have this passage of Mr. Baxter’s, in a Letter from him, written but a few Months before he died, *I am as zealous a Lover of the New-England Churches as any man, according to Mr Norton’s, and the Synods Model* : So on the other side, the Memory of Mr. Baxter is on many accounts *zealously loved* among the Churches of *New-England*, yet espousing the Principles for their Establishment, wherein Mr. Norton had appeared : Nevertheless, inasmuch as Mr. Baxter, just before his Entrance into his *Everlasting Rest*, requested of my Parent then in *London* : *Sir, If you know of any Errors in any of my Writings, I pray you to confute them after I am dead*. I thought it not amiss, to regard so far the *Gospel-Truths of Justification* at this day labouring, as to take occasion from the mention of Mr. Norton’s Book, to say, That in that one Book of his, there is a *Confutation* of Mr. Baxter, who seems to oppose those things, which the Churches of *New-England* judge cannot be denied without *corrupting of Christianity*, and *subverting of the Gospel*. But waving any further mention of the Book, I cannot leave unmentioned a couple of Passages in the Preface of it, which is *Dedictory* to the General Court of the *Massachusetts Colony*. One is this : *I appeal to any competently judicious and sober-minded Man, if the Denial of Rule in the Presbytery, of a Decisive Voice in the Synod, and of the Power of the Magistrate in Matters of Religion, do not in this Point translate the Papal Power unto the Brotherhood of every Congregation*. Another is this : *You have been among the first of Magistrates,*

which have approved and practised the Congregational Way ; no small Favour from God, nor Honour to your selves, with the Generation to come, when that shall appear to be the Way of Christ.

§ 18. But we say nothing of Norton, if we don’t speak of an *Orthodox Evangelist*. Being himself such an one, he digested the Subtilties of the *School-men* into solid and wholesome *Christianity*, which he published in a Treatise entitled, *The Orthodox Evangelist* : Wherein he handles the abstruse Points of the *Existence* and *Subsistence*, and *Efficiency* of God, and the *Person* of Christ, and the *Methods* of the *Spirit* in uniting us to him ; and the *Doctrine* of *Justification*, with the *future* and *happy State* of the *Saints* ; all in such a manner, that Mr. Cotton saw cause to say in his Preface to this Treatise, *Clusters of ripe Grapes passing under the Press, are fit to be transported unto all Nations ; thus, such Gifts and Labours passing under the Press, may be fitly communicated to all Churches. The Physicians do speak, there are Pillula sine Quibus esse nolo ; so there are Libelli sine quibus, some Books, Sine quibus esse nolo ; and this is one of ’em*. This Book he dedicated unto his own Church, in *Ipswich* ; and in the Close of his Dedication, I cannot forget this emphatical passage, *You are our Glory and Joy : Forget not the Emphasis in the Word, Our : Ministers, compared with other Christians, have little to joy in in this World : It is not with the Ministers of the present, as with the Ministers of late Times ; nor with the Exiles, as with the rest ; nor with your Exiles, as with some others. Let this Our, or if you please Your Condition, for therein you have been both Partakers with us, and Supporters of us, be your Provocation*. Thus and more than thus useful, was this *Bradwardin* of *New-England*, while *Ipswich* had him.

§ 19. When Cotton, that *Man of God*, lay sick of the Sickness whereof he died, his Church desired that he would nominate and recommend a fit Person to succeed him ; and he advised them to apply themselves unto Mr. Norton, hoping that the Church of *Ipswich* being accommodated with such another eminent Person as Mr. Rogers, would out of respect unto the general Good of all the People of God throughout the Land, so far deny themselves, as to dismiss him from themselves. That which gave Encouragement unto this Business, was not a *Dream* of Mr. Cotton’s, tho’ it was indeed a strange thing, that Mr. Cotton in his Illness, being solicitous what Counsel to give unto his Church, he dream’d, that he saw Mr. Norton riding unto *Boston*, to succeed him, upon a *White Horse*, in Circumstances that were exactly afterwards accomplished : And when Mr. Wilson, with his Flock, saw the thing accomplished, it caused them to look upon Mr. Norton, almost with the same Eye, that old *Narcissus*, with the Church at *Jerusalem*, did upon *Alexander*, when upon the warning of a Voice from Heaven, to take him, whom they should so find, they found him out of the City, provided for them. But it was a
Design

Design which Mr. Norton had of returning for England: A Design which he had so laid before his People, as to obtain their Grant, that if upon staying a Twelve Month longer among them, there did occur no occasion for him to alter his purposes, they would not oppose his going. Now when the Agents of the Church at Boston, made this Motion to the Church of Ipswich, there was much debate about it; wherein at length an honest Brother made this Propofal: *Brethren, a Case in some things like to this, was once that way determined: We will call the Damsel, and enquire at her Mouth: Wherefore I propose, that our Teacher himself be enquired of, whether he be inclined to go?* They then put that Question to Mr. Norton himself, who being troubled at the Offer of the Question unto him, answered, *That if they judged such Reasons as caused his Removal from Europe into America, now call'd for his Removal from Ipswich to Boston, he should resign himself; but he could not be Active.* However, at length, they consented, that he should for the present, go sojourn at Boston, to try, and see how far the Will of God about this matter, might be afterwards discovered; but after Mr. Norton was gone, many of the People fell into a very unreasonable Indisposition towards Mr. Rogers, as if he had not been Active enough, altho' he had, indeed, been as Active, as he well could be, to retain his Colleague among them. The Melancholly Temper of Mr. Rogers felt so deep an Impression from those Paroxifims, and Murmurings of the People, that it is thought, his End was thereby hastned; but the Church, upon the Death of Mr. Rogers, renewing their Demands of Mr. Norton's Return, a Council was upon that occasion called; which Council advised Ipswich to grant Mr. Norton a fair Dismission unto the Service of Boston, and in Boston, of all New England. However divers lesser Councils, that were successively called on this Occasion, could not comfortably procure this Dismission, till at last the Governour and Magistrates of the Colony called a Council for this end; in their Order for which, they intimate their Concern, lest while the two Churches were contending, which of them should enjoy Mr. Norton, they should both of them, and the whole Country with them, lose that Reverend Person, by his prosecuting his Inclination to remove into England. Hereupon such a Dismission could not be denied; but now Boston joyfully receiving Mr. Norton, Ipswich applied themselves unto Mr. Cobbet, who afterwards continued a rich Blessing among them. And Mr. Norton did indeed, the part of a surviving Brother for Mr. Cotton, in raising up, or at least keeping up the Name of that Great Man, by publishing a most elegant Account of his Life, part whereof was afterwards transcribed by Sam. Clark, into his Collections.

§ 20. Mr. Norton being now transplanted into that Garden which our Lord had in Boston, did there bring forth much of that Fruit whereby the heavenly Father was glorified. There he preached, he wrote, he pray'd, and maintained

without any Prelatical Episcopacy, a Care of all the Churches. And New-England being a Country whose Interests were most remarkably and generally enwrapped in its Ecclesiastical Circumstances, there were many good Offices, which Mr. Norton did for the Peace of the whole Country, by his wise Counsels upon many Occasions, given to its Counsellors. In truth, if he had never done any thing, but that one thing of preventing by his wise Interposition, the Acts of Hostility, which were like to pass between Our People, and the Dutch at Manhatoes, that alone were well worth his coming into the Station which he now had at Boston. But the Service which now most signalized him, was, his Agency at White-Hall; for it being found necessary to Address the Restored King; the Worshipful Simon Bradstreet, Esq; and this Reverend Mr. John Norton, were sent over as Agents from the Colony, with an Address unto His Majesty; wherein there were, among others, the following Passages.

‘ We supplicate Your Majesty for your Gracious Protection of us, in the Continuance both of our Civil, and of our Religious Liberties; according to the Grantees known End of Suing for the Patent, conferr'd upon this Plantation by Your Royal Father. Our Liberty to Walk in the Faith of the Gospel, with all good Conscience, according to the Order of the Gospel, was the Cause of our transporting our selves, with our Wives, our Little Ones, and our Substance, from that pleasant Land, over the Atlantick Ocean, into the Vast Wilderness; choosing rather the pure Scripture-Worship, with a good Conscience, in this remote Wilderness, than the Pleasures of England, with Submission to the Impositions of the then so disposed, and so far prevailing Hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil Conscience.— We are not Seditious as to the Interests of Caesar, nor Schismatical as to the Matters of Religion. We distinguish between Churches, and their Impurities.— We could not live without the Publick Worship of God, nor be permitted the Publick Worship, without such a Yoke of Subscription and Conformity, as we could not consent unto without Sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy Divine Worship, free from Human Mixtures, without Offence to God, Man, and our own Consciences, we, with Leave, but not without Tears, departed from our Country, Kindred, and Fathers Houses, into this Patmos.—

It was in February 1662, that they began their Voyage, and it was in September following, that they returned: Mr. Norton's place being the mean time supplied by the Neighbouring Ministers, taking of their Turns. And by their Hands the Country received the King's Letters, wherein he signified, That the Expressions of their Loyalty and Affection to Him, were very acceptable, and that confirming to them their Priviledges, He would cherish them with all manner of Encouragement and Protection.

§ 21. Such has been the *Jealous* Disposition of our *New-Englanders* about their Dearly-bought *Privileges*, and such also has been the *Various* Understanding of the People about the Extent of those *Privileges*, that of all the *Agents*, which they have sent over unto the Court of *England*, for now Forty Years together, I know not any *One*, who did not at his Return, meet with some very froward Entertainment among his Country-men: And there may be the *Wisdom* of the Holy and Righteous God, as well as the *Malice* of the Evil One, acknowledged, in the Ordering of such *Temptations*. Of these *Temptations*, a considerable share fell to Mr. *Norton*; concerning whom there were many, who would not stick to say, that he had laid the Foundation of Ruine to all our *Liberties*; and his melancholly Mind imagined, that his best Friends began therefore to look awry upon him.

§ 22. In the Spring before his going for *England*, he Preached an Excellent Sermon unto the Representarives of the whole Colony, Assembled at the Court of *Election*, wherein I take particular Notice of this Passage, *Moses was the meekest Man on Earth, yet it went ill with Moses, 'tis said, for their Sakes. How long did Moses live at Meribah? Sure I am; it kill'd him in a short Time; a Man of as Good a Temper as could be expected from a meer Man: I tell you, it will not only kill the People, but it will quickly kill Moses too!* And in the Spring after his Return from *England*, he found his own Observation in himself too much Exemplified. It was commonly judged, That the *Smothered Grievs* of his Mind, upon the *Unkind Resentments*, which he thought many People had of his Faithful and Sincere Endeavours to serve them, did, more than a little, hasten his End; an End, whereat *JOHN NORTON* went, according to the Anagram of his Name *INTO HONNOR*. But he had the Privilege to enter into *Immortality*, without such a Formal and Feeling Death, as the most of *Mortals* encounter with; for though in the Forenoon of *April 5. 1663.* it was his Design to have Preached in the *Afternoon*, he was that *Afternoon* taken with a sudden *Lypo thymie*, which presently and easily carried him away to those *Glories*, wherein the *Weary are at Rest*; but it was a *Dark Night*, which the Inhabitants of *Boston* had upon the Noise of his Death: Every Corner of the Town was filled with Lamentations, which left a Character upon that *Night*, unto this *Day*, not forgotten! His dearest Neighbour, Mr. *Richard Mather*, wept over him at his Funeral, which was on the next *Lecture Day*, a Sermon most agreeable to the occasion; And the Son of his Fellow-Traveller, Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, was one of the many, who bettowed their *Elegies* upon him; using *this*, among his other Strokes.

The Schoolmens *Doctors*, whomsoever they call, *Subtil, Seraphick, or Angelical*:
Dull Souls! Their Tapers burnt exceeding Dim;
They might to *School* again, to learn of him.

Lombard must out of Date; we now profess *Norton*, the Master of the *Sentences*; *Scotus*, a *Dunce* to him; should we compare *Aquinas*, here, none to be named are.

Of a more *Heavenly* Strain, his Notions were, More pure, Sublime, Scholastical, and clear. More like th' Apostles *Paul* and *John*, I wist, Was this our *Orthodox Evangelist*.

Which Lines accompanied with Mr. *Wilson's* Anagrammatizing of *JOHANNES NORTONUS* into *Nonne is Honoratus*? Will give him his deserved Character.

§ 23. He that shall Read the Tragical Romances, written by that Brazen-fac'd Lyar *Bolsecus*, concerning the Deaths of such Men as *Calvin* and *Beza*, or such monstrous Writings as those of *Tympius*, *Cochleus*, *Genebard*, and some others, who would bear the World in hand, that *Luther* and *Oecolampadius* Learn'd the Protestant Religion of the *Devil*, and were at last kill'd by him; and that *Bucer* had his Guts pull'd out and cast about by the *Devil*; will not wonder if I tell him, that after the Death of Mr. *Norton*, the *Quakers* published a *Libel*, by them called, *A Representation to King and Parliament*; wherein, pretending to Report some Remarkable Judgments upon their *Persecutors*, they insert this Passage, ' *John Norton* Chief Priest in *Boston*, by the immediate Power of the Lord, was smitten, and as he was sinking down by the Fire-side, being under just Judgment, he confessed the Hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died.

—Which they mention, as a *Judgment* upon a *Persecutor*. Whereas, the Death of this *Good Man*, was attended with no Circumstances, but what unto a *Good Man* might be *Eligible* and *Comfortable*, and circumstanced far otherwise than it was by those *Revilers* *Represented*. But it was necessary for that Enchanted People, thus to revenge themselves upon one, who amongst his other Services to the Church of God, already mentioned, had, at the desire of the *General Court*, written a Book, Entitled, *The Heart of New England rent at the Blasphemies of the Present Generation; Or, a Brief Tractate concerning the Doctrine of the Quakers: Which Doctrine* was in this *Tractate* solidly confuted. And perhaps, it had been better if *this* had been all the *Confutation*; which I add, because I will not, I cannot make my self a *Vindicator* of all the *Severities*, with which the Zeal of some Eminent Men hath sometimes *Enraged* and *Increased*, rather than *Reclaimed* those miserable *Hereticks*: But with that the *Quakers* may be treated as Queen *Elizabeth* directed the Lord President of the North to treat the *Papists*; when she advised him to convince them with *Argument*, rather than suppress them with *Violence*; to that purpose using of the Words of the Prophets, *Nolo Mortem Peccatoris*.

§ 24. Not long after his Death, his Friends published *Three Sermons* of his, which for the Circumstances

Circumstances of them could have been Entituled, *These were the last Words of that Servant of the Lord.* The First of the Sermons, was the *last Sermon*, which he preach'd at the Court of Election at Boston. It is on Jer. 10. 17. entituled, *Sion the Out-cast healed of her Wounds*: And there are two or three Passages in it, which I cannot but recommend unto the peculiar Consideration of the present Generation

“ To differ from our Orthodox, Pious, and
 “ Learned Brethren, is such an Affliction to a
 “ Christian and an Ingenuous Spirit, as nothing
 “ but Love to the Truth could arm a Man of
 “ Peace against. Our Profession being in a
 “ way differing from these and those, it con-
 “ cerns us, that our walking be very Cautelous,
 “ and that it be without giving any Just Of-
 “ fence.

Again, *In matters of State and Church, Let it be shown that we are his Disciples, who said, Give unto Caesar the things that are Caesars, and Give unto God the things that are God's: And in Matters of Religion, Let it be known, That we are for Reformation and not for Separation.*

— Once more, — *I may say thus much (and pardon my Speech) A more yielding Ministry unto the People than ours, I believe is not in the World. I beseech you, Let not Caesar be killed in the Senate, after he hath conquer'd in the Field. Let us acknowledge the Order of the Eldership, in our Churches, in their Way; and the Order of Councils in their Way, duly backed and encouraged: Without which Experience will witness that these Churches cannot long consist.*

The Second of the Sermons, was the *last Sermon* which he preached on the *Lord's Day*. It is on Joh. 14. 3. entituled, *The Believers Consolation in the Remembrance of his Heavenly Mansion, prepared for him by Christ.*

The Third of the Sermons was the *last Sermon*, which he Preach'd on his *Lecture*. It is on Heb. 8. 5. entituled, *The Evangelical Worshipper, subjecting to the Prescription and Sovereignty of Scripture Pattern.*

§ 25. The Three Sermons thus Published as the *last*, or the *Dropt Mantle* of this *Elias*, are accompanied with the Translation of a Letter, which was compos'd in Latin by Mr. Norton, and subscribed by more than Forty of the Ministers, on this Occasion. The Famous *John Dury* having from the Year 1635. been most indefatigably labouring for a *Pacification*, between the Reformed Churches in *Europe*, communicated his Design to the Ministers of *New-England*, requesting their Concurrence and Countenance unto his Generous Undertaking. In answer to *Him*, this Letter was written; and there are one or two Passages, which I chuse to transcribe from it, because as well the *Spirit* of our *Norton*, as the *Story* of our *Country*, is therein Indigitated.

Redeunt in Memoriam, & redeunt quidem non sine Sanctiori Sympathia, Beatæ illæ Animæ, Melancthonis & Parei NTN EN AΓΙΟΙΣ, hic inter Reformatos, ille inter Evangelicos, Vir

Consummatissimus. Quorum Alter Haganoam iter faciens, ita Ingenuit.

Viximus in Synodis, & jam moriemur in illis.

Alter Vero, Super Eristica Eucharistica Meditabundus, in hæc Verba Erupit, Defessus sum Disputando. Nimirum, illis Judicibus, Orandum potius quam---Disputandum; Vivendum non Litigandum. Forsitan & Consilia Pacis, Stimulanti recenti Ira hactenus, minus grata fuere, utriusque partis Theologi Rixis diuturnioribus aliquando fessi & Subacti, æquis animis Suscipere, non moleste ferunt: Mare pacificum Aquis Meribanis, Longo Rerum usu Edocti, anteferentes.

‘ We may here call to Mind, and not without some Sacred Sympathy, those Blessed Souls, *Melancthon* and *Pareus*, now among the Blessed, the one no less Famous among the Reformed, than the other among the Evangelicks. Of these, the one going towards *Haganoa*, with Sighs uttered these Words,

*In Synods hitherto we lived have,
 And now in them, return unto the Grave.*

‘ The other seriously meditating on the Controversy of the *Eucharist*, brake forth into these Words; *I am weary with Disputing*. Thus, if these might be Judges, we ought rather to Pray than Dispute, and study how to Live, rather than Contend. And perhaps the Divines of either Part, after they have been wearied and broke in their Spirits with daily and continual Contentions, will more readily accept of the *Counsels of Peace*, which hitherto have been less acceptable, while the Sense of Anger has been spurring of them: After they have been taught by long use, they may prefer the Waters of the *Pacific Sea*, before those of *Meribab*.

Gratiâs agimus Domino Dureo, cui Josephi Longe terra marique a fratribus Diffiti, meminisse Cordi fuit: Qui nos Misellus, in Cilicio, Cilicio autem ipsi confidimus Evangelico, Militantes, tam Auspicato Nuncio invisere dignatus est: Qui Novam Angliam, quasi particulam aliquam Fimbriæ Vestimenti Aaronici, unguento prædiviti delibutam, in Album Syncretismi, Longe celeberrimi, adscribere, non adspernatur: Qui porro Litteris ad Syncretismum hortatoris, subinde nobis Ansam præbuit Testimonium hoc, quale quale, perhibendi Communionis nostræ fraternæ, cum universa Cohorte Protestantium, fidem Jesu Christi profitentium. Ingenue enim fatemur, tranquilla tam quum erant Omnia, nec Signa Minantia signis ad huc nobis conspiciebantur; quippe quibus, Episcopis, illa Tempestate Rerum Dominis, publico Ministerio Defungi, nedum Sacris frui, sine Subscriptione & Conformitate, (ut loqui solent) utque adeo Humanarum Adinventio num, in Divinis, Commixtione, non Liceret, & satius visum est, vel in Longinquas, & Incultas Terrarum Oras, Cultus purioris Ergo concessisse, quam Oneri Hierarchico, cum Rerum

Omnium Affluentia, Conscientiæ autem Dispendio, succubuisse. At patriam fugiendo, nos Ecclesiarum Evangelicarum Communioni Nuncium misisse, hoc vero est quod fidenter & Sancte pernegamus.

‘ We give thanks to Mr. Dury, into whose
‘ Heart it came to remember, *Joseph separate*
‘ *from his Brethren* at so great a Distance both
‘ by Sea and Land: And who hath vouchsafed
‘ with so comfortable a Message to visit us
‘ poor People, clothed in *Sackcloth*, for our
‘ Warfare; yet, as we trust, the *Sackcloth* of
‘ the Gospel: Who hath not refused to put
‘ *New-England* as part of the Skirt of *Aaron’s*
‘ *Garment*, upon which hath descended some
‘ of the *Precious Oyl*, into the Catalogue of
‘ the so much famed *Agreement*: And who
‘ hath by his Letter exhorting to such Agree-
‘ ment given us an Occasion to bring in this
‘ Testimony, such as it is, for our *Brotherly*
‘ *Communion* with the whole Company of *Pro-*
‘ *testants* professing the Faith of Christ Jesus.
‘ For we must ingenuously confess, that then,
‘ when all things were quiet, and no threat-
‘ ning Signs of War appeared, seeing we could
‘ not be permitted by the *Bishops*, at that time
‘ prevailing to perform the Office of the Mini-
‘ stry in *Publick*, nor yet to enjoy the Holy Or-
‘ dinances, without *Subscription* and *Confor-*
‘ *mity* (as they were wont to speak) nor with-
‘ out the Mixture of *Humane Inventions* with
‘ *Divine Institutions*, we chose rather to depart
‘ into the remote and unknown parts of the
‘ Earth, for the sake of a *Purer Worship*, than
‘ to ly down under the *Hierarchy* in the *Abun-*
‘ *dance* of all things, but with *Prejudice* of
‘ Conscience. But that in flying from our
‘ Country, we should renounce *Communion* with
‘ such Churches, as profess the Gospel, is a
‘ thing, which we confidently and solemnly
‘ deny.

Quoscunque apud Cætus, per Universum Evan-
gelicorum chorum, Fundamentalialia Doctrinæ &
Essentialialia Ordinis, Vigeant, quamvis in pleris-
que Controversiæ Theologicæ, Apicibus nobis-
cum juxta minus Sentiant, illos tamen ad unum
Omnes, pro Fratibus agnoscimus, iisque cætera
pacificis, & Ordinate incedentibus, ΔΕΞΙΑΣ
ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ in Domino porrigere, paratissi-
mos, nos esse hisce palam facimus.

‘ In whatever Assemblies amongst the whole
‘ Company of those that profess the Gospel,
‘ the *Fundamentals* of Doctrine, and *Essentials*
‘ of Order, are maintained, though in many
‘ Niceties of *Controversial Divinity*, they are at
‘ less Agreement with us, we do hereby make
‘ it manifest, that we do acknowledge them
‘ all, and every one for *Brethren*, and that we
‘ shall be ready to give unto them the *Right*
‘ *Hand of Fellowship* in the Lord, if in other
‘ Things they be Peaceable, and walk Or-
‘ derly.

§ 26. This was our Norton! And we might
have given yet a fuller Account of him, if we

could have seen the *Diary*, which he kept of
his *Daily Walk*. However he was well known
to be a Great Example of *Holiness*, *Watchful-*
ness, and *Extraordinary Wisdom*; and though
he left no *Children*, yet he has a *Better Name*
than that of Sons and of Daughters. More-
over, there was one Considerable part of *Mini-*
sterial Work, wherein he not only went be-
yond most of his Age, but also proved a
Leader unto many *Followers*. Though the
Ministers of *New-England* counted it *Unlaw-*
ful for them, *Ordinarily* to perform their *Mini-*
sterial Acts of Solemn and Publick Prayer
by *Reading* or *Using* any *Forms of Prayer*
composed by *other Persons* for them; They
Reckoned an *Ability to express the Case of a*
Congregation in Prayer, to be a *Ministerial*
Gift, which our Lord forbids His Ministers
to *Neglect*; They supposed that a Minister,
who should only Read *Forms of Sermons*
composed for him, would as Truly Discharge
the Duty of *Preaching*, as One that should
only Read such *Forms of Prayers*, would the
Duty of *Praying*, in it: They could not find,
that any *Humane Forms of Prayers*, were much
used in any part of the Church, until about
Four Hundred Years after Christ, nor any made
for more than some Single Province, until
Six Hundred Years; nor any Imposed until
Eight Hundred, when all manner of *Ill-formed*
Things began to be found in the *Temple* of
God: Nevertheless very many of our Greatest
Ministers, in our more Early times, did not
use to Expatiate with such a Significant and
Admirable *Variety* in their *Prayers* before their
Sermons, as many of our Later Times have
attained unto: Nor indeed *Then* did *They*, nor
Still do We, count all *Forms of Prayer* Simply
Unlawful. But the more General Improve-
ments and Expressions of *The Gift of Prayer*,
in our Ministers, have *Since* been the matter
of Observation; and particularly Mr. Norton,
therein was truly Admirable! It even Tran-
ported the Souls of his Hearers to accompany
him in his Devotions, wherein his *Graces* would
make Wonderful *Salleys* into the vast Field of
Entertainments, and *Acknowledgments*, with
which we are furnished in the *New-Covenant*, for
our *Prayers*. I have heard of a Godly Man
in *Ipswich*, who after Mr. Norton’s going to
Boston, would Ordinarily Travel on foot from
Ipswich to *Boston*, which is about Thirty
Miles, for nothing but the *Weekly Lecture*
there; and he would profess, *That it was*
worth a Great Journey, to be a *Partaker* in
one of Mr. Norton’s Prayers. This Pattern
of Prayer in Mr. Norton, had some Influence
upon it, that since his Time, our *Pulpits* have
been fuller than ever of *Experimental Demon-*
strations, that the Ministers of the Gospel
may on all Occasions present their Supplica-
tions before God, in the Discharge of their
Ministry, with more Pertinent, more Affect-
ing, more Expanded *Enlargements*, than any
Form could Afford unto them. *New-England*
can show, even *Young Ministers*, who never
did

did in all all Things Repeat *One Prayer* twice over, in that part of their Ministry wherein we are *First of All, to make Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings*; and yet sometimes, for much more than an *Hour* together, they pour out their Souls unto the Almighty God in such a Fervent, Copious, and yet *Proper Manner*, that their most Critical Auditors, can complain of Nothing *Disagreeable*, but profess themselves extremely Edified.

But our Praying *Norton*, who while he was among us, *Pray'd with the Tongue of An-*

gels, is now gone to *Praise with the Angels* for ever.

Epitaphium.

JOHANNES NORTONUS.

*Quis fuerat, Ultra si quæras,
Dignus es qui Nescias.*

CHAP. III.

Memoria WILSONIA, the LIFE of Mr. JOHN WILSON.

§ 1. SUCH is the Natural Tendency in Humane Minds to Poetry, That as 'tis observed, the *Roman Historian*, in the very first Line of his *History*, fell upon a Verse,

Urbem Romam, In Principio Reges habuere;

So the *Roman Orator*, though a very Mean Poet, yet making an *Oration* for a Good One, could not let his First Sentence pass him, without a perfect *Hexameter*,

In Qua me non Inficior mediocriter Esse.

If therefore, I were not of all Men the most Unpoetical, my Reader might now expect an Entertainment altogether in Verse; for I am going to write the *Life* of that *New-English Divine*, who had so nimble a Faculty of putting his Devout Thoughts into Verse, that he Signalized himself by the Greatest Frequency, perhaps, that ever Man used, of sending Poems to all Persons, in all Places, on all Occasions; and upon this, as well as upon Greater Accounts, was a *David* unto the Flocks of our Lord in the *Wilderness*:

Quicquid tentabat Dicere, Versus erat;

Wherein, if the *Curious* Relished the *Piety* sometimes rather than the *Poetry*, the Capacity of the *Most*, therein to be accommodated, must be considered. But I intend no further Account of this matter, than what is given by his Worthy Son, (Reprinting at *Boston* in the Year 1680. the Verses of his Father, upon the Famous Deliverances of the *English Nation* Printed at *London*, as long ago as the Year 1626.) Whose Words are, *What Volumes hath he Penned, for the help of Others, in their several Changes of Condition? How was his Heart full of Good Matter? And his Verses past, like to the Handkerchiefs carried from Paul to uphold the Disconsolate, and heal their Wounded Souls?*

For indeed this is the *Least Thing* that we have to Relate of that *Great Saint*; and accordingly, it is under a more considerable Character, that I must now exhibit him, even as a *Father* to the Infant Colonies of *New-England*.

§ 2. Mr. *John Wilson*, descending from Eminent Ancestors, was born at *Windsor* in the *Wonderful Year* 1588. The third Son of Dr. *William Wilson*, a Prebend of *St. Pauls*, of *Rochester* and of *Winsor*, and Rector of *Cliff*: Having for his Mother, a Niece of Dr. *Edmund Grindal*, the most Worthily Renowned Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. His exact Education under his Parents, which betimes Tinged him with an Aversion to Vice, and above all, to the very shadow of a *Lye*, fitted him to undergo the further Education, which he received in *Eaton Colledge*, under *Udal* (and *Langley*) whom now we may venture, after *Poor Tom Tusser*, to call, *The severest of Men*. Here he was most Remarkably twice delivered from drowning; but at his Book, he made such Proficiency, that while he was the *Least Boy* in the School, he was made a *Propositor*; and when the Duke of *Biron*, Embassador from the *French King Henry IV.* to *Queen Elizabeth*, visited the School, he made a Latin Oration, for which the Duke bestowed Three *Angels* upon him. After four Years Continuance at *Eaton*, he was removed unto *Cambridge*, between the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Year of his Age; and admitted into *Kings Colledge* in the Year 1602. When he came to stand for a *Fellowship* in that Colledge, his Antipathy to some Horrid Wickednesses, whereto a Detestable Wretch that had been acquainted with him, would have betray'd him, caused that Malicious Wretch by Devised and Accursed Slanders to ruin so far the Reputation of this Chast Youth with the other *Fellows*, that had not the Provost, who was a Serious and a Reverend Person, interposed for him, he had utterly lost his Priviledge; which now by the *Major Vote* he obtained. But this Affliction

put him upon many Thoughts and Prayers before the Lord.

§ 3. He had hitherto been according to his good Education, very civilly and soberly disposed: But being by the good Hand of God, led unto the Ministry of such holy Men as Mr. Bains, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Chaderton, he was by their Sermons enlightened and awakened, unto more solicitous Enquiries after, *The one thing yet lacking in him*. The serious Dispositions of his Mind, were now such, that besides his pursuance after the Works of Repentance in himself, he took no little pains to pursue it in others; especially the Malefactors in the Prisons, which he visited with a devout, sedulous, and successful Industry. Nevertheless, being forestalled with Prejudices against the Puritans of those Times, as if they had held, he knew not well what *odd Things*, he declined their Acquaintance; altho' his good Conversation had made him to be accounted one of them himself. Until going to a Bookseller's Shop, to augment his well-furnish'd Library, he light upon that famous Book of Mr. Richard Rogers, called, *The Seven Treatises*: Which when he had read, he so affected, not only the Matter, but also the Author of the Book, that he took a Journey unto *Wethersfield*, on purpose to hear a Sermon from that *Boanerges*. When he had heard the Heavenly Passages that fell from the Lips of that worthy Man, privately, as well as publicly, and compared therewithal the Writings of *Greenham*, of *Dod*, and of *Dent*, especially, *The Pathway to Heaven*, written by the Author last mentioned, he saw that they who were Nicknamed *Puritans*, were like to be the desirablest Companions, for one that intended his own everlasting Happiness; and pursuant unto the Advice which he had from Dr. Ames, he associated himself with a Pious Company in the University; who kept their Meetings in Mr. Wilson's Chamber, for Prayer, Fasting, Holy Conference, and the Exercises of true Devotion.

§ 4. But now perceiving many good Men to scruple many of the Rites practised and imposed in the Church of England, he furnished himself with all the Books that he could find written on the Case of Conformity, both *Pro* and *Con*, and pondered with a most Conscientious Deliberation, the Arguments on both sides produced. He was hereby so convinced of the Evil in Conformity, that at length, for his observable Omission, of certain Uninstituted Ceremonies in the Worship of God, the Bishop of Lincoln then visiting the University, pronounced upon him the Sentence of *Quindenum*; that is, that besides other Mortifications, he must within Fifteen Days have been expelled, if he continued in his Offence. His Father being hereof advised, with all Paternal Affection, wrote unto him to Conform; and at the same time interceded with the Bishop, that he might have a Quarter of a Year allowed him; in which time, if he could not be reduced, he should then leave his Fellowship in the Colledge. Hereupon he sent

him unto several Doctors of Great Fame, to get his Objections resolved; but when much Discourse, and much Writing, had passed between them, he was rather the more confirmed in his Principles about Church-Reformation. Wherefore his Father, then diverting him from the Designs of the Ministry, disposed him to the *Inns of Court*; where he fell into Acquaintance with some young Gentlemen, who associated with him in constant Exercises of Devotion; to which Meetings the repeated Sermons of Dr. Gouge were a continual Entertainment: And here it was, that he came into the Advantageous Knowledge of the Learned *Scultetus*, Chaplain to the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, then making some stay in England.

§ 5. When he had continued Three Years at the *Inns of Court*, his Father discerning his Disposition to be a Minister of the Gospel, permitted his proceeding *Master of Arts*, in the University of Cambridge; but advised him to address another Colledge, than that where he had formerly met with Difficulties. Dr. Cary, who was then Vice-Chancellor, understanding his former Circumstances, would not Admit him without Subscription; but he refused to *Subscribe*. In this Distress he repaired unto his Father, at whose House there happened then to be present, the Countess of Bedford's chief Gentleman, who had Business with the Earl of Northampton, the Chancellor of the University. And this Noble Person, upon the Information which that Gentleman gave him of the matter, presently wrote a Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, on the behalf of our young Wilson; whereupon he received his Degree, and continued a while after this, in *Emanuel-Colledge*: From whence he made frequent and useful Visits unto his Friends in the Counties adjoining, and became further fitted for his intended Service. But while he was passing under these Changes, he took up a Resolution which he thus expressed before the Lord: *That if the Lord would grant him a Liberty of Conscience, with Purity of Worship, he would be content, yea thankful, tho' it were at the furthest End of the World.* A most Prophectical Resolution!

§ 6. At length preaching his first Sermon at *Newport*, he set his Hand unto that Plough, from whence he never afterwards looked back: Not very long after which, his Father lying on his Death bed, he kneeled, in his Turn, before him, for his Blessing, and brought with him for a share in that Blessing, the Vertuous young Gentlewoman, the Daughter of the Lady Mansfield, (Widow of Sir John Mansfield, Master of the *Minories*) and the Queen's Surveyor) whom he designed afterwards to marry: Whereupon the old Gentleman said, *Ah, John, I have taken much Care about thee, such time as thou wast in the University, because thou wouldest not Conform; I would fain have brought thee to some higher Preferment than thou hast yet attained unto: I see thy Conscience is very scrupulous, concerning some things that have been observed and imposed in the Church: Nevertheless, I have rejoiced to*
see

see the Grace and Fear of God in thy Heart; and seeing thou hast kept a good Conscience hitherto, and walked according to thy Light, so do still; and go by the Rules of God's Holy Word: The Lord bless thee, and her, whom thou hast chosen to be the Companion of thy Life! Among other places where he now preached, Moreclake was one; where his Non-Conformity exposed him to the Rage of Persecution; but by the Friendship of the Justice, namely Sir William Bird, a Kinsman of his Wife, and by a Mistake of the Informers, the Rage of that Storm was moderated.

§ 7. After this he lived as a Chaplain successively, in Honourable and Religious Families; and at last was invited unto the House of the most Pious Lady Scudamore. Here Mr. Wilson observing the Discourse of the Gentry at the Table, on the Lord's Day, to be too disagreeable unto the devout Frame to be maintained on such a day, at length he zealously stood up at the Table, with Words to this purpose, *I will make bold to speak a Word or two: This is the Lord's Holy Day, and we have been hearing his Word, and after the Word preached, every one should think, and speak about such things as have been delivered in the Name of God, and not lavish out the time in Discourses about Hawks and Hounds.* Whereupon a Gentleman then present made this handsome and civil Answer: *Sir, We deserve all of us to be thus reprov'd by you; this is indeed the Sabbath-day, and we should surely have better Discourse; I hope it will be a Warning to us.* Notwithstanding this, the next Lord's Day, the Gentry at the Table were at their *Old Notes*; which caused Mr. Wilson again to tell them, *That the Hawks which they talk'd of, were the Birds that picked up the Seed of the Word, after the sowing of it; and pray'd them, That their Talk might be of such things, as might sanctifie the Day, and edifie their own Souls:* Which caused the former Gentleman to renew his former Thankfulness for the Admonition. But Mr. Leigh, the Lady's Husband, was very angry; whereof when the Lady advised Mr. Wilson, wishing him to say something that might satisfy him, he replied, *Good Madam, I know not wherein I have given any just Offence; and therefore I know of no Satisfaction that I owe: Your Ladiship has invited me to preach the good Word of God among you; and so I have endeavoured according to my Ability: Now such Discourse as this, on the Lord's Day, is profane and disorderly: If your Husband like me not, I will be gone.* When the Lady informed her Husband how peremptory Mr. Wilson was in this matter, he mended his Countenance and Carriage; and the Effect of this Reproof was, that unsuitable Discourse, on the Lord's Day, was cured among them.

§ 8. Removing from this Family, after he had been a while at *Henly*, he continued for three Years together, preaching at four places, by turns, which lay near one another, on the Edges of *Suffolk*, namely *Bumsted*, *Stoke*, *Clare*, and *Candish*. Here some of *Sudbury* happening

to hear him, they invited him to succeed the eminent old Mr. *Jenkins*, with which Invitation he cheerfully complied, and the more cheerfully because of his Opportunity to be near old Mr. *Richard Rogers*, from whom afterwards when dying, he received a Blessing among his Children; yea, to encourage his Acceptance of this place, the very Reader of the Parish did subscribe, with many Scores of others, their Desires of it; and yet he accepted not the Pastoral Charge of the Place, without a Solemn Day of Prayer with Fasting, (wherein the Neighbouring Ministers assisted) at his Election: Great Notice was now taken of the Success, which God gave unto his Labours, in this famous Town; among other Instances whereof, one was this: A Tradesman much given to Stealing, as well as other profane and vicious Practices, one Day seeing People flock to Mr. *Wilson's* Lecture, thought with himself, *Why should I tarry at home to work, when so many go to hear a Sermon?* Wherefore, for the sake of Company, he went unto the Lecture too; but when he came, he found a Sermon, as it were, particularly directed unto himself, on *Eph. 4. 28. Let him that hath stole, steal no more;* and such was the Impression thereof upon his Heart, that from this time he became a changed and pious Man.

§ 9. But if they that will live godly must suffer Persecution, a peculiar share of it must fall upon them, who are zealous and useful Instruments to make others live so. Mr. *Wilson* had a share of this Persecution; and one *A—n*, was a principal Author of it. This *A—n* had formerly been an Apprentice in *London*, where the Bishops detained him some Years, under an hard Imprisonment, because he refused the Oath *Ex Officio*, which was pressed upon him to tell, *Whether he had never heard his Master pray against the Bishop?*

The Charity of well-disposed People now supported him, till he got abroad, recommended by his hard Sufferings, unto the good Affections of the Puritans, at whose Meetings he became so conversant, and thereupon such a forward and zealous Professor, that at length he took upon him, under the Confidence of some *Latinity*, whereof he was Owner, to be a sort of Preacher among them. This Man would Reverence Mr. *Wilson* as his Father, and yet upon the Provocation of seeing Mr. *Wilson* more highly Valued and Honoured than himself, he not only became a Conformist himself, but also, as Apostates use to be, a malignant and violent Persecutor of those from whom he had Apostatized. By his means Mr. *Wilson* was put into trouble in the Bishops Courts; from whence his Deliverance was at length obtained by certain powerful Mediators. And once by his Tricks, the most noted Pursivant of those Times, was employed for the seizing of Mr. *Wilson*; but tho' he seized upon many Scores of the People coming from the Lecture, he dismissed the rest, because he could not meet with Mr. *Wilson* himself, who by a special Providence, went out of his direct

direct Way, to visit a worthy Neighbour, and so escaped this mighty Hunter.

Afterwards an eminent Lady, happening innocently to make some Comparison between the preaching of Mr. *Wilson*, and one Dr. B. of B. the angry Doctor presently applied himself unto the Bishop of *London*, who for a while suspended him. And when that Storm was over, he with several other worthy Ministers, came to be wholly silenced in another, that was raised upon Complaints made by one Mr. *Bird*, unto the Bishop of *Norwich* against them. Concerning this *Ill Bird*, there happened one passage here-upon, which had in it something extraordinary. Falling very sick, he had the help of a famous and skilful Physician, one Dr. *Duke of Colchester*; who having left his Patient, in his Opinion, safely recovered, gave Mr. *Wilson* a Visit, with an Account of it. *Recovered!* says Mr. *Wilson*, *You are mistaken, Mr. Doctor; he's a dead Man!* The Doctor answered, *If ever I recovered a sick Man in my Life, that Man is recovered.* But Mr. *Wilson* replied, *No, Mr. Doctor, he's a dead Man, he shall not live: Mark my Words!* The Doctor smiled; but for all that, before they parted, the News was brought them, that the Man was dead indeed, and *the Lord known by the Judgment which he executed.* But at last Mr. *Wilson* obtained from the truly Noble Earl of *Warwick*, to sign a Letter, which the Earl bid himself to draw up, unto the Bishop, on his behalf; by the Operation of which Letter, his Liberty, for the Exercise of his Ministry, was again procured. This Bishop was the well-known Dr. *Harsnet*, who a little while after this, travelling Northward, upon Designs of Mischief against the Reforming Pastors and Christians there, certain Ministers of the *South* set apart a Day for solemn Fasting and Prayer, to implore the Help of Heaven against those Designs; and on that very Day, he was taken with a Sore and an odd Fit, which caused him to stop at a blind House of Entertainment on the Road, where he suddenly died.

10. At last, being persecuted in one Country, he must flee into another. The Plantation of a *New English* Colony was begun: And Mr. *Wilson*, with some of his Neighbours, embarked themselves in the Fleet, which came over thither in the Year 1630. Where he applied himself with all the Vigor imaginable, to encourage the poor People, under the Difficulties of their *New Plantation*. This good People buried near Two hundred of their Number, within a Quarter of a Year after their first Landing; which caused Mr. *Wilson* particularly to endeavour their Consolation, by preaching on *Jacob's* not being disheartned by the Death of his nearest Friends in the way, when God had called him to remove. And how remarkably, perhaps I might say, *excessively* liberal he was, in employing his Estate for the Relief of the Needy, every such one so beheld him, as to reckon him *the Father of them all*: Yea, the poor *Indians* themselves also tasted of his Bounty. If it were celebrated, as the Glory of *Bellar-*

mine, that he would sell his Goods, to convert them into Alms for the Poor; yea, that *Quadam die proprium Atramentarium Argenteolum, ut ditaret Inopes, inter pignora obligavit*: Our Mr. *Wilson*, tho' a greater Disclaimers of Merit than *Bellarmino* was, not only in his Writings, but on his Death-bed it self, yet came not behind *Bellarmino* for the extension of his Charity. To give Instances of his, even over-doing Liberality, would be to do it Injuries; for indeed they were innumerable: He acted as if the Primitive Agreement of having *all Things in common*, had been of all Things, the most agreeable unto him. I shall Sum up all, in the Lines of an elegant Elegy, which Mr. *Samuel Bache*, an Ingenious Merchant, made upon him, at his Death:

*When as the Poor want Succour, where is he
Can say, all can be said, Extempore?
Vie with the Lightning, and melt down to th'
quick
Their Souls, and make themselves their Pockets
pick?
Where's such a Leader, thus has got the slight
To teach holy Hands to War, Fingers to fight;
Their Arrow hit? Bowels to Bowels meant it,
God, Christ, and Saints, accept, but Wilson
sent it.
Which way so e'er the Propositions move,
The Ergo of his Syllogisms Love.
So bountiful to all: But if the Poor
Was Christian too, all's Money went, and more,
His Coat, Rug, Blanket, Gloves; he thought
their due
Was all his Money, Garments, one of two.*

But he was most set upon the Main Business of this *new Plantation*; which was, *To settle and enjoy the Ordinances of the Gospel, and Worship the Lord Jesus Christ according to his own Institutions*: And accordingly, he, with the Governour, and others that came with him on the same Account, combined into a Church-State, with all convenient Expedition.

§ 11. Mr. *Wilson's* Removal to *New England*, was rendered the more difficult, by the Indisposition of his dearest Consort thereunto; but he hoping, that according to a Dream which he had before his coming hither, *That he saw here a little Temple rising out of the Ground, which by Degrees increased into a very high and large Dimensions*, the Lord had a Temple to build in these Regions; resolved never to be discouraged from his Undertaking. Wherefore having first sent over an encouraging Account of the good Order, both Civil and Sacred, which now began to be established in the Plantation, he did himself return into *England*, that he might further pursue the Effect thereof; and accordingly he made it his Business, where-ever he came, to draw as many good Men as he could, into this Country with him. His Wife remained unperfwadable, till upon Prayer with Fasting before the Almighty *Turner of Hearts*, he received an Answer, in her becoming willing to accompany him

him over an *Ocean* into a *Wilderness*. A very sorrowful Parting they now had from their old Friends in *Sudbury*, but a safe and quick passage over the *Atlantic*; and whereas the Church of *Boston*, observing that he arrived not at the time expected, had set apart a *Day of Humiliation* on his behalf, his joyful Arrival before the Day, caused them to turn it into a *Day of Thanksgiving*. But Mrs. *Wilson* being thus perswaded over, into the Difficulties of an *American* De-farr, I have heard, that her Kinsman, old Mr. *Dod*, for her Consolation under those Difficulties, did send her a Present, with an Advice, which he had in it, something of *Curiosity*. He sent her, at the same time, a Brass Counter, a Silver Crown, and a Gold *Jacobus*; all of them severally wrapped up: With this Instruction unto the Gentleman who carried it: That he should first of all deliver only the Counter, and if she receiv'd it with any shew of Discontent, he should then take no further Notice of her; but if she gratefully repented that small Thing, for the sake of the Hand it came from, he should then go on to deliver the Silver, and so the Gold: But withal assure her, *That such would be the Dispensations of God unto her, and the other good People of New-England: If they would be content and thankful with such little Things, as God at first bestow'd upon them, they should, in time, have Silver and Gold enough.* Mrs. *Wilson* accordingly, by her cheerful Entertainment of the least Remembrance from good old Mr. *Dod*, gave the Gentleman occasion to go through with his whole Present, and the annexed Advice; which hath in a good Measure been accomplished.

§ 12. It was not long before Mr. *Wilson's* Return to *England* once more, was obliged by the Death of his Brother, whose *Will*, because it bequeathed a Legacy of a Thousand Pounds unto *New-England*, gave Satisfaction unto our Mr. *Wilson*, tho' it was otherwise injurious unto himself. A Tedious and Winter-Voyage he now had; being twice forced into *Ireland*, where first at *Galloway*, then at *Kingsale*, afterwards at *Bandon-Bridge*, he occasionally, but vigorously and successfully served the *Kingdom of God*. At last he got safe among his old Friends at *Sudbury*; according to the Prediction which he had let fall in his former Farewel unto them: *It may be John Wilson may come and see Sudbury once again.* From whence, visiting Mr. *Nathanael Rogers*, at *Affington*, where he arrived before their Morning Prayers; Mr. *Rogers* asked him to say something upon the Chapter that was read, which happened then to be the first Chapter in the first Book of *Chronicles*; and from a Paragraph of meer proper Names, that seemed altogether barren of any edifying Matter, he rais'd so many fruitful and useful Notes, that a pious Person then present, amaz'd thereat, could have no rest, without going over into *America* after him. Having dispatched his Affairs in *England*, he again embarked for *New-England*, in Company with four Ministers, and near two hundred Passengers, whereof some were Persons

of considerable Quality: But they had all been lost by a large Leak sprang in the Ship; if God had not, on a Day of Solemn Fasting, and Prayer, kept on board for that purpose, mercifully discovered this dangerous Leak unto them.

§ 13. That *Phanix* of his Age, Dr. *Ames*, would say, *That if he might have his Option of the best Condition that he could propound unto himself on this side Heaven, it would be, that he might be the Teacher of a Congregational Church, whereof Mr. Wilson should be the Pastor.* This Happiness, this Privilege, now had Mr. *Cotton* in the Church of *Boston*. But Satan envious at the Prosperity of that flourishing Church, rais'd a Storm of *Antinomian*, and *Familistical* Errors, which had like to have thrown all into an irrecoverable Confusion, if the good God had not remarkably blessed the Endeavours of a *Synod*; and Mr. *Wilson*, for a while, met with hard measure for his early opposition to those Errors, until by the help of that *Synod*, the Storm was weathered out. At the beginning of that Assembly, after much Discourse against the Unscriptural *Enthusiasms*, and *Revelations*, then by some contended for, Mr. *Wilson* propos'd, *You that are against these things, and that are for the Spirit and the Word together, hold up your Hands!* And the multitude of Hands then held up, was a comfortable and encouraging Introduction unto the other Proceedings. At the Conclusion of that Assembly, a Catalogue of the Errors to be condemned, was produced; whereof when one asked, *What shall be done with them?* The wonted Zeal of Mr. *Wilson* made this blunt Answer, *Let them go to the Devil of Hell, from whence they came.*

In the midst of these Temptations also, he was by a Lot, chosen to accompany the Forces, then sent forth upon an Expedition against the *Pequod Indians*; which he did with so much Faith and Joy, that he profess'd himself as fully satisfied, that God would give the English a Victory over those Enemies, as if he had seen the Victory already obtained. And the whole Country quickly shared with him in the Consolations of that remarkable Victory.

§ 14. In the *Wilderness* he met with his Difficulties; for besides the loss of Houses, divers times by Fire, which yet he bore with such a cheerful Submission, that once one that met him on the Road, informing of him, *Sir, I have sad News for you; while you have been abroad, your House is burnt.* His first Answer was, *Blessed be God: He has burnt this House, because he intends to give me a better.* (Which accordingly came to pass.)

He was also put upon complying with the Inclinations of his Eldest Son to Travel; who accordingly travelled, first into *Holland*, then into *Italy*, where he proceeded a Doctor of Physick, and so returned into *England*, excellently well adorned with all the Accomplishments of a most pious and useful Gentleman. But this worthy Person died about the Year 1658. And this hastened the Death of his Mother, e'er the Year

came about; which more than Doubled the Grief of his Father. And these Afflictions were yet further embittered by the Death of his Eldest Daughter Mrs. Rogers, in Child-bed with her first Child; at whose Interment, though he could not but express a deal of Sorrow, yet he did it with so much Patience, that In Token, he said, of his Grounded and Joyful Hopes, to meet her again in the Morning of the Resurrection, and of his Willingness to resign her into the Hands of him who would make all Things work together for good, he himself took the Spade, and threw in the first Shovelful of Earth upon her. And not long after, he buried Three or Four of his Grand children by another Daughter Mrs. Danforth (yet living with her Worthy Son in Law Edward Bromfield, Esq; in Boston) whereof one lying by the Walls, on a Day of Publick Thanksgiving, this Holy Man then preached a most Savoury Sermon on Job 1. 21. *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the Name of the Lord.* The next Child, although so weakly that all despaired of its Life, his Prophetical Grandfather said, *Call him John, I believe in God, he shall live, and be a Prophet too, and do God Service in his Generation!* Which is, at this Day, fulfilled in Mr. John Danforth, the present Pastor to the Church of Dorchester. Encountering with such, and many other Exercises his Years rolled away, till he had served New-England, Three Years before Mr. Cotton's coming over, Twenty Years with him; Ten Years with Mr. Norton, and Four Years after him.

§ 15. In his Younger Time, he had been used unto a more Methodical way of Preaching, and was therefore admired above many, by no less Auditors than Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Bridge, when they travelled from Cambridge into Essex, on purpose to observe the Ministers in that County; but after he became a Pastor, joined with such Illuminating Teachers, he gave himself a Liberty to Preach more after the Primitive Manner; without any distinct Propositions, but chiefly in Exhortations and Admonitions, and good wholesome Councils, tending to excite good Motions in the Minds of his Hearers; (but upon the same Texts that were Doctrinally handled by his Colleague instantly before;) and yet sometimes his Pastoral Discourses had such a Spirit in them, that Mr. Shepard would say, *Metinks I hear an Apostle, when I hear this Man!* Yea, even one of his Ex Tempore Sermons, has been since his Death, counted worthy to be published unto the World. The Great Lecture of Boston, being disappointed of him, that should have Preached it, Mr. Wilson Preached that Lecture on a Text occurring in the Chapter that had been read that Morning in his Family, Jer. 29. 8.--- *Neither hearken to your Dreams, which you cause to be Dreamed;* from whence he gave a Seasonable Warning unto the People against the Dreams, wherewith fundry sorts of Opinions, have been endeavouring to seduce them. It was the last Boston Lecture that ever he

Preached (Nov. 16. 1665.) and one who writ after him, in *Short hand*, about a Dozen Years after Published it. But his last Sermon he Preached at Roxbury Lecture, for his most Worthy Son-in-Law Mr. Danforth; and after he had read his Text, which was in the Beginnings and Conclusions of fundry of the last Psalms, with a Seraphical Voice, he added, *If I were sure this were the last Sermon that ever I should Preach, and these the last Words that ever I should speak, yet I would still say, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Praise ye the Lord!* Thus he ended his Ministry on Earth, thus he began his Possession of Heaven with Hallelujahs.

§ 16. Indeed, if the Picture of this Good, and therein Great Man, were to be exactly given, Great Zeal, with Great Love, would be the two Principal Strokes, that joined with Orthodoxy, should make up his Pourtraiture. He had the Zeal of a Phineas, I had almost said of a Seraphim, in testifying against every thing that he thought offensive unto God. The Opinionists, which attempted at any time to debate the Scripture, or confound the Order, embraced in our Churches, underwent the most pungent Animadversions of this his Devout Zeal; whence, when a certain Assembly of People, which he approved not, had set up in Boston, he charged all his Family, that they should never dare, so much as once to enter into that Assembly; *I charge you, said he, That you do not once go to hear them; for whatsoever they may pretend, they will rob you of Ordinances, rob you of your Souls, rob you of your God.* But though he were thus, like John, a Son of Thunder against Saducers, yet he was like that Blessed and Beloved Apostle also, all made up of Love. He was full of Affection, and ready to help and relieve and comfort the Distressed; his House was Renowned for Hospitality, and his Purse was continually emptying it self into the hands of the Needy: From which Disposition of Love in him, there once happened this Passage; when he was beholding a great Muster of Souldiers, a Gentleman then present said unto him, *Sir, I'll tell you a great Thing; here's a mighty Body of People, and there is not Seven of them all, but what loves Mr. Wilson;* but that Gracious Man presently and pleasantly replied, *Sir, I'll tell you as good a Thing as that, here's a mighty Body of People, and there is not so much as one of them all, but Mr. Wilson loves him.* Thus he did, by his own Example, notably Preach that Lesson, which a Gentleman found in the Anagram of his Name, *Wish no one ill:* And thus did he continue, to *Do every one good*, until his Death gave the same Gentleman Occasion thus to Elegize upon him:

Now may Celestial Spirits sing yet Higher,
Since one more's added to their Sacred Quire;
Wilson the Holy, whose Good Name doth still,
In Language Sweet, bid us [*Wish no Ill.*]

§ 17. He was one, that consulting not only his own Edification, but the Encouragement of the Ministry, and of Religion, with an Indefatigable Diligence visited the Congregations of the Neighbouring Towns, at their *Weekly Lectures*, until the Weaknesses of *Old Age* rendered him incapable. And it was a delightful thing then to see upon every Recurring Opportunity, a large Company of Christians, and even *Magistrates* and *Ministers* among them, and Mr. *Wilson* in the Head of them, visiting the *Lectures* in all the Vicinage, with such Heavenly Discourses on the Road, as caused the Hearts of the Disciples to *burn within them*: And indeed it was remark'd, That though the Christians then spent less Time in the *Shop*, or *Field*, than they do now, yet they did in both prosper more. But for Mr. *Wilson*, I am saying, That a *Lecture* was a *Treasure* unto him; he priz'd it, he fought it, until *Old Age* at length brought with it a *Sickness*, which a long while confin'd him. In this Illness he took a Solemn Farewel of the *Ministers*, who had their *Weekly Meetings* at his *Hospitable House*, and were now come together from all parts, at the Anniversary *Election* for the Government of the Colony. They asked him to declare solemnly, what he thought might be the *Sins*, which provoked the Displeasure of God against the Country. Whereto his Answer was, *I have long feared several Sins*; Whereof, one, he said, was *Corabism*; "That is, when People rise up as *Corah* against their *Ministers*, as if they took too much upon them, when indeed they do but rule for Christ, and according to Christ; yet it is nothing for a Brother to stand up and oppose, without Scripture or Reason, the Word of an Elder, saying [*I am not satisfied!*]" And hence, if he do not like the Administration (be it *Baptism* or the like) he will turn his back upon God and his Ordinances, and go away. And for our Neglect of *Baptising* the Children of the *Church*, those that some call *Grand-children*, I think God is provoked by it. Another Sin (*said he*) I take to be the making light of, and not subjecting to the Authority of *Synods*, without which the Churches cannot long subsist.

§ 18. Afterwards, having solemnly with Prayer, and *Particularly* and very *Prophetically* Blessed his Relations and Attendants, he now thus comforted himself, *I shall e'er long be with my old Friends*, Dr. *Preston*, Dr. *Sibs*, Dr. *Taylor*, Dr. *Gouge*, Dr. *Ames*, Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Norton*, my *Inns of Court Friends*, and my *Consort*, *Children*, *Grand-children* in the *Kingdom of God*. And when some then present magnified God for making him a Man of such Use, and lamented themselves in their own Loss of him, he replied, *Alas, Alas*; Use no such Words concerning me; for I have been an *Unprofitable Servant*, not worthy to be called a *Servant of the Lord*: But I must say, The Lord be merciful to me a *Sinner*, and I must say, Let thy tender Mercies come unto me, O Lord, even thy Salvation according to thy Word.

The Evening before he died, his Daughter asking him, Sir, *How do you do?* He held up his hand, and said, *Vanishing Things! Vanishing Things!* But he then made a most affectionate Prayer, with and for his Friends; and so quietly *Fell Asleep* on August 7. 1667. in the Seventy Ninth Year of his Age. Thus expired that Reverend Old Man: Of whom, when he left *England*, an Eminent Personage, said, *New-England shall flourish, free from all General Desolations, as long as that good Man liveth in it!* Which was comfortably accomplished. He was *Interr'd* with more than ordinary Solemnity; and his Neighbour Mr. *Richard Mather* of *Dorchester*, thereat lamented the Publick Loss in his Departure, with a Sermon upon *Zech. 1. 5. Your Fathers where are they, and the Prophets, do they live for ever?*

§ 19. Being a *Man of Prayer*, he was very much a *Man of God*; and a certain *Prophetical Afflatus*, which often directs the *Speeches* of such *Men*, did sometimes remarkably appear in the *Speeches* of this Holy Man. Instances hereof have been already given. A few more shall now be added.

Beholding a Young Man extraordinarily *Dutiful* in all possible ways of being serviceable, unto his aged *Mother*, then *Weak* in Body, and *Poor* in Estate, he declared unto some of his Family what he had beheld; adding therewithal, *I charge you to take notice of what I say; God will certainly bless that Young Man; John Hull* (for that was his Name) *shall grow Rich, and live to do God good Service in his Generation!* It came to pass accordingly, That this Exemplary Person became a very *Rich*, as well as *Emphatically* a *Good Man*, and afterwards died a *Magistrate* of the Colony.

When one Mr. *Adams*, who waited on him from *Hartford* unto *Weathersfield*, was followed with the News of his Daughter's being fallen suddenly and doubtfully sick, Mr. *Wilson* looking up to Heaven, began mightily to wrestle with God for the Life of the Young Woman: *Lord* (*said he*) *wilt thou now take away thy Servants Child, when thou seest he is attending on thy Poor unworthy Servant in most Christian Kindness; Oh! do it not!* And then turning himself about unto Mr. *Adams*, Brother (*said he*) *I trust your Daughter shall live, I believe in God she shall recover of this Sickness!* And so it marvellously came to pass, and she is now the fruitful *Mother* of several desirable Children.

A *Pequot-Indian*, in a Canoo, was espied by the *English*, within Gun-shot, carrying away an *English Maid*, with a Design to *Destroy* her or *Abuse* her. The *Souldiers* fearing to kill the *Maid* if they shot at the *Indian*, asked Mr. *Wilson's* Counsel, who forbade them to fear, and assured them, *God will direct the Bullet!* They shot accordingly, and killed the *Indian*, though then moving swiftly upon the Water, and saved the *Maid* free from all harm whatever.

Upon the Death of the first and only Child (being an Infant) of his Daughter Mrs. *Danforth*,

forth, he made a Poem, wherein were these Lines among the rest,

What if they part with their beloved one,
Their *first Begotten*, and their *Only Son*?
What's this to that which Father *Abram*
Suffer'd,

When his own hands his *Only Darling* offer'd,
In whom was bound up all his Joy in this
Life present, and his hope of future Bliss?
And what if God their *Other Children* Call,
Second, Third, Fourth, suppose it should be
All?

What's this to Holy *Job*, his Trials sad,
Who neither *these* nor *other* Comforts had?
His *Life* was only given him for a Prey,
Yet all his Troubles were to *Heaven* the way;
Yea to far *Greater Blessings* on the Earth,
The Lord rewarding all his *Tears* with *Mirth*.

And behold, as if that he had been a *Vates*,
in both Senses of it, a *Poet* and a *Prophet*, it
pleas'd God afterwards to give his Daughter a
Second, a *Third*, and a *Fourth* Child, and then
to take them all away at once, even in one
Fortnights time; but afterwards, happily to
make up the Loss.

Once passing over the *Ferry* unto a *Lecture*,
on the other side of the *Water*, he took notice
of a Young Man in the *Boat*, that worded it
very unhandfomely unto his Aged *Father*:
Whereat this Faithful *Seer*, being much troubled,
said unto him, *Young Man*, I advise you
to repent of your *Undutiful* *Rebellious* *Carriage*
towards your *Father*; I expect else to hear, that
God has cut you off, before a *Twelve-month* come
to an *End*! And before this time expired, it
came to pass, that this unhappy Youth going
to the *Southward*, was their hack'd in pieces,
by the *Pequod* *Indians*.

A *Company* of People in this *Country*, were
mighty hot upon a Project of removing to *Pro-*
vidence, an *Island* in the *West-Indies*; and a *Venerable*
Assembly of the *Chief Magistrates*, and
Ministers in the *Colony*, was address'd for their
Council about this undertaking; which *Assembly*
laid before the *Company* very weighty *Reasons*
to dissuade them from it. A *Prime* *Ring-*
leader in that *Business*, was one *Venner* a *Cooper*
of *Salem*, the *Mad Blade*, that afterwards
perish'd in a *Nonfensical* *Uproar*, which he,
with a *Crew* of *Bedlamites*, possess'd like him-
self, made in *London*. This *Venner*, with
some others, now stood up and said, *That not-*
withstanding what had been offer'd, they were
clear in their Call to remove: Whereupon, *Mr.*
Wilson stood up and answer'd, *Ay, do you come*
to ask Counsel in so weighty a matter as this,
and to have Help from an Ordinance of God in it?
And are you aforehand resolv'd, that you will go
on? Well, you may go, if you will; but you shall
not prosper. What? Do you make a Mock of
God's Ordinance? And it came to pass accord-
ingly; the *Enterprize* was not long after dash'd in
pieces; and *Venner's* precipitating *Impulses*,
afterwards carried him to a miserable *End*.

A *Council* sitting at a *Town*, where some *Ec-*
clesiastical Differences call'd for the *Assistances*
of the *Neighbours* to compose them, there was
one Man observ'd by *Mr. Wilson*, to be ex-
treamly perverse, and most unreasonably trou-
blesome and mischievous to the *Peace* of the
Church there; Whereupon *Mr. Wilson* told the
Council, he was confident, *That the Jealousy of*
God would set a Mark upon that Man, and that
the ordinary Death of Men should not befall him.
It happen'd shortly after, that the Man was
barbarously *Butcher'd* by the *Salvages*!

While *Mr. Wilson* was *Minister* of *Sudbury*
in *England*, there was a noted *Person* who had
been absent for some while among the *Papists*.
This Man returning *Home*, offer'd himself to
the *Communion*; whereat *Mr. Wilson* in the open
Assembly, spok'd unto him after this manner;
"Brother, you here present your self, as if you
"would partake in the *Holy Supper* of the
"Lord. You cannot be ignorant of what you
"have done in withdrawing your self from our
"Communion, and how you have been much
"conversant for a considerable while, with the
"Papists, whose Religion is *Antichristian*.
"Therefore, though we cannot so absolutely
"charge you, God knows, who is the *Searcher*
"of all *Hearts*; and if you have defiled your
"self with their *Worship* and *Way*, and not
"repented of it, by offering to partake at this
"time in the *Holy Supper* with us, you will
"eat and drink your own *Damnation*; but if
"you are clear, and have nothing wherewith
"to charge your self; you your self know, up-
"on this account you may receive. The Man
did then partake at the *Lord's Table*, professing
his *Innocency*. But as if the *Devil had entered*
into him, he soon went and *hanged* himself.

In the *Circumstances* of his own *Children*, he
saw many *Effects* of an *Extraordinary Faith*.

His *Eldest Son*, *Edmund*, while *Travelling*
into the *Countries*, which the *Bloody* *Papish*
Inquisition has made a *Clime* too *Torrid* for a
Protestant, was extreamly expos'd: But the
Prayers of the young *Gentleman's* continually
distress'd *Father*, for him, were answer'd with
Signal Preservations. When he was under
Examination by the *Inquisitors*, a *Friend* of
the *Chief* among them, suddenly arriv'd; and
the *Inquisitor* not having seen this *Friend* for
many *Years* before, was hereby so diverted and
mollified, that he carried the *Young Mr. Wil-*
son to *Dinner* with him; and, though he had
pass'd hitherto *unknown* by his true *Name*, yet
this *Inquisitor* could now call him, to his great
Surprize, by the *Name* of *Mr. Wilson*, and re-
port unto him the *Character* of his *Father*, and
his *Father's* *Industry* in serving the *Hereticks*
of *New-England*. But that which I here most
of all design, is an *Account* of a thing yet more
Memorable and *Unaccountable*. For, at another
Time, his *Father* dream't himself transport-
ed into *Italy*, where he saw a *Beautiful Per-*
son in the *Son's Chamber*, endeavouring with a
Thousand Enchantments, to debauch him;
whereupon the *Old Gentleman* made, and was
by

by his Bed-fellow overheard making, first, *Prayers* to God full of Agony, and then *Warnings* unto his Tempted Son, to beware of Defiling himself with the *Daughter of a Strange God*. Now, some considerable while after this, the *Young Gentleman* writes to his Father, that on such a Night, (which was upon Enquiry found the very *same Night*.) a Gentlewoman had careffed him, thus and so (just according to the *Vision*;) and that his *Chastity* had been Conquered, if he had not been strongly possessed with a Sense of his Father's *Prayers* over him, and *Warnings* unto him, for his Escape from the Pits, where-into do fall the *Abhorred of the Lord*.

His other Son, *John*, when a Child, fell upon his Head from a Loft four Stories high, into the Street; from whence he was taken up for Dead, and so battered and bruised and bloody with his Fall, that it struck Horror into the Beholders: But Mr. *Wilson* had a wonderful Return of his *Prayers* in the Recovery of the Child, both unto *Life* and unto *Sense*; infomuch, that he continued unto *Old Age*, a Faithful, Painful, Useful Minister of the Gospel; and but lately went from the Service of the Church in *Medfield*, unto the Glory of the Church *Triumphant*.

After Mr. *Wilson's* Arrival at *New-England*, his Wife, who had left off bearing of Children for many Years, brought him another *Daughter*; which *Lamb* was indeed unto him as a *Daughter*; and he would present her unto other Ministers, for their Blessing, with great Affection, saying, *This is my New-England Token!* But this Child fell sick of a *Malignant Fever*, wherein she was gone so far, that every one despaired of her Life; except her Father, who called in several Ministers, with other Christians, unto a *Fast* on that Occasion; and hearing the *Prayers* of Mr. *Cotton* for her, found his Heart so raised, that he confidently declared, *While I heard Mr. Cotton at Prayer, I was confident the Child should Live!* And the Child accordingly *did Live*; yea, she is to this Day alive, a very *Holy Woman*, adorned like them of *Old Time*, with a *Spirit of Great Price!*

The *Blessings* pronounced by Mr. *Wilson*, upon many Persons and Affairs, were observed so *Prophetical*, and especially his Death-bed Blessings upon his Children and Grand-children were so, that the most considerable Persons in the Country thought it not much to come from far, and bring their Children with them, for the Enjoyment of his *Patriarchal Benedictions*. For which cause, Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, in an *Elegy* upon him, at his Death Pathetically thus expressed it;

Who of *Abraham, Moses, Samuel*, reads,
Or of *Elijah's* or *Elisha's* Deeds,
Would surely say, Their *Spirit* and *Power* was
his,
And think there were a *Metempsychosis*.
As Aged *John*, th' Apostle us'd to Bless
The People, which they Judg'd their Happiness,
So did we count it worth our *Pilgrimage*
Unto him for his *Blessing*, in his Age.

These were *Extraordinary Passages*; Many of them, are things which *Ordinary Christians* may more safely *Ponder* and *Wonder*, than *Expect* in *Our Days!* Though sometimes *Great Reformers*, and *Great Sufferers*, must be signalized with them. I know very well what *Livy* says, *Datur hæc Venia Antiquitatis, ut miscendo Humana Divinis, Primordia Urbium Augustiora faciat:* But I have been far from imposing the least *Fable* upon the World in reporting such *Extraordinary Passages* of Mr. *Wilson*, or any other *Great Confessor*, by whom the *Beginnings* of this Country were made *Illustrious*; there are *Witnesses* enough, yet living of them.

§ 20. There is a certain little *Sport of Wit*, in *Anagrammatizing* the *Names* of Men; which was used as long ago at least as the Days of *Old Lycophron*: And which sometimes has afforded *Reflections* very *Monitory*, as *Alstedius* by his just Admirers changed into *Sedulitas*; or very *Characterising*, as *Renatus Cartesius*, by his Disciples turn'd into, *Tu scis res Naturæ*; or very *Satyrical*, as when *Satan* ruleth me, was found in the *Transposed Name* of a certain *Active Persecutor*: And when, *Lo, a Damned Crew*, was found in the *Name* of one that made a *Figure* among the *Popish Plotters* against the Nation. Yea, 'tis possible, that they who affect such *Grammatical Curiosities*, will be willing to plead a *Prescription* of much higher and *Elder Antiquity* for them; even the *Temurah*, or *Mutation*, with which the *Jews* do Criticise upon the *Oracles* of the *Old Testament*. There, they say, you'll find the *Anagram* of our *First Fathers Name* *Ha adam*, to express *Adamah*, the *Name* of the of the *Earth*, whence he had his *Original*. An *Anagram* of a *Good Signification*, they'll show you [Gen. 6. 8.] and of a *Bad* one [Gen. 38. 7.] in those *Glorious Oracles*; and they will endeavour to persuade you, that *Maleachi* in *Exodus* in *Anagrammatically* expounded *Michael*, in *Daniel*. But of all the *Anagrammatizers* that have been trying their *Fancies*, for the *Two Thousand Years* which have run out, since the Days of *Lycophron*, yea, or for the more than *Five Thousand*, since the Days of our *First Father*, I believe there never was Man, that made so many or so *nimbly*, as our Mr. *Wilson*; who, together with his *Quick Turns*, upon the *Names* of his Friends, would ordinarily *Fetch*, and rather than *Lose*, would even *Force Devout Instructions* out of his *Anagrams*. As once, upon hearing my Father preach a *Sermon* about *The Glories of our Lord Jesus Christ*, Mr. *Wilson* immediately gave him that *Anagram* upon his Name, *Crescentius Matherus*, *Anagr. En! Christus Merces tua:* So there could scarcely occur the *Name* of any *Remarkable Person*, at least, on any *Remarkable Occasion* unto him, without an *Anagram* raised thereupon; and he made this *Poetical*, and *Peculiar Disposition* of his *Ingenuity*, a *Subject* whereon he grafted *Thoughts* far more *Solid* and *Solemn* and *Useful*, than the *Stock* it self. Wherefore methoughts, it looked like a *Piece of Injustice*, that his own *Funeral* produced

(among the many *Poems* afterwards Printed) no more *Anagrams* upon his Name, who had so often thus handled the Names of others; and some thought the *Muses* look'd very much dissatisfied, when they saw these Lines upon his Hearse.

JOHN WILSON.

Anagr.

John Wilson.

*Oh! change it not; no sweeter Name or Thing,
Throughout the World, within our Ears shall ring.*

There was a little more of Humour, in the Fancy of Mr. *Ward*, the well-known *simple Cocker* of *Agawam*, as that witty Writer stiled himself, who observing the great *Hospitality* of Mr. *Wilson*, in conjunction with his *Meta-grammaticising* Temper, said, *That the Anagram of JOHN WILSON was, I PRAY, COME IN, YOU ARE HEARTILY WELCOME.*

To make up this want, I might conclude the *Life* of this good Man, with an *Anagram*, which he left on, and for himself.

Johannes Wilsonus.

Anagr.

In uno Jesu, nos Salvi.

Vel

Non in uno Jesu Salus?

*An non in Jesu, Credentium, figitur, uno,
Tota Salus? Hic est, hic Sita Tota Salus.*

§ 21. But it is to the *last Place* in our History of this worthy Man, that I reserve that part of his Character, which lay in his Disposition to allot unto himself the last place among all worthy Men; for his low Opinion of himself, was the *top* of all his other Excellencies. His *Humility* not only caused him to prefer the meanest of his *Brethren* above himself, but also to comply with the meanest Opportunities of being serviceable. He might justly be reckoned the *Namesake* of that *John*, the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who was called not only *Johannes Eleemosynarius*, but also *Humilis Johannes*. Hence 'twas, that when his Voice in his Age did so fail him; that his great Congregation could be no longer edified by his *Publick Labours*, he cheerfully and painfully set himself to do all the good that he could by his *Private Visits*; and such also as he could not reach with Sermons, he often found with Verses: Hence 'twas that when that *Plea* was used with the Church of *Ipswich*, to resign Mr. *Norton* unto the Church of *Boston*, after the Death of Mr. *Cotton*; because it was said, *Let him that hath two Coats, give to him that hath none*: And a Person of Quality replied, *Boston hath one*, [meaning Mr. *Wilson*.] this good Man answered, *Who? Me! I am nothing!* Yea, hence 'twas, that when Malefactors had been openly scourged upon the just Sentence of Authority, he would presently

send for them to his House, and having first expressed his Bounty to them, he would then bestow upon them such gracious Admonitions and Exhortations, as made them to become, instead of desperate, remarkably penitent. Indeed, I know not whether his Humility might not have some Excess, in some Instances charged upon it; at least once, when he had promised unto a Neighbouring Minister, to preach a Sermon for him, and after his Promise came in Season to that Minister, saying, *Sir, I told you, that I would preach for you, but it was rashly done of me; I have on my Knees begg'd the Pardon of it, from the Lord; that I should offer thus to deprive his People of your Labours, which are so much better than any of mine can be: Wherefore, Sir, I now come seasonable to tell you, That I shall fail you!* And accordingly, there was no persuading of him to the contrary.

But from the like Humility it was, that a good Kinsman of his, who deserves to live in the same Story, as he now lives in the same Heaven with him, namely Mr. *Edward Rawson*, the Honoured Secretary of the *Massachusetts* Colony, could not by all his Intreaties persuade him to let his Picture be drawn; but still refusing it, he would reply, *What! such a poor vile Creature as I am! Shall my Picture be drawn? I say, No; it never shall!* And when that Gentleman introduced the Limner, with all things ready, vehemently importuning him to gratifie so far the Desires of his Friends, as to sit a while, for the taking of his *Effigies*, no Importunity could ever obtain it from him. However, being bound in Justice to employ my Hand, for the Memory of that Person, by whose Hand I was my self baptised, I have made an Essay to draw his Picture, by this Account of his Life; wherein if I have missed of doing to the Life, it might be made up with several expressive Passages, which I find in Elegies written and printed upon his Death: Whereof there were many Composed, by those whose Opinion was well signified by one of them:

*Sure Verseless he does mean, to's Grave to go,
And well deserves, that now no Verse can show.*

But waving the rest, let the following *Poem*, never before Printed, offer some Odours for the Reader's further Entertainment.

Some Offers to Embalm the Memory of the truly Reverend and Renowned JOHN WILSON; the first Pastor of Boston, in New-England: Interr'd (and a great part of his Country's Glory with him) August 11. 1667. Aged 79.

Might Aaron's Rod (such Funerals mayn't be dry)
But broach the Rock, 'twould gush pure Elegy,
To round the Wilderness with purling Lays,
And tell the World, the great Saint Wilson's Praise.

Here's one (*Pearls* are not in great Clusters found)
 Here's one, the *Skill* of *Tongues* and *Arts* had
 Crown'd ;
 Here's one (by frequent *Martyrdom* was try'd)
 That could forego *Skill*, *Pelf*, and *Life* beside,
 For *Christ* : Both *Englands Darling*, whom in
 Swarms
 They press'd to see, and Hear, and felt his
 Charms.

'Tis one (when will it rise to Number two ?
 The World at once can but one *Phanix* show :)
 For *Truth* a *Paul*, *Cephas* for *Zeal*, for *Love*
 A *John*, inspir'd by the *Cœlestial Dove*.
Abram's true Son for *Faith* ; and in his *Tent*
Angels oft had their *Table* and *Content*.

So *humble*, that alike on's *Charity*,
 Wrought *Extract Gent* ; with *Extract Rudii*.
 Pardon this *Fault* ; his great *Excess* lay *there*,
 He'd Trade for *Heaven*, with all he came a near ;
 His *Meat*, *Clothes*, *Cash*, he'd still for *Ventures*
 send
 Consign'd, Per *Brother Lazarus*, his Friend.

Mighty in Prayer, his Hands uplifted reach'd
Mercies high *Throne*, and thence strange *Bounties*
 fetch'd,
 Once and again, and oft : So felt by all,
 Who weep his *Death*, as a departing *Paul*.
All, yea, baptiz'd with *Tears*, lo *Children* come,
 (*Their Baptism* he maintain'd!) unto his *Tomb*.

'Twixt an *Apostle*, and *Evangelist*,
 Let stand his *Order* in the heavenly *List*.
 Had we the *Costly Alabaster Box*,
 What's left, we'd spend on this *New-English*
Knox ;
 True *Knox*, fill'd with that *Great Reformer's*
 Grace,
 In *Truth's* just Cause, *fearing no Mortal's Face*.

Christ's Word, it was his *Life*, *Christ's Church*,
 his *Care* ;
 And so *great* with him his *least* Brethren were,
 Not Heat, nor Cold, not Rain, or Frost, or Snow,
 Could hinder, but he'd to their *Sermons* go :
Aaron's Bells chim'd from far, he'd run, and then
 His ravish'd Sould echo'd, *Amen, Amen!*

He travers'd oft the fierce *Atlantic Sea*,
 But *Patmos of Confessors* 'twas for Thee.
 This Voyage lands him on the wish'd Shore,
 From whence this *Father* will return no more,
 To fit the *Moderator* of thy *Sages*.
 But tell his *Zeal* for thee to *After-Ages*,
 His Care to guide his *Flock*, and feed his *Lambs*,
 By *Words*, *Works*, *Prayers*, *Psalms*, *Alms*, and
Anagrams :

Those *Anagrams*, in which he made no Start
 Out of meer *Nothings*, by *Creating Art*,
 Whole *Words* of Counsel ; did to *Motes* unfold
Names, till they *Lessons* gave richer than *Gold*,
 And every *Angle* so exactly say,
 It should out-shine the brightest *Solar Ray*.

Sacred his *Verse*, writ with a *Cherub's Quill* ;
 But those wing'd *Choristers* of *Zion-Hill*,
 Pleas'd with the *Notes*, call'd him a part to bear
 With *them*, where he his *Anagram* did hear,
 I pray come in, heartily *Welcome*, Sir.

Epitaphium.

Thinking what *Epitaph* I should offer unto
 the *Grave* of this *Worthy Man*, I call'd unto
 Mind the fittest in the *World*, which was direct-
 ed for him, immediately upon his *Death*, by
 an *Honourable Person*, who still continues the
 same *Lover*, as well as *Instance*, of *Learning*
 and *Vertue*, that he was, when he then advised
 them to give *Mr. Wilson* this

E P I T A P H.

And now abides Faith; Hope, and Charity,
 But Charity's the Greatest of the Three.

To which this might be added, from
 another Hand :

Aurea, quæ (obstupeo referens!) Primæva Vetustas
 Condidit Arcano, Sæcula Apostolica,
 Officiis, Donisque iudicem Sanctissimus Heros,
 WILSONUS, tacitis Protulit Ex Tenebris.

CHAP. IV.

Puritanismus Nov-Anglicanus. The LIFE of Mr. JOHN DAVENPORT.

§ 1. A Noted Author of more than twice fe-
 ven *Treatises*, and *Chaplain* to two
 successive *Queens of England*, was that *Christo-
 pher Davenport*, whose assumed Name was, *Fran-
 ciscus à Sancta Clara*. And in *Mr. Rushworth's*
Collection of *Speeches*, made in the *Celebrated*
Parliament, 1640. I find *Sir Benjamin Rudyard*
 using these Words : ' *Sancta Clara*, hath publish-
 ed, That if a *Synod* were held, *Non intermixtis*

' *Puritanis*, setting *Puritans* aside, our *Articles*
 and their *Religion* would soon be agreed. They
 have so brought it to pass, that under the
 Name of *Puritans*, all our *Religion* is branded.
 Whosoever squares his *Actions* by any *Rule*,
 either *Divine* or *Humane*, he is a *Puritan* :
 Whosoever would be governed by the *King's*
 Laws, he is a *Puritan*.—Whether this
 Account of *Matters* be allow'd or no ; there was,
 tho'

tho' not a *Brother* (as a certain *Woodden* Historian, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, has reported) yet a *Kinsman* of that *Sancta Clara*, who was among the most eminent *Puritans* of those Days; and this was our *holy* and *famous* Mr. *John Davenport*: One of whom I may, on many Accounts, use the Elogy, with which the Learned still mention *Salmasius*, *Vir nunquam satis Laudatus, nec Temere sine Laude nominandus*.

§ 2. Mr. *John Davenport* was born at *Coven-try*, in the Year 1597. of worthy Parents; a *Father* who was Mayor of the City, and a pious *Mother*, who having lived just long enough, to devote him, as *Hannah* did her *Samuel*, unto the Service of the *Sanctuary*, left him under the more immediate Care of Heaven to fit him for that Service. The Grace of God sanctified him with *good Principles*, while he had not yet seen two Sevens of Years in an *evil World*; and by that Age he had also made such Attainments in Learning, as to be admitted into *Brafen-Nose* Colledge, in *Oxford*. From thence, when he was but Nineteen Years old, he was called unto publick and constant Preaching in the City of *London*, as an Assistant unto another Divine; where his notable Accomplishments for a *Minister*, and his Couragious *Residence* with, and *Visiting* of his Flock, in a dreadful *Plague-time*, caused much Notice to be quickly taken of him. His Degree of *Master of Arts*, he took not, until, in Course, he was to proceed *Bachelior of Divinity*: And then with Universal Approbation, he received both of these *Laurels* together.

§ 3. This pious Man was both an *hard Student*, and a great *Preacher*. His *Custom* was to sit up very late at his *Lucubrations*; whereby, tho' he found no sensible Damage himself, and never felt his *Heach* ach, yet his Counsel was, that other *Students* would not follow his Example. But the Effects of his *Industry* were seen by all Men, in his approving himself upon all Occasions, an *universal Scholar*. As for the *Sermons* wherewith he fed the Church of God, he *wrote* them for the most part, more largely than the most of *Ministers*; and he spoke them with a Gravity, an Energy, an Acceptableness, whereto few *Ministers* ever have arrived: Indeed his greatest Enemies, when they heard him, would acknowledge him to be among the *best of Preachers*. The *ablest Men* about *London* were his *nearest Friends*; among whom he held a very particular Correspondence with Dr. *Pres-son*: He, when he dy'd, left his Notes with Mr. *Davenport*, by him to be published; and accordingly with Dr. *Sibbs*, you'll find Mr. *Davenport* signing some of their Dedications.

§ 4. About the Year 1626. there were several eminent Persons, among whom were two *Dollors* of Divinity, with two other *Divines*, and four *Lawyers*, whereof one the King's *Serjant* at Law, and four *Citizens*, whereof one the Lord Mayor of *London*, engaged in a Design to procure a Purchase of *Impropriations*, and with the Profits thereof to maintain a constant, able, and painful Ministry, in those parts of the Kingdom;

where there was most want of such a Ministry. The *Divines* concerned in this Design, were Dr. *Gouge*, Dr. *Sibs*, Mr. *Offspring*, and our Mr. *Davenport*; and such an incredible Progress was made in it, that it is judged, all the *Impropriations* in *England* would have been honestly and easily recovered unto the immediate Service of the *Reformed Religion*. But Bishop *Laud* looking with a jealous Eye on this Undertaking, lest it might in time give a Secret Growth to *Non-Conformity*, he obtained a Bill to be exhibited in the *Exchequer Chamber*, by the King's Attorney-General, against the *Feoffees*, that had the Management of it. Upon this occasion, I find this Great Man writing in his *Great Bible*, the ensuing Passages:

' Feb. 11. 1632. The Business of the *Feoffees* being to be heard the third time at the *Exchequer*, I prayed earnestly, That God would assist our Counsellors, in opening the Case, and be pleased to grant, that they might get no advantage against us, to punish us as *Evil Doers*; promising to observe what *Answer* he gave. Which seeing he hath graciously done, and delivered me from the thing I feared, I record to these Ends:

- ' 1. To be more *Industrious* in my Family.
- ' 2. To check my *Unthankfulness*.
- ' 3. To quicken my self to *Thankfulness*.
- ' 4. To awaken my self to more *Watchfulness* for the time to come, in remembrance of his Mercy.

' Which I beseech the Lord to grant; upon whose *Faithfulness* in his Covenant, I cast my self, to be made *Faithful* in my Covenant.

John Davenport.

The Issue of the Business was this: The Court condemn'd their Proceedings as *dangerous* to the Church and State; pronouncing the *Gifts*, *Feoffments*, and *Contrivances*, made to the Uses aforesaid, to be illegal, and so dissolved the same, confiscating their Money unto the King's Use. Yet the *Criminal Part* referred unto, was never prosecuted in the *Star-Chamber*; because the Design was generally approved, and multitudes of discreet and devout Men, extremely resented the Ruine of it.

§ 5. It happened that soon after this, the famous Mr. *John Cotton* was fallen under such a Storm of Persecution for his *Non-Conformity*, as made it necessary for him to propose and purpose a Removal out of the Land: Whereupon Mr. *Davenport*, with several other great and good Men, considering the eminent Learning, Prudence, and Holiness of that excellent Person, could be at no rest, until they had by a solemn *Conference* inform'd themselves of what might move him to such a Resolution. The Issue of the *Conference* was, that instead of their dissuading him from exposing himself to such Sufferings, as were now before him, he convinced

them of the Truth in the Cause for which he suffered; and they became satisfied both of the Evil in sundry Matters of Worship and Order, imposed upon them, and of the Duty which lay upon them, in their places to endeavour the Reformation of things in the Church, according to the Word of God. Mr. Davenport's Inclination to Non Conformity from this time, fell under the Notice and Anger of his Diocesan; who presently determined the Marks of his Vengeance for him: Of which being seasonably and sufficiently advertised, he convened the principal Persons under his Pastoral Charge in Coleman-street, at a General Vestry, desiring them on this occasion to declare, what they would advise, for acknowledging the Right which they had in him, as their Pastor, he would not, by any danger, be driven from any Service, which they should expect or demand at his Hands; but he would imitate the Example of Luther, who upon Letters from the Church of Wittenberg, from whence he had withdrawn for his Security, upon the Direction of the Duke of Saxony, returned unto the Courageous Exercise of his Ministry. Upon a serious Deliberation, they discharged his Conscientious Obligation, by agreeing with him, that it would be best for him to resign; but altho' he now hoped for something of a quiet Life, his Hope was disappointed; for he was continually dogg'd by raging busy Pursivants, from whom he had no safety but by retiring into Holland.

§ 6. Over to Holland he went, in the latter end of the Year 1633. Where the Messengers of the Church, under the Charge of Mr. Paget, met him in his way to Amsterdam, inviting him to become the Collegue of their Aged Pastor. But Mr. Davenport had not been long there, before his Indisposition to the promiscuous Baptizing of Children, concerning whom there was no charitable or tolerable Testimony of their belonging to Christian Parents, was by Mr. Paget so improved against him, as to procure him the Displeasure of the Dutch Classes in the Neighbourhood. The Contention on this Occasion proceeded so far, that tho' the Dutch Ministers had under their Hands declared—*We desire nothing more, than that Mr. Davenport, whose eminent Learning, and singular Piety is much approved and commended of all the English our Brethren, may be lawfully promoted unto the Ministry of the English Church: We do also greatly approve of his good Zeal and Care, of his having some precedent private Examination of the Parents, and Sureties of Children to be Baptized in the Christian Religion.* Yet the matter could not be accommodated; Mr. Davenport could not be allowed, except he would promise to Baptize the Children of such whose Parents and Sureties were, upon Examination, found never so much Unchristianised, Ignorant, or Scandalous. He therefore desisted from his Publick Ministry in Amsterdam, about the beginning of the Year 1635, contenting himself to set up a Catechetical Exercise in the Family, where he sojourned on the Afternoon of the Lord's Days,

an Hour after the Publick Sermons were over. But some considerable number of People, at length, resorting to this Exercise, a Jealousie was pretended by his Adversary, that the Design of it was to promote such Sects, as indeed the chief Design of it was to prevent; and upon this pretence he was hindered, even from this lesser Opportunity of doing Service also. The fuller Story of these uncomfortable and unreasonable Brangies, the Reader may find in an Apologetical Discourse of Mr. Davenport's, published for his own Vindication; wherein he do's with a Learned Pen, handle several Points much controverted in the Reformed Churches, and shew himself a Divine well studied in the Controversies of the present, and the former Ages. But the Upshot of all was, that he returned back to London; where he told his Friends, *That he thought God carried him over into Holland, on purpose to bear Witness against that promiscuous Baptism, which at least bordered very near upon a Profanation of the Holy Institution.*

§ 7. He observed, that when a Reformation of the Church has been brought about in any part of the World, it has rarely been afterwards carried on any one step further, than the first Reformers did succeed in their first Endeavours he observed that as easily might the Ark have been removed from the Mountains of Ararat, where it first grounded, as a People get any Ground in Reformation, after and beyond the first Remove of the Reformers. And this Observation quickned him to embark in a Design of Reformation, wherein he might have Opportunity to drive things in the first Essay, as near to the Precept and Pattern of Scripture, as they could be driven. The Plantation of New-England afforded him this Opportunity, with the chief Undertakers whereof he had many Consultations, before he had ever taken up any purpose of going himself into that part of the World; and he had, indeed, a very great stroke in the encouraging and enlivening of that Noble Undertaking. He was one of those by whom the Patent for the Massachusetts Colony was procured; and tho' his Name were not among the Patentees, because he himself desired it might be omitted, lest his Enemy, the Bishop of London, then of the King's Privy-Council, should upon his Account appear the more fiercely against it; yet his Purse was in it, his Time was in it, and he contributed unto it all manner of Assistances: This he did before his going to Holland. And while he was in Holland, he received Letters of Mr. Cotton, from the Country whereto he had thus been a Father; telling him, *That the Order of the Churches, and the Commonwealth, was now so settled in New-England, by common Consent, that it brought into his Mind the New Heaven, and the New Earth, wherein dwells Righteousness.* Wherefore, soon after his Return for London, he shipp'd himself, with several eminent Christians, and their Families, for New-England; where, by the good Hand of G O D upon them, they

they arrived in the Summer of the Year, 1637.

§ 8. Mr. Cotton welcomed Mr. Davenport, as Moses did *Jethro*, hoping that he would be as *Eyes unto them in the Wilderness*. For by the Cunning and Malice of *Satan*, all things in this *New-English Wilderness*, were then surprised, into a deal of Confusion, on the Occasion of the *Antinomian* Opinions then spread abroad; but the Learning and Wisdom of this worthy Man in the *Synod* then assembled at *Cambridge*, did contribute more than a little to dispel the *Fascinating Mists* which had suddenly disordered all our Affairs. Having done his part in that *Blessed Work*, (as we have elsewhere more fully related) He, with his Friends, who were more fit for *Zebulon's Ports*, than for *Issachar's Tents*, chose to go farther Westward; where they began a Plantation and a Colony, since distinguished by the Name of *New Haven*; and endeavoured, according to his Understanding, a yet stricter Conformity to the *Word of God*, in settling of all Matters, both *Civil* and *Sacred*, than he had yet seen exemplified in any other Part of the World. There the Famous Church of *New-Haven*, as well as the other Neighbouring Towns, enjoyed his *Ministry*, his *Discipline*, his *Government*, and his *Universal Direction* for many Years together; even till after the Restoration of King *Charles II.* *Connecticut* and *New Haven*, were by *One Charter* incorporated. And here, with what *Holiness*, with what *Watchfulness*, with what *Usefulness* he discharged his *Ministry*, it is worthy of a Remembrance among all that would propose unto themselves a worthy *Example*. Nevertheless, all that I shall here preserve of it, is this *One Article*. A young Minister, once receiving of wise and good Councils from this good and wise and great Man, he received *this* among the rest, *That he should be much in Ejaculatory Prayer*: For indeed, *Ejaculatory Prayers*, as *Arrows in the Hand of a Mighty Man*, so are they, *Happy is the Man that has his Quiver full of them!* And it was believed, by some curious Observers, That Mr. Davenport himself, was well used unto that sacred Skill of, *Walking with God*, and, *Having his Eyes ever towards the Lord*, and, *Being in the Fear of the Lord all the Day long*, by the use of *Ejaculatory Prayers*, on the Innumerable Occasions, which every *Turn* of our Lives does bring for those Devotions. He was not only constant in more *Settled*, whether *Social* or *Secret Prayers*; but also in the midst of all besieging Incumbrances, tying the Wishes of his Devout Soul unto the *Arrows of Ejaculatory Prayers*, he would shoot them away unto the *Heavens*, from whence he still expected all his *Help*. With such a *Glory*, with such a *Defence*, was *New Haven* Blessed!

§ 9. But his Influences were not confined unto his own *Colony* of *New-Haven*; they were extended as far as his general and generous *Care of all the Churches*, could carry him. And hence, I find him in a particular manner, ex-

pressing his good Affections unto the *Irenic Designs* and *Studies*, which were in those Days managing by some great Men, for the restoring of *Communion* among the divided Churches of the *Reformation*. Perhaps, I cannot give an exacter Character of this eminent Person's Disposition, than by my Transcribing and my Translating of a few Passages in a Letter to the Famous *Dury*, by him composed, and by the rest of the Ministers in his Colony subscribed.

Flagrante Schismatis Incendio, Ecclesias, quas oportebat Artissimo Pacis & Unitatis Vinculo Colligari, misera in sectas Invisa Deo Lacerabat Erinuus; Usque adeo ut qui mutuam contra communes Hostes opem conferrent, prob dolor! Concertationes Midianiticas invicem agunt; Sicut Enim Juvenes quos ad Dimicandum Abnerus Provocabat, se mutuis Vulneribus Confecerunt; Sic, quorundam Vitio, qui partes potius agunt male Disputantium, quam bene Evangelizantium, Furgia, Lites, Animorum Divortia, Schismata & Scandala, in Ecclesiis Evangelicis, Suboriuntur, non sine gravi Infirmorum Offendiculo, nec sine Summo Bonorum Omnium Merore, ac Fumicorum Evangelicæ Veritatis Oblectamento. —

While the Fire of *Schism* has been raging, the *Hateful Fury* has miserably torn to Pieces, the Churches that should have been held together in the strictest Bonds of Love and Unity; infomuch that they who should have united, for mutual Help against the common Enemy, alas, have even fallen upon one another, as in the Day of *Midian*. As the young Men, upon the Provocation of *Abner*, wounded one another to Death; thus, by the Fault of some, who do the part rather of *Bad Wranglers*, than of *Good Preachers*, there do arise in the Reformed Churches, those *Broils* and *Strifes*, and *Animosities*, and *Schisms* and *Scandals*, which offend the *Weak*, and afflict the *Good*, and are no little Satisfaction to the Enemies of *Gospel-Truth*.

Nunc Vero, Postquam Custos Israelis, Deus Pacis, dedit in Corda tot Ecclesiarum & Magistratum, ut Vulneribus istis Medicinam faciendam esse, Necessarium Judicarint, En! Bonorum omnium Animi, in Spem erecti, Malorum istorum Salutarem Clausulum Expectant, & Votis intimis, Patrem Misericordiarum Vobiscum invocant, ut Spiritus sui Gratia, Secundum Verbum Suum, Consilia & actiones Servorum Suorum dirigere, ad Sancti Nominis Sui Gloriam dignetur. —

But now that the *Keeper of Israel*, the *God of Peace*, hath put it into the Hearts of many Churches and Rulers, to apprehend it necessary, that a Cure should be sought for these Wounds, Behold! The Minds of all Good Men, do with a raised Hope expect an *Happy Close* of these *Mischiefs*; and with most hearty Prayers, do beseech the *Father of Mercies*, that he would, by the Grace of his Spirit, according to his Word, please to direct the Counsels and Actions of his Servants, for the *Glory* of his own Holy Name.

Recte quidem fecisti, Reverende Frater Duræ, quod nos etiam in eodem Vobiscum Corpore, Sub eodem

codem Capite Jese Christo, Constitutos, ad Negotium hoc, in Sanctorum Communionem, Promovendum, fraterne invitasti. —

‘ You have done Right Well, Reverend Brother, in that you have, after a Brotherly manner, unto the Promoting of this Affair, in the Communion of Saints invited us, who belong to the same Mystical Body, with your selves, under One Head, our Lord Jesus Christ.

Dica Vero non est Orthodoxis impingenda, quasi Optatissime illi Paci, quæ inter Scissas Evangelicas Ecclesias queritur, Offendiculum posuerint, & Remoram qui Necessitate Postulante, ea utuntur Libertate Refutandi Errores, quam Pax non debet impedire: adeoque suo Exemplo futuram pacem præmuniant, à Vitiis in Excessu positis. — Quippe quod sincere de Erroribus Judicare, & Errores tamen in Fratibus Infirmis Tolerare, Utrumque Judicamus esse Apostolica Doctrina Consonum. Toleratio Vero Fratrum Infirmorum, non debet esse absque Relatigatione, Sed tantum absque Rejectione.

‘ Nevertheless, ’tis not to be made an Article of Complaint against the Orthodox, as if they would hinder or delay the Peace desired so much among the Reformed Churches, because they do, as Necessity shall call for it, use that Liberty of Refuting Errors, which Peace ought to be no Bar unto; and by their Example, would rescue the future Peace from the Extremes wherewith it would be rendred Faulty. — For we reckon that as well to Judge what things are Errors, as to bear with such Errors in Weaker Brethren, are both of them agreeable to what we have been taught by the Apostles. The Toleration of our Erroneous Brethren, should not be without Rebuking, but it should be without Rejecting of those Brethren.

§ 10. It is a Notable Expression, and a Wonderful Concession of that great Cardinal Bellarmine, the last Goliath of the Romish Philistines; *Ecclesia ex Intentione Fideles tantum Colligit, & si nosset Impios & incredulos, eos aut nunquam admitteret, aut casu Admissos Excluderet:* ‘ The Church (he says) intentionally gathers only True Believers, and if she knew who were Wicked and Faithless, either she would not admit them at all, or if they were accidentally admitted, she would exclude them. Our Davenport conceiving it a Shame, that any Protestant should protest for less Church Purity, than what the Confessions of a Learned Papist allow’d e’er he was aware, to be contended for, did now at New-haven, make Church Purity to be one of his greatest Concernments and Endeavours. It was his declared Principle, That more is required of Men, in order to their being Members of an Instituted Church, than that they profess the Christian Faith, and ask the Visible Seals of the Covenant in the Fellowship of the Church; all which may be done, by Persons notoriously scandalous in their Lives, from whom the Command is, Turn away: But only such Persons may be received as Members of a particular Church, who (according to Mat.

16. 18, 19.) make such a Publick Profession of their Faith, as the Church may, in charitable Discretion judge, has Blessedness annexed unto it, and such as Flesh and Blood hath not revealed. In pursuance of this Principle, he was, like his dear Friend, that Great Man, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, perswaded, That (as he speaks) there are many Rules in the Word, whereby it is meet for us, to judge who are Saints; by which Rules those who are entrusted to receive Men unto Ordinances in Churches, are to be guided, and so to separate between the Precious and the Unclean, as the Priests of old were enabled and commanded by Ceremonial Differences, which God then made to typifie the like Discrimination of Persons. And therefore, making the Marks of a repenting and a believing Soul, given in the Word of God, the Rules of his Tryals, he used a more than ordinary Exactness in Trying, those that were Admitted unto the Communion of the Church: Indeed so very thoroughly, and I had almost said, severely strict, were the Terms of his Communion, and so much, I had well nigh said, overmuch, were the Golden Snuffers of the Sanctuary employ’d by him in his Exercise of Discipline towards those that were Admitted, that he did all that was possible, to render the Renowned Church of New-Haven, like the New Jerusalem; and yet, after all, the Lord gave him to see that in this World, it was impossible to see a Church State, whereinto there enters nothing which defiles. This Great Man, hath himself, in one of his own Treatises observed it, *The Officers and Brethren of the Church, are but Men, who judge by the outward appearance. Therefore their Judgment is fallible, and hath been deceived; as we see in the Judgment of the Apostles, and the Church at Jerusalem, concerning Ananias and Sapphira; and in that of Philip, and the Church in Samaria, concerning Simon Magus. Their Duty is to proceed, as far as Men may, by Rule, with due Moderation and Gentleness, to try them, who offer themselves to Fellowship, whether they be Believers or not; refusing known Hypocrites; tho’ when they have done all they can, close Hypocrites will creep in.* And now, I might entertain my Reader, I hope, with a profitable, I am sure, with a very prodigious History; I will on this occasion, relate most horrible things done in the Land, which this good Man saw, to confirm his own Observation: But I will take a fitter Occasion for it.

§ 11. After this, the remaining Days of this eminent Person, were worn away under the unhappy Temptations of a Wilderness. It so happened, that the most part of the first Church in Boston, the Metropolis of the Colony, out of Respect unto his vast Abilities, had applied themselves unto him, to succeed those famous Lights, Cotton, and Norton, and Wilson, who having from that Golden Candlestick, illuminated the whole Country, were now gone to shine in an higher Orb. His Removal from New-Haven was clogg’d with many temptatious Difficulties: (For, *Miraculi instar, vitæ Iter, si longum, sine Offensione, Percurrere:*) But he

broke through them all, in Expectation to do what he judged would be a more comprehensive Service unto the Churches of *New-England*, than could have been done by him, in his now undistinguished Colony. On this occasion, if I should mention that lamentable Observation of Old *Epiphanius*, who says, *I have known some Confessors, who delivered up their Body, and their Spirit, for the Lord, and persevering in Confession and Charity, obtained Great Proof of the Sincerity of their Faith, and excelled in Piety, Humanity, and Religion, and were continual in Fastings, and in a word, flourished in Vertue; and yet these very Men were blemished with some Vice, as either they were prone to reproach Men, or would swear profanely, or were over talkative, or were prone to Anger, or got Gold and Silver, or were defiled with some such Filth; which nevertheless detract not from the just Praises of their Vertue.* I must add upon it, that Mr. *Davenport* was a Confessor flourishing in Vertue, upon whom they that upon the Score of his Removal, were most of all dissatisfied at him, would not yet charge those unhappy Blemishes: And if any good Men in the *Sifting Times*, did count him either too strait, or too high, in some of his Apprehensions: *Nevertheless, these Things also detract not from the just Praises of his Vertue.*

§ 12. So rich a Treasure of the best Gifts, as was in our *Davenport*, was well worth coveting by the considerablest Church in the Land. He was a most incomparable Preacher, and a Man of more than ordinary Accomplishments; a Prince of Preachers, and worthy to have been a Preacher to Princes: He had been acquainted with Great Men, and Great Things, and was Great himself, and had a Great Fame abroad in the World; yea, now he was grown old, like *Moses*, his Force was not abated. And the Character which I remember that old Pagan Historian, *Diodorus the Sicilian*, gave of our *Moses*, every Body was ready to give of our *Davenport*, *He was a Man of a Great Soul, and very powerful in his Life.* But his Removal did seem too much to verifie an Observation, by the famous Dr. *Tuckney* thus expressed: *It is ill transplanting a Tree that thrives in the Soyl:* For accepting the Call of *Boston-Church*, in the Year 1667, that Church, and the World, must enjoy him no longer than till the Year 1670: When on *March 15.* Aged Seventy two Years, he was by an Apoplexy fetch'd away to that Glorious World, where the Spirits of *Cotton* and *Davenport*, are together in Heaven, as their Bodies are now in one Tomb on Earth.

§ 13. His constant and various Employments otherwise, would not permit him to leave many Printed Effects of his Judicious Industry, besides those few already mentioned: Altho' he were so close and bent a Student, that the rude Pagans themselves took much Notice of it, and the *Indian Salvages* in the Neighbourhood; would call him, *So Big Study Man.* Only there is in the Hands of the Faithful, a Savory Treatise of his, entituled, *The Saints Anchor-hold;* in the Preface whereof, a *Duomoirate* of Re-

nowned Men; to wit, Mr. *Hook*, and Mr. *Caryl*, give this Attestation: 'As touching the Author of this Treatise, in whose Heart the Text was written by the Finger of God, before the Discourse was Penned by his own Hand; his Piety, Learning, Gravity, Experience, Judgment, do not more commend him to all that know him, than this Work of his may commend it self to them that read it. The Christian Faith has also been solidly and learnedly maintain'd by him, in a Discourse long since published, for the Demonstration of our blessed Jesus, to be the true Messiah. Nor would I forget a Sermon of his on 2 Sam. 23.3. at the Anniversary Court of Election at *Boston*, 1669, afterwards published. And among the many Epistles which he hath prefix'd unto the Books of other Authors, I know not whether his excellent Epistle before Mr. *Scudder's Daily Walk*, may not, for the worth of it, be reckon'd it self a Book, as the Book it self was the Directory of his own *Daily Walk.* Moreover, there is published a Treatise of his under this Title, *The Power of Congregational Churches;* in the Preface whereof Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, (at this time the worthy and well-known Pastor of such a Church in the City of *London*) has these very significant Expressions concerning him: *Certain it is, the Principles held forth in this Treatise, cost the Reverend Author, not only many Sufferings, but also many, very many sad Searchings, and much Reading and Study, on set purpose, accompanied with manifold Prayers and Cries to the Father of Lights, for Light therein. After all which, he was more confirmed in them, and attained to such comfortable Clearness therein, as bore him up with much inward Peace and Satisfaction, under all his Afflictions, on the Account of his Perswasion in these Points. And so perswaded, lived, and so died this grave and serious Spirited Man.* There is likewise published, *A Discourse about Civil Government, in a New Plantation, whose Design is Religion:* In the Title-Page whereof, the Name of Mr. *Cotton*, is, by a Mistake, put for that of Mr. *Davenport.* And there was lately transcribed for the Press, from his Notes, a large Volume of Accurate and Elaborate Sermons, on the whole Book of *Canticles.* But the Death of the Gentleman chiefly concerned in the intended Impression, proved the Death of the Impression itself.

§ 14. To conclude: There will be but an unjust Account given of the things preached and written by this Reverend Man, if we do not mention one singular Favour of Heaven unto him. It is well known, that in the earliest of the Primitive Times, the Faithful did in a literal Sence, believe the *Second Coming* of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the *Rising* and *Reigning* of the Saints with him, a thousand Years before the rest of the *Dead live again:* A Doctrine, which however some of later Years have counted it *Heretical;* yet, in the Days of *Irenaeus*, was question'd by none but such as were counted *Hereticks.* 'Tis evident from *Justin Martyr*, that this Doctrine of the *Chilias*, was in his Days embraced, among all *Orthodox Christians;* nor did this

Kingdom of our Lord, begin to be doubted, until the Kingdom of Antichrist began to advance into a considerable Figure; and then it fell chiefly under the Reproaches of such Men, as were fain to deny the Divine Authority of the Book of *Revelation*, and of the Second Epistle of *Peter*. He is a Stranger to Antiquity, who does not find and own the Ancients generally of the Perswasion, which is excellently summ'd up in those Words of *Lactantius*, *Veniet summi & maximi Dei Filius. Verum ille, cum deleverit injustitiam, Judiciumque maximum fecerit, ac Justos, qui a Principio fuerunt, ad vitam Restauraverit, Mille Annis inter Homines Verjabitur, eosque Justissimo Imperio reget.* Nevertheless, at last Men came, not only to lay aside the Modesty expressed, by one of the first considerable *Anti-Millenaries*, namely *Jerom*, when he said, *Qua licet non sequamur, tamen Condemnare non possumus, eo quod multi Virorum Ecclesiasticorum & Martyrum, ista dixerint*: But also with Violence to persecute the *Millenary Truth* as an *Heretical Pravity*. So the *Mystery* of our Lord's appearing in his Kingdom, lay buried in Popish Darknes, till the Light thereof had a fresh Dawn, since the Antichrist entred into the last half Time of the Period allotted for him; and now, within the last few Sevens of Years, as things grow nearer to Accomplishment, Learned and Pious Men, in great Numbers every where, come to receive, explain, and maintain the *Old Faith* about it. But here was the special Favour of Heaven, to our *Davenport*, that so many Years ago, when in both *Englands* the true Notion of the *Chiliad*, was hardly apprehended by as many Divines of Note, as there are Mouths of *Nilus*, yet this worthy Man clearly

saw into it, and both preach'd and wrote those very things, about the *Future State*, the *Coming* of the Lord, the *Calling* of the Jews, and the *First* and *Second Resurrection* of the Dead, which do now of late Years get more ground against the opposition of the *otherwise minded*, and find a kinder Entertainment among them that search the *Scriptures*: And whereof he afterwards, when he was an *Old Man*, gave the World a little Taste, in a Judicious Preface before a most Learned and Nervous Treatise, composed by one that was then a *Young Man*, about the *Mystery of the Salvation of Israel*. Even, then, so long ago it was, that he asserted, *A Personal, Visible, Powerful, and Glorious Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ unto Judgment, long before the End of the World.*

But thus we take our Leave of this Renowned Man, and leave him resting in hope, to stand in his Lot, at that End.

Epitaphium.

JOHANNES DAVENPORTUS,

In Portum Delatus.

Vivus *Nov-Angliæ*, ac *Ecclesiæ* Ornamentum,

E T

Mortuus, Utriusque Triste Desiderium.

A P P E N D I X.

The Light of the Western Churches: Or, The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS HOOKER, the Renowned Pastor of *Hartford-Church*, and Pillar of *Connecticut-Colony*, in *New-England*.

Essay'd by COTTON MATHER.

*Quod si digna Tua minus est mea Pagina Laude,
At voluisse sat est.*

To the CHURCHES in the Colony of CONNECTICUT.

A Libo' the Providence of Heaven, whereby the Bounds of People are set, hath carried you so far Westward, that some have pleasantly, The last Conflict with Antichrist, must be in your Colony: Yet, I believe, you do not reckon your selves removed beyond the reach of Temptation and Corruption. 'Tis a Great Work that you have done, for our Lord Jesus Christ, in forming a Colony of Evangelical Churches for him, where Satan alone had Reigned without Controul in all former Ages: But your incomparable Hooker, who was one of the greatest in the Founda-

tion of that Work, was in his Day, well aware, that Satan would make all the hast he could, unhappily to get all buried in the Degeneracies of Ignorance, Worldliness, and Profanity. To advise you of your Dangers, and uphold the Life of Religion among you, I presume humbly to lay before you, the Life of that excellent Man, who for Learning, Wisdom, and Religion, was a Patern well worthy of perpetual Consideration. Having served my own Province, with the History of no less than Four famous Johns, all fetch'd from One

Church, I was for certain special Causes, unwilling to have it complain'd, as once it was of the Disciples, Thomas was not with them: Wherefore I was willing to make this Appendix unto that History, confessing that thro' want of Information I have Under-done in this, more than in any part of the Composure; yet so done, that I hope the good Hand of the Lord, whom I have design'd therein to glorifie, will make what is done, to be neither unacceptable, nor unprofitable unto his People.
Cotton Mather.

Φως τῆς Ἐκκλησιᾶς ἐσπερίων. The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS HOOKER.

§ 1. **W**hen *Toxaris* met with his Countryman *Anacharsis*, in *Athens*, he gave him this Invitation, *Come along with me, and I will shew thee at once all the Wonders of Greece*: Whereupon he shewed him *Solon*, as the Person in whom there Centered all the Glories of that City, or Country. I shall now invite my Reader to behold at once the *Wonders of New England*, and it is one *Thomas Hooker* that he shall behold them: Even in that *Hooker*, whom a worthy Writer would needs call, *Saint Hooker*, for the same Reason, (he said) and with the same *Freedom* that *Latimer* would speak of *Saint Bilney*, in his Commemorations. 'Tis that *Hooker*, of whom I may venture to say, that the famous *Romanist*, who wrote a Book, *De Tribus Thomis*; or, *Of Three Thomas's*; meaning *Thomas the Apostle*, *Thomas Becket*, and *Sir Thomas More*, did not a Thousandth part so well fort his *Thomas's*, as a *New-Englander* might, if he should write a Book, *De Duobus Thomis*, or, *Of Two Thomas's*; and with *Thomas the Apostle*, joyn our Celebrious *Thomas Hooker*: My *One Thomas*, even our *Apostolical Hooker*, would in just Ballances, weigh down two of *Stapleton's* *Rebellious Arch-Bishops*, or *Bigotted Lord Chancellors*. 'Tis he, whom I may call, as *Theodoret* call'd *Ireneus*, *The Light of the Western Churches*.

§ 2. This our *Hooker* was born at *Marfield*, in *Leicestershire*, about the Year 1586, of Parents that were neither unable, nor unwilling to bestow upon him a *Liberal Education*; where to the early and lively Sparkles of Wit observed in him, did very much encourage them. His Natural Temper was cheerful and courteous; but it was accompanied with such a sensible *Grandeur of Mind*, as caused his Friends, without the help of *Altrology*, to prognosticate that he was born to be considerable. The Influence which he had upon the Reformation of some growing Abuses, when he was one of the *Proctors* in the *Univerfity*, was a thing that more eminently signalized him, when his more publick Appearance in the World was coming on; Which was attended with an Advancement unto a *Fellowship*, in *Emanuel Colledge*, in *Cambridge*; the Students whereof were originally designed for the Study of *Divinity*.

§ 3. With what Ability and Fidelity he ac-

quitted himself in his *Fellowship*, it was a thing sensible unto the whole *Univerfity*. And it was while he was in this Employment, that the more effectual *Grace* of God, gave him the Experience of a true *Regeneration*. It pleased the *Spirit* of God very powerfully to break into the Soul of this Person, with such a Sense of his being exposed unto the just *Wrath* of Heaven, as fill'd him with most unusual Degrees of Horror and Anguish, which broke not only his Rest, but his Heart also, and caused him to cry out, *While I suffer thy Terrors, O Lord, I am distracted!* While he long had a Soul harassed with such Distresses, he had a singular Help in the prudent and piteous Carriage of Mr. *Ash*, who was the Sizer, that then waited upon him; and attended him with such discreet and proper Compassions, as made him afterwards to respect him highly all his Days. He afterwards gave this Account of himself, *That in the time of his Agonies, he could Reason himself to the Rule, and conclude that there was no way but Submission to God, and lying at the Foot of his Mercy in Christ Jesus, and waiting humbly there, till he should please to perswade the Soul of his Favour: Nevertheless when he came to apply this Rule unto himself in his own Condition, his Reasoning would fail him, he was able to do nothing.* Having been a considerable while thus troubled with such Impressions for the *Spirit of Bondage*, as were to fit him for the great Services and Enjoyments, which God intended him; at length he received the *Spirit of Adoption*, with well-grounded Perswasions of his Interest in the *New Covenant*. It became his manner, at his lying down for Sleep, in the Evening, to single out some certain *Promise* of God, which he would repeat and ponder, and keep his Heart close unto it, until he found that Satisfaction of Soul wherewith he could say, *I will lay me down in Peace, and Sleep; for thou, O Lord, makest me dwell in Assurance.* And he would afterwards Counsel others to take the same Course; telling them, *That the Promise was the Boat, which was to carry a perishing Sinner over unto the Lord Jesus Christ.*

§ 4. Mr. *Hooker* being now well got through the *Storm* of Soul, which had helped him unto a most *Experimental Acquaintance* with the Truths of the *Gospel*, and the way of employ-

ing, and applying those Truths, he was willing to serve the Church of God in the Ministry, whereto he was devoted. At his first leaving of the University, he sojourned in the House of Mr. Drake, a Gentleman of great Note, not far from London; whose worthy Consort being visited with such Distresses of Soul, as Mr. Hooker himself had passed through, it proved an unspeakable advantage unto both of them, that he had that opportunity of being serviceable; for indeed he now had no *Superiour*, and scarce any *Equal*, for the Skill of Treating a troubled Soul. When he left Mr. Drake's Family, he did more publickly and frequently preach about London; and in a little time he grew famous for his Ministerial Abilities, but especially for his Notable Faculty at the wise and fit management of *wounded Spirits*. However, he was not Ambitious to exercise his Ministry among the Great Ones of the World, from whom the most of Preferment might be expected; but in this, imitating the Example and Character of our blessed Saviour, of whom 'tis noted, that according to the Prophecie of *Isaiab*, by him, *The Poor had the Gospel preached unto them*; he chose to be where great Numbers of the Poor might receive the *Gospel* from him.

§ 5. About this time it was, that Mr. Hooker grew into a most intimate Acquaintance with Mr. Rogers of *Dedham*; who so highly valued him for his Multifarious Abilities, that he used and gained many Endeavours to get him settled at *Colchester*; whereto Mr. Hooker did very much incline, because of its being so near to *Dedham*, where he might enjoy the *Labours* and *Lectures* of Mr. Rogers; whom he would sometimes call, *The Prince of all the Preachers in England*. But the Providence of God gave an Obstruction to that Settlement; and, indeed, it was an Observation which Mr. Hooker would sometimes afterwards use unto his Friends, *That the Providence of God often diverted him from Employment in such Places as he himself desired, and still directed him to such Places, as he had no thoughts of*. Accordingly, *Chelmsford* in *Essex*, a Town of great Concourse, wanting one to *break the Bread of Life* unto them; and hearing the Fame of Mr. Hooker's powerful Ministry, addressed him to become their Lecturer: And he accepted their Offer about the Year 1626, becoming not only their Lecturer, but also on the Lord's Days, an Assistant unto one Mr. *Mitchel*, the Incumbent of the place, who tho' he were a *Smaller*, yet being a *Godly* Person, gladly encouraged Mr. Hooker, and liv'd with him in a most comfortable Amity.

§ 6. Here his Lecture was exceedingly frequented, and proportionably succeeded; and the Light of his Ministry shone through the whole County of *Essex*. There was a rare mixture of *Pleasure* and *Profit* in his preaching; and his Hearers felt those penetrating Impressions of his Ministry upon their Souls, which caused them to Reverence him, as a *Teacher sent from God*. He had a most excellent Faculty at the Applications of his Doctrine; and he would

therein so touch the *Consciences* of his Auditors, that a Judicious Person would say of him, *He was the Best at an Use that ever he heard*. Hereby there was a great Reformation wrought, not only in the Town, but in the adjacent Country, from all parts whereof they came to *bear the Wisdom of the Lord Jesus Christ*, in his Gospel, by this worthy Man dispensed: And some of great Quality among the rest, would often resort from far to his Assembly; particularly the truly Noble Earl of *Warwick*, whose Countenance of Good Ministers, procured more Prayers to God for him, than most Noble men in *England*.

When he first set up his Lecture, there was more *Profaneness* than *Devotion* in the Town; And the multitude of Inns and Shops in the Town, produced one particular Disorder, of Peoples filling the Streets with unsuitable Behaviours, after the Publick Services of the Lord's Day were over. But by the Power of his Ministry in Publick, and by the Prudence of his Carriage in Private, he quickly cleared the Streets of this Disorder, and the Sabbath came to be very visibly sanctified among the People.

§ 7. The Joy of the People in this Light was *but for a Season*. The Conscientious Non Conformity of Mr. Hooker, to some Rites of the Church of *England*, then vigotously pressed, especially upon such able and useful Ministers, as were most likely to be laid aside by their scrupling of those Rites, made it necessary for him to lay down his Ministry in *Chelmsford*, when he had been about four Years there employed in it. Hereupon, at the Request of several eminent Persons, he kept a School in his own hired House, having one Mr. *John Eliot* for his Usher, at little *Badlowe*, not far from *Chelmsford*; where he managed his Charge with such Discretion, such Authority, and such Efficacy, that able to do more with a Word, or a Look, than most other Men could have done by a severer Discipline, he did very great Service to the Church of God, in the Education of such, as afterwards proved themselves not a little serviceable. I have in my Hands, a Manuscript, written by the Hands of our blessed *Eliot*, wherein he gives a very great Account of the little Academy then maintained in the House of Mr. Hooker; and among other things, he says, *To this place I was call'd, through the infinite Riches of God's Mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor Soul: For here the Lord said unto my dead Soul, Live; and through the Grace of Christ, I do live, and I shall live for ever! When I came to this blessed Family, I then saw, and never before, the Power of Godliness, in its Lively Vigour, and Efficacy*.

§ 8. While he continued thus in the Heart of *Essex*, and in the Hearts of the People there, he signalized his Usefulness in many other Instances.

The Godly Ministers round about the Country, would have recourse unto him, to be directed and resolved in their *difficult Cases*; and

it was by his means that those Godly Ministers held their *Monthly Meetings*, for *Fasting* and *Prayer*, and profitable *Conferences*. 'Twas the Effect of his *Consultations* also, that such Godly Ministers came to be here and there settled in several parts of the Country; and many others came to be better establish'd in some great Points of Christianity, by being in his Neighbourhood and Acquaintance. He was indeed a General Blessing to the Church of God! But that which hindered his taking his Degree of *Bachelor in Divinity*, must also, it seems, hinder his being a *Preacher of Divinity*; namely, his being a *Non-Conformist* unto some things, whereof true Divinity could not approve. And indeed that which made the Silencing of Mr. *Hooker* more unaccountable was, that no less than Seven and forty Conformable Ministers of the Neighbouring Towns, understanding that the Bishop of *London* pretended Mr. *Hooker's* Ministry to be injurious or offensive to them, subscribed a Petition to the Bishop for his Continuance in the Ministry at *Chelmsford*; in which Petition, tho' he was of a Perswasion so different from them, yet they testify in so many words, *That they esteem and know the said Mr. Thomas Hooker, to be for Doctrine, Orthodox; for Life and Conversation, Honest; for Disposition, Peaceable, and in no wise Turbulent or Factionous.* And yet all would not avail: *Bonus vir Hookerus, sed ideo malus, quia Puritanus.*

§ 9. The Ground-work of his Knowledge, and Study of the Arts, was in the *Tables* of Mr. *Alexander Richardson*, whom he closely followed, admiring him for a Man of transcendent Ability, and a most exalted Piety; and would say of him, *That he was a Master of so much Understanding, that like the great Army of Gideon, he was too many to be employed in doing what was to be done for the Church of God.* This most eminent *Richardson* leaving the University, lived a private Life in *Essex*, whither many Students in *Cambridge* resorted unto him, to be illuminated in the abstruser parts of Learning; and from him it was, that the incomparable Doctor *Ames* imbibed those Principles both in *Philosophy*, and in *Divinity*, which afterwards not only gave clearer Methods and Measures to all the Liberal Arts, but also fed the whole Church of God with the choicest *Marrow*. Nevertheless, this excellent Man, as he lived, so he died in a most retired Obscurity; but so far as a *Metempsychosis* was attainable, the Soul of him, I mean the Notions, the Accomplishments, the Dispositions of that Great Soul, transmigrated into our most *Richardsonian Hooker*.

§ 10. As his *Person* was thus adorned with a well-grounded Learning, so his *Preaching* was notably set off with a *Liveliness* extraordinary: Insomuch that I cannot give a fuller, and yet briefer Description of him, than that which I find given of *Bucholtzer*, that Pattern of *Preachers*, before him; *Vivida in eo omnia fuerunt, vivida vox, vividi oculi, vivide manus, gestus omnes vividi: He was all that he was, and he did all that he did, Unto the Life!* He not on-

ly had that which *Quintilian* calls, *A Natural Moveableness of Soul*, whereby the distinct Images of things would come so nimble, and yet so *fixly* into his Mind, that he could utter them with such fluent Expressions, as the old Orators would usually ascribe unto a *special Assistance* of Heaven, [*Deum tunc Adfuisse, veteres Oratores aibant*] and counted that Men did therein THEIOS LEGEIN, or *Speak Divinely*; but the Rise of this Fluency in him, was the *Divine Relish* which he had of the things to be spoken, the *Sacred Panting* of his holy Soul after the Glorious Objects of the Invisible World, and the true *Zeal of Religion* giving *Fire* to his Discourses. Whence, though the *Ready* and *Noisy* Performances of many Preachers, when they are as *Plato* speaks, THE-ATROU MESTOI, or *Full of the Theatre*, Acting to the Height in the Publick for their Applause, may be ascribed unto very *Mechanical Principles*; yet the *Vigour* in the Ministry of our *Hooker*, being raised by a *Coal from the Altar* of a most real Devotion, touching his *Heart*; it would be a wrong unto the Good Spirit of our God, if he should not be acknowledged the Author of it. That Spirit accordingly gave a wonderful and unusual *Success*, unto the Ministry wherein he *Breathed* so Remarkably. Of that *Success* there were many Instances; but one particularly I find mentioned in *Clark's Examples*, to this purpose. A profane Person designing therein only an Ungodly Diversion and Merriment, said unto his Companions, *Come, Let us go hear what that Bawling Hooker will say to us*; and thereupon with an Intention to make Sport, unto *Chelmsford* Lecture they came. The Man had not been long in the Church, before the *Quick and Powerful Word* of God, in the Mouth of his Faithful *Hooker*, pierced the Soul of him; he came out with an awakened and a distressed Soul, and by the further Blessing of God upon Mr. *Hooker's* Ministry, he arrived unto a true *Conversion*; for which cause he would not afterwards leave that Blessed Ministry, but went a *Thousand Leagues* to attend it, and enjoy it. Another Memorable thing of this kind, was this; it was Mr. *Hooker's* manner once a Year to visit his Native County: And in one of those Visits, he had an Invitation to preach in the Great Church of *Leicester*. One of the Chief Burgesses in the Town much opposed his Preaching there; and when he could not prevail to hinder it, he set certain *Fidlers* a work to disturb him in the Church porch, or Church-yard. But such was the Vivacity of Mr. *Hooker*, as to proceed in what he was about, without either the damping of his Mind, or the drowning of his *Voice*; whereupon the Man himself went unto the Church-door to over-hear what he said. It pleased God so to accompany some Words uttered by Mr. *Hooker*, as thereby to procure, first the *Attention* and then the *Conviction* of that wretched Man; who then came to Mr. *Hooker* with a penitent Confession of his Wickedness, and became indeed so penitent

a Convert, as to be at length a sincere *Professor* and *Practiser* of the Godliness, whereof he had been a *Persecutor*.

§ 11. The *Spiritual Court* sitting at *Chelmsford*, about the Year 1630. had not only silenced Mr. *Hooker*, but also bound him over in a Bond of Fifty Pound to appear before the *High Commission*, which he could not now attend, because of an Ague then upon him. One of his Hearers, namely Mr. *Nash*, a very honest Yeoman, that rented a great Farm of the Earl of *Warwick* at *Much-Waltham*, was bound in that Sum for his Appearance, but as *Paul* was advised by his Friends, that he would not venture into the Theatre at *Ephesus*, thus Mr. *Hooker's* Friends advised him to forfeit his Bonds, rather than to throw himself any further into the Hands of his Enemies. Wherefore, when the Day for his Appearance came, his honest Surety being reimbursed by several good People in and near *Chelmsford*, sent in the forfeited Sum into the Court; and Mr. *Hooker* having, by the Earl of *Warwick*, a courteous and private Recess provided for his Family at a Place called *Old Park*, for which I find, the Thanks of Dr. *Hill* afterwards publickly given in his Dedication of Mr. *Fenner's* Treatise about *Impenitency*; he went over to *Holland*. In his Passage thither, he quickly had occasion to discover himself, when they were in Eminent Hazzard of *Shipwrack* upon a Shelf of Sand, whereon they ran in the Night; but Mr. *Hooker*, like *Paul*, with a Remarkable Confidence, assured them, that they should be all preserved; and they had as Remarkable a Deliverance. I have also heard, that when he fled from the Pursuants, to take his Passage for the *Low-Countries*, at his last parting with some of his Friends, one of them said, *Sir, What if the Wind should not be fair, when you come to the Vessel?* whereto he instantly replied, *Brother, Let us leave that with him, who keeps the Wind in the hollow of his hand*: And it was observ'd, That although the Wind was cross, until he came aboard, yet it immediately then came about fair and fresh, and he was no sooner under Sail, but the Officer arriv'd at the Sea side happily too late now to come at him: Which minds me of what befel Dr. *Goodwin*, not long after. That Great Man lay Wind bound in hourly Suspicions that the Pursuants would stop his Voyage, and seize his Person before the Wind would favour his getting away for *Holland*. In this Distress, humbly praying to the Lord Jesus Christ, for a more propitious Wind, he yet said, *Lord, If thou hast at this time, any poor Servant of thine, that wants this Wind, more than I do another, I do not ask for the Changing of it; I submit unto it*. And immediately the Wind came about, unto the Right Point; and carried him clear from his Pursuers.

§ 12. Arriving in *Holland*, he was invited unto a Settlement with old Mr. *Paget*; but the old Man being secretly willing that Mr. *Hooker* should not accept of this Invitation, he con-

trived many ways to render him suspected unto the *Classis*, on a Suspicion that he favoured the *Brownists*; unto whom he had, indeed, an extream Aversion. The Misunderstandings operated so far, as to occasion Mr. *Hooker's* Removal from *Amsterdam*; notwithstanding he had so fully expressed himself, when in his answer to one of Mr. *Paget's* Questions, he declared in these Words, *To separate from the Faithful Assemblies and Churches in England, as no Churches, is an Error in Judgment, and Sin in Practice, held and maintained by the Brownists; and therefore to communicate with them in their Opinion or Practice, is sinful and utterful unlawful; and care should be taken to prevent Offence, either by encouraging them in their way, or by drawing others to a further Approbation of that way than is meet*. Going from *Amsterdam*, he went unto *Delft*; where he was most kindly received by Mr. *Forbs*, an Aged and Holy *Scotch* Minister, under whose Ministry many *English* Merchants were then settled. The Text whereon he first Preached at his coming thither, was Phil. 1. 29. *To you it is given not only to Believe, but also to Suffer*; and after that Sermon, Mr. *Forbs* manifested a strong Desire to enjoy the Fellowship of Mr. *Hooker* in the Work of the Gospel; which he did for about the space of two Years: In all which time they lived so like Brethren, that an Observer might say of them, as they said of *Basil* and *Nazianzen*, *They were but one Soul in two Bodies*; and if they had been for any little while asunder, they still met with such Friendly and Joyful Congratulations, as testified a most affectionate Satisfaction in each others Company.

§ 13. At the end of two Years, he had a Call to *Rotterdam*; which he the more heartily and readily accepted, because it renewed his Acquaintance with his Invaluable Dr. *Ames*, who had newly left his Place in the *Frisian* University. With him he spent the Residue of his Time in *Holland*, and assisted him in composing some of his Discourses, which are, *His Fresh Suit against the Ceremonies*: For such was the Regard which Dr. *Ames* had for him, that notwithstanding his vast Ability and Experience, yet when it came to the *Narrow* of any Question about the *Instituted Worship of God*, he would still profess himself conquered by Mr. *Hooker's* Reason; declaring, that *though he had been acquainted with many Scholars of divers Nations, yet he never met with Mr. Hooker's Equal, either for Preaching, or for Disputing*. And such was the Regard, which on the other side, he had for Dr. *Ames*, that he would say, *If a Scholar was but well studied in Dr. Ames his Medulla Theologiae, and Casus Conscientiae, so as to understand them throughly, they would make him (supposing him versed in the Scriptures,) a Good Divine, tho' he had no more Books in the World*. But having tarried in *Holland* long enough to see the State of Religion in the Churches there, he became satisfied, that it was neither Eligible for him to tarry in that Country, nor convenient for his Friends

to be invited thither after him. I have at this time in my Hands, his Letter from Rotterdam to Mr. Cotton, wherein are these words; 'The State of these Provinces to my weak Eye, seems wonderfully ticklish and miserable. For the better part, *Heart-Religion*, they content themselves with very Forms, tho' much blemished; but the Power of Godliness, for ought I can see or hear, they know not; and if it were throughly pressed, I fear least it will be fiercely opposed. My Ague yet holds me; the ways of God's Providence, wherein he has walked towards me, in this long time of my Sickness, and wherein I have drawn forth many wearying Hours, under his Almighty Hand (Blessed be his Name) together with Pursuits and Banishment, which have waited upon me, as one Wave follows another, have driven me to an Amazement: His Paths being too secret and past finding out by such an Ignorant, Worthless Worm as my self. I have looked over my Heart and Life, according to my measure; aimed and guessed as well as I could: And entreated his Majesty to make known his Mind, wherein I missed; and yet methinks I cannot spell out readily the purpose of his Proceedings; which I confess have been wonderful in Miseries, and more than wonderful in Mercies to me and mine. Wherefore, about this time, understanding that many of his Friends in *Essex*, were upon the *Wing*, for a *Wilderness* in *America*; where they hoped for an opportunity to enjoy and practise the *Pure Worship* of the Lord Jesus Christ, in Churches gathered according to his Direction, he readily answered their Invitation to accompany them in this Undertaking. Dr. Ames had a design to follow Mr. Hooker; but he died soon after Mr. Hooker's Removal from Rotterdam. However his Widow and Children afterwards came to *New-England*; where having her House burnt, and being reduced unto much Poverty and Affliction, the charitable Heart of Mr. Hooker (and others that joined with him) upon Advice thereof, comfortably provided for them.

§ 14. Returning into *England* in order to a further Voyage, he was quickly scented by the Pursuivants; who at length got so far up with him, as to knock at the Door of that very Chamber, where he was now discoursing with Mr. Stone; who was now become his designed Companion and Assistent for the *New English* Enterprize: Mr. Stone was at that Instant smoking of *Tobacco*; for which Mr. Hooker had been reproving him, as being then used by few Persons of Sobriety; being also of a sudden and pleasant Wit, he stept unto the Door, with his Pipe in his mouth, and such an Air of Speech and Look, as gave him some Credit with the Officer. The Officer demanded, *Whether Mr. Hooker were not there?* Mr. Stone replied with a braving sort of Confidence, *What Hooker? Do you mean Hooker that liv'd once at Chelmsford!* The Officer answered, *Yes, He!* Mr. Stone immediately, with a Diverſion like

that which once helped *Atbanasius*, made this true Answer, *If it be he you look for, I saw him about an Hour ago, at such an House in the Town; you had best hasten thither after him.* The Officer took this for a sufficient Account, and went his way; but Mr. Hooker, upon this Intimation, concealed himself more carefully and securely, till he went on Board, at the *Downs*, in the Year 1633. the Ship which brought him, and Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Stone to *New-England*: Where none but Mr. Stone was owned for a Preacher, at their first coming aboard; the other two delaying to take their Turns in the Publick Worship of the Ship, till they were got so far into the Main Ocean, that they might with Safety, discover who they were.

§ 15. Amongst Mr. Fenner's Works, I find some imperfect and shattered, and I believe, Injurious Notes of a *Farewel Sermon* upon Jer. 14. 9. *We are called by thy Name, leave us not:* Which *Farewel Sermon* was indeed, Mr. Hooker's, at his leaving of *England*. There are in those *Fragments* of a Sermon, some very *Pathetical* and most *Prophetical* Passages, where some are these.

It is not Gold and Prosperity which makes God to be our God; there is more Gold in the West-Indies, than there is in all Christendom; but it is God's Ordinances in the Vertue of them, that show the Presence of God.

Again, *Is not England ripe? Is she not weary of God? Nay, she is fed fat for the slaughter.*

Once more, *England hath seen her best Days, and now evil Days are befalling us.*

And, *Thou England, which hast been lifted up to Heaven with Means, shall be abased and brought down to Hell; for if the mighty Works, which have been done in thee, had been done in India or Turkey, they would have repented e'er this.*

These Passages I quote, that I may the more effectually describe the Apprehensions with which this worthy Man took his *Farewel* of his Native Country.

But there is one strange Passage in that Sermon, that I know not what well to think of; and yet it is to be thought of. I remember, 'tis a Passage in the Life of the Reverend Old *Blackerby*, who died in the Year 1648. 'That he would often say it was very probable, the *English* Nation would be sorely punished by the *French*: And that he believed, *Popery* would come in, but it would not last, nor could it recover its former Strength. - The notable Fulfillment which that Passage hath seen, would carry one to consider the unaccountable Words which Our *Hooker* uttered in his *Farewel Sermon*. 'Tis very likely, that the Scribe has all along wronged the Sermon; but the Words now referred unto, are of this Purport, *That it had been told him from God, That God will destroy England, and lay it wast; and that the People should be put unto the Sword, and the Temples burnt*

burnt, and many Houses laid in Ashes. Long after this, when he lived at *Hartford* in *New-England*, his Friends that heard that Sermon, having the News of the Miseries upon *England*, by the Civil Wars. brought unto them, enquired of him, *Whether this were not the time of God's destroying England, whereof he had spoken?* He replied, *No; this is not the time; there will be a time of respite after these Wars, and a time wherein God will further try England; and England will further sin against him, and shew an Antipathy against the Government of the Lord Jesus Christ in his Church; his Royal Power in the Governing thereof will be denied and rejected. There will therefore a time come, when the Lord Jesus Christ will plead his own, and his own Cause, and the Cause of them who have suffered for their Fidelity to her Institutions: He will plead it in a more dreadful way, and break the Nation of England in pieces, like a Potters Vessel. Then a Man shall be precious as the Gold of Ophir; but a small Remnant shall be left: And afterward God will raise up Churches to himself, after his own Heart, in his own time and way.* God knows, what there may be in this Prediction.

§ 16. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton were, for their different Genius, the *Luther* and *Melancthon* of *New-England*; at their Arrival unto which Country, Mr. Cotton settled with the Church of *Boston*, but Mr. Hooker with the Church of *New-Town*, having Mr. Stone for his Assistant. Inexpressible now was the Joy of Mr. Hooker, to find himself surrounded with his Friends, who were come over the Year before, to prepare for his Reception; with open Arms he embraced them, and uttered these words, *Now I live, if you stand fast in the Lord.* But such multitudes flocked over to *New-England* after them, that the Plantation of *New-Town* became to straight for them; and it was Mr. Hooker's Advice, that they should not incur the danger of a *Sitna*, or an *Esek*, where they might have a *Rehoboth*. Accordingly in the Month of *June* 1636; they removed an Hundred Miles to the Westward, with a purpose to settle upon the delightful Banks of *Connecticut River*: And there were about an Hundred Persons in the first Company that made this Removal; who not being able to walk above Ten Miles a Day, took up near a Fortnight in the Journey; having no Pillows to take their Nightly Rest upon, but such as their Father *Jacob* found in the way to *Padan-Aram*. Here Mr. Hooker was the chief Instrument of beginning another Colony, as Mr. Cotton, whom he left behind him, was, of preserving and perfecting that Colony where he left him; for, indeed each of them were the Oracle of their several Colonies.

§ 17. Tho' Mr. Hooker had thus removed from the *Massachuset-Bay*, yet he sometimes came down to visit the Churches in that Bay: But when ever he came, he was received with an Affection; like that which *Paul* found among the *Galatians*; yea, 'tis thought, that once there seemed some Intimation from Heaven, as if the

good People had overdone in that Affection: For on *May* 26. 1639. Mr. Hooker being here to preach that Lord's Day in the Afternoon, his great Fame had gathered a vast Multitude of Hearers from several other Congregations, and among the rest, the Governour himself, to be made Partaker of his Ministry. But when he came to preach, he found himself so unaccountably at a loss, that after some shattered and broken Attempts to proceed, he made a full stop; saying to the Assembly, *That every thing which he would have spoken, was taken both out of his Mouth, and out of his Mind also;* wherefore he desired them to sing a Psalm, while he withdrew about half an Hour from them: Returning then to the Congregation, he preached a most admirable Sermon, wherein he held them for two Hours together in an extraordinary Strain both of Pertinency and Vivacity.

After Sermon, when some of his Friends were speaking of the Lords thus withdrawing his Assistance from him, he humbly replied, *We daily confess, that we have nothing, and can do nothing, without Christ; and what if Christ will make this manifest in us, and on us, before our Congregations? What remains, but that we be humbly contented? And what manner of Discouragement is there in all of this?* Thus content was he to be nullified, that the LORD might be magnified!

§ 18. Mr. Hooker that had been born to serve many, and was of such a Publick Spirit, that I find him occasionally celebrated in the Life of Mr. *Angier*, lately published for one, who would be continually inquisitive how it fared with the Church of God, both at home and abroad, on purpose that he might order his Prayers and Cares accordingly: [Which, by the way, makes me think on Mr. *Firmin's* words: *I look on it, (saith he) as an Act of a grown Christian, whose Interest in Christ is well cleared, and his Heart walking close with God, to be really taken up with the Publick Interest of Christ.*] He never took his Opportunity to serve himself, but lived a sort of Exile all his Days, except the last fourteen Years of his Life, among his own Spiritual Children at *Hartford*; however, here also he was an Exile. Accordingly, where ever he came, he lived like a Stranger in the World! When at the Lands-end, he took his last sight of *England*, he said, *Farewel England! I expect now no more, to see that Religious Zeal, and Power of Godliness, which I have seen among Professors in that Land!* And he had Sagacious and Propheticall Apprehensions of the Declensions which would attend Reforming Churches, when they came to enjoy a place of Liberty; He said, *That Adversity had slain its Thousands, but Prosperity would slay its Ten Thousands!* He feared, *That they who had been lively Christians in the Fire of Persecution, would soon become cold in the midst of Universal Peace, except some few, whom God by sharp Tryals, would keep in a Faithful, Watchful, Humble, and Praying Frame.* But under these Pre apprehensions, it was his own endeavour: to beware of abating his own

first Love! And of so *Watchful*, so *Prayerful*, so *Fruitful* a Spirit was Mr. *Hooker*, that the Spirit of Prophecy it self, did seem to grant him some singular Afflations. Indeed, every wise Man is a Prophet; but one so eminently acquainted with Scripture and Reason, and Church-History, as our *Hooker*, mult needs be a Seer, from whom singular Prognostications were to be expected. Accordingly, there were many things prognosticated by him, wherein the Future State of *New England*, particularly of *Connecticut* has been so much concerned, that its pity they should be forgotten. But I will in this History, record only two of his Predictions. One was, *That God would punish the wanton Spirit of the Professors in this Country, with a sad want of Able Men in all Orders.* Another was, *That in certain places of great Light here sinned against, there would break forth such horrible Sins, as would be the Amazement of the World*

§ 19. He was a Man of Prayer, which was indeed a ready way to become a Man of God. He would say, *That Prayer was the principal part of a Minister's Work; 'twas by this, that he was to carry on the rest.* Accordingly, he still devoted one Day in a Month to private Prayer, with Fasting, before the Lord, besides the Publick Fasts, which often occurred unto him. He would say, *That such extraordinary Favours, as the Life of Religion, and the Power of Godliness, must be preserved by the frequent Use of such extraordinary Means, as Prayer with Fasting; and that if Professors grow negligent of these Means, Iniquity will abound, and the Love of many wax cold.* Nevertheless, in the Duty of Prayer, he affected Strength rather than Length; and tho' he had not so much variety in his Publick Praying, as in his Publick Preaching, yet he always had a seasonable Respect unto present Occasions. And it was observed, that his Prayer was usually like *Jacob's Ladder*, wherein the nearer he came to an End, the nearer he drew towards Heaven; and he grew into such Rapturous Pleadings with God, and Praisings of God, as made some to say, *That like the Master of the Feast, he reserved the best Wine until the last.* Nor was the wonderful Success of his Prayer, upon special Concerns, unobserved by the whole Colony; who reckoned him the *Moses*, which *invented away the Wrath of God from them*, and obtained a Blast from Heaven upon their *Indian Amalekites*, by his uplifted Hands, in those remarkable Deliverances which they sometimes experienced. It was very particularly observed, when there was a Battel to be fought between the *Narraganset*, and the *Menbegin Indians*, in the Year 1643. The *Narraganset Indians* had complotted the Ruine of the *English*, but the *Menbegin* were Confederate with us; and a War now being between those two Nations, much Notice was taken of the prevailing Importunity, wherewith Mr. *Hooker* urged for the Accomplishment of that Great Promise unto the People of God, *I will bless them that bless thee, but I will curse him that curses thee.* And the Effect of it was, that the *Nargansets* re-

ceived a wonderful Overthrow from the *Menbegin*, though the former did Three or Four to One for Number, exceed the latter. Such an *Israel* at Prayer, was our *Hooker*! And this Praying Pastor was Blessed; as, indeed, such Ministers use to be, with a Praying People: There fell upon his pious People, a *Double Portion* of the Spirit, which they beheld in him.

§ 20. That Reverend and Excellent Man, Mr. *Whitfield*, having spent many Years in studying of Books, did at length take two or three Years to study Men; and in pursuance of this Design, having acquainted himself with the most considerable Divines in *England*, at last he fell into the Acquaintance of Mr. *Hooker*; concerning whom, he afterwards gave this Testimony: *That he had not thought there had been such a Man on Earth; a Man in whom there shone so many Excellencies, as were in this incomparable Hooker; a Man in whom Learning and Wisdom, were so tempered with Zeal, Holiness, and Watchfulness.* And the same Observer having exactly Noted Mr. *Hooker*, made this Remark, and gave this Report more particularly of him, *That he had the best Command of his own Spirit, which he ever saw in any Man: whatever.* For though he were a Man of a Choleric Disposition, and had a mighty Vigour and Fervour of Spirit, which as occasion served, was wondrous useful unto him, yet he had ordinarily as much Government of his Choler, as a Man has of a Mastiff Dog in a Chain; *he could let out his Dog, and pull in his Dog, as he pleased.* And another that observed the Heroical Spirit and Courage, with which this Great Man fulfilled his Ministry, gave this Account of him, *He was a Person who while doing his Master's Work, would put a King in his Pocket.*

Of this there was an Instance, when the Judges were in their Circuit, present at *Chelmsford*, on a Fast kept throughout the Nation, Mr. *Hooker* then, in the presence of the Judges, and before a vast Congregation, declared freely the Sins of *England*, and the Plagues that would come for such Sins; and in his Prayer he besought the God of Heaven, to set on the Heart of the King, what his own Mouth had spoken, in the Second Chapter of *Malachy*, and the Eleventh and Twelfth Verses, [in his Prayer he so distinctly quoted it] *An Abomination is committed; Judah hath married the Daughter of a strange God, the Lord will cut off the Man that doeth this.* Though the Judges turned unto the place thus quoted, yet Mr. *Hooker* came into no trouble; but it was long before the Kingdom did.

§ 21. He was indeed of a very condescending Spirit, not only towards his Brethren in the Ministry, but also towards the meanest of any Christians whatsoever. He was very willing to Sacrifice his own Apprehensions into the Convincing Reason of another Man; and very ready to acknowledge any Mistake, or Failing, in himself. I'll give one Example: There happened

pened a damage to be done unto a Neighbour, immediately whereupon, Mr. Hooker meeting with an unlucky Boy, that often had his Name up, for the doing of such Mischiets, he fell to chiding of that Boy, as the Doer of this. The Boy denied it, and Mr. Hooker still went on in an angry manner, charging of him; whereupon said the Boy, *Sir, I see you are in a Passion, I'll say no more to you:* And so ran away. Mr. Hooker, upon further Enquiry, not finding that the Boy could be proved Guilty, sent for him; and having first by a calm Question, given the Boy opportunity to renew his Denial of the Fact, he said unto him: *Since I cannot prove the contrary, I am bound to believe; and I do believe what you say:* And then added, *Indeed I was in a Passion, when I spake to you before; it was my Sin, and it is my Shame, and I am truly sorry for it: And I hope in God I shall be more watchful hereafter.* So giving the Boy some good Counsel, the poor Lad, went away extremely affected with such a Carriage in so good a Man; and it proved an occasion of good unto the Soul of the Lad all his Days.

On this occasion it may be added, That Mr. Hooker did much abound in Acts of Charity. It was no rare thing for him to give sometimes Five Pound, sometimes Ten Pound at a time, towards the Support of Widows and Orphans, especially those of deceased Ministers.

Thus also, when the People at *Southampton*, twenty Leagues from *Hartford*, wanted Corn, Mr. Hooker, and some few that joined with them, sent them freely a whole Bark's Load of Corn, of many Hundred Bushels, to relieve them. Thus he had those that *Chrysostom* calls, *Συλλογισμὸς ἀναπρηπτός, unanswerable Syllogisms*, to demonstrate Christianity.

§ 22. He had a singular Ability, at giving Answers to Cases of Conscience; whereof happy was the Experience of some Thousands: And for this Work he usually set apart, the Second Day of the Week; wherein he admitted all sorts of Persons in their Discourses with him, to reap the Benefit of the extraordinary Experience which himself had found of Satan's Devices. Once particularly, Mr. Hooker was addressed by a Student in Divinity, who entring upon his Ministry, was, as the most useful Ministers, at their Entrance thereupon, use to be horridly buffeted with Temptations, which were become almost intolerable: Repairing to Mr. Hooker in the Distresses and Anguishes of his Mind, and bemoaning his own overwhelming Fears, while the Lion was thus roaring at him, Mr. Hooker answered, *I can compare with any Man living for Fears! My Advice to you is, That you search out, and analyse the humbling Causes of them, and refer them to their proper places; then go and pour them out before the Lord; and they shall prove more profitable to you than any Books you can read.* But Mr. Hooker in his dealing with troubled Consciences, observed, that there were a sort of crafty and guileful Souls, which he would find out with an admirable Dexterity; and of these he would say, as Paul

of the *Cretians*, *They must be reprov'd sharply, what they may be found in the Faith; sharp Rebukes make sound Christians.* Indeed, of some he had Compassion, making a Difference; and others he saved with Fear, pulling them out of the Fire.

§ 23. Altho' he had a notable Hand at the Discussing and Adjusting of Controversial Points, yet he would hardly ever handle any *Polemical Divinity* in the Pulpit; but the very Spirit of his Ministry, lay in the Points of the most Practical Religion, and the Grand Concerns of a Sinner's Preparation for, Implantation in, and Salvation by, the Glorious Lord Jesus Christ. And in these Discourses he would frequently intermix most affectionate Warnings of the Declensions which would quickly befall the Churches of *New-England*.

His Advice to young Ministers, may on this occasion be fitly mentioned. It was, That at their Entrance on their Ministry, they would with careful Study preach over the whole *Body of Divinity* methodically, (even in the *American Method*) which would acquaint them with all the more intelligible and agreeable Texts of Scripture, and prepare them for a further Acquaintance with the more difficult, and furnish them with Abilities to preach on whole Chapters, and all Occasional Subjects, which by the Providence of God, they might be directed unto.

Many Volumes of the Sermons preached by him were since Printed; and this Account is to be given of them.

While he was Fellow of *Emanuel-Colledge*, he entertained a special Inclination to those Principles of Divinity, which concerned, *The Application of Redemption*; and that which eminently fitted him for the Handling of those Principles, was, That he had been from his Youth trained up in the Experience of those *Humiliations and Consolations*, and Sacred *Communion*, which belong to the New Creature; and he had most critically compared his own Experience, with the Accounts which the *quick and powerful Word of God*, gives of those Glorious Things. Accordingly he preached first more briefly on these Points, whilst he was a Catechist in *Emanuel-Colledge*, in a more Scholastick way; which was most agreeable to his present Station; and the Notes of what he then delivered were so esteemed, that many Copies thereof were transcribed and preserved. Afterwards he preached more largely on those Points, in a more popular way at *Chelmsford*, the Product of which were those Books of *Preparation for Christ, Contrition, Humiliation, Vocation, Union with Christ, and Communion*, and the rest, which go under his Name; for many wrote after him in Short-Hand; and some were so bold as to publish many of them, without his Consent or Knowledge; whereby his Notions came to be deformedly misrepresented in multitudes of passages; among which I will suppose that crude passage, which Mr. *Giles Firmin*, in his *Real Christian*, so well confutes, *That if the Soul be rightly humbled, it is content to bear the*

State of Damnation. But when he came to *New-England*, many of his Church, which had been his old *Essex* Hearers, desired him once more to go over the Points of *God's Regenerating Works upon the Soul of his Elect*; until, at last, their Desires prevailed with him to Resume that pleasant Subject. The Subject hereby came to have a Third Concoction in the Head and Heart of one, as able to digest it, as most Men living in the World; and it was his design to perfect with his own Hand his Compositures for the Press, and thereby vindicate both *Author* and *Matter*, from the Wrongs done to both, by Surreptitious Editions heretofore. He did not live to finish what he intended; yet a Worthy Minister, namely, Mr. *John Higginson*, one richly able himself to have been an Author of a not unlike Matter, Transcribed from his *Manuscripts*, near two Hundred of these Excellent Sermons, which were sent over into *England*, that they might be published; but by what means I know not, scarce half of them have seen the Light unto this Day. However, 'tis possible, the Valuableness of those that are published, may at some time or other awaken some Enquiries after the unknown Hands wherein the rest are as yet concealed.

§ 24. But this was not all the Service which the Pen of Mr. *Hooker* did for the Church of God! It was his Opinion, That there were *Two great Reserves of Enquiry*, for this Age of the World; the first, wherein the Spiritual Rule of our Lords Kingdom does consist, and after what manner it is Internally Revealed, Managed and Maintained in the Souls of his People? The second, after what Order the Government of our Lord's Kingdom is to be Externally managed and maintained in his Churches? Accordingly, having done his part for delivering the Former Subject from *Pharisaical Formality*, on the one Hand, and from *Familistical Enthusiasm* on the other, he was by the solicitous Importunity of his Friends, prevailed withal to compose a Treatise on the other Subject also. Upon this Occasion, he wrote his Excellent Book, which is Entituled, *A Survey of Church Discipline*; wherein, having in the Name of the other Ministers in the Country, as well as his own, professed his Concurrence with Holy and Learned Mr. *Rutherford*, as to the Number and Nature of Church-Officers; the Right of People to call their own Officers; the Unfitness of Scandalous Persons to be Members of a Visible Church; the Unwarrantableness of Separation from Churches for certain Defective Circumstances; the Lawfulness, yea, Needfulness of a Consociation among Churches; and Calling in the Help of such Consociations, upon emerging Difficulties; and the Power of such Consociations to proceed against a Particular Church, pertinaciously offending, with a Sentence of Non-Communion: He then proceeds to consider, a *Church Congregational compleatly constituted with all its Officers, having full Power in its self to exercise all Church Discipline, in all the Censures thereof*; and the Interest,

which the *Consent of the People* is to have in the Exercise of this *Discipline*. The first fair and full Copy of this Book was drowned in its Passage to *England*, with many Serious and Eminent Christians, which were then Buried by Shipwrack in the Ocean: For which cause there was another Copy sent afterwards, which through the Pre-mature Death of the Author, was not so perfect as the former; but it was a Reflection, which Dr. *Goodwin* made upon it, *The Destiny which hath attended this Book, hath visited my Thoughts with an Apprehension of something like Omen to the Cause it self: That after the overwhelming of it with a Flood of Obloquies, and Disadvantages and Misrepresentations, and injurious Oppressions cast out after it, it might in the time, which God alone hath put in his own Power, be again emergent.* He adds, *I have looked for this; That this Truth and all that should be said of it, was Ordained as Christ of whom every Truth is a Ray, to be as a Seed corn, which unless it fall to the Ground and die, and this perhaps together with some of the Persons that profess it, it brings yet forth much Fruit.* However, the Ingenious Mr. *Stone* who was Colleague to Mr. *Hooker*, accompanied this Book, with a little Epigram, whereof these were the concluding Disticks.

*If any to this Platform can Reply
With better Reason, Let this Volume Die;
But better Arguments, if none can give,
Then Thomas Hooker's Policy shall Live.*

§ 25. In his Administration of Church Discipline there were several things as Imitable, as Observable. As he was an hearty Friend unto the *Consociation of Churches*; and hence all the time that he lived, the Pastors of the Neighbouring Churches held their frequent Meetings for mutual Consultation in things of common Concernment; so, in his own particular Church, he was very careful to have every thing done with a Christian Moderation and Unanimity. Wherefore he would have nothing publickly propounded unto the Brethren of the Church, but what had been first privately prepared by the Elders; and if he feared the happening of any Debate, his way beforehand was, to visit some of the more noted and leading Brethren, and having engaged them to second what he should move unto the Church, he rarely missed of a full Concurrence: To which purpose he would say, *The Elders must have a Church in a Church, if they would preserve the Peace of the Church:* And he would say, *The debating Matters of Difference, first before the whole Body of the Church, will doubtless break any Church in pieces, and deliver it up unto loathsome Contempt.* But if any difficult or divided Agitation was raised in the Church, about any matter offered, he would ever put a stop to that publick Agitation, by delaying the Vote until another Meeting; before which time, he would ordinarily by private Conferences, gain over such as were unsatisfied. As for the Admission of Commu-

Communicants unto the Lord's Table, he kept the Examination of them unto the Elders of the Church, as properly belonging unto their *Work and Charge*; and with his Elders he would order them to make before the whole Church a Profession of a Repenting Faith, as they were able, or willing to do it. Some, that could unto Edification do it, he put upon thus relating the manner of their Conversion to God; but usually they only answered unto certain probatory Questions, which were rendered them; and so after their Names had been for a few Weeks before signified unto the Congregation, to learn whether any Objection or Exception could be made against them; of any thing Scandalous in their Conversations, now consenting unto the Covenant, they were admitted into the Church Communion. As for Ecclesiastical Censures, he was very watchful to prevent all Proceedings unto them, as far as was consistent with the Rules of our Lord; for which cause (except in grosser Abominations) when Offences happened, he did his utmost, that the Notice thereof might be extended no further, than it was when they first were laid before him; and having reconciled the Offenders with sensible and convenient Acknowledgments of their Miscarriages, he would let the Notice thereof be confined unto such as were beforehand therewith acquainted; and hence there was but one Person admonished in, and but one Person excommunicated from the Church of *Hartford*, in all the Fourteen Years, that Mr. *Hooker* lived there. He was much troubled at the too frequent Censures in some other Churches; and he would say, 'Church Censures are things, wherewith neither we, nor our Father's have been acquainted in the practice of them; and therefore the utmost Circumspection is needful, that we do not spoil the Ordinances of God, by our Management thereof. In this point he was like *Beza*, who defended the Ordinance of Excommunication against *Erastus*; and yet, he with his Collegues, were so cautelous in the use of it, that in eleven Years, there was but one Excommunication passed in all *Geneva*.

§ 26. He would say, *That he should Esteem it a Favour from God, if he might live no longer than he should be able to hold up lively in the Work of his Place; and that when the time of his Departure should come, God would shorten the time: And he had his Desire.* Some of his most observant Hearers observed an astonishing sort of a *Cloud* in his Congregation, the last Lord's Day of his publick Ministry, when he also administered the Lord's Supper among them; and a most unaccountable Heaviness and Sleepiness, even in the most Watchful Christians of the Place, not unlike the Drowiness of the Disciples, when our Lord was going to die; for which, one of the Elders publicly rebuked them. When those Devout People afterwards perceived that this was the last Sermon and Sacrament wherein they were to have the Pre-

sence of the *Pastor* with them, his inexpressible how much they bewailed their Unattentiveness unto his *Farewel Dispensations*; and some of them could enjoy no Peace in their own Souls, until they had obtained Leave of the Elders to confess before the whole Congregation with many Tears, that Inadvertency. But as for Mr. *Hooker* himself; an *Epidemical Sickness*, which had proved mortal to many, though at first small or no Danger appeared in it, arrested him. In the time of his Sickness he did not say much to the Standers by; but being asked, that he would utter his Apprehensions about some important things, especially about the State of *New-England*, he answered, *I have not that Work now to do; I have already declared the Counsel of the Lord: And when one that stood weeping by the Bed side said unto him, Sir, You are going to receive the Reward of all your Labours,* he replied, *Brother, I am going to receive Mercy!* At last he closed his own Eyes with his own Hands, and gently stroaking his own Forehead, with a Smile in his Countenance, he gave a little Groan, and so expired his blessed Soul into the Arms of his *Fellow Servants, the Holy Angels*, on July 7. 1647. In which last Hours, the Glorious Peace of Soul, which he had enjoyed without any Interruption for near Thirty Years together, so gloriously accompanied him, that a worthy Spectator then writing to Mr. *Cotton* a Relation thereof, made this Reflection, *Truly Sir, the Sight of his Death, will make me have more pleasant Thoughts of Death, than ever I yet had in my Life!*

§ 27. Thus lived and thus died one of the *First Three*. He, of whom the great Mr. *Cotton* gave this Character, that he did, *Agmen ducere & dominari in Concionibus, gratia Spiritus Sancti & virtute plenis*; and that he was, *Vir Solertis & Accerrimi Judicii*; and at length uttered his Lamentations in a Funeral *Elegy*, whereof some Lines were these.

*'Twas of Geneva's Worthies said with Wonder,
(Those Worthies Three) Farel was wont to
Thunder,
Viret like Rain on tender Grass to show'r,
But Calvin, lively Oracles to pour.*

*All these in Hooker's Spirit did remain,
A Son of Thunder, and a Show'r of Rain;
A Poured forth of lively Oracles,
In saving Soul, The Summ of Miracles.*

This was *He*, of whom his Pupil Mr. *Ash*, gives this Testimony; *For his great Abilities and glorious Services, both in this and in the other England, he deserves a Place in the first Rank of them, whose Lives are of late recorded.* And this was *He*, of whom his Reverend Contemporary, Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*, rendered this for an Epitaph; in every Line whereof, methinks the Writer deserves a Reward equal to what *Virgil* had, when for every Line, referring to *Marcellus* in the end of his Sixth *Æneid*, he perceived

received a Sum, not much less than Eighty Pounds in Money, or as ample a Requital as Cardinal Richlieu gave to a Poet, when he bestowed upon him two Thousand Sequins for a witty Conceit in *one Verse* of but seven Words, upon his Coat of Arms.

America, although She do not Boast,
Of all the Gold and Silver from that Coast,
Lent to her Sister Europe's Need or Pride;
(For that repaid her, with much Gain beside,
In one Rich Pearl, which Heaven did thence
afford,
As Pious Herbert gave his honest word;) *Yet thinks, She in the Catalogue may come
With Europe, Africk, Asia, for one Tomb.*

But as *Ambrose* could say concerning *Theodosius*, *Non Totus recessit; reliquit nobis Liberos, in quibus cum debemus agnoscere, & in quibus eum Cernimus & Tenemus*; thus we have to this Day among us, our Dead *Hooker* yet living in his worthy Son, Mr. *Samuel Hooker*, an Able, Faithful, Useful Minister, at *Farmington*, in the Colony of *Connecticut*.

Epitaphium.

THOMAS HOOKER.

Heu! Pietas; Heu! prisca Fides.

Or, For a more extended Epitaph, we may take the Abridgement of his *Life*, as offered in some Lines of Mr. *Elijah Corlet*, that memorable old *School-master* in *Cambridge*, from whose

Education our Colledge and Country has received so many of its *Worthy Men*, that he is himself *Worthy* to have his *Name* celebrated in no less a Paragraph of our *Church History*, than that wherein I may introduce him, endeavouring to celebrate the Name of our Great *Hooker*, unto this purpose.

*Si mea cum vestris, valuissent vota, Nov-Angli,
Hookerus Tardo viserat Astra Gradu.
Te, Reverende Senex, Sic Te dileximus omnes,
Ipsa Invisa forent ut tibi Jura poli.
Morte Tua Infandum Cogor Renovare dolorem,
Quippe Tua videat Terra Nov-Angla suam.
Dignus cras, Aquilæ similis, Renovasse Juventam,
Et Fato in Terris Candidiore frui.
Tu Domus Emanuel, Soror Augustissima, Mater
Mille Prophetarum, Tu mihi Testis eris.
Te Testem apello, quondam Chelmsfordia, Celis
Proxima; Te preeco Sustulit ille Tuus.
Non tulit, hæc Chalcas, Arcis Phæbique Sacerdos,
Nam populo Sperni sic sua sacra videt.
Vidit & ex Rostris Geni prædicere vatem
Bella, quod in Christum Tota Rebellis erat.
Quem Patria exegit, ferus Hostis Episcopus, Hostis
Hunc minus, in Batavis, vexat amara Febris.
Post varios casus, Quassata Nov-Anglia, tandem
Ramifer inde Tibi Diva Columba venit.
Ille Tuos Cætus Ornat, pascitque Fideles,
Laudibus Innumcris addit & ille Tuis.
Dulcis Amicus erat, Pastorque Insignis, & Altus
Dotibus, Eloquio, Moribus, Ingenio.
Proh Pudor! Ereptum Te vivi vidimus, & non
Excessuræ Animæ Struximus Insidias!
Insidias precibus, Lacrymisque perennibus, unde
Semita Cælestis sic tibi clausa foret.
Sed Frustrâ hæc meditor! —
Lustrâ per HOOKERUS ter quinque Viator,
erat: jam
Cælestem patriam Possidet ille suam.*

Sepher Jereim, i. e. Liber Deum Timentium:

O R,

Dead A B E L's yet Speaking, and Spoken of.

In the HISTORY of

Mr. *Francis Higginson,*
 Mr. *John Avery,*
 Mr. *Jonathan Burr,*
 Mr. *George Philips,*
 Mr. *Thomas Shepard,*
 Mr. *Peter Prudden,* and several o-
 thers of *New-Haven Colony.*
 Mr. *Peter Bulkly,*
 Mr. *Ralph Partridge,*
 Mr. *Henry Dunster,*
 Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers,*
 Mr. *Nathanael Rogers,*
 Mr. *Samuel Newman,*
 Mr. *Samuel Stone,*
 Mr. *William Thompson,*

Mr. *John Warham,*
 Mr. *Henry Flint,*
 Mr. *Richard Mather,*
 Mr. *Zechariah Symmes,*
 Mr. *John Allin,*
 Mr. *Charles Chauncey,*
 Mr. *John Fisk,*
 Mr. *Thomas Parker,*
 Mr. *James Noyes,*
 Mr. *Thomas Thacher,*
 Mr. *Peter Hobart,*
 Mr. *Samuel Whiting,*
 Mr. *John Sherman,*
 Mr. *Thomas Cobbet,*
 Mr. *John Ward.*

Eminent Ministers of the Gospel in the Churches of *New-England.*By *COTTON MATHER**The Second Part.**Solus Honor Merito qui datur, ille datur.*Thus Shine, ye Glories of your Age, while we
Wait to Fill up your Martyrologie.*Bono estote Animo, (Dilecti Frates) appropinquat Tempus quando erit Nominum eque
ac Corporum Resurrectio.* Wilkinson, Concion. ad Academic.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

WHEN the Incomparable Hevelius was preparing for the World, his New, and Rare, and most Accurate Selenography, his Design was, to advance into the Heavens, the Names of the most Meritorious Astronomers, by Naming from them the several distinguishable Parts of the Planet, which was to be described by him; so that in the Moon, there would now have been seen, an Oceanus Coperniceus, an Oceanus Tychoicus, a Mare

Keplerianum, a Lacus Galilaei, a Palus Maestlini, an Insula Scheiveriana, a Peninsula Gassendi, a Mons Mercennii, a Vallis Bullialdi, a Sinus Wendelini, a Promontorium Crugerianum, a Desertum Linnemanni, and other such Denominations. But, upon Second Thoughts, he saw that this could not be done without Envy and Offence; for there were certain Places more Eminent than others, and he might happen to assign them unto such Persons as were less Eminent,

ment in the Opinions of Mankind about their Merits: Wherefore he chose rather Geographical Denominations, for the Maculæ Lunares, which were now to be distinguished.

Reader, There is a Number of Divines now before us, demanding their Places in our Church-History; their Souls are in the Heavens; their Names also should be there. I was thinking to have ranked them according to their Merits; I would have assigned their Places, according to their Eminencies in the Church of God. But finding that this Attempt would have been too invidious; I will have them to take their Places, as in the History of Lives uses to be done, Secundum Annorum Emortualium Seriem, according to the Years wherein they died.

What I write, shall be written with all Christian Veracity, and Fidelity. Heaven forbid, that I should indulge my Pen, in such flourishing Flatteries, as fill the Lives of the Lutheran Divines, in the Collections that Witten has made of the Memoria Theologorum nostri sæculi Clarissimorum, renovatæ. Heaven forbid, that I should in any one Instance deserve to be thought a Writer of such Legends, as they generally (and it may be sometimes unrighteously) have reproached the Lives of the Ancients, written by Simeon Metaphrastes: For I will now confess to my Reader, one thing that has encouraged me, in my Endeavour

to preserve the Memory of these worthy Men.

I read in Prov. 10. 7. The Memory of the Just is blessed; or, for a Blessing: And I know the common Glosses upon it. But I have met with a Note of Dr. Jermyn's thereupon, which I will now count as worthy to be transcribed, as I have heretofore counted it worthy to be pondered.

The very remembrance of them [saith he] shall bring a Blessing to such as do remember them. God will bless those that honour the Memory of his Servants: And besides, the Memory of them will make them imitated, which is a Blessing that will be rewarded with Blessedness.

I will add, That Examples do strangely charm us into Imitation. When Holiness is pressed upon us, we are prone to think, that it is a Doctrine calculated for Angels and Spirits, whose Dwelling is not with Flesh. But when we read the Lives of them that excelled in Holiness, tho' they were Persons of like Passions with our selves, the Conviction is wonderful and powerful. Reader, Behold loud Calls to Holiness, from those who said, not, Ite illuc; but, Venite huc, when the Calls were uttered.

CHAP. I.

Janus Nov-Anglicanus. The LIFE of Mr. FRANCIS HIGGINSON.

Semper Honor, Nomenque Tuum, Laudesque Manebunt.

§ 1. **W**ithout Recourse to any fabulous, whether Egyptian or Grecian Shams of Antiquity, we have other Intimations enough, that our Father Noah, after a New World began to be Peopled from him, did remove with his Eldest Son Japhet, from his own, and his old Country of Ogyge, or Palestine, into the Country which is now called Italy. And it is particularly remarkable, that his Great Grandson Dodanim, removing with a Colony of his increasing Posterity, into Epirus, he built a City, which with the whole Province, was called by the Name of Dodona; where he built a Temple, in which the People did assemble to worship God, and hear the Precepts of the Patriarch preach'd upon. But it was not long before a fearful Degeneracy overtaking the Posterity of these Planters, they soon left and lost the Religion of their Progenitors; and in that very place where Dodanim had his Church, there succeeded the Dodonean Oracles. Now among the memorable Names, which in other Monuments of Antiquity, besides those of Tuscany, expos'd by Inghiramus, we find put upon our illustrious Father Noah, one is that of Janus, which at first they pronounced Janes, from the Hebrew

word, *Janin*, for Wine, which was the true Original of it; and so his famous Vineyard was therein commemorated. For which cause Cato also tells us, *Janus primus invenit Far & Vinum, & ob id ductus fuit Priscus Oenotrius*: And Antiochus Syracusanus, mentions the Oenotrii, which Noah carried with him. Of this Janus, the Thuscians employed a Ship, as a Memorial; they had a Ship on his Coins, doubtless with an Eye to the Ark of Noah; but there was also on the Reverse, as Ovid relates, *Alter a Forma Biceps*; and this Double Face was ascrib'd unto Janus, because of the View which he had of the Two Worlds, the Old and the New. The Covenant which God established with Noah, was by After-Ages refer'd unto, when they feigned Janus to be the President of all Covenant and Concord; and the Figure which Noah made among Mankind was confessed by them, when they gave Janus the Sir-name of Pater, as being so to all the Hero's, who obtained a place among the Gods. Moreover, the Mythical Writers tell us, that in the Reign of this Janus, all the Dwellings of Men were hedged in with Piety and Sanctity; in which Tradition the exemplary Righteousness of Noah seems to have been

been celebrated: And hence in their old Rituals, he was called *Cerus, Manus*, which is as much as to say, *Sanctus & Bonus*. But without pursuing these *Curiosities* any further, I will now lay before my Reader the Story of that worthy Man; who when 'tis considered, that he crossed the *Sea* with a Renowned *Colony*, and that having seen an *Old World* in *Europe*, where a Flood of Iniquity and Calamity carried all before it, he also saw a *New World* in *America*; where he appears the first in a Catalogue of *Hero's*, and where he with his People were admitted into the *Covenant* of God; whereupon an Hedge of *Piety* and *Sanctity* continued about that People as long as he lived, may therefore be called the *Noah*, or *Fanus* of *New-England*. This was Mr. *Francis Higginson*.

§ 2. If in the History of the Church for more than Four thousand Years, contained in the Scriptures, there is not recorded either the *Birth day* of any one Saint whatever, or the *Birth day* of him that is the *Lord of all Saints*; I hope it will be accounted no Defect in our History of this worthy Man, if neither the *Day*, nor the *Place* of his *Birth* can be recovered. We will therefore begin the History of his Life, where we find that he began to *live*.

Mr. *Francis Higginson*, after he had been Educated at *Emanuel-Colledge*, that Seminary of Puritans in *Cambridge*, until he was *Master of Arts*: And after that, the true *Emanuel*, our Lord Jesus Christ, had by the Work of *Regeneration* upon his Heart, instructed him in the better and nobler *Arts*, of *living unto God*; he was by the special Providence of Heaven, made a Servant of our *Emanuel*, in the Ministry of the Gospel, at one of the Five Parish-Churches in *Leicester*. The main Scope of his Ministry, was now to promote, first, a thorough *Conversion*, and then a godly *Conversation*, among his People: And besides his *being* as the famous *Preacher in the Wilderness* was, a *Voice*, and preaching Lectures of Christianity by his whole Christian, and most Courteous and Obliging Behaviour, he had also a most charming *Voice*, which rendred him unto his Hearers, in all his Exercises, another *Ezekiel*: For, *Lo, he was unto them, as a very lovely Song of one that bath a pleasant Voice, and can play well upon an Instrument*: And from all parts in the Neighbourhood they flocked unto him. Such was the Divine Presence with, and Blessing on the Ministry of this good Man, in this place, that the Influence thereof on the whole Town, was quickly become a Matter of Observation: Many were turned from *Darkness to Light*, and from *Satan to God*; and many were *built up in their most Holy Faith*; and there was a notable Revival of Religion among them. And such were his Endeavours to *conform* unto the Example of our Lord Jesus Christ, our Grand *Exemplar*, in the whole Course of his Ministry, that we might easily have written a *Book of those Conformities*.

§ 3. For some Years he continued in his *Conformity*, to the Rites then required and practised

in the Church of *England*; but upon his Acquaintance with Mr. *Arthur Hilderham*, and Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, he set himself to study the Controversies, about the Evangelical Church-Discipline, then agitated in the Church of God: And then the more he studied the *Scripture*, which is the sole and full Rule of Church-Administrations, the more he became dissatisfied with the Ceremonies, which had crept into the Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ, not only without the Allowance of the *Scripture*, but also without the Countenance of the earliest *Antiquity*. From this time he became a Conscientious *Non Conformist*; and therefore he was deprived of his Opportunity to exercise his Ministry, in his Parish Church: Nevertheless, his Ministry was generally so desirable unto the People, that they procured for him the Liberty to preach a constant Lecture, on one part of the Lord's Day; and on the other part, as an Assistant unto a very aged Parson, that wanted it. He was now maintained by the voluntary Contribution of the Inhabitants; and tho' the rest of the Ministers there continued *Conformists*, yet they all freely invited him, unto the use of their Pulpits, as long as they could avoid any trouble to themselves by their so doing: By which means he preached successively in *Threë* of the Parish-Churches, after that he had been by *Non-Conformity* made incapable. He preached also at *Belgrave*, a Mile out of the Town; but under God, the chief Author of these more easie Circumstances unto such a *Non Conformist*, was the Generous Goodness and Candour of Dr. *Williams*, the Bishop of *Lincoln*, to whose Diocess *Leicester* belonged. It continued until the *Fray* between that Bishop, and *Laud* the Bishop of *London*, who set himself to extirpate and extinguish all the *Non-Conformists*, that were *Williams's* Favourites, among whom one was Mr. *Higginson*.

§ 4. The signal Blessing of God, which accompanied the Ministry of Mr. *Higginson*, in *Leicester*, was followed with two very contrary Consequences. On the one side, a great multitude of Christians, then call'd *Puritans*, did not only attend the Worship of God more publickly in their *Assemblies*, and more secretly in their *Families*, but also they frequently had their *private Meetings*, for *Prayer* (sometimes with *Fasting*) and repeating of *Sermons*, and maintaining of profitable *Conferences*, at all which Mr. *Higginson* himself was often present: And at these times, if any of their Society were scandalous in their Conversation, they were personally *admonished*, and means were used with them to bring them unto Repentance. On the other side, there was a *profane Party*, fill'd with *Wolvish* Rage against the Flock of the Lord Jesus Christ, and especially against this good Man, who was the Pastor of the Flock: Whose impartial Zeal in *reproving* the Common Sins of the Time and Place, did more than a little add unto the Exasperations of that Party; but also divers of them turn'd *Persecutors* hereupon, yet many remarkable *Providences* laid a Restraint upon them,

and the Malignants were smitten with a Dread upon their Minds, *That the Judgments of God would pursue those, that should go to harm such a Follower of him that is good.*

§ 5. Even the *Episcopal Party* of the *English Nation*, among whose *Thirty Nine Articles*, one is, *That the visible Church is a Congregation of Faithful Men, where the Word of Christ is duly preached, and the Sacraments be rightly administered*; have concluded it, as a *Godly Discipline* in the *Primitive Church*, *That Notorious Sinners were put to open Penance.* And in the *Rubric* before the *Communion*, have ordered Ministers to advertise all *Notorious Evil Livers*, and such as have wronged their Neighbours by *Word or Deed*, or such as have *Malice and Hatred* reigning between them, *That they should not presume to come to the Lord's Table, till they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented.* Under the Encouragement hereof, Mr. *Higginson*, before he became a *Non-Conformist*, professed this Principle, *That ignorant and scandalous Persons, are not to be admitted unto the Lord's Supper*: And as far as he could, he practised what he professed. Wherefore he did *Catechise* and *Examine* Persons about their Fitness for the *Communion*; and if any Persons were notoriously *scandalous*, he not only told them of their Sins in *private*, but also in *Publick* declared, that they were not to be admitted unto the *Lord's Supper*, until the Congregation had some Testimonies of their serious *Repentance.*

It was a good Courage of Old *Cyprian*, to declare: *If any think to join themselves unto the Church, not by their Humiliation and Satisfaction, when they have scandalized the Brethren, but by their Great Words and Threats, let them know, that the Church of God will oppose them, and the Tents of Christ will not be conquered by them.* And no less was the good Metal in our *Higginson*. Accordingly after a Sermon on those Words of our Saviour, *Give not that which is holy unto Dogs*, unto this purpose applied, going to administer the *Lord's Supper* unto the Communicants, now come into the Chancel, he espied one that was known unto them all, to be a common *Drunkard* and *Swearer*, and a very vicious Person; he told that Man before them all, *That he was not willing to give the Lord's Supper unto him, until he had professed his Repentance, unto the Satisfaction of the Congregation*: And therefore he desired the Man to withdraw: The Sinner withdrew, but went out full of such Passion and Poison against Mr. *Higginson*, and Horror in his own Conscience, that he fell sick upon it; and while he lay sick he was visited, as well by good People, that endeavoured his Conversion, as by bad People that had been his old Companions, and now threatened what they would do against Mr. *Higginson*. The Wretch continued in an exorbitant Frame for a few Days, and at last roared out, *That he was damn'd, and that he was a Dog, and that he was going to the Dogs for ever.* So he cried, and so he died: And this was known to all People.

§ 6. There were many such marvellous Judgments of God, which came like *Fire* from Heaven, to restrain and revenge the Wrongs which were offer'd unto this faithful *Wineys* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*. Particularly, there was a pious Gentlewoman, the Wife of a very *profane* Gentleman, dwelling in another Parish, who would frequently go to attend upon Mr. *Higginson's* Ministry, both in the publick and private Exercises of our Holy Religion; whereat her Husband, after many other Expressions of his deep Displeasure, vowed, *That he would be revenged on Higginson*; and accordingly he resolved upon a Journey to *London*, there to exhibit a Complaint against this good Man, at the *High-Commission Court*: But when he had got all things ready for his Journey, just as he was mounting his Horse, he was by an immediate Hand of Heaven, smitten with an intolerable Torment of Body, and Horror of Conscience, and was led into his House, and laid upon his Bed; where within a few Hours, *Death* did his Office upon him.

§ 7. And unto the remarkable Appearances of Heaven, on the behalf of this faithful Man, may be enumerated that which betel a famous Doctor of Divinity, Prebend of a Cathedral, and Chaplain to His Majesty, who then lived in *Leicester*: This Gentleman preached but very seldom; and when he did at all, it was after that Fashion, which has been sometimes called *Gentleman-Predching*; after a flaunting manner, and with such a vain Ostentation of *Learning*, and Affectation of *Language*, as ill became the Oracles of God; the People generally flocking more to the more edifying Ministry of Mr. *Higginson*, than to these Harangues. Our Doctor so extremely resented it, that both publicly and privately, on all Opportunities, he expressed his Indignation against Mr. *Higginson*, and vow'd, *That he would certainly drive him out of the Town.* Now it so fell out, that the Sheriff appointed this Doctor to preach at the General Assizes there, and gave him a Quarter of a Year's time to provide a Sermon for that occasion: But in all this time, he could not provide a Sermon unto his own Satisfaction; insomuch, that a Fortnight before the time was expired, he expressed unto some of his Friends, a Despair of being well provided: Wherefore his Friends perswaded him to try; telling him, *That if it came to the worst, Mr. Higginson might be procured to preach in his room*; he was always ready. The Doctor was wonderfully averse unto this last Proposal; and therefore studied with all his might, for an agreeable Sermon; but he had such a Blast from Heaven upon his poor Studies, that the very Night before the Assizes began, he sent his Wife to the devout Lady *Cave*, who prevail'd with Mr. *Higginson* to supply his place the Day ensuing; which he did, with a most suitable, profitable, and acceptable Sermon; and unto the great Satisfaction of the Auditory. When the Lady *Cave* had let it be known, how this thing, which was much wondered at, came about, the common Discourse

of the Town upon it, so confounded the Doctor, that he left the Town, vowing, *That he would never come into it again.* Thus Mr. Higginson was left in the Town! But I pray, *Who was driven out?*

§ 8. We lately Styled Mr. Higginson a *Faithful Man*: And innumerable were the Instances, wherein he so approved himself, particularly there was a time when many Courtiers, Lords, and Gentlemen coming in a Frolick to *Leicester*, which was counted a *Puritanical Town*, resolved, that they would put a Trick upon it. Wherefore, they invited the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, whereof divers were esteemed *Puritans*, unto a *Collation*; and overcame them to drink a number of *Healths*, with the accustomed Ceremonies of drinking upon their Knees, till they all became shamefully and extreemly *Drunk*. This Business becoming the common Discourse of the Town, Mr. Higginson, from a Text chosen to the purpose, in the Audience of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* themselves, demonstrated the Sinfulness of *Health-drinking*, and of *Drunkenness*, and the Aggravation of that Sinfulness, when it is found in *Magistrates*, whole Duty 'tis to punish it in other Men: Therewithal admonishing *them* to Repent seriously of the Scandal which they had given. This Faithfulness of Mr. Higginson was variously Repented: Some of the People disliked it very much, and some of the *Aldermen* were so disturbed and enraged at it, that they *Breathed out Threatnings* till they were *out of Breath*: But the better sort of the People generally approved it, as a Conformity to that Rule, *Them that sin before all, Rebuke before all*, that others may fear; and several of the *Aldermen* confessed their Sin with a very penitent and pertinent Ingenuity. The Issue was, that Mr. Higginson was brought into no Trouble; and the God of Heaven so disposed the Hearts of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, that after this, upon the Death of old Mr. *Sacheverel*, they chose Mr. Higginson to be their *Town-preacher*, unto which place there was annexed a large Maintenance, to be paid out of the Town-Treasury. In answer hereunto, Mr. Higginson thank'd them for their good Will; but he told them, that he could not accept of it, because there were some Degrees of Conformity therein required, which he could not *now* comply withal: Nevertheless there being divers Competitors for the Place, about whom the Votes of the *Aldermen* were much divided, he prevailed with them to give their Votes for a Learned and Godly Conformist, one Mr. *Angel*; who thereby came to be settled in it. There were also made unto him, several Offers of some of the Greatest and Richest Livings in the Country thereabouts; but the Conscientious Disposition to *Non-Conformity*, now growing upon him, hindred his Acceptance of them.

§ 9. While Mr. Higginson continued in *Leicester*, he was not only a *Good Man full of Faith*, but also a *Good Man full of Work*. He preached constantly in the Parish-Churches;

and he was called, while a *Conformist*, frequently to preach *Visitation-Sermons*, *Affize-Sermons*, and *Funeral-Sermons*: And as well *then*, as *afterwards*, he was often engaged in *Fasts*, both publick and private, both at Home and Abroad; and many repaired unto him with *Cases of Conscience*, and for Help about their *Interiour State*. Besides all this, he was very serviceable to the Education of *Scholars*, either going to, or coming from the University; and such, as afterwards proved eminently serviceable to the Church of God: Whereof some were Dr. *Seaman*, Dr. *Brian*, Mr. *Richardson*, and Mr. *Howe*, all of them *Leicestershire Men*, who would often say, how much they owed unto Mr. Higginson. And he was very useful in forwarding and promoting of Contributions, for the Relief of the *Protestant-Exiles*, which came over from the Ruined *Bohemia*, and the Distressed *Palatinate*, in those Times; and many other Pious Designs. But when (as he that writes the Life of Holy Mr. *Bains* expresses it) *the Hour and Power of Darkness was come from Lambeth*, or when the Bishop of *London*, prevailed, and the Bishop of *Lincoln* retired, the Blades of the *Laudian Faction* about *Leicester* appeared, Informed and Articl'd against Mr. Higginson, so that he lived in continual Expectation to be dragg'd away by the *Pursevants*, unto the *High-Commission-Court*, where a Sentence of *Perpetual Imprisonment* was the best thing that could be looked for.

§ 10. Now behold the Interposing and Seasonable Providence of Heaven! A considerable Number of Wealthy and Worthy Merchants, obtaining a Charter from K. *Charles I.* whereby they were Incorporated by the Name of, *The Governour and Company of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England*; and intending to send over Ships with Passengers for the Beginning of a *Plantation* there, in the Beginning of the Year 1629. And resolving to send none upon their Account, but *godly and honest Men*, professing that Religion, which they declared was the *End* of this *Plantation*: These were informed of the Circumstances whereto Mr. Higginson was now Reduced; and accordingly they dispatched a couple of Messengers unto him, to invite him unto a Voyage into *New-England*, with kind Promises to support him in the Voyage. These two Messengers were Ingenious Men; and understanding that *Pursevants* were expected every Hour, to fetch Mr. Higginson up to *London*, they designed for a while to Act the Parts of *Pursevants*: Coming therefore to his Door, they knock'd roundly and loudly, like Fellows equipp'd with some Authority; and said, *Where is Mr. Higginson? We must speak with Mr. Higginson!* Inasmuch that his affrighted Wife ran up to him, telling him that the *Pursevants* were come, and praying him to step aside out of their way, but Mr. Higginson said, *No, I will go down and speak with them; and the Will of the Lord be done!* When the Messengers were come into the Hall, they held out their Papers unto him, and with a certain Roughness

and Boldness of Address told him, *Sir, We come from London, and our Business is to fetch you up to London, as you may see by these Papers!* Which they then put into his Hands; whereat the People in the Room were confirmed in their Opinion, that these Blades were *Pursuants*; and Mrs. Higginson her self said, *I thought so:* And fell a weeping. But when Mr. Higginson had lookt upon the Papers, he soon perceived, that they were Letters from the *Governour and Company* inviting him to *New-England*; with a Copy of the *Charter*, and Propositions for managing their design of Establishing and Propagating *Reformed Christianity* in the *New Plantation*: Whereupon he had them *welcome!* And there ensued a pleasant Conversation betwixt him, and his now undisguised Friends. In answer to this Invitation, Mr. Higginson having first consulted Heaven with humble and fervent Supplications, for the Divine Direction about so great a Turn of his Life, he advised then with several Ministers; especially with his dear Friend Mr. *Hildersham*, who told him, *That were he himself a younger Man, and under his Case and Call, he should think he had a plain Invitation of Heaven unto the Voyage;* And so he came unto a Resolution to comply therewithal.

§ 11. When Mr. Higginson's Resolution came to be known, it made so much Noise among the *Puritans*, that many of them receiving Satisfaction unto the many Enquiries which they made on this Occasion, resolved, that they would accompany him. And now it was not long before his *Farewel Sermon* was to be preached! Before he knew any thing about an Offer of a Voyage to *New-England*. In his Meditations about the State of *England*, he had strange and strong Apprehensions that God would shortly punish *England* with the Calamities of a *War*, and he therefore composed a Sermon upon those Words of our Saviour, *Luk. 21. 20, 21. When you see Jerusalem compassed with Armies, then flee to the Mountains.* Now after he was determined for *New-England*, he did, in a vast Assembly, preach this for his *Farewel-Sermon*; and therein having mentioned unto them, what he took to be the Provoking Sins of *England* in General, and of *Leicester* in particular, he plainly told them, that he was perswaded, God would chastise *England* with a *War*, in the Sufferings whereof *Leicester* would have a more than ordinary share. How this *Prediction* was afterwards accomplished, is known to Mankind; and it was especially known to *Leicester*, which being strongly Fortified and Garrison'd, and having the Wealth of all the Country about, brought into it, was Besieged, and at length carried by Storm; and the Town was horribly plunder'd, and Eleven Hundred People were slain in the Streets.

But Mr. Higginson having ended this his Propheticall Sermon, he gave thanks to the Magistrates, and the other Christians of the Place, for all the Liberty, Countenance, and Encouragement, which they had given unto his Mi-

nistry: And he told them of his intended Removal to *New-England*, the Principal End of which Plantation, he then declared, was the Propagation of Religion; and of the Hopes which he had, that *New-England* might be designed by Heaven, as a *Refuge* and *Shelter* for the *Non-Conformists* against the Storms that were coming upon the Nation, and a Region, where they might practise the *Church Reformation*, which they had been bearing *Witness* unto. And so he concluded with a most affectionate Prayer for the King, the Church, the State, and peculiarly for *Leicester*, the Seat of his former Labours. And after this he took his Journey, with his Family, for *London*; the Streets as he passed along being filled with People of all sorts, who bid him *Farewel*, with loud Prayers and Cries for his *Welfare*.

§ 12. When he came to *London*, he found *Three Ships* ready to sail for *New-England*, with *Two* more, that were in a Month's Time, to follow after them: Filled with Godly and Honest Passengers, among whom there were *Two* other *Non-Conformist* Ministers. They set sail from the *Isle of Wight*, about the first of *May*, 1629. and when they came to the Land's End, Mr. Higginson calling up his Children, and other Passengers unto the Stern of the Ship, to take their last Sight of *England*. He said, *We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, Farewel Babylon! Farewel Rome! But we will say, Farewel Dear England! Farewel the Church of God in England, and all the Christian Friends there! We do not go to New-England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the Corruptions in it: But we go to practise the positive Part of Church Reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America.* And so he concluded with a fervent Prayer for the King, and Church, and State, in *England*; and for the Presence and Blessing of God with themselves, in their present Undertaking for *New-England*. At length by the Good Hand of God upon them, they arrived, after a comfortable Passage, unto *Salem Harbour* on the *Twenty fourth* of *June* ensuing.

§ 13. Mr. Higginson being in this Voyage associated with Mr. *Skelton*, a Minister of the like Principles with himself, they were no sooner got on Shore, but they likewise associated in pursuing their Principles and Intentions of Religion, which were the end of their coming hither. Accordingly, laying before the chief of the People their Desires, and their Designs of settling a *Reformed Congregation* in the Place, after a frequent Converse about the Methods of it, they came unto a hearty Concurrence, to take a *Day* in the following *August* for it. In order hereunto Mr. Higginson drew up a *Confession of Faith* with a Scriptural Representation of the *Covenant of Grace* applied unto their present purpose, whereof *Thirty Copies* were taken for the *Thirty Persons*, which were to begin the Working of *Gathering the Church*. The *Day* was kept as a *Fast*; wherein, after the

the Prayers and Sermons of the Two Ministers, these *Thirty Persons* did solemnly and severally profess their Consent unto the Confession and *Covenant* then read unto them; and they proceed then to chuse Mr. *Skelton*, Mr. *Higginson* their Teachers, and one Mr. *Houghton*, for a Ruling Elder. And after this, many others joined unto the Church, thus gathered; but none were admitted, of whose *good Conversation in Christ*, there was not a Satisfactory Testimony. By the same Token, that at this First Church Gathering, there fell out a Remarkable Matter which is now to be Related. At a time when the Church was to be gathered at *Salem*, there was about 30 Miles to the Southward of that place, a Plantation of *Rude, Lewd, Mad, English People*, who did propose to themselves a Gainful Trade with the *Indians*, but quickly came to nothing. A Young Gentleman belonging to that Plantation being at *Salem*, on the Day when the Church was gathered, was at what he saw and heard, so deeply affected, that he stood up expressing with much Affection, his desire to be admitted into their Number, which when they demurr'd about, he desired that they would at least admit him to make his Profession before them. When they allow'd *this*, he expressed himself so agreeably, and with so much *Ingenuity and Simplicity*, that they were extremely pleased with it; and the Ministers told him, That they highly approved of his *Profession*, but inasmuch as he was a Stranger to them, they could not Receive him into their Communion, until they had a further Acquaintance with his Conversation. However, such was the Hold which the Grace of God now took of him, that he became an Eminent Christian, and a Worthy and Useful Person, and not only afterwards joined unto the Church of *Boston*, but also made a great Figure in the *Commonwealth of New England*, as the *Major-General* of all the Forces in the Colony; it was *Major-General Gibbons*.

§ 14. The Church of *Salem* now being settled, they enjoyed many *Smiles* of Heaven upon them; and yet there were many things, that lookt like *Frowns*: For, they were exercised with many Difficulties, and almost an Hundred of good People died the First Winter of their being here; among whom was Mr. *Houghton*, an Elder of the Church. Mr. *Higginson* also fell into an *Hectic-Fever*, which much disabled him for the Work of his Ministry; and the *last Sermon* under the *Incurable Growth* of this *Maidy* upon him, was upon the Arrival of many Gentlemen, and some Hundreds of Passengers to *New-England*, in the beginning of the ensuing Summer. He then preached on those Words of our Saviour, *Matth. 11. 7. What went you out into the Wilderness to see?* From whence, he minded the People of the *Design*, whereupon this Plantation was erected, namely, Religion: And of the *Streights, Wants, and various Trials*, which in a *Wilderness* they must look to meet withal; and of the need which there was for them to evidence the *Up-*

rightness of their Hearts, in the end of their coming hither. After this, he was confined unto his Bed, and visited by the chief Persons of the *New-Colony*, who much *bemoaned* their Loss of so useful a Person, but comforted him with the Consideration of his Faithfulness to the Lord Jesus, in his former Sufferings and Services, and the Honour which the Lord had granted him, to begin a Work of *Church-Reformation*, in *America*. He replied, *I have been but an Unprofitable Servant; and all my own Doings I count but Loss and Dung: All my Desire is to win Christ, and he found in him, not having my own Righteousness!* And he several times declared, *That though the Lord called him away, he was perswaded God would raise up others, to carry on the Work that was begun, and that there would yet be many Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ in this Wilderness.* He likewise added, *That though he should leave his Desolate Wife and Eight Children, whereof the Eldest but about fourteen Years old, in a low Condition, yet he left them with his God, and he doubted not but the Faithful God would graciously provide for them.* So, in the midst of many Prayers, he fell asleep; as in the Month of *August*, 1630. and in the Forty Third Year of his Age, and his Funeral was attended with all possible Solemnity.

§ 15. *Reader*, Prepare to behold and admire and adore the Faithfulness of our God, in providing for the Children of them, that faithfully have served *him*. He moved the Hearts of many Charitable Christians, who yet were spending on the Stocks, which they brought out of *England* with them, to provide as comfortably for the Widow and Offspring of this deceased Minister, as if he had left them some Thousands of Pounds. And his two Sons, who had been brought up at the *Grammar-School* in *Leicester*, had a particular Taste of this Liberality; in the Provision which was thus made for their having such a Learned Education, as might fit them for the Service of the Church in the Ministry of the Gospel.

One of these, *Francis* by Name, was for a Time a Schoolmaster at our *Cambridge*; but having attained as much Learning as *New-England* could then afford, he was desirous to visit some *European University*; and being recommended unto *Roterdam*, some *Dutch Merchants*, out of respect unto an hopeful Scholar of *New England*, contributed *Fourscore Pounds* in Money to assist his Juvenile Studies at *Leyden*. Afterwards having visited some other Universities in those Parts, he returned into *England*; where he declined a Settlement in some other, which he thought more Opinionative, and so more Contentious and Undesireable Places, to which he was invited, and settled at *Kerby-Steven* in *Westmoreland*, hoping to do most good among the ignorant People there. But it pleased the God of Heaven to permit the first out-breaking of that *Prodigious and Comprehensive Heresy Quakerism* in that very place; and a Multitude of People being bewitched thereinto, it was a great Affliction

Affliction unto this worthy Man; but it occasion'd his writing the first Book that ever was written against that Sink of Blasphemies, Entituled, *The Irreligion of Northern Quakers*. This Learned Person was the Author of a Latin Treatise, *De quinq; maximis Luminibus: De Luce Increata; De Luce creata; De Lumine Natura, Gratie & Glorie*; and having *Illuminated* the House of God in that part of it, where our Lord had set him to *shine*, he went away to the *Light of Glory*, in the Fifty Fifth Year of his Age.

The other named *John*, has been on some Laudable Accounts another *Origen*; for the Father of *Origen* would kiss the uncovered Breast of that Excellent Youth, whilst he lay asleep, as being the Temple where the Spirit of God was resident, and as *Origen*, after the untimely Death of his Father, had his poor Mother with Six other Children to look after; whereupon he taught first a *Grammar-School*, and then betook himself unto the Study of Divinity; thus this other *Higginson* after a pious Childhood, having been a School-Master at *Hartford*, and a Minister at *Saybrook*, and afterwards at *Guilford*, became at length in the Year 1659. a *Pastor*, and a rich and long *Blessing*, succeeding his Father in his Church at *Salem*. This Reverend Person has been always valued for his useful *Preaching*, and his holy *Living*; and besides his constant Labours in the *Pulpit*, whereby his own Flock has been edified; the whole Country has, by the *Press*, enjoyed some of his Composes, and by his Hand, the Composes of some others also, passing the *Press*, have been accompanied. Having formerly born his Testimony to, *The Cause of God, and his People in New-England*, in a Sermon so entituled, which he preached on the greatest Anniversary Solemnity, which occur'd in the Land, namely, the Anniversary *Election*; when he thought, that the Advances of Old Age upon him directed him to *live* in the hourly Expectation of *Death*, he published a most Savoury Book, on *Our Dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace to his Disciples in a Troublesome World; with a Discourse on the Duty of Christians, to be Witnesses unto Christ; unto which is added, some Help to Self-Examination*.

Nevertheless, this true *Simeon* is yet *Waiting for the Consolation of Israel*, This Good Old Man is yet alive; (in the Year 1696.) arrived unto the Eightieth Year of his Devout Age,

and about the Sixtieth Year of his Publick Work, and he, that *from a Child knew the Holy Scriptures*, does at those Years wherein Men use to be *Twice Children*, continue *preaching* them with such a manly, pertinent, judicious Vigour, and with so little Decay of his Intellectual Abilities, as is indeed a Matter of Just Admiration. But there was a famous Divine in *Germany*, who on his Death bed when some of his Friends took Occasion to commend his past painful, faithful, and fruitful Ministry, cried out unto them [*Auferte Ignem adhuc enim pulvis habeo!*] *Oh! bring not the Sparks of your Praises near me, as long as I have any Chaff left in me!* And I am sensible that I shall receive the like Check from this my Reverend Father, if I presume to do him the *Justice*, which a few Months hence will be done him, in all the Churches; nor would I deserve at his Hands, the Blow which *Constantine* gave to him, who *Imperatorem ausus est, in Os Beatum dicere*.

§ 16. At the same time, that Mr. *Francis Higginson* was persecuted for his *Non-Conformity* in *Leicester-shire*, there was one Mr. *Samuel Skelton*, who underwent the like Persecution in *Lincolnshire*; and by means hereof they became *Fellow-Travellers* in their Voyage to *New-England*, and *Fellow-Labourers* in their Service here. All the Remembrance that I can recover of this Worthy Man is, that he surviv'd his Colleague, a *Good and Faithful Servant of our Lord, well doing*, until Aug. 2. 1634. and retired from an Evil World, then to partake with him in the *Joy of their Lord*.

Epitaphium.

Jacet sub hoc Tumulo, Mortuus,

FRANCISCUS HIGGINSONUS:

Jaceret & ipsa Virtus, si mori posset.

Abi Viator.

Et sis hujus Ordinis Franciscanus.

C H A P. II.

The DEATH of Mr. JOHN AVERY.

THE Divine Oracles have told us, *That the Judgments of God are a Great Deep*: And indeed it is *in the Deep*, that we have seen some of those *Judgments* executed.

It has been Remark'd, that there miscarried but *One Vessel* of all those Great Fleets which brought Passengers unto *New-England* upon the Pious and Holy Designs of the First Settlement; which Vessel also was but a *Pinnace*; nevertheless richly laden, as having in it Mr. *Avery*.

Mr. *Avery*, a Worthy Minister, coming into *New-England*, was invited unto *Marble-head*; but there being no *Church* there, and the *Fishermen* being there generally too remiss to form a *Church*, he went rather to *Newberry*, intending there to settle.

Nevertheless, both the Magistrates and the Ministers of the Country urging the Common Good, that would arise from his being at *Marble-head*, he embarked in a *Pinnace*, with Two Families, his own and his Cousin Mr. *Anthony Thacher's*, which, with some others then aboard, made in all Twenty Three Souls; designing in a few Hours to have reached the Port.

But on *August 14. 1635.* in the Night, there came on as mighty a Storm as perhaps was ever known in these Parts of the World; a Storm which drove the Vessel upon a Rock, and so tore it, that the poor People sat presently up to the middle in Water, expecting every moment the *Waves of Death* to be rolling over them.

The Vessel was quickly broken all to pieces, and almost the whole Company drowned, by being successively washed off the Rock; only Mr. *Thacher*, having been a considerable while tossed hither and thither, by the Violent Seas, was at last very strangely cast alive upon the Shore; where much wounded, he found his *Wife* a Sharer with him in the like Deliverance.

While these distressed Servants of God were hanging about the Rock, and Mr. *Thacher* had Mr. *Avery* by the Hand, resolving to die together, and expecting by the Stroke of the next Wave to die, Mr. *Avery* lift up his Eyes to Heaven, saying, *We know not what the Pleasure of God is; I fear we have been too unmindful of former Deliverances: Lord, I cannot challenge a Promise of the Preservation of my Life; but thou hast promised to deliver us from Sin and Condemnation, and to bring us safe to Heaven, through the All-sufficient Satisfaction of Jesus Christ; this therefore I do challenge of thee.* Which he had no sooner spoken, but he was by a *Wave* sweeping him off, immediately wafted

away to Heaven indeed: being well furnished with those *unperishable Things*: Whereto refers the Advice of the famous Duke of *Bavaria*, *Hujusmodi comparande sunt opes, quæ nobiscum possunt simul evatare in Naufragio.*

The next Island was therefore called *Thacher's Woe*, and that Rock *Avery's Fall*.

Who can without shedding *Tears*, almost enough to make a sensible Addition unto the Lake *Leman*, call to mind the Fate of the incomparable *Hottinger*, upon that Lake, in the Year 1667? That incomparably Learned and Godly Man, being by the States-General of the United Provinces, after much Importunity, prevailed withal, to come unto *Leyden*, the Boat wherein he was, with his Wife and three Children, and a Kinsman, and another Person of Quality, unhappily overfet, by striking on an unseen Rock, a little way off the Shoar. He, with the two Gentlemen, got safe out of the *Water*; but seeing his *Wife*, and *Three Children*, in extream Danger of Drowning, they went into the *Water* again to save them, and there he, with one of the Gentlemen, (and his three Children) were drowned themselves. But eight Days before this lamentable Accident, he found this Verse written on the *Doctor's Chair*, at his ascending it for the Publick Exercises; whereof the Writer could never be found:

Carmina jam Moriens, Canit Exequialia Cynnis.

Reader, From *Hottinger*, now return to *Avery*. Compare the manner of their Death; and never forget the memorable *Swan-Song*, which *Avery* not *eight Days*, but scarce eight Seconds of a Minute, before his Expiration, sang in the Ears of Heaven.

What was applied once to *Hottinger*, shall now be borrowed for *Avery*, as an

Epitaphium.

*Virtutem quis non post Te sectetur eundo,
Virtutem quando gloria tanta manet.*

And add,

*Tutum tenet Anchora portum,
Nunc Hilaris Ventos ridet, Tumidasque
procellas.*

C H A P. III.

Natus ad Exemplar. The LIFE of Mr. JONATHAN BURR.

Exemplo monstrante Viam.

§ 1. **W**hen the Interests of *David* were carried into a *Wilderness*, the Respects and Regards by his *Jonathan*, had thereunto were such, that he at last uttered this Exclamation thereupon, *Thy Love to me was wonderful!* The Interests of our *Jesus*, the true *David*, being lodged very much in an *American Wilderness*, there was a *Jonathan*, whose *Love* thereunto was indeed so *wonderful*, that it carried him through the *many Waters* of the *Atlantic Ocean*, to be serviceable thereunto; and this was Mr. *Jonathan Burr*.

§ 2. He was born at *Redgrave*, in *Suffolk*, about the Year 1604; descended of Godly Parents, who gratified the Inclinations of this their Son, with a Learned Education. But altho' *Literature* did much adorn his Childhood, *Religion* did so much more; for he had from a *Child* known the *Holy Scriptures*, which made him wise unto *Salvation*. It is noted, that the *Rod of Aaron* was made of an *Almond-Tree*; of which 'twill be no *Plinyism* to observe (tho' *Pliny* observe it), that it flowers the first of all *Trees*, even in *January*, in the more Southern Countries, and bears in *March*; which has been sometimes employ'd as an Intimation, how quickly those that are designed for the Ministry, should *Blossom* towards Heaven, and be young *Feremiabs*, and *Johns*, and *Timothees*. Thus did our *Jonathan*. Even in his very Childhood, so studious he was, as to leave his *Food* for his *Book*, but withal so *pious*, that he could neither Morning nor Evening dare to go without *Prayers* to God for his Blessing. And as it was his endeavour, whilst a School-boy, to be every Day in the *Fear of the Lord*, so he would on the *Lord's Day* discover a singular Measure of that *Fear*; not only by abstaining from the *Liberties* which others of his Age then use to take, to *pass the time away*, but also by *devoting the time* to the Exercises of *Devotion*. His Father, observing this Disposition of the *Child*, hoped, as well he might, that whatever was expended in fitting him for *Service*, would be well repaid, in the *Service* which might be done by him for the Church of God; and therefore after due Preparations for it, he sent him unto the *University*.

§ 3. After he had spent three or four Years in *Academical Studies*, the Death of his *Father* fetch'd him sooner than he would have gone, into the Country; where, tho' he kept a *School*, yet he pursued the Design of accomplishing himself with every part of Learning, that when those of his Years were to take their Degrees of *Mastership*, he was one of the *Moderators*, which place he discharged with great Acceptation. But

he afterwards would say, That the awful and humbling Providence of God, in the Death of his *Father*, which hindred him from those Employments and Preferments in the *University*, for which he had a particular Fondness, had an effect upon him, for which he had Reason to admire the Wisdom of Heaven; inasmuch as it reduced him to that modest, gracious, careful Frame, which made him the fitter for the Work of *turning many to Righteousness*.

§ 4. Having for a while attended that Work at *Horninger*, near *Bury* in *Suffolk*, he afterwards undertook the Charge of *Reckingshal*, in the same County, wherein he did most exemplarily express the Spirit of a *Minister of the New Testament*. He would therein be sometimes ready to envy the more easie Condition of the *Husbandmen*; but in Submission and Obedience unto the Call of God, he now set his Hand unto the *Plough* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*; And therefore in the Form of a Solemn *Covenant*, he obliged himself unto the most Conscientious Discharge of his Ministerial Duties; in which Discharge he would always beg of God, that whatever *Exhortation* he gave unto others, might first be shaped in his own *Experience*: And yet sometimes he would complain unto his Friends: *Alas, I preach not what I am, but what I ought to be.*

§ 5. This *gracious* Man, was indeed a very *humble* Man, and his *Humility* carried him even into a *Dejection* of Spirit; especially when by Importunities he had been prevailed upon to *preach abroad*. Once particularly, there was a Person of Quality, for whose Conversion many Prayers had been put up to God, by those who hoped that God might have much *Honour* from a *Man of Honour* brought unto himself. Mr. *Burr* preaching at a place, far from his own Congregation, had a most happy Success in the Conversion of this Gentleman, who not only acknowledged this Change, with much Thankfulness, both to God, and the Instrument; but also approved himself a *changed Man*, in the whole Frame of his After-Conversation. And yet coming home, from the Preaching of that Sermon, Mr. *Burr* had a particular Measure of his lowly and modest Reflections thereupon; adding, *I shall conclude, it is of God, if any Good be done by any thing preached by such an Unworthy Instrument.*

§ 6. Hence on the *Lord's Day*, after he came home from his publick Work, it was his manner presently to *Retire*, and spend some time in *praying* to God, for the *pardon* of the Sins, which accompanied him in his Work, and in *praising* of God, for enabling him to go, in
any

any measure, through it; with Petitions for the good Success of his Labours.

He then would come down to his *Family-Worship*, wherein he spent some Hours *instructing* of the *Family*, and performing of other Duties: And when his Wife desired him to abate of his excessive Pains, his Answer would be, *'Tis better to be worn out with Work, than to be eaten out with Rust.* It was indeed his Joy, to be spending his *Life* unto the uttermost for God, and for his People; yea, he would say, tho' he should have no *Temporal Rewards.* Accordingly, when any that had been benefited by his Ministry, sent him any *Tokens* of their Gratitude, he would (like *Luther*) beg of God, *That he might not have his Portion in such things:* And he desired of his grateful Friends, *That if they had gotten any good of him, they would give unto God alone the Glory of it.* Moreover, if he had understood, that any had gained in the Concern of their Souls, by his Labours, he would mention it, in some of his privater Devotions, with this Expression, *Lord, of thine own have I given, take then the Glory unto thy self: As for me, let my Portion be in thy self, and not in the Things of this World.* But when he was debarred of his Liberty to preach, he was even like a *Fish out of the Water*; and his very *Body* languished through a Sympathy, with the Resentments of his *Mind*; saying, *That his Preaching was his Life; and if he were laid aside from that, he should quickly be dead.*

§ 7. It was not on the *Lord's Day* only, but every Day, that this good Man was usually, *In the Fear of the Lord all the Day long.* He might say with the *Psalmist*, *When I awake, I am still with God:* For at his first *awaking*, he would bless God for the Mercies of the Night, and then pray, *That he might so number his Days, as to apply his Heart to Wisdom:* And if he awaked in the Night, it would commonly be with some *Thanksgivings* unto Heaven. Rising in the Morning, he would repair to his beloved *Study*, where he began the Day with *Secret Prayer* before the Lord: After this he would read a Chapter in the *Old Testament*, spending some time in Serious and Solemn, and Heart-searching *Meditations* thereupon: He would then come down into his *Family*; where, with his *Prayers*, he would then Read and Expound; and apply the same Chapter unto his own Folks, and such of the Neighbours as would come in, to enjoy his *Meditations*, at the usual Season of them. Retiring then to his *Study* again, he would continue there, till called unto his *Dinner*; and if none came to speak with him after Dinner, he would, after some *Diversions* for a while with his *Children*, return to his *Study*, where he would then have a time to pray with his *Wife*: But if at any time he were invited unto a *Dinner* abroad, he would have a time for that Service in the Forenoon, before his going out.

As the Evening drew on, after the like manner, he would read a Chapter in the *New Testament*, making his *Family* Partakers of his Re-

lections, with his Prayer upon it. And before his going to Bed, he usually walked up and down the Room, for half an Hour, or more, pondering upon *something*, which his Wife desiring to know, *What it was?* He replied, *Seeing thou art so near me, if it may do thee good, I'll tell thee: First,* He said, he called himself unto an Account, *How he had spent the Day?* And what sinful *Commissions*, or *Omissions*, he had been overtaken with; for which, he then, begg'd Pardon of God. *Secondly,* He reckon'd up the particular *Mercies* he had received in the Day, rendering of Praises to Heaven for those Mercies. *Lastly,* He made his *Petitions* to God, that he might be prepared for *sudden Death*: Unto which *Third Article* in his Thoughts, that which gave more special Occasion was, the *sudden Death* of his *Brother*, an eminent and excellent *Christian*, whom, he said, he could never forget.

§ 8. When he travelled abroad, he thought long to be *at home* again, through his Dissatisfaction at his not having elsewhere, so convenient Seasons for his *Communion* with God. And when he took any Journeys with his Friends, it was his manner to enquire, *What Good had been done, or gained therein?* And *what good Examples had been seen?* And *what good Instructions had been heard?* And that there might be no loss of time in the Journeys, he would be full of profitable *Discourse*, especially by way of *Occasional Reflection*, upon things that then occur'd unto Observation. What he was in a *Journey*, the same he was at the *Table*; even like the *Fire*, (what was once writ of *Athenodorus*) Ἐξάρτων πύλα καὶ μαγειρεύει. So that they who would bear no part in a gracious *Communication*, would be *dumb*, where-ever he came; and some of the roughest and rudest Hearers, would have *Tears* fetched from their Eyes, at the Soul melting Expressions that passed from his Mouth. Moreover, at a *Feast* he would eat more sparingly than at another time, giving us his Reason for his Temperance, the Advice of the Wise Man: *Put a Knife to thy Throat:* And he would say, *Where there are many Varieties, there are many Temptations.*

§ 9. It was his wont, before the *Lord's Supper*, to keep a Day of solemn *Fasting* and *Prayer* alone, with his *Wife*, as well to prepare themselves for that Sacred *Ordinance*; as to obtain the manifold Blessings of Heaven upon his *Family* and *Neighbourhood*. Such was his *Piety*. And as for his *Charity*, he seldom visited the *Poor*, but with *Spirituals*, he communicated also *Temporals* unto them: For which, when some of his Friends intimated, that he might err, in reserving no more for himself, he would answer, *I often think of those Words, He that soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly.* It was also remarkable, to see how much his own Personal Joys, and Grievs, were swallowed up in the *Sympathy* which he had, with the Condition of the whole Church abroad: When he heard it was well with the Church, he would say, *Blessed be God, that it goes well with them, what-*

ever becomes of me! But if ill, none of his own private Prosperity kept him from feeling it, as a true Member of that *Mystical Body*. Finally, All the Graces which thus rendred him amiable to those that were about him, were attended with such *Mosaic Meekness*, as made him yet further amiable: He would be *zealous*, when he saw Dishonour cast on the Name of God, but *patient* under Injury offer'd unto himself. If he were informed, that any thought meanly of him, he would not be moved at it, but say, *I think as meanly of my self, and therefore may well be content, that others think meanly of me*: And when *Evil* hath been charged on him, he has replied, *If Men see so much, what does God see?* Disgraceful and unworthy Speeches bestowed upon him, he would call, *his Gains*; but it was his Trouble to find himself applauded. His Friends might indeed have said of him, as *Luther* of *Melancthon*, *Mibi plane videtur saltem in hoc errare, quod Christum ipse singat longius abesse à Corde suo, quam sit revera, certe nimis Nullus in hoc est noster* Jonathan.

§ 10. This bright *Star* must move *Westward*. He, with many Fellow-Sufferers for the *Testimony of Jesus*, being silenced in *England*; and foreseeing a dismal *Storm* a coming upon the Nation, till the overpassing whereof he saw many *Praying Saints* directed unto *America*, for *Chambers of Safety*; and willing to forego all *Worldly Advantages*, for the Enjoyment of *Gospel Ordinances*, administred without the mixtures of *Humane Inventions*; he removed into *New England*, having his three Children with him, and his Wife big with a Fourth, in his Remove; where arriving, it refreshed him not a little, to see the escaped People of God, with *Harpes in their Hands*, there singing the *Song of Moses*. He came into *New-England*, at a time when there was not so much want of *Lights*, as of *Golden Candlesticks*, wherein to place the *Lights*; but he was not long there, before he was invited by the Church of *Dorchester*, to be an Assitant unto the well-known *Mr. Richard Mather*.

§ 11. The *Evil One*, disturbed at the Happiness of *Dorchester*, very strongly endeavoured a *Misunderstanding* between *Mr. Mather* and *Mr. Burr*; and the *Misunderstanding* did proceed so far, as to produce a *Paroxysm*.

It was judged by some of the Brethren in the Church, that *Mr. Burr* had expressed himself erroneously in certain Points, then much agitated throughout the Country; and *Mr. Mather*, upon their Desire, examining the Propositions which this Good Man had written, thought he could not altogether clear them from Exceptions. Hereupon grew such Alienations, that they could not be well Re-united, without calling in the Help of Neighbour-Churches in a *Council*; which *Council* directing both *Mr. Mather* and *Mr. Burr*, to acknowledge what *Misunderstandings* were then discovered in this Business, those two Good Men set apart a Day for the *Reconciliation*; and with such Exemplary Expressions of *Humility* and

Affection, Rectified all that had been out of Joint, that God was exceedingly Glorified, and the Peace of the Church effectually restored and maintained.

§ 12. This true *Barnabas*, was not only to give the Churches of *New England* a *Consolatory Visit*, in his Passage unto Glory, that he might leave them an Example of that *Love, Patience, Holiness, and Fruitfulness*, which would make them an Happy People. Tho' he had not *Persecution* to try him in this Wilderness, yet he was not without his Trials: For, as 'tis well observed in the Discourse, *De Duplici Martyrio*, which goes under the Name of *Cyprian*; *Si deest Tyrannus, si Tortor, si Spoliator, non deerit concupiscentia, Martyrii, Materiam, quotidianam nobis exhibens*. The next Year after he came to *New England*, he was taken Sick of the *Small-Pox*; out of which he nevertheless recovered, and came forth as *Gold that had been tryed in the Fire*. He then renewed and applied the *Covenant of Grace*, by the suitable Recognitions of the following *Instrument*.

I Jonathan Burr, being brought in the Arms of Almighty God over the Vast Ocean, with my Family and Friends, and Graciously provided for in a Wilderness; and being sensible of my own Unprofitableness and Self-seeking; yet of Infinite Mercy, being called unto the Tremendous Work of Feeding Souls, and being of late with my Family deliver'd out of a Great Affliction of the *Small-Pox*; and having found the Fruit of that Affliction; God Tempering, Ordering, Mitigating the Evil thereof, so as I have been graciously and speedily deliver'd; I do promise and vow to him, that hath done all things for me; First, That I Will aim only at his Glory, and the Good of Souls, and not my self and Vain Glory: And that, Secondly, I will walk Humbly, with lower Thoughts of my self, considering what a poor Creature I am; a Puff of Breath, sustained only by the Power of his Grace; And therefore, Thirdly, I will be more watchful over my Heart, to keep it in a due Frame of Holiness and Obedience, without running out so far to the Creature; for I have seen, That he is mine only Help in time of need; Fourthly, That I will put more weight upon that firm Promise, and sure Truth, That God is a God bearing Prayer: Fifthly, That I will set up God, more in my Family, more in my self, Wife, Children and Servants; conversing with them in a more serious and constant manner; for This, God aimed at, in sending his Hand into my Family at this time.

Memento Mori.

In Meipso Nihil, in Christo Omne.

Nor was his *Heavenly Conversation* afterwards disagreeable to these Grateful Resolutions of his Devout Soul. By the same Token, that the famous Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, being one of his Auditors, when he preached in a great Audience at *Charlestown*, had this Expression about him. *Surely, this Man wont be long out of Heaven, for he preaches as if he were there already.* And the most experienced Christians in the Country, found still in his *Ministry*, as well as in his whole *Behaviour*, the Breathing of such a *Spirit*, as was very greatly to their Satisfaction. They could not but call him, as *Dionysius* was once called, *Πτερον ὡς ἄερος*, *The Bird of Heaven.* Had it not been *Old Adam's World*, so Innocent, so Excellent, so Heavenly a Person, could not have met with such *Exercises* as he and others like him, then sometimes did, even from their *Truest Brethren*,

§ 13. Having just been preaching about the *Redemption of Time*, he fell into a Sickness of *Ten Days Continuance*; during which Time, he expressed a wonderful *Patience*, and *Submission*, upon all Occasions. His Wife perceiving his *Willingness to die*, asked him; *Whether he were desirous to leave her and his Children?* Whereto his Answer was, *Do not mistake me, I am not desirous of that; but I bless God, that now my Will is the Lord's Will: If he will have me to live yet with my dear Wife and Children, I am willing. I will say to you my dear Wife and Children, as the Apostle says, It is better for you, that I abide with you; but it is better for me to be dissolved and to be with Christ.* And perceiving his Wife's *Disconsolation*, he asked her, *If she could not be willing to part with him;* whereupon, when she intimated how hard it was, he exhorted her to acquiesce in that God, who would be *Better than Ten Husbands*: Adding, *Our Parting is but for a Time, I am sure we shall one Day meet again.* Being discouraged by finding himself unable to put on his Clothes, one of his Friends told him, *his Work was now to lie still*: At which he complained, *I lie slugging a Bed, when others are at work!* But being minded of *God's Will*, That it should be so, that quieted him. Observing how diligently his Wife tended him, he said unto her, *Don't spend so much Time with me, but go thy way and spend some time in Prayer; thou knowest not what thou mayst obtain from God; I fear lest thou look too much upon this Affliction.* A Day or two before his Death, he blessed his Children; and the Night before he died, he was overheard sometimes to say, *I will wait until my Change come; and Why art thou so loath to die?* A few Hours before his Death, it was observed, that he had a fore Conflict with the *Angel of Death*, who was now shooting his last *Arrows* at him; and when one of the *Standers-by* said, *The Sting of Death is taken away; the Lord Jesus Christ has overcome Death for you; this is one of Satan's last Assaults; his Work is now almost at an end;*

though he be a *subtil Enemy*, and would if it were possible, deceive the very *Elect*; he presently laid hold on that last Expression, *If it were possible;* said he, *Blessed be God there is no Possibility!* After this, he requested the Company might withdraw, that so he might have an *Opportunity to pray for a while by himself*; but seeing the Company loth to leave the Room, he pray'd in *Latin* as long as he had *Strength to do it*. When he was to *Appearance* just expiring, he called for his *Wife*; and stedfastly fixing his *Eyes* upon her, he said, *Cast thy Care upon God, for he careth for thee.* About half an Hour after this, when *Death* had been for some while drawing the *Curtains* about him, his last *Words* were those unto his *Wife*. *Hold Fast, Hold Fast!* So he finished his *Pilgrimage*, on *Aug. 9. 1641.*

§ 14. Unto that *Virtuous Gentlewoman* his Wife, he expressed himself with great *Confidence*, *That God would certainly provide well for her*; and that *Gentlewoman*, shortly after being *Honourably and Comfortably married* unto another *Gentleman of Good Estate*, namely, *Richard Dummer, Esq;* once a *Magistrate* of the *Colony*, lived with him near *Forty Years*; and was more than *Forty Years* after alive to testify her *Experience* of the *Accomplishment*, which *God* had given unto that *Faith* of her *Dying Husband*: Who at his *Death* commended his *Family* to *God*, in *Straits* not unlike those of the *Dying Widerus*;

CHRISTE, tibi soli mea pignora Vroa relinquo,
Quorum post Mortem Tu Pater esto meam.
Qui cunctis Vita miserum me jugiter Annis
Pavisti, Largam dans Mibi semper opem;
Tu quoq; Pasce meos defende, tuere, doceq;
Et tandem ad Celi gaudia transfer: Amen.

Epitaphium.

Mortuus hic Jacet, qui in Omnium Cordibus
Vivit.

Omnes Virtutes, que Vivunt post Funera,
In Unius BURRI Funere invenerunt
Sepulchrum.

To make up his *Epitaph*, I will borrow a
Line or two from the *Tomb-stone* of *Volk-*
marus.

Hic Jacet Exutis nimium cito BURRIUS Annis,
Adjuga Suggestus, Magne MATHERE, Tui
Si magis Annosam licuisset condere Vitam;
Ac Scriptis Animum notificare Libris,
Tot Verbis non esset opus hoc Scalpere Saxum,
Sufficerent Quatuor, BURRIUS hic situs est.

C H A P. IV.

The LIFE of Mr. GEORGE PHILIPS.

Vita Ministri est Censura & Cynosura.

§ 1. NOT only the Common Sign-Posts of every Town, but also some famous Orders of *Knighthood* in the most famous Nations of *Europe*, have entertained us with Traditions of a certain Champion, by the Name of St. GEORGE dignified and distinguished. Now whilst many do with *Calvin*, reckon this Noble St. George, with his Brother St. Kit, among the *Larvæ* and *Fables* of the Romantic Monks; others from the Honourable mention of him in so many *Liturgies*, do think there might be such a Man: But then, he must be no other, neither better nor worse, in the most probable Opinion of *Rainolds*, than *George* the *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*, the Antagonist and Adversary of *Athanasius*; of this Memorable Trooper, the *Arrians* feigned Miracles, and with certain Disguises, imposed the Fame of him upon the *Orthodox*. But the Churches of *New-England* being wholly unconcerned with any such a St. George, and wishing that they had been less concerned with many *Quakers*, whose chief Apostles have been so many of them call'd *George's*, but in Effect so many *Dragons*, there was one *George* who was indeed among the first *Saints* of *New-England*! And that Excellent Man of our Land was Mr. *George Philips*.

§ 2. He was born at *Raymund*, in the County of *Norfolk*; descended of Honest Parents, who were encouraged by his great Proficiency at the Grammar-School, to send him unto the University; where his good *Invention*, strong *Memory*, and solid *Judgment*, with the Blessing of God upon all; attained a Degree of Learning that may be called *Eminent*. The diligent Reading of the *Fathers*, while he was yet himself among *Young Men*, was one of the things that gave a special Ornament unto that Skill in *Theology*, whereto he attained; but that which yet further fitted him to become a *Divine*, was his being made Partaker of the *Divine Nature*, by the Sanctification of all his Abilities for the Service of God, in a True *Regeneration*.

§ 3. Devoting himself to the Work of the Ministry, his Employment beset him at *Boxford* in *Essex*; whereof he found much Acceptance with Good Men; as being a Man Mighty in the *Scriptures*. But his Acquaintance with the Writings and Persons of some Old *Non Conformists* had instilled into him such Principles about *Church Government*; as were like to make him unacceptable unto some, who then drove the World before them. Some of these Principles he had intimated in his publick

Preaching; whereupon some of his unsatisfied Hearers repair'd unto Old Mr. *Rogers* of *Dedham*, with some Intimations of their Dissatisfaction. But Mr. *Rogers*, although he had not much studied the Controversy, yet had so high a Respect for Mr. *Philips*, that he said, He believed Mr. *Philips* would preach nothing without some good Evidence for it from the Word of God, and therefore they should be willing to regard whatever Mr. *Philips* might, from that Word, make evident unto them. And as for Mr. *Philips*, the more he was put upon the Study and searching of the Truth, in the Matter controverted, the more he was confirmed in his own Opinion of it.

§ 4. When the Spirit of Persecution did at length with the extreamest Violence, urge a Conformity to *Ways* and *Parts* of Divine Worship, conscientiously scrupled by such Persons as our Mr. *Philips*. He, with many more of his Neighbours, entertained Thoughts of transporting themselves and their Families into the *Deserts* of *America*, to prosecute and propagate the Glorious Designs of the Gospel; and spread the Light of it in those Goings down of the Sun, and being resolved accordingly to accompany the Excellent Mr. *Winthrop* in that Undertaking, he with many other Devout Christians, embarked for *New-England*, where they arrived in the Year 1630. through the Good Hand of God upon them. Here, quickly after his Landing, he lost the Desire of his Eyes, in the Death of his Desirable Consort, who, though an only Child, had cheerfully left her Parents, to serve the Lord Jesus Christ, with her Husband, in a Terrible Wilderness. At *Salem* she died, entering into the Everlasting Peace; and was very solemnly interr'd near the Right Honourable the Lady *Arabella*; the Sister of the Earl of *Lincoln*, who also took *New-England* in her Way to Heaven.

§ 5. Mr. *Philips*, with several Gentlemen, and other Christians having chosen a place upon *Charles-River*, for a Town which they called *Water-Town*, they resolved that they would combine into a *Church-Fellowship* there, as their first Work; and build the House of God, before they could build many Houses for themselves; thus they sought, first, the Kingdom of God! And indeed, Mr. *Philips* being better acquainted with the True *Church-Discipline*, than most of the Ministers that came with him into the Country, their Proceedings about the gathering and ordering of their Church, were *Methodical* enough, though not made in all things a Pattern for all the rest. Upon a Day set apart

apart for solemn *Fasting* and *Prayer*, the very next Month after they came ashore, they entered into this *Holy Covenant*.

July 30. 1630.

‘ We whose Names are hereto subscribed, having through God’s Mercy, escaped out of *Pollutions* of the World, and been taken into the *Society* of his People, with all Thankfulness do hereby both with *Heart* and *Hand* acknowledge, *That* his Gracious Goodness, and Fatherly Care, towards us: And for further and more full Declaration thereof, to the present and future Ages, have undertaken (for the promoting of his *Glory* and the *Churches Good*, and the Honour of our Blessed *Jesus*, in our more full and free subjecting of our selves and ours, under his Gracious *Government*, in the Practice of, and Obedience unto all his Holy Ordinances and Orders, which he hath pleased to prescribe and impose upon us) a long and hazardous Voyage from *East* to *West*, from *Old England* in *Europe*, to *New-England* in *America*; that we may walk before him, and *serve him without Fear* in *Holiness* and *Righteousness*, all the *Days* of our *Lives*: And being safely arrived here, and thus far onwards peaceably preserved by his special *Providence*, that we may bring forth our Intentions into *Actions*, and perfect our *Resolutions*, in the Beginnings of some Just and Meet *Executions*; We have separated the *Day* above written from all other Services, and *Dedicated* it wholly to the Lord in Divine Employments, for a *Day* of *Afflicting our Souls*, and humbling our selves before the Lord, to seek him, and at his Hands, a Way to walk in; by *Fasting* and *Prayer*, that we might know what was Good in his Sight: And the Lord was intreated of us.

‘ For in the End of that *Day*, after the finishing of our publick Duties, we do all, before we depart, solemnly and with all our Hearts, *personally*, Man by Man for our selves and ours (charging them before Christ and his Elect Angels, even them that are not here with us this *Day*, or are yet unborn, That they keep the Promise unblameably and faithfully unto the coming of our Lord *Jesus*) promise, and *enter into a sure Covenant* with the Lord our God, and before him, with one another, by *Oath* and serious *Protestation* made, to Renounce all *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, *Will-Worship*, all *Humane Traditions* and *Inventions* whatsoever, in the Worship of God; and forsaking all *Evil Ways*, do give our selves wholly unto the Lord *Jesus*, to do him faithful Service, observing and keeping all his Statutes, Commands, and Ordinances, in all Matters concerning our *Reformation*; his Worship, Administrations, Ministry, and Government; and in the Carriage of our selves among our selves, and one

‘ towards another, as he hath prescribed in his *Holy Word*. Further swearing to cleave unto that alone, and the true Sense and meaning thereof to the utmost of our Power, as unto the most clear *Light* and infallible *Rule*, and All-sufficient *Canon*, in all things that concern us in this our *Way*. In Witness of all, we do *ex Animo*, and in the presence of God, hereto set our *Names* or *Marks*, in the *Day* and *Year* above written.

About Forty Men, whereof the *First* was that Excellent Knight Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, then subscribed this *Instrument*, in Order unto their Coalescence into a *Church-Estate*; which I have the more particularly Recited, because it was one of the *First Ecclesiastical Transactions* of this Nature managed in the Colony: But in after time, they that joined unto the *Church*, subscribed a Form of the *Covenant*, somewhat altered, with a *Confession of Faith* annexed unto it.

§ 6. A *Church* of Believers being thus gathered at *Watertown*, this Reverend Man continued for divers Years among them, faithfully discharging the Duties of his Ministry, to the *Flock*, whereof he was made the *Overseer*; and as a *Faithful Steward* giving to every one their *Meat* in due *Season*. Herein he demonstrated himself to be a *Real Divine*: But not in any thing more, than in his most intimate Acquaintance with the *Divine Oracles* of the *Scripture*: Being fully of *Jerom’s* Perswasion, *Amā Scientiam Scripturarum, & Vitia Carnis non amabis*. He had so thoroughly perused and pondered them, that he was able on the sudden to turn unto any *Text*; without the Help of *Concordances*; and they were so much his *Delight*, that as it has been by some of his Family affirmed, *He read over the whole Bible six times every Year*: Nevertheless he did use to say, *That every time he read the Bible, he observed or collected something, which he never did before*. There was a famous Prince of *Transylvania*, who found the time to read over the Bible no less than *Twenty Seven Times*. There was a famous King of *Arragon*, who read over the Bible fourteen Times, with *Lyra’s* Commentaries. A Religious Person, who was a close Prisoner, in a dark Dungeon, having a Candle brought him, for the few Minutes in the *Day* when his poor Meals were to be eaten, chose then to read a little of his Bible, and eat his *Necessary Food*, when the Candle was gone. Yea, the Emperour *Theodosius* wrote out the *New-Testament* with his own Hand; and *Bonaventure* did as much by the *Old*; and some have, like *Zuinglius* and *Beza*, lodg’d vast Paragraphs of it in the Memories. Among such Memorable Students in the *Scriptures*, our *Philips* deserves to have some Remembrance: Who was fully of the Opinion expressed by *Luther*, *If the Letters of Princes are to be read three times over, surely then God’s Letters (as Gregory calls the Scriptures)* are

are to be read Seven times Thrice, yea, Seventy times Seven, and if it could be a Thousand times over; and he might say with Ridley, giving an Account how much of the Bible he had learnt by Heart, *Tho' in time a great Part of the Study departed from me, yet the sweet Smell thereof, I trust I shall carry with me to Heaven.* Indeed being well skill'd in the Original Tongues; he could not see further into the Scriptures than most other Men; And thereby being made *Wise unto Salvation*, he also became a *Man of God, througibly furnished unto all good Works.*

§ 7. Hence also, he became an able *Disputant*; and ready upon all Occasions, to maintain what he delivered from the Word of God; for which Cause, his Hearers counted him, *The Irrefragable Doctor*: Though he were so *Humble and Modest*, as to be very averse unto *Disputation*, until driven thereto by extream Necessity. One of his Hearers after some Conference with him about *Infant-Baptism*, and several Points of *Church Discipline*, obtain'd a Copy of the Arguments in Writing for his further Satisfaction. This Copy the Man sends over to *England*, which an Anabaptist there published with a pretended *Confutation*; whereby the *Truth* lost nothing, for Mr. *Philips* hereupon published a Judicious Treatise, Entitled, *A Vindication of Infant-Baptism*, where to there is added another, *Of the Church*. This Book was honourably received and mentioned, by the Eminent Assembly of *London-Ministers*; and a Preface full of Honour was thereto prefixed by the famous Mr. *Thomas Shepard*; notwithstanding the Difference between him and Mr. *Philips*, upon one or two Points, whereabouts those two Learned Neighbours managed a Controversy with so much *Reason*, and yet Candor and Kindness, that if all *Theological Controversies*, had been so handled, we need not so much wish, *Liberari ab Implacabilibus Theologorum Odiis.*

§ 8. About fourteen Years continued he in his Ministry at *Watertown*; in which time his Ministry was Blessed, for the *Conversion* of many unto God, and for the *Edification* and *Confirmation* of many that were converted. He was, indeed, *A Good Man, and full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghost*: And for that Cause he was not only in publick but in private also, very full of *Holy Discourse* on all Occasions; especially on the *Lord's Day* at Noon, the time intervening between the Two Exercises, he would spend in conferring with such of his Good People, as resorted unto his House, at such a Rate, as marvellously *Ministred Grace unto the Hearers*; not wanting any time then, as it seems, for any further *Preparations*, than what he had still aforehand made, for the publick Sermons of the Afternoon.

§ 9. He laboured under many Bodily Infirmities: But was especially liable unto the *Cholick*; the Extremity of one Fit whereof, was the *Wind* which carried him afore it, into the *Haven* of Eternal Rest, on July 1. in the Year 1644. much Desired and Lamented by his Church at *Watertown*; who testified their Affection to their Deceased *Pastor*, by a special Care to promote and perfect the Education of his Eldest *Son*, whereof all the Country, but especially the Town of *Roxly*, have since reaped the Benefit.

Epitaphium.

Hic Jacet GEORGIUS PHILIPPI.

Vir Incomparabilis, nisi SAMUELEM genuisset.

CHAP. V.

Pastor Evangelicus. The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS SHEPARD.

Nec Mireris,

Animam tam Subito in Calum avolasse, nam Vicem Alarum sibi supplerunt Preces sue & suspiria.

§ 1. IT was the Gracious and Savoury Speech uttered by one of the greatest Personages in *England*, and perhaps in all *Europe*, unto a Grave Minister: *I have (said he) passed through many Places of Honour and Trust, both in Church and State, more than any of my Order in England, for Seventy Years before. But were I assured that by my Preaching, I had converted but one Soul unto God, I should herein take more Comfort, than in all the Honours and*

Offices that have ever been bestowed upon me. Let my Reader now go with me, and I will show him one of the *Happiest Men*, that ever we saw; as great a *Converter of Souls*, as has ordinarily been known in our Days.

§ 2. Amongst those *Famous*, whereof there were *Diverse*, Ministers of *New-England*, which were Born in or near the First Luitre of King *James's* Reign, one of the least Inconsiderable was our Mr. *Thomas Shepard*; whose Father

Mr.

Mr. William Shepard, called him *Thomas*, because his Birth was Nov. 5. Anno 1605. as near as could be guessed, at the very *Hour*, when the Blow should have been given in the Execrable *Gun-powder Treason*; a Villany, concerning which he said, *This Child of his would hardly be able to believe, that ever such a Wickedness could be attempted by the Sons of Men.* His Father had six Daughters and three Sons, whereof this *Thomas* born in *Towcester*, near *Northampton*, was the youngest; and as he lived a prudent, so he died a pious Man, while his youngest Son was but a Youth. Our *Thomas* had in his Childhood, labour'd under the Discouragements, first of a Bitter *Step-Mother*, and then of a Cruel *School-Master*, till God stirred up the Heart of his Elder Brother, to become a Father unto him who, for the Use of his Portion, brought him up.

§ 3. Bending his Mind now to Study, he became fit for the University, at fifteen Years of Age; where he was placed under the Tuition of Mr. *Cockrel*, a *Northamptonshire* Man, Fellow of *Immanuel Colledge*.

But when he had been upwards of two Years in that Colledge, this young Man, who had been heretofore under more *Ineffectual Operations* of the Divine Word upon him, was now more *Effectually Called* unto a saving Acquaintance with him, that is our true *Immanuel*. The Ministry of Mr. *Chaderton* and Mr. *Dickinson*, struck his Heart with powerful *Convictions* of his Miseries in his *Unregeneracy*; and while he shook off those *Convictions*, it pleased God that a Devout Scholar walking with him, fell into Discourses about the Miseries of an *Unregenerate* Man, whereby the *Arrows* of God were struck deeper into him. At another time, falling into a *pious Company*, where they conferred about, *The Wrath of God*, and the *Extremity* and *Eternity* of it, this added unto his Awakenings; and tho' *profane Company* afterwards caused him to lose much of the Sense, which he had of these things, yet when Dr. *Preston* came thither, his first Sermon on that [*Be Renewed in the Spirit of your Mind*] so *Renewed* the former Impressions, which had been upon him, that he soon approved himself a Person truly *Renewed in his own Spirit*, and converted unto God. From this time, which was in the Year 1624. he set himself especially on the Work of *Daily Meditation*, which he attended every Evening before Supper; Meditating on, *The Evil of Sin*, *The Terror of God's Wrath*, *The Day of Death and Judgment*, *The Beauty of the Lord Jesus Christ*, and *The Deceitfulness of his own Heart*, until he found the *Transforming Influence* of those Things upon his own Soul; a Course which afterwards, he would mightily commend unto others that consulted him; and he rested not until coming to see, that in the Lord *Jesus Christ* alone, there was laid up the full Supply of all Spiritual Wants, he found the Grace of God enabling him to accept of that precious Lord, and rejoice in that *Wisdom*, and *Righte-*

ousness, and *Sanctification*, and *Redemption*, which *He is made* unto us: Whence afterwards, drawing up a Catalogue of the *Divine Favours* unto him, he had therein these Passages among the rest, which are from thence now transcribed. *The Lord is the God that sent, I think, the best Ministers in the World to call me; Dr. Preston and Mr. Goodwin. The Words of the first, at the first Sermon he made, when he came into the Colledge, as Master of it; and divers that he preached at that time, did open my Heart, and convince me of my Unbelief, and my total Emptiness of all, and Enmity against all Good. And the Lord made me honour him highly, and love him dearly, though many Godly Men spake against him. And he is the God that in these Ordinances convinced me of my Guilt and Filth of Sin, especially self seeking, and Love of Honour of Men in all I did, and humbled me under both, so as to make me set an higher price upon Christ, and Grace, and loath my self the more, and so I was eased of a World of Discouragement. He also show'd me the Worth of Christ, and made my Soul satisfied with him, and cleave to him, because God had made him Righteousness; and hence also Revealed his Free Justification, and gave me Support and Rest upon and in his Promises made to them that Receive him as Lord and King; which I found my Heart long unwilling to. And this was the Ground, or rather Occasion of many horrid Temptations of Atheism, Judaism, Familism, Popery, Despair, as having sinned the Unpardonable Sin; yet the Lord, at last, made me yield up my self to his Condemning Will, as good; which gave me great Peace and Quietness of Heart, through the Blood and Pity of Christ. I have met with all Kinds of Temptations, but after my Conversion. I was never tempted to Arminianism, my own Experience so sensibly confuting the Freedom of Will.*

§ 4. One Dr. *Wilson*, having a purpose, with a most Noble and Pious Charity, to maintain a Lecture, the Ministers of *Essex*, in one of their Monthly *Fasts*, propounded unto Mr. *Shepard*, the Service of this Lecture to be attended in the Great Town of *Coggeshat*. But the People of *Earls Coln*, on that very Day, when the Ministers were together in *Tarling* at Prayer, for the Direction of Heaven in this Matter, so affectionately addressed them, for the Benefit of this Lecture, that it was granted unto *Them*, for the Three Years ensuing. Mr. *Shepard*, having proceeded *Master of Arts* at *Cambridge*, accepted now an Invitation to *Earls Coln*; and at the End of Three Years the Inhabitants were so loath to let him go, that they gathered among themselves a convenient Salary to support him still amongst them: Though his *Lecture* were gone. At *Earls Coln* then he tarried, and prevailed for the *Lecture* to be settled the next Three Years in *Towcester*, the Place of his Nativity; and for Mr. *Stone* to be employed in the Labour of it; which was to him an Extreame Satisfaction.

§ 5. Altho' Mr. *Shepard* were but a young Man, yet there was that *Majesty* and *Energy* in his

his Preaching, and that *Holiness* in his Life, which was not ordinary. And God made him a rich Blessing, not only to *Coln*, but unto all the Towns round about; wherein there were many converted unto God, and *undry* were so affected unto this Instrument of their Conversion, that they afterwards went a thousand Leagues to enjoy his Ministry. But when Dr. *Laud* becomes Bishop of *London*, Mr. *Shepard* must no longer be Preacher at *Coln*: He was quickly silenced, for none but that Fault, which was then known by the Name of *Puritanism*: And being silenced, he withdrew to the kind Family of the *Harlackinden's*, where applying himself more exactly to the Study of the *Ceremonies* in the Worship of God then imposed, the more he studied them, the less he liked them. Among other things that signalized him, after his Acquaintance with Mr. *Harlackinden*, I find one memorable passage reported by Mr. *Woodcock*, with sufficient Evidence, in Mr. *Baxter's* Book about, *The Worlds of Spirits*. In the Chamber of a Tomb house, where two of Mr. *Harlackinden's* Men did use to lie, there was always, at Two a Clock in the Morning, the Sound of a *Great Bell* tolling. Mr. *Harlackinden* would once lie there, between his two Servants, to satisfy himself about it. At the usual time came the usual Sound, which threw the Gentleman into no little Consternation. But Mr. *Shepard*, with some Christians, having spent a Night in Prayer at this place, the Noise never gave any disturbance after.

Once and again after this, finding the Resolution of the Bishop to ruine him, if he did not leave the Country, he seasonably received Letters of Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*, Minister of *Rowly*, in *Yorkshire*, encouraging him to visit those parts, and accept Employment in the House of Sir *Richard Darly*, of *Buttercrambe*, in that County. Driven to follow this Counsel, his Journey proved as troublesome in all the *Winter-Circumstances* of it, as a Traveller could have wished for; and after he had swam for his Life, by missing his way over some overflown Bridges, he made it late on *Saturday-night*, before he came to *York*; but there having refreshed himself, he went on to *Buttercrambe* that Night, which was about seven Miles further, where wet, and cold, and late, he that Night arrived.

§ 6. It added unto his Discouragements, when on the first Night of his Arrival, he found gross *Profanities* prevailing both in the Family, and in the Neighbourhood; but God quickly made him instrumental to a blessed *Change* in both. The *profanest* Persons thereabouts were soon touched with the Efficacy of his Ministry, and his Conference; and Prayer with *Fasting*, as well as other *Exercises of Devotion*, succeeded in the room of their former *Wildnesses*. Both Sir *Richard*, and all his Sons, as well as many others there, had cause to bless God, that ever they saw the Face of this Holy Man: And as a Testimony of their Affection for him, they encouraged his Marriage with the *Knigh's* near

Kinswoman, who upon this Account also enlarged her Portion, about the Year 1632. But Bishop *Neal* here, would not allow him any Liberty for his Ministry, without a *Subscription*, which his better informed Conscience could not make; and this occasioned his Removal upon a Call, unto a Town of *Northumberland*, call'd *Heddon*; where his Labours were prospered unto the Souls of many People. One of the Houses which he then hired, was haunted with a *Devil*, as was commonly conceived upon the departure of a noted *Witch*, who had been the former Inhabitant; and the House was troubled with strange Noises, till the earnest Prayers of this Man of God procured a Deliverance from so extream a Trouble. But thither also the Zeal of the Bishop reached him, and forbade his preaching there any more; no, nor durst the more Ingenious Dr. *Morton*, the Bishop of *Durham*, afford him any Countenance or Connivance, inasmuch as the Primate of *England* had look'd with so hard an Eye upon him.

§ 7. While he was thus deny'd the Liberty of preaching the Truths of the Gospel, as much as in the remotest Corners of the Land, the Removal of Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Stone*, and Mr. *Weld* into *New-England*, had awaken'd many pious People, all *England* over, to think of the like Removal; and several of his Friends already gat into *New-England*, as well as others, that were now going thither, invited him to accompany them in the Condition of that Plantation. Wherefore he consider'd with himself, that he could not propose to himself the peaceable Exercise of his Ministry in any part of *England*; that his most intimate Friends had many ways expressed their Desires of his going with them into another Country; that many eminent Ministers, and excellent Christians, had already transplanted themselves; that he could not with a safe Conscience comply with the *Ceremonies*, and *Mixt Communion* at home; that it was his Duty to seek the Enjoyment of *Divine Ordinances* in a further measure, than was there attainable; and that it would be a sad thing for him, in Case of Mortality, to leave his Wife and Son, in the midst of the *Northern Barbarities*; which Considerations now disposed him for *New-England*. So having preach'd his Farewel Sermon at *Newcastle*, he came from thence in a Disguise to *Ipswich*, and from thence to *Earls-Cold*: Longing to be in a Country, where he might not lose any more precious time, thro' the Inconveniences of *Unsettlement*.

§ 8. Mr. *Shepard*, and Mr. *Norton* coming now together unto *Yarmouth*, to take Shipping for *New-England*, they were much way-laid by Purservants, employ'd for the *Trepanning* and *Entrapping* of them; and these Purservants had proceeded so far, as by a Sum of Money to obtain a Promise from a Boy, belonging to the House, where they scented Mr. *Shepard's* Quarters, that he would open the Door for them, to take him at a certain Hour of the Night. But behold the watchful Providence of God, over his faithful Servants! The gracious and serious

Words of Mr. *Shepard*, in the Hearing of this unlucky Boy, struck him with Horror to think, that he should be so wicked, as to betray such an Holy Man. Whereupon the convinced Boy, did with Tears discover the whole Plot, unto his Godly Master, who forthwith convey'd Mr. *Shepard*, out of the way, and confounded the *Setters* that would have catched him.

§ 9. It was the latter end of the Year 1634, when Sailing was now dangerous, that Mr. *Shepard* shipped himself, in a Ship of about Four hundred Tun; commanded by a very able Seaman, but under a perpetual *Entail* and *Series* of *Disasters*, after some *Injustice* had been used about her. They set Sail from *Harwich*, upon the Edge of the Winter; but after several Deliverances from several Distresses, within a few Hours of their first setting out, the Winds drove them again back into *Yarmouth* Road; where there arose one of the most fearful Storms that ever was known. They thought they had lost all their *Anchors*, and with their *Anchors* all their *Hopes*; and tho' Thousands from *Yarmouth* Walls did pity them, yet none could relieve them: However, the Compassions of an eminent Officer, then amongst the Spectators, were a little distinguished, when he scoffingly said: *As for a poor Collier there in the Road, he pitied him very much; but as for the Puritans in the other Ship, he was not concern'd, their Faith would save them.* In this Extremity, Mr. *Shepard*, with all the *Mariners* in one part of the Ship, and Mr. *Norton*, with Two hundred *Passengers* in the other, poured out their most fervent Prayers unto Almighty God; whereupon the Wind immediately so abated, that the Ship stay'd; and they found, tho' the upper part of the Vessel all broken, yet their last Anchor unbroken, and themselves deliver'd from so great a *Death*.

§ 10. The next Day, which was the *Lord's Day*, he went ashore to *Yarmouth*, where one of his first Works, was to bury his *First-born Son*; tho' he durst not himself be present at the Burial, because his Danger from the horrid *Mancatchers* ashore, had less of Mercy, and more of Horror in it, than what he escaped from the merciless and horrible Waves of the Sea. Mr. *Bridge* of *Norwich*, now kindly invited him thither; whither, when he came, the worthy *Madam Corbet* freely offered him a great House of hers, then standing empty at *Bastwick*; and there he spent all the Winter, in the Company, and with the Assistance of Mr. *Harlackinden*, a Friend that loved him at all times. In the Spring he went up to *London*; where by a Removal from the Lodgings, which he took at his first Arrival there, he again very narrowly escaped those, to whom such a Shepherd was an *Abomination*.

The *Perils* wherein he was continually, from his own *Country-men*, compell'd him once more to encounter the *Perils at Sea*; so that in *July* following, he sailed from *Gravesend*, in a Bottom too decay'd and feeble indeed, for such a Voyage; but yet well accommodated with the

Society of Mr. *Wilson*, Mr. *Jones*, and other Christians, which more significantly made good the Name of the Ship, *The Defence*. In their first Storm, the Vessel sprang a Leak, which let in the Water faster, than both *Pumps* were able to turn it out; a Leak eighteen Inches long, and an Inch wide: But it was, tho' with much difficulty found and stop'd, just as they were upon diverting into *Ireland* for their Safety. Being thus again delivered, they got into *New England*, and on Oct. 3. they were set ashore at *Boston*; from whence, within a Day or two, his Friends at *Cambridge* gladly fetched him.

§ 11. Mr. *Hooker*, with his Congregation at *Cambridge*, now removing to *Hartford*, upon *Conneticut* River, many comfortable Dwellings, and considerable Demesnes, were hereby some what prepared for Sale to the good People, which Mr. *Shepard* brought over with him, who were loth to lose any more of their short Lives, by more tedious Removals. Accordingly, taking up their Station at *Cambridge*, Mr. *Shepard*, with several of his good People, did on the first of the ensuing *February*, in a vast Assembly, wherein were present the *Magistrates* of the Colony, with the *Ministers* and *Messengers* of the Neighbouring Churches, keep a *Day of Prayer*; in the Close of which Day, they made a *Confession* of their Faith, with a *Declaration* of what Regenerating Impressions the Grace of God had made upon them; and then they entred into their *Covenant*, whereby they became a *Church*; to which Mr. *Cotton*, in the Name of the rest, gave the *Right Hand of Fellowship*. However, the Ordination of Mr. *Shepard*, unto the *Pastoral Charge* of this Church, was deferred, until another Day, wherein there was more time to go thro' the other Solemnities, proper to such a great Occasion.

§ 12. Within a Year after the gathering of the Church at *Cambridge*, and the Ordaining of Mr. *Shepard* in that Church; the Country was miserably distracted by a Storm of *Antinomian* and *Familistical Opinions* then raised. The *Mother Opinion* of all the rest was, *That a Christian should not fetch any Evidence of his good State before God, from the sight of any inherent Qualification in him; or from any Conditional Promise made unto such a Qualification.* From the Womb of this fruitful Opinion, and from the Countenance hereby given to immediate and unwarranted Revelations, 'tis not easie to relate, how many *Monsters*, worse than *African*, arose in these Regions of *America*: But a *Synod* assembled at *Cambridge*, whereof Mr. *Shepard* was no small part, most happily crush'd them all. The Vigilancy of Mr. *Shepard* was blessed, not only for the Preservation of his own Congregation from the *Rot* of these Opinions, but also for the Deliverance of all the *Flocks*, which our Lord had in the Wilderness. And it was with a respect unto this Vigilancy, and the Enlightning and Powerful Ministry of Mr. *Shepard*, that when the Foundation of a *Colledge* was to be laid, *Cambridge* rather than any other place, was pitch'd upon to be the Seat of that happy

Seminary : Out of which there proceeded many notable Preachers, who were made *such*, very much by their sitting under Mt. *Shepard's* Ministry.

§ 13. It has been a Question of some *Curiosity*, what might be the Distemper of *Hezekiah*, whereof he recovered so remarkably, and miraculously? Now when I consider the *Chattering*, whereto the sick Prince was brought by his Disease, and the *Cataplasm* which he used of things discursive and emollient, I incline, with *Bartholinus*, to think, that his Distemper might be a *Malignant Quinsie*, whereof usually the Sick are either kill'd, or (like *Hezekiah*) cur'd on the *Third Day*. Such a Distemper arrested our holy *Shepard*, when in the Course of Nature, and in the Wish of good Men, he might have yet lived with us, for much more than *Fifteen Years*; yea, *twice Fifteen* more, would scarce have carried him further than the *Common Age* of Man. Returning home from a Council at *Rowly*, he fell into a *Quinsie*, with a Symptomatical Fever, which suddenly stop'd a *Silver Trumpet*, from whence the People of God had often heard the *joyful Sound*. Among other Passages uttered by him, when he lay a dying he address'd those that were about him, with these words: *Oh love the Lord Jesus very dearly; that little part that I have in him, is no small Comfort to me now*. He died, *August 25. 1649.* when he was *Forty. Three Years, and Nine Months* old; and left behind him of *Three Wives*, which he successively married, *Three Sons*, who have since been the *Shepherds* of three several Churches in this Country.

§ 14. 'Tis a good Saying, *Non Annis sed Fastis vivant mortales*. Accordingly, we will over-again measure the *short Life* of Mr. *Shepard*, by the *great Work* which he did in it: In all of which, the Motto of *Weber* was the Design of our *Shepard*, *Autori Vitæ Vivendum Deo*.

Now besides the other frequent and constant Labours of his Ministry, which left their Impressions on the Souls of Multitude, where-ever he came, the *Press* has preserved some of his Labours for the surviving Generation: And the published Composures of this Laborious Person, are of two sorts; namely, the more *Doctrinal*, and the more *Practical*; tho' indeed he was of such a Spirit, as always to gain the Point, of mixing both in the same Discourses.

§ 15. Among his Composures of the more *Doctrinal* sort, the *Bell* seems to be born by his Elaborate and Judicious Treatise, entituled, *Theses Sabbaticæ*; wherein he hath handled the *Morality of the Sabbath*, with a degree of Reason, Reading, and Religion, which is truly extraordinary. It was his Observation, *If any State would reduce the People under it, unto all sort of Superstition and Impiety, let them erect a Dancing Sabbath; and if the God of this World would have all Professors enjoy a total Immunity from the Law of God, and all manner of Licentiousness allow'd them without Check of Conscience, let him then make an Every day Sabbath.*

And it was an extreme Grief unto his devout Soul, to see the extreme *Ignorance* and *Profaneness*, wherewith many in the *English Nation* decried the Sacred Observation of the *Lord's Day*, as a *Novelty* no older than *Perkins*, and as the Stratagem of a few old Disciplinary *Puritans*. Wherefore as the most Comprehensive Service to be done for the true *Power of Gallinets*, which he saw would rise and fall with the *Sabbath*, he did in these learned *Theses* maintain the *Morality*, and advise the *Sanctification* of that Sacred Rest. Having thus manifested his Concern for the *fourth Commandment*, he manifested a Concern for the *Second* also; by a Discourse, wherein besides a more full opening of sundry Particulars concerning *Liturgies*, the Power of the *Keys*, the Matter of the *Visible Church*, there is more largely handled the Controverſie concerning the *Catholick Visible Church*; tending to clear up the *Old Way* of Christ, in the Churches of *New-England*. That which inspired him, with Mr. *John Allin* of *Dedham*, to write this Discourse, was especially a two-fold Consideration, expressed among other things, in the *Fair Porch* of this Book, about the *Temple of God*. One thing that moved him, was his Desire of *Reformation*; whereof he says, *We freely confess; that we think the Reformation of the Church doth not only consist in purging out corrupt Worship, and setting up the true, but also in purging the Churches from such Profaneness and Sinsfulness, as is scandalous to the Gospel, and makes the Lord weary of his own Ordinances.*

About the way of attaining which *Reformation*, he adds, *'Tis true; where there is no Church Relation, but a People are ready to begin a new Constituting of Churches, Reformation is to be sought in the first Constitution: This is our Case——But where corrupted Churches (such as we conceive the Congregation of England generally to be) are to be Reformed; there we conceive, that such Congregations should be called by able Ministers unto Repentance for former Evils, and confessing and bewailing their Sins, renew a Solemn Covenant with God, to reform themselves, and to submit unto the Discipline of Christ. By which means such as refuse so to do, exclude themselves, and others, by the Severity of Discipline should be purged out, if falling into Sin they remain impenitent in the same.*

Another thing that moved him, was his Regard for *New-England*, whereof his Words there must never be forgotten; and the Reason of my transcribing them, is, because the *Church History of my Country*, is briefly comprised in them, saith he, *'The Lord knows how many Longings and Pantings of Heart, have been in many after the Lord Jesus, to see his Goings in the Sanctuary, as the one thing their Souls desired and requested of him, and that they might dwell in his House for ever; the Fruit of which Prayers, and Desires, this Liberty of New-England, hath been taken to be, and thankfully received of God. Yea, how many serious Consultations with one another, and*

with the faithful Ministers, and other eminent Servants of Christ, have been taken about this Work, is not unknown to some; and surely all the Persons, whose Hearts the Lord stirred up in this Business, were not *rash, weak-spirited, inconsiderate of what they left behind, or of what it was to go into a Wilderness*. But if we were able to recount the singular Workings of Divine Providence, for the bringing on this Work, to what it is come unto, it would stop the Mouths of all; whatever many may say or think, we believe *After times will admire and adore the Lord herein, when all his Holy Ends, and the Ways he has used to bring them about, shall appear*. Look from one end of the Heaven unto another, Whether the Lord hath assayed to do such a Work as this, in any Nation! *To carry out a People of his own, from so flourishing a State, to a Wilderness so far distant, for such Ends, and for such a Work; yea, and in few Years hath done for them, as he hath here done, for his poor despised People*. When we look back and consider, what a strange Poise of Spirit, he hath laid upon many of our Hearts, we cannot but wonder at our selves, that so many, and some so weak and tender, with such *Cheerfulness* and constant *Resolutions*, against so many *Persuasions* of Friends, and *Discouragements* from the ill Report of this Country, the *Straits, Wants, and Trials* of God's People in it, yet should leave our Accommodations, and Comforts, forsake our dearest Relations, Parents, Brethren, Sisters, Christian Friends and Acquaintances; over look all the Dangers and Difficulties of the *vast Seas*, the Thoughts whereof was a Terror to many; and all this, to go into a *Wilderness*, where we could forecast nothing but *Care and Temptations*, only in hopes of enjoying Christ in his Ordinances, in the Fellowship of his People. Was this from a stupid *Sencelessness*, or desperate *Carelessness*, what became of us, or ours? Or want of *Natural Affections* to our dear Country, or nearest Relations? No surely, with what Bowels of Compassions to our dear Country; with what Heart breaking Affections to our dear Relations, and Christian Friends, many of us at least, came away, the Lord is Witness. What shall we say of the singular Providence of God, bringing so many *Ship-loads* of his People thro' so many Dangers, as upon *Eagles Wings*, with so much Safety from Year to Year? The *Fatherly Care* of our God, in *Feeding and Cloathing* so many in a *Wilderness*, giving such *Healthfulness*, and great Increase of *Potterity*? What shall we say of the Work it self of the *Kingdom of Christ*? And the Form of a *Commonwealth* erected in a *Wilderness*, and in so few Years brought to that State, that scarce the like can be seen in any of our *English Colonies*. in the richest places of this *America*, after many more Years standing? That the Lord hath carried the Spirits of so many of his People, through all their toilsome Labours, Wants, Difficulties, Losses, with such a Mea-

sure of *Cheerfulness* and *Contentment*. But above all, we must acknowledge the singular Pity and Mercies of our God, that hath done all this, and much more, for a People so unworthy, so sinful, that by *Murmurings* of many, *Unfaithfulness in Promises, Oppressions, and other Evils*, which are found among us, have so dishonoured his Majesty, exposed his Work here to much Scandal and Obloquy, for which we have cause for ever to be ashamed, that the Lord should yet own us, and rather correct us in Mercy, than cast us off in Displeasure, and scatter us in this *Wilderness*; which gives us cause to say, *Who is a God like our God, that pardons Iniquities, and passes by the Transgressions of the Remnant of his Heritage; even because he delighteth in Mercy!*

Having almost written the Life of Mr. Shepard; yea, and of many other his *Fellow Exiles*, in transcribing this Passage, I may now go on to add, That there has been directed now unto the whole *English World*, a most excellent Letter of Mr. Shepard, about, *The Church-Membership of Children, and their Right to Baptism*. This Letter, like that of the glorious Martyr *Philpot*, written at the like *Time*, for the like *End*, recited in *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, was written by him, not *three Months* before his going to that Lord, whose Charge had been, *For little Children to be considered as belonging to the Kingdom of Heaven*: And it was written to one that was then wavering about the Point of *Infant-Baptism*, but hereby recovered and established. The Son of this Reverend Person published this Letter, with hopes, that it might have a better Effect, than the famous Letter of *Elijah* had upon *Jehoram*, which many think written before his Translation, and concealed until a fit Season, afterwards, appeared, for the presenting of it. But I shall conclude the Catalogue of his *Doctrinal Tracts*, with the mention of another Letter of his, Printed at *London* in the Year 1645, under the Title of, *New England's Lamentation, for Old England's Errors*.

§ 16. But Composures of a more *Practical* sort, were those to the writing whereof he had a more lively Disposition of Mind. And among these, to pass by the Sermon of his, Printed under the Title of, *Wine for Gospel Wantons, or Cautions against Spiritual Drunkenness*. In which Sermon, about as long as fifty Years ago, he uttered his Complaint of this Tenour, *Do not we see great Unsettledness in the Covenant of God, walking with God at Peradventures, and Hacking after the Whoredoms of the World, at this Day? And Divisions and Distractions? Nothing done without Division and Contention? Certainly something is amiss?* And to pass by a Treatise of his, Printed under the Title of, *Subjection to Christ, in all his Ordinances and Appointments, the best Means to preserve our Liberty*. To which Treatise is annexed another, *Concerning Ineffectual Hearing of the Word*. There are especially three of his Books, which have been more

considered. The first and least of those Books, is called, *The Sincere Convert*: Which the Author would commonly call, *His Ragged Child*: And once, even after its *Fourth Edition*, wrote unto Mr. *Giles Firmin*, thus concerning it: *That which is call'd, The Sincere Convert: I have not the Book: I once saw it. It was a Collection of such Notes in a dark Town in England, which one procuring of me, published them without my Will, or my Privy. I scarce know what it contains, nor do I like to see it; considering the many Σφάλματα Typographica, most absurd; and the Confession of him that published it, That it comes out much altered from what was first written.* The many Injudicious Readers, which that useful Book has found, among devout and serious People, and the woful Horrors which have thereby been raised in many Godly Souls, oblige me to add the Censure of Mr. *Giles Firmin*, whose Words in his *Real Christian* are: 'In short, as to that Book, for the general part of it, the Book is very solid, quick, and searching, it cuts very sharply. It is not a Book for an unsound Heart to delight in: I mean, in those Places where he agrees, both with the Scriptures, and with other able Divines, and of these makes use; but for the other passages which do not agree with either (as there are some things in it) I will let them go, as being none of Mr. *Shepard's*, and not trouble my self with 'em; and wish no Christian that is tender and sincere, to trouble himself with them. This I put in, because I hear that Book hath caus'd much Trouble in Gracious Christians: Had it been to Christians in Name only, unsound Believers, Hypocrites, I should not have troubled my self about it, for I know it is not for their Tooth. But this Book was followed with a second and larger, called, *The Sound Believer*; which in a more distinct, correct, and most judicious Treatise of *Evangelical Conversion*, discovers the Work of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, in reconciling of a Sinner unto God. And, as in the Preface to that Book, he gives that Reason for his writing it, 'I considered my weak Body, and my short Time of sojourning here, and that I shall not speak long to Children, Friends or God's precious People; I am sure not to many in England, to whom I owe almost my whole self, and whom I shall see in this World no more; I have been therefore willing to take the Season, that I might leave some part of God's precious Truth on Record, that it might speak (Oh! that it might be to the Heart) among whom I cannot, and when I shall not be: So the next Book of his occurring to our Notice, is a *Posthumous* one. And that is a Volume in *Folio*, opening and applying the Parable of the *Ten Virgins*; and handling the Dangers incident unto the most Flourishing Churches or Christians; which Book is from the Author's Notes, a Transcript of Sermons preached at his Lecture, from *June 1696. to May 1640.* Whereof the Venerable Names of *Greenhill, Calamy, Jackson, Ash, Taylor*, have subscribed

the Testimony, *That though a Vein of serious, solid and hearty Piety run through all this Author's Works, yet he hath reserved the best Wine till the last.* These were the Works of that Man, whose Death in the Lord has now carried him to a Rest from his his Labours.

§ 17. As he was a very Studious Person, and a very Lively Preacher; and one who therefore took great Pains in his Preparations, for his publick Labours, which Preparations he would usually finish on Saturday, by two a Clock in the Afternoon; with Respect whereunto he once used these Words, *God will curse that Man's Labours, that lumbers up and down in the World all the Week, and then upon Saturday in the Afternoon goes to his Study; when as God knows, that Time were little enough to pray in and weep in, and get his Heart into a fit Frame for the Duties of the approaching Sabbath.* So the Character of his daily Conversation was *A Trembling Walk with God.* Now to take true Measures of his Conversation, one of the best Glasses that can be used, is the *Diary*, wherein he did himself keep the Remembrances of many Remarkables that passed betwixt his God and himself; who were indeed *A sufficient Theatre to one another.* It would give some Inequality to this Part of our Church History, if all the Holy *Memoirs* left in the Private Writings of this *Walker with God*, should here be Transcribed: But I will single out from thence a few Passages, which might be more agreeably and profitably exposed unto the World.

§ 18. We will begin with what his Eminent Successor Mr. *Mitchel* entred in his own *Diary*, as Reported by Mr. *Shepard* unto himself; which runs in these Latin Terms, *Olim Cantabrigia, Ego Horrore & Tenebris oppletus, An ad Mensam Domini accederem, maxime Dubitavi; Tandem autem accessi utcumq;. Cum vero Panis & Vinum jam essent Communicanda, mihi Exeundem putavi; tantà confusione fui Oppressus! Sed Deus me ibi retinuit, ac tandem huc me adegit, ut, Licet, ego nihil possim in accipiendo Christo; ad illum tamen respicerem, ut Ille me prebenderet & ad me veniret. Statim, tam perspicue, sensi Christum illucescentem Animo, quam solem Orientem sentire possum. Hoc tantopere me evexit, & de Vita Fidei hac usq; Eruditio, ut non possum non magni pendere.* Mr. *Mitchel* had this of Mr. *Shepard*, Aug. 13. 1646.

§ 19. How experimentally acquainted he himself was with the *Practice* and *Import* of the *Doctrine* wherein he chiefly insisted, in his preaching unto others, will be illustrated from this most *Edifying-Record* in his *Diary*.

' April 10. I had many Thoughts which came in, to pers me to give up my self to Christ Jesus, which was the Dearest Thing I had: And I saw, that if when I gave my self to Christ, he would give himself to me again, it would be a Wonderful Change; to have the Bottomless Fountain of all Good, thus

thus communicated unto me! Thus, *Two* or *Three* Days, I was exercis'd about this; and at last, (which was the Day wherein I fell sick on the Sabbath) in my Study I was put to a Double Question; *First*, Whether Christ would take me, if I gave my self to him? *Then*, Whether I might take him again upon it? And so I resolv'd to seek an Answer to both, from God in *Meditation*. So on the *Saturday*, April 11. I gave my self to the *Lord Jesus*, thus. *First*, I acknowledged all I was, or had, was *his own*; as *David* spake of their Offerings, I acknowledged him the *Owner* of all. *Secondly*, I resigned not only my *Goods* and *Estate*, but my *Child*, *Wife*, *Church* and *Self* unto the Lord; out of *Love*, as being the best and dearest things, which I have. *Thirdly*, I prized it as the *Greatest Mercy*, if the Lord will take them; and so I desired the Lord to do it. *Fourthly*, I desired him to take all for a *Threefold* end; *to* do with me what he would; *to* love me; *to* honour himself by me, and all mine. *Fifthly*, Because there is a secret *Reservation*, that the Lord shall do all for the Soul that giveth up it self to the Lord; but 'tis that God may please *my Will* and *Love me*, and if he doth not, then the Heart dieth; hence I gave up my *Will* also, into the Lord's Hands, to do with it what he please. *Sixthly*, My many *Whorish Lusts* I also resigned, but that he would take *them* all away. And *Seventhly*, That he would keep me also from all *Sin* and *Evil*. Thus, I gave my self unto the Lord; but then I questioned, *Will the Lord take me?* In answer whereto, *First*, I saw that the Lord desired and commanded me to *Give me my Heart*. *Secondly*, I saw, that this was *pleasing* to him, and the contrary displeasing. *Thirdly*, I saw, that it was *fit* for him to take me, and to do what he will with me. But then I questioned, *Will the Lord receive, and do me good everlastingly?* because I gave up my *Friends* and the whole *Church* to the Lord also, as I did my self; and *will the Lord take all them?* For answer, Here I saw the *Great Privilege* of it, and the *Wisdom* of God in committing some Men's Souls to the Care of *One Godly Man* of a *Publick Spirit*, because he, like *Moses*, commends them, gives them, returns them all to the Lord again; and so a *World* of Good is communicated for his Sake. The Third Question was, *But might I take the Lord?* And my Answer was, If the Lord did apprehend and take me to himself, then I might take him, for I had no other to lay hold on.

§ 20. Of what *Thoughts* and what *Frames*, he sometimes had in his Preparations, for the *Lord's Table*, we will recite but *one* Expressive Meditation.

' *July* 10. 1641. On the Evening of this Day, before the *Sacrament*, I saw it my Duty to sequester my self from all other things,

for the Lord the next Day — And now I saw my Blessedness did not lie in *Receiving* of *Good* and *Comfort* from God, but in *holding forth* the *Glory* of God, and his *Virtues*. For 'tis, I saw, an Amazing Glorious Object, *To see God in the Creature!* God speak, God act, the Deity not being the Creature, and turned into it; but filling of it, shining through it; to be covered with God as with a *Cloud*, or as a *Glass-Lantern* to have his Beams penetrate through it. *Nothing is good but God, and I am no further good than as I hold forth God.* The Devil overcame *Eve* to damn her self, by telling her, that she should be *like God*. Oh! That is a Glorious Thing! And should not I be *Holy*, and be *like him?* Moreover, I found my Heart drawn more sweetly to close with God, thus as my *End*, and to place my Happiness therein. Also, I saw it was my *Misery*, to hold forth *Sin* and *Satan* and *Self* in my Course. And I saw one of these two things must be done. Now because my Soul wanted *Pleasure*, I purpos'd then to *hold forth God*, and did hope it should be my *Pleasure* so to do, as it would be my *Pain* to do otherwise.

§ 21. How *watchful* he was in the Discharge of his *Ministry*, let this his Meditation intimate.

' *August* 15. I saw, on the Sabbath, *Four Evils* which attend me in my *Ministry*. *First*, Either the Devil treads me down by *Discouragement* and *Shame*; from the Sense of the *Meanness* of what I have provided in private *Meditations*, and unto this I saw also an Answer; to wit, that every thing sanctified to *do Good*, Its *Glory* is not to be seen in it self, but in the Lord's *sanctifying* of it: Or, from an Apprehension of the Unfavouriness of *Peoples Spirits*, or their Unreadiness to hear in *Hot* or *Cold* Times. *Secondly*, or *Carelessness* possesses me; arising, because I have *done well*, and been enlarged, and have been respected formerly, hence it is no such matter, though I be not always alike; *Besides*, I have a *Natural Dulness* and *Cloudiness* of Spirit, which does naturally prevail. *Thirdly*, *Infirmities* and *Weakness*, as want of *Light*, want of *Life*, want of a Spirit of *Power* to *Deliver* what I am affected with for Christ; and hence I saw many Souls not set forward nor God felt in my *Ministry*. *Fourthly*, Want of *Success*, when I have done my best. I saw these, and that I was to be humbled for these. I saw also many other Sins, and how the Lord might be angry. And this Day, in musing thus, I saw, that when I saw God angry, I thought to *pacify* him by *abstaining* from all Sin, for the time to come. But then I remembred, *First*, that my *Righteousness* could not satisfy, and that this was *Resting* on my own *Righteousness*. *Secondly*, I saw I could not do it. *Thirdly*, I saw *Righteousness* ready made, and already finished.

shed, fit only for that purpose. And I saw that God's afflicting me for Sin, was not that I should go and *satisfy* by *reforming*, but only be *humbled* for, and separated from Sin, being reconciled and made *Righteous by Faith in Christ*, which I saw a little of that Night. This Day also I found my Heart untoward, sad and heavy, by musing on the many *Evils to come*; but I saw, if I carried four things in my Mind always, I should be comforted. *First*, That in my self, I am a dying condemned Wretch, but by Christ reconciled and alive. *Secondly*, In my self and in all Creatures finding *Insufficiency*, and no Rest but God All-sufficient, and enough to me. *Thirdly*, Feeble and unable to do any thing my self; but in Christ able to do all things. *Fourthly*, Although I enjoyed all these but in part, in this World, yet I should have them all perfectly shortly in Heaven; where God will show himself fully reconciled, sufficient and efficient, and abolish all Sin, and live in me perfectly.

§ 22. How sensible he was of the *Least Failings* in himself, and how desirous to mend those Failings, may be gathered from the ensuing Brief Meditations.

Decemb. 1. A *small thing* troubled me. Hence I saw that though the Lord had made me that Night attain that part of *Humiliation*, that I deserved nothing but Misery, yet I fell short in this other part; namely, to *submit* unto God in any Crossing Providence, or Commandment; but I had a *Spirit soon touched and provoked*. I saw also, that the Lord let Sin and Satan prevail there, that I might see my Sin and be more humbled by it, and so get Strength against it.

Again,

Mar. 19. I said, as *Pride* was my Sin, so *Shame* should be my Punishment. And many Fears I had of *Eli's* Punishment, for *not re-proving Sin*, when I saw it, and that sharply; and here I considered, that the Lord may, and doth sometimes make one Good Man a Terror and dreadful Example of Outward Miseries, that all others may fear that be Godly, lest his Commands should be slighted, as he did *Eli*.

Once more.

Octob. 10. When I saw the *Gifts* and Honour attending them in *another*, I began to affect such an *Excellency*; and I saw hereby that usually in my Ministry, I did affect an *Excellency*, and hence set upon the Work: Whereas the Lord hereupon humbled me for this, by letting me see this was, *A Diabolical Pride*; and so the Lord made me thankful for *seeing* it, and put me in Mind to watch against it.

§ 23. Of how *Humble* and of how *Publick* a Spirit he was, we will inform our selves, especially from *Two Meditations*, which he wrote on such *Days of Prayer*, as he was used unto.

The First was this.

Nov. 3. On a *Fast-Day* at Night, in Preparation for the Duty, the Lord made me sensible of these Sins in the Churches. 1. Ignorance of *themselves*; because of secret Evils. 2. Of *God*; because most Men were full of Dark and Doubtful Consciences. 3. Not caring for *Christ*, dearly, only. 4. Neglect of *Duties*; because of our Place of Security. 5. Standing against all *Means*, because we grow not better. 6. *Earthliness*; because we long not to be with Christ. And I saw *Sin*, as my Greatest Evil, because I saw my *self* was not better than *God*. I was *vile*, but he was *Good* only, whom my *Sin* did cross; and I saw what cause I had to loath my self, and not to seek *Honour* unto my self. Will any desire his *Dungbill* to be commended? Will he grieve, if it be not? If he judge so indeed of it. So my Heart began to fall off from it; and the Lord also gave me some Glimpse of my self, and a good Day and time it was to me.

On the End of the *Fast*, I *first* went unto God, I rested upon him as sufficient; *Secondly*, Waited on him as efficient; and said, *Now, Lord, Do for thy Churches and Help in Mercy!* In the Beginning of the Day, I began to consider, *Whether all the Country did not fare the worse for my Sins?* I saw it was so, and this was an humbling Thought to me; and I thought, if every one in particular, thought so and was humbled, it would do well. I consider also, That if *Repentance* turn away Judgments, then, if the Question be, *Who they are that bring Judgments?* The Answer would be, *They that think their Sins so small as that God is not angry with them at all.*

The Second was this.

April 4. Preparing for a *Fast*.

May not I be the Cause of the *Church's* Sorrows, which are Renewed upon us? For, *What have the Sheep done?*

I. My Heart has been long lying out from the Lord. The Lord *first* sent a Terrible *Storm* at Sea, to awaken me; and the Deliverance from it was so sweet, that I could not but think my Life after *that*, should be only *Heavenly*, as being pull'd from an apparent *Death* to live a *New Life*. Then, immediately upon this my *Child* was taken away from me; my *First-Born*, which made me remember, how bitter it was to cross the Lord's Love.

‘ Love. *Thirdly*, I set my Face to *New-England*, where considering the *Liberties* of God’s House, I resolv’d and thought it fit to be wholly for the Lord, in all manner of *Holiness*, at Bed, at Board, every where. *Fourthly* Then the Lord took my Dear *Wife* from me, and this made me resolve to delight no more in *Creatures*, but in the Lord, and to seek him. *Fifthly*, The Lord then threatned *Blindness* to my Child; and this made God’s Will *Afflicting* sweet to me, but much more *Commanding* and *Promising*: And then I could do his Will, and leave those things to himself. But Oh! How is my *Gold become dim*? And how little have I answered the Lord! Considering my *Ship Resolutions*. I have wanted Remembrance, Heart and Strength or Will to do any of these things. And therefore, I have not cause to blame the Lord; for he has perswaded my Heart to this; but my own Concupiscence and vile Nature, which Lord! that I might mourn for! That thou mayst *Restore Comforts* to me! *Apostacy* from God is grievous, tho’ it be in a *little Degree*; to serve Satan *without Promise*! To forsake the Lord *against Promise*! What Evil have I found in the Lord? This brings more *Disgrace* upon the Lord, than if there had never been any coming to him.

‘ II. The *People* committed to me: They are not pitied so much nor *prayed* for, nor *visited*, as ought to have been; nor have I shewed so much *Love* unto them.

‘ III. The *Family*, I have not Edified nor Instructed, nor taken all *Occasions* of Speech with them.

‘ IV. The *Gospel*, I have preached, has not been *seen* in its Glory; not *Believed*, not *Affecting*.

‘ V. Not seeking to Christ for Supply; so that all hath been *Dead Works*, and Fruit of *Pride*, walking daily without Christ, and without approving my self unto him. And hence, tho’ I do *his Work*, I don’t mind *him* in it; *His Command*, *His Presence*, nor yer endeavour to grow somewhat every Day.

‘ My not lamenting the *Falls* of Professors, and the Condition of the Country, who are not indeed the *Glory of God* in the World, nor the *Holy People*. Is it not hence, that many *Pillars* in the Church have fallen, as if the Lord would not bestir such *precious Vessels* to my Care? And hath not the Sorrow lain upon me? And hence *Universal Mortality*? When *Hezekiah’s Heart* was *lifted up*, then *Wrath* came not only on him, but on all the rest:

‘ And I have now had a *long Sickness*, as if the Lord would delight no more in me to use me. *Ob! My God, who shall be like thee in pardoning and subduing mine Iniquities.*

Behold, Reader, the Language of an Holy Soul!

But I will now take my Leave of Mr. *Shepard’s* Memory, with one Distick, in the *Funeral Elegy*, which Mr. *Peter Bulkly* made on him: A Comprehensive.

E P I T A P H.

*Nominis, Officiiq; fuit Concordia Dulcis;
Officio Pastor Nomine Pastor erat.*

C H A P. VI.

Prudentius. The LIFE of Mr. PETER PRUDDEN, and several other Divines, Famous in the Colony of *Newhaven*.

THAT Greatest of *Peace-Makers*, the Son of God, has assured us, *Blessed are the Peace-Makers, for they shall be called the Children of God.* I am sure then, ’tis a *Blessed Child of God*, whose Name is now before us; (*Prudden* shall we call him? or, *Prudent*;) who besides his other Excellent Qualities, was noted for a Singular Faculty to sweeten, compose and qualify *Exasperated Spirits*, and stop or heal all Contentions. Whence ’twas that his Town of *Milford* enjoyed *Peace with Truth* all his Days, notwithstanding some Dispositions to Variance, which afterwards broke forth among them.

God had marvellously Blessed his Ministry in *England*, unto many about *Herefordshire*, and near *Wales*; from whence when he came

into *New-England*, there came therefore many considerable Persons with him.

At their Arrival in this Country; they were so mindful of their *Business* here, that they gathered *Churches*, before they had erected *Houses*, for the *Churches* to meet in. There were then Two Famous *Churches* gathered at *Newhaven*; gathered in Two Days, one following upon t’other; Mr. *Davenport’s* and Mr. *Prudden’s*: And this with one singular Circumstances, That a mighty *Barn* was the Place, wherein the Duties of that Solemnity were attended. Our Glorious Lord Jesus Christ himself being *Born* in a *Stable*, and laid in one of those Moveable and Four-squar’d Little *Vessels* wherein they brought Meat unto the Cattel, it was the more allowable, that a *Church*,

Church, which is the *Mystical Body* of that Lord, should thus be born in a *Barn*. And in this Translation, I behold our Lord, *With his Fan in his Hand, purging his Floor, and gathering her Wheat into the Garner.*

That holy Man, Mr. *Philip Henry*, being reproached by his Persecutors, that his Meeting-place had been a *Barn*, pleasantly answered, *No new thing, to turn a Threshing-floor into a Temple.* So did our Christians at *New-haven.*

The next Year Mr. *Prudden*, with his Church, removed unto *Milford*; where he lived many Years an Example of Piety, Gravity, and *boiling Zeal*, against the growing Evils of the Times.

And tho' he had a numerous Family, yet such was his *Discretion*, that without much *Distraction*, he provided comfortably for them, notwithstanding the difficult Circumstances, wherewith an *Infant-Plantation* was encumbered.

He continued an able and faithful Servant of the Churches, until about the *Fifty sixth* Year of his own Age, and the *Fifty sixth* of the present Age; when his Death was felt by the Co-

lony, as the *Fall* of a Pillar, which made the whole *Fabrick* to shake.

Like that of *Piccart*, now let our *Prudden*, lie under this

E P I T A P H.

*Dogmate non tantum fuit Auditoribus Idem
Exemplo in Vita; jam quoque morte præit.*

But our *Pen* having flown as far off as the Colony of *New-haven*, it may not return, without some Remarks and Memoirs, of Three other Worthy Divines, that were sometimes famous in that Colony. The Reader must excuse my Ignorance of the first Circumstances, if he find them to be *Born Men* in our History.

Mr. *Blackman.*

Mr. *Pierfon.*

Mr. *Denton.*

C H A P. VII.

The LIFE of Mr. A D A M B L A C K M A N.

AMong those *Believers* who first enjoyed the Name of *Christians*, there were several famous *Teachers*, whereof one (*Acts 13. 1.*) had the Name of *Niger*. And in the Primitive Churches of *New-England* also, there was among our famous *Teachers*, a good Man, who wore the same Sir-name, this was our Mr. *Blackman*, concerning whom, none but a *Romanist* would have used that Rule:

Hic Niger est, hunc tu Romane, caveto.

For he was highly esteemed in the *Protestant* Country, where he spent the latter Days of his Life.

He was a useful Preacher of the Gospel, first in *Leicestershire*, then in *Derbyshire*: But coming to *New-England*, from the Storm that began to look black upon him, he was attended with a desirable Company of the *Faithful*, who said unto him, *Entreat us not to leave you, or to return from following after you: For whither you go, we will go; and your God shall be our God.*

New-England having received this Holy Man; who notwithstanding his Name, was for his Holiness, *A Nazarite purer than Snow, whiter than Milk.* It was first at *Guilford*, and afterwards at *Stratford*, that he employ'd his Talents: And if a famous Modern Author be known by

the Name of *Adamus Adamandus*, our *Adam Blackman*, was by the Affections of his People so likewise called.

It was his Opinion, that as for our *Bodies*, thus for our *Spirits* also, *Cibus simplex est Optimus*: And accordingly he studied *plain Preaching*, which was entertained by his People with a *profitable Hearing*. And as *Luther* would say, He is the ablest Preacher, *Qui pueriliter, Trivialiter, Populariter, simplicissime docet*: So our *Hooker*, for the sake of the sacred and solid *Simplicity*, in the Discourses of this worthy Man, would say, *If I might have my Choice, I would choose to live and die under Mr. Blackman's Ministry.*

There was a Great Person among the Reformers in *Germany*, who had almost the same Name with our *Blackman*; that was *Melancthon*, and indeed this good Person was a *Melancthon*, among the Reformers of *New-haven*; in this happier than he, that his Lot was cast among a pious People, who did not administer so frequent Occasions as the *Germans* did for the Complaint, *That Old Adam was too hard for his young Name-sake.*

For a Close, I may apply to him the ingenious Epitaph of *Beza* upon *Melancthon*.

*Cui Niveus toto Regnabat pectore Candor ;
Unum cui Cælum, cura laborque fuit :
Num Rogitus, quâ sit dictus Ratione Me
lancthon ?
Scilicet Euxinum, quâ Ratione vocant.*

[For this is a well known Sea, call'd *Euxine*, or *Harborous*, because there are no good *Harbors* in it.]

C H A P. VIII.

The LIFE of Mr. A B R A H A M P I E R S O N.

'Tis reported by *Pliny*, and perhaps 'tis but a *Plinyism*, that there is a Fish called *Lucerna*, whose *Tongue* doth shine like a *Torch*, if it be a *Fable*, yet let the *Tongue* of a Minister be the *Moral* of that *Fable*: Now such an illuminating *Tongue*, was that of our *Pierſon*.

He was a *Yorkſhire* Man, and coming to *New-England*, he became a Member of the Church at *Boston*; but afterwards thus employed, towards the Year 1640. The Inhabitants of *Lyn*, ſtraitned at home, looked out for a new Plantation; ſo going to *Long-Iſland*, they agreed both with the Lord *Starling's* Agent, and with the *Indian* Proprietors, for a Situation at the *West-end* of that *Iſland*: Where the *Dutch* gave them ſuch diſturbance, that they deſerted their Place for another at the *East-end* of it. Proceeding in their Plantation, by the Acceſſion of near an hundred Families, they called Mr. *Pierſon* to go thither with them; who with ſeven or eight more of their Company, regularly incorporated themſelves into a *Church State* before their going: the whole Company alſo entering at the ſame time, with the Advice of the Government of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, into a Civil Combination, for the maintaining Government among themſelves. Thus was there ſetled a Church at

Southampton, under the Paſtoral Charge of this worthy Man; where he did with a laudable Diligence undergo two of the three hard Labors, *Docentis* and *Regentis*, to make it become (what *Paradiſe* was called), *An Iſland of the Innocent*.

It was afterward found neceſſary for this Church to be divided. Upon which occaſion Mr. *Pierſon* referring his Caſe to Council, his Removal was directed unto *Brainſford*, over upon the Main, and Mr. *Fordham* came to ſerve, and to feed that part of the Flock, which was left at *Southampton*; but where-ever he came, he ſhone.

He left behind him the Character of a pious and prudent Man; and a true Child of *Abraham*, now ſafely lodged in *Sinu-Abraha*.

Epitaphium.

*Terris diſceſſit, ſuſpirans Gaudia cæli,
Pierſonus Patriam ſcandit ad Aſtra
ſuam.*

C H A P. IX.

The LIFE of Mr. R I C H A R D D E N T O N.

THE Apoſtle deſcribing the *faſe Miniſters* of thoſe Primitive Times, he calls them, *Clouds without Water, carried about of Winds*. As for the *true Miniſters* of our Primitive Times, they were indeed *carried about of Winds*; tho' not the *Winds of ſtrange Doctrines*; yet the *Winds of Hard Sufferings*, did carry them as far as from *Europe* into *America*; the *Hurricane's* of Perſecution, whereon doubtleſs the *Prince of the Power of the Air* had his Influence, drove the *Heavenly Clouds*, from one part of that Heaven, the Church, unto another. But they were not *Clouds without Water*, where they came; they came with *Showers of Bleſſing*, and rained very gracious Impreſſions upon the Vineyard of the Lord.

Among theſe *Clouds* was our *Pious* and *Learned* Mr. *Richard Denton*, a *Yorkſhire* Man, who having watered *Halifax* in *England*, with his fruitful Miniſtry, was by a Tempeſt then hurried into *New-England*, where firſt at *Weathersfield*, and then at *Stamford*, his *Doctrines* dropt as the *Rain*, his *Speech* diſtilled as the *Dew*, as the *ſmall Rain* upon the tender *Herb*, and as the *Showers* upon the *Grass*.

Tho' he were a *little Man*, yet he had a great *Soul*; his well-accomplished Mind, in his leſſer *Body*, was an *Iliad* in a *Nut-shell*.

I think he was blind of one *Eye*; nevertheleſs he was not the leaſt among the *Seers* of our *Iſ-*

rael; he saw a very considerable Proportion of those things which *Eye hath not seen*.

He was far from Cloudy in his Conceptions and Principles of Divinity; whereof he wrote a *System*, entituled, *Soliloquia Sacra*; so accurately, considering the Fourfold State of Man, in his, I. Created *Purity*. II. Contracted *Deformity*. III. Restored *Beauty*. IV. Cœlestial *Glory*. That Judicious Persons, who have seen it, very much lament the *Churches* being so much deprived of it.

At length he got into Heaven beyond *Clouds*, and so beyond *Storms*; waiting the Return of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the *Clouds of Heaven*,

when he will have his *Reward* among the *Saints*.

Epitaphium.

Hic Jacet, & fruitur Tranquilla sede Richardus

*Dentonus, cujus Fama perennis erit.
Incola jam celi velut Astra micantia fulget,
Qui multis Fidei Lumina clara dedit.*

CHAP. X.

The LIFE of Mr. PETER BULKLY.

Ipse Aspectus Boni viri delectat. Sen.

§ 1. IT has been a Matter of some Reflection, that among the pretended Successors of Saint Peter, there never was any Pope, that would pretend unto the Name of Peter; but if any of them had been Christened by that Name at the *Font*, they afterwards changed it, when they came unto the *Chair*. No doubt, as *Raphael Urbine*, the famous Painter, being tax'd, for making the Face in the Picture of Peter too Red, replied, He did it on purpose, that he might represent the Apostle *Blushing in Heaven*, to see what Successors he had on *Earth*: So these infamous Apostates, might blush to hear themselves called Peter, while they are Conscious unto themselves, of their being Strangers to all the Vertues of that Great Apostle. But the Denomination of Peter, might be with an Everlasting Agreeableness claimed by our eminent Bulkly, who, according to the Spirit and Counsel of Peter, *Fed the Flock of God among us, taking the Oversight thereof, not by Constraint, but Willingly; not for filthy Lucre, but of a willing Mind.*

§ 2. He was descended of an Honourable Family, in *Bedfordshire*; where for many successive Generations, the Names of *Edward* and *Peter*, were alternatively worn by the Heirs of the Family. His Father was *Edward Bulkly, D.D.* a faithful Minister of the Gospel; the same whom we find making a Supplement unto the last Volume of our *Books of Martyrs*. He was born at *Woodbil*, (or *Odel*) in *Bedfordshire*, *January 31st. 1582.*

His Education was answerable unto his *Original*; it was *Learned*, it was *Genteel*, and which was the top of all, it was very *Pious*: At length it made him a *Bachelior of Divinity*, and a Fellow of *Saint John's Colledge in Cambridge*: The Colledge whereinto he had been Admitted, about the Sixteenth Year of his Age; and it was while he was but a *Junior Bachelior* that he was chosen a Fellow.

§ 3. When he came abroad into the World, a good Benefice befel him, added unto the Estate of a Gentleman, left him by his Father; whom he succeeded in his Ministry, at the place of his Nativity: Which one would imagine *Temptations* enough to keep him out of a *Wilderness*.

Nevertheless, the Concern which his renewed Soul had for the pure Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, and for the Planting of *Evangelical Churches* to exercise that Worship, caused him to leave and sell all, in hopes of gaining the *Pearl of great Price*, among those that first Peopled *New-England*, upon those Glorious Ends. It was not long that he continued in Conformity to the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; but the good Bishop of *Lincoln* connived at his *Non-Conformity* (as he did at his Fathers), and he lived an unmolested *Non-Conformist*, until he had been Three Prentice-ships of Years in his Ministry. Towards the latter end of this time, his Ministry had a notable Success, in the Conversion of many unto God; and this was one occasion of a *latter end* for this time. When *Sir Nathanael Brent* was Arch-Bishop *Laud's* General, as Arch-Bishop *Laud* was another's, Complaints were made against Mr. Bulkly, for his *Non-Conformity*, and he was therefore Silenced.

§ 4. To *New-England* he therefore came, in the Year 1635; and there having been for a while, at *Cambridge*, he carried a good Number of Planters with him, up further into the *Woods*, where they gathered the *Twelfth Church*, then formed in the Colony, and call'd the Town by the Name of *Concord*.

Here he buried a great Estate, while he raised one still, for almost every Person whom he employ'd in the Affairs of his Husbandry. He had many, and godly Servants, whom after they had lived with him a fit Number of Years, he still dif-

dismissed with bestowing *Farms* upon them, and so took others after the like manner, to succeed them in *their* Service, and *his* Kindness. Thus he cutt his *Bread* both upon the *Waters*, and into the *Earth*, not expecting the Return of this his Charity to a Religious Plantation, until *after many Days*.

§ 5. He was a most excellent *Scholar*, a very *well-read* Person, and one, who in his Advice to young Students, gave Demonstrations, that he knew what would go to make a *Scholar*. But it being essential unto a *Scholar*, to love a *Scholar*, so did he; and in Token thereof, endowed the Library of *Harvard-Colledge*, with no small part of his own.

And he was therewithal a most exalted *Christian*; full of those Devotions, which accompany a *Conversation in Heaven*; especially, so an exact a *Sabbath-keeper*, that if at any time he had been asked, *Whether he had strictly kept the Sabbath?* He would have replied, *Christianus sum, intermittere non possim.* And *Conscientious* even to a degree of *Scrupulosity*. That *Scrupulosity* appeared particularly in his avoiding all *Novelties* of Apparel, and the *Cutting of Hair* so close, that of all the famous Name-fakes he had in the World, he could have least born the *Sir-name* of that well-known Author, *Petrus Crinitus*.

§ 6. It was observed, that his Neighbours hardly ever came into his Company, but whatever *Business* he had been talking of, he would let fall some Holy, Serious, Divine, and Useful *Sentences* upon them, e'er they parted: An Example many ways worthy to be imitated, by every one that is called, *A Minister of the Gospel*.

In his Ministry he was another *Farel*, *Quo Nemo tonuit fortius*: He was very *Laborious*, and because he was through some Infirmities of Body, not so able to Visit his Flock, and instruct them from House to House, he added unto his other Publick Labours on the Lord's Days, that of constant Catechising; wherein, after all the Unmarried People had answered, all the People of the whole Assembly were edified, by his Expositions and Applications.

His first Sermon was on *Rom. 1. 16. I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ*. At *Odel* he preached on part of the Prophecy of *Isaiab*, and part of *Jonab*, and a great part of the Gospel of *Matthew*, and of *Luke*; the Epistles to the *Philippians*, and of *Peter* and of *Jude*; besides many other Scriptures. At *Concord* he preached over the Illustrious Truths, about the *Person*, the *Natures*, the *Offices of Christ*. [What would he have said, if he had lived unto this *Evil Day*, when 'tis counted good Advice for a Minister of the Gospel, *Not to preach much on the Person of Christ?*] The greatest part of the Book of *Psalms*; the Conversion of *Zacheus*; *Paul's* Commission, in *Act. 26. 18.* His Death found him handling the *Commandments*; and *John 16. 7, 8, 9.* He expounded Mr. *Perkins* his *Six Principles*, whereto he added a *Seventh*, and Examined the young People, what they

understood and remembered of his Exposition.

Moreover, by a sort of winning, and yet prudent *Familiarity*, he drew Persons of all Ages in his Congregation to come and sit with him, when he could not go and sit with them; whereby he had opportunity to do the part of a faithful Pastor, in considering the *State of his Flock*.

Such was his pious Conduct, that he was had in much Reverence by his People; and when at any time, he was either *hasty* in speaking to such as were about him, whereto he was disposed by his Bodily Pains, or *severe* in Preaching against some things, that others thought were no way momentous, whereto the great Exactness of his Piety inclined him; yet those little *Stinginesses* took not away the Interest which he had in their Hearts; they knowing him to be a just Man, and an holy, observed him.

And the *Observance* which his own People had for him, was also paid him from all sorts of People throughout the Land; but especially from the Ministers of the Country, who would still address him as a *Father*, a *Prophet*, a *Counsellor*; on all Occasions.

§ 8. Upon his importunate pressing a piece of *Charity*, disagreeable to the Will of the *Ruling Elder*, there was occasioned an unhappy *Discord* in the Church of *Concord*; which yet was at last healed, by their calling in the help of a *Council*, and the *Ruling Elder's* Abdication. Of the Temptations which occur'd on these Occasions, Mr. *Bulkly* would say, *He thereby came,* 1. *To know more of God.* 2. *To know more of Himself.* 3. *To know more of Men.* Peace being thus restored, the *small things* in the beginning of the Church there, increased in the Hands of their faithful *Bulkly*, until he was translated into the Regions, which afford nothing but *Concord* and *Glory*; leaving his well-fed *Flock* in the *Wilderness*, unto the Pastoral Care of his worthy Son Mr. *Edward Bulkly*.

§ 9. It is remarked, That a Man's *Whole Religion* is according to his Acquaintance with the *New Covenant*. If then, any Person would know what Mr. *Peter Bulkly* was, let him read his Judicious and Savory Treatise of the *Gospel Covenant*; which has passed through several Editions, with much Acceptance among the People of God. Quickly after his first coming into this Country, he preached many Sermons on *Zech. 9. 11. The Blood of thy Covenant*. The Importunity of his Congregation prevailed with him, to preach this Doctrine of the *Covenant* over again in his Lectures, and fit it for the Press. He did accordingly; and of that Book the well-known Mr. *Shepard* of *Cambridge*, has given this Testimony. *The Church of God is bound to bless God, for the holy, judicious, and learned Labours, of this aged, experienced, and precious Servant of Jesus Christ, who hath taken much pains to discover, and that not in Words and Allegories, but in the Demonstration and Evidence of the Spirit, the great Mystery of Godliness wrapt up in the Covenant; and hath now*

fully opened many knotty Questions concerning the same, which happily have not been brought so full to Light until now; which cannot but be of singular and seasonable use to prevent Apostasies from the Simplicity of the Covenant and Gospel of Christ.

§ 10. Having offered this particular Account of a Book, which is to be reckoned among the First born of New England, I may not forbear doing my Country the Service of extracting from it one Paragraph, which we may reckon the dying Charge of a Moses to an Israel in a Wilderness.

‘ And thou, New-England, which art exalted in Priviledges of the Gospel, above many other People, know thou the Time of thy Visitation, and consider the Great Things the Lord hath done for thee. The Gospel hath free passage in all Places where thou dwellest: Oh! that it might be glorified also by thee! Thou enjoyest many faithful Witneses, which have testified unto thee, the Gospel of the Grace of God. Thou hast many bright Stars shining in thy Firmament, to give thee the Knowledge of Salvation from on high, to guide thy Feet in the way of Peace. Be not high-minded, because of thy Priviledges, but fear because of thy danger. The more thou hast committed unto thee, the more thou must account for. No Peoples Account will be heavier than thine, if thou do not walk worthy of the Means of thy Salvation. The Lord looks for more from thee, than from other People, more Zeal for God, more Love to his Truth, more Justice and Equity in thy ways: Thou shouldest be a special People, an only People, none like thee in all the Earth. Oh! be so, in loving the Gospel, and the Ministers of it, having them in singular Love for their Work's sake.

‘ Glorifie thou the Word of the Lord, which has glorified thee. Take heed, least for neglect of either, God remove thy Candlestick out of the midst of thee; lest being now, as a City upon an Hill, which many seek unto, thou be left like a Beacon upon the top of a Mountain, desolate and forsaken. If we walk unworthy of the Gospel brought unto us, the greater our Mercy hath been, in the enjoying of it, the greater will our Judgment be for the Contempt.

§ 11. His first Wife was the Daughter of Mr. Thomas Allen, of Goldington: A most vertuous Gentlewoman, whose Nephew was the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Allen. By her he had nine Sons, and two Daughters. After her Death, he lived eight Years a Widdower, and then married a vertuous Daughter of Sir Richard Chitwood; by whom he had three Sons, and one Daughter.

Age at length creeping on him, he grew much afraid of out-living his Work; and his Fear he

thus expressed, in a short Epigram, composed March 25. 1657.

*Pigra senectutis jam venit inutilis aetas,
Nil aliud nunc sum quam ferè pondus iners.
Da tamen, Alme Deus, dum vivam, vivere laudi
Æternum sancti Nomines usque Tui.
Ne vivam (moriari potius!) nil utile Agendo;
Finiat opto magis, mors properata Dies.
Vel doceam in Sancto Catu tua verba salutis,
Cælestive etiam Cantica sacra Choro.
Sen vivam, moriarve, tuus sm, Christe, quod uni
Debita Vita mea est, debita morsque tibi.*

He was ill, as well as old, when he writ these Verses; but God granted him his Desire. He recovered, and preached near two Years after this, and then expired, March 9. 1657, in the Seventy seventh Year of his Age.

§ 12. The Epigram newly mentioned, invites me to remember, that he had a competently good Stroke at Latin Poetry; and even in his Old Age, affected sometimes to improve it. Many of his Composure are yet in our Hands. One was written on his Birth-Day, June 31st, 1654.

*Ultimus iste Dies Menses, mihi primus habetur;
Quo capi lucem cernere primus erat.
Septuaginta duos Annos exinde peregi.
Atque tot Annorum est Ultimus iste Dies.
Præterito Veteri jam nunc novus incipit Annus
O utinam mihi sit mens nova, vita nova.*

Another of them was written on an Earthquake, Oct. 29. 1653.

*Ecce Dei nutu Pellus pavescit tremiscit,
Terra Tremens mota est sedibus ipsa suis,
Nutant Fulera Orbis, mundi compago soluta est;
Ex vultu fratri contremuit ille Dei.
Contremuit tellus, imis concussa Cavernis,
Ponderibus quamquam sit gravis illa suis.
Evomit ore putres magno cum murmure ventos,
Quos in visceribus clauserat ante suis.
Ipsa tremuit Tellus scelerum gravitate virorum,
Sub sceleris nostri pondere Terra tremit.
O nos quam duri! Sunt ferrea pectora nobis
Non etenim gemimus cum gemit omne solum.
Quis te non metuit, metuit quem Fabrica mundi
Quemque timent celi, terraque tota tremit.
Motibus à Tantis nunc tandem terra quiescat,
Sed cessent potius crimina nostra precor.*

The rest we will bury with him, under this

E P I T A P H.

*Obiit jam qui jam dudum obierat Bulklæus;
Nec Patriam ille mutavit, nec penè vitam:
Èd iovit, quò ire consueverat, & ubi jam erat.*

C H A P. XI.

The LIFE of Mr. R A L P H P A R T R I D G E.

When David was driven from his Friends into the Wilderness, he made this Parthetical Representation of his Condition, *'Twas as when one doth hunt a Partridge in the Mountains.* Among the many worthy Persons who were persecuted into an American Wilderness, for their Fidelity to the Ecclesiastical Kingdom of our true David, there was one that bore the Name, as well as the State, of an hunted Partridge. What befel him, was, as Bede saith of what was done by Felix, *Juxta nominis sui Sacramentum.*

This was Mr. Ralph Partridge, who for no Fault but the Delicacy of his good Spirit, being distressed by the Ecclesiastical Setters, had no Defence, neither of Beak, nor Claw, but a Flight over the Ocean.

The Place where he took Covert, was the Colony of Plymouth, and the Town of Duxbury in that Colony.

This Partridge had not only the Innocency of the Dove, conspicuous in his blameless and pious Life, which made him very acceptable in his Conversation; but also the Loftiness of an Eagle, in the great Soar of his intellectual Abilities. There are some Interpreters, who understanding Church Officers by the living Creatures, in the Fourth Chapter of the Apocalypse, will have the Teacher to be intended by the Eagle there, for his quick Insight into remote and hidden things. The Church of Duxbury had such an Eagle in their Partridge, when they enjoy'd such a Teacher.

By the same Token, when the Platform of Church-Discipline was to be compos'd, the Synod at Cambridge appointed three Persons to draw

up each of them, *A Model of Church-Government, according to the Word of God,* unto the end, that out of those, the Synod might form what should be found most agreeable; which three Persons were Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Mather, and Mr. Partridge. So that in the Opinion of that Reverend Assembly, this Person did not come far behind the first three, for some of his Accomplishments.

After he had been Forty Years a faithful and painful Preacher of the Gospel, rarely, if ever, in all that while interrupted in his Work, by any Bodily Sicknefs, he dy'd in a good Old Age about the Year 1658.

There was one singular Instance of a weaned Spirit, whereby he signalized himself unto the Churches of God. That was this: There was a time, when most of the Ministers in the Colony of Plymouth, left the Colony, upon the Discouragement which the want of a competent Maintenance among the needy and froward Inhabitants, gave unto them. Nevertheless Mr. Partridge was, notwithstanding the Paucity and the Poverty of his Congregation, so afraid of being any thing that look'd like a Bird wandring from his Nest, that he remained with his poor People, till he took Wing to become a Bird of Paradise, along with the winged Seraphim of Heaven.

Epitaphium.

Avolavit! —

C H A P. XII.

Psaltes. The LIFE of Mr. H E N R Y D U N S T E R.

Notwithstanding the Veneration which we pay to the Names and Works of those Reverend Men, whom we call the Fathers, yet even the Roman Catholics, themselves confess, that those Fathers were not infallible. Andradius, among others, in his Defence of the Council of Trent, has this passage, *There can be nothing devised more superstitious, than to count all things delivered by the Fathers,* Divine Oracles. And indeed, it is plain enough, that those excellent Men, were not without Errors and Frailties, of which, I hope, 'twill not be the part of a Cham to take some little Notice. Thus Jerom had his Erroneous Opinion of Peter's be-

ing unjustly reprehended; and was fearfully asleep in the other matters, wherein he opposed Vigilantius. Augustin was for admitting the Infants of Christians unto the Lord's Supper: And alas! How much of Babylon is there in his best Book, *De Civitate Dei.* Hilary deny'd the Soul Sorrows of our Lord in his Passion, if you will believe the Report of Bellarmine. Clemens Alexandrinus, affirm'd, That our Lord neither Eat nor Drank from the Necessities of Human Life; and that he and his Apostles after their Death, preached unto the Damned in Hell, of whom there were many converted. Origen taught many things contrary unto the true Faith, and

and frequently confounded the Scriptures with False Expositions. *Tertullian* fell into *Monotanism*, and forbad all *second Marriages*. How little Agreement was there between *Epiphanius* and *Chrystom*, *Irenæus* and *Victor*, *Cornelius* and *Cyprian*? And indeed, that I may draw near to my present purpose, the Erroneous Opinion of *Rebaptism* in *Cyprian*, is well known to the World.

Wherefore it may not be wondred at, if among the first *Fathers* of *New-England*, there were some things, not altogether so agreeable to the *Principles*, whereupon the Country was in the main Established. But among those of our *Fathers*, who differ'd somewhat from his *Brethren*, was that Learned and Worthy Man *Mr. Henry Dunster*.

He was the President of our *Harvard College* in *Cambridge*, and an able Man: [As we may give some Account, when the History of that College comes to be offered.]

But wonderfully falling into the Errors of *Antipadobaptism*, the *Overseers* of the College became sollicitous, that the Students there might not be unawares ensnared in the Errors of their *President*. Wherefore they laboured with an extreme Agony, either to rescue the Good Man from his own *Mistake*; or to Restrain him from imposing them upon *The Hope of the Flock*, of both which, finding themselves to Despair, they did as quietly as they could, procure his *Removal*, and provide him a Successor, in *Mr. Charles Chauncey*.

He was a very good *Hebrician*, and for that Cause, he bore a great Part in the Metrical Version of the *Psalms*, now used in our Churches. But after some short Retirement and Seceſſion from all Publick Business, at *Sciuate* in the Year 1659. he went thither, where he bears his part in Everlasting and Celestial *Hallelujahs*. It was justly counted an Instance of an *Excellent Spirit*, in *Margaret Meering*; That tho' she had been excommunicated by the Congregation of Protestants, whereof *Mr. Rough* was Pastor, and she seem'd to have had Measure also in her Excommunication; yet when *Mr. Rough* was imprison'd for the Truth, she was very serviceable to him, and at length suffer'd Martyrdom for the Truth with him. Something that was not altogether unlike this *Excellent Spirit* was instanced by our *Dunster*. For, he died in such *Harmony* of Affection with the Good Men, who had been the Authors of his Removal from *Cambridge*, that he, by his *Will*, ordered his Body to be carried unto *Cambridge* for its Burial, and bequeathed *Legacies* to those very Persons.

Now I know not where, better than here, to insert that Article of our *Church-History*, which concerns our *Metrical Translation* of the *PSALMS* now sung in our Churches.

About the Year 1639. the *New-English Reformers*, considering that their Churches enjoy'd the other Ordinances of Heaven in their *Scriptural Purity*, were willing that the Ordinance of *The Singing of Psalms*, as should be

restored among them, unto a Share in that *Purity*. Tho' they blessed God for the Religious Endeavours of them who translated the *Psalms* into the *Meetre* usually annex'd at the End of the Bible, yet they beheld in the Translation so many *Detractions* from, *Additions* to, and *Variations* of, not only the Text, but the very *Sense* of the Psalmist, that it was an Offence unto them. Resolving then upon a New Translation, the chief Divines in the Country, took each of them a Portion to be Translated: Among whom were *Mr. Welds* and *Mr. Eliot* of *Roxbury*, and *Mr. Mather* of *Dorchester*. These, like the rest, were of so different a *Genius* for their Poetry, that *Mr. Shepard* of *Cambridge*, on the Occasion address'd them to this Purpose.

You Roxb'ry Poets, keep clear of the Crime,
Of missing to give us very good Rhime.
And you of Dorchester, your Verses lengthen,
But with the Texts own Words, you will them
strengthen.

The *Psalms* thus turn'd into *Meetre* were Printed at *Cambridge*, in the Year 1640. But afterwards, it was thought, that a little more of Art was to be employ'd upon them: And for that Cause, they were committed unto *Mr. Dunster*, who Revised and Refined this Translation; and (with some Assistance from one *Mr. Richard Lyon*, who being sent over by *Sir Henry Mildmay*, as an Attendant unto his Son, then a Student in *Harvard Colledge*, now resided in *Mr. Dunster's* House;) he brought it into the Condition wherein our Churches ever since have used it.

Now, tho' I heartily join with those Gentlemen, who wish that the Poetry hereof were mended; yet I must confess, That the *Psalms* have never yet seen a *Translation*, that I know of, nearer to the *Hebrew Original*: And I am willing to receive the Excuse which our Translators themselves do offer us, when they say; *If the Verses are not always so elegant, as some desire or expect, let them consider, That God's Altar needs not our Polishings; we have respected rather a plain Translation, than to smooth our Verses with the Sweetness of any Paraphrase. We have attended Conscience rather than Elegance, Fidelity rather than Ingenuity; that so we may sing in Zion the Lords Songs of Praise according unto his own Will, until he bid us enter into our Masters Joy, to sing Eternal Hallelujahs.*

Reader, When the Reformation in France began, *Clement Marot*, and *Theodore Beza*, turn'd the *Psalms* into *French Meetre*; and *Lewis Guadimel* set Melodious Tunes unto them. The Singing hereof charm'd the Souls of Court and City, Town and Country. They were sung in the *Louvre* it self, as well as in the Protestant Churches: Ladies, Nobles, Princes, yea, *King Henry* himself sang them. This one thing mightily contributed unto the Downfal

of Popery, and the Progress of the Gospel. All Ranks of Men practis'd it; a Gentleman of the Reformed Religion, would not eat a Meal without it. The Popish Clergy raging hereat, the Cardinal of Lorraine got the Profane and Obscene Odes of the Pagan Poets to be turn'd into French, and sang at the Court: And the Divine Psalms were thus banished from that Wicked Court.

Behold, the Reformation pursued in the Churches of New England, by the Psalms in a New Metre: God grant the Reformation may never be lost, while the Psalms are sung in our Churches.

But in this Matter, Mr. Dunster is to be acknowledged. And if unto the Christian, while singing of Psalms on Earth, Chrysostom could well say, μετ' Ἀγγέλων ἀδεις, μετ' Ἀγγέλων ὑμνεῖς,

Thou art in a Consort with Angels! How much more may that Now be said of our Dunster?

From the Epitaph of *Henricus Rentzius*, we will now furnish our *Henry Dunster* with an

E P I T A P H.

*Præco, Pater, Servus; Sonni, Fovi, Coluiq;
Sacra, Scholam, Christum; Voce, Rigore,
Fide.*

*Famam, Animam, Corpus; Dispergit, Recreat,
Abdit;*

*Virtus, Christus, Humus; Lande, Salute,
Sinu.*

C H A P. XIII.

The LIFE of Mr. EZEKIEL ROGERS.

Si in Doctore Ecclesiæ, ad ἀνοπύκλειτον πίσιν, accesserit σύνεσις δεινῶτων, Ἔ Polita Eruditio, ad Eruditionem δύναμις ἐξμνηνετικῆ, ac Facundia; ne hic Talis Omnibus Absolutis videbitur.

Melc. Adam. in Vita Hatteri.

§ 1. IT is among the Greater Prophets of Israel, that we find an Ezekiel; who had in his very Name *The Fortitude of God*. And it is not among the smaller Prophets of New-England, that we have also seen an Ezekiel; one inspired with a *Divine Fortitude*, for the Work of a *Witness prophesying* in the *Sackcloth of a Wilderness*. This was our famous Ezekiel Rogers, of whom we have more to say, than barely that he was born in the Year 1590. and that he died in the Year 1660.

§ 2. His Father was Mr. Richard Rogers of Weathersfield in England, the well-known Author of the Book, that is known by the Name of *The Seven Treatises*. Of that Richard we will content our selves with one pithy Passage, mentioned by his Grandson Mr. William Fenkyns, in his Exposition upon *Jude*, 'That Blessed Saint, saith he, was another Enoch in his Age; a Man whose walking with God appeared by that Incomparable Directory of a Christian Life, called *The Seven Treatises*, woven out of Scripture, and his own experimental Practice; he would sometimes say, 'That he should be sorry, if every Day were not to him as his last Day. It is his Ezekiel Rogers, whereof we are now to give an Account. The early Sparklings of Wit, Judgment and Learning, in him, gave his Father no little Satisfaction, and Expectation of his Proficiency; and at Thirteen Years of Age made him capable of Preferment in the University; where he proceeded *Master of Arts* at the Age of Twen-

ty. Removing thence to be Chaplain in a Family, famous for both Religion and Civility, namely the Family of Sir Francis Barrington at Hatfield Broad-Oak in Essex, he there had opportunity not only to do Good, by his profitable Preaching, but also to get Good, by his Conversation with Persons of Honour, who continually resorted thither, and he knew and us'd his opportunity to the utmost.

§ 3. Both in Praying and Preaching, he had a very notable Faculty; 'twas accompanied with Strains of Oratory, which made his Ministry very acceptable. Hence, after Five or Six Years Residence in this Worshipful Family, Sir Francis bestowed upon him the Benefice of Rowly in Yorkshire; in hopes, that his more lively Ministry might be particularly successful in Awakening those drowsy Corners of the North: And accordingly the Church there, standing in the Center of many Villages, there was now a great Resort unto the Service therein performed.

§ 4. Nevertheless Mr. Rogers had much Uneasiness in his Mind about his own Experience of those Truths which he preached unto others; he feared, that notwithstanding his pathetical Expressions, wherewith his Hearers were affected, he was himself, in his own Soul, a Stranger to that Faith, and Repentance, and Conversion, which he pressed upon them. This Consideration very much perplexed him; and his Perplexity was the greater, because he could not hear of any Experienced Minister in those

Parts of the Kingdom, to whom he might utter the Trouble that was upon him. At last, hoping that either from his Brother of *Weathersfield*, or his Cousin of *Dedbam*, he might receive some Satisfaction, he took a Journey into *Essex* on purpose to be by them resolved of his *Doubts*. His Design was to have came at his famous Kinsman before his Lecture began; but missing of *that*, he gat into the Assembly before the Beginning of the Sermon; where he found that by the singular Providence of God, his *Doubts* were as punctually and exactly resolved, as if the excellent Preacher had been acquainted with his *Doubts* beforehand.

§ 5. Being now satisfied of his own *Effectual Vocation*, he went on in his Ministry with a very signal Blessing of Heaven upon it, unto the *Effectual Vocation* of many more: His Ministry was much frequented, and remarkably successful. In the Exercise whereof, he once had opportunity to preach in the stately *Minster* of *York*, on a publick Occasion, which he served and suited notably. Dr. *Matthews* was then the Arch-Bishop of *York*, who permitted the use of those *Lectures*, which Arch-Bishop *Grindal* had erected; whereby the *Light* of the Gospel was marvellously diffused unto many Places that sat in the *Region and the Shadow of Death*. All the pious Ministers in such a Precinct, had a Meeting once a Month, in some noted Place, when and where several of them did use to preach one after another; beginning and concluding the whole Exercise with Prayer. Mr. *Rogers* bore his part in these *Lectures*, as long as Dr. *Matthews* lived; from one of which, an *Accuser of the Brethren*, went once unto the Arch-Bishop with this Accusation, That one of the Ministers had made his Petition in his Prayer, *May the Almighty shut Heaven against the Arch-Bishop's Grace*; whereat the Arch-Bishop instead of being offended, as the Pick-thankly Reporter hoped he would have been, fell a laughing heartily and answered, *Those Good Men know well enough, that if I were gone to Heaven, their Exercises would soon be put down.* And it came to pass accordingly!

§ 6. In Delivering the *Word of God*, he would sometimes go beyond the *Strength*, which God had given him; for though he had a *Lively Spirit*, yet he had a *Crazy Body*; which put him upon studying *Physick*, wherein he attained unto a Skill considerable. But the worst was this, That riding far from home, some violent Motion used by him in ordering of his Horse, broke a *Vein* within him; whereupon he betook himself to his Chamber, and there kept private, that his Friends might not persecute him, with any of their Unseasonable Kindness. But in two Month's time, he obtained a Cure, so that he returned unto his Family and his Employment: God would not suffer that *Mouth* to be stopped, which had so many *Testimonies* to bear still for his *Truths and Ways*!

§ 7. At last, the Severity wherewith *Subscription* was then urged, put a Period unto the Twenty Years publick Ministry of our Useful *Rogers* although the Man, who suspended him, shew'd him so much Respect, as to let him enjoy the Profits of his *Living*, two Years after the Suspension, and let him also put in another, as good as he could get. He employed one Mr *Bishop* to supply his Place in the Ministry, from which a *Bishop* had confined him; nevertheless this good Man also was quickly silenced, because he would not in publick read the *Censure* which was passed upon Mr. *Rogers*.

§ 8. Many prudent Men in those times, foreseeing the Storms that were likely in a few Years to break upon the *English Nation*, did propose *New England* for their *Hiding-place*. And of these, our Mr. *Rogers* was one, who had been accompanied by Sir *William Constable* and Sir *Matthew Boynton* also in his Voyage hither, if some singular Providences had not hindred them. Hither did the Good Hand of God bring him, with many of his *Yorkshire* Friends, in the Year 1638. Ships having been by his Discretion and Influence brought from *London* unto *Hull*, to take in the Passengers. Arriving at *New England*, he was urged very much to settle with his *Yorkshire* Folks at *New-Haven*; but in Consideration of the Dependance, that several Persons of Quality had on him to chuse a meet Place for their Entertainment in this Wilderness, when they should come hither after him, he was advised rather to another Place, which he was profered very near his Reverend Kinsman, Mr. *Nathanael Rogers* of *Ipswich*. The Towns of *Ipswich* and *Newberry* were willing, on easy Terms, to part with much of their Land, that they might admit a *Third Plantation* in the middle between them; which was a Great Advantage to Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*; who called the Town *Rowly*, and continued in it about the same Number of Years, that he had spent in that *Rowly*, from whence he came on the other side of the *Atlantic Ocean*.

§ 9. About five Years after his coming to *New England*, he was chosen to preach at the Court of *Election* at *Boston*; wherein though the Occasion and the Auditory were *Great*, yet he shew'd his Abilities to be *Greater*; inasmuch, that he became famous through the whole Country. And what Respect all the *Churches* abroad paid him, he much more found in his own *Church* at Home; where he was exceedingly successful, and approved in his Ministry, in which the Points of *Regeneration* and *Union* with the Lord Jesus Christ by *Faith*, were those whereon he most insisted.

In the Management of those Points, he had a notable Faculty at penetrating into the Souls of his Hearers, and manifesting the very *Secrets of their Hearts*. His *Prayers* and *Sermons* would make such lively *Representations* of the *Thoughts* then working in the Minds of his People, that it would amaze them to see their

own Condition so exactly represented. And his *Occasional Discourses* with his People; especially with the *young ones* among them; and most of all, with such as had been, by their Deceased Parents, recommended unto his watchful Care; were marvellously profitable. He was a *Tree of Knowledge*, but so laden with *Fruit*, that he stoopt for the very *Children* to pick off the Apples ready to drop into their Mouths. Sometimes they would come to his House, a Dozen in an Evening; and calling them up into his Study, one by one, he would *examine* them, *How* they walked with God? *How* they spent their Time? *What* good Books they read? *Whether* they pray'd without ceasing? And he would therewithal *admonish* them to take heed of such *Temptations* and *Corruptions*, as he thought most endangered them. And if any *Differences* had fallen out amongst his People, he would forthwith send for them, to lay before him the Reason of their *Differences*; and such was his Interest in them, that he usually heal'd and stopt all their little Contentions, before they could break out into any open *Flames*.

§ 10. After Ten or Twelve Years most prosperous Attendance on his Ministry in Rowly, some unhappy Grievs besel him, which were thus occasioned. It was thought pity, that so *Great an Ability*, as that wherewith Mr. Rogers was *Talented*, should be confined into so *small an Auditory*, as that whereto his *Lord's Day* Labours were confined; and he was persuaded therefore to set up a *Lecture*, once in a Fortnight, whereto the Inhabitants of other Towns resorted, with no small Satisfaction. A most Excellent Young Man was, upon this Increase of his Labours, obtained for his Assistent: But through the *Devices* of Satan, there was raised a *Jealousy* in the Hearts of many among the People, that their *Old Pastor* was not Real and Forward enough, in prosecuting the Settlement of that *Assistent*; and this Jealousy broke forth into almost unaccountable *Dissatisfactions* between him and them; which though they were afterwards cured, yet the Cure was in some Regards too *Palliative*.

§ 11. The Rest of this Good Man's Time in the World was *Winter*; he saw more *Nights* than *Days*, and in *Vicissitudes* of Affliction, *The Clouds returning after the Rain*. He buried his *First Wife*, and all the *Children* he had by that Wife. He then married a Virgin Daughter of the well-known Mr. *John Wilson*; in hopes of Issue by her; but God also took her away, with the Child she had conceived by him.

After this, he married once more a Person, in Years agreeable to him; but that very Night a Fire burnt his *Dwelling-House* to the Ground, with all the Goods that he had under his Roof. Having *Rebuilt* his House, he received a *Fall* from his Horse, which gave to his *Right Arm* such a Bruise, as made it ever after useless unto him; upon which Account he was now put

upon Learning to Write with his *Left Hand*.

— Pollebat mira Dexteritate tamen. —

Thus having *done* the Will of God, he was put upon further Trial of his *Patience*! But there was this Comfortable in his Trial, that the Good *Spirit* of God enabled him to bear his *Crosses* chearfully, and *Rejoice in his Tribulations*.

§ 12. The Natural Constitution of his Body was but Feeble and Crazy: Nevertheless, by a Prudent Attendance to the *Rules of Health*, his Life was lengthened out considerably: But at last a Lingring Sickness ended his Days, *Jan. 23. 1660.* in the Seventieth Year of his Age. His *Books* wherewith he had Recruited his Library, after the *Fire*, which consumed the good Library, that he had brought out of *England*, he bestowed upon *Harvard College*.

His *Lands*, the greatest part of them, with his House, he gave to the Town and Church of *Rowly*.

§ 13. Because 'twill give some Illustration unto our *Church History*, as well as notably describe the Excellent and Exemplary Spirit of this Good Man, and it hath been sometimes noted, *Optima Historia, est Historia Epistolaris*; I will here insert one of his Letters, written (with his *Left Hand*) unto a Worthy Minister in *Charlestown*, the 6th of the 12th Month, 1657.

Dear Brother,

THOUGH I have now done my Errand in the other Paper, yet methinks, I am not satisfied to leave you so suddenly, so barely. Let us hear from you, I pray you; How you do. Doth your *Ministry* go on comfortably? Find you Fruit of your Labours? Are *New Converts* brought in? Do your *Children* and *Family* grow more Godly? I find greatest Trouble and Grief about the *Rising Generation*. *Young People* are little stirred here; but they strengthen one another in Evil, by Example, by Counsel. Much a do I have with my own *Family*; hard to get a *Servant* that is Glad of *Catechising*, or *Family-Duties*: I had a rare Blessing of *Servants* in *Yorkshire*; and those that I brought over were a Blessing: But the *Young Brood* doth much afflict me. Even the *Children* of the Godly here, and elsewhere, make a woful Proof. So that, *I tremble to think, what will become of this Glorious Work that we have begun, when the Ancient shall be gathered unto their Fathers*. I fear *Grace* and *Blessing* will die with them; if the Lord do not also show some Signs of Displeasure, even in our *Days*. — We grow *Worldly* every where; methinks I see little *Godliness*, but all in a Hurry about the *World*; every one

for himself, little Care of *Publick* or *Common* Good.

It hath been God's way, not to send sweeping Judgments, when the Chief *Magistrates* are Godly and grow more so. I beseech all the *Bay Ministers*, to call earnestly upon *Magistrates* (that are often among them) tell them, That *their Godliness* will be our *Protection*: If they fail, I shall fear some sweeping Judgment shortly. The *Clouds* seems to be gathering.

I am hastning Home, and grown very *Asthmatical*, and *Short-breathed*. Oh! that I might see some Signs of Good to the Generations following, to send me away *Rejoicing*! Thus I could weary you and my self, and my Left Hand; but I break off suddenly. O, Good Brother, I thank God, I am near Home; and you too are not far. Oh! the *Weight of Glory*, that is ready waiting for us, God's poor *Exiles*! We shall sit next to the *Martyrs* and *Confessors*. O, the *Embraces* wherewith Christ will embrace us! Cheer up your Spirits in the *Thoughts* thereof; and let us be zealous for our God and Christ, and make a *Conclusion*. Now the Lord bring us well thro' our *Poor Pilgrimage*.

Your Affectionate Brother,

Ez. Rogers.

E P I T A P H.

A Resurrection to Immortality,
is here Expected,
For what was Mortal,
of the Reverend

E Z E K I E L R O G E R S.

Put off, Jan. 23. 1660.

When Preachers Die, what Rules the *Pulpit* gave
Of Living, are still Preached from the *Grave*.
The Faith and Life, which your *Dead Pastor*
Taught
Now in *One Grave* with him, Sirs, Bury not.

Abi, Viator.

A Mortuo disce Vivere ut Moriturus;
E Terris disce Cogitare de Cælis.

C H A P. XIV.

Eulogius. The LIFE of Mr. NATHANAEL ROGERS.

*In JESU mea Vita meo, mea Clausula Vita
Est, & in hoc JESU Vita perennis erit.*

§ I. IT is a Reflection, carrying in it somewhat of *Curiosity*; that as in the *Old Testament*, God saw the *First Sinners* under a *Tree*, so in the *New Testament*, Christ saw one of the *First Believers* under a *Tree*, with a particular Observation. The *Sinner* hid himself among the *Trees* of the *Garden*, assisted with *Fig-Leaves*, but it was a false *Covert* and *Shelter* whereto he trusted; the most High discovered him. The *Believer* also hid himself under a *Fig-Tree*, where nevertheless, the *Shady Leaves* hindred not our Lord from seeing of him. The *Sinner* when he was discovered, expressed his *Fear*, saying, *I heard thy Voice, and I was afraid*. The *Believer* seen by our Lord, expressed his *Faith*, saying, *Master, Thou art the Son of God*. The Name of this *Believer* was *Nathanael*. At the Beginning of the *Law* under the *Old Testament*, you have *Nature* in an *Adam* under a *Tree*; at the Beginning of the *Gospel*, under the *New Testament*, you have *Grace* under a *Tree* in a

Nathanael. Truly, at the Beginning of *New-England* also, among the *First Believers*, that formed a *Church* for our God in the *Country*, there was a *Famous Nathanael*, who retired into these *American Woods*, that he might serve the *King of Israel*: This was our *Nathanael Rogers*. One of the *First English Arch-bishops* assumed the Name of *Deus dedit*, and the *Historian* says, he answered the Name that he assumed. Our *Nathanael* was not in the Rank of *Arch-bishops*; but as was his Name, A GIFT OF GOD, so was he!

§ 2. *Cornelius Tacitus*, who is by the Great *Budens* called, *The Wickedest of all Writers*, reports of the *Jews*, That they adored an *Ass's Head*; Because by a *Direction* from a *Company of Asses*, *errorem sitimque depeclerant*; and this Report, received by him from a *Railing Egyptian*, became so received, that no *Defence* against it would be allowed. That *Excellent Company of Divines*, which led the *People of God*

God, unto the sweet *Waters* of his Institutions, in the *Wilderness* of *New-England*, whereinto they were driven, have been esteemed no better than a *Company of Asses*, by the *Romishly* affected Writers of this Age. But those *Heads*, which are justly *admired* (tho' not *adored*) among that People, had more of *Angels*, than of *Asses* in them: The *English* Nation had few better *Christians* than most, and it had not many better *Scholars* than *some*, who then retired into these *Ends* of the Earth. Now among all those *Great Men* who submitted themselves unto all the *Little-nesses* of a *Wilderness*, there is a very high Rank to be assigned unto one, who is now to be described.

He was the Second Son of that famous Man, Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*; and born while his Father was Minister of *Haveril*, about the Year 1598. He was educated at the Grammar School in *Dedham*, till he was near Fourteen Years old, and then he was admitted into *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*. There he became a remarkable and incomperable Proficient in all *Academick Learning*; but some Circumstances of his Father would not permit him to wait for *Preferments*, after he was become capable of *Employments* in other places. His usual *manner there*, was to be an *early* and an *exact Student*; by which means he was quickly laid in with a good Stock of *Learning*; but unto all his other Learning, there was that *Glory* added, *The Fear of God*, for the Crown of all; the Principles whereof were infilled into his young Soul, with the Counsels of his pious *Mother*, while he yet sat on her Knees, as well as his holy *Father*, when he came to riper Years. From his very Childhood he was exemplary for the Success which God gave unto the Cares of his Parents, to principle him with such things, as rendered him *wise unto Salvation*.

§ 3. Having from his Youth been used unto the most Religious Exercises, not only *Social*, but also *Secret*, nevertheless the Hurries of *Avocation* carried him abroad *one Morning* before he had attended his usual Devotions in his Retirements; but his Horse happening to stumble in a plain Road, it gave him a bruising, bloody, dangerous *Fall*; which awakened him so to consider of his *Omission* in the Morning, that for the rest of his Life, he was wondrous careful to omit nothing of his *Daily Duties*: Wherein at length he so abounded, that as *Caribussian* speaks, *Dulcissimo Deo totus immergi cupis, & inviscerari*.

§ 4. Tho' he were of a pleasant and cheerful *Behaviour*, yet he was therewithal sometimes inclined unto *Melancholly*; which was attended with, and perhaps *productive* of some *Dejections* in his own Mind, about his Interest in the Favour of God. Whence even after he had been a *Preacher* of some standing, he had sometimes very sore Despondencies and Objections in his own Soul, about the Evidences of his own *Regeneration*; he would conclude, that no *Grace* of God had ever been wrought in him. Whereupon a Minister, that was his near Friend, gave

him once that Advice, *To let all go for lost, and begin again upon a new Foundation*; but upon his recollecting himself, he found that he could not forego, he might not renounce all his former blessed *Experience*. And so his Doubts expired.

§ 5. The first *Specimen* that he gave of his Ministerial Abilities, was as a *Chaplain* in the House of a Person of Quality; whence after a Year or two thus *fledged*, he adventured a Flight unto a great Congregation at *Bocking*, in *Essex*, under Dr. *Barkam*; not without the wonder of many, how the Son of the most noted *Puritan* in *England*, should come to be employed under an Episcopal Doctor, so gracious with Bishop *Laud*; but this Dr. *Barkam* was a good *Preacher* himself, and he was also willing to gratifie his Parishioners, who were many of them Religiously disposed: Hence, tho' the Doctor would not spare a *Tenth-part* of his Revenues, which from his *divers Livings*, amounted unto near a Thousand a Year, to one who did above *Three Quarters* of his Work, yet he was otherwise very Courteous and Civil to our Mr. *Rogers*, whom his Parishioners handsomely maintained out of their own *Purses*, and shew'd what a room he had in their *Hearts*, by their doing so.

§ 6. All this while, Mr. *Rogers* had, like his Father, applied his Thoughts only to the main Points of *Repentance from dead Works*, and *Faith towards God*; and he had never yet look'd into the controverted Points of *Discipline*. Indeed the Disposition of his famous Father towards those things, I am willing to relate on this occasion; and I will relate it in his own words, which I will faithfully transcribe, from a MSS. of his now in my Hands: 'If ever I come into Trouble, [he writes] for want of Conformity, I resolve with my self, by God's Assistance, to come away with a clear Conscience, and yield to nothing in present, until I have prayed and fasted, and conferred: And tho' the Liberty of my Ministry be precious, yet buy it not with a *guilty Conscience*. I am somewhat troubled sometimes at my Subscription, but I saw sundry Men of good Gifts, and good Hearts, as I thought, that did so. And I could not prove that there was any thing contrary to the Word of God: Tho' I disliked them much, and I knew them *unprofitable Burthens to the Church of God*. But if I be urged unto the Use of them, I am rather resolved never to yield thereto. They are to me very irksome Things; yet seeing I was not able to prove them flatly unlawful, or contrary to God's Word, I therefore thought better to save my Liberty with Subscribing, (seeing I did it not against my Conscience) than to lose it, for not yielding so far. Yet this was some small trouble to me, that I did it, when I was in no special Peril of any present Trouble; which yet I thought I were as good do of my self, as when I should be urged to it. But it may be, I might not have been urged of a long time, or not at all; but might have escaped

by Friends and Money, as before; which yet I feared: But it was my Weakness, as I now conceive it; which I beseech God to pardon unto me. Written 1627. This I smarted for 1631. If I had read this, it may be, I had not done what I did.

Reader, In this one Passage thou hast a large History, of the Thoughts and Fears, and Cares, with which the Puritans of those Times were exercised.

But Mr. Hooker, now Lecturer at Chelmsford, understanding that this young Preacher was the Son of a Father, whom he most highly respected, he communicated unto him the Grounds of his own Dissatisfaction, at the Ceremonies then imposed. Quickly after this, the Doctor of *Bocking* being present at the Funeral of some eminent Person there, he observed that Mr. Rogers forbore to put on the *Surplice*, in the Exercise of his Ministry on that occasion; which inspired him with as much Disgust against his Curate, as his Curate had against the *Surplice* it self. Whereupon, tho' the Doctor were so much a Gentleman, as to put no *Publick Affront* upon Mr. Rogers, yet he gave him his *private Advice* to provide for himself, in some other place.

§ 7. See the Providence of our Lord! About that very time, *Affington*, in *Suffolk*, being void by the Death of the former Incumbent, the Patron thereof was willing to bestow it upon the Son of his honoured Friend in *Dedham*; whither he now removed, after that *Bocking* had for four or five Years enjoyed his Labours. The Inhabitants of *Bromly*, near *Colchester*, were at the same time extremely discontented at their mistaking of him. However, see again the Providence of our Lord; the Bishop of *Norwich* let him live quietly five Years at *Affington*, which the Bishop of *London* would not have done at *Bromly*. This was the Charge now entrusted with our Rogers; concerning whom, I find an eminent Person publishing unto the World, this Account: Mr. Nathanael Rogers, a Man so able and so judicious, in Soul-work, that I would have entrusted my Soul with him, as soon as with any Man in the Church of Christ.

§ 8. Here his Ministry was both highly respected, and greatly prospered, among Persons of all Qualities, not only in the Town it self, but in the Neighbourhood. He was a lively, curious, florid Preacher; and by his Holy Living, he so farther preached, as to give much Life unto all his other preaching. He had usually, every Lord's Day, a greater Number of Hearers than could croud into the Church; and of these many Ignorant Ones were instructed, many Ungodly Ones were Converted, and many Sorrowful Ones were comforted. Tho' he had not his Father's notable Voice, yet he had several Ministerial Qualifications, as was judged, beyond his Father; and he was one prepared unto every good Work; tho' he was also exercised with Bodily Infirmities, which his Labours brought upon him. 'Tis a thing I find observ'd by Mr. Firmin, John Rogers was not John Chrysostom; and yet God honoured no Man in those Parts of England

with the Conversion of Souls more than him. And good Bishop *Brownrig* would say, John Rogers will do more good with his *Wild Notes*, than we shall do with our *Set Musick*. But our Nathanael Rogers, was a Fisher of Men, who came with a *Silken Line*, and a *Golden Hook*, and God prospered him also. He was an *Apollo*, who had his *Harp* and his *Arrows*; and the *Arrows* his charming and piercing Eloquence, which had *Ulas et Bales*, in it were *Arrows in the Hand of a mighty Man*. He not only knew how to build the Temple, but also how to carve it: And he could say with *Lactantius*, (his very Namesake) *Vellem mihi dari Eloquentiam, vel quia magis credunt Homines Veritati ornata vel ut ipsi suis Armis vincantur*.

§ 9. But a Course was taken to extinguish these Lights, as fast as any Notice could be taken of them. It was the Resolution of the Hierarchy, that the Ministers who would not conform to their Impositions, must be silenced all over the Kingdom. Our Mr. Rogers perceiving the Approaches of the Storm towards himself, did out of a particular Circumspection in his own Temper, choose rather to prevent than to receive the Censures of the Ecclesiastical Courts; and therefore he resigned his place to the Patron, that so some Godly and Learned Conformist, might be invested with it: Nevertheless, not being free in his Conscience, wholly to lay down the Exercise of his Ministry, he designed a Removal into *New-England*; whereunto he was the rather moved, by his Respect unto Mr. Hooker, for whom his Value was extraordinary. *Reader*, In all this, there is no Reproach cast upon this excellent Rogers. *Καταπραία τὸ αὐτὸν ἐγνώμων ἔστω*

§ 10. He had married the Daughter of one Mr. Crane of *Cogeshal*, a Gentleman of a very considerable Estate, who would gladly have mentioned this his worthy Son-in-Law, with his Family, if he would have tarried in *England*; but observing the strong Inclination of his Mind unto a *New-English Voyage*, he durst not oppose it. Now, tho' Mr. Rogers were a Person very unable to bear the Hardships of Travel, yet the Impression which God had made upon his Heart, like what he then made upon the Hearts of many Hundreds more, perhaps as weakly and feeble as he, carried him through the Enterprize with an unwearied Resolution; which Resolution was tried, indeed, unto the utmost. For whereas the Voyage from *Gravesend* unto *Boston*, uses to be dispatched in about Nine or Ten Weeks, the Ships which came with Mr. Rogers, were fully Twenty four Weeks in the Voyage; and yet in this tedious Passage, not one Person did miscarry. After they had come Two Thirds of their way, having reached the length of *Newfoundland*, their Wants were so multiplied, and their Winds were so contrary, that they entred into a serious Debate, about returning back to *England*: But upon their setting apart a Day for solemn Fasting and Prayer, the Weather cleared up; and in a little time they arrived at their desired Port; namely, about

about the middle of *November*, in the Year 1636.

§ 11. It was an extream Discouragement unto him, at his Arrival, to find the Country thrown into an horrible Combustion, by the *Familistical Opinions*, which had newly made such a Disturbance, as to engage all Persons, on *one side* or t'other of the *Controversies*, all the Country over. But God blessed the *Prayers* and *Pains* of his People, for the speedy stopping of that *Gangreen*; and settled the Country in a comfortable Peace, by a *Synod* convened at *Cambridge* the next Year; whereto our *Mr. Rogers*, and *Mr. Partridge*, who came in the same Ship with him, contributed not a little by their *Judicious Discourses* and *Collations*.

§ 12. His first Invitation was to *Dorchester*; but the Number of Good Men who came hither, desirous of a Settlement under his Ministry, could not be there accommodated; which caused him to accept rather of an Invitation to *Ipswich*, where he was Ordained *Pastor* of the Church, on *Feb. 20. 1638*. At his Ordination preaching on *2 Cor. 2. 16. Who is sufficient for these things*: A Sermon so Copious, Judicious, Accurate, and Elegant, that it struck the Hearers with admiration. Here was a Renowned Church consisting mostly of such illuminated Christians, that their Pastors in the Exercise of their Ministry, might (as *Jerom* said of that brave Woman *Marcella*) *Sentire se non tam Discipulos habere quam Judices*. His Colleague here, was the Celebrious *Norton*; and glorious was the Church of *Ipswich* now, in two such extraordinary Persons, with their different Gifts; but united Hearts, carrying on the Concerns of the Lord's Kingdom in it. While our humble *Rogers* was none of those, who do, *Τὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαμπρότητας, ἑαυτῶν ἀμαυρώσεις νομίζεν*, *Think the Brightness of their Brethren to shadow and obscure themselves*. But if *Norton* were excellent, there are Persons of good *Judgment*, who think them selves bound in *Justice* to say, That *Rogers* came not short of *Norton*, in his greatest Excellencies.

§ 13. While he lived in *Ipswich*, he went over the Five last Chapters of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, in his Ministry; the Twelfth Chapter to the *Hebrews*; the Fourteenth Chapter of *Hosea*; the Doctrine of *Self-denial*, and *walking with God*; and the Fifty third Chapter of *Isaiab*; to the great Satisfaction of all his Hearers, with many other Subjects more occasionally handled. It was counted pity that the Publick should not enjoy some of his Discourses, in all which he was, *ὅτι τῶν ἐμμένων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀπεχθόντων*: But his Physician told him, That if he went upon *transcribing* any of his Compositures, his Disposition to *Accuracy* would so deeply engage him in it, as to endanger his Life: Wherefore he left few Monuments of his Ministry, but in the *Hearts* of his People, which were many. But tho' they were so many, that he did justly reckon them well-instructed, and well-inclined People, his *Crown*, yet in the *Paroxysm* of *Temptation* among them, upon *Mr. Norton's* Removal, the melan-

choly Heart of *Mr. Rogers*, thought for a while, they were too much a *Crown of Thorns* unto him.

§ 14. It belongs to his Character, that he *feared God above many*, and *walked with God*, at a great Rate of *Holiness*: Tho' such was his *Reservedness*, that none but his intimate Friends knew the *Particularities* of his *Walk*, yet such as were indeed intimate with him could observe, that he was much in *fasting* and *Prayer*, and *Meditation*, and those Duties wherein the *Power of Godliness* is most maintained: And as the *Graces* of a Christian, so the *Gifts* of a Minister, in him, were beyond the *ordinary Attainments* of good Men. Yea, I shall do a wrong unto his Name, if I do not freely say, That he was one of the *greatest Men*, that ever set foot on the *American Strand*. Indeed, when the Apostle *Paul* makes that just Boast, *I was not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles*: He does not speak (as we commonly take it) in respect of such as were *true Apostles*, but in reference to those *false Apostles*, who had nothing to set them out, but their own *lofty Words*, with an unjust slight of *him*. Whereas our blessed *Rogers*, I may without *Injury*, or *Odium*, venture to compare with the very best of the *true Ministers*, which made the best Days of *New-England*, and say, *He came little, if at all behind the very chiefest of them all*.

§ 15. He was much troubled with Spitting of *Blood*; wherein he would comfort himself with the Saying of one *Mr. Price*, upon such an Occasion, *That tho' he should spit out his own Blood, by which his Life was to be maintained, yet he should never, Expuere Sanguinem Christi, or lose the Benefits of Christ's Blood, by which he was redeemed*. He was also subject unto the *Flatus Hypochondriacus*, even from his Youth; wherewith when he was first surprized, he thought himself a *dying Man*; but a good Physician, and a long Experience, convinced him, that it was a more *Chronical Distemper*. And while he was under the early Discouragements of this Distemper, I find the famous *Mr. Cotton*, in a Letter dated *March 9. 1631*. thus encouraging of him:

‘ I bless the Lord with you, who supporteth
‘ your feeble Body, to do him Service, and mean
‘ while perfecteth the Power of his Grace in
‘ your Weakness. You know who said it, *Un-*
‘ *mortified Strength posseth hard to Hell, but san-*
‘ *ctified Weakness creepeth fast to Heaven*. Let
‘ not your Spirit faint, tho' your Body do. Your
‘ Soul is precious in God's sight; your Hairs
‘ are numbred, and the number and measure of
‘ your fainting Fits, and wearisome Nights, are
‘ weighed and limited by his Hand, who hath
‘ given you his Lord Jesus Christ, to take upon
‘ him your Infirmities, and bear your Sick-
‘ nesses.

Nor was it this Distemper which at last ended his Days; but it was a Flood of *Rheum*, occasioned partly by his disuse of *Tobacco*, whereto

he had formerly accustomed himself, but now left it off, because he found himself in Danger of being *Enslaved* unto it; which he thought a thing below a *Christian*, and much more a *Minister*. He had often been seized with Fits of Sickness in the Course of his Life: And his last seemed no more threatening than the former, till the *last Morning* of it. An Epidemical sort of *Cough* had arrested most of the Families in the Country; which proved most particularly Fatal to *Bodies*, before labouring with *Rheumatic* Indispositions. *This* he felt; but in the whole time of his Illness, he was full of *Heavenly* Discourse and Counsel, to those that came to visit him. One of the last things he did, was to *Bless* the Three Children of his only Daughter, who had purchased his Blessing by her singular Dutifulness unto him. It is a notable Passage in the *Talmuds*, That the Inhabitants of *Tippor* expressing an extreme Unwillingness to have the Death of *R. Judah* (whom they Surnamed, *The Holy*,) reported unto them, he that brought the Report, thus expressed himself, *Holy Men and Angels took hold of the Tables of the Covenant, and the Hand of the Angels prevailed, so that they took away the Tables!* And the People then perceived the meaning of the Parabolizer to be, That *Holy Men* would fain have detained *R. Judah* still in this World; but the *Angels* took him away. Reader, I am as lothe to tell the Death of *Rogers the Holy*; and the Inhabitants of *Ipswich* were as lothe to hear it: But I must say, *The Hand of the Angels prevailed*, on *July 3. 1655.* in the Afternoon, when he had uttered those for his last Words, *My Times are in thy hands.*

§ 16. He was known to keep a *Diary*; but he kept it with so much Reservation, that it is not known, that ever any one but himself did read one Word of it: And he determined that none ever should; for he ordered a couple of his Intimate Friends to cast it all into the Fire, without ever looking into the Contents of it.

Surely, with the Loss of so Incomparable a Person, the Survivors must lament the Loss of those *Experiences*, which might in these *Rich Papers*, have kept him, after a sort, still *Alive* unto us! But as they would have prov'd him, *An Incarnate Seraphim*, so the other *Seraphim*, who carried him away with them, were no Strangers to the *Methods*, by which he had Ripened and Winged himself, to become one of their Society.

I cannot find any Compositions of this *Worthy Man's* offered by the *Press* unto the World; except one, and that is only a Letter which he wrote from *New-England*, unto a Member of the Honourable House of Commons, at *Westminster*, in the Year 1643. Wherein observing, That *Ecclesiam ad Mundi Normam Regnorum & statuum componere, est mere Domum Tapetibus accommodare*; he pathetically urged, That the *Parliament* would confess the Guilt of Neglecting,

yea, Rejecting Motions of *Reformation* in former Parliaments, and proceed now more fully to answer the just Expectations of Heaven. But I have in my Hands, a brief *Manuscript*, written in a Neat Latin Style, whereof he was an Incomparable Master. 'Tis a Vindication of the *Congregational Church Government*; and there is one Passage in it, by Transcribing whereof, I will take the Leave to address the present Age.

Non raro Reformationem impedit Difficultas Reformandi, & Ecclesias verae Disciplinae Conformes reddendi. Jehoshaphat excelsa non amovebat quia Populus non Comparaverat Animum Deo. Non desuerunt (inquit Bucerus) intra hos Triginta Annos, qui Videri voluerint Justam Evangelii Praedicationem plane amplecti, atq; Religionis Christi rite Constituendae praecipuam Curam suscipere, propter quam etiam non parum periclitari sunt. Verum perpauca adhuc reperti sunt, qui se Christi Evangelio & Regno omnino subjecissent. Multo vero minus permixtum fuit fides, probatisq; Ecclesiarum Ministris, nec adeo multi Ministrorum voluerunt id sibi concedi, ut qui Privatis Admonitionibus non acquiescissent, atq; a manifestis peccatis suis recipere se noluerunt, eos una cum Ecclesiae Senioribus, ad hoc electis, nomine totius Ecclesiae, ad Penitentiam Vocassent & Ligassent; eosq; qui & hoc Salutis suae Remedium respicissent, cum assensu Ecclesiae pro Ethnicis & Publicanis habendos Publice pronunciassent. Cujus Rationem etiam posuit Pater Martyr; Videntur aliqui subvereri Tumultus, & Turbas, quod suae Tranquillitati consulant, sibiq; fingant atq; somnient, quandam Tranquillitatem in Ecclesia, quam impossibile est ut habeant, si Gregem Christi recte pasci voluerint. Hinc Regula Prudentiae pro Regula Praecepti proponitur; & Queritur potius quid fieri convenienter possit, quam quid debeat. Fallit haec Regula; cum multa Deus efficiat per Zelotas (quos vocant) quae Politicis impossibilia Visa fuerint; Puta Hezekiam, Josiam, & Edwardum Sextum, Angliae Regem. Cum videas unum Ezram Cinere & Cilicio, fetu & Fejunio, tam Spissum & Arduum Opus superasse, quo Carissimas Conjuges, & liberos desiderarissimos, e Maritorum Gremio, & Paternis Genibus, revulsit & ablegavit; eorumq; non tantum infimae Plebis; etiam Manus ipsorum Principum & Antistitum, prima fuit in Praevaricatione ista: Quis inquam, fidelis Minister adeo induratus est, ut in repurganda Ecclesia, nihil non audeat, cum Bono Deo? Magna quidem est Veritatis & Sanctitatis, Vis & Majestas: Fidelis & Efficax est Assistentia Spiritus, iis qui Zelo accensi Gloriae Dei sedulo incumbunt. Tempori quidem aliquando est cedendum; sed Operi Dei non est superse-dendum,

God will one Day cause these Words to be Translated into *English!*

In the mean Time, Go thy way, NATHANAEL, until the End; for thou shalt Rest. — and

and on thy *Resting Place* I will inscribe the Words of *Luther* upon his *Nesenus*, for thy

Et si ullum unquam Excitasset,
T E nunc Excitorem.

E P I T A P H.

O N A T H A N A E L, *Si mihi datum esset*
Donum
Miraculosum Excitandi Mortuos,

And for the same Use borrow the Words, in the Epitaph of *Brentius*, the Younger.

Morte Pia rapitur, Cæliq; fit Incola : Semper
Audiet, O magno digna propago Patre.

A P P E N D I X.

THE Invaluable *Diary* of Mr. *Nathanael Rogers* is lost: Something of his *Fathers* is not so: We'll do something towards Repairing our Loss out of *That*: Some *Secret Papers* of Old Mr. *John Rogers*, are fallen into my Hands: I will make them as *Publick* as I can; and I will annex them to the *Life* of his Excellent Son, because that Son of his, did *live* over the *Life* of his Renowned Father. Thus, *Father* and *Son* shall live here together; and by offering the Reader an *Extract* of some *Observable Memorials for a Godly Life*, contained in *Reserved Experiences* of Mr. *John Rogers* of

Dedham, I shall also describe the very Spirit of the Old *Puritans*, in the *Former Age*, by the View whereof, I hope there will more be made in that Age which is *to come*. Sirs, Read these *Holy Memorials*, and let it not be said of us, according to the Complaint which the *Talmuds* thus utter; *Si prisce fuerunt Filii Regnum, nos sumus Filii Hominum Vulgarium; & si prisce fuerunt Homines Vulgares, nos sumus velut Asini*. Let it not be said, as it uses to be by the Jewish Rabbi's, *Elegantior est Sermo familiaris Patrum, quam Lex Filiorum*.

Sixty MEMORIALS for a Godly Life.

A COVENANT.

I Have firmly purposed, (by God's Grace,) to make my *whole Life*, a Meditation of a *Better Life*, and *Godliness in every part*; That I may from Point to Point, and from Step to Step, with more *Watchfulness*, walk with the Lord.

Oh! The Infinite Gain of it! No small Help hereto, is *Daily Meditation* and often *Conference*. Therefore, since the Lord hath given me to see in some sort, the Coldness of the *Half-Service*, that is done to his Majesty, by the most, and even by *my self*, I renew my Covenant more firmly with the Lord, to come nearer unto the *Practise of Godliness*, and oftener to have my Conversation in *Heaven*, my Mind seldom, and more lightly set upon the things of this *Life*, to give to my self less Liberty in the secretest and smallest *Provocations to Evil*; and to endeavour after a more *continual Watch* from thing to thing, that as much as may be, I may walk with the Lord for the Time of my abiding here below.

A Form of Direction.

II. This Resolutely Determine, That God be always my *Glory*, through the Day: And, as

occasion shall be offered, help forward such as shall Repair to me, or among whom, by God's Providence, I shall come: And these two being regarded, That I may tend *my own Good*, going forward, (my own Heart, I mean, Calling and Life, and my Family and Charge) looking for my *Change*, and preparing for the *Cross*, yea, for *Death* it self: And to like little of mine Estate, when I shall not sensibly find it thus with me: And whiles God affordeth me Peace, Health, Liberty, an Heart delighting in him, outward Blessings with the same, to beware that *Godliness* seem not pleasant to me, for *Earthly Commodity*, but for it self: If in this Course, or any part of it, I should hate, or dislike, not to admit of any such *Deceit*: And for the Maintenance of this Course, to take my Part in all the *good Helps*, appointed by God for the same; as these: First, To *Begin* the Day with Meditation, Thanksgiving, Confession and Prayer: To put on my *Armour*: To *Watch* and *Pray* oft and earnestly in the Day, for holding fast this Course: To hearten on my self hereto by mine own *Experience* (who have ever seen, that it goeth well with those, which walk after this Rule, 1 Pet. 3. 13. Gal. 6. 16.) and by the *Example* of others. (Heb. 13. 7.) And for the better helping my self forward, still in this Course, my Purpose and Desire is, to learn *Humility* and *Meekness* more and

and more, by God's *Chastisements*, and encourage my self to this Course of Life. by his daily *Blessings* and *Mercies*; and to make the same use of all Exercises in my *Family*. And faithfully to peruse and *examine* the several parts of my *Life* every *Evening*, how this Course hath been kept of me, where it hath to keep it still, where it hath not, to seek Pardon and Recovery; and all Behaviour that will not stand with this, to hold me from it, as from *B.me*.

A Form for a *Minister's* Life.

III. In *Solitariness* to be least solitary: In *Company*, taking or doing of Good; to Wife, to Family, to Neighbours, to Fellow-Ministers, to all with whom I deal, *kind*; amiable, yet *modest*; *low* in mine own Eyes; oft with the Sick and Afflicted: Attending to *Reading*; painful for my *Sermons*, not easily provoked unto *Anger*; not carried away with *Conceits* hastily; not wandering in fond Dreams, about *Ease* and *deceivable Pleasures*; not snared in the *World*, nor making *lawful Liberties* my delight; helpful to all that need my help, readily, and all those that I ought to regard: And all this, with continuance, even all my Days.

IV. *Chief Corruptions* to be watch'd against, be, Sourness, Sadness, Timorousness, Forgetfulness, Fretting, and Inability to bear Wrongs.

V. I am very backward to *private Visiting* of Neighbours Houses, which doth much hurt: For thereby their Love to me cannot be so great as it would be; and I know not their particular Wants and States so well, and therefore cannot speak so fitly to them as I might.

VI. A Minister had need look, that he profit by all his *Preaching himself*, because he knows not what *others* do: Many, he knows, get no good; of many more he is uncertain: So that if he get no good himself, his Labour and Travail shall be in vain.

VII. Begin the Day with *half an Hour's Meditation and Prayer*. And let me resolutely set my self to walk with God through the Day: If any thing fall out amiss, recover again speedily, by humble Confession, hearty Prayer for Pardon, with Confidence of obtaining. And so proceed.

VIII. Oh! *Mildness*, and *Cheerfulness*, with *Reverence*, how sweet a Companion art thou!

IX. Few rare and worthy Men, continue so to their End; but one way or other, fall into Coldness, gross Sin, or to the World: Therefore *beware*.

X. Count not the *Daily Direction*, nor Christian Life, to be Bondage; but count it the sweetest *Liberty*, and the only way of true *Peace*. Whensoever this is counted hard, that State that is embraced instead thereof, shall be harder.

XI. *Worldly Dealings*, are great Lets to Fruitfulness in Study, and cheerful proceeding in our Christian Course.

XII. One can never go about *Study*, or *Preaching*, if any thing lie heavy on the *Conscience*.

XIII. The worst Day wherein a Man keeps his Watch, and holds to the daily Rules of Directions, is freer from danger, and brings more Safety than the best Day, wherein this is not known or practised.

XIV. I am oft, I confess, ashamed of my self, when I have been in Company, and seen *Gifts of Knowledge*, in many careless unconscionable, and odd Ministers; which (with better Reasons) hath stirred up a Desire oftimes in me, that I could follow my Studies. Yet I would never have been willing to have changed with them: For what is all *Knowledge*, without a sanctified and comfortable use of it, thro' Love; and without Fruit of our Labour, in doing good, and winning and building up of Souls, or at least a great endeavour after it.

XV. Many *Ministers* set their Minds much upon *this World*, either Profit, or Preferment, for which they venture dangerously, and some of them are *soon snatch'd away*. Therefore God keep me ever from setting my Foot on such a Path, as hath no Continuance, and is not without much Danger in the End.

XVI. It's good for a Man to delight in that, wherein he may be bold to delight without Repentance: And that is, to be always doing, or seeking occasion to do some *Good*. The Lord help me herein.

XVII. When God hedgeth in a Man with many Mercies, and gives him a comfortable *Condition*, its good to *acknowledge* it often, and be highly *thankful* for it. Else God may soon bring a Man so low, as he would think that State happy, that he was in before, if now he had it again. Therefore, *God make me wise*.

XVIII. Right *good Men* have complained, that they are oft-times in very *bad Case*; their Hearts disordered and distempered very sore, for want of taking to themselves a *certain Direction* for the Government of their Lives.

XIX. Idle and unprofitable *Talk* of *By-matters*, is a Canker that consumeth all Good, and yet our Heart much lusteth after it: Therefore resolve firmly against it.

XX. A necessary and most comely thing it is, for a Minister to carry himself so wisely and amiably unto all, as he may do good unto *all sorts*; to bring back them that be fallen off, in meekness and kindness, to pass by an Offence in those that have wronged him, which is an high Point of Honour, and not to keep from them, and estrange himself from their Acquaintance, and so suffer them to fall further, to be lowly towards the meaner sort of Christians; to keep the Credit of his Ministry with all.

I am perswaded, If my Light did shine more clearly, and mine Example were seen more manifestly, in these and such things (which are of no small force to perswade the People) that both my Ministry would be of more power, and that I should draw them also to be better.

XXI. Look, that I lie not down in Bed, but in *Peace* with God any Night, and never my Heart rest, until it relent truly, for any thing that hath passed amiss in the Day.

XXII. It

XXII. It is good for a Minister, not to deal much with his People about *Worldly Matters*, yet not to be *strange* to them: Nor to be a *Stumbling block* unto the People, by *Worldliness*, or any other Fault, else he deprives himself of all liberty and advantage of dealing with *them* for their Errors.

XXIII. *Buffetings of Satan*, tho' they be grievous, yet they are a very good Medicine against Pride and Security.

XXIV. *Christ's Death*, and *God's Mercy*, is not sweet, but where *Sin* is sour.

XXV. It is an hard thing for a Man to keep the *Rules of Daily Direction*, at Times of *Sickness* or *Pain*. Let a Man labour to keep out *Evil*, when he wants *Fitness*, *Strength*, and *Occasion*, to do *Good*, and that is a good Portion for a *sick Body*. Also in *Sickness* that is fore and sharp, if a Man can help himself with *short and oft Prayers* to God, for *Patience*, *Contentment*, *Meekness*, and *Obedience* to his holy Hand, its well, tho' he can't bend the *Mind* much, or earnestly upon any thing.

XXVI. *Innocence* is a very good Fence and Fort against *Impatience*, in false *Accusations*, or great *Afflictions*. Let them that be *Guilty* fret and vex themselves, and shew *Bitterness* of *Stomach* against such as speak ill of them; but they that look carefully to their *Hearts* and *Ways*, (without looking at *Mens Eye*), let them be still, and of a *meek and quiet Spirit*.

XXVII. Besides the use of the *Daily Direction*, and following strictly the *Rules* thereof, yet there must be now and then the use of *Fasting*, to purge out *Weariness*, and *Commonness*, in the use of it.

XXVIII. 'Tis a rare thing for any Man, so to use *Prosperity*, as that his *Heart* be drawn the nearer to God. Therefore we had need in that *Estate*, to *watch diligently*, and labour to *walk humbly*.

XXIX. *Oh, Frowardness!* How unseemly and hurtful a thing to a Man's self and others! *Amiable Cheerfulness*, with *Watchfulness* and *Sobriety*, is the best *Estate*, and meetest to do good, especially to others.

XXX. Follow my *Calling*: Lose no *Time* at home or abroad; but be doing some *Good*: Mind my going *Homeward*: Let my *Life* never be pleasant unto me, when I am not fruitful, and fit to be employ'd in doing good, one way or other.

XXXI. It is a great *Mercy* of God to a *Minister*, and a thing much to be desired, that he be well *moved* with the *Matter* that he preaches to the *People*; either in his private *Meditation*, or in his publick *Delivery*, or both: Better hope there is then, that the *People* will be moved therewith: Which we should ever aim at.

XXXII. If the *Heart* be *heavy* at any time, and *wounded*, for any thing, shame our selves, and be humbled for our *Sin*, before we attempt any good *Exercise* or *Duty*.

XXXIII. It's a very good *Help*, and most

what a *present Remedy*, when one feels himself dull, and in an *ill Condition*, straightway to confess it to God, accuse himself, and pray for *Quickning*. God sends *Redress*.

XXXIV. There is as much need to pray to be kept in *Old Age*, and unto the *End*, as at any time. And yet a *Body* would think, that he that hath escaped the *Danger* of his *younger*, should have no great *Fear* in his *latter Days*, but that his *Experience* might prepare him against any thing. However, it is not so: For many that have done well, and very commendably for a while, have shrewdly fallen to great *Hurt*. This may moderate our *Grief*, when *young Men* of *great Hopes* be taken away.

Oh! how much rather bad I die in Peace quickly, than live to disgrace the Gospel, and be a Stumbling-block to any, and live with Reproach!

XXXV. What a sweet *Life* is it, when *every part* of the *Day*, hath some *Work* or other allotted unto it, and this done *constantly*, but without *Commonness*, or *Customariness* of *Spirit* in the doing it.

XXXVI. When a Man is in a drowsie unprofitable *Course*, and is not humbled for it, God oft lets him fall into some *sensible Sin*, to shame him with, to humble his *Heart*, and drive him more throughly to God, to bewail and repent of *both*.

XXXVII. A true *Godly Man*, hath never his *Life joyful* unto him, any longer than his *Conversation* is holy and heavenly. *Oh!* let it be so with me!

XXXVIII. It is some *Comfort* for a Man, whose *Heart* is *out of Order*, if he *seeth* it, and that with *heartly Mistake*, and cannot be content until it be bettered.

XXXIX. I have seen of *others*, (which I desire to *die*, rather than it should be verified of me!) that many *Ministers* did never seem grossly to depart from God, until they grew *wealthy* and *great*.

XL. How much better is it to *resist Sin*, when we be tempted thereunto, than to *repent* of it after we have committed it?

XLI. Whatsoever a *justified Man* doth by *Direction* of *God's Word*, and for which he hath either *Precept*, or *Promise*, he pleases God in it, and may be comfortable, in whatsoever falls out thereupon. But where *Ignorance*, *Rashness*, or our own *Will* carry us, we offend.

XLII. Let no Man boast of the *Grace* he hath had; for we stand not now by that, but it must be daily nourished; or else a Man shall become as *other Men*, and fall into noisome *Evils*: For what are we but a *Lump* of *Sin* of our selves?

XLIII. If God in *Mercy* arm us not, and keep us not in compass, *Lord* what *Stuff* will break from us! For what a deal of *Poison* is in our *Hearts*, if it may have *Issue*! And therefore what need of *Watchfulness* continually?

XLIV. The *worst Day* (commonly) of him that knoweth, and endeavoureth to walk by the *Daily Direction*, is freer from danger, and passed

in greater Safety, than the *best Day* of a Godly Man, that knows not this *Direction*.

XLV. Many shew themselves *forward Christians* in *Company* abroad, that yet where they should shew most Fruits, (as at home) are too secure; either thinking they are *not marked*, or if they be, do not much regard it. *This ought not to be*.

XLVI. Be careful to mark what falls out in the *Day*, in *Heart*, or *Life*; and be sure to look over all at *Night*, that hath been amiss in the *Day*: That so I may *lie down in Peace with God*, and *Conscience*. The contrary were a woful thing, and would cause *Hellish Unquietness*. Be sure therefore, that none of the malicious *Subtilties* of the *Devil*, nor the *Naughtiness* of my own *Heart*, do carry me further than at *Night*, I may sleep with quiet to *Godward*.

XLVII. When God saith, *Deut. 12. 7.* That *his* may rejoice before him, in all that they put their *Hands unto*: It's a great *Liberty*, and enjoy'd of but *few*. No doubt, many of our *Sorrows* come through our own *Default*, which we might avoid. And as for *Godly Sorrow*, it may stand with this *Rejoicing*. If therefore we may in all things rejoice, then from one thing to another, from our *Waking* to our *Sleeping*: First, In our *first Thoughts of God* in the *Morning*; then in our *Prayer*; after in our *Calling*, and while we are at it; then at our *Meat*, and in *Company*, and *Alone*, at *Home*, and *Abroad*, in *Prosperity*, and *Adversity*, in *Meditation*, in *Dealings*, and *Affairs*: And lastly, in shutting up the *Day* in *Examination*, and viewing it over. And what hinders? If we be willing and resolved to do the *Will of God*, throughout the *Day*, but that we may rejoice before him, in all we put our *Hand unto*.

XLVIII. He that makes *Conscience* of his *Ways*, and to please God his *only Way*, is to take him to a *Daily Direction*, and some *set Rules*, thereby looking constantly to his *Heart* all the *Day*: And thus, for the most part, he may live *comfortably*; either not falling into any thing that should much disquiet him, or soon returning by *Repentance* to *Peace* again. But if a *Man* tie not himself thus to *Rules*, his *Heart* will break from him, and be disguised one way or another, which will breed continual *Wound* unto his *Conscience*, and so he shall never live any time together in *Peace*. The Cause why many *Christians* also give themselves great *Liberty*, in not accusing themselves for many *Offences*, is the want of some certain *Direction* to follow in the *Day*.

XLIX. When we feel *unfitness* to our ordinary *Duties*, we either begin to be discouraged, or else yield to *Corruption*, and neglect our *Duties*: Neither of both which should be, but without *Discouragement* we should resist our *Untowardness*, and shake it off, and flee to *God* by *Prayer*, even force our selves to pray for *Grace*, and fitness to pray; and being earnest, and praying in *Faith*, we may be assured, that we shall obtain *Life* and *Grace*.

L. When the *Mind* is distracted any way, unsettled, unquiet, or out of order, then get alone and muse, and see what hath brought us to this pass; consider how irksome a *State* this is, and unprofitable, pray to *God*, and work with thy own *Heart*, until it be brought in frame. An *Hour* or two alone, shall do a *Man* more good, than any other *Courses* or *Duties*.

LI. Aim (if it be possible) to spend one *Afternoon* in a *Week*, in visiting the *Neighbours houses*, Great use there is of it: Their *Love* to me will be much increased: Much occasion will be ministered unto me, for *Direction* to speak the more *freely* in my *Ministry*. I am exceedingly grieved, that I am so distracted with *Journeys* about, that I cannot bring this to pass.

LII. I never go abroad, (except I season my *Mind* with good *Meditations* by the way, or read, or confer) but besides the loss of my *Time*, neglecting my ordinary *Task* at home, at my *Study*, I come home weary in *Body*, unsettled in *Mind*, untoward to *Study*. So that I have small cause to rejoice in my *Goings* forth, and I desire *God* to free me more and more from them: So may I also attend my own *Neighbours* more diligently, which is my great desire, and the contrary hath been, and is my great *Burthen*.

LIII. I have ever observed, that by *Journeys* and *Distractions* of divers kinds, in these my *later Times*, and by too often *Preaching* in my *younger Years*, I have been held from using means to get *Knowledge*, and grow therein: Which I counted ever the just *Punishment* of *God* upon me, for the neglect of my *young Time*, when I should and might have furnished my self.

LIV. When I am in the best *Estate* my self, I preach most zealously and profitably for the *People*.

LV. It breeds an incredible *Comfort* and *Joy*, when one hath got power over some such *Corruption*, as in former *Times* hath used to get the *Mastery* over him. This is a good *Provocation* to strive hard so to do, and a Cause of great *Thankfulness* when it so comes to pass.

LVI. If we be at any time much dejected for *Sin*, or otherwise disquieted in our *Minds*, the best way that can be, is to settle and quiet them by *private Meditation* and *Prayer*. *Probatum est*.

LVII. The *humble Man* is the *strongest Man* in the *World*, and surest to stand, for he goes out of himself for help. The *proud Man* is the *weakest Man*, and surest to fall: For he trusts to his own strength.

LVIII. It's good in all the *Changes* of our *Life*, whatsoever they be, to hold our own, and be not changed therewith from our *Goodness*: As *Abraham*, wherefoever he came (after his *Calling*) still built his *Altar* to the true *God*, and called upon his *Name*: He changed his *Place*, but never changed his *God*.

LIX. Our whole *Life* under the *Gospel* should be nothing but *Thankfulness* and *Fruitfulness*. And if we must judge our selves for our inward

Lustre and Corruptions of *Pride, Dulness* in good Duties, *Earthliness, Impatience*. If we make not Conscience of, and be not humbled for these, God will and doth, oft give us up to *open Sins*, that Stain and Blemish our Profession.

LX. The more we Judge our selves *Daily*, the less we shall have to do on our *Sick-beds*; and when we come to *die*. Oh! *That* is an unfit Time for *This*! We should have nothing to do then, but bear our *Pain* wisely, and be ready to *die*. Therefore, let us be exact in our Accounts every Day!

Reader, Having thus entertained thee with the *Memorials* of the Famous Mr. *John Rogers*, I will conclude them with transcribing a Remark, which I find in a Book published by Mr. *Giles Firmin*, 1681.

Some Excellent Men at home conformed, but groaned under the Burden; as, I remember, Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*, an Eminent

Saint; tho' he did conform, I never saw him wear a *Surplice*, nor heard him use but a few *Prayers*; and those, I think, he said *memoriter*, he did not read them: But this he would do in his *Preaching*, draw his Finger about his Throat, and say, *Let them take me and hang me up, so they will but remove these Stumbling Blocks out of the Church*. But how many Thousands of Choice Christians pluck'd up their Stakes here, forsook their Dear Friends and Native Country, shut up themselves in Ships, (to whom a Prison for the time, had been more eligible) went remote into an howling Wilderness, there underwent great Hardships, Water was their common Drink, and glad if they might have had but that which they had given at their Doors here, (many of them :) and all this Suffering was to avoid your Impositions, and that they might dwell in the House of God, and enjoy all things therein, according to his own Appointment.

C H A P. XV.

Bibliander Nov-Anglicanus. The LIFE of Mr. SAMUEL NEWMAN.

*Nulla Tuas unquam Virtutes nesciet Ætas;
Non Jus in Laudes Mors habet Atra Tuas.*

§ 1. NONE of the least Services, which the Pens of Ingenious and Industrious Men have done for the Church of God, hath been in the Writing of *CONCORDANCES* for that Miraculous Book, where, *Quicquid docetur est Veritas; Quicquid precipitur, Bonitas; Quicquid promittitur, Felicitas*. The Use of such *Concordances* is well understood by all that search the *Scriptures*, and think thereby to have *Eternal Life*: But most of all by those *Bezaleels*, whose Business 'tis (as one speaks) to cut and set in Gold the *Diamonds* of the *Divine Word*.

And therefore there have been many *Concordances* of the Bible since that *Origen* first led the way for such Composures, and divers Languages; whereof, it may be, the *Maximæ & absolutissimæ Concordantiæ*, most Compleat, have been those that were compos'd by the Two *Stephens*, Robert the Father and Henry the Son; these, as their Name signifies a *Crown*, so in this Work of theirs, like *Demosthenes* in his Oration, *Dei Corona*, have carried away the *Garland* from all that went afore them.

Now, in the Catalogue of *Concordances*, even from that of R. *Isaac Nathans*, in *Hebrew*, to all that have in many other *derived Languages* imitated it, there is none to be compar'd unto that of Mr. *Samuel Newman*, in *English*. Indeed, first *Marbeck* in a *Concordance*, which pointed unto *Chapters*, but not unto *Verses*; then *Cotton*, who though no *Clergy-man* himself,

yet by his *more*, but yet not quite perfect *Concordance* and his *Diligence*, obliged all *Clergy-men*; and afterwards *Bernard*, who yet (no more than his Name's sake) saw not all things; and then *Downham*, *Wickens*, *Bennet*, and how many more? have done *vertuously*; but *Thou*, *Newman*, hast excelled them all! It hath been a just Remark, sometimes, made by them, who are so wise as to observe these things, that the Lord Jesus Christ, in his Holy *Providence*, hath chose especially to make the *Names* of those Persons *Honourable*, who have laboured in their *Works*, especially to put *Honour* upon the *Sacred Scriptures*. And in Conformity to that Observation, there are Dues to be now paid unto the *Memory* of Mr. *Samuel Newman*, who that the *Scriptures* might be preserved for the *Memory*, as well as the *Understanding* of the *Christian World*, first compiled in *England*, a more Elaborate *Concordance* of the Bible, than had ever yet been seen in *Europe*; and after he came to *New-England*, made that *Concordance* yet more elaborate, by the Addition of not only many *Texts*, that were not in the former, but also the *Marginal Readings* of all the *Texts* that had them, and by several other *Contributions* to made the whole more *Expedite*, for the Use of them that Consulted it.

§ 2. The Life of Mr. *Samuel Newman*, commenced with the *Century* now running; at *Banbury*, where he was born of a Family, more *Eminent* and more *Ancient* for the Profession

of the True Protestant Religion, than most in the Realm of England. After his Parents, who had more Piety and Honesty, than Worldly Greatness to signalize them, had bestowed a Good Education upon him, and after his Abode in the University of Oxford, had given more Perfection to that Education, he became an Able Minister of the New Testament. But being under the Conscientious Dispositions of Real Christianiity, which was then called Puritanism, the Persecution from the Prevailing Hierarchy, whereto he therefore became Obnoxious, deprived him of Liberty, for the peaceable Exercise of his Ministry. Whence it came to pass, that although we might otherwise have termed him a Presbyter of One Town by Ordination, we must now call him an Evangelist of many, through Persecution: For the Episcopal Molestations compelled him to no less than Seven Removes, and as many Places may now contend for the Honour of his Ministry, as there did for Homer's Nativity. But an Eighth Remove, whereto a Weariness of the former Seven drove him, shall bury in Silence the Claims of all other places unto him; for after the Year 1638. (in which Year, with many others, as Excellent Christians, as any Breathing upon Earth, he cross'd the Water to America) he must be stiled, A New-England Man.

§ 3. After Mr. Newman's Arrival at New-England, he spent a Year and half at Dorchester, Five Years at Weymouth, and Nineteen Years at Rehoboth, which Name he gave unto the Town, because his Flock, which were before straitned for Want of Room, now might say, *The Lord hath made Room for us, and we shall be Fruitful in the Land*: Nor will it be wondered at, if one so well-versed in the Scripture, could think of none but a Scripture-Name, for the Place of his Habitation. How many Straits he afterwards underwent at Rehoboth, in the Dark-Day, when he was almost the only Minister, whose Invincible Patience held out, under the Scandalous Neglect and Contempt of the Ministry, which the whole Colony of Plymouth, was for a while Bewitched into, it is best known unto the Compassionate Lord, who said unto him, *I know thy Works, and how thou hast born and hast Patience, and for my Name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted*. But, no doubt, the Straits did but more effectually Recommend Heaven to him as the only Rehoboth; whether he went July 5. in the Year of our Lord 1663. when by passing through Nine Sevens of Years, he was come to that which we call, *The Grand Climacterical*. Nor let it be forgotten, that in this Memorable and Miserable Year, each of the Three Colonies of New-England was headed of the Minister from whence they had most of their Influences; Norton went from the Massachusetts Colony, Stone went from Connecticut Colony, and Newman from Plymouth Colony, within a few Weeks of one another.

§ 4. He was a very Lively Preacher, and a

very Preaching Liver. He lov'd his Church as if it had been his Family, and he taught his Family, as if it had been his Church. He was an Hard-Student; and as much Toyl and Oyl, as his Learned Name's sake Neander employed in Illustrations and Commentaries, upon the Old, Greek, Pagan Poets, our Newman bestowed in compiling his Concordances of the Sacred Scriptures: And the Incomparable Relish which the Sacred Scriptures had with him, while he had them thus under his Continual Ruminatiion, was as well a Mean, as a Sign of his arriving to an extraordinary Measure of that Sanctity, which the Truth produces. But of his Family-Discipline there was no part more notable, than this one; That once a Year he kept a Solemn day of Humiliation with his Family; and once a Year, a day of Thanksgiving; and on these days, he would not only enquire of his Household, what they had met withal to be Humbled, or to be Thankful for, but also he would Recruit the Memoirs of his Diary; by being denied the Sight whereof, our History of him is necessarily Creeped with much Imperfection.

But whether it were entred in that Diary or no, there was one Remarkable which once befel him, worthy of a mention in this History. He was once on a Journey home from Boston to Rehoboth: But hearing of a Lecture at Dorchester by the way, he thought with himself, *Perhaps I shall not be out of my way, if I go so far out of my way, as to take that Lecture*. There he found Mr. Mather at Prayer; the Prayer being ended, Mr. Mather would not be satisfied except he would Preach. Accordingly after the singing of a Psalm, he preached an Excellent Sermon; and by that Sermon, a poor Sinner, well known in the Place, was remarkably converted unto God, and became a Serious and Eminent Christian.

§ 5. Hospitality was an Essential of his Character; and I can tell when he entertained Angels not Unawares. 'Tis doubtless, a Faulty piece of Insensibility, among too many of the Faithful, that they do little consider the Guard of Holy Angels, wherewith our Lord Jesus Christ wonderfully supplies us against the Mischief and Malice of Wicked Spirits. Those Holy Angels, are, it may be, Two Hundred and Sixty times mentioned in the Sacred Oracles of Heaven; and yet we that read so much in those Oracles, are so Earthly-minded, as to take little Notice of them. 'Tis a marvellous thing, that as one says, The Natives of Heaven do not grudge to attend upon those, who are only the Denisons thereof; and that, as the Ancient expresses it, we may see the whole Heaven at work for our Salvation, God the Father sending his Son to Redem us, both the Father and the Son sending their Spirit to guide us, the Father, Son and Spirit sending their Angels to minister for us. Now of the whole Angelical Ministration concerned for our Good, there is, it may be, none more considerable, than the Illustrious Convoy and Conduct, which they give unto the Spirits of Believers, when being exposed,

pired, they pass through the Territories of the *Prince of the Power of the Air*, unto the Regions, where they must attend until the *Resurrection*. What *Elijah* had at his Translation, *A Chariot of Angels*, does, in some sort, accompany all the *Saints* at their Expiration; they are carried by *Angels* unto the Feast with *Abraham*, and *Angels* do then Receive them into *Everlasting Habitations*. The Faith of this matter has therefore filled the Departing Souls of many Good Men, with *A Joy unspeakable and full of Glory*: Thus, the Famous Lord *Mornay*, when Dying, said, *I am taking my Flight to Heaven; here are Angels that stand ready to carry my Soul into the Bosom of my Saviour*; thus the Famous *Dr. Holland*, when dying, said, *O thou Fiery Chariot, which comest down to fetch up Elijah, you Angels, that attended the Soul of Lazarus, bear me into the Bosom of my best Beloved*: Thus we know of another, that when Dying, said, *O that you had your Eyes opened to see what I see; I see Millions of Angels; God has appointed them to carry my Soul up to Heaven, where I shall behold the Lord Face to Face*. And now, let my Reader accept another Instance of this Dying and most Lively Expectation!

Our *Newman*, towards the Conclusion of his Days, advanced more and more towards the Beginning of his *Joys*: And a *Joyful* as well as a *Prayerful*, *Watchful*, and *Fruitful* Temper of Soul, observably irradiated him. At length, being yet in Health, he preached a Sermon on these Words in *Job 14. 14. All the Days of my appointed Time will I wait, until my Change come*: Which proved his *Last*. Falling sick hereupon, he did in the Afternoon of a following *Lords Day*, ask a *Deacon* of his Church to pray with him; and the pious *Deacon* having finished his Prayer, this Excellent Man turned about, saying, *And now ye Angels of the Lord Jesus Christ, Come, Do your Office!* with which Words he immediately expired his Holy Soul, into the Arms of *Angels*: The Spirit of this *Just Man*, was immediately with the *Innumerable Company of Angels*.

§ 6. The Believing Sinner, then has the *Forgiveness of Sin* effectually declar'd and assur'd unto him, when the *Holy Spirit* of God, with a *Special Operation* (which is call'd, *The Seal of the Holy Spirit*) produces in him a *Solid*, *Powerful*, *Wonderful*, and *Well grounded Perswasion* of it; and when he brings home the *Pardoning Love* of God unto the Heart, with such *Immediate and Irresistible Efficacy*, as marvelously moves and melts the Heart, and overwhelms it with the *Inexpressible Consolations* of a *Pardon*. The *Forgiveness of Sin*, may be *Hopefully*, but cannot be *Joyfully*, evident unto us, without such a *Special Operation* of the *Holy Spirit*, giving *Evidence* thereunto. When we set our selves to *argue* our *Justification*, from the Marks of our *Sanctification*, that we can find upon our selves, we do *well*; we work *right*; we are in an *orderly way* of proceeding. But yet, we cannot well see our *Sanctification*,

except a *Special Operation* of the Spirit of God, help our Sight; and if we do see our *Sanctification*, yet our Sight of our *Justification* will be no more than feeble, except a *Special Operation* of the Spirit of God shall comfort us. Our own *Argument* may make us a little *easy*; and it is our Duty to be found in that *Rational way of Arguing*; but this meer *Argument* of our own, will not bring us to that *Joyful Peace* of Soul, that will carry us triumphantly thro' the *Dark Valley of the Shadow of Death*, and make us *Triumph* over our Doubts, our Fears, and all our Discouragements. At last, the Spirit of God, He will come in gloriously upon our Hearts, and cause us to receive the *Pardon* of our Sins, offered freely thro' Christ unto us; and then, we shall *Rejoice with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory*. Nevertheless, Whenever the *Forgiveness of our Sins*, is by a *Special Operation* of the Holy Spirit Reveal'd unto us, the Symptoms of a *Regenerate Soul*, do always accompany it. Tho' the Marks of *Sanctification* are not enough, to give us the full *Joy* of our *Justification*; yet they give us the *Proof* of it. When a *Special Operation* of the *Holy Spirit*, gives us to see our *Justification*, it will give us to see our *Sanctification* too.

In writing this, I have written a considerable Article of our *Church-History*: For it was *this Article*, that perhaps more than any whatsoever, exercised the Thoughts and Pens of our *Churches*, for many Years together. But the mention hereof, serves particularly to introduce a few more *Memoirs* of our *Holy Newman*.

All *Good Christians* do sometimes *Examine* themselves about their *Interior State*: And they that would be *Great Christians*, must often do it. Tho' the Reserv'd Papers of our *Newman*, are too carelessly lost, yet I have recovered *one*, which runs in such Terms as these-

' *Notes, or Marks of Grace*, I find in my
' self; Not wherein I desire to glory,
' but to take ground of Assurance, and
' after our Apostles Rules, To make my
' Election sure, tho' I find them but in
' weak Measure.

' 1. I find, I love God, and desire to love
' God, principally for himself.

' 2. A Desire to Requite Evil with Good.

' 3. A looking up to God, to see him, and
' his Hand, in all things that befall me.

' 4. A Greater Fear of displeasing God, than
' all the World.

' 5. A Love to such Christians as I never saw,
' or received Good from.

' 6. A Grief, When I see God's Commands
' broken by any Person.

' 7. A Mourning for not finding the Assu-
' rance of God's Love, and the Sense of his
' Favour, in that comfortable manner, at one
' Time, as at another, and not being Able to
' serve God as I should.

' 8. A Willingness to give God the Glory of
' any Ability to do Good.

9. A Joy, when I am in *Christian Company*,
in *Godly Conference*.
10. A Grief, when I perceive it goes ill with
Christians, and the contrary.
11. A constant Performance of *Secret Du-*
ties, between God and my self, Morning and
Evening.
12. A bewailing of such *Sins*, which none
in the World can accuse me of.
13. A choosing of *Suffering* to avoid *Sin*.

But having thus mentioned the *Self-Examination*, which this holy Man accustomed himself unto, I know not; but this may be a very proper Opportunity, to observe, That the *Holiness* of our *Primitive Christians*, in this Land, was more than a little expressed and improved, by this piece of *Christianity*. And that I may serve this Design of *Christianity*, upon the devout Reader, I will take this Opportunity to digress, (if it be a *Digression*) so far, as to recite a passage I lately read in a Paper, which a *private Christian*, one of our Godly Old Men, who died not long since, (namely Mr. *Clap*, once the Captain of our Castle) did, at his Death, leave behind him.

That Godly Man had long been labouring under Doubts and Fears, about his *interiour State* before God. At last he was one Day considering with himself, what was his most *beloved Sin*. Herewithal he considered, whether in case the Lord would assure him, that *all Sin* should be for ever pardoned unto him, and he

should arrive safe to Heaven in the Issue, yet he should not in the mean time have that one Sin mortified, and be delivered from the Reign and Rage of that one Sin,——Whether this would content him? Hereunto he found and said, before the Lord, *That this would not content him*. And hereupon the Spirit of God immediately irradiated his Mind, with a strange and a strong Assurance of the Divine Love unto him. He was dissolved into a Flood of Tears, with assurance, That God had *loved him with an everlasting Love*. And from this time, the Assurance of his Pardon, conquered his Doubts and Fears, I think, all the rest of his Days.

Our too defective History of our *Newman*, I will conclude, as *Blabostius* did in his History of *Johannes Cornu*: *Longum est Elogia hujus viri narrare. Sed perfectior Historia, ut de aliis vires, ita & de isto, consummatur, & quotidie augetur in Vita eterna; Quam da nobis, O Domino Deus, in gloria cum gaudio legendam. Amen.*

Epitaphium.

*Mortuus est NEANDER Nov-Anglus,
Qui ante mortem dedit mori,
Et obiit eâ morte, quæ potest esse, Ars bene
moriendi.*

CHAP. XVI.

Doctor Irrefragabilis. The LIFE of Mr. SAMUEL STONE.

§ 1. IF the Church of Rome do boast of her *Cornelius à Lapide*, who hath published Learned Commentaries upon almost the whole Bible, the Protestant and Reformed Church of *New-England*, may boast of her *Samuel Stone*, who was better skill'd than the other in Sacred *Philology*, and whose Learned Sermons and Writings were not stuffed with such *Trifles* and *Fables*, and other *Impertinencies*, as fill many Pages in the Composites of the other.

§ 2. In his Youth, after his leaving of the University of *Cambridge*, where *Emanuel-Colledge* had instructed him with the *Light*, and nourish'd him with the *Cup* of that famous University, he did, with several other Persons, that proved famous in their Generation, sit at the feet of a most excellent *Gamaliel*; attending upon that eminently Holy Man of God, whom I will venture to call, *Saint Blackerby*. That Reverend *Richard Blackerby*, whose most *Angelical* sort of *Life*, you may read among the last of *Sam. Clark's* Collections, was a Tutor to Mr.

Stone; and you may reasonably expect, that such a *Scholar*, should have a *double Portion* of the *Spirit*, which there was in such a *Tutor*.

§ 3. Having been an accomplished, industrious, but yet persecuted Minister of the Gospel, in *England*, he came to *New-England*, in the same Ship that brought over Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Hooker*. A Ship, which in those Three Worthies, brought from *Europe* a richer Loading, than the richest that ever sail'd back from *America* in the *Spanish Flota*; even that Wreck which had on Board, among other Treasures, one entire Table of Gold, weighing above Three thousand and three hundred Pound. Indeed the Foundation of *New-England* had a precious *Jem* laid in it, when Mr. *Stone* arrived in these Regions.

But the Circumstances of this Removal, require to be related with more of Particularities. The Judicious Christians that were coming to *New-England* with Mr. *Hooker*, were desirous to obtain a Colleague for him, and being disappointed

pointed of obtaining Mr. Cotton for that purpose, (who nevertheless took it very kindly, that Mr. Hooker had sent them unto him) they began to think, that a couple of such great Men might be more serviceable *asunder*, than *together*. So their next Agreement was, to procure some able and godly *young Man*, who might be an *Assistant* unto Mr. Hooker, with something of a *Disciple* also; and those Three, Mr. Shepard, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Stone, were to this end proposed; and Mr. Stone, then a Lecturer at *Torchester* in *Northampton-shire*, was the Person upon whom at length it fell, to accompany Mr. Hooker into *America*.

§ 4. From the *New-English Cambridge*, he went Colleague to Mr. Hooker, with a chosen and a devout Company of Christians, who gathered a famous *Church*, at a Town which they call'd *Hartford*, upon the well-known River of *Connecticut*. There he continued feeding the Flock of our Lord, fourteen Years, with Mr. Hooker, and sixteen Years after him; till he that was born at *Hartford* in *England*, now on *July 20. 1663.* died in *Hartford* of *New-England*; and went unto the *Heavenly Society*, whereof he would with some Longing say, *Heaven is the more desirable, for such Company as Hooker, and Shepard, and Hains, who are got there before me.*

§ 5. His way of living was *godly, sober, and righteous*, and like that great Apostle who was his *Name-sake*, he could seriously and sincerely profess, *Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee.* But there were two things, wherein the *Power of Godliness* uses to be most remarkably manifested and maintained; and he was remarkable for both of these things; namely, frequent *Fastings*, and exact *Sabbaths*. He would, not rarely, set apart whole Days for *Fasting* and *Prayer* before the Lord, whereby he ripened his blessed Soul for the *Inheritance of the Saints in Light*. And when the *Weekly Sabbath* came, which he still began in the *Evening* before, he would compose himself unto a most heavenly Frame in all things, and not let fall a *Word*, but what should be grave, serious, pertinent. Moreover, it was his Custom, that the *Sermon* which he was to preach on the *Lord's Day* in his Assembly, he would the Night before, deliver to his own Family. A Custom which was attended with several Advantages.

§ 6. Being ordained the *Teacher* of the *Church* in *Hartford*, he apprehending himself under a particular and peculiar Obligation, to endeavour the Edification of his People, by a more *Doctrinal* way of Preaching: Accordingly, as he had the *Art* of keeping to his Hour, so he had an incomparable Skill at filling of that Hour with *Nervous Discourses*, in the way of *Common-place* and *Proposition*, handling the Points of *Divinity*, which he would conclude with a brief and close *Application*: And then he would in his *Prayer*, after *Sermon*, put all into such pertinent *Confessions*, *Petitions*, and *Thanksgivings*, as notably digested his *Doctrine* into *Devotion*. He was

a *Man of Principles*, and in the Management of those Principles, he was both a *Loud Stone*, and a *Flint Stone*.

§ 7. He had a certain *Pleasancy* in Conversation, which was the Effect and Symptom of his most ready *Wit*; and made Ingenious Men to be as *Covetous* of his *Familiarity*, as *Admirers* of his *Ingenuity*. Possibly he might think of what *Suidas* reports concerning *Macarins*, That by the *Pleasancy* of his *Discourses* on all Occasions, he drew many to the Ways of God. He might be inclined, like Dr. *Staunton*, who said, *I have used my self to be cheerful in Company, that so Standers-by might be the more in Love with Religion, seeing it consistent with Cheerfulness.* Hence *Facetious Turns* were almost *Natural* to him, in his Conversation with such, as had the Sense to comprehend the *Subtleties* of his *Reparties*. But still under such a Reserve, as to escape the Sentence of the *Canon* of the *Council* of *Carthage*; *Clericum scurrilem & verbis turpibus Joculatorem, ab officio Retrahendum esse censemus.*

§ 8. Reader, What should be the meaning of this? Our Mr. Stone, about, or before the Year 1650, when all things were in a profound Calm, delivered in a Sermon his Pre apprehensions, that *Churches* among them would come to be broken by *Schism*, and sudden *Censures*, and angry *Removes*: And that e'er they were aware, these *Mischiefs* would arise among them; in the *Churches Prayers* against *Prayers*, *Hearts* against *Hearts*, *Tears* against *Tears*, *Tongues* against *Tongues*, and *Fasts* against *Fasts*, and horrible *Prejudices* and *Underminings*. Many Years did not pass, before he saw in his *own Church*, all of this accomplished. He little thought that his *own Church*, must be the Stage of these *Tragedies*, when he told some of his Friends, *That he should never want their Love*. He did live to undergo what we are now going to signify:

Towards the latter end of his time, this *present evil World*, was made yet more *Evil* unto him, through an unhappy *Difference*, which arose between him and a *Ruling Elder* in the *Church*, whereof he was himself a *Teaching Elder*. They were both of them *Godly Men*; and the true *Original* of the *Misunderstanding* between Men that were of so *Good an Understanding*, has been rendred almost as obscure as the *Rise of Connecticut-River*. But it proved in its unhappy Consequences, too like that River in its great Annual Inundations; for it overspread the whole Colony of *Connecticut*. Such a monstrous *Enchantment* there was upon the Minds even of those who were *Christians*, and *Brethren*, that in all the Towns round about, the People generally made themselves *Parties*, either to one side, or t'other, in this *Quarrel*; tho' Multitudes of them, scarce ever distinctly knew, what the *Quarrel* was: And the *Factions* insinuated themselves into the smallest, as well as the greatest Affairs of those Towns. From the *Fire of the Altar*, there issued *Thundrings* and *Lightnings*, and *Earthquakes*, through the Colony. As once in *Constantinople*, a Fire that began

began in the Church consumed the Senate-House. Thus the Fire which began in the Church more than a little affected the Senate-House in Connecticut: And the People also were many of them as fiercely set against one another, as the Combites in the Poet were against the Tentyrites. A World of Sin was doubtless committed, even by Pious Men on this Occasion, while they permitted so many things contrary to the Law of Charity, and so much mispending of their Time, and misplacing of their Zeal, as must needs occur in their woful Variance. Alas! How many of Solomon's wife Proverbs were explained and intanced in the Follies of these Contests! Indeed, for the composing of these Brangles, there was the Help of Council called in; but every Council fetch'd from the Neighbourhood, was thought prejudiced; for which Cause, at last, a Council was desired from the Churches about Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay, whose Messengers took the pains, thus to Travel more than an Hundred Miles for the Pacification of these Animosities; and a sort of Pacification was thereby attained; but yet not without the Dismission and Removal of many Vertuous People, further up the River; whereby some other Churches came to be gathered, which are now famous in our Israel. 'Tis not easy to comprehend, and I wish no such Faithful Servant of God may experience it; how much the Spirit of Mr. Stone, was worn by the Continual Dropping of this Contention. — *Gutta cavat Lapidem*. But the Dust of Mortality being thrown upon those Good Men, they have not only left stinging one another, but also they are together Hived with Unjarring Love, in the Land that flows with what is better than Milk and Honey. As for Mr. Stone, if it were Metaphorically true (what they Proverbially said) of Beza, that he had no Gall, the Physicians that opened him after his Death, found it Literally true in this worthy Man.

§ 9. In his Church-Discipline, he was, perhaps, the exactest of that which we call Congregational, and being asked once to give a Description of the Congregational Church-Government, he replied, *It was a speaking Aristocracy in the Face of a silent Democracy*.

§ 10. He was an Extraordinary Person at an Argument; and as clear, and smart a Disputant, as most that ever lived in the World. Hence, when any Scholar came to him with any Question, it was his Custom to bid him take which part the Quarist himself pleased, either Positive or Negative, and he would most

Argumentatively dispute against him; whereby having disputed one another into the Narrow of the Case, he would then give the Enquirer the most Judicious and satisfying Determination of his Problem, that could be imagined. Yea, what Cicero says of one, might almost be said of him, *Nullam unquam in Disputationibus rem defendit, quam non probavit; nullum oppugnavit, quem non everterit*.

§ 11. The World has not been entertained with many of his Composures. But certain Strokes of Mr. Hudson and Mr. Cowdrey, fetch'd one Spark out of this well compacted Stone; which was, *A Discourse about the Logical Notion of a Congregational Church*; wherein some thought, that as a Stone from the Sling of David, he has mortally wounded the Head of that Goliath, *A National Political Church*. At least, he made an Essay, to do what was done by the Stone of Boban, setting the Bounds between Church and Church, as That between Tribe and Tribe.

Moreover, I find in a Book, which a late Author hath written *On Free-Grace*, this Passage; *Might the World be so happy, as to see a very Elaborate Confutation of the Antinomians, written by a very acute and solid Person, a Great Disputant, viz. Mr. Stone of New-England, a Congregational Divine, it would easily appear, that the Congregational are not Antinomian*. And Mr. Baxter, in one of his last Works, does utter his Dying Wishes, for the Resurrection of that buried Manuscript.

But one of the most Elaborate things written by Mr. Stone, or indeed, in this Land, is his *Body of Divinity*; wherein the Reader has in a Richardsonian Method, curiously drawn up the Doctrine of the Protestant, and Reformed, and New-English Churches; and the Marrow of all that had been Reached, by the hard and long Studies of this Great Student in Theology. This Rich Treasure has often been Transcribed by the vast Pains of our Candidates for the Ministry; and it has made some of our most Considerable Divines. But all Attempts for the Printing of it, hitherto proved Abortive.

Epitaphium.

— *Quem Nubila Vita Coronant.*

C H A P. XVII.

The LIFE of Mr. WILLIAM THOMPSON.

§ 1. **T**Here is no Experienced Minister of the Gospel, who hath not in the Cafes of *Tempted Souls*, often had this Experience, that the Ill Cafes of their distempered *Bodies*, are the frequent Occasion and Original of their *Temptations*. There are many Men, who in the very Constitution of their *Bodies*, do afford a *Bed*, wherein busy and bloody *Devils*, have a sort of a Lodging provided for them. The *Mafs of Blood* in them, is disordered with some Fiery *Acid*, and their *Brains* or *Bowels* have some Juices or Ferments, or Vapours about them, which are most unhappy *Engines* for *Devils* to work upon their Souls withal. The Vitiated Humours in many Persons, yield the *Steams*, whereinto *Satan* does insinuate himself, till he has gained a sort of *Possession* in them, or at least, an Opportunity to shoot into the Mind, as many *Fiery Darts*, as may cause a sad Life unto them; yea, 'tis well if *Self-Murder* be not the sad end, into which these hurried People are thus precipitated. *New-England*, a Country where *Splenetic* Maladies are prevailing and pernicious, perhaps above any other, hath afforded Numberless Instances, of even *pious People*, who have contracted those *Melancholy Indispositions*, which have unhinged them from all Service or Comfort; yea, not a few Persons have been hurried thereby to lay *Violent Hands* upon themselves at the last. These are among the *unsearchable Judgments of God!*

§ 2. Mr. *William Thompson* was a Reverend Minister of the Gospel, who felt in himself, the Vexations of that *Melancholy*, which Persons in his Office do so often see in others. He was a very powerful and successful *Preacher*; and we find his Name sometimes joined in the Title-Page of several Books; with his Countryman, Mr. *Richard Mather*, as a *Writer*. Nor was *New-England* the only part of *America*, where he zealously published the Messages and Mysteries of Heaven, after that the English *Hierarchy* had persecuted him from the like Labours in *Lancashire*, over into *America*; but upon a Mission from the Churches of *New-England*, he carried the Tidings of Salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ into *Virginia*: Where he saw a Notable Fruit of his Labours, until that Faction there, which call'd it self, *The Church of England*, persecuted him from thence also. *Satan*, who had been after an extraordinary manner irritated by the Evangelic Labours of this Holy Man, obtained the Liberty to *sift* him; and hence, after this Worthy Man had served the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Church of our New-English *Braintree*, he fell into that *Balneum Diaboli*, a black *Melancholy*, which for divers Years almost wholly disabled him for the

Exercise of his Ministry: But the end of this *Melancholy*, was not so Tragical, as it sometimes is with some, whom yet because of their Exemplary *Lives*, we dare not censure for their Prodigious *Deaths*. It is an Observation of no little Consequence, in our Christian Warfare, That for all the fierce *Temptations* of the Devil upon us, there is a *Time* limited; an *Hour of Temptation*. During this *Time*, the Devil may grow the more furious upon us, the more we do *Resist* him. We must *Resist* until the *Time*, which is *prefixt* by God, but *unknown* to us, is expired: And then, we shall find it a *Law* in the *Invisible World* strictly kept unto, That if the *Resistance* be carried on so such a Period, tho' perhaps with many Intervening Foyle, the *Devil* will be gone; yea, whether he will or no, we *must* be gone. There is a *Law* for it, which obliges him to a *Flight*, and a *Flight* that carries a *Fright* in it; a *Fear* from an Apprehension that God, with his *Good Angels*, will come in, with terrible Chastisements upon him, if he presume to continue his *Temptations* one Moment longer, than the *Time* that had been allow'd unto him. All this, may be implied, in that Passage of the Apostle, *Resist the Devil, and he will flee from you*. And as our Lord, being Twice more furiously *Tempted* by the Devil, *Drew near to God*, with *Extraordinary Prayer*; but when the *Time* for the *Temptation* was out, God by his *Angels* then sensibly *drew near* unto him, with fresh Consolations: To this, no doubt, the Apostle refers, when he adds, *Draw nigh to God, and he shall draw nigh to you*. Accordingly, the Pastors and the Faithful, of the Churches in the Neighbourhood, kept *Resisting of the Devil*, in his cruel Assaults upon Mr. *Thompson*, by continually *Drawing near to God*, with ardent Supplications on his Behalf: And by *praying always*, without *Fainting*, without *ceasing*, they saw the *Devil* at length *Flee from him*, and God himself *Draw near* unto him, with unutterable Joy. The End of that Man is *Peace!*

§ 3. A short Flight of our Poetry shall tell the rest.

R E M A R K S

On the *Bright* and the *Dark Side*,
of that *American Pillar*,
The Reverend Mr. *William Thompson*;
Pastor of the Church at *Braintree*.
Who *Triumphed* on Dec. 10. 1666.

BUT may a *Rural Pen* try to set forth
Such a Great *Fathers* Ancient Grace and
Worth!

I undertake a no less Arduous Theme,
Than the Old Sages found the *Chaldee* Dream.
'Tis more than *Tythes* of a profound Respect,
That must be paid such a *Melchizedeck*.

Oxford this *Light*, with *Tongues* and *Arts*
doth Trim;
And then his *Northern* Town doth challenge him-
His Time and Strength he center'd there in *this*;
To do *Good Works*, and *Be* what *Now* he is.
His *Fulgent Vertues* there, and *Learned Strains*,
Tall comely *Presence*, *Life* unfoil'd with *Stains*,
Things most on *WORTHIES*, in their *Stories*
writ,
Did him to moves in *Orbs* of *Service* fit.
Things more peculiar yet, my *Muse*, intend,
Say *Stranger* Things than these; so weep and
end.

When he forsook first his *Oxonian* Cell,
Some Scores at once from *Popish* Darkness fell,
So this *Reformer* studied! Rare *First Fruits*!
Shaking a *Crab-Tree* thus by hot *Disputes*,
The *Acid Juice* by *Miracle* turn'd *Wine*,
And rais'd the *Spirits* of our *Young* *Divine*.
Hearers, like *Doves*, flock't with contentions
Wing,
Who should be first, feed most, most *Homeward*
bring.
Laden with *Honey*, like *Hyblean* *Bees*,
They knead it into *Combs* upon their *Knees*.

Why he from *Europe's* Pleasant *Garden* fled,
In the *Next* Age, will be with *Horror* said.
Braintree was of this *Jewel* then possess'd,
Until himself, he labour'd into *Rest*.
His *Inventory* then, with *Johns*, was took;
A *Rough Coat*, *Girdle* with the *Sacred Book*.

When *Reverend Knowles* and he, fail'd hand
in hand,
To *CHRIST* espousing the *Virginian* *Land*,
Upon a *Ledge* of *Craggy* *Rocks* near stav'd,
His *Bible* in his *Bosom* thrusting sav'd;
The *Bible*, the best of *Cordial* of his *Heart*,
Come Floods, *Come Flames*, (cry'd he) *we'll ne-*
ver part.
A *Constellation* of *Great Converts* there,
Shone round him, and his *Heavenly* *Glory* were.
GOOKINS was one of *these*: By *Thompson's*
Pains,
CHRIST and *NEW-ENGLAND*, a dear
GOOKINS gains.

With a *Rare Skill* in *Hearts*, this *Doctor*
cou'd
Steal into them *Words* that should do them
Good.

His *Balsams* from the *Tree of Life* distill'd,
Hearts cleans'd and heal'd, and with *Rich* *Com-*
forts fill'd.
But here's the *Wo!* *Balsams* which others cur'd,
Would in his own *Turn* hardly be endur'd.

Apollyon owing him a *curst Spleen*
Who an *Apollo* in the *Church* had been,
Dreading his *Traffick* here would be undone
By *Num'rous Profelytes* he daily won,
Accus'd him of *Imaginary* *Faults*,
And puth'd him down so into *dismal Vaults*:
Vaults, where he kept long *Ember-Weeks* of
Grief,

Till *Heaven Alarm'd* sent him in *Relief*.
Then was a *Daniel* in the *Lions* *Den*,
A *Man*, oh, how *Belov'd* of *God* and *Men*!
By his *Bed-side* an *Hebrew* *Sword* there lay,
With which at last he drove the *Devil* away.
Quakers too durst not bear his keen *Replies*,
But *Fearing* it half drawn, the *Trembler* flies.
Like *Lazarus*, new raised from *Death*, appears
The *Saint* that had been *Dead* for many *Years*.
Our *Nebemiah* said, *Shall such as I*
Desert my Flock, and like a *Coward* fly!
Long had the *Churches* begg'd the *Saints* *Re-*
lease;
Releas'd at last, he dies in *Glorious* *Peace*.
The *Night* is not so long, but *Phosphor's* *Ray*
Approaching *Glories* doth on *High* display.
Faith's *Eye* in him discern'd the *Morning* *Star*,
His *Heart* leap'd; sure the *Sun* cannot be far.
In *Extasies* of *Joy*, he Ravish'd cries,
Love, love the Lamb, the Lamb! In whom he
dies.

Dec. 10. 1666.

But the *Churches* of *New-England* having
had another Instance of *Affliction* like that
which exercised our *Thompson*, I shall
chuse this *Place* to introduce it. *Lives*
have been sometimes best written in the
way of *Parallel*. To *Mr. William* *Thomp-*
son, shall now therefore be *Parallel'd*, our
Mr. John *Warham*.

C H A P. XVIII.

The LIFE of Mr. JOHN WARHAM.

When the *Time of Reformation* was come on, one of the more effectual things, done towards that *Reformation in England*, about the middle of the former Century, was to send about the Kingdom certain *Itinerant Preachers*, with a License to preach the *Fundamentals* of Religion, instead of the *Stuff*, with which the Souls of the People had been formerly furnished. Upon this occasion, 'tis a Passage mentioned by the famous Dr. Burnet: *Many Complaints were made of those that were Licensed to Preach; and that they might be able to justify themselves, they begin generally to write and read their Sermons: And thus did this Custom begin; in which, what is wanting in the Heat and Force of Delivery, is much made up by the Strength and Solidity of the Matter: And it has produced many Volumes of as excellent Sermons, as have been preached in any Age.*

The Custom of Preaching with *Notes*, thus introduced, has been decried by many good Men, besides *Fanaticks*, in the present Age, and many poor and weak *Prejudices* against it have been pretended. But hear the Words of the most accomplished Mr. Baxter, unto some Gain-sayers: *It is not the want of our Abilities, that makes us use our Notes; but it's a Regard unto our Work, and the Good of our Hearers. I use Notes as much as any Man, when I take Pains; and as little as any Man, when I am lazy, or busie, and have not leisure to prepare. Its easier unto us, to preach three Sermons without Notes, than one with them. He is a simple Preacher, that is not able to preach a Day, without Preparation, if his Strength would serve. Indeed I would have Distinction made between the reading of Notes, and the using of Notes. It is pity that a Minister should so read his Notes, as to take away the Vivacity, and Efficacy of his Delivery; but if he so use his Notes, as a Lawyer do's the Minutes whereupon he is to plead, and carry a full Quiver into the Pulpit with him, from whence he may with one cast of his Eye, after the lively shooting of one Arrow, fetch out the next, it might be a thousand ways advantageous.*

I suppose the first Preacher that ever thus preach'd with *Notes* in our *New England*, was the Reverend Warham: Who though he were sometimes faulted for it, by some Judicious

Men, who had never heard him, yet when once they came to bear him, they could not but admire the notable *Energy* of his Ministry. He was a more *vigorous Preacher* than the most of them who have been applauded for, *never looking in a Book in their Lives*. His latter Days were spent in the Pastoral Care and Charge of the Church at *Windsor*, where the whole Colony of *Conneticut* consider'd him as a principal Pillar, and Father of the Colony.

But I have one thing to relate concerning him, which I would not mention, if I did not by the mention thereof, propound and expect the advantage of some, that may be my Readers. Know then, that tho' our Warham were as pious a Man as most that were out of Heaven, yet Satan often threw him into those deadly Pangs of *Melancholly*, that made him despair of ever getting thither. Such were the terrible *Temptations*, and horrible *Buffetings*, undergone sometimes by the Soul of this holy Man, that when he has administred the *Lord's Supper* to his Flock, whom he durst not starve by omitting to administer that Ordinance; yet he has forborn himself to partake at the same time in the Ordinance, through the fearful *Djections* of his Mind, which perswaded him that those blessed Souls did not belong unto him. The dreadful *Darkness* which overwhelmed this *Child of Light* in his Life, did not wholly leave him till his Death. 'Tis reported, that he did even *set in a Cloud*, when he retired unto the glorified Society of those *Righteous Ones*, that are to shine forth, as the Sun in the Kingdom of their Father: Tho' some have asserted, that the *Cloud* was dispelled, before he expired.

What was desired by *Joannes Mathestus*, may now be inscribed on our *WARHAM*, for an

E P I T A P H.

*Securus recubo hic mundi pertesus iniqui;
Et didici & docui, vulnera, Christe, tua.*

C H A P. XIX.

The LIFE of Mr. HENRY FLINT.

ALtho' there is a most sensible and glorious Demonstration of the *Divine Providence* over Human Affairs, in the *stupend Variety* of *Human Faces*, that among so many Millions of Men, their Countenances are distinguishable enough to preserve the Order of Human Society, and Conversation thereon depending; yet there have been some notable Instances of *Resemblance* in the World. They are not only *Twins*, which have sometimes had this *Resemblance*, in such a degree, as to occasion more *Diversions*, than the two *Sofia's* in *Plautus's Amphytrio*; but some other Persons have been too like one another to be known asunder, without Critical Observations of *Accidental Circumstances*. I will not mention the several Examples of *Likeness* reported by *Pliny*, because there is frequently as much *Likeliness* between a *Plinyism* and a *Fable*. But *Mersennus* gives us the Names of two Men so extremely *alike*, that their nearest Relations were thereby most notoriously imposed upon. Yea, this *Likeness* has proceeded so far, that *Polystratus*, and *Hippocrides*, two Philosophers much alike, were both born in the same Day; they were School-Fellows, and of the same Sect; they both dy'd in a great Age, and at the very same Instant. Further yet, the two famous Brothers at *Riez*, in *France*, perfectly alike, if one of them were sick, or sad, or sleepy, the other would immediately be so too. And the Story of the three *Gordians*, the one exactly like *Augustus*, the second exactly like *Pompey*, the third exactly like *Scipio*; he that has read *Pezelius*, doubtless will remember it.

I know not whether any of these *Likenesses* are greater, than what it was the *Desire* and *Study*, and in a lesser measure the *Attainment* of

that holy and worthy Man, Mr. *Henry Flint*, the Teacher of *Brain-tree*, to have unto Mr. *Cotton*, the well-known Teacher of *Boston*. Having *Twins* once born unto him, he called the one *John*, to'her *Cotton*, and his *Honouring Imitation* of that Great Man, was as if he had been a *Twin* to *John Cotton* himself. In his exemplary *Life*, he was *John Cotton* to the *Life*; and in all the Circumstances of his Ministry, he propounded *John Cotton* for his Pattern; as apprehending that *he followed Jesus Christ*.

You may be sure, he that Copied after such an excellent Person, must *write fair*, tho' he should happen to fall any thing short of the Original.

Wherefore, having already written the Life of *John Cotton*, I need say nothing more of *Henry Flint*; but they are now both of them gone, where the *Harmony* is become yet more agreeable.

He that was a *Solid Stone*, in the Foundations of *New-England*, is gone to be a glorious One, in the Walls of the *New Jerusalem*.

He died *April 27. 1668.* and at his Death deserved the *Epitaph* once allowed unto *Mentzer*.

Epitaphium.

Flintæus semper Meditatus Gaudia Cæli,
Nunc tandem Cæli Gaudia Lætus habet.

C H A P. XX.

The LIFE of Mr. RICHARD MATHER.

Florente verbo, omnia Florent in Ecclesia. Luther.

§ 1. **I**T is a memorable Passage, which Doctor *Hall*, after a Personal Examination of it, ventures to relate, as most credible, [in his Book of *Angels*,] That a certain Cripple called *John Trelille*, having been sixteen Years a miserable Cripple, did upon three Monitions in a Dream to do so, wash himself in *S. Mather's* Well, and was immediately restored unto the use of his Limbs, and became able to walk, and work, and maintain himself.

Reader, If thou hast any *Feebleness* upon thy Mind, in regard either of *Piety*, or thy Perswasion about the *Church-Order* of the Gospel, I will carry thee now to a Well of a *S. Mather*; which Name, I suppose, to be the *Cornish* Pronunciation of *that*, which was worn by the good Man, whose History is now going to be offered.

In the *Night* whereon our Lord was born, there was a *glorious Light*, with an Host of *Angels*

gels gloriously singing over *Bethlehem*; and the Birth of the great and good Shepherd, was thus revealed unto the Shepherds of that Country. The Magicians in the East, whether they had by their Conversations with the Invisible World, a readier Eye to discern such Objects, or whether it were only the Sovereign and Gracious Providence of God, which thus directed them, they probably saw that *Glory of the Lord*. Possibly to them at a distance, it might seem a new Star hanging over *Judea*; but after two Years of Wonder and Suspence about it, they were informed by God, what it signified; and when they came near the place of the Lord's Nativity, 'tis likely that this *Glory*, once again appeared, for their fullest Satisfaction. This, till I see a better Account, must be that which I shall take about, *The Star of the Wise Men in the East*. But I am now to add, that in all Ages, there have been Stars to lead Men unto the Lord Jesus Christ: Angelical Men employ'd in the Ministry of our Lord, have been those happy Stars; and we in the West, have been so happy, as to see some of the first Magnitude; among which one was Mr. Richard Mather.

§ 2. It was at a small Town, called *Lowton*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Anno 1596, that so great a Man, as Mr. Richard Mather was born, of Parents that were of Credible and Ancient Families. And these his Parents, tho' by some Disasters, their Estate was not a little sunk below the Means of their Ancestors, yet were willing to bestow a Liberal Education on him; upon occasion whereof Mr. Mather afterwards thus expressed himself: *By what Principles and Motives my Parents were chiefly induced to keep me at School, I have not to say, nor do I certainly know: But this I must needs say, that this was the singular good Providence of God towards me, (who hath the Hearts of all Men in his Hands) thus to incline the Hearts of my Parents; for in this thing the Lord of Heaven shewed me such Favour, as had not been shewed to many my Predecessors and Contemporaries in that place.* They sent him to School at *Winwick*, where they Boarded him in the Winter; but in the Summer so warm was his desire of Learning, that he travelled every Day thither, which was four Miles from his Father's House. Whilst he was thus at School, *Multus tulit fecitque Puer*—he met with an Extremity of Discouragement from the Orbilium Harthness and Fierceness of the Pedagogue; who tho' he had bred many fine Scholars, yet for the Severity of his Discipline, came not much behind the Master of *Junius*, who would beat him eight times a Day, whether he were in a Fault, or no Fault. Our young Mather, tired under this Captivity, at last frequently and earnestly importuned of his Father, that being taken from the School, he might be disposed unto some Secular Calling; but when he had waded through his Difficulties, he wrote this Reflection thereupon: *God intended better for me, than I would have chosen for my self; and therefore, my Father, tho' in other things indulgent enough, yet in this would never conde-*

scend to my Request, but by putting me in hope; that by his speaking to the Master, things would be amended, would still over rule me to go on in my Studies: And good it was for me to be over-ruled by him, and his Discretion, rather than to be left to my own Affections and Desire. But, O, that all School Masters would learn Wisdom, Moderation, and Equity, towards their Scholars; and seek rather to win the Hearts of Children by righteous Loving, and courteous Usage, than to alienate their Minds by Partiality, and undue Severity; which had been my utter Undoing, had not the good Providence of God, and the Wisdom and Authority of my Father prevented.

§ 3. Yea, and here Almighty God made use of his otherwise cruel School-Master, to deliver this hopeful young Man from an Apprenticeship unto a Popish Merchant, when he was very near falling into the woful Snares of such a Condition; which Mercy of Heaven unto him was accompanied with the further Mercy of living under the Ministry of one Mr. *Palin*, then Preacher at *Leagh*: Of whom he would long after say, *That tho' his Knowledge of that good Man was only in his Childhood, yet the Remembrance of him was even in his Old Age comfortable to him; inasmuch as he observed such a penetrating Efficacy in the Ministry of that Man, as was not in the common sort of Preachers.*

§ 4. There were at this time, in *Toxteth Park* near *Liverpool*, a well-disposed People, who were desirous to erect a School among them, for the good Education of their Posterity. This People sending unto the School-Master of *Winwick*, to know whether he had any Scholar that he could recommend for a Master of their New School. Richard Mather was by him recommended unto that Service; and at the Perswasion of his Friends to attend that Service, he laid aside his Desire, and his Design of going to the University: Not unsensible of what hath been still observed, *Scholas esse Theologiae pedisse quas, ac seminaria Reipublicae.* Now as it cannot justly be reckoned any Blemish unto him, that at fifteen Years of Age he was a School-Master, who carried it with such Wisdom, Kindness, and grave Reservation, as to be loved and feared by his young Folks, much above the most that ever used the *Ferula*; so 'twas many ways advantageous unto him, to be thus employed. Hereby he became a more accurate Grammarian, than Divines too often are; and at his leisure Hours he so studied, as to become a notable Proficient in the other Liberal Arts.

Moreover, 'twas by means hereof, that he experienced an effectual Conversion of Soul to God, in his tender Years, even before his going to *Oxford*; and thus he was preserved from the Temptations and Corruptions, which undid many of his Contemporaries in the University. That more thorough and real Conversion in him, was occasioned by observing a Difference between his own Walk, and the most exact, watchful, fruitful, and prayerful Conversation of some in the Family, of the learned and pious Mr. *Edward Aspinwall*, of *Toxteth*, where he sojournd.

journed. This *Exemplary Walk* of that Holy Man, caused many sad Fears to arise in his own Soul, that he was himself *out of the way*; which Consideration with his hearing of Mr. *Harrison*, then a Famous Minister at *Hyton*, preach about *Regeneration*, and his reading of Mr. *Perkins's* Book, that shows, *How far a Reprobate may go in Religion*; were the means whereby the God of Heaven brought him into the State of a *New Creature*. The *Troubles of Soul*, which attended his *New Birth*, were so exceeding Terrible, that he would often retire from his appointed Meals unto secret Places, to lament his Miseries; but after some time, and about the *Eighteenth Year* of his Age, the Good Spirit of God healed his *Broken Heart*, by pouring thereinto the Evangelical Consolations of *His Great and Precious Promises*.

§ 5. After this, he became a more Eminent *Blessing*, in the *Calling*, wherein God had now disposed him; and such Notice was taken of him, that many Persons were sent unto him, even from Remote Places, for their Education; whereof, not a few went well accomplished, from him to the *University*. But having spent some Years in this Employment, he judged it many ways advantageous for him to go unto the *University* himself, that he might there converse with Learned Men and Books, and more improve himself in Learning, than he could have done at Home. Accordingly, at *Oxford*, and particularly at *Brasen-Nose College* in *Oxford*, he now resided, where together with the *Satisfaction* of seeing his *Old Scholars*, who had by his Education, been fitted for their being there, he had the Opportunity further to enrich himself by Study, by Conference, by Disputation, and other *Academical* Entertainment: As considering, that the *Lamps* were to be *lighted*, before the *Incense* was to be burned in the Sanctuary. And here, he was more intimately acquainted with famous Dr. *Woral*, by whose Advice, he read the Works of *Peter Ramus*, with a singular Attention and Affection; which Advice, he did not afterwards repent that he had followed.

§ 6. But it was not very long before the People of *Toxteth* sent after him, that he would return unto them, and instruct, not their Children as a *School-master*, but themselves as a *Minister*: With which Invitation, he at last complied; and at *Toxteth*, Nov. 13. 1618. he preached his *First Sermon*, with great Acceptance in a vast Assembly of People: But such was the Strength of his *Memory*, that what he had prepared for *one*, contained no less than *Six* long Discourses. He was after this ordained, with many others, by Dr. *Morton*, the Bishop of *Chester*, who after the Ordination was over, singled out Mr. *Mather* from the rest, saying, *I have something to say betwixt you and me alone*. Mr. *Mather* was now jealous, that some Informations might have been exhibited against him for his *Puritanism*, instead of which when the Bishop had him alone, what he said unto him was, *I have an earnest Request unto*

you, Sir, and you must not deny me: 'Tis, that you would pray for me; for I know (said he) the Prayers of Men that fear God will avail much, and you I believe are such a one. And being so settled in *Toxteth*, he married the Daughter of *Edmund Holt*, Esq; of *Bury* in *Lancashire*, Sept. 29. 1624. which Vertuous Gentlewoman, God made a Rich Blessing to him, for *Thirty Years* together; and a Mother of *Six Sons*, most of whom afterwards proved famous in their Generation.

§ 7. He preached every Lord's Day twice at *Toxteth*, and every Fortnight he held a *Tuesday Lecture*, at *Prescot*: Besides which, he often preached upon the *Holy-Days*, not as thinking that any Day was now *Holy*, except the Christian Weekly Sabbath, but because there was then an Opportunity to cast the *Net* of the Gospel among *much Fish*, in Great Assemblies, which then were convened, and would otherwise have been worse employed. In *this*, he followed the Examples of the Apostles, who preached most in *populous Places*, and this also on the *Jewish Sabbaths*, which yet were so far abrogated, that they charged the Faithful to *Let no Man judge them* in imposing the Observation thereof upon them.

He preached likewise very frequently at *Funerals*, as knowing, that though *Funeral Sermons* are wholly disused in some *Reformed Churches*, and have been condemned by some *Decrees of Councils*, yet this was chiefly because of the common Error committed in the *Lavish Praises of the Dead* on such Occasions, which therefore he avoided, instead thereof, only giving *Counsels to the Living*. Indeed, the Custom of Preaching at *Funerals* may seem *Ethnic* in its Original; for *Publicola* made an excellent Oration in the Praise of *Brutus*, with which the People were so taken, that it became a Custom, for famous Men, after this, at their Death, to be so celebrated; and when the Women among the *Romans* parted with their Ornaments, for the Publick Weal, the Senate made it lawful for *Women* also to be in the like manner celebrated. *Hinc mortuos Laudandi Mos fluxit, quem nos hodie servamus*, if *Polydore Virgil* may, as he sometimes may be believed. But the *Magdeburgensian Centuriators* tell us that this Rite was not practised in the Church, before the Beginning of the *Apostacy*. However, this Warchful Minister of our Lord, made his *Funeral-Speeches* to be but a Faithful Discharge of his Ministry in Admonitions concerning the *last things*, whereby the *Living* might be edified. But thus in his Publick Ministry, he went over the 24th Chapter in the second of *Samuel*; the first Chapter of *Proverbs*; the first and sixth Chapters of *Isaiah*; the twenty second and twenty third Chapters of *Luke*; the Eighth Chapter of the *Romans*; the second Epistle to *Timothy*; the second Epistle of *John*, and the Epistle of *Jude*.

§ 8. Having spent about Fifteen Years, thus, in the Labours of his Ministry, his Lecture at *Prescot* in fine, gave him to find the Truth of *Quintilian's*

Quintilian's, *Observation, Magnam Famam & Magnam Quietem, eodem Tempore, Nemo potest Acquirere.* Through the Malice of Satan, and the Envy of the *Satanical*, there were now brought against him, those Complaints for his *Non Conformity* to the *Ceremonies*, which in August, 1633. procured him to be *suspended*. The *Suspension* continued upon him, till the November following, but then by the Intercession of some Gentlemen in *Lancashire*, and the Influence of *Simon Biby*, a near Alliance of the Bishop's Visitor, he was *Restored*. After his *Restoration*, he more exactly than ever, studied the Points of *Church-Discipline*; and the Effect of his most careful Studies was, that the *Congregational way*, asserted by *Cartwright, Parker, Baines* and *Ames*, was the Pitch of *Reformation*, which he judged the Scriptures directed the Servants of the Lord humbly to endeavour. But this Liberty was not longer lived than the Year 1634. for the Arch-Bishop of *York* now was that Gentleman, whom King *James* pleasantly admonished of his Preaching *Popery*, because of some Unacceptable things in his Conduct, which taught the People to pray for a *Blessing on his Dead Predecessor*; and he now sending his Visitors, among whom the Famous *Dr. Cousins* was one, into *Lancashire*; where they kept their Court at *Wigan*, among other *Hard Things*, they passed a Sentence of *Suspension* upon *Mr. Mather*, meerly for his *Non Conformity*. His Judges were not willing, that he should offer the *Reasons*, which made him *Conscientiously* so disposed, as then he was, but the *Glorious Spirit of God* enabled him with much Wisdom, to encounter what they put upon him; inso-much, that in his Private Manuscripts, he entred this Memorial of it, *In the Passages of that Day, I have this to Bless the Name of God for, That the Terrour of their Threatning Words, of their Pursevants, and of the rest of their Pomp, did not terrifie my Mind, but that I could stand before them without being daunted in the least Measure, but answered for my self such Words of Truth and Soberness; as the Lord put into my Mouth, not being afraid of their Faces at all: Which supporting and comforting Presence of the Lord, I count not much less Mercy, than if I had been altogether preserved out of their Hands.* But all means used afterwards, to get off this unhappy *Suspension*, were ineffectual; for when the Visitors had been informed, that he had been a Minister *Fifteen Years*, and all that while never wore a *Surplis*, One of them swore, *It had been better for him, that he had gotten Seven Bastards.*

§ 9. He now betook himself to a *private Life*, without Hope of again enjoying the Liberty of doing any more *publick Work*, in his Native Land; but herewithal fore-seeing a *Storm* of Calamities like to be hastned on the Land, by the Wrath of Heaven incensed, particularly at the Injustice used in depriving the truly Conscientious of their Liberty, his Wishes became like those of the Deprived Psalmist, *O, that I had Wings like a Dove! Lo, then would I wander*

far off, and remain in the Wilderness; I would hasten my escape from the Windy Storm and Tempest.

New-England was the Retreat which now offered it self unto him; and accordingly, he drew up some Arguments for his Removal thither, which Arguments were indeed, the very Reasons, that moved the First Fathers of *New-England* unto that unparallel'd Undertaking of Transporting their Families with themselves, over the *Atlantic Ocean*.

- I. A Remoyal from a *Corrupt Church* to a *Purer*.
- II. A Removal from a Place, where the Truth and Professors of it are *persecuted*, unto a Place of more *Quiet* and *Safety*.
- III. A Removal from a Place, where all the *Ordinances* of God cannot be enjoyed, unto a Place where they *may*.
- IV. A Removal from a Church, where the *Discipline* of the Lord Jesus Christ is wanting, unto a Church where it may be *practised*.
- V. A Removal from a Place, where the *Ministers* of God are unjustly inhibited from the Execution of their *Functions*, to a Place where they may more freely execute the same.
- VI. A Removal from a Place, where there are *Fearful Signs of Desolation*, to a Place where one may have well grounded Hope of God's Protection.

Such a Removal, he judged *That* unto *New-England* now before him.

These Considerations were presented unto many Ministers and Christians of *Lancashire*, at several Meetings, whereby they were persuaded, and even his own People of *Toxteth*, who dearly loved him and prized him, could not gain-say it, that by removing to *New-England*, he would not *Go out of his way*. And hereunto he was the more inclined by the Letters of some Great Persons, who had already settled in the Country; among whom the Renowned *Hooker* was one, who in his Letters thus expressed himself, *In a Word, if I may speak my own Thoughts freely and fully, though there are very many Places where Men may receive and expect more Earthly Commodities, yet do I believe there is no Place this Day upon the Face of the Earth, where a Gracious Heart and a Judicious Head, may receive more Spiritual Good to himself, and do more Temporal and Spiritual Good to others.* Wherefore being satisfied in his Design for *New-England*, after Extraordinary Supplication for the Smiles of Heaven upon him in it, he took his Leave of his Friends in *Lancashire*, with Affections on both sides like those, wherewith *Paul* bid Farewel to his in *Ephesus*; and in April, 1635. he made his Journey unto *Bristol*, to take Ship there; being forced as *once Brentius* was, to change his Apparel, that he might escape
the

he Pursuivants, who were endeavouring to apprehend him.

§ 10. On *May 23. 1635*, he set Sail from *Bristol* for *New-England*: But when he came upon the Coasts of *New-England*, there arose an horrible *Hurricane*, from the Dangers whereof his Deliverance was remarkable, and well nigh miraculous. The best Account of it, will be from his own Journal; where the Relation runs in these Words:

August 15. 1635.

The Lord had not yet done with us, nor had he let us see all his *Power* and *Goodness*, which he would have us take the knowledge of. And therefore about break of Day, he sent a most terrible Storm of Rain, and *Easterly Wind*, whereby we were, I think, in as much Danger as ever People were. When we came to Land, we found many mighty Trees rent in pieces, in the midst of the Bole, and others turned up by the Roots, by Fierceness thereof. We lost in that Morning three Anchors and Cables; one having never been in the Water before; two were broken by the Violence of the Storm, and a third cut by the Sea-men in extremity of Distress, to save the Ship, and their, and our Lives. And when our Cables and Anchors were all lost, we had no outward Means of Deliverance, but by hoisting *Sail*, if so be we might get to Sea, from among the *Islands* and *Rocks*, where we were Anchored. But the Lord let us see, that our *Sails* could not help us neither, no more than the *Cables* and *Anchors*; for by the force of the Wind and Storm, the *Sails* were rent asunder, and split in pieces, as if they had been but rotten Rags; so that of divers of them, there was scarce left so much as an Hand's-breadth, that was not rent in pieces, or blown away into the Sea; so that at that time, *all Hope* that we should be saved, in regard of any outward Appearance, was utterly taken away: and the rather, because we seemed to drive with full force of Wind, directly upon a mighty Rock, standing out in sight above Water; so that we did but continually wait, when we should hear and feel the doleful Crushing of the Ship upon the *Rock*. In this Extremity and Appearance of Death, as Distress and Distraction would suffer us, we cried unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have Compassion upon us; for by his overruling Providence, and his own immediate good Hand, he guided the Ship past the *Rock*, aswaged the Violence of the *Sea*, and of the *Wind*. It was a Day much to be remembered, because on that Day the Lord granted us as wonderful a Deliverance as, I think, ever any People had felt. The Sea-men confessed, they never knew the like. The Lord so imprint the Memory of it in our Hearts, that we may be the better for it, and be careful to please him, and to walk uprightly before him as long as we live. And I hope we shall not forget

the Passages of that Morning, until our Dying Day. In all this grievous Storm, my Fear was the less, when I considered the *Clearness* of my Calling from God this way. And in some measure (the Lord's holy Name be blessed for it) he gave us Hearts contented and willing, that he should do with us, and ours, what he pleased, and what might be most for the Glory of his Name; and in that we rested ourselves. But when News was brought us into the Gun-Room, that the Danger was past, Oh! how our Hearts did then relent and melt within us! We burst out into *Tears of Joy* among our selves, in Love unto the gracious God, and Admiration of his Kindness, in granting to his poor Servants such an extraordinary and miraculous Deliverance, his Holy Name be blessed for evermore.

The Storm being thus allay'd, they came to an Anchor before *Boston*, *August 17. 1635*. Where Mr. *Mather* abode for a little while, and with his vertuous Consort, joined unto the Church in that place.

§ 11. He quickly had *Invitations* from several Towns, to bestow himself upon them; and was in a great Strait, which of those *Invitations* to accept. But applying himself unto *Counsel*, as an *Ordinance of God*, for his Direction, *Dorchester* was the place, whereto a Council, wherein Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Hooker*, were the principal, did advise him. Accordingly to *Dorchester* he repaired; and the Church formerly planted there, being transplanted with Mr. *Warham* to *Conneticut*, another Church was now gathered here, *August 23. 1636*. by whose Choice Mr. *Mather* was now become their *Teacher*. Here he continued a Blessing unto all the Churches in this Wilderness, until his dying Day, even for near upon Four and thirty Years together. He underwent not now so many *Changes*, as he did before his coming hither; and he never changed his Habitation after this, till he went unto the *House Eternal in the Heavens*; albeit his old People of *Toxteth* vehemently solicited his Return unto them, when the troublesome *Hierarchy* in *England* was deposed.

§ 12. Nevertheless, if *Luther's* three Tutors for an able Divine, *Study*, and *Prayer*, and *Temptation*, as Mr. *Mather* could not leave the two first, so the last would not leave him; the Wilderness whereinto he was come, he found not without its *Temptations*. He was for some Years exercised with *Spiritual Distresses*, and *Internal Desertions*, and Uncertainties about his Everlasting Happiness; which Troubles of his Mind he revealed unto that eminent Person Mr. *Norton*, whose well-adapted Words, comforted his weary Soul. It was in these *dark Hours*, that a *glorious Light* rose unto him, with a certain Disposition of Soul, which I find in his private Papers thus expressed: *My Heart relented with Tears at this Prayer, That God would not deny me an Heart to bless him, and not blaspheme him, that is so holy, just, and good; tho' I should be excluded from his Presence, and go down into*
ever.

everlasting Darknes and Discomfort. But when these terrible Temptations from within were over, there were several and successive Afflictions, which he did from abroad meet withal: Of all which Afflictions, the most calamitous was, the Death of his dear, good, and wise Consort, by whose discreet Management of his Affairs, he had been so released from all Secular Incumbrances, as to be wholly at Liberty, for the Sacred Employment of his Ministry. However, after he had continued in his Widowhood a Year and half, the State of his Family made it necessary for him to apply himself unto a *Second Marriage*; which he made with the pious Widow of the most famous Mr. *John Cotton*; and her did God make a Blessing unto him the rest of his Days.

§ 13. My describing his general Manner of Life, after he came to *New-England*, shall be only a transcribing of those Vows, which tho' he made before his coming thither, yet he then renewed. In his private Papers, wherein he left some Records of the Days which he spent sometimes in secret Humiliations, and Supplications, before the God of Heaven, and of the Assurances which with the Tears of a melted Soul, in those Days, he received of Blessings obtained for himself, his Children, his People, and the whole Country, I find Recording the ensuing Instrument.

‘ Promissiones Deo factæ, } Psal. 66. 13, 14.
 ‘ per me, Richardum } Psal. 119. 106.
 ‘ Matherum. } Psal. 56. 12.
 ‘ 21. D. 6. M. 1633. } Neh. 9. 33. with 10.
 } 29, 30, 31, &c.

I. Touching the Ministry.

- ‘ 1. TO be more painful and diligent in private Preparations for Preaching, by Reading, Meditation, and Prayer; and not slightly and superficially. Jer. 48. 10. Eccl. 9. 10. 1 Tim. 4. 13, 15.
- ‘ 2. In and after Preaching, to strive seriously against inward Pride, and Vain-glory.
- ‘ 3. Before and after Preaching, to beg by Prayer the Lord's Blessing on his Word, for the Good of Souls, more carefully than in time past. 1 Cor. 3. 6. Acts 16. 14.

II. Touching the Family.

- ‘ 1. To be more frequent in Religious Discourse and Talk, Deut. 6. 7.
- ‘ 2. To be more careful in Catechising Children. Gen. 18. 19. Prov. 22. 6. Eph. 6. 4. And therefore to bestow some Pains this way, every Week once; and if by urgent Occasions it be sometimes omitted, to do it twice as much another Week.

III. Touching My self.

- ‘ 1. To strive more against Worldly Cares and Fears, and against the inordinate Love of

- ‘ Earthly Things. Mat. 6. 25, &c. Psal. 55. 22.
- ‘ 1 Pet. 5. 7. Phil. 4. 6.
- ‘ 2. To be more frequent and constant in private Prayer. Mat. 6. 6. & 14. 23. Psal. 55. 17. Dan. 6. 10.
- ‘ 3. To practise more carefully and seriously, and frequently the Duty of Self-Examination. Lam. 3. 40. Psal. 4. 4. Psal. 119. 59. especially before the Receiving of the Lord's Supper. 1 Cor. 11. 28.
- ‘ 4. To strive against carnal Security; and excessive Sleeping. Prov. 6. 9, 10. & Prov. 20. 13.
- ‘ 5. To strive against vain Jangling; and mispending precious Time. Eph. 5. 16.

IV. Touching Others.

- ‘ 1. To be more careful and zealous, to do good unto their Souls, by private Exhortations, Reproofs, Instructions, Conferences of God's Word. Prov. 10. 21. & 15. 17. Lev. 19. 17. Psal. 37. 30.
- ‘ 2. To be ready to do Offices of Love and Kindness, not only, or principally, for the Praise of Men, to purchase Commendation for a good Neighbour, but rather out of Conscience to the Commandment of God. Phil. 2. 4. 1 Cor. 10. 24. Heb. 13. 16.

‘ Renewed with a Profession of Disabilities in my self, for Performance, and of Desire to fetch Power from Christ, thereunto to live upon him, and act from him, in all Spiritual Duties.

15. D. 6. M. 1636.

Richard Mather.

§ 14. His way of Preaching was very plain, studiously avoiding obscure and foreign Terms, and unnecessary Citation of Latine Sentences; and aiming to shoot his Arrows, not over the Heads, but into the Hearts of his Hearers. Yet so Scripturally, and so Powerfully did he preach his plain Sermons, that Mr. Hooker would say, My Brother Mather is a mighty Man; and indeed he saw a great Success of his Labours; in both Englands, converting many Souls unto God. His Voice was loud and big, and uttered with a deliberate Vehemency, it procured unto his Ministry an awful and very taking Majesty; nevertheless, the substantial and rational Matter delivered by him, caused his Ministry to take yet more, where ever he came. Whence, even while he was a young Man, Mr. Gellibrand, a famous Minister in Lancashire, hearing him, enquired, What his Name was? When Answer was made, That his Name was Mather; he replied, Nay, his Name shall be Matter; for believe it, this Man hath good Substance in him. He was indeed a Person eminently Judicious, in the Opinion of such as were not in Controversies then managed, of his own Opinion; by the

same Token, that when Dr. Parr, then Bishop in the Isle of Man, heard of Mr. Mather's being silenced, he lamented it, saying, *If Mr. Mather be silenced, I am sorry for it; for he was a Solid Man, and the Church of God hath a great Loss of him.* And it was because of his being esteemed so *Judicious* a Person, that among the Ministers of *New-England*, he was improved more than the most, in explaining and maintaining the Points of *Church-Government* then debated. The Discourse about the *Church-Covenant*, and the Answer to the *Thirty two Questions*, both written in the Year 1639, tho' they pass under the Name of the Ministers of *New-England*, Mr. Mather was the sole Author of them. And when the *Platform of Church-Discipline* was agreed by a *Synod* of these Churches, in the Year 1647. Mr. Mather's Model was that out of which it was chiefly taken.

And being thereto desired, he also prepared for the Press, a very elaborate Composure, which he entituled, *A Plea for the Churches of New-England.*

Moreover, to defend the *Congregational*, in those lesser *Punctilio's*, wherein it seems to differ from the *Presbyterian Way of Church-Government*; he Printed one little Book in Answer to Mr. *Herl*, and another in Answer to Mr. *Rutherford*: And yet was he so little *Brownistically* affected, that besides his Apprehension of so vicious and infamous a Man, as *Brown's* not being likely to be the Discoverer of any momentous Truth in Religion, he wrote a Treatise to prove, That whatever *Priviledge* and *Liberty* may belong to the *Fraternity*, the Rule of the Church belongs only to its *Presbytery*. Furthermore, when the Propositions of the *Synod*, in 1662. were opposed by Mr. *Davenport*, Mr. Mather was called upon to Answer him; which he did, and therein, as in his former Answers, he gave such Instances of a close Regard unto the *Truth*, and the *Cause*, without the least Expression of Disrespect unto the *Persons* answered, That as my Reverend Friend Mr. *Higginson* hath said sometimes to me, *He was a Patern for all Answerers to the end of the World.*

But as he judged that a *Preacher* of the Gospel should be, he was, a very hard *Student*: Yea, so intent was he upon his beloved *Studies*, that the Morning before he died, he importuned the Friends that watched with him, to help him into the Room, where he thought his usual *Works* and *Books* expected him; to satisfy his Importunity, they began to lead him thither; but finding himself unable to get out of his Lodging-Room, he said, *I see I am not able; I have not been in my Study several Days; and is it not a lamentable thing, that I should lose so much time?* He was truly abundant in his Labours. For tho' he was very frequent in hearing the Word from others, riding to the Lectures in the Neighbouring Towns, till his Disease disabled him, and even to Old Age writing Notes at those Lectures, as the Renowned *Hildersham* likewise did before him; yet he preached for the most part every *Lord's Day* twice; and a

Lecture once a Fortnight, besides many Occasional Sermons both in publick and private; and many *Cases of Conscience*, which were brought unto him to be discussed. Thus his Ministry in *Dorchester*, besides innumerable other Texts of Scripture, went over the Book of *Genesis*, to Chap. 38. the *Sixteenth Psalm*; the whole Book of the Prophet *Zechariah*; *Matthew's Gospel* to Chap. 15. the *Fifth Chapter* in the First Epistle to the *Thessalonians*; and the whole *Second Epistle of Peter*; his Notes whereon he reviewed and renewed, and fitted for the Press before his Death.

He also published a Treatise of *Justification*, whereof Mr. *Cotton* and Mr. *Wilson* gave this Testimony: *Thou shalt find this little Treatise to be like Mary's Box of Spikenard, which washing the Paths of Christ towards us, (as that did his Feet) will be fit to perfume not only the whole House of God with the Odour of his Grace, but also thy Soul with the Oyl of Gladness, above what Creature Comforts can afford. The manner of handling thou shalt find to be solid, judicious, succinct, and pithy, fit (by the Blessing of Christ) to make wise unto Salvation.* And besides these things, he published *Catechisms*, a lesser and a larger, so well formed, that a *Luther* himself would not have been ashamed of being a *Learner* from them.

Nevertheless, after all these Works, he was as *Nazianzen* saith of *Athanasius*, *ἄψυχο τοῖς ἔργοις, πνευνοῦ δὲ τοῖς φρονήματι.* As low in his Thoughts, as he was high in his Works. He never became twice a Child through *Infirmity*, but was always one, as our Saviour hath commanded us, in *Humility*.

§ 15. A *Ferom* would weep at the Death of such a Man, as portending Evil to the Place of his former, useful, holy *Life*: But such an occasion of Tears, the Death of Mr. Mather must at last give to his bereaved People. Some Tears before his Death, [having sent over unto his old Flock in *Lancashire*, a like Testimony of his Concernment for them] he composed and published, *A Farewel Exhortation to the Church and People of Dorchester*, consisting of *Seven Directions*, wherein his Flock might read the *Design* and *Spirit* of his whole Ministry among them; on a certain *Lord's Day*, he did, by the Hands of his *Deacons*, put these little Books into the Hands of his Congregation, that so whenever he should by Death take his *Farewel* of them, they might still remember how they had been exhorted; But Old Age came now upon him, wherein tho' his *Hearing* was decay'd, and (as with *Great Zanchy*) the *Sight* of one of his Eyes: Yet upon all other Accounts he enjoyed an *Health* both of *Body* and *Spirit*, which was very wonderful, and agreeable as well to his *Hardy Constitution*, as to the simple and wholesome Diet, whereto he still accustomed himself. He never made use of any Physician all his Days; nor was he ever sick of any *Acute Disease*, nor in Fifty Years together, by any Sicknefs detained so much as one *Lord's Day* from his Publick Labours. Only the two last Years of his Life,

he felt that which has been called *Flagellum Studioforum*, namely, *The Stone* which proved the *Tombstone*, whereby all his Labours and Sorrows were, in fine, brought unto a Period.

§ 16. A Council of Neighbouring Churches being assembled at *Boston*, Apr. 13. 1669. to advise about some Differences arisen there, Mr. *Mather*, for his Age, Grace and Wisdom, was chosen the *Moderator* of that Reverend Assembly. For divers Days, whilst he was attending this *Consultation*, he enjoyed his Health better, than of some later Months; but as *Luther* was at a *Synod* surprized with a Violent Fit of the *Stone*, which caused him to Return home, with little Hope of Life, so it was with this Holy Man. On Apr. 16. lodging at the House of his Worthy Son, a Minister in *Boston*, he was taken very Ill with a Total Stoppage of *Urine*, wherein according to *Solomon's* Expression for it, *The Wheel was broken at the Cistern*. So his Lord found him about the Blessed Work of a *Peace-maker*; and with an Allusion to the Note of the German *Phoenix*, Mr. *Shepard* of *Charls town*, put that Stroke afterwards into his *Epitaph*:

Vixerat in Synodis, Moritur Moderator in Illis.

Returning by Coach, thus Ill, unto his House in *Dorchester*, he lay patiently expecting of his Change; and, indeed was a *Pattern of Patience*, to all Spectators, for all Survivors. Though he lay in a Mortal Extremity of Pain, he never shrieked, he rarely groaned, with it; and when he was able, he took Delight in Reading Dr. *Goodwin's* Discourse, about *Patience*, in which Book he read until the very Day of his Death. When they asked him, how he did? His usual Answer was, *Far from well, yet far better than mine Iniquities deserve*. And when his Son said unto him, *Sir, God hath showed his great Faithfulness unto you, having upheld you now for the Space of more than Fifty Years in his Service, and employed you therein without ceasing, which can be said of very few Men, on the Face of the Earth*; he Replied, *you say true; I must acknowledge, the Mercy of God hath been great towards me, all my Days; but I must also acknowledge, that I have had many Failings, and the Thoughts of them abaseth me, and worketh Patience in me*. So did he, like *Austin* having the *Penitential Psalms* before him, until he died, keep up a *Spirit of Repentance*, as long as he lived. Indeed this Excellent Man did not speak much in his last Sickness, to those that were about him, having spoken so much before. Only his Son perceiving the Symptoms of Death upon him, said, *Sir, If there be any special thing, which you would recommend unto me to do, in case the Lord should spare me on Earth, after you are in Heaven, I would intreat you to express it*; at which, after a little Pause, with lifted Eyes and Hands, he returned, *A special thing which I would commend to you, is, Care concern-*

cerning the Rising Generation in this Country, that they be brought under the Government of Christ in his Church, and that when groten up, and qualified, they have Baptism, for their Children. I must confess, I have been Defective, as to Practice; yet I have publicly declared my Judgment, and manifested my Desires to practise that which I think ought to be attended; but the Dissenting of some in our Church, discouraged me. I have thought, that Persons might have Right to Baptism, and yet not to the Lord's Supper; and I see no cause to alter my Judgment, as to that particular. And I still think, that Persons Qualified, according to the Fifth Proposition of the late Synod Book, have Right to Baptism for their Children. His Dolours continued on him, till April 22. at Night; when he quietly breathed forth his last; after he had been about Seventy Three Years, a Citizen of the World, and Fifty Years a Minister in the Church of God.

§ 17. The *Presage* which he had upon his Mind, of his own approaching Dissolution, was like that in *Ambrose* among the Ancients, and in *Gesner*, *Melancthon*, and *Sandford*, among the Modern Divines; whence the last of the Texts, whereon he insisted, in his *Public Ministry*, was that in 2 Tim. 4. 6, 7, 8. *The Time of my Departure is at hand, — I have finished my Course.* And the last before that, was that in Job 14. 14. *All the Days of my appointed Time will I wait, till my Change come.* And for a *Private Conference*, he had prepared a Sermon on those Words, in 2 Cor. 5. 1. *For we know, that if our Earthly House of this Tabernacle were Dissolved, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, Eternal in the Heavens*; but by his Removal from this House to that, he was prevented in the Preaching of the Sermon. How ready he was for the Last End of his Days thus expected, is a little expressed in certain Passages of his *Last Will*; the whole, of which if I should here transcribe it, after the Example of *Beza*, writing the Life of *Calvin*, and *Bannosius* writing the Life of *Ramus*, and other such Examples, it would be no Ungrateful Entertainment, but I shall only offer that one Paragraph, wherein his Words were:

Concerning Death, as I do believe, it is appointed for all Men once to die; so because I see a great deal of Unprofitableness in my own Life, and because God hath also let me see such Vanity and Emptiness even in the best of those Comforts, which this Life can afford, that I think I may truly say, That I have seen an end of all Perfection: Therefore if it were the Will of God, I should be glad to be removed hence, where the Best, that is to be had, doth yield such little Satisfaction to my Soul, and to be brought into his Presence in Glory, That there I might find, (for there I know it is to be had) that satisfying and Allsufficient Contentment, in him, which under the Sun is not to be enjoyed; in the

*mean time I desire to stay the Lord's Leisure.
But thou, O Lord, how long!*

Thus Lived, and thus Died *Richard Mather*; able to make his Appeal unto an *Evil World*, at his leaving of it.

*Nullum Turbavi; Discordes Pacificavi:
Læsus sustinui; nec mihi Complacui.*

§ 18. The Special Favour of God, which was granted unto some of the Ancients, that their *Sons* after them succeeded in the Ministry of the Gospel; and which was particularly granted unto the Happy Fathers of *Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Basil and Hilary*; This was enjoyed by many of those good Men, that planted our *New English Churches*, but by none more comfortably, than by Mr. *Mather*. It is mentioned as the Felicity of the Blessed *Vetterus* a *Bohemian Pastor* in the former Century, that he gave the Church no less than *Four Sons*, to be Worthy Ministers of the Gospel. Such was the Felicity of our *Mather*. Many Years before he died, he had the Comfort of seeing *Four Sons* that were Preachers of no mean Consideration among the People of God; It was counted the singular Happiness of the Great Roman *Metellus*, that he expired in the Arms of his *Four Sons*, who were all of them Eminent Persons; As happy was our *Mather*; and in a Christian Account, much more happy. And since his Death, our common Lord, has been served by Mr. *Samuel Mather* Pastor of the same Church, then of *Barnstable*, and in *Lynn*; Mr. *Eleazar Mather*, Pastor of a Church at our *Northampton*; and Mr. *Increase Mather*, Teacher of a Church in *Boston*, and President of *Harvard Colledge*. Now because this *Mighty Man*, and the youngest but one of these *Arrows in his Hand*, were not only *Lovely and Useful in their Lives*, but also, *in their Deaths not divided* (for he died about Three Months after his Father) it will be Pity to *Divide* them, in the History of their Lives: And therefore of this Mr. *Eleazar Mather*, we will here subjoin some small Account.

§ 19. Mr. *Eleazar Mather* (Born May 13. 1637.) having passed through his Education in *Harvard-Colledge*, and having by the Living and Lively Proofs of a Renewed *Heart*, as well as a well-instructed *Head*, recommended himself unto the Service of the Churches, the Church of *Northampton* became the happy Owner of his *Talents*. Here he laboured for *Eleven Years* in the *Vineyard* of our Lord; and then the *Twelve Hours* of his *Days Labour* did expire, not without the deepest Lamentations of all the Churches, as well as *his own*; then sitting along the River of *Conscience*. As he was a very zealous *Preacher*, and accordingly saw many *Seals* of his Ministry; so he was a very pious *Walker*; and as

he drew towards the *End* of his Days, he grew so remarkably *Ripe* for Heaven, in an *Holy, Watchful, Fruitful Disposition*, that many observing Persons did prognosticate his being not far from his *End*. He kept a *Diary* of his Experiences; wherein the *last Words* that ever he wrote were *These*.

July 10. 1665.

' This Evening, if my Heart deceive me not,
' I had some sweet Workings of Soul after
' God in Christ, according to the Terms of the
' *Covenant of Grace*. The General and Inde-
' finite Expression of the *Promise*, was an En-
' couragement unto me to *look* unto Christ,
' that he would do that for *me*, which he has
' promised to do for *some*, nor dare I exclude
' *my self*; but if the Lord will help me, I de-
' sire to lie at his Feet, and accept of *Grace*,
' in his *own way*, and with *his own Time*,
' through *his Power* enabling of me. Though
' I am Dead, without Strength, Help or Hope
' in my self, yet the Lord requireth nothing at
' my Hands in my *own Strength*; but that by
' *his Power*, I should *look* to him. *To work all*
' *his Works in me and for me*. When I find a
' dead Heart, the Thoughts of this are exceed-
' ing sweet and reviving, being full of *Grace*,
' and discovering the very Heart and Love of
' *Jesus*.

He Died July 24. 1669. Aged Years, about Thirty Two.

*Sic Rosa, sic Viola, prima Moriuntur in Herba,
Candida, nec Toto, Lilia, Mense nitent.*

§ 20. The *Dying Words* of his *Father* unto his *Brother*, about the *Rising Generation*, caused him, in the few Sabbaths now left, before his *own Death*, to preach several Sermons upon the *Methods* that should be taken for the conveying and securing of *Religion*, with the good *Presence of God* unto that Generation. [on 1 Kings 8. 57.] The Notes which he left written of those pungent Sermons, were afterwards Printed, and Reprinted, with a Preface of his *Brothers*: And when unto the other *Signs* of Churches left by God, therein mentioned; namely, the People's being abandoned unto a *sleighty Spirit*; an ill Use made of *Temporal Prosperity*, A Spirit of *Division and Contention*, turning *Religion* it self into *Faction*; The Efficacious and Victorious Operations of the *Holy Spirit*, withdrawn from *Ordinances*; he added, the Death of such *Men*, as are chief means of continuing the *Presence of God* unto a People; he therein gave unto us too true an *Interpretation*, of the sad Providence, which was just going by *Death* to remove *him*, from this People unto a better World.

Epitaphium.

RICHARDUS hic dormit MATHERUS.

*Letatus Genuisse Pares.**Incertum est, Utrum Doctior, an Melior.**Anima & Gloria, non queunt humari.*

But that nothing may be wanting to his Epitaph, I will transcribe the Epitaph which the Reverend Old Mr. *John Bishop*, the Pastor of *Stamford*, provided for him.

*In Pium, Doctum, & Præclarum,
Dorcestrensem Matherum.*

*Sincerus Terris, noster jacet ecce Matherus;
Religionis Honos, qui tulit ejus onus.
Quicquid erat Synodis, Sacris de rebus agendum,
Ille (Dei adjutu) sæpius Actor erat.
Magnus hic in magnis, non parvam rebus iisdem
Temporibus Variis contribuebat opem:
Consiliis Solidis, Doctrina, Dexteritate,
Judicio Claro, cumq; labore gravi.
Nam Doctus, Prudens, Pius, Impiger, atq; peritus,
In Sacris, nec non promptus ad omne Bonum.
Omnia per Christum potuit, credensq; precansq;
Tanta fuit Fides, Vis quoq; tanta precum.
Hinc mihi Sublato Charo Vi Mortis Amico,
Hæc Amor atq; Dolor, composuere meus.*

J. Episcopus.

C H A P. XXI.

The LIFE of Mr. ZACHARIAH SYMMES.

§ 1. THE Emperour *Probus* having an Honour for the Memory of his Friend *Aradion*, honoured him with a Tomb Two Hundred Foot broad. But our Value for the Memory of the Divines that formerly served our Churches, must not be measured by the Breadth of our History concerning them. We cannot give much Breadth to the Room, which we dedicate in this our History, unto the Memory of our *Symmes*, because we have not received very large Informations concerning him. Nevertheless, according to the French Proverb, *Un Ministre ne doit Scavoir que sa Bible, A Minister should know nothing but his Bible*; here was one worthy the Name of a Minister; for he knew his Bible well, and he was a Preacher of what he knew, and a Sufferer for what he preach'd.

§ 2. Reader, We shall not confound our selves with *Fables and Endless Genealogies*, but we shall truly edify our selves, if we enquire so far into the Genealogy of Mr. *Zechariah Symmes*, as to recite a Passage written by Mr. *William Symmes*, the Father of our *Zechariah*, in a Book which was made by a Godly Preacher, that was hid in the House of Mr. *William Symmes*, the Father of *William*, from the Rage of the *Marian* Persecution. 'I note it as a special Mercy of God, (writes he, in a Leaf of that Book) that both my Father and Mother were Favourers of the Gospel, and hated Idolatry, under Queen *Mary's* Persecution. I came to this Book by this means: Going to *Sandwich* in *Kent*, to preach the First or Second Year, after I was ordained Minister, Anno 1587. or 88. and Preaching in Saint *Mary's*,

where Mr. *Pawson*, an Ancient Godly Preacher, was Minister, who knew my Parents well and me too, at School; he, after I had finished my Sermons, came and brought me this Book for a Present, acquainting me with the above-mentioned Circumstances. And then he adds, I charge my Sons *Zechariah* and *William*, before him, that shall judge the Quick and the Dead, that you never defile your selves with any Idolatry or Superstition whatsoever, but learn your Religion out of God's Holy Word, and worship God as he himself hath prescribed, and not after the Devices and Traditions of Men. *Scripti. Dec. 6. 1602.*

§ 3. Descended from such Ancestors, our *Zechariah*, was Born April 5. 1599. at *Canterbury*, and the Savoury Expressions in the Letters yet extant, which he wrote while he was a Youth in the University of *Cambridge*, intimate, that he was *New Born*, while yet a Child.

After his leaving the University, he was employed for a while in the Houses of several Persons of Quality, as a Tutor to their Children, but not without Molestation from the Prelates for his Conscientious Non Conformity to certain Rites in the Worship of God, then imposed on the Consciences of the Faithful. When he had passed through these Changes, he was chosen in the Year 1621. to be a Lecturer at *Atholines*, in the City of *London*: And after many Troubles from the Bishops Courts, for his Dissent from things, whereto his Consent had never been required by the Great Shepherd and Bishop of our Souls, he removed from thence in the Year 1625. to *Dunstable*, where his Troubles from the Bishops Courts continuing

continuing, he at length transported himself, with his Family into an *American Wilderness*. *New England*, and *Charles-Town* in *New-England*, enjoy'd him all the rest of his Days, even until *Feb. 4. 1670*; when he retired into a better World.

§ 4. His *Epitaph* at *Charles-Town*, where he was Honourably Interr'd, mentions his having lived Forty nine Years and Seven Months with his Vertuous Consort, by whom he had Thirteen Children, Five Sons, and Eight Daughters, and annexes this Diffich.

*A Prophet lies under this Stone :
His Words shall live, tho' he be gone.*

But as that eminent Person order'd this Clause for his own *Epitaph*, instead of other *Glories* and *Memoirs*, which use to adorn a Monument, *Here lies the Friend of Sir Philip Sidney*. Thus the *Epitaph* of this eminent Person, might have mentioned one thing more, which might have gone in the room of many other Testimonies, to the Ability, and Integrity, and Zeal, that signalized him; *Here lies the Friend of Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs*. For we have still to shew the Letters, which that great Man sent unto our *Symmes*, after his coming to *New-England*; Letters wherein he compares the Love between them, unto that between *David* and *Jonathan*; as having been a sort of *Sworn Brothers* to each other, ever since their living together at the *University*.

C H A P. XXII.

The LIFE of Mr. J O H N A L L I N.

—Sequitur quem *Vita perennis*;
Vivus enim Semper, qui bene vixit, erit.

§ 1. **W**H Y is the *dead Relation* of *Father Abraham* called, *His Dead*, no less than *eight* several times, in one short Chapter? It seems, tho' *Death* has dissolved our old Relation to our *dead Friends*, yet it has not released us from all our Duty to them; they are still so far *ours*, that we owe something unto their Memory. Reader, We are entertaining our selves with *Our Dead*; but if we do nothing to keep *alive* their Memory with us, we may blush to call them *ours*.

Among these, one is *Mr. John Allin*. But if there were such an Officer in use among us, as once was among the *Greeks*, to measure the *Monuments* of dead Persons, according to their *Vertues*, he would greatly complain of it, that I have been able to recover no more *Memoirs* of a Person, whose *Vertues* and *Merits* were far from the smallest size, among those who *did worthily in Israel*.

§ 2. He was born in the Year 1596.

Having passed his *Curfus*, in the *Tongues* and *Arts*, until he was, as *Theodorit* says of *Innocent*, ἡ ἀρχαία καὶ συνέσει νοσημένον, *Ingenii & prudentia ornamentis egregie Instruatus*: He became a faithful Preacher of *Christ*, choosing rather to dig in that *Rock of Zion*, than in a *Rock of Diamonds*.

It is an *ancient Observation*, that there were *three Things* done by the *Holy Spirit* of God, on and for the *Prophets*, which were employ'd in *Publick Service* for him: One was to give them *Courage* against the *Rage* of *Adversaries*. Another was, to give them *Wisdom*, for to regulate their *Conduet*. A third was, to give them *Vertue* and *Holinefs*, that their own *Consciences*

might not sting them, when they were to bestow *Aculeate Rebukes* upon the *Vices* of other *Men*.

This *Observation*, which is as *useful* as *ancient*, was made by them that considered those Words of the Prophet *Alicab*: *I am full of, (1.) Power, by the Spirit of the Lord. And of, (2.) Judgment. And of, (3.) Vertue.* With all of these *Excellencies*, did the *Holy Spirit* of God, in a gracious Measure adorn our *Allin*. But when the *Evil Spirit* raised a *Storm of Persecution* upon the *Puritans*, in the *English Nation*, these *Excellencies* could not shelter this worthy Man, from the *Injuries* of it; but rather expose him thereunto. Leaving of *England*, whereof he might have taken that Farewel;

Non careo Patria, me caret illa magis.

He chose an *American Wilderness*, for his Country: And cheerfully conformed his *Genteel Spirit*, unto the *Difficulties* of such a *Wilderness*: Being only of *Austin's Mind*, about the banish'd *Christians*, *Miserrimum esset, si alicubi duci poterant, ubi Deum suum non invenissent.*

§ 3. He was a *sufficient Scholar*, and (which is the way to become so) a *diligent Student*; but yet his *Experimental Acquaintance* with *Christianity*, taught him to be of the *Mind*, which the Learned *Suarez* expressed, when he did use to say, *That he esteemed more that little Pittance of Time, which he constantly set apart every Day, for the private Examination of his own Heart, than all the other part of the Day, which he spent in Voluminous Controversies.* His

Accomplishments were considerable; and being a very *humble Man*, he found, that *sanctified Knowledge* grows most luxuriant in the *fat Valleys of Humility*: Being a very *patient Man*, he found that the *Dew of Heaven*, which falls not in a stormy or cloudy Night, was always falling on a Soul ever serene, with the meekest *Patience*. He was none of those low-built thatch'd Cottages, that are apt to catch *Fire*: But like an high-built Castle, or Palace, free from the Combustions of *Passion*. He was indeed one of so sweet a Temper, that his Friends *Anagrammatised*, JOHN ALLIN, into this:

I N H O N I A L L.

§ 4. His *Polemical Abilities*, were discovered, in a Treatise called, *A Defence of the Nine Positions*: Wherein (being of Calvin's Mind, *Ink is too dear and costly with us, if we doubt to spend Ink in Writing, to testifie those things, which Martyrs of old sealed with their Blood*;) He, with Mr. *Shepherd of Cambridge*, handle the Points of *Church-Reformation*; at what rate, not my Pen, but our famous old Mr. *Cotton's*, in his Preface to a Book of Mr. *Norton's*, may describe unto us.

Shepardus, unà cum Allinio Fratrem, (Fratrum dulce par) uti eximia pietate florent: ambo, & Eruditione non mediocri, atque etiam Mysteriorum Pietatis predicatione, (per Christi Gratiam) efficaci admodum, ita egregiam novarunt Operam in abstrusissimis Discipline nodis feliciter enodandis. Verba horum Fratrum, uti suaviter spirant Pietatem, Veritatem, Charitatem Christi; ita speramus fore (per Christi Gratiam) ut multi, qui à Disciplina Christi alieniores erant, odore horum unguentorum Christi effusorum delebati atque delincti, ad amorem ejus & pellecti & pertracti, eam avidius arripiunt atque amplexentur.

Moreover, another *Judicious Discourse* of his, in Defence of the *Synod* held at *Boston*, in the Year 1662, has declared his *Principles* about *Church-Discipline*, as well as his *Abilities* to maintain his *Principles*. The Person against whom he wrote this Defence, was that very

Person, whose *Life* shall be the very next in our History: For,

*Hi Motus Animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,
Pulveris exigui Fattu compressa quiescunt.*

§ 5. When the holy Church of *Dedham* was gathered, in the Year 1638, he became their *Pastor*: And in the *Pastoral Care* of that Church he continued, until *Aug. 26. 1671*; when after ten Days of easie Sicknes, he died, as *Myconius* well expresses it, *Vitaliter mori*; in the *Seventy fifth Year* of his Age.

Now, according to that of *Jerom*, *Lacrymæ Auditorum Tue sunt Laudes*; behold, Reader, the *Praises* of this excellent Man His Flock published the two last Sermons that ever he preached; one whereof was on *Cant. 8. 5. Who is this that comes up from the Wilderness, leaning on her Beloved?* The other on *John 14. 22. Peace I leave with you*. But they write their Preface with Tears; and with fearful Praises they celebrate him, as one altogether above their Praises; and a *constant, faithful, diligent Steward in the House of God*; a *Man of Peace and Truth, and a burning and a shining Light*. Adding, *The Crown is fallen from our Heads: Oh! that it were with us as in times past!* Which Desire of theirs, has been happily answered, in two most worthy Successors.

The Character once given to *Philippus Gallus*, may very justly be now made the *Epitaph* of our *John Allin*.

Epitaphium.

JOHANNES ALLINIUS.

Vir Sincerus, Amans pacis, patiensque Laborum,

Perspicuus, Simplex, Doctrina purus Amator.

C H A P. XXIII.

Cadmus Americanus. The LIFE of Mr. CHARLES CHANCEY.

Suadet Lingua, Jubet Vita.

§ 1. **T**HERE was a famous Person, in Times, by Chronological Computation, as ancient as the Days of *Joshua*, known by the Name of *Cadmus*; who carried not only *People*, but *Letters* also, from *Phenitia* into *Bætia*. The *Grecian Fable* of a *Serpent*, in the Story of *Cadmus*, was only derived from the Name of an

Hivite, which by his Nation belonged unto him; for an *Hivite* signifies a *Serpent*, in the Language of *Syria*. This Renowned *Cadmus*, was indeed a *Gibeonite*, who having been well treated by *Joshua*, and by *Joshua* not only continued in the Comforts of Life, but also instructed and employed in the Service of the true God,

God, he retained ever after most honourable Sentiments of that Great *Commander*. Yea, when after Ages, in their Songs, praised *Apollo* for his Victory over the Dragon *Pytho*, they uttered but the Disguised Songs of *Canaan*, wherein this *Cadmus* had celebrated the Praises of *Joshua*, for his Victory over *Og* the King of *Bashan*. *Cadmus* having been (as one of the Greek Poets writes of him) Educated in *Hebron* or *Debir*, the Universities of *Palestine*, was fitted thereby to be a Leader in a Great Undertaking; and when the Oppression of *Cushanrathaim*, caused a Number of People to seek out *New Seats*, there were many who under the Conduct of *Cadmus*, transported themselves into *Greece*, where the Notions and Customs of an *Israelitish* Original, were therefore a long while preserved, until they were confounded with *Pagan Degeneracies*. There is Reason to think, that a Colony of *Hebrews* themselves did now swarm out into *Peloponnesus*, where the Book of *Maccabees* will help us to find *Lacedemonians* (or *Cadmonians*, that is, the Followers of *Cadmus*, in their True Etymology) of the Stock of *Morabam*; and we know that *Strabo* tells us, That *Cadmus* had *Arabians* (and the *Israelites*, were by such Heathen Writers accounted so) in his Company. Accordingly, when we read, that a College among the Old *Grecians* was called *Academia*, we may soon inform our selves, that it was at first called *Cadmia* or *Cadmea*, in Commemoration of *Cadmus*, the *Phœnician*; to whom those Parts of the World were first beholden, for such Nurseries of good Literature and Religion.

These Researches into Antiquity, had not, in this place been laid before my Reader, if they might not have served as an *Introduction* unto this piece of *New-English* History; that when some *Ecclesiastical Oppressions* drove a Colony of the Truest *Israelites* into the Remoter Parts of the World, there was an *Academy* quickly founded in that Colony: And our *Chancey* was the *Cadmus* of that *Academy*; by whose vast Labour and Learning, the Knowledge of the *Lord Jesus Christ*, served by all the *Human Sciences*, hath been conveyed unto Posterity.

It is now fit, That a few *Memoirs* of that Reverend Man should fill our Pages.

§ 2. Mr. *Charles Chancey* was an *Hartfordshire* Man; born in the Year 1589. of Parents that were both Honourable and Religious. Being sent from thence to *Westminster-School*, his Hopeful Proficiency in Good Literature, within a short while, ripened him for the *University*. And it was one thing which caused him to have the more feeling *Repentments* of the Famous *Powder-Plot*, the Report whereof will make a *Noise* as long as the *Fifth of November* is in our *Kalendar*; that at the time when that *Plot* should have taken its horrid Effect, he was at that *School*, which must also have been blown up, if the *Parliament-House* had perished. The *University of Cambridge*, was that which afterward *Instructed* and *Nourished* this

Eminent Person, and fitted him for the Service wherein he had Opportunity afterwards to demonstrate that he was indeed such a Person. The particular College whereof he was here a Member, was *Trinity College*; by the same Token, that in the *Lachrymæ Cantabrigienses*, published by the *Cantabrigians*, on the Death of *Queen Ann*, I find him in that Style composing and subscribing one of the most Witty Latin Poems in that whole Collection. Here he proceeded *Bachelour of Divinity*: And having an Intimate Acquaintance with that Great Man *Dr. Usber*, whom all Men have confessed Worthy of the Character, wherewith *Voetius* mentions him, *Vastæ Lætionis & Eruditionis Theologus, inq; Antiquitate Ecclesiastica Versatissimus*, he had hereby an Opportunity farther to advantage himself with the Ancient Monuments in *King James's Library*.

§ 3. By the Head of the Houses he was chosen *Hebrew-Professor*; but the Vice-Chancellor *Dr. Williams*, preferring a Kinsman of his own to that Place, at the same time he put our *Mr. Chancey* into the Place of *Greek Professor*; And as one well known to be an Accurate *Grecian*, 'twas he that afterwards was the *C. C.* the *Vir Doctissimus & Piissimus*, whose *Annotations*, you have at the Beginning of *Leigh's Critica Sacra* upon the *New Testament*. He was indeed a Person incomparably well skill'd in all the *Learned Languages*; especially in the *Oriental*; and eminently in the *Hebrew*: In his obtaining whereof, his Conversation with a *Jew* for the space of a Year, was no little Advantage to him. I know that the *Hebrew Tongue*, as an Exception to the General Rule, *Difficilia que Pulchra*, is more easily Attained, than any that I have yet observed; and hence we see even our *English Women*, sometimes in a little while, and with a little pains, grown as expert at it as the *Ladies Pausa* or *Blasilla*, by *Ferom* therefore celebrated; and I have wished that many in the World, were more moved by those Words of a Worthy Author, *Ausim spondere, illos qui Studiis Hebraicis, tantum Temporis Impenderent, quantum Tubulo Nicotianæ imbibendo, (quo nunc pars bona Studiosorum pro Hydragogo uti consuevit) tum Mane, tum Vesperi, impendi solet, progressus in hujusce Linguae Cognitione, haud Vulgares, brevi esse facturos, adeo ut mirerentur, se esse tum doctos, antequam Didicerint*. Nevertheless, this Tongue is as easily forgotten. But being once attained, and therewithal preserved and improved, good Men will find as our *Mr. Chancey* did, that the Conjoint Profit and Pleasure of it were inexpressible; and that the Talents wherewith it would furnish them to do so many Services for the Church of God, were such as to make them join with *Luther*, in his Protestation, *That he would not part with his Knowledge of the Hebrew, for many Thousands of Pounds*; or to approve the (usual) modest Words of *Melancthon*, *Scio me vix primis Labris degustasse Hebraicus Literas; sed tamen, hoc Ipsum, quod didici quantulumcumq; est, propter Judicium de Religione, Omnibus Mundi*

Mundi Regnis, omniumq; opibus Longe Antepono.

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‘ *requite the Lord, ye foolish People, and un-
‘ wise !*

‘ But then let *Scholars* mainly intend, la-
‘ bour, and study for this ; to be *Prophets* and
‘ *Nazarites* : And therefore let *Speaking* to
‘ *Edification, Exhortation, and Comfort* be aimed
‘ at in all your *Studies* : And behave your
‘ selves as being set apart in peculiar manner
‘ for the Lord. To use the *Vessels of the Tem-
‘ ple*, to quaff and carouse in, was a *Babylo-
‘ nish* Practice. You should have less to do
‘ with the *World*, and *Worldly Delights*, and
‘ be less cumbred than others with the *Affairs*
‘ of this *Life*.

All that we will add of this Good Old Man,
shall be the *Epitaph*, which is now to be read
on his *Tomb-stone* in *Cambridge*.

Conditum
hic est Corpus,

CAROLI CHAUNCÆI,

S. S. Theologiæ Baccalaur.

ET

Collegii Harvardini Nov-Angl.
Per XVII. Annorum Spacium,
Præsidis Vigilantissimi,
Viri Plane Integerrimi,
Concionatoris Eximii,
Pietate
Pariter ac Liberali Eruditione
Ornatissimi.

Qui Obiit in Domino, Feb. XIX.
An. Dom. M. DC. LXX. I.

Et Ætatis suæ, LXXX. II.

C H A P. XXIV.

Lucas. The LIFE of Mr. JOHN FISK.

Ἰατρος ἦ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντιθέσις ἀλλ.ων.

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But upon the Death of his Father, who had committed unto him the Care of his Mother and his two Sisters, and his youngest Brother, he thought it his Duty to Remove into *New-England*, where he saw an Opportunity of returning unto the Quiet Exercise of his Ministry. He, and that Excellent Man *Mr. John Allin*, came aboard in a Disguise, to avoid the Fury of their Persecutors; but after they were past the *Lands-End*, they entertained the Passengers with *Two Sermons* every Day, besides other Agreeable Devotions, which filled the Voyage with so much of *Religion*, that one of the Passengers being examined about his going to divert himself with an *Hook and Line*, on the *Lord's Day*, he protested, *That he did not know when the Lord's Day was; he thought every Day was a Sabbath-Day; for, he said, they did nothing but pray and preach all the Week long.*

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lars (whereof the well known *Sir George Downing* was one) as he was afterwards unto his own Children, when the want of *Grammar-Schools* at Hand made it necessary. From thence he removed unto a Place adjoining thereunto, which is now called *Wenham*: Where on *Octob. 8. 1644.* a Church was gathered, of which he continued the *Pastor*, in that Place, for more than Twice Seven Years: Contented with a very mean *Salary*, and consuming his own fair Estate for the Welfare of the *New-Plantation*.

§ 5. About the Year 1656. he Removed, with the major part of his Church, to another *New Town*, called *Chelmsford*; and there he spent the Remainder of his Days. Of the *Afflictions* which now *Disciplin'd* him, one of the saddest was the Loss of his *Concordance*; I mean, of his Godly and Worthy *Consort*, who by her Incomparable Expertness in the *Scriptures*, had rendred any other *Concordance* of the Bible useless unto his Library. This *Vertuous Woman* lost her *Sight* for some Years before she died; under which Disaster a most Exemplary *Patience* was produced in her, by her *View* of, *The things which are not seen, and are Eternal*: And at length, after many Admonitions unto her Friends to Improve their *Sight* well whilst they had it, she had on *Feb. 14. 1671.* her *Eyes opened*, by their being *closed*; and was by Death carried from *Faith* unto *Immediate and Everlasting Sight*: After which he married again.

§ 6. Twenty Years did he shine in the *Golden Candlestick* of *Chelmsford*; a plain, but an Able, Painful, and Useful Preacher of the Gospel; rarely, if ever, by *Sickness* hindred from the Exercise of his Ministry. As *Marcilius Ficinus* having written one Book, *De Sanitate Tuenda*, and another Book, *De Valerudine Restituenda*, concluded his Course with writing his Book, *De Vita Calitus Comparanda*: Thus, our *Mr. Fisk*, now superseded his Care and Skill of dispensing Medicines for the *Body*, by doing it for the *Soul*. But although he did in his Ministry, go through an *Exposition* of almost all the Scripture in both Testaments, and unto his *Lord's Day Sermons*, added a *Monthly Lecture* on the *Week-Day*, besides his Discourses at the *Private Meetings* of the Faithful, and his exact and Faithful Cares to keep up *Church-Discipline*, yet none of his Labours were more Considerable than his *Catechetical*. It is by the Excellent *Owen* excellently well observed, *That unless a Man has some Good Satisfaction concerning the Spiritual Condition of those that are committed unto his Charge, he can never approve himself among them*, a Workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth: *And the Work of the Ministry is not by any means more evacuated, and rendered Ineffectual, than when Men have not a certain Design to deal with their Hearers according to what they are perswaded, that their Spiritual Estate doth require.* Our *Fisk* therefore, did by most laborious *Catechising*, endeavour to know the State

‘ *requite the Lord, ye foolish People, and un-
‘ wise!*

‘ But then let *Scholars* mainly intend, la-
‘ bour, and study for this; to be *Prophets* and
‘ *Nazarites*: And therefore let *Speaking to*
‘ *Edification, Exhortation, and Comfort* be aimed
‘ at in all your *Studies*: And behave your
‘ selves as being set apart in peculiar manner
‘ for the Lord. To use the *Vessels of the Tem-
‘ ple*, to quaff and carouse in, was a *Babyloni-
‘ sh* Practice. You should have less to do
‘ with the *World*, and *Worldly Delights*, and
‘ be less cumbred than others with the *Affairs*
‘ of this *Life*.

All that we will add of this Good Old Man,
shall be the *Epitaph*, which is now to be read
on his *Tomb-stone* in *Cambridge*.

Conditum
hic est Corpus,

CAROLI CHAUNCEI,

S. S. Theologiae Baccalaur.

E T

Collegii Harvardini Nov-Angl.

Per XVII. Annorum Spacium,

Præfidis Vigilantissimi,

Viri Plane Integerrimi,

Concionatoris Eximii,

Pietate

Pariter ac Liberali Eruditione

Ornatissimi.

Qui Obiit in Domino, Feb. XIX.

An. Dom. M. DC. LXX. I.

Et Ætatis suæ, LXXX. II.

CHAP. XXIV.

Lucas. The LIFE of Mr. JOHN FISK.

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of his Flock, and make it good: And hence, altho' he did himself compose and publish a most useful *Catechism*, which he entituled, *The Olive-Plant watered*; yet he chose the *Assembly's Catechism* for his Publick Expositions, wherewith he twice went over it, in Discourses before his *Afternoon-Sermons* on the Sabbath.

§ 7. Towards the end of his Life, he began to labour especially under two Maladies, either of which were enough to try the most consummate Patience of any Man living; these were, first the *Stone*, and then the *Gout*; which at last were followed with *Convulsions*, that brought his laborious Life unto an end: And gave him the Experience of *Streitbergerius's* Motto, *Qui non est Crucianus non est Christianus*. Yea, for a Complication of Maladies, his Condition became not unlike the blessed *Calvin's*, of whom the Historian relates, *That he was troubled with as many Infirmities, as indifferent Subjells might have supplied an Hospital*.

On the Second Lord's Day of his Confinement by Illness, after he had been many Lord's Days carried unto the Church in a Chair, and preached, as in the Primitive Times they still treated, sitting, he was taken with *Convulsions*, which renewed so fast upon him, that within a few Days he died, on *January 14. 1676.* see a

Rest from his Labours: Having first, after this manner blessed his Four Children, two Sons and two Daughters, who were by his Bed-side waiting for his Blessing: *You are as a Shock of Corn bound up, or as Twins made beautiful by the Covenant of Grace. You have an Interest in the sure Mercies of David; those you have to live upon. Study to emulate one another; but in the best, in the best. Provoke one another to Love. The God of your Forefathers bless you all.* And added unto his younger Son, the present worthy Pastor of *Braintree*, concerning his Wife and his two Children, then absent, *The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, bless you, and your Posterity after you.*

We will now leave him uttering the Words of *Weinrichius*, in his

E P I T A P H.

*Vixi, & quem dederas cursum mihi, Christe, peregi:
Pertusus Vita, suaviter opto mori.*

CH A P. XXV.

Scholasticus. The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS PARKER.

§ 1. IT may without any ungrateful Comparisons be asserted, that one of the greatest Scholars in the English Nation, was that Renowned *Robert Parker*, who was driven out of the Nation for his Non-Conformity to its unhappy Ceremonies in the Worship of God. It was the Honour of that Great Man, to be the Father of such Learned Books, as that of his *De Politia Ecclesiastica*, and that *Of the Cross*; as well as Foster Father to that of *Sandford's De Discensu Christi ad Inferos*; yea, to be in some sort the Father of all the Non-Conformists in our Age, who yet would not call any Man their Father. But let it not be counted any Dishonour unto him, that he was also the Natural Father of our *Thomas Parker*.

§ 2. This Mr. *Thomas Parker* was the only Son of his Father, who being very desirous to have him a Scholar, committed him unto perhaps a godly, but a very severe Master. Under this hard Master, tho' he was well nigh discouraged by the *Dulness*, which he apprehended in his own Capacity, yet the Consideration of his Father's Desire, made him, with an Early Piety, to join his Prayers unto his Pains, that he might have his Education prospered; and God so prospered him, that he arrived unto a desirable Degree of Knowledge, both in the Tongues, and in the Arts.

§ 3. He had been admitted into *Magdalen Colledge*, in *Oxford*; but after the Exile of his Father, he removed unto *Dublin*, in *Ireland*; where he found from *Dr. Usher* the same favourable Aspect, which that eminent Person did use to cast upon young Students that were ingenious: And from thence he went after his Father into *Holland*, where *Dr. Ames* favoured him with his Encouragements and Assistances, in the Prosecution of his honest Studies now at *Leyden*.

§ 4. As his Diligence was indefatigable, so his Proficiency was proportionable: And he was particularly considerable there, for his Disputations upon the Points then most considerably controverted. It was at the Age of Twenty-two, that he drew up his most Judicious and Approved *Theses, De Traditione Peccatoris*: Which are bound up with *Dr. Ames*, his *Opuscula*, in some Editions of his Answer to *Grevinchovius*. Those most accurate *Theses*, being thus published, as the Composure of another, our humble *Parker*, tho' infligated thereunto, did yet refuse to do himself the Justice, of publishing himself some other way, to be the Author of them. This neglect of his, he said, was, to chastize the Vanity of his own young Mind, which had been too much pleased with the Accuracy of his own early Performance in those *Theses*. But

the Author of the *Theſes* afterwards came to be well known, by the Providence of God, when whole *Books* came to be written by learned Men upon them; whereof one was entituled, *Parke- rus Illustratus*.

But before this Age of *Twenty two*, he proceeded *Maſter*, with the general Applauſe of all, and the ſpecial Eſteem of *Maccovius*, a man Renowned in the *Belgick* Univerſities. In the *Diploma* then given him, they teſtifie, *Illum non ſine magnâ Admiracione aud:verimus,—And Se Philoſophie Artiumque liberalium peritiſſimum declaraverit.*

§ 5. *Maccovius* would hereupon have had *Sibrandus Lubbertus*, the Moderator of the *Clasſis* there, to have ordained our *Parker* a *Preſbyter*, as an Acknowledgment of his exceeding worth; but tho' *Lubbertus* could not but acknowledge it, yet out of a ſecret Grudge, he would not allow of the Ordination. Whereupon *Maccovius* rode unto the States at *Leodin*, with Complaints of *Lubbertus* for ſo ill a thing, as letting ſuch a Perſon as this *Parker* go away under any Cloud of Diſreſpect; and the States thereupon wrote unto *Lubbertus* to admit him: But the haſt of his return into *England* prevented it.

§ 6. Reſiding at *Newberry* in *England*, he applied himſelf with an invincible Induſtry unto the Study of *School-Divinity*: In which profound and knotty Study, he found ſuch *enſnaring Temptations*, that he afterwards laid it all aſide, for the Knowledge of *Jeſus Chriſt crucified*. The wiſe *Bullinger* would with too much Reaſon ſay, *Unus Seneca plus ſinceriora Theologie poſteritate reliquit, quam omnes fere omnium Scholiſticorum Libri.* The great *Chamier* would with a like Reaſon ſay, *Solere ſe Scholiſticos conſulere, non aliter, quam ſi quis aliquando palatium inviſens, poſt Aularum, cubiculerum & cœnaculorum magnificentiam etiam Latrinas non dedignetur inſpicere, ſed paucis, ob ſetorem.* The learned *Whitaker* would ſay of the *School-men*, *Plus habent Argutiarum quam Scientiæ plus Scientiæ quam Doctrinæ, plus Doctrinæ quam uſus, plus uſus quam ad ſalutem.* Our *Parker* converſed indeed with the *School-men*, until he almoſt became one of them himſelf: But not ſuch an one as *Luther* meant, when he ſaid, *Qui Theologum Scholiſticum videt, videt Septem peccata mortalia.* For he grew ſick of all the Learning that he had got from the *School-men*; and would often ſay, *All the uſe I now make of all my School-Learning is this: I have ſo much to deny for the ſake of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Nor was he inſenſible of what *Sir Walter Rawleigh* obſerved concerning the *School-men*, That they taught their Followers rather to *ſhift*, than to *reſolve* by their *Diſtinctions*.

§ 7. From thence removing with ſeveral devout Chriſtians out of *Wiltſhire* into *New-England*, he was Ordained their *Paſtor*, at a Town, on his, and their Account, called *Newberry*; where he lived many Years, by the *Holineſs*, the *Humbleneſs*, the *Charity* of his Life, giving his People a perpetual and moſt lively Commentary upon his *Doctrinæ*.

§ 8. The Strains which his immoderate Studies gave unto his Organs of Sight, brought a miſerable Deſluxion of *Rheum* upon his Eyes; which proceeded ſo far, that one of them ſwelled until it came out of his Head, and the other grew altogether dim ſome Years before his Death. Under this extreme Loſs he would, after a Chriſtian and pleaſant manner, give himſelf that Conſolation: *Well, they'll be reſtored ſhortly, at the Reſurrection.*

The Jews, upon the dim ſight of *Eli*, have an Obſervation, That none are mentioned in the Scripture, as afflicted with Failure of Sight, but ſuch as were afflicted either in their *Children*, or in their *Pupils*. Our *Parker* had no Children to afflict him, and his Pupils were ſuch as to comfort him; yet Failure of Sight was his Calamity.

§ 9. In the latter part of his Life, he bent himſelf unto the Study of the *Scripture-Prophecies*; being, as has been ſaid by *Dr. Uſher*, inſtigated thereunto. 'Twas with an aſſiduous Conjunction of *Meditations*, and Supplications, that he followed this delightful Study, till he had written ſeveral Volumes, a great part of them in *Latin*; whereof no part was ever publiſh'd, but one upon *Daniel*, which he wrote in *Engliſh*. If ſome of his Expositions upon thoſe difficult parts of the Scripture, have been ſince confuted by ſome great Authors, who diſliked them, we may, on more Accounts than one, conſider him, as the *Homer* of *New-England*; and add,

Aliquando Bonus Dormitat Homerus.

§ 10. He went unto the *Immortals*, in the Month of *April* 1677, about the Eighty ſecond Year of his Age: And after he had lived all his Days a *ſingle Man*, but a great part of his Days engaged in *Apocalyptical Studies*, he went unto the *Apocalyptical Virgins*, who follow the *Lamb whithersoever he goes*.

He was a Perſon of a moſt extenſive *Charity*; which Grain of his Temper, might contribute unto that Largeneſs in his Principles, about *Church-Government*, which expoſed him unto many *Temptations*, amongſt his Neighbours, who were not ſo Principled. He would, indeed, expreſs himſelf diſſatisfied at the Edge, which there was in the Writings of his Father, againſt the *Biſhops*; and he did himſelf write a Preface unto a Book; whereupon *Mr. Charles Chancey* beſtow'd a *ſhort Answer*, which begins with this *ſhorter Censure*.

‘ Let it not be an Offence to any Chriſtian, ‘ that there hath been found one like to *Urijah* ‘ the *Prieſt*, that would ſet up the *Altar* of ‘ *Damaſcus* among us, to thruſt out the *Brazen* ‘ *Altar* of the Lord's Inſtitution; viz. *Mr. Tho-* ‘ *mas Parker*, who has publiſhed a Book, plead- ‘ ing for *Episcopacy*; wherein is found, πῶλθ ‘ λῆλιζω, a *Colt* kicking againſt his *Dam*.

Such a Difference in Apprehenſion, and in Affection too, did on that occaſion diſcover it ſelf,
be-

between those Good Men, who are now joyfully met, *Ubi Luthi Luthero cum Zuinglio, optime jam Convenit.*

Yet the Alienation between them, was not so great as that between *Theoclus*, and *Pollinis*, who being burnt in one Funeral Fire, after they had kill'd one another, the very Flame of that Fire divided it self; the Flame of their Funeral Fire would not be united. *Chancey* and *Parker* are united in our *Church-History*; the Funeral Respects which are here paid unto both of them, agree very well together. Now,

That which the Learned, Pious, and Sweet-spirited *Bucholtzer*, provided for himself, we will now assign unto this our Sweet-spirited

Parker (who spent his Life much in Chronological Studies, like that Great *Bucholtzer*;) for an

E P I T A P H.

*Hic, Pie Christe! Tuo recubat quæsitæ cruore,
Inq; Tuo Gremio, Parvula dormit Ovis.
Reddidit hæc Animam balanti Voce Fidelem:
Huic Pastor dices, Intret Ovile meum.*

An APPENDIX Containing MEMOIRS
of Mr. James Noyes.

WHEN we had thus finished our *Memoirs* of Mr. *Parker*, our *Second Thoughts* told us, that some of Mr. *Noyes* must accompany them. Sending therefore to my Excellent Friend, Mr. *Nicolas Noyes*, the present Minister of *Salem*, for some Account, concerning a Person so nearly related unto him, he favoured me with the following Relation. And tho' he were pleased in his Letters to tell me, That he had sent me only a Rude Immethodical Jumble of things, intending that I should serve my Occasions out of them, for a Composition of my own. Yet I find, that I shall not give my Readers a better Satisfaction, any way, than by transcribing the Words of my Friend. The Account in his own Words, is too Elegant, and Expressive, to need any Alteration.

Mr. *James Noyes* was Born, 1608. at *Chouder-ton* in *Wiltshire*, of Godly and Worthy Parents His Father was Minister of the same Town, a very Learned Man, the School-Master of Mr. *Thomas Parker*. His Mother was Sister to the Learned Mr. *Robert Parker*, and he had much of his Education and Tutorage under Mr. *Thomas Parker*. He was called by him, from *Brazen Nose College* in *Oxford*, to help him in teaching the Free School at *Newberry*; where they taught School together, till the Time they came to *New-England*. He was converted in his Youth, by the Ministry of Dr. *Twiss*, and Mr. *Thomas Parker*, and was admired for his Piety and his Vertue in his younger Years. The Reason of his coming to *New-England*, was, because he could not comply with the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. He was married in *England* to Mrs. *Sarah Brown*, the Eldest Daughter of Mr. *Joseph Brown* of *Southampton*, not long before he came to *New-England*, which

was in the Year 1634. In the same Ship came Mr. *Thomas Parker*, Mr. *James Noyes*, and a Younger Brother of his, Mr. *Nicolas Noyes*, who then was a single Man: Between which Three, was a more than ordinary Endearment of Affection, which was never shaken or broken, but by Death Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *James Noyes*, and others that came over with them, Fasted and Prayed together many times, before they undertook this Voyage; and on the Sea, Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Noyes* preached or expounded, one in the Forenoon, other in the Afternoon, every Day during the Voyage, unless some extraordinary thing intervened, and were abundant in Prayer.

When they arrived, Mr. *Parker* was at first called to preach at *Ipswich*, and Mr. *Noyes* at *Mistick*, at which Places they continued nigh a Year. He had a Motion made unto him to be Minister at *Watertown*; but Mr. *Parker* and others of his Brethren and Acquaintance, settling at *Newberry*, and gathering the Tenth of the Churches in the Colony, and calling Mr. *Noyes* to be the Teacher of it, he preferred that place; being lothe to be separated from Mr. *Parker*, and Brethren that had so often Fasted and Prayed together, both in *England* and on the *Atlantic* Sea. So he became the Teacher of that Church, and continued painful and successful in that Station something above Twenty Years, without any considerable Trouble in the Church. Notwithstanding his Principles as to *Discipline*, were something differing from many of the Brethren, there was such Condescension on both Parts, that *Peace* and *Order* was not Interrupted. He was very much loved and Honoured in *Newberry*; his Memory is precious there to this Day, and his *Catechism* (which is a publick and standing Testimony of his Understanding and

Orthodoxy in the Principles of Religion) is publicly and privately used in that Church and Town hitherto. He was very well Learned in the *Tongues*, and in *Greek* excelled most. He was much Read in the *Fathers* and the *Schoolmen*. And he was much esteemed by his Brethren in the Ministry. Twice he was called by Mr. *Wilson* and others, to preach, in the Time when the *Antinomian* Principles were in danger of prevailing; which he did with good Success, and to the Satisfaction of those that invited him. Mr. *Wilson* dearly loved him; and it so happened once at *Newbury*, that he preached in the Forenoon about *Holiness* so *Holily* and *Ably*, that Mr. *Wilson* was so affected with it, as to change his own Text, and pitch upon Mr. *Noyes's*, for the Afternoon; prefacing his Discourse, with telling the Auditory, that his Brother *Noyes's* Discourse about *Holiness* in the Forenoon had so much Impression upon his mind, he knew not how in the Afternoon to pursue any other Argument. His Conversation was so unquestionably Godly, that they who differed from him in smaller Matters as to Discipline, held a most amicable Correspondence with him, and had an high Estimation of him. Altho' he was very averse to the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, accounting them needless, many Ways offensive and hurtful at the best, and the Rigorous Imposition of them Abominable and Intolerable, so that he left *England* for their sake; yet he was not equally averse to *Episcopacy*, but was in Opinion for *Episcopius Præses*, tho' not for *Episcopius Princeps*. His own Words testify this, for so he wrote; *It seemeth he that was called, Antistes Præpositus, the Bishop, in a Presbytery, by Process of Time was only called Bishop, tho' all Elders are also according to their Office Essentially Bishops, and differing only in Gradual Jurisdiction.* He no ways approved of a *Governing Vote*, in the *Fraternity*, but took their Consent in a *Silential* way. He held *Ecclesiastical Councils* so far Authoritative and Binding, that no particular Elder, or Society, might seem to have *Independency* and *Sovereignty*, or the *Major Part* of them have Liberty to sin with Impunity. He was equally afraid of *Ceremonies* and of *Schism*; and when he fled from *Ceremonies* he was afraid of being guilty of *Schism*. For that Reason he was jealous (if not too jealous) of particular *Church-Covenants*; yet he accounted them *Adjuncts* of the *Covenant of Grace*. He held Profession of *Faith*, and *Repentance*, and *Subjection* to the *Ordinances*, to be the *Rule* of Admission into *Church-Fellowship*; and that such as shew a *Willingness* to *Repent*, and be *Baptised* in the Name of the Lord Jesus, without known *Dissimulation*, are to be admitted thereto; and that it depended more on God's *Providence*, than his *Ordinances*, to render *Church-Members* found in the *Faith*; and that God took into *Covenant* some that

were Vessels of Wrath, as for other Ends, so to facilitate the Conversion of their Elect Children. He was as Religious at Home as Abroad, in his Family and in secret, as he was publicly; and they that best knew him, most loved and esteemed him. Mr. *Parker* and he kept a *Private Fast* once a Month, so long as they lived together, and Mr. *Parker* after his own Death, till his own Departure. Mr. *Noyes* bitterly lamented the Death of K. *Charles I.* and both he and Mr. *Parker* too had too great Expectations of K. *Charles II.* but Mr. *Parker* lived to see his Expectations of *Charles* the Second frustrated. He had a long and tedious Sickness, which he bore patiently and chearfully; and he died joyfully in the Forty Eighth Year of his Age, Oct. 22. 1656. He left Six Sons and Two Daughters, all of which lived to be married, and have Children, tho' since one Son and one Daughter be dead. He hath now living Fifty Six Children, Grand-Children, and Great Grand-Children. And his Brother that came over with him a single Man, is thro' the Mercy of God, yet living; and hath of Children, Grand Children, and Great Grand-Children, above an Hundred: Which is an Instance of Divine Favour, in making the *Families of his Servants in the Wilderness like a Flock.* There was the greatest Amity, Intimacy, Unanimity, yea, Unity imaginable between Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Noyes*. So unshaken was their Friendship, nothing but Death was able to part them. They taught in *one School*; came over in *one Ship*; were Pastor and Teacher of *one Church*; and Mr. *Parker* continuing always in Celibacy, they lived in *one House*, till Death separated them for a Time; but they are both now together in *one Heaven*, as they that best knew them have all possible Reason to be persuaded. Mr. *Parker* continued in his House, as long as he lived; and as he received a great deal of Kindness and Respect there, so he shew'd a great deal of Kindness in the Educating of his Children, and was very Liberal to that Family during his Life, and at his Death. He never forgot the Old Friendship, but shewed Kindness to the *Dead*, in shewing Kindness to the *Living*.

Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Noyes*, were Excellent Singers, both of them; and were extraordinary delighted in Singing of *Psalms*. They sang Four times a Day in the Publick Worship, and always just after Evening-Prayer in the Family, where reading the Scripture, expounding, and Praying, were the other constant Exercises. Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Noyes*, were of the same Opinion with Dr. *Owen*, about the *Sabbath*; yet in Practice, were strict Observers of the *Evening* after it. Mr. *Parker*, whose Practice I my self remember, was the strictest Observer of the *Sabbath*, that ever I knew. I once asked him, seeing his Opinion was otherwise, as to the Evening belonging to the *Sabbath*, why his Practice

' *How* differed from his *Opinion* ! He answered
 ' me, *Because he dare not depart from the Foot-*
 ' *steps of the Flock, for his private Opinion.*
 ' Being got into some *Passages* of Mr. *Par-*
 ' *ker's* Life before I am aware, I will insert a
 ' few more : And you may make what use of
 ' them you please. He kept a *School*, as well
 ' as preached, at *Newbury* in *New-England*
 ' He ordinarily had about *Twelve* or *Fourteen*
 ' *Scholars*. He took no pay for his pains, unless
 ' any present were freely sent him. He used
 ' to say, *He lived for the Churches sake*, and
 ' begrutch'd no pains that were for its Bene-
 ' fit ; and by his Good Will he was not free
 ' to teach any but such as were designed for
 ' the Ministry by their Parents ; for he would
 ' say, *He could not bestow his Time and Pains*
 ' *unless it were for the Benefit of the Church.*
 ' Tho' he were blind, yet such was his Me-
 ' mory, that he could in his Old Age, teach
 ' *Latin, Greek, and Hebrew*, very Artificially.
 ' He seldom corrected a Scholar, unless for *Ly-*
 ' *ing* and *Fighting*, which were unpardonable
 ' Crimes in our School. He promoted Learn-
 ' ing in his Scholats, by something an unusual
 ' way ; encouraging them to learn Lessons,
 ' and make Verses, besides and above their
 ' stunted Tasks, for which they had *Pardons*
 ' in Store, that were kept on Record in the
 ' School, and were for lesser *School-Faults*,
 ' such as were not *Immortalities*, and Sins
 ' against God, cross'd out ; but he always
 ' told them, they must not think to escape
 ' unpunished for Sin against God, by reason
 ' of them ; tho' for some lesser Defects about
 ' their Lessons, they were accepted. I heard
 ' him tell Mr. *Millar* the Minister, that the
 ' great Changes of his Life had been signified
 ' to him before-hand by *Dreams*. And I heard
 ' him say, That before a Fiery Temptation of
 ' the Devil beset him, he had a very Terrible
 ' Representation in a Dream, of the Devil
 ' assaulting of him, and he wrestled with him,
 ' and had more than once like to have prevailed
 ' against him ; but that when he was most likely
 ' and most near to be overcome, he was afresh
 ' animated and strengthened to resist him ; till at
 ' length the Devil seemed to break abroad like
 ' a Flash of Lightning, and then disappeared ;
 ' and that not long after, the most Dismal
 ' Temptation of Satan beset him that ever he
 ' was sensible of, and that all the Passages of
 ' that Temptation answered the forementioned
 ' Representation ; and that the Hazards of it,
 ' and his fresh Supplies when almost van-
 ' quished, and his Deliverance was so remar-
 ' kable, that every Day he had lived since
 ' that Time, he had given Thanks to God par-
 ' ticularly for his Assistance of him in that
 ' Temptation, and his Deliverance out of it :
 ' Tho' it were Twenty Years before the time
 ' of his now telling me concerning it. Mr *Parker*
 ' excell'd in Liberty of Speech, in Praying,
 ' Preaching and Singing, having a most delicate
 ' sweet Voice ; yet he had all along an *Impulse*
 ' upon his Spirit, that he should have the *Pal-*

' *sey* in his *Tongue*, before he died. His Voice
 ' held extraordinarily, until very Old Age ; and
 ' I think the more, because his *Teeth* held
 ' sound and good until then ; his Custom be-
 ' ing to wash his Mouth, and rub his Teeth
 ' every Morning. Some few Years before his
 ' Death, he began to complain of the *Tooth-ach*,
 ' and then he quickly began to lose his *Teeth* ;
 ' and now he said, *The Daughters of his Musick*
 ' *began to fail him*. And about a Year and half be-
 ' fore he Died, *That* which he had long feared
 ' beset him, viz. *The Palsy in his Tongue* ; and
 ' so he became *Speechless*, and thus continued
 ' until Death ; having this only help left him, that
 ' he could pronounce *Letters*, but not *Syllables*
 ' or *Words*. He signified his Mind, by *Spelling* his
 ' Words, which was indeed a tedious way, but
 ' yet a Mercy so far to him and others. Du-
 ' ring that Time, which was in our first *In-*
 ' *Indian War*, when the *Indians* broke in upon
 ' many Towns, and committed horrible Out-
 ' rages, and tormented such as they took Cap-
 ' tives, one Night he fell into a dreadful Ten-
 ' tation, lest the *Indians* should break in upon
 ' *Newbury*, and the Inhabitants might gene-
 ' rally escape by fighting or flying, but he be-
 ' ing Old and Blind, and grown Decrepit, he
 ' must of Necessity fall into their hands ; and
 ' that being a Minister, they would urge him
 ' by Torture to Blaspheme Christ, and that he
 ' should not have Grace to hold out against
 ' the Tentation of *Indian Torture* ; and with
 ' the very fear of this, he was for the most part
 ' of the Night in such Agonies of Soul, that
 ' he was on the very Brink of Desperation ;
 ' but at length, God helpt him, by bringing
 ' to his Mind, Two Places of Scripture : That
 ' in *Isa. 51. 12, 13.* *I, even I, am he that com-*
 ' *forts thee ; who art thou, that thou shouldest*
 ' *be afraid of a Man that shall die, and forget-*
 ' *test the Lord thy Maker !* And that in *Rom.*
 ' *S. 35, 36.* *Who shall separate us from the Love*
 ' *of Christ ? Shall Tribulation or Distress, or*
 ' *Persecution, or Famine, or Nakedness, or*
 ' *Peril, or Sword ! — For thy Sake we are*
 ' *killed all the Day long ; — Nay in all these*
 ' *things, we are more than Conquerors thro' him*
 ' *that hath loved us.* Sleep departed from him
 ' that Night, by reason of the Horrour of that
 ' *Tentation* ; and the Joy that came towards
 ' Morning he was wonderfully affected with ;
 ' and in the Morning early, he pronounced all
 ' this to me Letter by Letter, and glorified
 ' God. Once hearing some of us *laughing* ve-
 ' ry freely, while I suppose, he was better
 ' busied in his Chamber above us, he came
 ' down, and gravely said to us. *Cousins, I won-*
 ' *der you can be so merry, unless you are sure*
 ' *of your Salvation !* He was a very Holy and
 ' Heavenly-minded Man, and as much morti-
 ' fied to the World, as almost any in it. He
 ' scarce called any thing his *own*, but his *Books*
 ' and his *Cloaths*. When he was urged, to
 ' vindicate himself to be the Author of the
 ' *Theses de Traditione Peccatoris ad Vitam*, he
 ' utterly refused it ; saying, being young at

the Time when he made them, he was afraid he had not so fully aimed at the Glory of God, as he ought to have done. But a while after, one unbeknown to him in *Holland*, Reprinted them, with the Name of the Author, and set him forth with more advantage, than would have been modest or proper for himself to have done; giving him his *Parental* as well as *Personal* Honour; and saying, That his Father was, *Pater dignus tali Filio*; and that he was, *Filius dignus tali Patre*. Thus *he that humbleth himself shall be exalted*.

Mr. *Wilson* once, on occasion of his *Calibacy*, said to him, That if there could be Anger in Heaven, his Father would chide him, when he came there, because he had not, like him, a Son to follow him. But he had many *Spiritual Children*, that were the *Seals* of his *Ministry*: He was also a Father to the Fatherless; and many *Scholars* were little less beholden to him for their Education, than they were to their Parents for their Generation.

The Occasion of his *Calibacy* was this: At the time that he meditated *Marriage*, he was assaulted with violent Temptations to *Inidelity*, which made him regardless of every thing, in comparison of confirming his Faith, about the Truth of the Scriptures. This occasion'd his falling into the Study of the *Prophecies*, which proved a means of Confirming his Faith; but he fell so in Love with that Study, that he never got out of it, until his Death: And the Church had doubtless had much Benefit by his profound Studies in that kind, could the Bishops have been perswaded to License his Books; which they refused, because he found the Pope to be prophesied of, where they could not understand it. His whole Life, besides what was necessary for the Support of it, by Food, and Sleep, was *Prayer, Study, Preaching*, and teaching *School*. I once heard

him say, He felt the whole Frame of his Nature giving way, which threatned his Dissolution to be at hand: But he thank'd God, he was not amaz'd at it.

To conclude, all I intend concerning Mr. *Parker*, or Mr. *Noyes*, I shall give you Mr. *Parker's* Character of Mr. *Noyes*, who best knew him, and whose Testimony of him is very credible.

Mr. *James Noyes*, my worthy Colleague in the Ministry of the Gospel, was a Man of singular Qualifications, in Piety excelling, an implacable Enemy to all Heresie and Schism, and a most able Warriour against the same. He was of a reaching and ready Apprehension, a large Invention, a most profound Judgment, a rare and tenacious and comprehensive Memory, fixed and unmovable in his grounded Conceptions; sure in Words and Speech, without Rashness; gentle and mild in all Expressions, without all Passion, or provoking Language. And as he was a notable Disputant, so he never would provoke his Adversary, saving by the short Knocks, and heavy Weight of Argument. He was of so loving, and compassionate, and humble Carriage, that I believe never any were acquainted with him, but did desire the Continuance of his Society and Acquaintance. He was resolute for Truth, and in defence thereof, had no respect to any Persons. He was a most excellent Counsellor in Doubts, and could strike at an Hair's-breadth, like the Benjamites, and expedite the Entangled, out of the Briars. He was Courageous in Dangers, and still was apt to believe the best, and made fair Weather in a Storm. He was much honoured and esteemed in the Country, and his Death was much bewailed. I think he may be reckoned among the greatest Worthies of this Age.

CHAP. XXVI.

The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS THACHER.

Virtutem Virtus pariat; De lumine Lumen prodeat.

§ 1. **A** *Thanasius* writing the Life of his *Antonius*, describes him as propounding to his own Observation and Imitation, the various Excellencies of the Good Men whom he conversed withal: The τὸ χεῖρον, or Good Carriage of One; the τὸ πρὸς τὰς ἐνχαῖς σύνθετον, or Prayerfulness, of Another; the τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, or Humanity, of a Third; the τὸ φιλόσοφον, or Humanity, of a Fourth; attending to one τὸ ἀγρυπνεῖν, or keeping of his Watchfulness; to another τὸ φιλολογεῖν, or loving of Learning: Remarking of One, τὴν ἐν καρτερία, in his Patience; of Another, τὴν ἐν νηστεία καὶ χαλεμότητι, in his Fastings and Hardships: Regarding the τὸν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, or Mansue-

tude, of One; the τὸν μακροθυμίαν, or Longanimity of Another: But, πάντων ὁμᾶ τὸν εἰς τὸ χεῖρον εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπην, the Piety of them All, toward the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Charity of them All, towards One another.

Such Excellencies of Good Men have been set before my Reader, in the Lives that we have written of several such Good Men, who were the Excellent on the Earth. But if my Reader would see a many of those Excellencies meeting together in one Man, there are not many, in whom I could more hopefully promise him such a Sight, than in our Excellent Mr. *Thomas Thacher*:

Thacher : Who is now, therefore, to be considered.

§ 2. Mr. *Thomas Thacher* was born May 1. 1620. the Son of Mr. *Peter Thacher*, a Reverend Minister at *Salisbury*, in *England* : One, whom, in a Letter of Dr. *Twiss* to Mr. *Mede*, at the end of his Works, we find joined with famous Mr. *White* of *Dorchester*, in a Conversation, wherein the Learned Exercises of that Great Man, made a grateful Entertainment. And because it may be some Satisfaction unto Good Men, to see Instances multiplied, for the Confirmation of a Matter mentioned by Mr. *Baxter*, in his Proof of *Infant Baptism*, where he says, *As large Experience as I have had in my Ministry, of the State of Souls, and the Way of Conversion, I dare say, I have met not with one of very many, that would say, That they knew the time when they were converted : And of those that would say so, by reason that they then found some more remarkable Change, yet they discovered such Stirrings and Workings before, that many, I had cause to think, were themselves mistaken. I was once in a Meeting of very many Christians, the most eminent for Zeal and Holiness of most in the Land, of whom divers were Ministers, and some at this Day as famous, and as much followed as any I know in England ; and it was there desired, that every one should give in the Manner of their Conversion, that it might be observed, what was God's ordinary way ; and there was but one, that I remember, of them all, that could conjecture at the Time of their first Conversion. It shall here be noted, That this was the Experience of our Thacher. The Regenerating and Verticordious Grace of Heaven, took advantage from his Religious Education, insensibly, as it were, to steal into the Heart of this young Disciple.*

He afterwards affirmed, That he was never able to determine the Time, when the Spirit of God first began to convince him, and renew him ; only he could say with the Reverend Blind Man, *I was blind, but now I see.* When *Thacher* was a Child, the Lord loved him, and this Child also loved the Lord : He was an *Abijah*, that while he was a Child, had many Good Things in him towards the Lord God of his Father : He was a *Timothy*, that while he was a Child, knew the Holy Scriptures. He was a *Samuel*, that in his Childhood was visited by the Holy Spirit : He was a *Josiah*, that while he was yet young, sought after the Lord ; and so much remarked was his Early Piety, that while he was in his Earliest Minority, they would say of him, *There goes a Puritan.* It might indeed be said of him, as they report of St. *Nicholas*, That he led a Life, *Sanctissime ab ipsis Incunabulis Inchoatam.* And it might be said by him, as it was by the Blessed Ancient in his Confessions, *Domine, puer capi rogare te Auxilium & Refugium meum, & rogavi parvus, non parvo affectu.*

§ 3. Having been well Educated at the Grammar School, he had the Offer of his Father to perfect his Education at the University, either of

Cambridge or *Oxford.* But considering the Impositions of Things, to him appearing *unwarrantable*, whereto he then must have exposed himself, he Conscientiously declined his Father's Offer, and chose rather to venture over the *Atlantic* Ocean, and content himself with the Meanneſſes of *America*, than to wound his own Conscience for the Academical Priviledges of *England*

When his Parents discerned his Inclination, they permitted his Removal to *New-England* : Intending themselves, within a Year or two, with their Family, to have removed thither after him : Which Intention was prevented by the Death of his Mother, before it could be effected.

He arrived at *Boston*, June 4. 1635. In which Year he was wonderfully preserved from a Shipwreck, with his Uncle, wherein a worthy Minister, one Mr. *Avery*, lost his Life, as elsewhere we have related. A Day or two before that fatal Voyage from *Newberry* to *Marblehead*, our young *Thacher* had such a strong, and sad Impression upon his Mind, about the Issue of the Voyage, that he, with another, would needs go the Journey by Land, and so he escaped perishing with some of his pious and precious Friends by Sea.

§ 4. 'Tis well known, that in the early Days of Christianity, there were no Colledges, (except we'll say the *Catechetick Lecture* at *Alexandria* was one) for the breeding of young Ministers ; but the Bishop of every Church took the Care to educate and elevate some young Men, who might be prepared thereby to succeed in their place, when they should be dead and gone. And in the early Days of *New-England*, they were for a little while obliged unto such a Method of providing young Men for the Service of the Churches. Thus our *Thacher*, by the good Providence of God, was now cast into the Family, and under the Tuition of that Reverend Man, Mr. *Charles Chancey* ; who was afterwards the President of *Harvard* Colledge, in our *Cambridge*. Under the Conduct of that eminent Scholar, he became such an one himself ; and his indefatigable Studies were so prospered, that he became *Aliquis in Omnibus*, without the Blemish usually, but sometimes unjustly annexed unto it, *Nullus in Singulis.* He was not unskill'd in the Tongues, especially in the *Hebrew*, whereof he did compose a *Lexicon* ; but so comprize it, that within One Sheet of Paper, he had every considerable Word of the Language. And he was as well skill'd in the *Arts*, especially in *Logic*, whereof he gave Demonstration, in his being a most irrefragable Disputant, on some great Occasions.

Moreover, it was his Custom, once in three or four Years time, at *subseſſive Hours*, to go over the *Tongues*, and *Arts*, at such a Rate, that his good Skill in them continued fresh unto the last. And to all his other Accomplishments, there was this added, that he was a most incomparable Scribe : He not only wrote all the sorts of Hand in the best Copy-Books then extant,

tant, with a singular Exactness and Acuteness, but there are yet extant Monuments of *Syriac*, and other Oriental Characters of his Writing, which are hardly to be imitated. He had likewise a certain *Mechanic Genius*, which disposed him in his Recreations unto a Thousand *Curiosities*, especially the Ingenuity of *Clock-work*, wherein at his Leisure, he did things to Admiration.

§ 5. On *May 11. 1643.* he was married unto the Daughter of that Venerable Man Mr. *Ralph Partridge*, the Minister of *Duxbury*, The Comfort, whom the Favour of Heaven, thus bestowed upon him, was a Person of a most amiable Temper; one Pious, and Prudent, and every way worthy of the Man to whom she became a *Glory*. By her he received *Three Sons* and *One Daughter*; and when she had continued *Three Sevens of Years* with him, she went after a very Triumphant manner to be for ever with the Lord, *June 2. 1664.* uttering those for her Dying Words, *Come, Lord Jesus, Come quickly: Why are thy Chariot-Wheels so long a coming?*

§ 6. Having, as a Candidate of the Ministry, by his most commendable *Preaching* and *Living*, abundantly Recommended himself unto the Service of the Churches, he was invited by the Church of *Weymouth* to take the Pastoral Charge of them; whereto he was Ordained, *Jan. 2. 1644.* And here he did for many Years fulfil his Ministry, not only with Elaborate and Affectionate *Sermons*, twice every *Lord's Day*, and in a Lecture once a Fortnight; but also in *Catechising* the Lambs of his Flock, for which he likewise made a *Catechism*. These, also, he would at fit Seasons call to an Account, concerning their *Proficiency* under the means of *Grace*; and such as he found Ripe for an Admission unto the *Highest Mysteries*, at the Table of the Lord, he would encourage to put themselves upon the Publick and Usual *Probation*, in order thereunto, but such as he found *short*, he would suitably, faithfully, and fervently advise unto the *Preparations*, wherein they appeared hitherto defective. And God crowned these Methods and Labours of his Holy Servant, with observable Successes; which were seen in the great Growth of the Church, whereof he had the Oversight. But one Excellency that shined above the other Glories of his Ministry, was that *Excellent Spirit of Prayer*, which continually breathed in him. It has been used among the Arguments for Men to be much in Prayer, That the Dignity of the Person praying is thereby much augmented; and *Chrysoftom*, in his Book, *De Deo Orando*, says, *The very Angels cannot but honour him, whom they see familiarly, and frequently to be admitted unto the Audience, and as it were, discourse with the Divine Majesty.* Now, though this Honour have all the Saints, yet our *Thacher* had more than ordinary share of this Honour; he was a Person much in Prayer, and as he was much in Prayer, so he had an Eminency above most Men living for his Copious, his Fluent,

his *Fervent* manner of performing that Sacred Exercise.

It was an *Heaven upon Earth*, to be present at the Notable Salleys of a Raised Soul, a Livecy Faith, and a *Tongue* toucht with a *Coal from the Altar*, with which, in his Prayers, he did *Calum Tundere, & Misericordiam Extorque.*

§ 7. After the Death of his *First Wife*, he married a *Second* in *Boston*, which, with a Concurrence of many obliging Circumstances, occasioned his Removal *thither*. And it was afterwards found, that *He who holds the Stars in his Right Hand*, had a Purpose of Service to be done for his Name, in that Populous Town, by the *Talents* of this his *Good and Faithful Servant*. For in the Month of *May, 1669.* A *Third Church* swarming out from the *First* in *Boston*, which afterwards made one of the most considerable Congregations in the Colony, this Worthy Person was chosen the Pastor of that Church: And Enstalled in the Pastoral Charge thereof, *Feb. 16. 1669.* wherein he continued until he died. From this Time, I behold him in the *Metropolis* of the *English America*, not only dispensing both *Light* and *Warmth*, unto his own particular Flock, but also as he had Opportunity, expressing a *Care of all the Churches*. And for the Comfort of those Worthy Ministers, who commonly have their Spirits *Buffeted* with strong *Temptations* and sore *Dejections*, before their performing any special Service of their Ministry, I'll mention one Passage, that may a little describe how this Worthy Man became so useful: He would say to his Son; *Son, I never preach a Sermon, till I cannot preach at all!*

§ 8. As he was in his whole Behaviour a Serious, Holy, and Useful Man, so in his Government of his *Family*, he so well *Rul'd his own House*; as to give particular Demonstrations of his Abilities to *Take Care of the Church of God*. His *Domesticks* both *lov'd* him, and *fear'd* him; and he was most Conscientiously and Exemplarily Careful, about their *Interiour* as well as *Temporal* Welfare. This appeared especially in the Management of his *Family Worship*; wherein he usually read a Portion of the *Scriptures*, both *Morning* and *Evening*, and he would Raise *Doctrines* from every Verse with *Brief Confirmations*, and close *Applications* thereof as he went along. Yea, sometimes one might hear from him thus, in *One Family Exposition*, as entertaining a Variety of Truth, notably and pungently expressed, as in *several publick Sermons*: And he has told his Worthy Son, for his Encouragement unto such Exercises, that he had found as much Advantage by *them*, as by most of his other Studies of *Divinity*; adding that he looked upon it as the Lord's Gracious Accomplishment of that Word, *Shall I hide any thing from Abraham? I know Abraham, that he will Teach his House!*

§ 9. He was one very *Watchful* over the Souls of his People, and *Careful* to preserve them from

from *Errors* as well as *Vices*: But of all *Errors*, he discovered an Antipathy unto none more, than that *Sink* of all *Errors*, *QUAKERISM*. It was in his Time, namely, about the Year 1652. that there appeared a *New Set* of People in the World, which from the odd Motions of their Bodies, that attended especially their First *Perversion*, were called *QUAKERS*; and it was not long after their first Appearance, that *New England* began to be troubled with them. Their *Spirit of the Hat*, and their Fopperies of *Thou* and *Thee*, in their Language to a Single Person, were the least of those things which gave our *Thacher* a Disaffection at them; that which caused him to employ a most fervent Zeal against those Hereticks, was the Horrible *End* of their Heresies, to lead Men into a Pit of *Darkness*, under a Pretence of the *Light*, and *Annihilate* all the *Sensible* Objects of our Holy Religion, under a Pretence of advancing the *Spiritual*; so that we must have no *Bible*, no *Jesus*, no *Baptism*, no *Eucharist*, no *Ordinances*, but what shall be Evaporated into *Dispensations*, *Allegories*, and meer *Mystical Notions*: When he saw that quite contrary to the Tendency and Character of every *Truth*, which is to *Abuse the Creature*, the Main Design of *Quakerism* is to Exalt *Man*, and find that in *Man* himself, which may be instead of *Saviour*, *Scripture*, *Heaven*, *Righteousness* and all *Institutions* unto him, he could not but adore the Justice and Vengeance of God, in permitting such a *Spiritual Plague* to be inflicted on Places, where the *Gospel* had been more eminently sinned against; but he set himself with the more of a *Pastoral Diligence* to defend his own Flock from the Contagion: And hence, when he heard of any *Books* left by the *Quakers* in any Houses of his Neighbourhood, he would presently repair to the Houses, and obtain those Venomous Pamphlets from them: For which, that the *Wolves* barked more at him than at many other Men, and would sometimes come with their *Faces* hideously *Black'd*, and their *Garments* fearfully *Torn*, into his Congregation, whereby the Neighbours were frighted unto the Danger of their Lives, is not at all to be wondred at. In this his Pastoral Care, he met with some *Experiments*, that were extraordinary; whereof one shall here be related. It has here sometimes been Remark'd, That a very sensible *Possession* of the *Devil* has attended the First Arrest of *Quakerism*, on the Minds of Men; and the Seducers, have with a Real and Proper *Witchcraft*, by certain *Ceremonies* convey'd it unto them. Agreeably hereunto, an Inhabitant of *Weymouth* having bought certain *Bibles* at *Boston*, lodg'd the Night following at a Tavern, where two *Quakers* lodged with him. The *Quakers* fell to disgracing and degrading the *Bibles*, wherewith he had furnished himself, as a *Dead Letter*, and advis'd him to hearken to the *Light within*, which would sufficiently direct him to Heaven; and the Effect of their *Enchantments* was, that before Morning, the poor Man was as very a

Quaker as the best of them. In the Morning he was carrying back his *Bibles* to the Book-sellers, as Books now become altogether *useless*; and resolving to keep no *Dead Letter* any longer in his hands; but in the way, he was met by Mr. *Thacher*, who seeing the Man look Wild and Strange, and of an *Energumene*-Countenance, over-perswaded him to go aside with him, that he might enquire a little further to his Condition. He carried the poor Man into a Neighbour's House, and privately there Talked with him, and prayed with him, and by the Wonderful Blessing of Heaven, immediately recovered him from the *Error of his Way*: The Man was never any more a *Quaker*, but ever after this, wonderfully thankful unto God, and unto this his Servant, for his Recovery.

§ 10. The last that I shall mention of the *Excellencies* that signalized this Worthy Man shall be his Claim to the Accomplishments of an *Excellent Physician*. He that for his Lively Ministry was justly reckoned among *The Angels of the Churches*, might for his *Medical Acquaintances*, *Experiences*, and *Performances*, be truly called a *Raphael*. Ever since the Days of *Luke* the Evangelist, Skill in *Physick* has been frequently professed and practis'd, by Persons whose more declared Business was the Study of *Divinity*. To say nothing of such *Monks* as *Aegidius Atheniensis*, or *Constantinus Afer*, or *Johannes Damascenus*, or *Trusianus Florentinus*, and to say nothing of *Henry Boehelt*, a Bishop, or of *Abicicus*, an Arch Bishop, or of *Ludovicus Patavinus*, a Cardinal, or of *John 22.* a Pope, all of whom were Notable *Physicians*, our *English Nation* has commonly afforded Eminent *Physicians*, who were also *Ministers* of the Gospel.

But I suppose the Greatest Frequency of the *Angelical Conjunction*, has been seen in these Parts of *America*, where they are mostly the Poor to whom the *Gospel* is preached, by Pastors whose Compassion to them in their Poverty; invites them to supply the Want of Able *Physicians* among them, and such an Universally Serviceable Pastor was our *Thacher*. They were the *Priests* of *Egypt*, of *Greece*, and of *Rome*, who reserved in the *Archives* of their Temples the Stories and Methods of the *Cures*, wrought on the Recovered Persons, who brought thither their *Thankful Sacrifices*; and by the *Priests* were Directions hence communicated unto such as wanted *Cures* for the like Distempers. As the *Art of Healing* was first brought into some Order by the Hands of Officers that have been set apart for the Care of *Souls*; thus; that Art has been happily exercised by the Hands of *Church-Officers* in all Ages, who have administr'd unto the *Souls* of People the more effectually, for being Able to Administer unto their *Bodies*. And a Singular *Artist* herein was our *Thacher*; who, knowing that every Rank of *Generous Men* had at some time or other afforded Persons Eminent for Skill in *Physick*; yea, that it had been studied by no less than such *Crowned Head* as *Mithridates* and *Hadrianus*, and *Constantinus Pogonatus*, he

thought it no ways misbecoming him, to follow the Example. How many Hundreds in this way fared the better for him, I cannot say; but this I can say, That as King *Zamolxes* of *Thracia*, who was of Old a Renowned Physician, would give this as the Reason why the *Greeks* had the Diseases among them, so much uncured, *Because they neglected their Souls, the Chief thing of all*: So our *Thacher* was Blessed of God in his Faithful Endeavours to make *Natural and Spiritual Health* accompany each other in those that were about him.

§ 11. But, *Contra Vim Mortis* — Nothing will exempt from the Arrest of *Death*. It happened that this Excellent Man preached for my Father, a Sermon on the 1 *Per. 4. 18. The Righteous scarcely saved*; the last Words of which Sermon were, *When a Saint comes to die, then often it is the Hour and Power of Darkness with him; then is the last Opportunity that the Devil has to vex the People of God; and hence they then sometimes have the greatest of their Distresses. Don't think him no Godly Man, that then meets with Doubts and fears; our Lord Jesus Christ then cries out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? God help us, that as we live by Faith, so we may Walk in it.* And these proved the *Last Words* that ever he uttered in any Sermon whatsoever. For visiting a Sick Person, after his going out of the Assembly, he got some Harm, which turned into a Fever, whereof he did, without any *Hour and Power of Darkness* upon his own Holy Mind, expire on *October 15. 1678.* He left behind him Two Worthy Sons, Mr. *Peter Thacher*, who is at this time the Pastor of the Church at *Milton*, and one from whose pious Labours, not the *English* only, but even the *Indians* also receive the *Glad Tydings of Salvation*; and Mr. *Ralph Thacher*, Minister of the Word at *Martha's Vineyard*. And he likewise left one Printed *Offspring* of his Mind; for as the Reverend Prefacer thereto observes, *When the Lord knew that Boston, yea that New-England would have cause for many Days of Humiliation, he therefore stirred up the Heart of his Servant aforehand to give Instructions and Directions, concerning the Acceptable Performance of so great a Duty, he did in the Year 1674. preach on the Nature of a Sacred Fast; and some of his Hearers, who wrote after him, when he preached, afterwards published it under the Title of, A Fast of God's Chusing.*

§ 12. The Church of this Worthy Man at *Weymouth*, has been entertained with one *Curiosity*, which by way of Appendix to his *Life*, is not unworthy to be related.

One *Matthew Prat*, whose Religious Parents had well instructed him in his Minority, when he was Twelve Years of Age, became totally *Deaf thro' Sickness*, and so hath ever since continued. He was taught after this to *Write*, as he had been before to *Read*; and both his *Reading* and his *Writing* he retaineth perfectly, but he has almost forgotten to *Speak*; speaking

but *Imperfectly*, and scarce *Intelligibly*, and very *seldom*. He is yet a very *Judicious Christian*, and being admitted into the *Communion of the Church*, he has therein for many Years behaved himself, unto the extream Satisfaction of Good People, in the Neighbourhood. *Sarah Prat*, the Wife of this Man, is one also who was altogether deprived of her *Hearing*, by *Sickness*, when she was about the *Third Year* of her Age; but having utterly lost her *Hearing*, she has utterly lost her *Speech* also, and no doubt, all Remembrance of every thing that refers to *Language*. Mr. *Thacher* made an Essay to teach her the Use of *Letters*, but it succeeded not: However, she has a most quick Apprehension of things, by her *Eye*, and she discourtes by *Signs*, whereat some of her Friends are so expert, as to maintain a Conversation with her upon any point whatever, with as much *Freedom and Fullness*, as if she wanted neither *Tongue*, nor *Ear*, for Conference. Her Children do learn her *Signs* from the Breast: And speak sooner by her *Eyes* and *Hands*, than by their *Lips*. From her Infancy, she was very sober and modest; but she had no Knowledge of a Deity, nor of any thing that concerns another Life, and World. Nevertheless, God of his Infinite Mercy has Revealed the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and the Great *Mysteries* of Salvation by him, unto her, by a more *Extraordinary and Immediate* Operation of his own *Spirit* upon her. An Account of her *Experiences* was written from her, by her Husband; and the Elders of the Church employing her Husband, with two of her Sisters, who are notably skilled in her *Way of Communication*, examined her strictly hereabout; and and they found that she understood the *Unity* of the Divine Essence, the *Trinity* of Persons in the Godhead, the *Personal Union* in our Lord, the *Mystical Union* between our Lord and his Church; and that she was acquainted with the Impressions of *Grace* upon a *Regenerate Soul*. She was under great Exercise of Mind, about her *Internal and Eternal State*; she expressed unto her Friends desire of Help; and she made use of the *Bible*, and other Good *Books*, and with Tears, remark'd such Passages as were suitable to her own Condition. Yea, she once, in her Exercise, wrote with a Pin upon a *Trencher*, three times over, *Ah, Poor Soul!* and therewith before divers Persons, burst into Tears. At a Sermon she would enquire after the *Text*, which being shewn her, she would look and muse upon it: And she strangely knows the *Names* of those with whom she is acquainted; infomuch that if they be *Names* found in the *Scripture*, she will turn and find, and point them there. It seems that *Written Words* are a sort of *Hieroglyphicks* unto her.

She was admitted into the Church with the General Approbation of the Faithful, nor would the most *Judicious Casuists* in the World, a *Luther*, a *Melancthon*, a *Gerhard*, an *Alting*, a *Baldwin*, have scrupled her Admission to the *Sacred Mysteries*: And her Carriage

riage is that of a Grave, Gracious, Holy Woman.

The wonderful Circumstances of this Couple, may justly be added unto the *Entertainments for the Curious*, which we have in the young Man and Maid, mentioned by *Camerarius*, who tho' *Deaf* and *Dumb*, could Read and Write, and Cypher, and know a Man's Meaning by the Motion of his Lips. And the Person mentioned by *Platerus*, who tho' born *Deaf*, as well as *Dumb*, yet could express his Thoughts in a *Table-Book*, and comprehend what was written by others in it, and with Edification attend upon the Ministry of *Occolampadius*: And both Mr. *Crisp* of *London*, and *Gennet Lowes* of *Edinburgh*, who tho' naturally *Deaf*, and by consequence *Dumb*, could yet see what People spoke, by seeing them when they spoke: And in a word, the exquisite Sence of the *Mutes* in the *Ottoman Court*, related by *Rycaut*, in his History of that Empire.

An *Epitaph* must now be sought for this Worthy Man: And because the Nation and Quality of the *Author*, will make the Composition to become a Curiosity, I will here, for an *Epitaph*, insert an *Elegy*, which was composed upon this Occasion, by an *Indian Youth*, who was then a Student of *Harvard-Colledge*. (His Name was, *Eleazar*.)

In obitum Viri verè Reverendi

D. THOMÆ THACHERI,

QUI AD

Dom. ex hác Vitâ migravit, 18. 8. 1678.

TEntabo Illustrem, tristi memorare dolore,
Quem Lacrymis repetunt Tempora, nostra,
Virum.

Memnona sic Mater, Mater ploravit Achillem,
Justis cum Lacrymis, cumque Dolore gravi.
Mens stupet, ora silent, justum nunc palmo recusat

Officium: Quid? Opem Tristis Apollo negat?
Ast Thachere Tuus conabor dicere laudes,
Laudes Virtutis, que super Astra volat.
Consultis Rerum Dominis, Gentique togatæ
Nota fuit virtus, ac tua Sancta Fides.

Vivis post Funus; Felix post Fata; Jaces Tu?
Sed Stellas inter Gloria nempe Jaces.

Mens Tua jam celos repetit; Victoria parta est:
Jam Tuus est Christus, quod meruitque iuum.
Hic Finis Crucis; magnorum hæc meta malorum;
Ulterius non quo progrediatur erit.

CruX jam cassâ manes; requiescunt ossâ Sepulchro;
Mors moritur; Vita Vita Beata redit.

Quum tuba per Densas sonitum dabit ultima
Nubes,

Cum Domino Rediens Ferrea Sceptra geres.
Cales tum scandes, ubi Patria Vero piorum.

Prævius hanc Patriam nunc tibi Jesus adit:
Illic vera Quies; illic sine fine voluptas;
Gaudia & Humanis non referenda sonis.

Σάμ' ἔχει ἡ κοίτη, ἐπὶ γῆς τ' ὄνομα' ἔπιτ' ἀλείται,
Κλεινὸν ἢν ἡμετέροις κ' ἐσπουμένοισι χρόνοις
Ψυχὴ δ' ἐν γαθέων πλαιμέν, βῆ ἔρανον ἀπὸ δ' οὐ,
Μιχθεῖσ' ἀθάνατ' ὅτι πνέουσι μωπὸν ἀθανάτοις.

Eleazar, Judus Senior Sophista.

CHAP. XXVII.

The LIFE of Mr. PETER HOBART.

§ 1. **I**T was a Saying of *Alphonsus* (whom they Sir-named, *The Wise*, King of *Arragon*) That among so many Things as are by Men possessed or pursued, in the Course of their Lives, all the rest are Baubles, besides, *Old Wood to burn*, *Old Wine to drink*, *Old Friends to converse with*, and *Old Books to read*. Now there having been Protestant and Reformed Colonies here formed, in a *New World*, and those Colonies now growing *Old*, it will certainly be no unwise thing for them to converse with some of their *Old Friends*,

among which one was Mr. *Peter Hobart*, whom therefore a *New Book* shall now present unto my Readers.

§ 2. Mr. *Peter Hobart* was born at, or near *Hingham*, a Market-Town, in the County of *Norfolk*, about the latter end of the Year 1604. His Parents were eminent for Piety, and even from their Youth feared God above many; wherein their Zeal was more conspicuous, by the Impiety of the Neighbourhood, among whom there were but three or four in the whole

Town, that minded serious Religion, and these were sufficiently maligned by the Irreligious for their *Puritanism*. These Parents of our *Hobart*, were such as had obtained each other from the God of Heaven, by *Isaac-like* Prayers unto him, and such as afterwards *besieged Heaven* with a continual Importunity for a Blessing upon their Children; whereof the Second was this our *Peter*. This their Son was like another *Samuel*, from his Infancy dedicated by them unto the Ministry, and in order thereunto, sent betimes unto a Grammar School; whereto, such was his desire of Learning, that he went several Miles on foot, every Morning, and by his early Appearance there, still shamed the Sloth of others. He went afterwards unto the *Free-School* at *Lyn*, from whence when he was by his Master judged fit for it, he was admitted into a Colledge in the University of *Cambridge*; where he remained, studied, profited, until he proceeded *Bachelor of Arts*: Giving all along an Example of Sobriety, Gravity, Aversion from all Vice, and Inclination to the Service of God.

§ 3. Retiring then from the *University*, he taught a *Grammar School*; but he lodg'd in the House of a Conformist Minister, who tho' he were no Friend unto *Puritans*, yet he employed this our young *Hobart* sometimes to preach for him, and when ask'd, *What his Opinion of this young Man was?* He said, *I do highly approve his Abilities; he will make an able Preacher: But I fear he will be too precise.* When the time for it came, he returned unto the *University*, and proceeded *Master of Arts*: But the rest of his time in *England* was attended with much *Unsettlement* of his Condition. He was employed here and there, as Godly People could obtain Permission from the Parson of the Parish, who upon any little Disgust would recal that Permission: And yet all this while, by the Blessing of God upon his own Diligence and Discretion, and the Frugality of his Vertuous Confort, he lived comfortably. The last place of his Residence in *England*, was the Town of *Haverbil*, where he was a Lecturer, laborious and successful in the Vineyard of our Lord.

§ 4. His Parents, his Brethren, his Sisters, had not without a great Affliction to him, embarked for *New-England*; but some time after this, the Cloud of Prelatical Impositions and Persecutions grew so black upon him, that the Solicitations of his Friends, obtained from him a Resolution for *New-England* also, where he hoped for a more settled Abode, which was most agreeable to his Inclination. Accordingly in the Summer of the Year 1635, he took Ship, with his Wife and four Children, and after a Voyage by constant Sickness rendred very tedious to him, he arrived at *Charles-Town*, where he found his desired Relations got safe before him. Several Towns now addressed him to become their Minister; but he chose with his Father's Family, and some other Christians, to form a new Plantation, which they called *Hingham*; and there gathering a Church, he continued a faithful Pastor, and an able Preacher, for

many Years. And his old People at *Haverbil* indeed, in some time after, sent most importunate Letters unto him, to invite his Return for *England*: And he had certainly returned, if the Letters had not so miscarried, that before his Advice to them, there fell out some Remarkable, and Invincible Hindrances of his Removal.

§ 6. Not long after this, he had (as his own Expression for it was) *his Hart rent out of his Breast*, by the Death of his Confort; but his Christian, Patient, and Submissive Resignation, was rewarded by his Marriage to a Second, that proved a rich Blessing unto him. His House was also edified and beautified with many Children, on whom, when he look'd, he would say sometimes with much Thankfulness; *Behold, thus shall the Man be blessed, that feareth the Lord!* And for whom he employ'd many Tears in his Prayers to God, that they might be happy, and like another *Job*, offered up his daily Supplications.

His Love to Learning, made him strive hard that his hopeful Sons might not go without a Learned Education; and accordingly we find four or five of them wearing Laurels in the Catalogue of our Graduates; and several of them are, at this Day, worthy Preachers of the Gospel in our Churches.

§ 7. He was mostly a *Morning Student*, not meriting the Name of *Homo Lectissimus*, as he in the witty Epigrammatist, from his *long lying a Bed*; and yet he would improve the Darknes of the Evening also, for solemn, fixed, and illuminating Meditations. He was much admired for *well-studied Sermons*; and even in the midst of Secular Diversions and Distractions, his active Mind would be busie at providing Materials for the Composure of them. He much valued that Rule, *Study Standing*; and until *Old Age*, and Weakness compelled him, he rarely would *Study sitting*: Which Practice of his he would recommend unto other Students, as an excellent Preventive of that *Flagellum Studiosorum*, the *Stone*. And when he had an opportunity to hear a Sermon from any other Minister, he did it with such a diligent and reverent Attention, as made it manifest that he worshipped God in doing of it: And he was very careful to be present still, at the beginning of the Exercises, counting it a Recreation, to sit and wait for the Worship of God.

Moreover, his Heart was knit in a most sincere and hearty Love towards pious Men, tho' they were not in all things of his own Perswasion. He would admire the Grace of God in Good Men, tho' they were of Sentiments contrary unto his; and he would say, *I can carry them in my Bosome*: Nor was he by them otherwise respected.

§ 8. There was deeply rooted in him a strong Antipathy to all *Profanities*, whereof he was a faithful Reprover, both in publick and in private; and when his Reproofs prevailed not, he would weep in secret Places.

Drinking to Excess, and Mispencc of precious Time, in Tipling or Talking with vain Persons, which he saw grown too common, was an Evil so extremely offensive to him, that he would call it, Sitting at Meat in an Idol's Temple; and when he saw that Vanity grow upon the more high Professors of Religion, it was yet more distastful to him, who in his own Behaviour was a great Example of Temperance.

Pride, expressed in a Gaiety, and Bravery of Apparel, would also cause him with much Compassion to address the young Persons with whom he saw it Budding, and advise them to correct it, with more Care to adorn their Souls with such things as were of great Price before God: And here likewise his own Example, joined Handsomness with Gravity, and a Moderation that could not endure a show. But there was no sort of Men from whom he more turned away than those, who under a Pretence of Zeal for Church-Discipline, were very pragmatrical in Controversies, and furiously set upon having all things carried their Way, which they would call, The Rule; but at the same time, were most insipid Creatures, destitute of the Life and Power of Godliness, and perhaps Immoral in their Conversations. To these he would apply a Saying of Mr. Cotton's, That some Men are all Church, and no Christ.

§ 9. He was a Person that met with many Temptations and Afflictions, which are better forgotten than remembered; but he was internally, and is now eternally a Gainer by them. It is remark'd of the Patriarch Jacob, that when he was a very Old Man, and much older than the most that lived after him, he complained, *Few and evil have been the Days of the Years of my Life: In which Complaint, the few is explained by the evil; his Days were Winter-days, and spent in the Darknes of fore Calamity. Winter-days are Twenty four Hours long as well as other Days; yea, longer, if the Equation of Time should be Mathematically considered; yet we count them the shorter Days. Thus altho' our Hobart lived unto Old Age, he might call his Days few, because they had been Evil. But mark this perfect Man, and behold this upright one; for the end of this Man was Peace.* In the Spring of the Year 1670, he was visited with a Sickness that seem'd the Messenger of Death; but it was his humble Desire, that by having his Life prolonged a little further, he might see the Education of his own younger Children perfected, and bestow more Labour also upon the Conversion of the young People in his Congregation: *I have travelled in the Ministry in this place, Thirty five Years, and might it please God so far to lengthen out my Days, as to make it up Forty, I should not, I think, desire any more.* Now the Lord heard this Desire of his praying Servant, and added no less than Eight Years more unto his Days. The most part of which time, except the last Three Quarters of a Year, he was employed in the Publick Services of his Ministry.

Being recovered from his Illness, he proved that he did not flatter with his Lips, in the Vows that he had made for his Recovery; for he now set himself with great Fervour to gather the Children of his Church, under the saving Wings of the Lord Jesus Christ; and in order thereunto he preached many pungent Sermons, on *Eccles. 11. 9, 10. and Eccl. 12. 1.* and used many other successful Endeavours.

§ 10. Tho' his Labours were not without Success, yet the Success was not so general, and notable, but that he would complain, *Alas, for the Barrenness of my Ministry!* And when he found his Lungs decay by Old Age, and Fever, he would clap his Hands on his Breast and say, *The Bellows are burnt, the Founder has melted in vain!* At length Infirmities grew so fast upon this painful Servant of our Lord, that in the Summer of the Year 1678, he seem'd apace drawing on to his End; but after some Revivals he again got abroad; however, he seldom, if ever preached after it, but only administered the Sacraments. In this time his Humility, and consequently all the other Graces which God gives unto the Humble, grow exceedingly, and observably; and hence he took delight in hearing the Commendations of other Men, tho' sometimes they were so unwisely uttered, as to carry some Diminutions unto himself; and he set himself particularly to put all Respect and Honour upon the Ministers that came in the time of his Weaknesses to supply his place. After and under his Confinement, the singing of Psalms was an Exercise wherein he took a particular delight; saying, *That it was the Work of Heaven, which he was willing to anticipate.* But about Eight Weeks before his Expitation, he did with his Aged Hand Ordain a Successor; which when he had performed with much Solemnity, he did afterwards with an Assembly of Ministers, and other Christians, at his own House, joyfully sing the Song of Aged Simeon, *Thy Servant now lettest thou depart in Peace.* He had now nothing to do, but to die; and he spent his Hours accordingly, in assiduous Preparations; not without some dark Intervals of Temptation; but at last with Light arising in Darkness unto him. While his Exterieur was decaying, his Interieur was renewing, every Day, until the Twentieth Day of January, 1678. When he quietly and silently resigned his holy Soul, unto its faithful Creator.

Epitaphium.

D. PETRI HOBARTI,

*Offa sub hoc Saxo, Latitant defossu Sepulchro,
Spiritus in Cælo, carcere missus agit.*

C H A P. XXVIII.

A Man of God, and an Honourable Man. The LIFE of Mr. S A M U E L
W H I T I N G.

*Hi mihi Doctores semper placuere, docenda
Qui faciunt, plus, quam qui facienda docent.*

§ 1. **W**HEN the miserable Saul applied himself to the Witch of Endor, for the Invoking of, and Consulting with, some Spirit in the Invisible World, he chose that the Spirit should rather appear in the Shape of the Venerable Samuel, than in any other. A Dispute is raised among Learned Men, on the Occasion of the Spirit thus raised; *Who it should be?* For while some think, that beyond the Expectation, and unto the Astonishment of the Witch, it was the True Samuel, which now appeared; in as much as the Apparition is five times over called by the Name of Samuel, and the Apocryphal Ecclesiasticus affirms of Samuel, that *after his Death he prophesied*: And several of the Fathers and of the School-men, herein followed by Mendoza, Delrio, Dr. More, Mr. Glanvil, and others, are of this Opinion: They imagine with Lyra, that God then sent in the Real Samuel, unlook'd for, as he came upon Balaam, when employed about his *Magical Impostures*: There are more, who judge that it was a Spirit of the same kind with that, which is described by Porphyrius, *πυλαιογενῶν τε ἕ καὶ πολλῶν ἑτεροῦν* changing themselves into multifarious Forms, one while acting the Parts of Demons, another while of Angels, and another while the Souls of the Deceased: Of which Opinion was Tertullian, and the Author of the *Quest. & Resp.* ascribed unto Justin Martyr, and the Generality of Protestants: Who cannot persuade themselves, that the Lord would have so far countenanced Necromancy, or Pyseomancy, as to have let the Real Samuel come, upon the Sollicitations of an Enchantress; and that the Real Samuel would not have discoursed at the Rate of the Spectre now exhibited.

Let the Disputants, upon this Question, wrangle on; while we by a very Lawful and Laudable Art, will fetch another Samuel from the Dead: And by the Happy Magick of our Pen, Reader, we will bring into the View of the World, a Venerable Old Man, a Samuel who shall entertain us with none but Comfortable and Profitable Tidings.

§ 2. Mr. Samuel Whiting drew his first Breath at Boston, in Lincolnshire, Nov. 20. A. D. 1597. His Father a Person of good Repute there, the Eldest Son among many Brethren, an Alderman, and sometimes a Mayor of the Town, had three Sons; the Second of these was our Samuel, who had a Learned Education by his Father bestowed upon him, first at Boston School, and

then at the University of Cambridge. He had for his Companion in his Education, his Cosengerman, the very Renowned Anthony Tuckney, afterwards Doctor, and Master of St. John's College: They were School-Fellows at Boston, and Chamber Mates, at Cambridge; they both belonged unto Immanuel-Colledge, and they continued an Intimate Friendship, when they left the Seats of the Muses, which indeed was not quenched by the many Waters of the Atlantick, when they were a Thousand Leagues asunder. It was while he was thus at the University, that the good Spirit of God made early Impressions of Grace upon his young Soul; and the Cares of his pious Tutor, (I think Mr. Yates) to instruct him in Matters of Religion, as well as of Literature, were blessed for the Imbuing of his Mind, with a Tincture of Early Piety; which was further advanced by the Ministry of such Preachers as Dr. Sibbs and Dr. Preston: So that in his Age he would give Thanks to God for the Divine Favours which he thus received in his Youth, and when he was entering into his Rest, where he expected the most Intimate Communion with our Glorious Immanuel, and with the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, he could with Joy reflect upon the Anticipations of it, which he enjoyed in the Retired Walk of Immanuel-College.

§ 3. Having proceeded Master of Arts, he removed from Cambridge, and became a Chaplain to Sir Nathanael Bacon, and Sir Roger Townsend, where he did for Three Years together, with Prayers, with Sermons, with Catechising, and with a Grave and Wise Deportment, serve the Interest of Religion, in a Family, which had no less than Two Knights and Five Ladies in it. He next removed unto Lyn, in the County of Norfolk, and spent another Three Years, as a Collegue in the Ministry of the Gospel, with a Reverend and Excellent Man, Mr. Price. But the Great Content which he took in his present Scituation, and Society, and Service, was interrupted at length by Complaints made unto the Bishop of Norwich, for his Non Conformity unto those Rites, which never were of any Use in the Church of God, but only to be Tools, by which the Worst of Men might thrust out the Best from serving it. Being Cited unto the High Commission Court, he expected that he should lose the most of his Estate, for his being a Non Conformist; but before the Time for his Appearance, according

to the Citarion, came, King *James* died; and so his Trouble at this Time was diverted. The Earl of *Lincoln* afterwards interceding for him, the Bishop was willing to promise, that he would no further *Worry* him, in case he would be gone out of his *Necessity*, where he could not reach him: and therefore leaving *Lyn*, he exercised his Ministry at *Skirbick*, near *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, for a considerable *while*, with no Inconsiderable *Fruit*; refreshed with the Delightful Neighbourhood of his Old Friends and especially those Eminent Persons Mr. *Cotton* and Mr. *Tuckney*, to both of whom he had some Affinity, as from both of them, no little Affection.

§ 4. Having buried his First Wife, by whom he had Three Children, Two Sons, who died in *England*, and one Daughter afterwards matched with one Mr. *Thomas Weld*, in another Land; he married the Daughter of Mr. *Oliver St. John*, a *Bedfordshire* Gentleman, of an Honourable Family, nearly related unto the Lord *St. John* of *Bleiso*. This Mr. *St. John*, was a Person of Incomparable Breeding, Vertue and Piety; such, that Mr. *Cotton*, who was well acquainted with him, said of him, *He was one of the Compleatest Gentlemen, without Affectation, that ever he knew.* And this his Daughter was a Person of singular Piety and Gravity; one who by her Discretion freed her Husband from all *Secular Avocations*; one who upheld a daily and constant Communion with God, in the *Devotions* of her Closet; one, who not only *Wrote* the Sermons that she heard on the *Lord's Days* with much Dexterity, but *Liv'd* them, and *Liv'd* on them all the Week. The usual Phrase for an Excellent Woman, among the Ancient Jews was, *One who deserves to marry a Priest*: Even such an Excellent Woman was now married unto Mr. *Whiting*. This Gentlewoman having stay'd with her worthy Comfort Forty Seven Years, went in the Seventy Third Year of his Age, unto him to whom her Soul had been some Scores of Years espoused. Mr. *Whiting* had by her four Sons and two Daughters. Three of the Sons lived unto the Estate and Stature of Men; and had a Learned Education. *Samuel* is at this Day a Reverend, Holy and Faithful Minister of the Gospel, in the *New-English* Town of *Billerica*: *John* was intended for a *Physician*, but became a *Preacher*, first at *Butterwich*, then at *Leverton* in *Lincolnshire*, where he died a Godly Conformist: *Joseph* is, at this Day, a Worthy and Painful Minister of the Gospel, at *Soubampton* upon *Long-Island*.

§ 5. After he had abode several Years at *Skirbick*, soon after Mr. *Cotton's* Removal, he fell into such Trouble, for his *Non Conformity* to the *Vanities*, which Men had received by *Tradition* from their *Popish Fathers*, and this through the Complaint of the same unhappy Man, 'tis said, who procured the Trouble of Mr. *Cotton*, that he found he must be gone: But *New-England* offered it self as the most Hopeful and Quiet, and indeed the only Place

that he could be gone unto. The Ecclesiastical *Sharks* then drove this *Whiting* over the *Atlantic* Sea, unto the *American* Strand. Let it not be a matter of *Wonder*, That Persons of a *Conscience* rightly informed and inclined, chose rather to undergo an uncomfortable *Exile* from the best *Island* under *Heaven*, to as hard a *Desart* as any upon *Earth*, rather than to Conform to the *Ceremonies* of the English *Liturgy*. If the things had been as *Lawful* in the Judgment of the *Sufferers*, as they were in the Pretences of the *Imposers*, they were not so fond of *Miseries* as to have refused Conformity. But it was of old observed, that when *Sinful Things* were commanded, *Nil obstinacius Christiano*, nothing is more *Obstinate* than a *Christian Dissenter*: And it is a *Commendable Obstinaey*! The Faithful in *Tertullian's* Time, would undergo any thing rather than use the *Ceremonies* of *Idolaters*, though they might have us'd them to another *End*, and with another *Mind* than *they*. The First Planters of *New-England* knew, that the *Ceremonies* retained in the Church of *England*, had been first Invented and Practis'd by *Idolaters*: And knowing that all the Abominations of the *Popish Mass*, originally sprang from an Imposed *Liturgy*, they thought it no *Nicety* to have declined all Compliance with such a thing, though they should not have had as they had, numberless *Objections* against it. The very *Words* used in the *Rites* then required, were fear'd by those good Men, as *Dangerous*; after they read those *Words* of the *Rhemists*, *While they say, Ministers, let us say, Priests; When they call it, A Communion Table, Let us call it, An Altar. Let us keep our Old Words, and we shall keep our Old Things, our Religion.* But much more did these good Men fear the *Rites* of *Things* themselves; especially when they saw them to be not only *Unscriptural* and *Uninstituted*, but also of *Pernicious Consequence* to the very *Vitals* of *Religion*. For this they had the Example of *Peter Martyr*, who wished, that the *Reformed Churches*, keeping up these things would be sensible, *Evangelium ijs manentibus, non satis esse firmum*; That the *Gospel* can't be secure, while the *Ceremonies* continue: They had the Example of *Martin Bucer*, who complained, That the *Ceremonies* and the *Preaching* of the *Word*, mutually *expel* one another: Where *Knowledge* through the *Preaching* of the *Gospel* prevails, there the *Love* of *these* withers, and where the *Love* of *these* prevails, there *Knowledge* decays: They had the Example of the *Divines* of *Hamburg*, who looked upon such *Ceremonies* to be the *Cuniculi*, the *Secret Mines* by which the *Papists* would convey themselves under our *Foundations*, and overthrow our Churches. And if they did then entertain *Austin's* Fear, *In Multitudine Ceremoniarum periclitatur Fides*; I wish the *Event* had less confirmed it. It is very certain, in the *English Nation*, they serv'd only as *Gileadites*, to keep the *Passages* of the Church, so that no Minister, how able or worthy

thy soever could pass, unless he could pronounce that *Shibboleth*. And if the Man of *Bern*, mentioned by *Melancthon*, who would rather be *Martyred* than observe one *Fast* in the Popish manner, were to be commended for his Fidelity to Christ, tho' it seemed such a little matter, these good Men must not be reproached for this, that they would rather be *Exiled* than conform to those things, which were like the pretended *indifferent Things*, imposed in the Old *German Instrument* called the *Interim*, namely *Semina Corruptelæ*, the Seeds of *Romish Corruption*. 'Tis time for me now, without any further Observation, to add concerning our *Whiting*. His Vertuous Consort was far from discouraging him, through any unwillingness in her to forsake her *Native Country*, or expose her own Person first unto the *Hazards* of the *Ocean*, and then unto the *Sorrows* of a *Wilderness*: But tho' some of her Friends were much against it, yet she rather forwarded than hindered her Husband's Inclination for *America*. When he ship'd himself, he took with him all that he had; and whereas he might have reserved his Lands in *England*, which would have yielded him a considerable Annual Revenue, and notable Accession to the *small Salary*, which he was afterwards put off withal; yet judging that he never should return to *England* any more, he sold all, saying, *I am going into the Wilderness to a Sacrifice unto the Lord, and I will not leave an Hoof behind me.*

He took Shipping about the beginning of *April*, 1636. and arrived *May 26.* after he had been so very sick all the way, that he could preach but one Sermon all the while; and he would say, *That he had much rather have undergone six Weeks Imprisonment for a good Cause, than to undergo six Weeks of such terrible Sea-sickness as he had now been tried withal.*

But in a Sermon after his Arrival, he thus expressed his Apprehensions and Consolations:

' We in this Country have left our near and our dear Friends: But if we can get nearer to God here, he will be instead of all, and more than all unto us: He hath all the Fulness of all the sweetest Relations bound up in him. We may take out of God, which we forsook in Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, Friends that hath been as near, and as dear as our own Soul.

§ 6. When he came ashore, his Friends at the *New-English Boston*, with many of whom he had been acquainted in *Lincoln-shire*, let him know how glad they were to see him; and having lodged about a Month with his Kinsman, *Mr. Adderton Haugh*, he removed unto *Lyn*, the Church there inviting him to be their Pastor; and in the Pastoral Care of that Flock, he spent all the rest of his Days. The Year following *Mr. Thomas Cobbet* followed him: And soon after his Arrival at *New-England*, became his Colleague, in the Service of the Church at *Lyn*. Great was the Love that sweetned the Labours, and whole Conversation and Vicinity of these *Fellow-Labourers*; the Rays with which they il-

luminated the House of God, *sweetly united*; they were almost every Day together, and thought it a long Day if they were not so; one rarely travelling abroad without the other: And these two Angelick Men seem'd willing to give one another as little Jostle, as the Angels upon *Jacob's Ladder* did unto one another, while one was descending, and another ascending there. How little *Stipends* these great great Servants of the Church, were oppressed, but yet contented withal, may be gathered from this one Story.

The ungrateful Inhabitants of *Lyn*, one Year pass'd a Town-Vote, That they could not allow their Ministers above Thirty Pounds apiece, that Year, for their Salary: And behold, the God who will not be mocked, immediately caused the Town to lose Three hundred Pounds, in that one Specie of their Cartel, by one Disaster.

However, *Mr. Whiting* found such a Blessing of God upon his *Little*, that he would cheerfully say, *He question'd whether, if he had abode in England, where his Means were much more considerable, he could have brought up three Sons at the University there, as he did at Harvard-Colledge here.* But after they had lived about a Score of Years together, *Mr. Cobbet* was, upon the Death of *Mr. Rogers*, translated unto *Ipswich*; from this time was *Mr. Whiting* mostly alone in his Ministry; and yet not alone, because the Heavenly Father was with him. And as he drew near his End, he had his youngest Son for his Assistant.

In the Sixty Third Year of his Age, *A.D. 1659.* he began to be visited with the grinding and painful Disease of the *Stone* in the Bladder, with which he was much exercised, [and the Reader that knows any thing of it, will say it was Exercise enough] until he came to be, *where the Weary are at rest.* He bore his Affliction with incomparable Patience; and he had one Favour which he much ask'd of God, that tho' small Stones, with great Pains, often proceeded from him, and he scarce enjoy'd one Day of perfect Ease, after this, until he died; yet it is not remembered, that he was ever hindered thereby one Day from his Publick Services. And whereas it was expected, both by himself and others, that as he grew in Years, the Torments of his Malady would grow upon him, it proved much otherwise; the Torments and Complaints of his Distemper abated, as his Age increased. At length a *Senile Atrophy* came upon him, with a wasting *Diarrhæa*, which brought *Lyn* into *Darkness*, *Decemb. 11. 1679.* in the Eighty third Year of his *Peregrination.*

§ 7. For his Learning he was many ways well accomplished: Especially he was accurate in *Hebrew*, in which Primitive and Expressive Language, he took much delight: And he was elegant in *Latin*, whereof among other Demonstrations he gave one, in an Oration at one of our Commencements: And much of his vacant Hours he employ'd in History: History, which made good unto him her ancient Character:

*Omnis nunc nostro pendet Prudentia Sensu,
Riteque nil, nostrâ, qui caret Arte, sapit.*

History, whose great Votary *Polybius*, truly asserts, *Nulla hominibus facilior ad Vitæ Institutionem via est, quam Rerum antè gestarum Cognitio*. And he was no less a Man of Temper, than of Learning: The peculiar Sweetness and Goodness of his Temper, must be an essential Stroke in his Character: He was wonderfully happy in his meek, his composed, his peaceable Disposition: And his Meekness of Wisdom out-shone all his other Attainments in Learning; for there is no Humane Literature so hardly attained, as the Discretion of a Man to regulate his Anger. His very Countenance had an amiable Smile continually sweetening of it: And his Face herein was but the true Image of his Mind, which like the upper Regions was marvellously free from the Storms of Passions.

In Prosperity he was not much elated, in Adversity he was not much dejected; under Provocations he would scorn to be provoked. When the Lord would not express himself unto *Elijah* in the Wind, nor in the Earthquake, nor in the Fire, but in the still Voice, I suspect, lest one thing intended among others, might be an Admonition unto the Prophet himself, to beware of the boisterous, uneven, inflamed Efforts, where to his Natural Constitution might be ready to betray him.

This worthy Man, as taking that Admonition, was for doing every thing with a still Voice. He knew himself to be born, as all Men are, with at least a Dozen Passions; but being also *new born*, he did not allow himself to be Haggard with the Enchantments thereof. The Philosopher of old, call'd our Passions, by the just Name of *unnurtured Dogs*; but these Dogs do often worry the Children of God themselves; even a Great *Luther*, who removed the foulest Abominations out of the House of God, could not hinder these Dogs from infecting of his own Heart: However, this excellent (because cool, therefore excellent) Spirited Person, kept these Dogs with a strong Chain upon them; and since Man was created with a Dominion over the Beasts of the Field, he would not let the *stercoribus Lupis*, hold him in any Slavery. He liv'd as under the Eye and Awe of the Great God; and as *Basil* noted, *Potest Miles eorum Rege suo non irasci, ob solum Regiæ majestatis Eminentiam*: Thus the Fear of God still restrained him from those Ebullitions of Wrath which other Men are too fearless of. As virulent a Pen as ever blotted Paper in the English Nation, pretends to observe, *That some Men will pray with the Ardours of an Angel, love God with Raptures of Joy and Delight, be transported with deep and pathetick Devotions, talk of nothing but the unspeakable Pleasures of Communion with the Lord Jesus, be ravis'd with devout and seraphick Meditations of Heaven, and like the blessed Spirits there, seem to relish nothing but Spiritual Delights and Entertainments: Who when they return from their Transfiguration, to their ordinary Converse with Men, are churlish as a Cynick, passionate as an angry Wasp, envious as a studi-*

ous Dunce, and insolent as a Female Tyrant; proud and haughty in their Deportment; peevish, petulant, and self-willed, impatient of Contradiction, implacable in their Anger; rude and imperious in all their Conversation, and made up of nothing but Pride, Malice, and Peevishness. But if any have ever given occasion for this Observation, there was none given by our *Whiting*, who would have thought himself a Fish out of his Element, if he had ever been at any time any where but in the *Pacifick Sea*. And from this Account of his Temper, I may now venture to proceed unto his Vertue; by which I intend the Holiness of his renewed Heart and Life, and the Change made by the supernatural Grace of Christ upon him, without which all Vertue is but a Name, a Sham, a Fiction. He was a very Holy Man: As the Ancients hath assured us, *Amā Scientiam Scripturarum & Vitia Carnis non Amabis*: Thus by reading daily several Chapters in both Testaments of the Scriptures, with serious and gracious Reflections thereupon, which he still followed with secret Prayers he grew more holy continually, until in a flourishing *Old Age*, he was found fit for Transplantation.

His Worship in his Family, was that which argued him a true Child of *Abraham*; and his Counsel to his Children, was grave, watchful, useful, favoury, and very memorable. And if Meditation (which was one of *Luther's* Great Things to make a Divine) be a thing of no little consequence to make a *Christian*, this must be numbred among the Exercises whereby our *Whiting* became very much improved in *Christianity*. Meditation (which is *Mentis-Ditatio*) daily enriched his Mind with the Dispositions of Heaven; and having a *Walk* for that purpose in his Orchard, some of his Flock that saw him constantly taking his Turns in that *Walk*, with Hand, and Eye, and Soul, oftendirected Heavenward, would say; *There does our dear Pastor walk with God every Day.*

In fine, As the Apostle *Peter* says, *They that obey not the Word, yet with Fear behold the chaste Conversation of them who do.* And as *Ignatius* describes the Pastor of the *Trallians*, for one of such a Sanctity of Life, that the greatest Atheist would have been afraid to have look'd upon him: Even so the Natural Conscience in the worst of Men, paid an Homage of Reverence to this Holy Man, where-ever he came.

§ 8. Tho' he spent his Time chiefly in his beloved Study, yet he would sometimes Visit his Flock; but in his Visit, he made Conscience of entertaining his Neighbours with no Discourse but what should be grave, and wise, and profitable; as knowing that, *Quæ sunt in Ore Populi Nugie, sunt in Ore Pastoris Blasphemiz*. And sometimes an Occasional Word let fall by him, hath had a notable Effect: Once particularly, in a Journey being at an Inn upon the Road, he over-heard certain People in the next Room, so merry, as to be too loud and rude in their Mirth; wherefore, as he pass'd by the Door, he look'd in upon them, and with a sweet Majesty, only dropt those Words: *Friends, If you are sure that*

your Sins are pardoned, you may be wisely merry. And these Words not only still'd all their Noise for the present, but also had a great Effect afterwards upon some of the Company. Indeed, his Conversation preached where-ever he was; as being sensible of the Jewish Proverb, *Propheta qui transgreditur Prophetiam suam propriam, Mors ejus est in Manibus Dei*: But in the Pulpit he laboured especially to approve himself a Preacher. In his Preaching his Design was, *Prodesse magis quam placere*: And his Practice was, *Non alta sed apta proferre*. But what a proper and useful Speaker he was, we may gather from what we find him, when a Writer.

There are especially two Books, wherein we have him yet living among us. In the Fate and Fire of Sodom, there was a notable Type of the Conflagration, that will arrest this polluted World at the Day of Judgment: And the famous Prayer of Abraham, (who as R. Bechai imagines, had some hope, when he deprecated that Ruine for the sake of Ten Righteous Ones, that Lot, and his Wife, and the Four Daughters, which Tradition hath assigned him, and his four Sons-in-Law, would have made up the Number) on that occasion, is indeed a very rich Portion of Scripture. Now our Whiting published a Volume of Sermons upon that Prayer of Abraham; wherein he does raise, confirm, and apply Thirty two Doctrines, which he offered unto the Publick (as he says in his Preface) as the Words of a dying Man; hoping, that as Constantine the Great would stoop so low, as to kiss Paphnutius's maimed Eye, so the Lord Jesus Christ would condescend to put Marks of his Favour, on (that which he humbly calls), *A Maimed Work*. But that which encouraged him unto this Publication, was the Acceptance which it had, before this, been found by another Treatise of his upon *The Day of Judgment* it self. In the Fifty eighth Chapter of *Isaiah*, the Lord promises a Time of wondrous Light and Joy, unto his restored People, and the Consolations of a lasting Sabbathism: Things to be accomplished at the Second Coming of our Lord. Now to prepare for that Blessedness, those very things be required which our Lord Jesus Christ afterwards mentioned, in the Twenty fifth Chapter of *Matthew*, as the Qualifications of those whom he will admit into his blessed Kingdom. There seems, at least, a little Reason for it, that at the Second Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, one of the first things will be a glorious Translation, wherein the Members of Christian Churches will be call'd before him, and be Examined, in order to the Determination of their State under the *New Jerusalem*, that is to follow: Either to take their part in the Glories of that City, and Kingdom, for the Thousand Years to come, and by consequence what ensues thereupon; or to be exiled into the Confusions of them that are to be without. Now tho' 'tis possible, that whole Discourse of our Lord, may nextly refer to no more than this Transaction, yet inasmuch as the generality of Interpreters have carried it unto the more general and ultimate Proceedings of the last Judg-

ment, our Whiting did so too; and he has given us Forty two Doctrines thereupon, so handled as to suit the Edification of all Readers. The Notes are short, and but the concise Heads of what the Author prepared for his Weekly Exercises; nevertheless Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Mitchel, observe in their Preface thereunto: That the Reader by having much in a little Room, is the better furnished with variety of Matter, worthy of Meditation, for want of which many a Man does digest little of what he reads. They say, 'It is a good Saying of one, That the Reading of many diverse Heads, without some interlaced Meditation, is like eating of Marrow without Bread. But he that shall take time to pause upon what he reads (where great Truths are but in few Words hinted at) with intermixed Meditations and Ejaculations, suitable to the Matter in hand, will find such Truths concisely delivered, to be like Marrow and Fatness, whereof a little does go far, and feed much.

But a little Poetry must now wait upon the Memory of this Worthy Man.

Upon the very Reverend

SAMUEL WHITING.

Mount Fame, the glorious Chariot of the Sun;

Through the World's Cirque, all you, her Herald's, run:

And let this Great Saint's Merits be reveal'd,
Which, during Life, he studiously conceal'd.
Cite all the Levites, fetch the Sons of Art,
In these our Dolours to sustain a part.

Warn all that value Worth, and every one
Within their Eyes to bring an Helicon.

For in this single Person we have lost
More Riches, than an India has engroft.

When Wilson, that Plerophory of Love,
Did from our Banks, up to his Center move,
Rare Whiting quotes Columbus on this Coast,
Producing Gems, of which a King might boast.
More splendid far than ever Aaron wore,
Within his Breast, this Sacred Father bore.
Sound Doctrine Urim, in his Holy Cell,
And all Perfections Thummim there did dwell.
His Holy Vesture was his Innocence,
His Speech, Embroideries of curious Sence.
Such awful Gravity this Doctor us'd,
As if an Angel every Word infus'd.

No Turgent Stile, but Asiatic Store;
Conduits were almost full, seldom run o're
The Banks of Time: Come Visit when you will,
The Streams of Nectar were descending still:
Much like Septemfluus Nilus, rising so,
He watered Christians round, and made them grow.

His modest *Whispers* could the *Conscience* reach,
 As well as *Whirlwinds*, which some others
 preach;
 No *Boanerges*, yet could touch the Heart,
 And clench his *Doctrine* by the *meekest Art*.
 His *Learning* and his *Language*, might become
 A *Province* not inferiour to *Rome*.
 Glorious was *Europe's* Heaven, when such as
 these
Stars of his *Size*, shone in each *Diocefs*.

Who writ'st the *Fathers Lives*, either make
 Room,
 Or with his *Name* begin your *Second Tome*.
 Ag'd *Polycarp*, Deep *Origen*, and such
 Whose *Worth* your *Quills*; your *Wits* not them,
 enrich;
Lactantius, *Cyprian*. *Basil* too the *Great*,
Quaint Jerom, *Austin* of the foremost *Seat*,
 With *Ambrose*, and more of the Highest *Class*,
 In *CHRIST's* great *School*, with *Honour*, I let
 pass;
 And humbly pay my *Debt* to *Whiting's* *Ghost*,
 Of whom both *Englands*, may with *Reason*
 boast.
Nations for Men of *Lesser* *Worth* have strove,
 To have the *Fame*, and, in *Transports* of *Love*,
 Built *Temples*, or fix'd *Statues* of *pure* *Gold*,
 And their vast *Worth* to *After-Ages* told.
 His *Modesty* forbad so fair a *Tomb*,
 Who in *Ten* *Thousand* *Hearts* obtain'd a *Room*.

What sweet *Composures* in his *Angels* *Face*!
 What soft *Affections*, *Melting* *Gleams* of
Grace!
 How mildly pleasant! By his *closed* *Lips*,
Rhetoricks *Bright* *Body* suffers an *Eclipse*.
 Should half his *Sentences* be truly *Numbred*,
 And weigh'd in *Wisdom's* *Scales*, 'twould spoil a
Lombard:
 And *Churches* *Homilies*, but *Homily* be,
 If *Venerable* *WHITING*, set by thee.
 Profoundest *Judgment*, with a *Meekness* rare,
 Preferr'd him to the *Moderator's* *Chair*;
 Where like *Truth's* *Champion*, with his *piercing*
Eye,
 He silenc'd *Errors*, and made *Hectors* fly.
 Soft *Answers* quell hot *Passions*; ne'er too soft
 Where *solid* *Judgment* is enthron'd aloft.
Church *Doctors* are my *Witnesses*, that here
Affections always kept their *proper* *Sphere*,

Without those *Wilder* *Eccentricities*,
 Which spot the fairest *Fields* of Men most
Wife.
 In *pleasant* *Places* fall that *Peoples* *Line*,
 Who have but *Shadows* of Men thus *Divine*.
 Much more their *Presence*, and *Heaven* pierce-
 ing *Prayers*,
 Thus many *Years*, to mind our *Soul-Affairs*.
 A *poorest* *Soil* oft has the *Richest* *Mine*;
 This *Weighty* *Oar*, poor *Lyn* was lately thine.
 O *Wondrous* *Mercy*! But this *Glorious* *Light*
 Hath left thee in the *Terrors* of the *Night*.
New-England, didst thou know this *Mighty*
One.
 His *Weight* and *Worth*, thou'dst think thy self
undone:
One of thy *Golden* *Chariots*, which among
 The *Clergy*, render'd thee a *Thousand* strong:
One, who for *Learning*, *Wisdom*, *Grace*, and
Years,
 Among the *Levites* hath not many *Peers*:
One, yet with *God* a *Kind* of *Heavenly* *Band*,
 Who did whole *Regiments* of *Woes* withstand:
One, that prevail'd with *Heaven*; *One* greatly
 mist
 On *Earth*; he gain'd of *Christ* whate'er he list:
One of a *World*; who was both born and bred
 At *Wisdom's* *Feet*, hard by the *Fountain's* *Head*.
 The *Loss* of such an *One*, would fetch a *Tear*,
 From *Niobe* her self if she were here.

What qualifies our *Grief*, centers in *This*,
 Be our *Loss* near so *Great*, the *Gain* is *his*.

B. Thompson.

We will now leave him, with such a *Distich*,
 as *Wigandus* provided for his own

E P I T A P H.

In *Christo* *Vixi*, *Morior*, *Vivoq*; *WHITINGUS*;
 Do *Sordes* *Morti*, *cætera*, *Christe*, *Tibi*.

C H A P. XXIX.

The LIFE of Mr. JOHN SHERMAN.

Vetustas judicavit Honestum, ut Mortui Laudarentur. Thucid.

§ 1. THAT Great *Athanasius*, whom some of the Ancients justly called, *Propugnaculum Veritatis*, others *Lumen Ecclesie*, others *Orbis Oraculum*, is in the Funeral Oration of *Gregory Nazianzen*, on him so set forth: *To Commend Athanasius, is to praise Vertue it self.* My Pen is now falling upon the *Memory* of a Person, whom, if I should not commend unto the Church of God, I should refuse to praise *Vertue* it self, with *Learning*, *Wisdom*, and all the Qualities that would render any Person *Amiable*. I shall proceed then with the Endeavour of my Pen, to *Immortalize* his *Memory*, that the Signification of the Name *Athanasius*, may belong unto him, as much as the *Grace* for which that great Man was *Exemplary*.

§ 2. Mr. *John Sherman* was born of Godly and Worthy Parents, Decemb. 26. 1613. in the Town of *Dedham*, in the County of *Essex*. While he was yet a Child, the Instruction of his Parents, joined with the Ministry of the Famous *Rogers*, produced in him, that *Early Remembrance of his Creator*, which more than a little encourag'd them to pursue and expect the Good Effects of the *Dedication*, which they had made of him, unto the Service of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, in the Work of the Gospel. His Education at School was under a Learned Master, who so much admired his Youthful Piety, *Industry* and *Ingenuity*, that he never bestowed any *Chastisement* upon; except once for his giving the *Heads of Sermons* to his Idle School-Mates, when an Account thereof was demanded from them. So studious was he, that next unto Communion with his God, he delighted in Communion with his *Book*, and he studied nothing more, than to be an Exception unto that Ancient and General Complaint, *Quem mihi dabis, qui Diem aestimet?*

§ 3. *Early Ripe* for it, he went into the University of *Cambridge*, where being admitted into *Immanuel-College*, and instructed successively by two very Considerable *Tutors*, his Proficiency still bore Proportion to his *Means*, but out-went the Proportion of his *Years*. When his Turn came to be a *Graduate*, he seriously considered the *Subscription* required of him: And upon Invincible Arguments, became so dissatisfied therewithal, that advising with Mr. *Rogers*, Dr. *Preston*, and other eminent Persons, who commending his Conscientious *Consideration*, counselled his Remove, he went away under the Persecuted Character of a *Colledge-Paritan*. The same that occasioned his Remo-

val from the *Colledge*, in a little time occasioned also his Removal from the *Kingdom*; for upon Mature Deliberation, after extraordinary Addresses to Heaven for Direction, he embark'd himself, with several Famous Divines, who came over in the Year 1634. hoping that by going over the *Water*, they should in this be like Men going under the *Earth*, lodg'd where the *Wicked* would cease from Troubling and the *Weary* be at Rest.

§ 4. So much was *Religion* the First sought, of the First come, into this Country, that they solemnly offer'd up their Praises unto him that *Inhabits the Praises of Israel*, before they had provided *Habitations*, wherein to offer those Praises. A Day of *Thanksgiving* was now kept by the Christians of a *New Hive*, here called *Water-Town*, under a *Tree*; on which *Thanksgiving*, Mr. *Sherman* preached his *First Sermon*, as an Assistant unto Mr. *Phillips*: There being present many other Divines, who wondred exceedingly to hear a Subject so accurately and excellently handled by one that had never before performed any such publick Exercise.

§ 5. He continu'd not many Weeks at *Water-town*, before he removed, upon Mature Advice, unto *New-Haven*; where he preached occasionally in most of the Towns then belonging to that Colony: But with such deserved Acceptance, that Mr. *Hooker* and Mr. *Stone* being in an Assembly of Ministers, that met after a Sermon of our Young *Sherman*, pleasantly said, *Brethren, we must look to our selves, and our Ministry; for this Young Divine will out-do us all.*

Here, though he had an Importunate Invitation unto a Settlement in *Milford*, yet he not only declined it out of an Ingenuous *Jealousy*, lest the Worthy Person, who must have been his *Colleague*, should have thereby suffered some Inconveniencies, but also for a little while, upon that, and some other such Accounts, he wholly suspended the Exercise of his *Ministry*. Hereupon the Zealous Affection of the People to him appeared, in their chusing him a Magistrate of the Colony; in which Capacity, he served the Publick, with an Exemplary Discretion and Fidelity, until a fresh Opportunity for the Exercise of his *Ministry*, within Two or Three Years, offered it self; and then all the Importunity used by the Governour and Assistants, to fasten him among themselves, could not prevail with him to *Lock back from that Plow*.

Our Land has enjoyed the Influences of many accomplished Men, who from Candidates of the *Ministry*, have become our *Magistrates*; but this Excellent Man, is the only Example among us, who left a Bench of our *Magistrates*, to become a painful Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ in the Work of the *Ministry*. Nevertheless, he that beholds *Joseph of Arimathea*, a Counsellour of State, *Ambrose* the Consul of *Millain*; *George* the Prince of *Anhalt*, *Chrysofom*, a Noble *Antiochian*, *John a Lasco*, a Noble *Polonian*, all becoming the plain *Preachers* of the Gospel, will not think that Mr. *Sherman* herein either suffered a *Degradation*, or was without a *Pattern*.

§ 6. Upon the Death of Mr. *Philips* at *Wartertown*, Mr. *Sherman* was addressed by the Church there, to succeed him; and he accepted the Charge of that Church, although at the same time, one of the Churches at *Boston*, used their Endeavours to become the Owner of so well *Talented* a Person, and several Churches in *London* also, by Letters much urged him to *Come over and help them*. And now, being in the Neighbourhood of *Cambridge*, he was likewise chosen a Fellow of *Harvard College* there; in which place he continued unto his Death, doing many Good Offices for that Society. Nor was it only as a *Fellow* of the *College*, that he was a Blessing, but also as he was in some sort a *Preacher* to it: For his *Lectures* being held for the most part once a *Fortnight*, in the Vicinage, for more than *Thirty Years* together, many of the Scholars attending thereon, did justly acknowledge the *Durable* and *Abundant Advantage* which they had from those *Lectures*.

§ 7. His Intellectual Abilities, whether *Natural* or *Acquired*, were such as to render him a *First-Rate Scholar*; the Skill of *Tongues* and *Arts*, beyond the *common rate* adorned him. He was a *Great Reader*, and as *Athanasius* reports of his *Antonius*, προσείχεν ἑῷ τῷ ἀναγνώσει, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πῆσεν χαμαὶ, πάντα δὲ κλέειν, ἢ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ τὴν γνῶμην αὐτῷ βιβλίων γίνεσθαι: He read with such *Intention*, as to lose nothing, but keep every thing, of all that he read, and his *Mind* became his *Library*: Even such was the *Felicity* of our *Sherman*; he read with an *unusual Dispatch*, and whatever he *Read* became his own. From such a *Strength* of *Invention* and *Memory* it was, that albeit he was a *curious Preacher*; nevertheless, he could preach without any *Preparatory Notes*, of what he was to utter. He ordinarily wrote but about half a *Page* in *Octavo*, of what he was to preach; and he would as ordinarily preach, without writing of *one Word* at all. And he made himself wonderfully acceptable and serviceable unto his Friends, by the *Homelistical Accomplishments*, which were produced by his Abilities, in his *Conversation*. For though he were not a Man of much *Discourse*, but ever thought, ἐν πολυλογία ἔστι πολυμωεία: And when some have told him, *That he had Learned the Art of Silence*, he hath, with a very

becoming *Ingenuity*, given them to understand, That it was an *Art*, which it would hurt none of them to learn, yet his *Discourse* had a rare *Conjunction* of *Profit* and *Pleasure* in it.

He was *Witty* and yet *Wise*, and *Grave*, carrying a *Majesty* in his very *Countenance*; and much visited for *Council*, in weighty *Cases*; and when he delivered his *Judgment* in any *Matter*, there was little or nothing to be spoken by others after him.

§ 8. It is a Remark, which *Melchior Adam* has in the Life of his Excellent *Pitiscus*; *Illud mirandum, quod Homo Theologus, in Mathematicum studiis, nullo nisi se Magistro, eo usque progressus est, ut Editis Scriptis, Disciplinæ illius Gloriam, magnis Matheseos Professoribus præripuerit*: And it might be well applied unto our Eminent *Sherman*, who though he were a *Consummate Divine*, and a *Continual Preacher*, yet making the *Mathematicks* his *Diversion*, did attain unto such an *Incomparable Skill* therein, that he was undoubtedly one of the best *Mathematicians* that ever lived in this *Hemisphere* of the *World*, and it is great *Pity* that the *World* should be deprived of the *Astronomical Calculations*, which he has left in *Manuscript* behind him. It seems, that Men of great *Parts* may, as it is observed by that great Instance thereof, Mr. *Boyle*, successively apply themselves to more than one *Study*. Thus *Copernicus* the *Astronomer*, eternized like the very *Stars*, by his *New System* of them, was a *Church-man*; and his Learned *Champion Lansbergius*, was a *Minister*. *Gassendus* was a *Doctor of Divinity*; nor will the Names of those *English Doctors*; *Wallis*, *Wilkins*, and *Barrow*, be forgotten so long as that *Learning* which is to be called *Real*, has any Friends in the *English Nation*: And *Ricciolus* himself, the Compiler of that *Voluminous* and *Judicious Work*, the *Almagestum Novum*, was a *Professor of Theology*.

Into the Number of these *Heroes*, is our *Sherman* to be admitted; who, if any one had enquired, how he could find the *Leisure* for his *Mathematical Speculations*? Would have given the *Excuse* of the Famous *Pitiscus* for his Answer, — *Alii Schacchia Ludunt, & Talis: Ego Regnala & Circino, si quando Ludere datur*.

And from the View of the Effects, which the *Mathematical Contemplations* of our *Sherman*, produced in his *Temper*, I cannot but utter the *Wish* of the Noble *Tycho Brache* upon that Blessed *Pitiscus*, *Optarem plures ejusmodi Concionatores reperiri, qui Geometrica gnavitur calerent: forte plus esset in iis Circumspècti & solidi Judicii, Rixarum inonium & Logomachiarum minus*: For among other things very valuable to me, in the *Temper* of this *Great Man*, one was a certain *Largeness* of *Soul*, which particularly disposed him to embrace the *Congregational Way* of *Church Government*, without those *Rigid* and *Narrow Principles* of *Uncharitable Separation*, where with some *Good Men* have been *Leavened*.

§ 9. But as our mentioned *Pitiscus*, when his Friends congratulated unto him the Glory of his *Mathematical Excellencies*, with an humble and holy Ingenuity replied, *Let us rejoice rather that our Names be written in Heaven.* Thus our *Sberman* was more concerned for, and more employed in an Acquaintance with the *Heavenly Seats* of the Blessed, than with the *Motions of the Heavenly Bodies.* He did not so much use a *Jacob's Staff* in Observations, as he was in Supplications a true *Jacob* himself. He was a Person of a most *Heavenly Disposition and Conversation*; *Heavenly* in his Words, *Heavenly* in his Thoughts, *Heavenly* in his Designs and Desires; few in the World had so much of *Heaven upon Earth.* He was a most *Practical Commentary* upon those Words of the Psalmist, *Mine Eyes are ever towards the Lord:* And those of the Apostle, *Keep your selves in the Love of God.*

As the *Scriptures* are the *Firmament*, which God hath expanded over the *Spiritual World*, so this good Man usually spent an Hour every Morning, in entertaining himself with the *Lights* that are shining there. Besides this, with Meditations on *God, Christ, and Heaven*, he fell asleep at Night; and with the like Meditations he woke and rose in the Morning; and Prayer was therefore the first and last of his Daily Works. Yea, had any one cast a Look upon him, not only abroad in Company, but also in his closest *Retirement*, they would have seen scarce a Minute pass him, without a Turn of his Eye towards Heaven, whereto his *Heaven-touch'd Heart* was carrying of him, with its continual Vergencies. And as the Stars, they say, may be seen from the bottom of a Well, when the Day-light in higher places hinders the sight thereof; so this worthy Man, who saw more not only of the *Stars in Heaven*, but also of the *Heaven* beyond the *Stars*, than most other Men, was one, who, in his Humility, laid himself low, even to a Fault; and he had buried himself in the Obscurity of his Recesses and Retirements, if others that knew his worth, had not sometimes fetch'd him forth to more publick Action.

The Name *Descentius*, which I found worn by an eminent Person, among the Primitive Christians, I thought proper for this eminent Person, when I have considered the Condescension of his whole Department. And, methought it was an Instance of this Condescension, that this Great Man would sometimes give the Country an *Almanack*; which yet he made an Opportunity to do good, by adding at the end of the Compoſures those *Holy Reflections*, which taught good Men how to recover that *little*, but spreading thing, the *Almanack*, from that common Abuse, of being an *Engine* to convey only silly *Impertinencies*, or sinful *Superstitions*, into almost every Cottage of the Wilderness. One of those *Reflections* I will recite, because it lively expressed the holy Sence of Death, in which the Author daily lived:

Let me intreat one thing of thee, and I will ad-

venture to promise thee a good Year; the Request is in it self reasonable, and may to thee be eternally profitable. It's only this: Duty to prize, and diligently to improve Time, for obtaining the blessed End it was given for; and is yet graciously continued unto thee, by the Eternal God. Of Three hundred sixty five Days, allowed by the making up of this Year, which shall be thy last, thou knowest not; but that any of them may be it, thou oughtest to know, and so consider, that thou mayest pass the Time of thy Sojourning here with Fear.

§ 10. Behold him either in the *Lord's House*, or in *his own*, of both which a *Well Government* is joined in the Demands of the Apostle, and we may behold both of them after an exemplary manner ordered. In his *Ministry* he was *Judicious, Industrious, Faithful*; a most curious Expōitor of Scripture, and one that fed us with the *fattest Marrow* of Divinity. And there was one thing in his Preaching, which procured it a singular admiration; this was a natural, and not affected *Loftiness of Style*; which with an easie Fluency bespangled his Discourses with such glittering Figures of Oratory, as caused his ablest Hearers, to call him a *Second Isaiab*, the *Honey-dropping, and Golden-mouthed Preacher.* But among the Successes of his Conduct in his Ministry, there was none more notable than the Peace, which by God's Blessing upon his Wisdom and Meekness, more than any other things was preserved in his populous Town, as long as he lived, notwithstanding many Temptations unto Differences, among the good People there. From thence let us follow him to his Family, and there we saw him with much Discretion, maintaining both Fear and Love, in those that belong'd unto him, and a zealous Care to uphold Religion among them. The Duties of *Reading, Praying, Singing, and Catechising*, were constantly observed, and *Sermons* repeated. And he was, above all, a great Lover, and strict Keeper of the *Christian Sabbath*; in the very Evening of which approaching, he would not allow any Worldly Matter to disturb, or divert the Exercises of Piety *within his Gates.*

§ 11. He was twice married. By his *First Wife*, the Vertuous Daughter of Parents therein resembled by her, he had *Six Children.* But his next Wife was a young Gentlewoman whom he chose from under the Guardianship, and with the Countenance of *Edward Hopkins, Esq;* the excellent Governour of *Conneticut.* She was a Person of good Education, and Reputation, and honourably descended; being the Daughter of a *Puritan Gentleman*, whose Name was *Launce*, and whose Lands in *Cornwal* yielded him Fourteen hundred Pounds a Year. He was a Parliament-man, a Man learned and pious, and a notable Disputant; but once disputing against the *English Episcopacy* (as not being ignorant of what is affirmed by *Centzen* the Jesuite, in his Politicks, *That were all England brought once to approve of Bishops, it were easie to reduce it unto the Church of Rome,*) he was worsted by such a way of maintaining the Argument, as was thought

thought agreeable; that is, by a Wound in the Side, from his furious Antagonist; of which Wound at last he died. The Wife of that Gentleman was Daughter to the Lord Darcy, who was Earl of Rivers; a Person of a Protestant, and Puritan Religion, tho' of a Popish Family, and one that after the Murder of her former Husband, Mr. Launce, had for her Second Husband the famous Mr. Sympson. But by the Daughter of that Mr. Launce, who is yet living among us, Mr. Sherman had no less than twenty Children added unto the Number of six, which he had before.

I remember *John Helwigius* of late, besides what has been related formerly by other Authors, brings undeniable Attestations of a Married Couple, who in one Wedlock were Parents to Fifty three Children, at Thirty five Births brought into the World: Somewhat short of that, but not short of Wonder, is a late Instance of one Mother, that has brought forth no less than Thirty nine Children, the Thirty fifth of whom, was lately discoursed by Persons of Honour and Credit, from whom I had it. Altho' *New-England* has no Instances of such a *Polytokie*, yet it has had Instances of what has been remarkable: One Woman has had not less than Twenty two Children; whereof she buried Fourteen Sons, and Six Daughters. Another Woman has had no less than Twenty three Children, by one Husband; whereof Nineteen lived unto Mens and Womens Estate. A third was Mother to Seven and twenty Children: And she that was Mother to Sir *William Phips*, the late Governour of *New-England*, had no less than Twenty five Children besides him; she had One and twenty Sons, and Five Daughters. Now into the Catalogue of such fruitful Vines by the sides of the House, is this Gentlewoman, Mrs. Sherman, to be enumerated. Behold, thus was our Sherman, that Eminent Fearer of the Lord, Blessed of him.

§ 12. He had the rare Felicity to grow like the Lilly, as long as he lived; and enjoy a flourishing, and perhaps increasing *Liveliness* of his Faculties, until he died. Such *Keerfulness* of Wit, such *Soundness* of Judgment, such *Fulness* of Matter, and such *Vigour* of Language, is rarely seen in *Old Age*, as was to be seen in him, when he was old.

The last Sermon which he ever preached, was at *Sudbury*; from *Eph. 2. 8.* *By Grace ye are saved*: Wherein he so displayed the Riches of the *Free Grace* expressed in our *Salvation*, as to fill his Hearers with admiration. Being thus at *Sudbury*, he was taken sick of an *Intermitting*, but malignant *Fever*; which yet abated, that he found opportunity to return unto his own House at *Water-Town*. But his *Fever* then renewing upon him, it prevailed so far, that he soon expired his holy Soul; which he did with Expressions of abundant *Faith*, *Joy*, and *Resignation*, on a *Saturday-Evening*, entering on his *Eternal Sabbath*, August 8. 1685. Aged Seventy two.

Epitaphium.

For an *Epitaph* upon this Worthy Man, I'll presume a little to alter the *Epitaph* by *Stenius*, bestow'd upon *Pitiscus*.

*Ut Pauli Pietas, sic Euclidea Mathesis,
Uno, Shermani, conditur, in Tumulo.*

And annex that of *Altenburg* upon *Cesius*.

*Qui cursum Astrorum vivens Indagine
multâ
Quæsit, coram nunc ea cernit ovane.*

CHAP. XXX.

Eusebius The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS COBBET.

*Et Eruditis Pietate, & Pii Eruditione Laude entecellens, ita Secundas Doctrinæ ferens,
ut Pietatis primas obtineret.*

Nazianz. de Basilio.

§ 1. IN the Old Church of *Israel* we find a considerable Sort and Sett of Men, that were called, *The Scribes of the People*: Whose Office it was, not only to Copy out the *Bible*, for such as desired a Copy thereof, with such Exactness, that the *Mysteries* occurring, even in the least Vowels and Accents of it, might not be lost, but also to be the more Publick Preachers of the *Law*, and common and constant *Pulpit-Men*; taking upon them to be the Ex-

pounders, as well as the *Preservers* of the *Scripture*. But one of the principle *Scribes* enjoy'd by the *People of New-England*, was Mr. *Thomas Cobbet*, who wrote more *Books* than the most of the *Divines*, which did their parts to make a *Kirjath-Sepher* of this *Wilderness*; in every one of which he approv'd himself one of the *Scribes* mention'd by our *Saviour*, from his rich *Treasure* bringing forth *Instructions*, both out of the *New Testament*, and out of the *Old*.

§ 2. Our

§ 2. Our Mr. *Thomas Cobbet* was born at *Newbury*, long enough before our *New England* had a Town of that Name, or indeed had any such thing as a Town at all; namely, in the Year 1608. And altho his Parents, who afterwards came also to *New-England*, were so destitute of *Worldly Grandure*, that he might say, as divers of the Jewish *Rabbi's* tell us, the Words of *Gideon* may be Read, *Behold, my Father is Poor*, yet this their Son was *Greatness* enough to render one Family memorable: Reader, we are to describe,

*Ingenua de plebe Virum, sed Vita Fidesq;
Inculcata fuit.*

And remember the Words of *Seneca*, *ex casa etiam Virum magnum prodire posse.*

When *Cicero* was jeer'd, for the mean Signification of his Name, he said, *However he would not change it, but by his Actions render the Name of Cicero more Illustrious than that of Cato*: And our *Cobbet* has done enough to make the Name of *Cobbet* Venerable, in these *American* Parts of the World, whether there were the Actions of any Ancestors or no, to signalize it. A Good Education having prepared him for it, he became an *Oxford* Scholar, and removing from *Oxford* in the Time of a *Plague* raging there, he did, with other young Men, become a Pupil to Famous *Dr. Twiss* at *Newbury*. He was, after this, a Preacher at a small Place in *Lincolnshire*; from whence, being driven by a Storm of Persecution upon the *Reforming* and *Puritan* Part of the Nation, he came over unto *New-England*, in the same Vessel with *Mr. Davenport* coming to *New-England*, his Old Friend *Mr. Whiting* of *Lyn* expressed his Friendship, with Endeavours to obtain and to enjoy his Assistance, as a Colleague, in the Pastoral Charge of the Church there; where they continued *Fratrum Dulce Par*, until upon the Removal of *Mr. Norton* to *Boston*, and of *Mr. Rogers* to *Heaven*, he was Translated unto the Church of *Ipswich*; with which he continued in the Faithful Discharge of his Ministry, until his Reception of the *Crown of Life* at his *Death*, about the Beginning of the Year 1686. Then 'twas, that he was (to speak Jewishly) *Treasur'd up*.

§ 3. The Witty Epigrammatist hath told us.

*Qui dignos Ipsi Vita scripsere Libellos,
Illorum Vitam scribere non Opus est.*

And we might therefore make the Story of this Worthy Man's *Life*, to be but an Account of the *Immortal Books*, wherein he *lives* after he is *Dead*. What *Mr. Cobbet* was, the Reader may gather by Reading a very Savoury Treatise of his, upon the *Fifth* Commandment. But that he might serve both *Tables* of the Law, he was willing to write something upon the *First*

Commandment, as well as the *Fifth*; and this he did in a Large, Nervous, Golden Discourse *Of Prayer*. But that the *Second* Commandment, as well as the *First* might not be unferved by him, there were divers *Disciplinary Tracts*, which he publickly offered unto the Church of God. He Printed upon the Duty of the *Civil Magistrate*, in the Point of *Toleracion*; a Point then much *Debated*, and not yet every where *Decided*; whereto he annexed a *Vindication* of the Government of *New-England*, from the *Aspersions* of some, who thought themselves persecuted under it.

He was likewise a Learned and a Lively Defender of *Infant-Baptism*, and he gave the World an Elaborate Composure, on that Subject, on the Occasion whereof, *Mr. Cotton*, in his Incomparable Preface to a Book of *Mr. Norton's*, has these Passages. *COVETUS cum persentisceret aliquot ex Ovibus Christi sibi commissis, Antipædobaptismi Laqueis atq; Dumetis irretitas, Zelo Dei accensus (Et Zelo quidem secundum Scientiam) imo, Et Misericordia etiam Christi Commotus, erga Errantes Oviculas; Libros quos potuit, ex Anabaptistarum pcnu, congesti; Rationum Momenta (Qualia fuerant) in Lance Sanctuarii trutinavit; Testimoniorum Plaustra, quæ ab aliis congesta fuerant, sedulo perquisivit; Et pro eo, quo floret, Disputandi Acumine, Dijudicandi solertia, solida multa, paucis Complectendi Dexteritate atq; Indefesso Labore, nihil pene Intentatum reliquit, quod vel ad Veritatem, in hac Causa Illustrandam, vel ad Errorum Nebulas Discutiendas, atq; Dispellendas, conduceret.*

Reader, To receive so much Commemoration from so Reverend and Renowned a Pen, is to have One's *Life*, sufficiently written: It is needless for me to proceed any further, in serving the Memory of *Mr. Cobbet*.

§ 4. And yet there is one thing, which my poor Pen may not leave unmentioned. Of all the Books written by *Mr. Cobbet*, none deserves more to be *Read* by the World, or to *Live* till the General Burning of the World, than that *Of Prayer*: And indeed *Prayer*, the Subject so Experimentally, and therefore Judiciously, therefore Profitably, therein handled, was not the least of those things, for which *Mr. Cobbet* was Remarkable. He was a very *Praying Man*, and his Prayers were not more observable throughout *New-England* for the *Argumentative*, the *Importunate*, and I had almost said, *Familiarly* Familiar, Strains of them, than for the wonderful *Successes* that attended them. It was a Good Saying of the Ancient, *Homine proba Orante nihil potentius*; and it was a Great Saying of the Reformer, *Est quædam Precum Omnipotentia*. Our *Cobbet* might certainly make a considerable Figure in the Catalogue of those Eminent Saints, whose Experiences having notably Exemplified, *The Power of Prayer*, unto the World. That *Golden Chain*, one End whereof is tied unto the *Tongue of Man*, the other End unto the *Ear of God* (which is as *Just*, as *Old*, a Resembling

of Prayer) our *Cobbet* was always pulling at, and he often pull'd unto such Marvellous purpose, that the Neighbours were almost ready to sing of him, as *Claudian* did upon the prosperous Prayers of *Theodosius*.

— O *Nimum Dilecte Deo.*

A Son of this *Man of Prayer* was taken into Captivity by the Barbarous, Treacherous *Indian* Salvages, and a Captivity from whence there could be little Expectation of Redemption: Whereupon Mr. *Cobbet* called about Thirty, as many as could suddenly convene, of the Christians in the Neighbourhood unto his House; and there, they together pray'd for the *Young Man's* Deliverance. The *Old Man's* Heart was now *no more sad*; he believed that the God of Heaven had accepted of their Supplications, and because he *Believed, therefore he spake* as much, to those that were about him, who when they heard him *speak* did *Believe* so too. Now within a few Days after this, the Prayers were all answered, in the Return of the *Young Man* unto his Father, with Circumstances little short of *Miracle*! But indeed the Instances of surprizing Effects following upon the Prayers of this Gracious Man, were so many, that I must supersede all Relation of them, with only noting thus much, That it was generally supposed among the pious People in the

Land, that the Enemies of *New-England* owed the wondrous Disasters and Confusions that still followed them, as much to the Prayers of this *True Israelite*, as perhaps to any one Occasion. Mr. *Knox's* Prayers were sometimes more feared, than an *Army of Ten Thousand Men*; and Mr. *Cobbet's* Prayers were esteemed of no little Significancy to the Welfare of the Country, which is now therefore Bereaved of its *Chariots* and its *Horsemen*. If *New-England* had its *Noah, Daniel* and *Job*, to pray wonderfully for it, *Cobbet* was one of them!

Epitaphium.

STA VIATOR; *Thesaurus hic Jacet,*

THOMAS COBBETUS;

C U J U S,

*Nosti Preces Potentissimas, ac Mores Probatissimas,
Si es Nov-Anglus.*

Mirare, *Si Pietatem Colas*;
Sequere, *Si Felicitatem Optes.*

CHAP. XXXI.

The LIFE of Mr. JOHN WARD.

§ 1. Some famous Persons of old, thought it a Greater Glory, to have it enquired; *Why such a one had not a Statue erected for him?* Than to have it enquired, *Why he had?* Mr. *Nathanael Ward*, born at *Haverhil*, in *Essex*, about 1570. was bred a *Scholar*, and was first Intended and Employed for the Study of the Law. But afterwards travelling with certain Merchants into *Prussia* and *Denmark*, and having Discourse with *David Paræus*, at *Heidelberg*, from whom he received much Direction; at his return into *England*, he became a Minister of the Gospel, and had a Living at *Stondon*. In the Year 1634. he was driven out of *England*, for his *Non-Conformity*; and coming to *New-England*, he continued serving the Church of *Ipswich*, till the Year 1645. When returning back to *England*, he settled at *Sherfield*, near *Brentwood*; and there he ended his Days, when he was about Eighty Three Years of Age. He was the Author of many Composures full of Wit, and Sense; among which, that Entituled, *The Simple Cobler* (which demonstrated him to be a *Subtil Statesman*) was most considered. If it

be enquired, *Why this our St. Hilary hath among our Lives no Statue erected for him?* Let that Enquiry go for part of one. And we will pay our Debt unto his Worthy Son.

§ 2. Mr. *John Ward* was Born, I think, at *Haverbil*, — on Nov. 5. — 1606. His Grandfather was that *John Ward*, the Worthy Minister of *Haverbil*, whom we find among *The Worthies of England*, and his Father was the Celebrated *Nathanael Ward*, whose Wit made him known to more *Englands* than one. Where his Education was, I have not been informed; the first Notice of him that occurs to me, being in the Year 1639. When he came over into these Parts of *America*; and settled there in the Year 1641. in a Town also called *Haverbil*. But *What* it was, every Body that saw him, saw it in the Effects of it, that it was Learned, Ingenuous, and Religious. He was a Person of a Quick *Apprehension*, a clear *Understanding*, a strong *Memory*, a facetious *Conversation*; he was an exact *Grammarians*, an expert *Physician*, and which was the Top of all, a thorough *Divine*: But, which rarely happens, these

these Endowments of his *Mind*, were accompanied with a most Healthy, Hardy, and Agile Constitution of *Body*, which enabled him to make nothing of walking on foot, a Journey as long as *Thirty Miles together*.

§ 3. Such was the Blessing of God upon his Religious Education, that he was not only *Refrained* from the Vices of Immorality in all his younger Years, but also *Inclined* unto all Vertuous Actions. Of young Persons, he would himself give this Advice; *Whatever you do, be sure to maintain Shame in them; for if that be once gone, there is no Hope that they'll ever come to good.* Accordingly, our *Ward* was always *ashamed* of doing any ill thing. He was of a *Modest* and *Bashful* Disposition, and very sparing of *Speaking*, especially before *Strangers*, or such as he thought his *Betters*. He was wonderfully Temperate, in *Meat*, in *Drink*, in *Sleep*, and he was always *Expressed*, I had almost said, *Affected*, a peculiar Sobriety of *Apparel*. He was a Son most Exemplarily *Dutiful* unto his *Parents*; and having paid some considerable *Debts* for his *Father*, he would afterwards humbly observe and confess, that God had abundantly *Recompenced* this his *Dutifulness*.

§ 4. Tho' he had great Offers of Rich Matches, in *England*, yet he chose to marry a meaner Person, whom *Exemplary Piety* had recommended. He lived with her for more than Forty Years, in such an Happy *Harmony*, that when she died, he professed, that in all this Time, he never had received one *Displeasing Word* or *Look* from her. Altho' she would so faithfully tell him of every thing that might seem *Amendable* in him, that he would pleasantly compare her to an *Accusing Conscience*, yet she ever *pleased* him wonderfully: And she would often put him upon the Duties of *secret Fasts*, and when she met with any thing in Reading that she counted singularly agreeable, she would still impart it unto him. For which Causes, when he lost this his *Mate*, he caused those Words to be fairly written on his Table-Board,

In Lugenda Compare, Vita Spacium Compleat Orbis.

And there is this memorable Passage to be added. While she was a *Maid*, there was ensured unto her, the Revenue of a *Parsonage* worth two Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, in case that she married a *Minister*. And *all this had been given* to our *Ward*, in Case he had conformed, unto the *Doubtful Matters* in the Church of *England*: But he left all the Allurements and Enjoyments of *England*, *choosing rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God in a Wilderness*.

§ 5. Altho' he would say, *There is no place for Fishing like the Sea, and the more Hearers a Minister has, the more Hope there is that some of them will be catch'd in the Nets of the Gospel*; nevertheless, thro' his Humility and

Reservation, it came to pass, that as he chose to begin his Ministry in *Old England*, at a very small Place, thus when he came to *New England* he chose to settle with a *New Plantation*, where he could expect none but small Circumstances all his Days. He did not love to appear upon the *Publick Stage* himself, and there appeared few there, whom he did not prefer above himself: But when he was there, every one might see how conscientiously he sought the *Edification* of the Souls of the plainest Auditors, before the *Ostentation* of his own Abilities. And from the like *Self-Diffidence* it was, that he would never manage any *Ecclesiastical Affairs* in his Church, without previous and prudent *Consultations* with the best *Advisers* that he knew: He would say, *He had rather always follow Advice, tho' sometimes the Advice might mislead him. than ever act without Advice, tho' he might happen to do well by no Advice but his own.*

§ 6. This Diligent Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, continued under and against many Temptations, watching over his Flock at *Haverbil*, more than twice as long as *Jacob* continued with his *Uncle*; yea, for as many Years as there are *Sabbaths* in the Year. On Nov. 19. 1693. he preached an Excellent Sermon, entering the *Eighty Eighth* Year of his Age; the only Sermon that ever was, or perhaps ever will be preached in this Country at such an Age. He was then smitten with a *Paralytic* Indisposition upon the Organs of his Speech, which continuing about a Month upon him, not without Evident Proofs of his *Understanding*, and his *Heavenliness*, continuing firm with him to the last; at last, on Dec. 27. he went off, bringing up the Rear of our First Generation.

Epitaphium.

Bonorum Ultimus, at inter Bonos non Ultimus.

Mantissa

The Church of God is wrong'd, in that the *Life* of the Great *John Owen* is not written. He was by his Intention, so much a *New England* Man, that a *New-English* Book affords no *Improper Station* for him. Let him that once would have chose to *die* among the *Worthies* of *New England*, be counted worthy to live among them. The most Expressive *Memorials* of his *Life*, that we at *Boston* can yet procure, are *Inscribed* on his *Grave* at *London*. These must be then *Transcribed*; Behold, the Language of his

E P I T A P H.

Johannes Owen, S. T. P.

A Gro Oxoniensi, Patre Insigni Theologo.
Matre Pia Matrona, Oriundus:

Morum

Morum Elegantiâ, & Lepore Innocuo,
 Omnibus quibuscum conversatus est, *Gratissimus* ;
 Donorum pari, *Gratiarumque Eminentia*
 Iis potissimum in *Pretio habitus, & Deliciis,*
 Quibus, sincera, *Curæ erat, Cordiq; Religio* ;
Literis natus, Literis innutritus, Totusque Deditus,
 Donec *Animata plane evasit Bibliotheca* :
 Authoribus *Classicis, quâ Græcis, quâ Latinis,*
 Sub *Edv. Silvestro, Scholæ Privatæ Oxonii Moderator,*
 Operam navavit satis *Felicem* ;
Feliciorem adhuc Studiis *Philosophicis,*
 Magno sub *Barlovio, Coll. Reginis* id tempus *Socio* ;
 (*Ædis Christi* ibidem, temporis *Decursu, Ipsemet Decanus,*
 Et *quinquennalis Academiæ Vice-Cancellarius* :)
Theologiæ demum longe *felicissimus* incubuit ;
Pedisequis, Duce, & Auspice, Sancto Christi Spiritu ;
 (Cujus *omnes, in Partâ à Christo Redemptione Applicanda, Partes Theologorum solus Expopuit*.)
 Triumque, quæ *Doctæ præsertim audiunt,*
 (Alias præter *Orientalis*) *Linguarum Peritus* ;
Paginas Sacras Intus, & in Cute, Spiritu, & Literâ, sibi habuit notissimas ;
 In *Magnis verò Nascentis Ecclesiæ Luminibus*
Veraquissimus ;
Primis longum Degeneris Restitutoribus ne utiquam neglectis ;
Nec melioris Notæ Scholasticis Contemptui habitis ;
 Tam in *Palestrâ, quàm Pulpito, Dominarius est.*
 In *Palæstrâ ; Pontificios, Remonstrantes, Socinistas, Nostrosque*
 In *Momentoso Justificationis Apice Novaturientes,*
Scriptis Nervosissimis Prostravit, Proculcavit :
 In *Pulpito, maximè Infirmi Corporis, Præsentia minimè Infirmâ* ;
Gestu, Theatrica procul Gesticulatione,
 Ad *Optimas Decori Regulas Composito* :
Sermone, à Contemptibili remotissimo ; Canovo,
 Sed non *Stridulo* ; *Suavi, sed prorsus Virili* ;
 Et *Authoritatis quiddam Sonante* :

Pari, si non & *Superiore, Animi Præsentia* ;
Concionum, quas, ad Verbum, totas Chartis
 commisit,
 Ne *verbum quidem vel carpsim, & stringente oculo*
 Inter *Prædicandum Lætuavit* :
 Sed *omnia, Suo primùm Impressa altius Pectori,*
Auditorum Animis, Cordibusq; potentiùs ingessit :
 Nec *Orandi,* minùs, quàm *Perorandi,* *Donis In-*
structus ;
Ministri verè Evangelici Omnes complevit Numeros ;
Cultus & Regiminis Instituti (unà cum Doctrinâ Revelatâ)
 Magnus *Ipsemet Zelotes, & Assertor strenuus* :
Amplissimæ denique, cui, Spiritus S. Eum præ-
fecerat, Ecclesiæ Prudentissimis pariter, ac Vigilantissimus
Pastor.
 Cujus *Prælustri è Multis Unum sufficiat Epitaphio*
Author Quadripartiti in Ep. ad Hebr. Commentarii:
Peracto in Terris Cursu, & quod acceperat,
Ministerio,
 Ad *Christi in Cælo Statum, quem Sero Vitæ Vespere,*
Clariùs, licet eminùs, Prospectum Graphicè
lineâr, Propius, Penitiùsque contuendum Anhelus
Decessit.

Mensis Augusti (Non-Conformistis id magis adhuc Fatali) Die xxiv. Anno Sal. MDCLXXXIII. Ætat. LXVII.

Epitaphium istud ab Indigno Symmista Compositum
Uti Latius, quam ut infra breves
Tabula Marmoreæ Cancellis clauderetur ;
Ità etiam Angustius, quàm ut Justum
Drs Admodum Reverendi adimpleret Charactere-
rem ;
Nobiliorem, quam nœruit, tortium est ;
Sedem,
A Fronte Operis Hujus Operosissimi
Chartacei Marmereo Perennioris Monu-
menti.

Ὅμηρος. Διηγήματα : Sive, UTILES NARRATIONES.

T H E
 TRIUMPHS of the Reformed Religion in AMERICA :
 OR, THE
 LIFE of the Renowned *John Eliot* ;
 A
 Person justly Famous in the Church of GOD ;
 NOT ONLY
 As an Eminent Christian, and an Excellent Minister among the *English* ;
 but also, as a Memorable Evangelist among the *Indians* of *New-England*.
 W I T H
 Some Account concerning the late and strange Success of the Gospel in those Parts of
 the World, which for many Ages have lain buried in *Pagan Ignorance*.

Essay'd by C O T T O N M A T H E R.

Ὁυ γὰρ ὧν ὄπον, λαμπροτάτων ἔργων ἢ ὀνησφόρων δογματων τὸ κλέειν παρθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ λίθης
 σιλάμενον : i. e. Existimavi, haud sine scelere fieri potuisse, ut factorum splendidissimi-
 morum, & utilium Narrationum gloria, Oblivioni traderetur. Theodorit.

Blessed is that Servant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing.

The Third Part.

To the Right Honourable PHILIP Lord Wharton ; a no less Noble, than
 Aged Patron of Learning and Vertue.

May it please your Lordship,

IF it be considered that some *Evangelical* and *Apostolical* Histories of the New Testament, were by the Direction of the Holy Spirit himself, Dedicated unto a Person of Quality, and that the Noble Person address'd with *One* such Dedication, entertained it with Resentments that encouraged his dear *Lucilius* to make a *Second*, the World will be satisfy'd that I do a thing but reasonable and agreeable, when unto a Narrative of many *Evangelical* and *Apostolical* Affairs, I presume to prefix the Name of one so excellent for Love to God, as your Lordship is known to be : And one upon this Account only, an unmeet Subject for the Praises of the obscure Pen which now writes, that *Quis Vituperat* ? I do not, I dare not, so far intrude upon your Honour, as to ask your Patronage unto all the *New English* Principles and Practices, which are found in the Character of our Celebrated *Eliot* ; for as the distance of a thousand Leagues, has made it impossible for me to attend the (*usual*) Orders and Manners of asking first

first your Allowance for what I have openly entitled you unto; so the Renowned *Eliot* is gone beyond any Occasions for the greatest Humane Patronage.

But that which has procured unto your Lordship, the Trouble of this *Dedication*, is, my Desire to give you the Picture of one *Aged Saint*, lately gone to that *General Assembly*, which the Eternal King of Heaven, by the Advances of your own *Age in the way of Righteousness*, does quickly Summon your self unto the profound Respect which our *Eliot* had for your Honour, will doubtless be answered and requited with your own Value for the Memory of such a memorable *Christian, Minister, and Evangelist*; inasmuch as your Affections, like his, take not their Measures from these or those Matters of doubtful Disputation, but from such an universal Piety and Charity, and Holiness, as he was an Instance of.

No Man ever complained of it, that in the Works of *Chrysostom*, we find seven Orations not far asunder, in Commendation of *Paul*: Nor is it any Fault that I have now written One, in Commendation of a Man whom a *Pauline Spirit* had made Illustrious. In describing him, I have made but little Touches upon his Parentage and Family, because as the truly Great *Basil* excuses his Omission of those Things, in his Oration upon *Gordius the Martyr*, *Ecclesia hæc tanquam supervacua dimittit*. But I have related those Things of him, which cannot but create a good Esteem for him, in the Breast of your Lordship, who are a faithful and Ancient Witness against those Distempers of the World, whereby (as the blessed *Savio* lamented it) *Cogimur esse Viles, ut Nobiles habeamur*: And raise the Sweetness of your Thoughts upon your Approaches; which may our God make both slow and sure, unto that State which cannot be moved. But if I may more ingeniously confess the whole Ground and Cause of this *Dedication*, I must own, 'Tis to pay a part of a Debt: A Debt under which you have laid my Country, when you did with your own Honourable Hand, present unto His Majesty, the same Account, which I have here again published, *Concerning*

the Success of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England.

My Lord,

In one *Eliot* you see what a People 'tis, that you have counted worthy of your Notice, and what a People 'tis, that with ardent Prayers bespeak the Mercies of Heaven for your Noble Family. Indeed it is impossible that a Country so full as *New-England* is, of what is truly Primitive, should not be exposed unto the bitterest Enmity and Calumny of those, that will strive to entangle the Church in a *Sardian Unreformedness*, until our Lord Jesus do shortly make them know, that he has loved, what they have hated, maligned, persecuted. But if the God of *New-England* have inclined any *Great Personage*, to intercede, or interpose, for the prevention of the Ruines which ill Men have designed for such a Country; or to procure for a People of an *Eliot's* Complexion in Religion, the undisturbed Enjoyment and Exercise of that Religion: It is a thing that calls for our most sensible Acknowledgments.

It is an odd *Superstition* which the *Indians* of this Country have among them, that they count it (on the Penalty of otherwise never prospering more) necessary for them, never to pass by the Graves of certain famous Persons among them, without laying and leaving some Token of Regard thereupon. But we hope, that all true *Protestants*, will count it no more than what is equal and proper, that the Land which has in it, the Grave of such a remarkable Preacher to the *Indians*, as our *ELIOT*, should be Treated with such a Love, as a *Jerusalem* uses to find from them that are to prosper.

Upon that Score then, let my Lord accept a *Present*, from, and for a remote Corner in the *New World*, where God is praised on your behalf; a small *Present* made by the Hand of a rude *American*, who has nothing to recommend him unto your Lordship, except this, That he is the Son of one whom you have admitted unto your Favours; and that he is ambitious to wear the Title of,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most Humble,
and most Obedient Servant,

COTTON MATHER.

T H E

INTRODUCTION.

TWas a very surprising as well as an undoubted Accident which happen'd within the Memory of Millions yet alive, when (as the Learned Hornius has given us the Relation), certain Shepherds upon Mount Nebo, following part of their straggling Flock, at length came to a Valley, the prodigious Depths and Rocks whereof, rendred it almost inaccessible; in which there was a Cave of inexpressible Sweetness, and in that Cave was a Sepulchre, that had very difficult Characters upon it. The Patriarchs of the Maronites thereabouts inhabiting, procured some Learned Persons to take Notice, and make Report of this Curiosity, who found the Inscription of the Grave-stone to be in the Hebrew Language and Letter; Moses, the Servant of the Lord.

The Jews, the Greeks, and the Roman Catholics thereabouts, were all together by the Ears, for the Possession of this Rarity, but the Turks as quickly laid Claim unto it, and strongly guarded it. Nevertheless, the Jesuites found a way by Tricks and Bribes, to engage the Turkish Guards into a Conspiracy with them, for the transporting of the inclosed and renowned Ashes into Europe; but when they opened the Grave, there was no Body, nor so much as a Relick there. While they were under the Confusion of this Disappointment, a Turkish General came upon them, and cut them all to pieces; therewithal taking a Course never to have that place visited any more. But the Scholars of the Orient presently made this a Theme which they talk'd and wrote much upon: And whether this were the true Sepulchre of Moses, was a Question upon which many Books were published.

The World would now count me very absurd, if after this I should say, that I had found the Sepulchre of Moses, in America: But I have certainly here found Moses himself; we have had

among us, one appearing in the Spirit of a Moses; and it is not the Grave, but the Life of such a Moses, that we value our selves upon being the Owners of.

Having implored the Assistance and Acceptance of that God, whose Blessed Word has told us, The Righteous shall be had in everlasting Remembrance: I am attempting to write the Life of a Righteous Person, concerning whom all things, but the meanness of the Writer, invite the Reader to expect nothing save what is truly extraordinary. 'Tis the Life of One who has better and greater Things to be affirmed of him, than could ever be reported concerning any of those famous Men, which have been celebrated by the Pens of a Plutarch, a Pliny, a Laertius, an Eunapius, or in any Pagan Histories. 'Tis the Life of one whose Character might very agreeably be look'd for, among the Collections of a Dorotheus, or the Orations of a Nazianzen; or is worthy at least of nothing less than the exquisite Stile of a Melchior Adam, to eternize it.

If it be, as it is, a true Assertion, That the least Exercise of true Faith, or Love, towards God, in Christ, is a more glorious thing than all the Triumphs of a Caesar, there must be something very considerable, in the Life of one who spent several Scores of Years in such Exercises; and of one, in the mention of whose Achievements, we may also recount, that he fought the Devil in (once) his American Territories, till he had recovered no small Party of his old Subjects and Vassals out of his cruel Hands; it would be as unreasonable, as unprofitable, for Posterity to bury the Memory of such a Person in the Dust of that Obscurity and Oblivion, which has covered the Names of the Hero's, who dy'd before the Days of Agamemnon.

PRELIMINARY I.

The BIRTH, AGE, and FAMILY of Mr. ELIOT.

THE Inspired *Moses*, relating the Lives of those Anti Diluvian Patriarchs, in whom the Church of God, and Line of Christ was continued, through the first Sixteen hundred Years of Time, recites little but their *Birth*, and their *Age*, and their *Death*, and their *Sons* and *Daughters*. If those Articles would satisfy the Appetites and Enquiries of such as come to read the Life of our *Eliot*, we shall soon have dispatch'd the Work now upon our Hands.

The *Age*, with the *Death* of this Worthy Man, has been already terminated, in the Ninetieth Year of the present Century, and the Eighty sixth Year of his own Pilgrimage. And for his *Birth*, it was at a Town in *England*; the Name whereof I cannot presently recover; nor is it necessary for me to look back so far as the place of his *Nativity*; any more than 'tis for me to recite the Vertues of his *Parentage*, of which he said, *Vix ea nostra voco*: Tho' indeed the pious Education which they gave him, caused him in his *Age*, to write these Words: *I do see that it was a great Favour of God unto me, to season my first Times with the Fear of God, the Word, and Prayer.*

The *Atlantick Ocean*, like a River of *Lethe*, may easily cause us to forget many of the things that happened on the other side. Indeed the *Nativity* of such a Man, were an Honour worthy the Contention of as many *Places*, as laid their Claims unto the famous *Homer's*: But whatever *Places* may challenge a share in the Reputation of having enjoy'd the *first Breath* of our *Eliot*, it is *New-England* that with most Right can call him *Hers*; his *best Breath*, and afterwards his *last Breath* was here; and here 'twas, that God bestow'd upon him *Sons and Daughters*.

He came to *New-England* in the Month of *November*, A. D. 1631. among those blessed old Planters, which laid the Foundations of a remarkable Country, devoted unto the Exercise of the Protestant Religion, in its purest and highest Reformation. He left behind him in *England*, a Vertuous young Gentlewoman, whom he had pursued and purpos'd a *Marriage* unto; and the coming hither the Year following, that *Marriage* was consummated in the Month of *October*, A. D. 1632.

This *Wife* of his *Youth* lived with him until she became to him also the *Staff* of his *Age*; and she left him not until about three or four Years before his own Departure to those Heavenly Regions, where they now together see *Light*.

She was a Woman very eminent, both for *Holiness* and *Usefulness*, and she excelled most of the *Daughters* that have done *vertuously*. Her Name was *Anne*, and *Gracious* was her Nature. God made her a rich Blessing, not only to her *Family*, but also to her *Neighbourhood*; and when at last she died, I heard and saw her Aged Husband, who else very rarely wept, yet now with Tears over the Coffin, before the Good People, a vast Confluence of which were come to her Funeral, say, *Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful Wife; I shall go to her, and she not return to me.* My Reader will of his own accord excuse me, from bestowing any further *Epitaphs* upon that *gracious* Woman.

By her did God give him six worthy Children, Children of a Character which may forever stop the Mouths of those *Antichristian Blasphemers*, who have set a false Brand of Disaster and Infamy, on the Off-spring of a *Married Clergy*. His First-born was a Daughter, born *Sept. 17. A. C. 1633.* This Gentlewoman is yet alive, and one well approv'd for her Piety and Gravity. His next was a Son; born *Aug. 31. A. C. 1636.* He bore his *Father's Name*, and had his *Father's Grace*. He was a Person of notable Accomplishments, and a lively, zealous, acute, Preacher, not only to the *English* at *New Cambridge*, but also to the *Indians* thereabout. He grew so fast, that he was found ripe for Heaven, many Years ago; and upon his Death-bed uttered such penetrating things as could proceed from none, but one upon the Borders and Confines of *Eternal Glory*. 'Tis pity that so many of them are forgotten; but one of them, I think, we have cause to remember: *Well, (said he) my dear Friends; There is a dark Day coming upon New-England; and in so dark a Day, I pray how will you provide for your own Security! My Counsel to you is, get an Interest in the blessed Lord Jesus Christ; and that will carry you to the World's end.* His Third was also a Son, born *Decemb. 20. A. C. 1638.* him he call'd *Joseph*. This Person hath been a Pastor to the Church at *Guilford*. His Fourth was a *Samuel*, born *June 22. A. C. 1641.* who dy'd a most lovely young Man, eminent for Learning and Goodness, a *Fellow* of the Colledge, and a *Candidate* of the Ministry. His Fifth was an *Aaron*, born *Feb. 19. A. C. 1643.* who tho' he dy'd very young, yet first manifested many good things towards the Lord God of *Israel*. His Last was a *Benjamin*, born *Jan. 29. A. C. 1646.* Of all these three, it may be said, as it was of *Haran*, *They dy'd before*

before their Father; but it may also be written over their Graves, *All these died in Faith*. By the pious Design of their Father, they were all Consecrated unto the Service of God, in the Ministry of the Gospel; but God saw meet rather to fetch them away, by a *Death*, which (therefore) I dare not call *Premature*, to glorify him in another and a better World. They all gave such Demonstrations of their Conversion to God, that the good old Man would sometimes comfortably say, *I have had six Children, and I bless God for his Free Grace, they are all either with Christ, or in Christ; and my Mind is now at rest concerning them*. And when some asked him, how he could bear the Death of such excellent Children, his humble Reply thereto was this, *My Desire was that*

they should have served God on Earth; but if God will chuse to have them rather serve him in Heaven, I have nothing to object against it, but his Will be done! His Benjamin was made the Son of his Right-Hand; for the Invitation of the good People at Roxbury, placed him in the same Pulpit with his Father, where he was his Assistant for many Years; there they had a *Proof of him, that as a Son with his Father, he served with him in the Gospel*. But his Fate was like that which the great Gregory Nazianzen describes in his Discourse upon the Death of his honourable Brother, his Aged Father being now alive and present; *My Father having laid up in a better World, a Rich Inheritance for his Children, sent a Son of his before, to take Possession of it*.

PRELIMINARY II.

Mr. Eliot's Early Conversion, Sacred Employment, and Just Removal into America.

BUT all that I have hitherto said, is no more than an entrance into the History of our *Eliot*. Such an *Enoch* as he, must have something more than these things recorded of him; his *Walk with God*, must be more largely laid before the World, as a thing that would bespeak us all to be *Followers* no less than we shall be *Admirers* of it.

He had not passed many *Turns* in the World, before he knew the meaning of a saving *Turn* from the Vanities of an Unregenerate State, unto God in Christ, by a true Repentance; he had the singular Happiness and Privilege of an *early Conversion* from the Ways, which *Original Sin* disposes all Men unto. One of the principal Instruments which the God of Heaven used in tingeing, and filling the Mind of this *chosen Vessel*, with good Principles, was that Venerable *Thomas Hooker*, whose Name in the Churches of the Lord Jesus, is, *As an Ointment poured forth*; even that *Hooker*, who having *Angled* many Scores of Souls into the Kingdom of Heaven, at last laid his Bones in our *New England*; it was an Acquaintance with him, that contributed more than a little to the Accomplishment of our *Elisha*, for that Work unto which the most High designed him. His liberal *Education*, having now the Addition of *Religion* to direct it, and improve it, it gave such a *Bias* to his young Soul, as quickly discovered it self in very signal Instances. His first Appearance in the World after his Education in the *University*, was in the too *difficult* and *unthankful* but very *necessary* Employment of a *School-Master*, which Employment he discharged with a good Fidelity. And as this *first Essay* of his Improvement was no more Dif-

grace unto him, than it was unto the famous *Hieron, Whitaker, Vines*, and others, that they *thus* began to be serviceable; so it rather prepared him, for the further Service, which his Mind was now set upon. He was of worthy *Mr. Thomas Wilson's* Mind, that the calling of a *Minister* was the only one wherein a Man might be more serviceable to the Church of God, than in that of a *School-Master*: And with *Melchior Adam*, he reckoned, the Calling of a *School-Master, Pulverulentam, ac Molestissimam quidem, sed Deo longe gratissimam Functionem*. Wherefore having dedicated himself unto God betimes, he could not reconcile himself to any lesser way of serving his Creator and Redeemer, than the Sacred *Ministry* of the Gospel; but alas, where should he have Opportunities for the Exercising of it? The *Laudian, Grotian, and Arminian* Faction in the Church of England, in the Prosecution of their Grand Plot, for the reducing of England unto a moderate sort of *Popery*, had pitched upon *this* as one of their Methods for it; namely, to *creep* as fast as they could, all the Learned, Godly, Painful Ministers of the Nation; and invent certain *Shibboleths* for the detecting and the destroying of such Men as were cordial Friends to the Reformation. 'Twas now a time when there were every day multiplied and imposed those unwarrantable *Ceremonies* in the Worship of God, by which the Conscience of our Considerate *Eliot* counted the *second Commandment* notoriously violated; 'twas now also a time, when some Hundreds of those Good People which had the Nick-name of *Puritans* put upon them, transported themselves, with their whole Families and Interests, into the

the Desarts of *America*, that they might here peaceably erect *Congregational Churches*, and therein attend and maintain all the pure Institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ; having the Encouragement of *Royal Charters*, that they should never have any Interruption in the Enjoyment of those *precious and pleasant things*. Here was a Prospect which quickly determined the devout Soul of our young *Eliot*, unto a Remove into *New-England*, while it was yet a *Land not sown*; he quickly listed himself among those valiant Souldiers of the Lord Jesus Christ, who cheerfully encountred first the Perils of the *Atlantick Ocean*, and then the Fatigues of the *New-English Wilderness*, that they might have an undisturbed Communion with him in his Appointments here. And thus did he betimes procure himself the Consolation of having afterwards and for ever a Room in that Remembrance of God, *I remember thee, the Kindness of thy Youth, and the Love of thine Espousals, when thou wentest after me into the Wilderness.*

On his first Arrival to *New-England*, he soon joined himself unto the Church at *Boston*;

'twas *Church work* that was his Errand hither, *Mr. Wilson*, the Pastor of that Church, was gone back into *England*, that he might perfect the Settlement of his Affairs; and in his Absence, young *Mr. Eliot* was he that supplied his place. Upon the Return of *Mr. Wilson*, that Church was intending to have made *Mr. Eliot* his Colleague, and their Teacher; but it was diverted. *Mr. Eliot* had engaged unto a select Number of his Pious and Christian Friends in *England*, that if they should come into these Parts before he should be in the Pastoral Care of any other People, he would give himself to *Them*, and be for *Their Service*. It happened, that these Friends transported themselves hither, the Year after him; and chose their Habitation at the Town which they called *Roxbury*. A Church being now gathered at this place, he was in a little while *Ordained* unto the Teaching and Ruling of that Holy Society. So, 'twas in the Orb of that Church that we had him as a *Star fixed* for very near Three-score Years; it only remains that we now observe what was his *Magnitude* all this while, and how he performed his *Revolution*.

PART I.

Or, ELIOT as a CHRISTIAN.

ARTICLE I.

His Eminent PIETY.

SUCH was the Piety of our *Eliot*, that like another *Moses*, he had upon his Face a continual *shine*, arising from his uninterrupted Communion with the Father of Spirits. He was indeed a *Man of Prayer*, and might say after the Psalmist, *I Prayer*, as being in a manner made up of it. Could the Walls of his Old *Study* speak, they would even Ravish us with a Relation of the many Hundred and Thousand fervent *Prayers* which he there poured out before the Lord. He not only made it his daily Practice to enter into that *Closet*, and shut his Door, and pray to his Father in Secret, but he would not rarely set apart whole Days for Prayer with Fasting, in secret Places before the God of Heaven. Prayer solemnized with Fasting was indeed so agreeable unto him, that I have sometimes thought he might justly inherit the Name of *Johannes Jejunator*, or *John the Faster*, which for the like Reason was put upon one of the Renowned Ancients. Especially, when there was any remarkable Difficulty before him, he took this way to encounter and overcome it; being of *Dr. Preston's* Mind, *That when we would have any great things to be accomplished,*

the best Policy is to work by an Engine which the World sees nothing of. He could say as the pious *Robertson* did upon his Death-bed, *I thank God, I have loved Fasting and Prayer, with all my heart!* If one would have known what that Sacred thing, *The Spirit of Prayer*; intends, in him there might have been seen a most luculent and Practical Exposition of it. He kept his Heart in a *Frame for Prayer*, with a marvellous Constancy; and was continually provoking all that were about him thereunto. When he heard any considerable News, his usual and speedy Reflection thereupon would be, *Brethren, let us turn all this into Prayer!* And he was perpetually jogging the *Wheel of Prayer*, both more privately in the *Meetings*, and more publickly in the *Churches* of his *Neighbourhood*. When he came to an House that he was intimately acquainted with, he would often say, *Come, let us not have a Visit without a Prayer; let us pray down the Blessing of Heaven on your Family before we go.* Especially when he came into a Society of Ministers, before he had sat long with them, they would look to hear him urging, *Brethren, the Lord*
Z z z *Jesus*

Jesus takes much notice of what is done and said among his Ministers when they are together; come, let us pray before we part! And hence also, his whole Breath seemed in a sort made up of Ejaculatory Prayers, many scores of which winged Messengers he dispatched away to Heaven, upon pious Errands every Day. By them he bespoke Blessings upon almost every Person or Affair that he was concerned with; and he carried every thing to God with some pertinent Hosannab's or Hallelujah's over it. He was a mighty and an happy Man, that had his Quiver full of these Heavenly Arrows! And when he was never so straitly besieged by Humane Occurrences, yet he fastned the Wishes of his devout Soul unto them, and very dexterously shot them up to Heaven over the head of all.

As he took thus delight in speaking to the Almighty God, no less did he in speaking of him; but in serious and savoury Discourses, he still had his Tongue like the Pen of a ready Writer. The Jesuits once at Nola made a no less profane than severe Order, That no Man should speak of God at all; but this Excellent Person almost made it an Order wherever he came, to speak of nothing but God. He was indeed sufficiently pleasant and witty in Company, and he was affable and facetious rather than morose in Conversation; but he had a Remarkable Gravity mixed with it, and a singular Skill of raising some Holy Observation out of whatever matter of Discourse lay before him; nor would he ordinarily dismiss any Theme without some Gracious, Divine, pithy Sentence thereupon. Doubtless, he imposed it as a Law upon himself, that he would leave something of God and Heaven, and Religion, with all that should come a near him; so that in all places, his Company was attended with Majesty and Reverence; and it was no sooner proper for him to speak, but like Mary's opened Box of Ointment, he fill'd the whole Room with the Perfumes of the Graces in his Lips, and the Christian Hearers tasted a greater sweetness in his well-seasoned Speeches, than the illustrious Homer ascrib'd unto the Orations of his Nestor,

*Whose Lip drop'd Language than sweet Honey,
sweeter abundance.*

His Conferences were like those which Tertullian affirms to have been common among the Saints in his Days, *Ut qui sciret Dominum audire*, as knowing that the Ear of God was open to them all; and he managed his Rudder so as to manifest that he was bound Heaven-ward, in his whole Communication. He had a particular Art at Spiritualizing of Earthly Objects, and raising of high Thoughts from very mean things. As, once going with some Feebleness and Weariness up the Hill on which his Meeting-House now stands, he said unto the Person that led him, *This is very like the way to Heaven, 'tis up Hill! The Lord by his Grace fetch us up!* And instantly spying a Bush near him,

he as nimbly added, *And truly there are Thorns and Briars in the way too!* Which Instance I would not have singled out from the many Thousands of his Occasional Reflections, but only that I might suggest unto the good People of Roxbury, something for them to think upon, when they are going up to the House of the Lord. It is enough, that as the Friend of the famous Ursin could profess that he never went unto him without coming away, *aut doctior aut melior*, either the wiser or the better from him; so, 'tis an acknowledgment which more than one Friend of our Eliot's has made concerning him, *I was never with him but I got, or might have got some good from him.*

And hearing from the great God, was an Exercise of like Satisfaction unto the Soul of this good Man, with speaking either to him, or of him. He was a mighty Student of the Sacred Bible; and it was unto him as his necessary food. He made the Bible his Companion, and his Counsellor, and the Holy Lines of Scripture more Enamoured him than the profane ones of Tully, ever did the famous Italian Cardinal. He would not upon easy Terms, have gone one Day together, without using a Portion of the Bible as an Antidote against the Infection of Temptation. And he would prescribe it unto others, with his *probatum est* upon it; as once particularly a pious Woman, vexed with a wicked Husband, complaining to him, That bad Company was all the day still infesting of her House, and what should she do? He advised her, *Take the Holy Bible into your Hand, when the bad Company comes, and you'll soon drive them out of the House;* the Woman made the Experiment, and thereby cleared her House from the Haunts that had molested it. By the like way 'twas that he cleared his Heart of what he was loth to have Nesting there. Moreover, if ever any Man could, he might pretend unto that Evidence of Uprightness, *Lord, I have loved the Habitation of thine House;* for he not only gave something more than his Presence there twice on the Lord's Days, and once a Fortnight besides on the Lectures, in his own Congregation, but he made his weekly Visits unto the Lectures in the Neighbouring Towns; how often was he seen at Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Dorchester, waiting upon the Word of God, in Recurring Opportunities, and counting a Day in the Courts of the Lord better than a Thousand? It is hardly conceivable, how in the midst of so many Studies and Labours as he was at home engaged in, he could possibly repair to so many Lectures abroad; and herein he aimed, not only at his own Edification, but at the Countenancing and Encouraging of the Lectures which he went unto.

Thus he took heed, that he might Hear, and he took as much heed how he Heard; he set himself as in the Presence of the Eternal God, as the great Constantine used of old, in the Assemblies where he came, and said, *I will hear what God the Lord will speak;* he expressed a diligent Attention, by a watchful and wakeful Posture, and by

by turning to the Texts quoted by the Preacher; he expressed a suitable *Affection* by feeding on what was delivered, and accompanying it with Hands and Eyes devoutly elevated; and they whose good hap 'twas to go home with him, were sure of having another Sermon by the way, until their very *Hearts burned in them*. *Lactantius* truly said, *Non est vera Religio, quæ cum Templo relinquitur*; but our *Eliot* always carried much of *Religion* with him, from the House of God.

In a word, he was one who *Liv'd in Heaven* while he *was on Earth*; and there is no more than pure Justice in our Endeavours that he should *Live on Earth* after he *is in Heaven*. We cannot say that we ever saw him *walking* any whither but he was therein *walking with God*; wherever he *sat*, he had God by him, and it was in the Everlasting Arms of God that he *Slept* at Night. Methoughts he a little discovered his Heavenly way of living, when walking one day in his Garden, he pluck'd up a *Weed* that he saw now and then growing there, at which a Friend pleasantly said unto him, *Sir, you tell us, we must be Heavenly-minded*; but he immediately reply'd, *It is true; and this is no Impediment unto that, for were I sure to go to Heaven to morrow, I would do what I do to Day*. From such a Frame of Spirit it was that once in a Visit, finding a Merchant in his Counting House, where he saw Books of *Business* only on his Table, but all his Books of *Devotion* on the Shelf, he gave this Advice unto him, *Sir, Here's Earth on the Table, and Heaven on the Shelf; pray don't sit so much at the Table as altogether to forget the Shelf; let not Earth by any means thrust Heaven out of your mind*.

Indeed I cannot give a fuller Description of him, than what was in a Paraphrase that I have heard himself to make upon that Scripture, *our Conversation is in Heaven*. I writ from him as he uttered it.

' Behold, said he, the Ancient and Excellent Character of a true Christian; 'tis that which *Peter* calls *Holiness in all manner of Conversation*; you shall not find a Christian out of the way of Godly Conversation. For, first, a *Seventh part of our time* is all spent in Heaven, when we are duly zealous for, and zealous on *the Sabbath of God*. Besides, God has written on the Head of the *Sabbath Remem-ber*; which looks both forwards and backwards; and thus a good part of the Week will be spent in *Sabbatizing*. Well, but for the rest of our Time! Why, we shall have that spent in Heaven, e'er we have done. For, Secondly, we have many Days for both *Fasting* and *Thanksgiving*, in our Pilgrimage; and here are so many *Sabbaths* more. Moreover, Thirdly, we have our *Lectures* every Week; and pious People won't miss them, if they can help it. Furthermore, Fourthly, We

have our *private Meetings* wherein we pray, and sing, and repeat Sermons, and confer together about the things of God; and being now come thus far, we are in Heaven almost every Day. But a little farther, Fifthly, We perform *Family-Duties* every Day; we have our Morning and Evening Sacrifices, wherein having read the Scriptures to our Families, we call upon the Name of God, and ever now and then carefully *Catechize* those that are under our Charge. Sixthly, We shall also have our daily Devotions in our *Closets*; wherein unto *Supplication* before the Lord, we shall add some serious *Meditation* upon his Word; a *David* will be at this Work no less than thrice a Day. Seventhly, We have likewise many scores of *Ejaculations* in a day; and these we have, like *Nehemiah*, in whatever place we come into. Eighthly, We have our Occasional *Thoughts*, and our Occasional *Talks*, upon Spiritual Matters; and we have our Occasional Acts of *Charity*, wherein we do like the Inhabitants of Heaven every day. Ninthly, In our Callings, in our *Civil Callings*, we keep up Heavenly Frames; we buy and sell, and toil; yea, we eat and drink, with some Eye both to the *Command* and the *Honour* of God in all. Behold, I have not now left an Inch of Time to be *Carnal*; it is all Engrossed for *Heaven*. And yet, left here should not be enough, Lastly, We have our *Spiritual Warfare*. We are always encountering the Enemies of our Souls, which continually raises our Hearts unto our *Helper* and *Leader* in the *Heavens*. Let no Man say, 'Tis impossible to live at this rate; for we have known some live thus; and others that have written of such a Life, have but spun a Web out of their own blessed Experiences. *Netherlands* has Example of this Life; tho' alas, 'tis to be lamented, that the Distractions of the World, in too many Professors, do becloud the Beauty of an Heavenly Conversation. In fine, our Employment lies in *Heaven*. In the Morning, if we ask, *Where am I to be to Day?* Our Souls must answer, *In Heaven*. In the Evening, if we ask, *Where have I been to Day?* Our Souls may answer, *In Heaven*. If thou art a Believer, thou art no Stranger to *Heaven* while thou *livest*; and when thou diest, *Heaven* will be no strange Place to thee; no, thou hast been there a Thousand times before.

In this Language have I heard him express himself; and he did what he said; he was a *Boniface* as well as *Benedict*; and he was one of those.

Qui faciendo docent, quæ facienda docent.

It might be said of him, as that Writer characterises *Origen*, *Quemadmodum docuit, sic vixit, & quemadmodum vixit sic docuit.*

ARTICLE II.

His Particular Care and Zeal about the Lord's Day.

THIS was the *Piety*, this the *Holiness* of our *Eliot*; but among the many Instances in which his *Holiness* was remarkable, I must not omit his exact *Remembrance of the Sabbath Day, to keep it holy.*

It has been truly and justly observed, That our whole Religion-fares according to our *Sabbaths*, that poor *Sabbaths* make poor *Christians*, and that a *Strictness* in our *Sabbaths* inspires a *Vigour* into all our other *Duties*. Our *Eliot* knew this, and it was a most *Exemplary Zeal* that he acknowledged the *Sabbath* of our Lord *Jesus Christ* withal. Had he been asked, *Scrvasi Dominicam?* He could have made a right *Christian primitive Answer* thereunto. The *Sun* did not set, the *Evening* before the *Sabbath*, till he had begun his *Preparation* for it; and when the *Lord's Day* came, you might have seen *John in the Spirit*, every *Week*. Every *Day* was a sort of *Sabbath* to him, but the *Sabbath-day* was a *Kind*, a *Type*, a *Tast* of *Heaven* with him. He laboured, that he might on this *High Day*, have no *Words* or *Thoughts* but such as were agreeable thereunto; he then allow'd in himself no *Actions*, but those of a *Raised Soul*. One should hear nothing dropping from his *Lips* on this *Day*, but the *Milk* and *Honey* of the *Country*, in which there yet *remains a Rest for the People of God*; and if he beheld in any *Person* whatsoever, whether old or young, any *Profanation* of this *Day*, he would be sure to bestow lively *Rebukes* upon it. And hence also unto the general *Engagements* of a *Covenant* with *God*, which 'twas his *Desire* to bring the *Indians* into, he added a particular *Article*, wherein they bind themselves, *mebquontamunat Sabbath, pabketeaunat tohsobke pomantamog*; i.e. *To Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy, as long as we live.*

The mention of this, gives me an *Opportunity*, not only to *Recommend* our *Departed Eliot*, but also to *Vindicate* another great *Man*, unto the *Churches* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*. The *Reverend* and *Renowned Owen* in his *Elaborate Exercitations* on the *Lord's Day*, had let fall such a *Passage* as this:

I judge, That the Observation of the Lord's Day is to be Commensurate unto the use of our natural Strength, on any other Day; from Morning to Night. The Lord's Day is to be set apart unto the ends of an holy Rest unto God, by every one according as his natural Strength will enable him to employ himself in his lawful Occasions any other Day of the Week.

This *Passage* gave some *scandal* unto several very *Learned* and *Pious Men*; among whom,

our *Eliot* was one; whereupon with his usual *Zeal*, *Gravity* and *Sanctity*, he wrote unto the *Doctor*, his *Opinion* thereabout; who returned unto him an *Answer* full of *Respect*, some part whereof I shall here transcribe.

' As to what concerns the *Natural Strength of Man* (saith he) Either I was under some *Mistake* in my *Expression*, or you seem to be so, in your *Apprehension*. I never thought, and I hope, I have not said, for I cannot find it, that the *Continuance* of the *Sabbath* is to be commensurate unto the *Natural Strength of Man*; but only that it is an *Allowable Mean* of *Mens Continuance* in *Sabbath Duties*; which I suppose you will not deny, lest you should cast the *Consciences* of *Professors* into *inextricable Difficulties*.

' When first I engaged in that *Work*, I intended not to have spoken one word about the *Practical Observation* of the *Day*; but only to have endeavoured the *Revival* of a *Truth*, which at present is despised and contemned among us, and strenuously opposed by fundry *Divines* of the *United Provinces*, who call the *Doctrine* of the *Sabbath*, *Figmentum Anglicanum*. Upon the *Desire* of some *Learned Men* in these *Parts*, it was, that I undertook the *Vindication* of it. Having now discharged the *Debt*, which in this matter I owed unto the *Truth* and *Church* of *God*, tho' not as I ought, yet with such a *Composition* as I hope, thro' the *Interposition* of our Lord *Jesus Christ* might find *Acceptance* with *God* and his *Saints*, I suppose I shall not again engage on that *Subject*.

' I suppose there is scarce any one alive in the World, who hath more *Reproaches* cast upon him than I have; tho' hitherto *God* has been pleased in some measure to support my spirit under them. I still relieved my self by this, That my poor *Endeavours* have found *Acceptance* with the *Churches* of *Christ*: But my *holly*, *wife*, and *gracious Father*, sees it needful to try me in this matter also; and what I have received from you (which it may be contains not your *sense alone*) hath printed deeper, and left a greater *Impression* upon my *Mind*, than all the *virulent Revilings*, and *false Accusations* I have met withal, from my professed *Adversaries*. I do acknowledge unto you, that I have a *dry* and *barren Spirit*, and I do heartily beg your *Prayers*, that the *Holy One* would, notwithstanding all my *sinful Provocations*, water me from above; but that I should now be apprehended to have given a *Wound* unto *Holiness* in the *Churches*, 'tis one of the *saddest frowns* in the *cloudy Brows* of *Divine Providence*.

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The Doctrine of the *Sabbath*, I have asserted, tho' not as it should be done, yet as well as I could; the *Observation* of it in Holy Duties unto the utmost of the strength for them, which God shall be pleased to give us, I have pleaded for; the necessity also of a serious *Preparation* for it in sundry previous Duties, I have declared. But now to meet with severe *Expressions*—It may be 'tis the Will of God, that Vigour should hereby be given to my former

Discouragements, and that there is a Call in it, to surcease from these kinds of Labours.

I have transcribed the more of this Letter, because it not only discovers the concern which our *Eliot* had for the *Sabbath* of God, but also it may contribute unto the Worlds good Reception and Perusal of a *Golden Book* on that Subject, written by one of the most Eminent Persons which the *English* Nation has been adorned with.

ARTICLE III.

His Exemplary Mortification.

THUS did *Eliot* endeavour to live unto God; but how much at the same time did he die unto all the World?

'Twere impossible to finish the lively Picture of this Pious and Holy *Eliot*, without some Touches upon that *Mortification*, which accompanied him all his Days; for never did I see a Person more *mortify'd* unto all the Pleasures of this Life, or more unwilling to *moult* the Wings of an Heaven-born Soul, in the dirty Puddles of carnal and sensual Delights. We are all of us compounded of those two things, *the Man*, and *the Beast*; but so powerful was *the Man*, in this Holy Person, that it kept *the Beast* every'd with a short Tedder, and suppressed the irregular *Calcitrations* of it. He became so nailed unto the *Cross* of the Lord Jesus Christ, that the Grandeurs of this World were unto him just what they would be to a *dying Man*; and he maintained an almost unparallel'd *Indifference* towards all the *Pomps*, which Mankind is too generally flattered and enchanted with.

The *Lust of the Flesh* he could not reconcile himself to the least pampering or indulging of: But he persecuted it with a continual *Antipathy*, being upon higher Principles than *Tully* was acquainted withal, of his Mind, *Non est dignus nomine hominis, qui unum diem totum velit esse in isto genere voluptatis*. The Sleep that he allow'd himself, cheated him not of his *Morning Hours*; but he reckoned the *Morning* no less a Friend unto the *Graces*, than the *Muses*. He would call upon Students, *I pray look to it that you be Morning Birds?* And for many more than a score of Years before he died, he removed his Lodging into his Study, on purpose that being there *alone*, he might enjoy his early *Mornings*, without giving the Disturbance of the least noise to any of his Friends, whose Affections to him else might have been ready to have called, *Master, spare thy self*. The *Meat* upon which he lived was a *Cibus Simplex*, an homely but an wholesome Diet. Rich Varieties, costly Viands, and pointant Sauces, came

not upon his own Table, and when he found them on other Mens, he rarely tasted of them. One Dish, and a plain one, was his *Dinner*; and when invited unto a *Feast*, I have seen him sit Magnifying of God, for the Plenty which his People in this Wilderness were within a few Years arisen to; but not more than a Bit or two of all the Dainties taken into his own Mouth all the while. And for a *Supper*, he had learn'd of his loved and blessed Patron, old Mr. *Cotton*, either wholly to omit it, or to make a small *sup* or two the utmost of it. The *Drink* which he still used was very *small*; he cared not for *Wines* or *Drams*, and I believe he never once in all his Life, knew what it was to feel so much as a noxious Fume in his Head, from any of them; good, clear *Water* was more *precious*, as well as more *usual* with him, than any of those Liquors with which Men do so frequently *spoil* their own *Healths*, while perhaps they *drink* those of other Men. When at a Strangers House in the Summer time, he has been entertained with a *Glass*, which they told him was, *Of Water and Wine*, he has with a complaisant Gravity reply'd unto this purpose, *Wine, 'tis a noble generous Liquor, and we should be humbly thankful for it; but as I remember, Water was made before it!* So abstemious was he; and he found, that *Carere suavitatibus istis*, his Abstinence had more *Sweetness* in it, than any of the *Sweets* which he abstained from; and so willing he was to have others partake with him in that *Sweetness*, that when he has thought the Countenance of a Minister has look'd, as if he had made much of himself, he has gone to him with that Speech, *Study Mortification Brother, Study Mortification!* And he made all his Addresses with a becoming Majesty.

The *Lust of the Eye*, he was put out by him in such a manner, that it was in a manner all one with him to be *Rich* or *Poor*. It could not be said of him, *That he sought great things for himself*; but what Estate he became Owner of, was from the Blessing of God upon the Husbandry and Industry of some in his Family, rather

rather than from any Endeavours of his own. Once when there stood several Kine of his own before his Door, his Wife, to try him, asked him, *Whose they were?* And she found that he knew nothing of them. He could not endure to plunge himself into secular Designs and Affairs, but accounted *Sacerdos in foro* as worthy of Castigation as *Mercator in Templo*; he thought that *Minister* and *Market man*, were not *Unisons*, and that the *Earth* was no Place for *Aaron's Holy Mitre* to be laid upon. It was the Usage of most Parishes in the Country, to have an annual *Rate* for the *Maintenance* of the Ministry, adjusted commonly by the Select Men of the Towns; which tho' it raised not any exuberant Salaries for the Ministers, who also seldom received all that the People had contracted for, nevertheless in many places it prevented fore Temptations from befalling those that were *labouring in the Word and Doctrine*; who must else often have experienced the Truth of *Luther's* Observation, *Duriter profecto & misere viverent Evangelii Ministri, si ex Libera populi contributione essent sustentandi*. However, for *his part*, he propounded that what Stipend he had, should be raised by *Contribution*; and from the same Temper it was, that a few Years before his Dissolution, being left without an Assistant in his Ministry, he pressed his Congregation to furnish themselves with another *Pastor*; and in his Application to them, he told them, *'Tis possible, you may think the burden of maintaining two Ministers may be too heavy for you; but I deliver you from that fear; I do here give back my Salary to the Lord Jesus Christ, and now, Brethren, you may fix that upon any Man that God shall make a Pastor for you.* But his Church with an handsome Reply, assured him, That they would count his very *Presence* worth a Salary, when he should be so superannuated as to do no further Service for them.

And as for the *Pride of Life*, the *Life* of it was most exemplarily extinguish'd in him. The *Humility* of his *Heart* made him *Higher by the Head than the rest of the People*. His *Habit* and *Spirit* were both such as declared him to be among the *Lowly*, whom God has most *Respect* unto. His *Apparel* was without any *Ornament*, except that of *Humility*, which the Apostle Elegantly compares to a *Knot of Comely Ribbons*, in the Text where he bids us to be *cloathed* with it; any other flanting *Ribbons* on those that came in his way he would ingeniously animad-

vert upon; and seeing some Scholars once, he thought a little too gaudy in their Cloaths, *Humiliamini, Juvenes, Humiliamini*, was his immediate Complement unto them. Had you seen him with his *Leathern Girdle* (for such an one he wore) *about his Loins*, you would almost have thought what *Herod* fear'd, *That John Baptist was come to Life again*. In short, he was in all Regards, *A Nazarite* indeed; unless in this one, that *long Hair* was always very *loathsome* to him; he was an acute *Rumist*, but yet he professed himself a *Lover of a Trichotomy*. Doubtless, it may be lawful for us to accommodate the *length* of our *Hair* unto the modest *Customs* which vary in the *Churches of God*; and it may be lawful for them that have not enough of their own *Hair* for their own *Health*, to supply themselves according to the sober Modes of the Places they live. But the Apostle tells us, *Nature teaches us, that if a Man have long Hair, 'tis a Shame to him*; where, by *Nature* can be meant, no other than *The difference of Sex*; as the Word elsewhere is used.

Thus Mr. *Eliot* thought that for *Men* to wear their *Hair* with a *Luxurious, Delicate, Feminine Prolixity*; or for them to preserve no plain *Distinction* of their *Sex*, by the *Hair* of their *Head and Face*; and much more, for *Men thus* to disfigure themselves with *Hair* that is *None of their own*; and most of all, for *Ministers* of the *Gospel* to ruffle it in *Excesses* of this kind; may prove more than we are well aware, displeasing to the *Holy Spirit* of God. The *Hair* of them that professed Religion, long before his Death, grew too *long* for him to swallow; and he would express himself continually with a *boiling Zeal* concerning it, until at last he gave over, with some Regret complaining, *The Lust is become Insuperable!* I know not whether that horrible *Distemper* prevailing in some *European* Countries known by the Name of *Plica Polonica*, wherein the *Hair* of *People* matted into ugly and filthy Forms, like *Snakes* upon their *Heads*, which whosoever cut off, presently fell *blind* or *mad*; I say, I know not whether this *Disease* was more odious in it self, than the sweeter, neater, but prolix *Locks* of many *People* were to our *Eliot*. He was indeed one *priscis moribus*, as well as *Antiqua fide*; and he might be allow'd somewhat even of *Severity* in this matter, on that account.

ARTICLE IV.

His Exquisite Charity.

HE that will write of *Eliot*, must write of his *Charity*, or say nothing. His *Charity* was a Star of the *First Magnitude* in the bright Constellation of his Vertues; and the Rays of it were wonderfully various and extensive.

His *Liberality* to pious Uses whether publick or private, went much beyond the Proportions of his little Estate in the World. Many Hundreds of Pounds did he freely bestow upon the *Poor*; and he would, with a very forcible importunity, press his Neighbours to join with him in such Beneficences. 'Twas a marvellous *Alacrity* with which he imbraced all Opportunities of relieving any that were miserable; and the good People of *Roxbury* doubtless, cannot remember (but the *Righteous God will!*) how often, and with what *Ardors*, with what *Arguments*, he became a Beggar to them for Collectious in their Assemblies, to support such needy Objects, as had fallen under his Observation. The poor counted him their *Father*, and repaired still unto him, with a filial Confidence in their Necessities; and they were more than *seven* or *eight*, or indeed than so many *scores*, who received their *Portions* of his Bounty. Like that worthy and famous *English* General, he could not perswade himself, *That he had any thing but what he gave away*; but he drove a mighty Trade at such Exercises as he thought would furnish him with *Bills of Exchange*, which he hoped *after many days* to find the Comfort of; and yet after all, he would say like one of the most charitable Souls that ever lived in the World, *That looking over his Accounts, he could no where find the God of Heaven charged a Debtor there*. He did not put off his *Charity*, to be put in his *last Will*, as many who therein shew that their *Charity* is *against their Will*; but he was his own *Administrator*; he made his own Hands his Executours, and his own Eyes his Overseers. It has been remark'd, That liberal Men are often *long-liv'd* Men; so do they *after many days* find the *Bread* with which they have been willing to keep other Men alive. The great Age of our *Eliot* was but agreeable to this Remark; and when his Age had unfitted him for almost all Employments, and bereaved him of those Gifts and Parts which once he had been accomplished with, being asked, *How he did?* He would sometimes answer, *Alas, I have lost every thing; my Understanding leaves me, my Memory fails me, my Utterance fails me; but I thank God, my Charity holds out still; I find that rather grows than fails!* And I make no question, That at his Death, his happy Soul was received, and welcomed into the *everlasting Habitations*, by many scores got thither be-

fore him, of such as his *Charity* had been liberal unto.

But besides these more *Substantial Expressions* of his *Charity*, he made the Odours of that *Grace* yet more fragrant unto all that were about him, by that *Pittifulness* and that *Peaceableness*, which render'd him yet further Amiable. If any of his Neighbourhood were in distress, he was like a *Brother born for their Adversity*; he would visit them, and comfort them with a most Fraternal *Sympathy*; yea, 'tis not easy to recount how many whole Days of *Prayer and Fasting* he has got his Neighbours to keep with him, on the Behalf of those whose Calamities he found himself touched withal. It was an extreme Satisfaction to him, that his Wife had attained unto a considerable Skill in *Physick* and *Chyrurgery*, which enabled her to dispense many safe, good, and useful Medicines unto the *Poor* that had occasion for them; and some Hundreds of Sick and Weak and Maimed People owed Praises to God, for the Benefit, which therein they freely received of her. The good Gentleman her Husband, would still be casting *Oyl* into the *Flame* of that *Charity*, wherein she was of her own accord abundantly forward thus to be *doing of good unto all*; and he would urge her to be serviceable unto the worst *Enemies* that he had in the World. Never had any Man fewer Enemies than he! But once having delivered something in his Ministry, which displeas'd one of his Hearers, the Man did passionately abuse him for it, and this both with *Speeches* and with *Writings*, that reviled him. Yet it happening not long after, that this Man gave himself a very dangerous *Wound*, Mr. *Eliot* immediately sends his Wife to cure him; who did accordingly. When the Man was well he came to thank her; but she took no Rewards; and this *good Man* made him stay and eat with him, taking no notice of all the Calumnies with which he had loaded him; but by this Carriage he mollified and conquered the *Stomach* of his Reviler.

He was also a great Enemy to all *Contention*, and would ring aloud *Courfeu-Bell*, wherever he saw the *Fires* of Animosity. When he heard any Ministers complain, that such and such in their Flocks were too difficult for them, the strain of his Answer still was, *Brother, Compass them!* And *Brother, Learn the meaning of those three little Words, Bear, Forbear, Forgive*. Yea, his Inclinations for *Peace*, indeed sometimes almost made him to sacrifice *Right* it self. When there was laid before an Assembly of Ministers a bundle of Papers, which contained certain Matters of Difference and Contention, between
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some People which our *Eliot* thought should rather unite, with an *Amnesty* upon all their former Quarrels, he (with some Imitation of what *Constantine* did upon the like occasion) hastily threw the Papers into the Fire before them all, and with a Zeal for Peace as hot as that Fire, said immediately, *Brethren, wonder not at what I have done, I did it on my knees this Morning, before I came among you.* Such an Excess (if it were one) flowed from his Charitable Inclinations to be found among those *Peace makers*, which by following the Example of that Man who is our *Peace*, come to be called, *The Children of God.* Very worthily might he be called an *Irenæus*, as being all for *Peace*; and the Commendation which *Epiphanius* gives unto the Ancient of that Name, did belong unto our *Eliot*, he was a *most Blessed and a most Holy Man.* He disliked all sorts of *Bravery*; but yet with an ingenious Note upon

the Greek Word in *Col. 3. 15.* he propounded, *That Peace might brave it among us.* In short, wherever he came, it was like another old *John*, with solemn and earnest *Perfwasives to love*, and when he could say little else, he would give that Charge, *My Children, love one another!*

Finally, 'Twas his *Charity* which disposed him to continual *Apprecations* for, and *Benedictions* on those that he met withal; he had an *Heart* full of good *Wishes*, and a *Mouth* full of kind *Blessings* for them. And he often made his *Expressions* very wittily agreeable to the Circumstances which he saw the Persons in. Sometimes when he came into a *Family*, he would call for all the Young People in it, that so he might very *Distinctly* lay his Holy Hands upon every one of them, and bespeak the Mercies of Heaven for them all.

ARTICLE V.

Some Special Attainments, that were the Effects of his Piety and Charity.

BUT what was the Effect of this Exemplary *Piety* and *Charity* in our *Eliot*? It will be no wonder to my Reader, if I tell him, That this good Man *walked in the Light of God's Countenance all the day long.* I believe he had a continual Assurance of the Divine Love, marvellously Sealing, Strengthening, and Refreshing of him, for many Lustres of Years before he died; and for this Cause, the *Fear of Death* was extirpated out of his Heavenly Soul, more than out of most Men alive. Had our Blessed *Jesus* at any time sent his Waggons to fetch this old *Jacob* away, he would have gone without the least Reluctancies. Labouring once under a *Fever* and *Ague*, a Visitant asked him, *How he did?* And he reply'd, *Very well, but anon I expect a Paroxysm.* Said the Visitant, *Sir, fear not;* but unto that he answered, *Fear! No, no; I been't afraid, I thank God, I been't afraid to die! Dying would not have been any more to him, than Sleeping to a weary Man.*

And another Excellency, which accompanied this Courage and Comfort in him was, *A wonderful Resignation to the Will of God in all events.* There were sore *Afflictions* that sometimes beset him; especially when he follow'd some of his hopeful and worthy Sons two or three desirable Preachers of the Gospel, to their Graves. But he sacrificed them, like another *Abramam*; with such a sacred Indifferency, as made all the Spectators to say, *This could not be done without the Fear of God.* Yea, he bore all his Trials with an admirable Patience, and seemed loth to have any *Will* of his own, that should not be wholly melted and moulded into the *Will* of his

Heavenly Father. Once being in a Boat at Sea, a larger Vessel unhappily over run, and over set that little one which had no small Concerns, because *Eliot's* in the Bottom of it; he immediately sunk without any Expectation of ever going to *Heaven any other way*; and when he imagined that he had but one Breath more to draw in the World, it was this, *The Will of the Lord be done!* But it was *the Will of the Lord*, that he should survive the danger; for he was rescued by the help that was then at hand, and he that had long been like *Moses* in every thing else, was now *drawn out of the Waters.* Which gives me opportunity to mention one Remarkable that had some Relation hereunto. This Accident happened in the time of our *Indian Wars*, when some furious *English* People that clamoured for the Extirpation of the *Praying Indians*, which were in Subjection unto us, as well as the *Pagan Indians* that were in Hostility against us, vented a very wicked Rage at our Holy *Eliot*, because of his Concernment for the *Indians*, and one profane Monster hearing how narrowly Mr. *Eliot* escap'd from Drowning, 'tis said, he wish'd this Man of God had then been Drowned. But withing a few Days, that woful Man by a strange Disaster, was Drowned in that very place where Mr. *Eliot* had received his Deliverance.

There was indeed a certain *Health of Soul* which he arriv'd unto; and he kept in a blessed measure clear of those *Distempers* which too often disorder the most of Men. But the God of Heaven favoured him with something that was yet more *Extraordinary!* By getting
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and keeping near to God, and by dwelling under the Shadow of the Almighty, be contracted a more *exquisite sense* of Mind, than what is usual among other Professors of Christianity; he sometimes felt a *lively touch* of God upon his refined and exalted Spirit, which were not in any paper of ours *lawful* or *easy* to be uttered; and he was admitted unto a singular *Familiarity* with the *Holy One of Israel*. Hence 'twas, that as Bodies of a rare and fine Constitution, will forebode the Changes of the Weather, so the subtilized Soul of our *Eliot* often had strange *Forebodings* of things that were to come. I have been astonish'd at some of his *Predictions*, that were both of a more *Personal*, and of a more general Application, and were follow'd with exact Accomplishments. If he said of any Affair, *I cannot bless it!* it was a worse Omen to it, than the most inauspicious Presages in the World; but sometimes after he had been with God in Prayer about a thing, he was able successfully to foretel, *I have set a mark upon it, it will do well?* I shall never forget, That when *England* and *Holland* were plunged into the unhappy War, which the more sensible Protestants every where had but sorrowful Apprehensions of, our *Eliot* being in the height and heat of the War, privately asked, *What News we might look for next?* Answer'd unto the Suprize of the Enquirer, *Our next News will be, a Peace between the two Protestant Nations; God knows, I pray for it every Day; and I am verily perswaded, we shall hear of it speedily!* And it came to pass accordingly.

It is to be confessed, That the written Word of God, is to be regarded as the perfect and only Rule of our Lives; that in all Articles of Religion, if Men *speak not according to this Word, there is no light in them*; and that it is no warrantable or convenient thing for Christians ordinarily to look for such Inspirations as directed the *Prophets* that were the Pen-men of the Scriptures. Nevertheless, there are some uncommon *Instances* of Communion and Fruition,

which in our Days the Sovereign God here and there favours a good Man withal; and they are very *Heavenly* Persons, Persons well purify'd from the *Faeculencies* of Sensuality, and Persons better purged from the *Leaven* of Envy and Malice, and intolerable Pride, than usually those vain Pretenders to Revelations, the *Quakers* are, that are made Partakers of these Divine Dainties. Now such an one was our *Eliot*; and for this, *worthy to be had in Everlasting Remembrance*.

It would not be improper, under this File to lodge the singular and surprizing Successes of his *Prayers!* For they were such, that in our Distresses we still repair'd unto him, under that Encouragement, *He is a Prophet, and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live*. I shall single out but one, from the many that might be mentioned.

There was a Godly Gentleman of *Charlstown*, one Mr. *Foster*, who with his Son, was taken Captive by *Turkish* Enemies. Much Prayer was employed, both privately and publickly, by the good People here, for the Redemption of that Gentleman; but we were at last inform'd, that the Bloody Prince, in whose Dominions he was now a Slave, was resolv'd that in his Life-time no Prisoner should be relas'd; and so the Distressed Friends of this Prisoner now concluded, *Our Hope is lost!* Well, upon this, Mr. *Eliot*, in some of his next Prayers, before a very solemn Congregation, very broadly beg'd, *Heavenly Father, work for the Redemption of thy poor Servant Foster; and if the Prince which detains him will not, as they say, dismiss him as long himself lives, Lord, we pray thee to kill that Cruel Prince; kill him, and glorify thy self upon him*. And now behold the Answer: The poor Captiv'd Gentleman quickly returns to us that had been mourning for him as a lost Man, and brings us News, that the Prince which had hitherto held him, was come to an *Untimely Death*, by which means he was now set at Liberty.

PART II.

Or, ELIOT as a MINISTER.

ARTICLE I.

His Ministerial Accomplishments.

THE Grace of God, which we have seen so illustriously Endowing and Adorning of our *Eliot*, as well qualify'd him for, as dispos'd him to the Employment wherein he spent about Six Decads of his Years; which was, *The Service of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Ministry*

of the Gospel. This was the Work to which he apply'd himself; and he undertook it, I believe, with as *Right Thoughts* of it, and as *Good Ends* in it, as ever any Man in our Days was acted with. He look'd upon the Conduct of a Church, as a thing no less *Dangerous* than *Important*,

portant, and attended with so many Difficulties, Temptations, and Humiliations; as that nothing but a Call from the Son of God, could have encouraged him unto the Susception of it. He saw that *Flesh and Blood* would find it no very pleasant thing, to be oblig'd unto the Oversight of a Number, that by a solemn Covenant should be list'd among the *Voluntiers* of the Lord Jesus Christ; that it was no easy thing to feed the Souls of such a People, and of the Children and the Neighbours, which were to be brought into the same *Sheepfold* with them; to bear their manners with all Patience, not being by any of their Infirmities discouraged from *Teaching* of them, and from *Watching and Praying* over them; to value them highly as the *Flock which God has purchased with his own Blood*, notwithstanding all their Miscarriages; and in all to examine the *Rule of Scripture* for the Warrant of whatever shall be done; and to remember the *Day of Judgment*, wherein an account must be given of all that has been done; having in the mean time no Expectation of the Riches and Grandeurs which accompany a worldly *Domination*. It was herewithal his Opinion, That (as the great *Owen* expresses it) notwithstanding all the countenance that is given to any Church by the publick Magistracy, yet whilst we are in this World, those who will faithfully discharge their Duty, as Ministers of the Gospel, shall have need to be prepared for Sufferings; and it was in a sense of these things that he gave himself up to the sacred Ministry. A Stranger to *Regeneration* can be but poorly accomplished, for such a Ministry; very truly says the Incomparable *Asted*, *Impii quidam Homines egregie videntur callere in Theologicis, revera tamen illa Cognitio Rerum Theologicarum est adheoricos, quia fieri non potest ut Cognitio vere Theologica, habitet in Corde non Theologo*: And however God may prosper the Sermons of such a Man for the Advantage of his Church: However the Building of the Ark may be help'd on by such Carpenters as perish in the Flood; and the Tyrians may do some Work about the Temple, who arrive to no Worship in the Inner-Courts thereof, and as *Austin* expressed it, a *Stone-Cutter* may convey Water into a Garden, without having himself any advantage of it; Nevertheless, the Unsanctify'd Minister, how Gifted, how Able soever he may be, must have it still said unto him, *Thou lackest one thing!*

And that *One Thing* our *Eliot* had. But the *One Thing* was not *All!* As indeed, it would not have been enough. God furnish'd him with a good measure of *Learning* too, which made him capable to divide the *Word aright*. He was a most Acute *Grammarian*; and understood very well, the Languages which God first wrote his Holy Bible in. He had a good Insight into all the other *Liberal Arts*, and made little *Systems* of them, for the use of certain *Indians*, whose exacter Education he was desirous of. But, above all, he had a most eminent Skill in *Theology*; and that which profane Scoffers reproach'd, as the *Disgrace* of the Blessed *Alting*, all of whose Works always weigh down the purest *Gold*, was the *Honour* of our *Eliot*, namely to be *Scripturarius Theologus*, or *One mighty in the Word*; which enabled him to convince *Gain-sayers*, and on many occasions to shew himself, *A Workman that needed not be ashamed*.

In short, He came in some Degree, like another *Bezaleel*, or *Abeliah*, unto the Service of the *Tabernacle*. And from one Particularity in that part of his *Learning*, which lay in the Affairs of the *Tabernacle*, it was, that in a little Book of his we have those Lines, which for a certain Cause I now transcribe; *Oh that the Lord would put it (says he) into the Heart of some of his Religious and Learned Servants, to take such pains about the Hebrew Language, as to fit it for universal Use! Considering, that above all Languages spoken by the Lip of Man it is most capable to be enlarged, and fitted to express all things, and Motions, and Notions, that our Humane Intellect is capable of in this mortal Life, considering also, that it is the Invention of God himself; and what one is fitter to be the universal Language, than that which it pleas'd our Lord Jesus to make use of, when he spake from Heaven unto Paul!*

In fine, Tho' we have had *Greater Scholars* than he, yet he hath often made me think of *Mr. Samuel Ward's* Observation. *In observing I have observed and found, that divers Great Clerks have had but little Fruit of their Ministry, but hardly any truly zealous Man of God (tho' of Lesser Gifts) but have had much Comfort of their Labours in their own, and bordering Parishes; being in this likened by Gregory, to the Iron on the Smiths Anvil, sparkling round about.*

ARTICLE II.

His Family-Government.

THE Apostle *Paul*, reciting and requiring Qualifications of a *Gospel Minister*, gives Order, that he be *The Husband of one Wife, and one that ruleth well his own House, having his Children in subjection with all gravity*. It seems, that a Man's Carriage in his *own House* is a part, or at least a *sign*, of his due Deportment in the *House of God*; and then, I am sure, our *Eliot's* was very Exemplary. That *one Wife* which was given to him truly *from the Lord*, he loved, prized, cherished, with a *Kindness* that notably represented the Compassion which he (thereby) taught his Church to expect from the Lord *Jesus Christ*; and after he had lived with her for more than half an Hundred Years, he followed her to the Grave with *Lamentations* beyond those, which the Jews from the figure of a Letter in the Text, affirm, that *Abraham* deplored his aged *Sarah* with; her Departure made a deeper Impression upon him than what any common Affliction could. His whole Conversation with her, had that *Sweetness*, and that *Gravity* and *Modesty* beautifying of it, that every one called them *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*. His Family was

a little *Bethel*, for the Worship of God constantly and exactly maintained in it; and unto the daily Prayers of the Family, his manner was to prefix the Reading of the *Scripture*; which being done, 'twas also his manner to make his young People to chuse a certain Passage in the Chapter, and give him some *Observation* of their own upon it. By this Method he did mightily *sharpen and improve*, as well as *try*, their Understandings, and endeavour to make them *wise unto Salvation*. He was likewise very strict in the Education of his Children, and more careful to mend any *error* in their Hearts and Lives, than he could have been to cure a *Blemish* in their Bodies. No *Exorbitancies* or *Extravagancies* could find a Room under his Roof, nor was his House any other than a *School of Piety*; one might have there seen a perpetual mixture of a *Spartan* and a *Christian Disciple*. Whatever Decay there might be upon *Family-Religion* among us, as for our *Eliot*, we *knew him*, that he would command his Children, and his Household after him, that they should keep the Way of the Lord.

ARTICLE III.

His Way of Preaching.

SUCH was he in his *lesser Family*! And in his *greater Family*, he manifested still more of his Regards to the Rule of a *Gospel-Ministry*. To his Congregation, he was a *Preacher* that made it his Care, to give every one their *Meat in due Season*. It was *Food* and not *Froth*; which in his publick Sermons, he entertained the Souls of his People with, he did not *starve* them with empty and windy Speculations, or with such things as *Animum non dant, quia non habent*; much less did he *kill* them with such *Poyson* as is too commonly exposed by the *Arminian* and *Socinian* Doctors that have too often sat in *Moses's* Chair. His way of *Preaching* was very *plain*; so that the very *Lambs* might wade, into his Discourses on those Texts and Themes, wherein *Elephants* might swim; and herewithal, it was very *powerful*, his Delivery was always very graceful and grateful; but when he was to use reproofs and warnings against any *Sin*, his Voice would rise into a *Warmth* which had in it very much of *Energy* as well as *Decency*; he would sound the *Trumpets* of

God against all *Vice*, with a most penetrating Liveliness, and make his Pulpit another *Mount Sinai*, for the Flashes of Lightning therein display'd against the Breaches of the *Law* given upon that *Burning Mountain*. And I observed, that there was usually a special Fervour in the Rebukes which he bestow'd upon *Carnality*, a carnal Frame and Life in Professors of Religion; when he was to brand the Earthly-mindedness of *Church-Members*, and the Allowance and the Indulgence which they often gave unto themselves in sensual Delights, here he was a right *Boanerges*; he then spoke, as 'twas said one of the Ancients did, *Quot Verba tot Fulmina*, as many *Thunderbolts* as *Words*.

It was another Property of his *Preaching*, that there was evermore much of *CHRIST* in it; and with *Paul*, he could say, *I determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ*; having that Blessed Name in his Discourses, with a Frequency like that, with which *Paul* mentions it in his *Epistles*. As 'twas noted of *Dr. Bodly*, that whatever Subject he were upon, in the Ap-
plication

plication still his Use of it would be, *to drive Men unto the Lord Jesus Christ*; in like manner, the Lord Jesus Christ was the Loadstone which gave a touch to all the Sermons of our *Eliot*; a Glorious, Precious, Lovely Christ was the Point of Heaven which they still verged unto. From this *Inclination* it was, that altho' he Printed several *English Books* before he dy'd, yet his Heart seem'd not so much in any of them, as in that serious and favoury Book of his, Entituled, *The Harmony of the Gospels, in the Holy History of Jesus Christ*. From hence also 'twas, that he would give that Advice to young Preachers, *Pray let there be much of Christ in your Ministry*; and when he had heard a Sermon, which had any special Relish of a Blessed Jesus in it, he would say thereupon, *O blessed be God, that we have Christ so much and so well preached in poor New-England!*

Moreover, he lik'd no *Preaching*, but what had been *well studied* for; and he would very much commend a Sermon which he could per-

ceive had required some good *Thinking* and *Reading* in the Author of it. I have been present, when he has unto a Preacher then just come home from the Assembly with him, thus expressed himself, *Brother, there was Oyl required for the Service of the Sanctuary; but it must be beaten Oyl; I praise God, that I saw your Oyl so well beaten to day; the Lord help us always by good Study to beat our Oyl, that there may be no knots in our Sermons lest undissolved, and that there may a clear light be thereby given in the House of God!* And yet he likewise look'd for something in a Sermon beside and beyond the meer Study of Man; he was for having the Spirit of God, breathing in it and with it; and he was for speaking those things, from those Impressions and with those Affections, which might compel the Hearer to say, *The Spirit of God was here!* I have heard him complain, *It is a sad thing, when a Sermon shall have that one thing, The Spirit of God wanting in it.*

ARTICLE IV.

His Cares about the Children of his People.

BUT he remembred, that he had *Lambs* in his *Flock*, and like another *David* he could not endure to see the *Lion* seize upon any of them. He always had a mighty concern upon his Mind for *little Children*; 'twas an Affectionate Stroke in of the *little Papers* which he published for them, *Sure Christ is not willing to lose his Lambs*; and I have cause to remember with what an hearty, fervent, zealous Application, he address'd himself, when in the Name of the Neighbour Pastors and Churches he gave me, *The Right Hand of their Fellowship*, at my *Ordination*, and said, *Brother, Art thou a Lover of the Lord Jesus Christ? Then, I pray Feed his Lambs.*

One thing whereof he was very desirous for poor *Children*, was the *Covenanting* of them; he was very sollicitous, that the *Lambs* might pass under the Lord's, *Tything Rod*, and be brought under the *Bond of the Covenant*. He very openly and earnestly maintained the cause of *Infant-Baptism*, against a sort of Persons risen since the *Reformation*, (among which indeed there are many godly Men, that were dear to the Soul of our *Eliot*) who forget that in the Gospel Church-state as well as in the *Jewish*, *The Promise is to Believers and their Children*: And are unwilling to reckon *Children* among the *Disciples* of Jesus Christ: Or to grant, *That of such is the Kingdom of Heaven*: Or to know, That the most undoubted Records

of Antiquity affirm *Infant-Baptism* to have been an Usage in all the Primitive Churches; That even before the early Days of *Nazianzen*, *Chrysostom*, *Basil*, *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, in the Greek, and *Ambrose*, *Jerom*, *Austin*, in the Latin Church, all of which give Glorious Testimonies for *Infant-Baptism*, even *Cyprian*, before these assures us, that in his Days there was no doubt of it; and *Origen* before him could say, *'Twas from the Apostles that the Church took up the Baptism of Infants*; and *Clemens Romanus* before him could say, *That Children should be Recipients of the Discipline of Christ*; besides what plain Evidence we have in *Irenaeus* and *Justin Martyr*; and that the very Arguments with which some of the Ancients did superstitiously advise the Delay of *Baptism*, do at the same time confess the *Divine Right* of *Infants* in it. Our *Eliot* could by no means look upon the *Infants* of Godly Men, as *Unholy*, and *Unbelievers*, and unfit Subjects to have upon them a *Mark of Dedication* to the Lord.

Wherefore, when there was brought among us a Book of *Pious Mr. Norcot's*, whereby some became disposed to, on confirmed in, a Prejudice against *Pado-Baptism*, it was not long before *Mr. Eliot* published a little Answer thereunto; the first Lines whereof presently discover what a Temper he writ it with; says he, *The Book speaks with the Voice of a Lamb, and I think the Author is a Godly, though Erring Brother; but he acts the Cause of a Roaring Lion,*

who by all crafty ways, seeketh to devour the poor Lambs of the Flock of Christ. And so he goes on to plead the Cause of them that cannot speak for themselves. No Man could entertain a Person of a different Perswasion from himself, with more Sweetness and Kindness than he, when he saw, *Aliquid Christi*, or the Fear of God prevailing in them; he could uphold a most intimate Correspondence with such a Man, as Mr. *Jessy*, as long as he lived; and yet he knew how to be an *Hammer* upon their unhappy Errors.

But having once *Baptized* the Children of his Neighbours, he did not as too many Ministers do, think, that he had now done with them. No, another thing wherein he was very laborious for poor Children was, the *Catechising* of them; he kept up the great Ordinance of *Catechising*, both publickly and privately, and spent in it a World of time. About the end of the *Second Century*, before there had in the least begun to start up *New Officers* in the Church of God, we find there were Persons called unto the Office of *Publick Teaching*, who were not Pastors, not Rulers, not called unto the Administration of other Ordinances; those in the Church of *Alexandria*, were of a special Remark and Renown for their Abilities this way; and their Employment was to *Explain* and *Defend* the Principles of the Christian Religion, unto all with whom they could be concerned. Here was the *Catechist*, with reference unto whom the Apostle says, *Let the Catechised communicate unto him in all good things*. Now tho' some think, a *Teacher* purely as such, hath no Right unto further Church Administrations, any more than the *Rabbi's* or *Doctors* among the *Jews*, had to *Offer Sacrifices in the Temple*; yet he who is called to be a *Teacher*, may at the same time also be called to be an *Elder*, and being now a *Teaching Elder*, he becomes interested in the whole Government of the Church, he has the Power of all Sacred Administrations. 'Tis the latter and more compleat and perfect Character, which the Churches of *New-England* have still acknowledged in their *Teachers*; and such a *Teaching Elder*, did our *Eliot* remember himself to be. He thought himself under a particular Obligation to be that *Officer*, which the Apostle calls in *1 Cor. 4. 15. An Instructor of the Young*; nor was he ashamed, any more than some of the Worthiest Men among the Ancients were, to be called, *A Catechist*. He would observe upon *Joh. 21. 15. That the care of the Lambs, is one third part of the charge over the Church of God*. It would be incredible if I should relate what pains he took to keep up the Blessed *Echo's* of Truth, between himself and the young People of his Congregation; and what Prudence he used, in suiting of his *Catechisms* to the Age and Strength of his little *Catechumens*. But one thing I must observe, which is, That altho' there may be (as one has computed) no less than five Hundred *Catechisms* extant, yet Mr. *Eliot* gave himself the Travail

of adding to their Number, by composing of some further *Catechisms*, which were more particularly designed as an Antidote for his own People, against the Contagion of such *Errors* as might threaten any peculiar Danger to them. And the *Effect* and *Success* of this *Catechising*, bore Proportion to the indefatigable Industry with which he prosecuted it; it is a *well principled People* that he has left behind him. As when certain *Jesuits* were sent among the *Waldenses* to corrupt their Children, they returned with much Disappointment and Confusion, because the Children of seven Years old were well-principled enough to encounter the most Learned of them all; so, if any *Seducers* were let loose to *wolve* it among the good People of *Roxbury*, I am confident, they would find as little *Prey* in that well instructed Place, as in any part of all the Country; no *Civil Penalties* would signify so much to save any People from the Snares of *busy Hereticks*, as the unwearied *Catechising* of one *Eliot* has done to preserve his People from the Gangren of ill Opinions.

There is a Third Instance of his Regards to the Welfare of the poor Children under his Charge; and that is, his perpetual Resolution and Activity to support a good *School* in the Town that belong'd unto him. A *Grammar-School* he would always have, upon the Place, whatever it cost him; and he importun'd all other Places to have the like. I can't forget the *Ardour* with which I once heard him pray, in a *Synod* of these Churches, which met at *Boston* to consider, *How the Miscarriages which were among us might be prevented*; I say, with what Fervour he uttered an Expression to this purpose, *Lord, for Schools every where among us! That our Schools may flourish! That every Member of this Assembly may go home and procure a good School to be encouraged in the Town where he lives! That before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good School encouraged in every Plantation of the Country*. God so blessed his Endeavours, that *Roxbury* could not live quietly without a *Free School* in the Town; and the Issue of it has been one thing, which has made me almost put the Title of *Scholar Illustris* upon that little Nursery; that is, that *Roxbury* has afforded more *Scholars*, first for the *College*, and then for the *Publick*, than any Town of its Bigness, or if I mistake not, of twice its Bigness in all *New-England*. From the *Spring* of the School at *Roxbury*, there have run a large Number of the *Streams*, which have made glad this whole *City of God*. I persuade my self, that the good People of *Roxbury*, will for ever scorn to begrutch the *Cost*, or to permit the *Death* of a *School* which God has made such an Honour to them; and this the rather, because their Deceased *Eliot* has left them a fair part of his own Estate, for the maintaining of the School in *Roxbury*; and I hope, or at least, I wish, that the Ministers of *New-England* may be as ungainfayably importunate

tunate with their People, as Mr. Eliot was with his, for *Schools* which may feasonably tinge the Young Souls of the *Rising Generation*. A Want of Education for them, is the blackest and saddest of all the bad *Omens* that are upon us.

ARTICLE V.

His Church-Discipline.

IT yet more endears unto us the Memory of our *Eliot*, that he was not only an *Evangelical Minister*, but also a true *New-English* one; he was a *Protestant*, and a *Puritan*, and one very full of that Spirit which acted the first *Planters* of this Country, in their *peaceable Succession* from the unwarrantable things elsewhere imposed upon their Consciences. The *Judgment* and *Practice* of one that readily underwent all the Misery attending the Infancy of this *Plantation*, for the sake of a true *Church Order*, is a thing which we young People should count worthy to be enquired after; and since we saw him so well *behaving himself in the House of God*; it cannot but be worth while to know what he thought about the *Frame and Form*, and *Constitution* of that *Blessed House*.

He was a modest, humble, but very reasonable *Nonconformist* unto the *Ceremonies*; which have been such unhappy Apples of Strife in the *Church of England*; otherwise the dismal *Thickets* of *America*, had never seen such a Person in them.

It afflicted him to see these, and more such as these, things continued in the *Church of England*, by the Artifice of certain Persons who were loth to have the *Reformation* carried on unto those further Degrees which the most Eminent of the *first Reformers* had in their Holy Designs.

We see what *was not* his Opinion! But let us hear what it was. It was his as well as his *Master*, the great *Ramus's* Principle; *that in the Reformation of Churches, to be now endeavoured, things ought to be reduced unto the Order wherein we find them at their Primitive, Original, Apostolical Institution*. And in pursuance of this Principle, he justly espoused that way of *Church-Government*, which we call the *Congregational*; he was fully perswaded, that the *Church state* which our Lord Christ hath instituted in the *New-Testament*, is, *In a Congregation or Society of Professed Believers, Agreeing and Assembling together among themselves, with Officers, of Divine Appointment, for the Celebration of Evangelical Ordinances, and their own mutual Edification*; for he saw it must be a *cruel Hardship* used upon the Scriptures, to make them so much as hiss the least Intimation of any other *Church state* prescribed unto us; and he could assert, *That no Approved Writers, for the Space of two Hundred Years after Christ,*

make any mention of any other Organical, Visible, Professing Church, but that onely which is Congregational. He look'd upon the *Congregational way* as a *Large* of *Divine Bounty* bestow'd by the Lord *Jesus Christ* on his People, that followed him into this *Wilderness*, with a peculiar Zeal for *Communion* with him, in his pure *Worship* here. He perceived in it, a sweet sort of *Temperament*, between *Rigid Presbyterianism*, and *Levelling Brownism*; so that on the one side, the *Liberties* of the People are not oppressed and overlaid; on the other side, the *Authority* of the Elders is not rendred insignificant, but a due *Balance* is herein kept upon them both; and hence he closed with our *Platform of Church-Discipline*, as being the nearest of what he had yet seen, to the *Directions* of Heaven.

He could not comprehend, that this *Church-state* can arise from any other *Formal Cause*, but the *Consent, Concurrence, Confederation* of those concerned in it; he looked upon a *Relation* unto a *Church*, as not a *Natural*, or a *Violent*, but a *Voluntary* thing, and so that it is to be entred no otherwise than by an *Holy Covenant*, or as the *Scripture* speaks, by *giving our selves first unto the Lord, and then one unto another*. He could not think, that *Baptism* alone was to be accounted the *Cause*, but rather the *Effect*, of *Church Membership*; inasmuch as upon the *Dissolution* of the *Church* to which a *Man* belongs, his *Baptism* would not become a *Nullity*: Nor that *meer Profession* would render *Men Members* of this or that *Church*; for then it would be impossible to cut off a corrupt *Member* from that *Body-Politic*: Nor that *meer Cohabitation* would make *Church-Members*; for then the vilest *Infidels* would be actually incorporated with us. And a *Covenant*; was all that he now saw remaining in the *Inventory*.

But for the *Subjects* to be admitted by *Churches* unto all the *Privileges* of this *Fellowship* with them he thought, they ought to be such as a *trying Charity*, or a *charitable Tryal*, should pronounce *Regenerate*. He found the *first Churches* of the *Gospel* mentioned in the *Scripture*, to be *Churches of Saints*; and that the *Apostles* writing to them, still acknowledge them to be *Holy Brethren*, and such as were made *meet for to be partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light*; and that a main end of *Church-fellowship*,

brotherhood, is to represent unto the World, the Qualifications of those that shall *Ascend into the Hill of the Lord, and stand in his Holy Place for ever*. He would therefore have *Bona Mens*, and *Purum pectus*, and *Vita Innocens*, required, as *Lactantius* tells us, they were in his Days, of all Communicants at the Table of the Lord: And with Holy *Chrysostom*, he would sooner have given his *Heart blood*, than the *Cup of the Lord*, unto such as had not the hopeful Marks of our Lord's Disciples on them. The Churches of *New England* still retain a Custom which the Great *Justin Martyr*, in the Second Century, assures us to have been in the Primitive Churches of his Time; namely, *To Examine those they Receive, not only about their Perswasion, but also whether they have attained unto a Work of Grace upon their Souls*. In the Prosecution hereof, besides the Enquiries of the *Elders* into the *Knowledge*, and *Belief*, and *Conversation* of them that offer themselves unto Church-fellowship, it is expected, tho' I hope not with any Severity of Imposition, that in the Addresses which they make to the Churches, they give *Written*, if not *Oral* Account, of what Impressions the Regenerating Word of God has had upon their Souls. This was a Custom which this Holy Man had a marvellous Esteem and Value for; and I have taken from his Mouth such as these Expressions very publickly delivered thereabouts.

It is matter (said he) of great Thankfulness, that we have *Christ Confessed* in our Churches, by such as we receive to full Communion there. They open the Works of *Christ* in their Hearts, and the *Relation* thereof is an eminent *Confession* of our Lord; experienced Saints can gather more than a little from it. It is indeed an Ordinance of wonderful Benefit; the Lord planted many *Vineyards* in the first Settlement of this Country, and there were many *Noble Vines* in them; it was their *Heavenly mindedness* which dispos'd them to this Exercise, and by the upholding of it, the Churches are still filled with *Noble Vines*; it mightily maintains Purity of Churches. 'Tis the Duty of every Christian, *With the Mouth Confession is made unto Salvation*. As among the *Jews*, usually most Men did *once* in their Life, celebrate a *Jubilee*; thus, this Confession of *Christ*, is methinks, a sort of *Jubilee*; and every good Man among us, is at least *once* in his Life call'd unto it. It is a thing that gives great *Glory* to the Lord *Jesus Christ*; and *younger Converts* are thereby exceedingly edify'd; and the Souls of *Devout Christians* are hereby very much ingratiated one unto another. The *Devil* knows what he does, when he thrust so hard to get this Custom out of our Churches. For my part, I would say in this Case, *Get thee behind me Satan; thou givest an horrible Offence unto the Lord Jesus Christ*. Let us keep up this Ordinance with all *Gentleness*; and where we see the least spark of *Grace* held forth, let us prize it more than all the *Wisdom* in the World.

There were especially two things, which he was loth to see, and yet fear'd he saw, falling in the Churches of *New-England*. One was, A thorough Establishment of *Ruling Elders* in our Churches; which he thought sufficiently warranted by the Apostles mention of, *Elders that rule well, who yet labour not in Word and Doctrine*. He was very desirous to have prudent and gracious Men set over our Churches, for the Assistance of their *Pastors*, in the Church acts that concern the *Admission* and *Exclusion* of Members, and the *Inspection* of the Conversation led by the Communicant, and the *Instruction* of their several Families, and the *Visitation* of the Afflicted in their Flock, over which they should preside. Such *Helps in Governments* had he himself been blessed withal; the last of which was the well-deserving Elder *Bowles*; and of him, did this good Man, in a Speech to a *Synod* of all the Churches in this Colony, take occasion to say, *There is my Brother Bowles, the godly Elder of our Church at Roxbury, God helps him to do great things among us!* Had all our *Pastors* been so well accommodated, it is possible there would be more Encouragement given to such an Office as that of *Ruling Elders*.

But the mention of a *Synod* brings to mind another thing, which he was concerned, that we might never want; and that is, a frequent Repetition of *Needful Synods* in our Churches. For tho' he had a deep and a due Care to preserve the *Rights of particular Churches*, yet he thought all the Churches of the Lord *Jesus* by their *Union* in what they *profess*, in what they *intend*, and in what they *enjoy*, so compacted into one *Body Mystical*, as that all the several *particular Churches* every where should act with a regard unto the good of the whole, and unto the common *Advice* and *Council* of the Neighbourhood; which cannot be done always by *Letters missive*, like those that passed between *Corinth* and *Rome* in the early days of Christianity; but it requires a Convention of the Churches in *Synods*, by their *Delegates* and *Messengers*. He did not count Churches to be so *Independent*, as that they can always discharge their whole Duty, and yet not act in a Conjunction with Neighbour Churches; nor would he be of any Church that will not acknowledge itself *accountable* to rightly composed *Synods*, which may have occasion to enquire into the Circumstances of it; he saw the main *Interest* and *Business* of Churches might quickly come to be utterly lost, if *Synods* were not often called for the Repairing of Inconveniences, and he was much in contriving for the regular and repeated meeting of such Assemblies.

He wish'd for *Councils* to suppress all damnable Heresies, or pernicious Opinions, that might ever arise among us; for *Councils* to extinguish all dangerous Divisions, and scandalous Contentions which might ever begin to flame in our Borders; for *Councils* to rectify all Male-Administrations in the midst of us, or to Recover any particular Churches out of any Disorders which they may be plung'd into.

For *Councils* to enquire into the Love, the Peace, the Holiness maintained by the several Churches; in fine, for *Councils* to send forth fit *Labourers* into those Parts of our Lord's *Harvest*, which are without the Gospel of God. He beheld an Apostolical Precept and Pattern for such *Councils*; and when such *Councils* convened in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, by the consent of several Churches concerned in mutual Communion, have Declared, Explained, Recommended the Mind of God from his word unto us, he reckoned a Truth so delivered, challenged an Observation from the particular Churches, with a very great *Authority*.

He therefore Printed a little Book wearing this Title, *The Divine Management of Gospel Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, constituted in order according to the Scriptures, which may be a means of uniting those two holy and eminent Parties, the Presbyterians and the Congregational*. It is a Remarkable Concession made by the Incomparable *Jurieu* who is not reckoned a *Congregational Man*, in his *Traite*

de L'Unite de L'Eglise, That the *Apostolical Churches* lived not in any Confederation for mutual Dependence. The grand Equipage of *Metropolitans, of Primates, of Exarchs, of Patriarchs, was yet unknown*; nor does it any more appear to us, that the Churches then had their *Provincial, National, and Occumenical Synods*; every Church was its own Mistress, and independent on any other. But on the other side, our *Eliot*, who was no *Presbyterian*, conceived *Synods* to be the Institutions of our Lord Jesus Christ, the *Apostolical Churches themselves* acknowledging a Stamp of *Divine Right* upon them.

Such as these were the Sentiments of our *Eliot*; and his deserved Reputation in the Churches of *New-England*, is that which has caused me to foresee some Advantage and Benefit arising unto the Concerns of the Gospel, by so large a Recitation as I have now made thereof.

The Reader has now seen, *An Able Minister of the New-Testament*.

P A R T III.

Or, ELIOT as an EVANGELIST.

THE Titles of a *Christian* and of a *Minister*, I have rendred our *Eliot* considerable; but there is one memorable Title more, by which he has been signalized unto us. An Honourable Person did once in Print put the Name of an *Evangelist* upon him; whereupon in a Letter of his to that Person afterwards Printed, his Expressions were, 'There is a Redundancy, where you put the Title of *Evangelist* upon me; I beseech you to suppress all such things; let us do and speak and carry all things with Humility; it is the Lord who hath done what is done; and it is most becoming the Spirit of Jesus Christ to lift up him, and lay ourselves low; I wish that Word could be obliterated. My Reader sees what a Caution Mr. *Eliot* long since entred against our giving him the Title of an *Evangelist*; but his *Death* has now made it safe, and his *Life* had long made it just, for us to acknowledge him with such a Title. I know not whether that of an *Evangelist*, or one separated for the Employment of Preaching the Gospel in such Places whereunto Churches have hitherto been gathered, be not an *Office* that should be continued in our Days; but this I know, that our *Eliot* very notably did the *Service* and *Business* of such an Officer.

Cambden could not reach the Heighth of his Conceit, who bore in his *Shield* a Salvage of

America, with his Hand pointing to the *Sun*, and this Motto, *Mihi Accessu, Tibi Recessu*. Reader, Prepare to behold this *Device* Illustrated!

¶ The Natives of the Country now Possessed by the *New-Englanders*, had been forlorn and wretched *Heathen* ever since their first herding here; and tho' we know not *When* or *How* those *Indians* first became Inhabitants of this mighty Continent, yet we may guess that probably the Devil decoy'd those miserable *Salvages* hither, in hopes that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here to destroy or disturb his *Absolute Empire* over them. But our *Eliot* was in such ill Terms with the Devil, as to alarm him with sounding the *Silver Trumpets* of Heaven in his Territories, and make some Noble and Zealous Attempts towards outing him of his Ancient Possessions here. There were, I think, Twenty several *Nations* (if I may call them so) of *Indians* upon that spot of Ground, which fell under the Influence of our *Three United Colonies*; and our *Eliot* was willing to rescue as many of them as he could, from that old usurping *Landlord* of *America*, who is by the *Wrath* of God, the *Prince* of this World.

I cannot find that any besides the Holy Spirit of God, first moved him to the blessed Work

of *Evangelizing* these perishing *Indians*; 'twas that Holy Spirit which laid before his Mind the Idea of that which was on the *Seal* of the *Massachusetts Colony*; *A poor Indian having a Label going from his Mouth, with a, COME OVER AND HELP US.* It was the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, which enkindled in him a *Pitty* for the dark Souls of these Natives, whom the *God of this World had blinded*, through all the *By-past Ages*. He was none of those that make, *The Salvation of the Heathen*, an Article of their *Creed*; but (setting aside the unrevealed and extraordinary Steps which the *Holy one of Israel* may take out of his *usual Paths*) he thought men to be *lost* if our *Gospel* be hidden from them; and he was of the same Opinion with one of the *Ancients*, who said, *Some have endeavoured to prove Plato a Christian, till they prove themselves little better than Heathens.* It is indeed a Principle in the *Turkish Alcoran*, That *Let a Man's Religion be what it will, he shall be saved, if he conscientiously live up to the Rules of it*: But our *Eliot* was no *Mahometan*. He could most heartily subscribe to that Passage in the Articles of the *Church of England*. 'They are to be held accursed, who presume to say, that every Man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law, and Light of Nature; for Holy Scripture doth set out unto us, only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby Men must be saved. And it astonished him to see many dissembling Subscribers of those Articles, while they have grown up to such a *Phrensy*, as to deny peremptorily all *Church-state*, and all *Salvation* to all that are not under *Diocesan Bishops*, yet at the same time to grant that the *Heathen* might be saved without the Knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ.

But when this Charitable *Pitty* had once begun to flame, there was a Concurrence of many things to cast *Oyl* into it. All the good Men in the Country were glad of his Engagement in such an Undertaking; the *Ministers* especially encouraged him, and those in the Neighbourhood kindly supply'd his place, and perform'd his Work in part, for him at *Roxbury*, while he was *Abroad* labouring among them that were *without*. Hereunto, he was further awakened by those Expressions in the *Royal Charter*, in the Assurance and Protection whereof this *Wilderness* was first Peopled; namely, *To win and incite the Natives of that Country to the Knowledge and Obedience of the only true God and Saviour of Mankind, and the Christian Faith, in our Royal Intention, and the Adventurers free Profession is the principal end of the Plantation.* And the Remarkable Zeal of the *Romish Missionaries compassing Sea and Land, that they might make Profelytes*, made his Devout Soul think of it with a further Disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our Care to *Evangelize* the *Indians*, whom

we dwelt among. Lastly, when he had well begun this *Evangelical Business*, the good God, in an Answer to his Prayers, mercifully stirred up a liberal Contribution among the Godly People in *England* for the promoting of it; by means whereof, a considerable *Estate* and *Income* was at length entrusted in the hands of an Honourable *Corporation*, by whom 'tis to this Day very carefully employ'd in the Christian Service, which it was designed for. And then, in short, inasmuch as our Lord Jesus had bestow'd on us, our *Eliot* was gratefully and generously desirous to obtain for him, *The Heathen for an Inheritance, and the utmost parts of the Earth for a Possession.*

The exemplary *Charity* of this excellent Person in this important Affair, will not be seen in its due Lustres, unless we make some Reflections upon several Circumstances which he beheld these forlorn *Indians* in. Know then, that these doleful Creatures are the veriest *Raines of Mankind*, which are to be found any where upon the Face of the Earth. No such *Estates* are to be expected among them, as have been the *Baits* which the pretended *Converters* in other Countries have snapped at. One might see among them, what an *hard Master* the Devil is, to the most devoted of his *Vassals*! These abject Creatures, live in a Country full of *Mines*; we have already made entrance upon our *Iron*; and in the very Surface of the Ground among us, 'tis thought there lies *Copper* enough to supply all this World; besides other *Mines* hereafter to be exposed; but our shiftless *Indians* were never Owners of so much as a *Knife*, till we come among them; their Name for an *English-man* was a *Knife-man*; Stone was instead of Metal for their *Tools*; and for their *Coins*, they have only little *Beads* with Holes in them to string them upon a *Bracelet*, whereof some are *white*; and of these there go six for a Penny; some are *black* or *blew*; and of these, go three for a Penny; this *Wampam*, as they call it, is made of the *Shell-fish*, which lies upon the Sea Coast continually.

The live in a Country, where we now have all the Conveniencies of human Life: But as for them, their *housing* is nothing but a few *Mats* ty'd about *Poles* fastened in the Earth, where a good Fire is their *Bed Clothes* in the coldest Seasons; their *Clothing* is but a Skin of a Beast, covering their *Hind-parts*, their *Fore-parts* having but a little Apron, where Nature calls for Secrecy; their *Diet* has not a greater Dainty than their *Nokebick*, that is a spoonful of their parch'd meal, with a spoonful of *Water*, which will strengthen them to travel a Day together; except we should mention the *Flesh* of *Deers*, *Bears*, *Moose*, *Rackoons*, and the like, which they have when they can catch them; as also a little *Fish*, which if they would preserve, 'twas by *drying*, not by *saling*; for they had not a grain of *Salt* in the World, I think, till we bestow'd it on them. Their *Physick* is, excepting a few odd *Specificks*, which some of them Encounter certain Cases with, nothing hardly, but an *Hot-House*, or a

Powato; their *Hot-House* is a little *Cave* about eight foot over, where after they have terribly heated it, a Crew of them go fit and sweat and smoke for an Hour together, and then immediately run into some very cold adjacent Brook, without the least Mischief to them; 'tis this way they recover themselves from some Diseases, particularly from the *French*; but in most of their dangerous Distempers, 'tis a *Powato* that must be sent for; that is, a *Priest*, who has more Familiarity with Satan than his Neighbours; this Conjuror comes and Roars, and Howls, and uses Magical Ceremonies over the Sick Man, and will be well paid for it, when he has done; if this don't effect the Cure, the *Man's Time is come, and there's an end.*

They live in a Country full of the best *Ship-Timber* under Heaven: But never saw a *Ship*, till some came from *Europe* hither; and then they were scar'd out of their Wits, to see the *Monster* come sailing in, and spitting Fire with a mighty noise, out of her floating side; they cross the Water in *Canoo's*, made sometimes of *Trees*, which they burn and hew, till they have hollow'd them; and sometimes of *Barks*, which they stich into a light sort of a Vessel, to be easily carried over Land; if they over-set, it is but a little paddling like a Dog, and they are soon where they were.

Their way of living, is infinitely Barbarous: The Men are most abominably *slothful*; making their poor *Squaws*, or Wives, to plant and dress, and barn, and beat their Corn, and build their *Wigwams* for them; which perhaps may be the reason of their extraordinary Ease in Child-birth. In the mean time, their chief Employment, when they'll *condescend* unto any, is that of *Hunting*; wherein they'll go out some scores, if not Hundreds of them in a Company, driving all before them.

They continue in a Place, till they have burnt up all the *Wood* thereabouts, and then they pluck up Stakes; to follow the *Wood*, which they cannot fetch home unto themselves; hence when they enquire about the *English*, *Why come they hither!* They have themselves very Learnedly determined the Cause, *'Twas because we wanted Firing.* No *Arts* are understood among them, unless just so far as to maintain their Brutish Conversation, which is little more than is to be found among the very *Beyers* upon our Streams.

Their Division of Time is by *Sleeps*, and *Moons*, and *Winters*; and by lodging abroad, they have somewhat observed the Motions of the *Stars*; among which it has been surprising unto me to find, that they have always call'd *Charles's Wain* by the Name of *Paukunnawaw*, or *The Bear*, which is the Name whereby *Europeans* also have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little, if any *Traditions* among them worthy of our Notice; and *Reading* and *Writing* is altogether unknown to them, tho' there is a Rock or two in the Country that has unaccountable Characters Engrav'd upon it. All the *Religion* they have amounts unto thus much; they believe, that there are many *Gods*, who made and

own the several Nations of the World; of which a certain *Great God* in the South-West Regions of Heaven bears the greatest Figure. They believe, that every remarkable Creature has a peculiar *God* within it, or about it: There is with them, a *Sun God*, a *Moon God*, and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the Fire must be a kind of a *God*, inasmuch as a *Spark* of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe that when any Good or Ill happens to them, there is the Favour or the Anger of a *God* expressed in it; and hence as in a Time of Calamity, they keep a *Dance*, or a Day of extravagant ridiculous Devotions to their God, so in a Time of Prosperity they likewise have a *Feast*, wherein they also make Presents one unto another. Finally, they believe, that their chief God *Kautantowit*, made a Man and Woman of a *Stone*; which, upon Dislike, he broke to pieces, and made another Man and Woman of a *Tree*, which were the Fountains of all Mankind; and that we all have in us *Immortal Souls*, which if we were godly, shall go to a splendid Entertainment with *Kautantowit*, but otherwise must wander about in a restless Horror for ever. But if you say to them any thing of a *Resurrection*, they will reply upon you, *I shall never believe it!* And when they have any weighty Undertaking before them, 'tis an usual thing for them to have their *Assemblies*, wherein after the usage of some *Diabolical Rites*, a *Devil* appears unto them, to inform them and advise them about their Circumstances; and sometimes there are odd Events of their making these Applications to the *Devil*. For instance, 'tis particularly affirmed, That the *Indians* in their Wars with us, finding a sore Inconvenience by our *Dogs*, which would make a sad yelling if in the Night they scented the Approaches of them, they sacrificed a *Dog* to the *Devil*; after which no *English Dog* would bark at an *Indian* for divers Months ensuing. This was the miserable People, which our *Eliot* propounded unto himself, to teach and save! And he had a double Work incumbent on him; he was to make Men of them, e'er he could hope to see them *Saints*; they must be *civilized* e'er they could be *Christianized*; he could not, as *Gregory* once of our Nation, see any thing *Angelical* to bespeak his Labours for their Eternal Welfare, all among them was *Diabolical*. To think on raising a Number of these hideous Creatures, unto the *Elevations* of our Holy Religion, must argue more than common or little Sentiments in the Undertaker; but the Faith of an *Eliot* could encounter it!

I confess, that was one, I cannot call it so much *guess* as *wish*, wherein he was willing a little to indulge himself; and that was, *That our Indians are the Posterity of the dispersed and rejected Israelites, concerning whom our God has promised that they shall yet be saved, by the Deliverer coming to turn away Ungodliness from them.* He saw the *Indians* using many *Parables* in their Discourses, much given to anointing of their *Heads*; much delighted in *Dancing*, especially after

after Victories, computing their Times by *Nights* and *Months*; giving *Dowries* for Wives, and causing their Women to *dwell by themselves*, at certain Seasons, for secret Causes; and accustoming themselves to grievous *Mourning*s and *Tellings* for the Dead; all which were usual things among the *Israelites*. They have too a great unkindness for our *Swine*; but I suppose that is because our *Hogs* devour the *Clams* which are a Dainty with them. He also saw some learned Men, looking for the lost *Israelites* among the *Indians* in *America*, and counting that they had *thorow good* Reasons for doing so. And a few small *Arguments*, or indeed but *Conjectures*, meeting with a favourable Disposition in the Hearer, will carry some Conviction with them; especially, if a Report of a *Messiah ben Israel* be to back them. He saw likewise the *Judgments* threatned unto the *Israelites* of old, strangely fulfilled upon our *Indians*; particularly that *Ye shall eat the flesh of your sons*, which is done with exquisite Cruelties upon the Prisoners that they take from one another in their Battels. Moreover, 'tis a Prophecy in Deut. 28. 68. *The Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with Ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, Thou shalt see it no more again; and there shall ye be sold unto your Enemies, and no Man shall buy you.* This did our *Eliot* imagine accomplished, when the Captives taken by us in our late *Wars* upon them, were sent to be sold, in the Coasts lying not very remote from *Egypt* on the *Mediterranean Sea*, and scarce any Chapmen would offer to take them off. Being upon such as these accounts not unwilling, if it were possible, to have the *Indians* found *Israelites*, they were, you may be sure, not a whit the less *Beloved* for their (supposed) *Fathers sake*; and the *Fatigues* of his Travails went on the more *cheerfully*, or at least, the more *hopefully*, because of such Possibilities.

The *First Step* which he judg'd necessary now to be taken by him, was to learn the *Indian Language*; for he saw them so stupid and senseless, that they would never do so much as enquire after the Religion of the Strangers now come into their Country, much less would they so far imitate us, as to leave off their beastly way of living, that they might be Partakers of any Spiritual Advantage by us: Unless we could first address them in a *Language* of their own. Behold, new Difficulties to be surmounted by our indefatigable *Eliot*! He hires a Native to teach him this exotick Language, and with a laborious Care and Skill, reduces it into a *Grammar* which afterwards he published. There is a Letter or two of our Alphabet, which the *Indians* never had in theirs; tho' there were enough of the *Dog* in their *Temper*, there can scarce be found an R in their *Language*; (any more than in the Language of the *Chinese*, or of the *Greenlanders*) save that the *Indians* to the Northward, who have a peculiar *Dialect*, pronounce an R where an N is pronounced by our *Indians*; but if their *Alphabet* be short, I am sure the *Words* compo-

sed of it are long enough to tire the Patience of any Scholar in the World; they are *Sesquipedalia Verba*, of which their *Linguo* is composed; one would think, they had been growing ever since *Babel*, unto the Dimensions to which they are now extended. For instance, if my Reader will count how many Letters there are in this one Word, *Nummatchekodtantamooonganunnonash*, when he has done, for his Reward I'll tell him, it signifies no more in *English*, than *our Lusts*, and if I were to translate, *our Loves*; it must be nothing shorter than *Noowomantammoojkanunnonash*. Or, to give my Reader a longer Word than either of these, *Kummogkodonattcottummooctiteaongannunnonash*, is in *English*, *Our Question*: But I pray, Sir, count the Letters! Nor do we find in all this Language the least Affinity to, or Derivation from any *European Speech* that we are acquainted with. I know not what Thoughts it will produce in my Reader, when I inform him, that once finding that the *Demons* in a possessed young Woman, understood the *Latin* and *Greek* and *Hebrew* Languages, my Curiosity led me to make Trial of this *Indian Language*, and the *Demons* did seem as if they did not understand it. This tedious Language our *Eliot* (the Anagram of whose Name was *TOILE*) quickly became a Master of; he employ'd a pregnant and witty *Indian*, who also spoke *English* well, for his Assistance in it; and compiling some Discourses by his Help, he would single out a *Word*, a *Noun*, a *Verb*, and pursue it through all its Variations: Having finished his *Grammar*, at the close he writes, *Prayers and Pains thro' Faith in Christ. Jesus will do any thing!* And being by his *Prayers* and *Pains* thus furnished, he set himself in the Year 1646. to preach the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, among these Desolate Outcasts.

¶ It remains, That I lay before the World, the Remarkable Conduct and Success of this Famous Man, in his great Affair; and I shall endeavour to do it, by Englishing and Reprinting a Letter, sent a while since by my Father, unto his Learned and Renowned correspondent, the Venerable Dr. *Leusden* at *Utrecht*: Which Letter has already been published, if I mistake not, in Four or Five divers Languages. I find it particularly published by the most Excellent *Jurieu*, at the end of a *Pastoral Letter*; and this Reflection then worthily made upon it, *Cette Lettre doit opporter une tres grande Consolation, a toutes les bonnes ames, qui sont alterees de Justice, & qui sont enflammees du zele de la gloire de Dieu.* I therefore persuade myself that the Republication of it will not be ungrateful unto many good Souls in our Nation, who have a due *Thirst* and *Zeal* for such things as are mention'd in it; and when that is done, I shall presume to make some *Annotations* for the Illustration of sundry memorable things therein Pointed at.

A LETTER concerning the Success of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New-England.

Written by Mr. Increase Mather, Minister of the Word of God at Boston, and Rector of the College at Cambridge in New-England, to Dr. John Leusden, Hebrew Professor in the University of Utrecht.

Translated out of Latin into English.

Worthy and much Honoured Sir,

YOUR Letters were very Grateful to me, (a) by which I understand that you and others in your Famous University of Utrecht desire to be informed concerning the converted Indians in America: Take therefore a true Account of them in a few Words.

It is above Forty Years since that truly Godly Man, Mr. John Eliot, Pastor of the Church at Roxborough, (about a Mile from Boston in New-England) being warmed with a Holy Zeal of Converting the Americans, set himself to learn the Indian Tongue, that he might more easily and successfully (b) open to them the Mysteries of the Gospel, upon account of which he has been (and not undeservedly) called, The Apostle of the American Indians. This Reverend Person, not without very great Labour, Translated the whole Bible into the Indian Tongue; (c) he Translated also several English Treatises of Practical Divinity and Catechisms into their Language. Above 26 Years ago he gathered a Church of Converted Indians in a Town called (d) Natick; these Indians confessed their Sins with Tears, and professed their Faith in Christ, and afterwards they and their Children were Baptized; and they were solemnly joined together in a Church-Covenant; the said Mr. Eliot was the first that Administred the Lord's Supper to them. The Pastor of that Church now is an Indian, his Name is Daniel. Besides this Church at Natick, among our Inhabitants in the Massachusetts Colony there are Four Indian Assemblies, (e) where the Name of the true God and Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon; these Assemblies have some American Preachers, Mr. Eliot formerly used to Preach to them once every Fortnight, but now he is weakened with Labours and Old-Age, being in the Eighty Fourth Year of his Age, and Preacheth not to the Indians oftner than once in two Months.

There is another Church, consisting only of Converted Indians, about fifty Miles from hence in an Indian Town called Mashippaug: The first Pastor of that Church was an English Man, who being skilful in the American Language, Preached the Gospel to them in their own Tongue. (f) This English Pastor is Dead, and

instead of him, that Church has an Indian-Preacher.

There are besides that, five Assemblies of Indians professing the Name of Christ, not far distant from Mashippaug, which have Indian Preachers: (g) John Cotton, Pastor of the Church at Plymouth (Son of my Venerable Father-in-Law John Cotton, formerly the Famous Teacher of the Church at Boston) both made very great Progress in Learning the Indian Tongue, and is very skilful in it; he Preaches in their own Language to the last five mentioned Congregations every Week. Moreover of the Inhabitants of Saconet in Plymouth Colony, there is a great Congregation of those who for Distinction sake are called Praying Indians, because they pray to God in Christ.

Not far from a Promontory called Cape Cod, there are six Assemblies of Heathens who are to be reckoned as Catechumens, amongst whom there are six Indian Preachers: Samuel Treat, Pastor of a Church at Eastham, Preacheth to those Congregations in their own Language. There are likewise amongst the Islanders of Nantacket a Church, with a Pastor who was lately a Heathen, and several Meetings of Catechumens, who are instructed by the Converted Indians. There is also another Island about seven Leagues long (called Martha's Vineyard) where are two American Churches planted, which are more Famous than the rest, over one of which there presides an ancient Indian as Pastor, called Hiacoons: John Hiacoons, Son of the Indian Pastor, also Preacheth the Gospel to his Countrymen. In another Church in that Place, John Tockinosh, a Converted Indian, teaches. In these Churches Ruling Elders of the Indians are joined to the Pastors: The Pastors were chosen by the People, and when they had fasted and prayed, Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton laid their Hands on them, so that they were solemnly ordained. All the Congregations (h) of the Converted Indians (both the Catechumens and those in Church Order) every Lord's Day meet together; the Pastor or Preacher always begins with Prayer, and without a Form, because from the Heart; when the Ruler of the Assembly has ended Prayer,

Prayer, the whole Congregation of Indians praise God with singing; some of them are excellent Singers: After the Psalm, he that preaches reads a Place of Scripture (one or more Verses as he will) and expounds it, gathers Doctrines from it, proves them by Scriptures and Reasons, and inserts Uses from them after the manner of the English, of whom they have been taught; then another Prayer to God in the Name of Christ concludes the whole Service. Thus do they meet together twice every Lord's Day. They observe no Holy-days but the Lord's Day, except upon some extraordinary Occasion; and then they solemnly set apart whole Days, either in giving Thanks or Fasting and Praying with great Fervour of Mind.

Before the English came into these Coasts these Barbarous Nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is that in their Prayers and Sermons they use English Words and Terms; he that calls upon the most Holy Name of God, says, Jehovah, or God, or Lord, and also they have learned and borrowed many other Theological Phrases from us.

In short, There are six Churches of Baptized Indians in New-England, and Eighteen Assemblies of Catechumens, professing the Name

of Christ: Of the Indians there are four and Twenty who are Preachers of the Word of God, and besides these there are four English Ministers, who preach the Gospel in the Indian Tongue. (i) I am now my self weary with writing, and I fear lest if I should add more, I should also be tedious to you; yet one thing I must add (which I had almost forgot) that there are many of the Indians Children, who have learned by Heart the Catechism, either of that Famous Divine William Perkins, or that put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and in their own Mother Tongue can answer to all the Questions in it.

But I must end, I salute the Famous Professors in your University, to whom I desire you to communicate this Letter, as written to them also.

Farewel, Worthy Sir; the Lord preserve your Health for the Benefit of your Country, his Church, and of Learning.

Boston in New-England,
July 12. 1687.

Yours ever,

INCREASE MATHER.

(a) *The Success of the Gospel in the East-Indies.*

After the Writing of this Letter, there came one to my Hands from the Famous Dr. Leusden, together with a New and Fair Edition of his Hebrew Psalter, Dedicated unto the Name of my Absent Parent. He therein informs me, That our Example had awakened the Dutch to make some Noble Attempts for the Furtherance of the Gospel in the East-Indies; besides what memorable things were done by the Excellent Robert Junius, in Formosa fifty Years ago.

He also informs me, That in and near the Island of Ceylon, the Dutch Pastors have Baptized about Three Hundred Thousand of the Eastern Indians; for altho' the Ministers are

utterly ignorant of their Language, yet there are School-Masters who teach them, The Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, a Morning Prayer, an Evening Prayer, a Blessing before Meat, and another after; and the Minister in his Visits being assured by the Master, who of them has learned all of them seven things, he thereupon counts they have such a perfect Number of Attainments that he presently Baptizes them.

The Pious Reader will doubtless, bless God for this; but he will easily see that one of our Converted Indians has cost more Pains than many of those; more thorough Work has been made with them.

(b) *Mr. Eliot's Way of Opening the Mysteries of the Gospel, to our Indians.*

Was in the Year 1646, that Mr. *Eliot*, accompany'd by three more, gave a Visit unto an Assembly of *Indians*, of whom he desired a Meeting at such a Time and Place, that he might lay before them the Things of their Eternal Peace. After a serious *Prayer*, he gave them a *Sermon* which continued about a Quarter above an Hour, and contained the principal Articles of the Christian Religion, applying all to the Condition of the *Indians* present. Having done, he asked of them, Whether they understood? And with a General Reply they answered, *They understood all*. He then began what was his usual Method afterwards in treating with them; that is, he caus'd them to propound such *Questions* as they pleas'd unto himself; and he gave wise and good *Answers* to them all. Their *Questions* would often, tho' not always, refer to what he had newly preached; and he this way not only made a *Proof* of their profiting by his Ministry, but also gave an Edge to what he delivered unto them. Some of their *Questions* would be a little *Philosophical*, and required a good Measure of Learning in the Minister concerned with them; but for this our *Eliot* wanted not. He would also put proper *Questions* unto them, and at one of his first Exercises with them, he made the Young Ones capable of regarding those three Questions,

Q. 1. *Who made you and all the World?*

Q. 2. *Who do you look should save you from Sin and Hell?*

Q. 3. *How many Commandments has the Lord given you to keep?*

It was his Wisdom that he began with them upon such Principles as they themselves had already some Notions of; such as that of an *Heaven* for good, and *Hell* for bad People, when they dy'd. It broke his gracious Heart within him to see, what Floods of Tears fell from the

Eyes of several among those degenerate *Salvages*, at the first Addresses which he made unto them; yea, from the very worst of them all. He was very inquisitive to learn who were the *Powawes*, that is, the *Sorcerers*, and *Seducers*, that maintained the Worship of the Devil in any of their Societies; and having in one of his first Journeys to them, found out one of those Wretches, he made the *Indian* come unto him, and said, *Whether do you suppose God, or Chepian (i. e. the Devil) to be the Author of all Good?* The Conjuror answered, *God*. Upon this he added with a stern Countenance, *Why do you pray to Chepian then?* And the poor Man was not able to stand or speak before him; but at last made Promises of Reformation.

The Text which he first preach'd upon, was that in *Ezek. 37. 9, 10. That by Propheying to the Wind, the Wind came, and the dry Bones lived*: And it was an Observation made by one, who then justly confessed, there was not much weight in it; that the Word which the *Indians* use for *Wind* is *Wauban*, and an *Indian* of that Name was one of the first that here zealously promoted the Conversion of his Neighbours. But having thus entred upon the *Teaching* of these poor Creatures, 'tis incredible how much Time, Toil, and Hardship, he underwent in the Prosecution of this Undertaking; how many weary Days and Nights rolled over him; how many tiresome Journeys he endured; and how many terrible Dangers he had experience of. If you briefly would know what he felt, and what carried him through all, take it in his own words in a Letter to the Honourable Mr. *Winslow*, says he, *I have not been dry Night nor Day, from the third Day of the Week unto the sixth, but so travelled, and at Night pull off my Boots, wring my Stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered the Word of God in 2 Tim. 2. 3. Endure Hardship as a good Soldier of Christ.*

(c) *His Translating the Bible, and other Books of Piety, into the Indian Tongue.*

ONE of his remarkable Cares for these illiterate *Indians*, was to bring them into the use of *Schools* and *Books*. He quickly procured the benefit of *Schools* for them; wherein they profited so much, that not only very many of them quickly came to *Read* and *Write*; but also several arriv'd unto a Liberal Education in our Colledge, and one or two of them took their Degree with the rest of our *Graduates*. And for *Books*, 'twas his chief Desire that the Sacred

Scriptures might not in an *unknown Tongue* be locked or hidden from them; very hateful and hellish did the *Policy* of *Popery* appear to him on this Account: Our *Eliot* was very unlike to that *Franciscan*, who writing into *Europe*, gloried much how many Thousands of *Indians* he had converted; but added, *That he desired his Friends would send him the Book called the Bible; for he had heard of there being such a Book in Europe, which might be of some use to him.* No,

our *Eliot* found he could not live without a Bible himself; he would have parted with all his Estate, sooner than have lost a Leaf of it; and he knew it would be of more than *some use* unto the *Indians* too; he therefore with a vast Labour translated the Holy Bible into the *Indian Language*. Behold, ye *Americans*, the greatest Honour that ever you were Partakers of! This Bible was Printed here at our *Cambridge*; and it is the only Bible that ever was Printed in all *America*, from the very Foundation of the World. The whole Translation he writ with but *one Pen*; which Pen, had it not been lost, would have certainly deserved a richer Case than was bestow'd

upon that Pen, with which *Holland* writ his Translation of *Plutarch*. The Bible being justly made the Leader of all the rest, a little *Indian Library* quickly followed: For besides *Primers*, and *Grammars*, and some other such Compositions, we quickly had *The Practice of Piety* in the *Indian Tongue*, and the Reverend *Richard Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*. He also translated some of Mr. *Shepherd's* Compositions; and such *Catechisms* likewise as there was occasion for. It cannot but be hoped that some *Fish* were to be made *alive*, since the *Waters of the Sanctuary* thus came unto them.

(d) His Gathering of a Church at Natick.

THE *Indians* that had felt the Impressions of his Ministry, were quickly distinguished by the Name of *Praying Indians*; and these *Praying Indians* as quickly were for a more Decent and *English-way* of Living, and they desired a more fixed *Cohabitation*. At several Places did they now combine and settle; but the Place of greatest Name among their Towns, is that of *Natick*.

Here 'twas, that in the Year 1651. those that had heretofore lived like the *wild Beasts* in the Wilderness, now compacted themselves into a Town; and they first apply'd themselves to the forming of their *Civil Government*. Our *General Court*, notwithstanding their exact Study to keep these *Indians* very sensible of their being subject unto the *English Empire*, yet had allowed them their smaller Courts, wherein they might govern their own smaller Cases and Concerns, after their own particular Modes, and might have their Town-Orders, if I may call them so, peculiar to themselves. With respect hereunto, Mr. *Eliot* on a Solemn Fast, made a Publick Vow, *That seeing these Indians were not prepossessed with any Form of Government, he would instruct them into such a Form, as we had written in the Word of God, that so they might be a People in all things ruled by the Lord*. Accordingly he Expounded unto them the Eighteenth Chapter of *Exodus*; and then they chose Rulers of *Hundreds*, of *Fifties*, of *Tens*; and therewithal entred into this Covenant.

' We are the Sons of *Adam*; We and our
' Forefathers have a long time been lost in our
' Sins; but now the Mercy of the Lord begin-
' neth to find us out again; therefore the Grace
' of Christ helping us, we do give our selves,
' and our Children unto God, to be his People.
' He shall Rule us in all our Affairs; the Lord
' is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the
' Lord is our King; he will save us; and the
' Wisdom which God has taught us in his Book
' shall guide us. Oh *Jehovah*, teach us Wis-
' dom; send thy Spirit into our Hearts; take

us to be thy People, and let us take thee to be
our God.

Such an Opinion about the Perfection of the Scripture had he, that he thus expressed himself upon this occasion, *God will bring Nations into Distress and Perplexity, that so they may be forced unto the Scriptures; all Governments will be shaken, that Men may be forced at length to pitch upon that firm Foundation, The Word of God*.

The little Towns of these *Indians* being pitched upon this Foundation, they utterly abandon'd that *Poligamy* which had heretofore been common among them; they made severe Laws against *Fornication*, *Drunkenness*, and *Sabbath-breaking*, and other Immoralities; and they next began to *Lament* after the Establishment of a *Church-Order* among them, and after the several Ordinances and Priviledges of a *Church-Communion*. The Churches of *New-England* have usually been very strict in their Admissions to *Church-Fellowship*, and required very signal Demonstrations of a *Repenting* and a *Believing* Soul, before they thought Men fit Subjects to be entrusted with the *Rights of the Kingdom of Heaven*. But they seem'd rather to augment than abate their usual *Strictness*, when the Examination of the *Indians* was to be performed. A Day was therefore set apart, which they called, *Natootomabteackesuk*, or a *Day of Asking Questions*, when the Ministers of the adjacent Churches, assisted with all the best Interpreters that could be had, publickly examined a good Number of these *Indians*, about their Attainments both in *Knowledge* and in *Vertue*. And notwithstanding the great Satisfaction then received, our Churches being willing to proceed surely, and therefore slowly, in raising them up to a *Church-State*, which might be comprehended in our *Con-sociations*, the *Indians* were afterwards called in considerable Assemblies convened for that purpose, to make open *Confessions* of their Faith in God and Christ, and of the Efficacy which his *Word* had upon them for their *Conversion* to
him;

him; which Confessions being taken in writing from their Mouths by able Interpreters, were scanned by the People of God, and found much Acceptance with them.

I need pass no further Censure upon them, than what is given by my Grand-father, the well-known *Richard Mather*, in an Epistle of his Published on this occasion; says he, ' There is ' so much of God's Work among them, as that I ' cannot but count it a great Evil, yea a great ' Injury to God and his Goodness, for any to ' make light of it. To see and hear *Indians* opening their Mouths, and lifting up their hands and eyes, in Prayer to the Living God, calling on him by his Name *Jehovah*, in the Mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them Exhorting one another from the Word of God; to see and hear them confessing the Name of Christ Jesus, and their own sinfulness; sure this is more than usual! And tho' they spoke in a Language, of which many of us understood but little, yet we that were present that Day,

' we saw and heard them perform the Duties ' mentioned with such grave and sober Countenances, with such comely Reverence in their Gesture, and their whole Carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the Cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us that they spake with the Holy Fear of God, and it much affected our Hearts.

At length was a *Church-state* settled among them: They entred, as our Churches do, into an holy Covenant, wherein they gave themselves, first unto the Lord, and then unto one another, to attend the Rules, and Helps, and expect the Blessing of the *Everlasting Gospel*; and Mr. *Eliot*, having a Mission from the Church of *Roxbury*, unto the Work of the Lord Christ among the *Indians*, conceived himself sufficiently Authorized unto the performing of all *Church-work* about them; grounding it on *Act. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4.* and he accordingly Administred, first the *Baptism*, and then the Supper of the Lord unto them.

(e) The Hindrances and Obstructions that the Devil gave unto him.

WE find four Assemblies of *Praying Indians* besides that of *Natick*, in our Neighbourhood. But why no more? Truly, not because our *Eliot* was wanting in his *Offers* and *Labours* for their good; but because many of the obdurate Infidels would not receive the *Gospel of Salvation*. In one of his Letters, I find him giving this *ill Report*, with such a good Reason for it; *Lyn-Indians are all naught, save one, who sometimes comes to hear the Word; and the Reason why they are bad, is principally because their Sachim is naught, and careth not to pray unto God.* Indeed the *Sachims*, or the *Princes*, of the *Indians* generally did all they could that their Subjects might not entertain the *Gospel*; the *Devils* having the *Sachims* on their side, thereby kept their Possession of the People too. Their *Pauwaws* or *Clergy-men*, did much to maintain the Interest of the *Devils* in this Wilderness; those *Children of the Devil*, and *Enemies of all Righteousness*, did not cease to pervert the *Right ways of the Lord*, but their *Sachims* or *Magistrates* did more towards it; for they would presently raise a Storm of *Persecution* upon any of their *Vassals* that should Pray unto the *Eternal God*.

The ground of this Conduct in them, was an odd Fear, that Religion would abridge them of the *Tyranny* which they had been used unto; they always like the Devil held their People in a most absolute *Servitude*, and rul'd by no *Law* but their *Will*, which left the poor *Slaves* nothing that they could call their own. They

now suspected that Religion would put a Bridle upon such *Usurpations*, and oblige them to a more Equal and Humane Way of Government; they therefore some of them, had the Impudence to Address the *English*, that no *Motions* about the *Christian Religion* might ever be made unto them; and Mr. *Eliot* sometimes in the *Wildreness*, without the Company or Assistance of any other *English-man*, has been treated in a very Threatening and Barbarous manner by some of these *Tyrants*; but God inspir'd him with so much Resolution as to tell them, *I am about the Work of the Great God, and my God is with me; so that I fear neither you, nor all the Sachims in the Country; I'll go on, and do you touch me, if you dare!* Upon which the stoutest of them have shrunk and fell before him. And one of them, he at length conquered by Preaching unto him a Sermon upon the *Temptations* of our Lord; particularly, the *Temptation* fetch'd from the *Kingdoms* and *Glories* of the World.

The little *Kingdoms* and *Glories* of the Great Men among the *Indians*, was a Powerful Obstacle to the Success of Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry; and it is observable, that several of those Nations which thus refused the *Gospel*, quickly afterwards were so *Devil-driven* as to begin an unjust and bloody War upon the *English*, which issued in their speedy and utter Extirpation from the Face of God's Earth. It was particularly Remark'd in *Philip* the Ring-Leader of the most Calamitous War that ever they made upon

upon us; our *Eliot* made a Tender of the *Everlasting Salvation* to that King; but the Monster entertain'd it with Contempt and Anger, and after the *Indian Mode* of joining *Signs* with *Words*, he took a *Button* upon the Coat of the Reverend Man, adding, *That he cared for his Gospel, just as much as he cared for that Button.* The World has heard what a Terrible Ruine soon came upon that Monarch, and upon all his People. It was not long before the Hand which now writes, upon a certain occasion took off the Jaw from the expos'd *Skull* of that Blasphemous *Leviathan*; and the Renowned *Samuel Lee* hath since been a Pastor to an *English* Congregation, founding and showing the Praises of Heaven, upon that very spot of Ground, where *Philip* and his *Indians* were lately worshipping of the Devil.

Sometimes the more immediate Hand of God, by cutting off the Principal Opposers of the Gospel among the *Indians* made way for Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry. As I remember, he relates that an Association of profane *Indians* near our *Weymouth*, set themselves to deter and seduce the Neighbour *Indians* from the *Right Ways of the Lord.* But God quickly sent the *Small-Pox* among them, which like a *great Plague* soon swept them away, and thereby engaged the rest unto himself. I need only to add, That one Attempt made by the Devil, to prejudice the Pagans against the Gospel, had something in it extraordinary. While Mr. *Eliot* was Preaching of *Christ* unto the other *Indians*, a *Demon* ap-

peared unto a Prince of the *Eastern-Indians*; in a shape that had some Resemblance of Mr. *Eliot* or of an *English* Minister, pretending to be, *The English-man's God.* The Spectre commanded him, *To forbear the drinking of Rum*, and *To observe the Sabbath Day*, and *To deal justly with his Neighbours*, all which things had been inculcated in Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry; promising therewithal unto him, That if he did so, at his Death his Soul should *Ascend* unto an happy place; otherwise *Descend* unto miseries; but the Apparition all the while, never said one word about *Christ*, which was the main subject of Mr. *Eliot's* Ministry. The *Sachim* received such an Impression from the Apparition, that he *dealt justly* with all Men, except in the Bloody Tragedies and Cruelties he afterwards committed on the *English* in our Wars; he kept the *Sabbath-Day* like a *Fast*, frequently attending in our Congregations; he would not meddle with any *Rum*, tho' usually his Country-men, had rather die than undergo such a piece of Self-denial; that Liquor has merely *Enchanted* them. At last, and not long since this *Demon* appear'd again unto this *Pagan*, requiring him to kill himself, and assuring him that he should revive in a Day or two, never to die any more. He thereupon divers times attempted it, but his Friends very carefully prevented it; however at length he found a *fair Opportunity*, for this *foul Business*, and hanged himself; you may be sure, without he expected *Resurrection.* But it is easy to see what a stumbling Block was here laid before the miserable *Indians.*

(f) *The Indian-Churches at Mashippaug, and elsewhere.*

THE same Spirit which acted Mr. *Eliot*, quickly inspired others elsewhere to prosecute the Work of rescuing the poor *Indians* out of their worse than *Egyptian-Darkness*, in which *Evil Angels* had been so long preying upon them. One of these was the Godly and Gracious *Richard Bourn*, who soon saw a great effect of his holy Labours. In the Year 1666. Mr. *Eliot* accompany'd by the Honourable Governour, and several Magistrates and Ministers of *Plymouth* Colony, proceeded a vast Assembly at *Mashippaug*; and there a good Number of *Indians*, made Confessions touching the *Knowledge* and *Belief*, and *Regeneration* of their Souls, with such Understanding and Affection as was extremely grateful to the Pious Auditory. Yet such was the Strictness of the good People in this Affair, that before they would countenance the Advancement of *these Indians* unto *Church-Fellowship*, they ordered their Confessions to be written and sent unto all the Churches in the Colony, for their Approbation; but so approv'd they were, that afterwards the Messengers of all the Churches giving their

Presence and *Consent*, they became a Church, and chose Mr. *Bourn* to be their Pastor; who was then by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* ordain'd unto that Office over them. From hence Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* went over to an Island called *Martha's Vineyard*, where God had so succeeded the honest Labours of some, and particularly of the *Mayhew's* as that a Church was gathered.

This Church, after *Fasting and Prayer*, chose one *Hiacomes* to be their Pastor, *John Teckinosh*, an able and a discreet Christian to be their Teacher; *Jeshua Mummecheegs* and *John Nanaso* to be Ruling Elders; and these were then ordained by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* thereunto. Distance of Habitation, caused this one Church by mutual Agreement afterwards to become *two*; the Pastor and one Ruling Elder taking one part, and the Teacher and one Ruling Elder, another; and at *Nantucket* another adjacent Island, was another Church of *Indians* quickly gathered, who chose an Indian, *John Gibs*, to be their Minister. These *Churches* are so exact in their Admission, and so solemn in their Discipline, and so serious in their Communion,

that some of the Christian *English* in the Neighbourhood, which would have been loth to have mixed with them in a *civil* Relation, yet have gladly done it in a *Sacred* one.

'Tis needless for me to repeat what my Father has written about the other *Indian* Congregations; only there having been made mention of one *Hiacooms*, I am willing to annex a Passage or two concerning that memorable *Indian*. That *Indian* was a very great Instrument of bringing his Pagan and wretched Neighbours, to a saving Acquaintance with our Lord Jesus Christ; and God gave him the Honour, not only of so doing much for some, but also of suffering much from others, of those unhappy Salvages. Once particularly, this *Hiacoomes* received a cruel blow from an *Indian* Prince, which if some *English* had not been there, might have killed him, for his *Praying* unto God. And afterwards he gave this account of his Trial in it; said he, *I have two Hands; I had one Hand for Injuries, and the other for God; while I did*

receive Wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God.

Moreover, the *Powawes* did use to hector and abuse the *Praying Indians* at such a rate, as terrify'd others *from joining* with them; but once when those *Witches* were bragging, that they could kill all the *Praying Indians*, if they would; *Hiacoomes* reply'd, *Let all the Powawes in the Island come together, I'll venture my self in the midst of them; let them use all their Witchcrafts; with the help of God, I'll tread upon them all.* By this Courage, he silenced the *Powawes*: But at the same time also he heartned the People at such a rate as was truly wonderful; nor could any of them ever harm this Eminent Confessor afterward; nor indeed any *Profelyte* which had been by his means brought home to God; yea, 'twas observed after this, that they rather *kill'd* than *cur'd* all such of the Heathen, as would yet make use of their *Enchantments* for help against their *Sicknesses*.

(g) Of Mr. Eliot's Fellow-Labourers in the Indian-Work.

SO little was the Soul of our *Eliot* infected with any Envy, as that he long'd for nothing more than *Fellow-Labourers*, that might move and shine in the same *Orb* with himself; he made his Cries both to God and Man, for more *Labourers* to be thrust forth into the *Indian* Harvest; and indeed it was an *Harvest* of so few secular Advantages and Encouragements, that it must be nothing less than a *Divine Thrust*, which could make any to *Labour* in it. He saw the Answer of his Prayers, in the Generous and Vigorous Attempts made by several other most worthy Preachers of the Gospel, to *Gospelize* our perishing *Indians*. At the Writing of my Father's Letter there were *Four*; but the Number of them increases apace among us. At *Martha's* Vineyard, the old Mr. *Mayhew*, and several of his Sons, or Grandsons have done very worthily for the Souls of the *Indians*; there were fifteen Years ago, by Computation, about fifteen Hundred Seals of their Ministry upon that one Island. In *Connetlicut*, the holy and acute Mr. *Fitch*, has made noble Effays towards the Conversion of the *Indians*; but, I think, the *Prince* he has to deal withal, being an obstinate Infidel, gives unhappy Remora's to the Successes of his Ministry. And godly Mr. *Pierston*, has in that Colony deserved well, if I mistake not, upon the same account. In *Massachusetts* we see at this Day, the Pious Mr. *Daniel Gookin*, the Gracious Mr. *Peter Thatcher*, the well accomplished and industrious Mr. *Grindal Rawson*, all of them hard at Work, to turn these Poor Creatures from *Darkness* unto *Light*, and from *Satan* unto *God*. In *Plymouth* we have the most Active Mr. *Samuel*

Treat laying out himself to save this Generation; and there is one Mr. *Tupper*, who uses his laudable Endeavours for the Instruction of them.

'Tis my Relation to him, that causes me to defer unto the last place, the mention of Mr. *John Cotton*, who hath addressed the *Indians* in their own Language with some Dexterity. He hired an *Indian*, after the rate of Twelvepence per Day for *Fifty* Days, to teach him the *Indian* Tongue; but his Knavish Tutor having received his whole Pay too soon, ran away before *Twenty* Days were out; however, in this time he had profited so far, that he could quickly Preach unto the Natives.

Having told my Reader, that the *Second Edition* of the *Indian Bible* was wholly of his Correction and Amendment; because it is not proper for me to say much of him, I shall only add this Remarkable Story. An *English* Minister accompany'd by the Governour and Major-General, and sundry Persons of Quality, belonging to *Plymouth*, made a *Journey* to a Nation of *Indians* in the Neighbourhood, with a free Offer of the Words whereby they might be saved. The *Prince* took time to consider of it, and according to the true *English* of *Taking Time* in such cases, at length he told them, *He did not accept the Tender which they made him.* They then took their Leaves of him, not without first giving him this plain and short Admonition, *If God have any Mercy for your miserable People, He will quickly find a way to take you out of the way.* 'Twas presently after this, that this *Prince* going forth to a *Battel* against another

another Nation of *Indians*, was killed in the Fight; and the young Prince being in his *Minority*, the Government fell into the Hands of *Protectors*, which favoured the Interest of the Gospel. The *English* being advised of it, speedily and prosperously renewed the Tidings of an Eternal Saviour to the *Salvages*, who have ever since attended upon the Gospel: And the young *Sachim*, after he came to Age, expressed his Approbation of the Christian Religion; especially when a while since, he lay a Dying of a tedious Distemper, and would keep Reading of Mr. *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*, with Floods of Tears in his Eyes, while he had any Strength to do it.

Such as these are the Persons, whom our E-

not left engag'd in the *Indian-Work*, when he departed from his *Employment* unto his *Recompence*. And these Gentlemen are so indefatigable in their Labours among the *Indians*, as that the most *equal Judges* must acknowledge them worthy of much greater *Salaries* than they are generously contented with. But one may see then, who inspired that clamorous (tho' contemptible) Persecutor of this Country, who very zealously address'd the A. B. of *Canterbury*, that these Ministers might be deprived of their little *Stipends*, and that the said *Stipends* might go to maintain that Worship among us, which the Plantation was Erected on purpose for the peaceable Avoiding of.

(h) The Sacred and Solemn Exercises performed in the Indian Congregations.

MY Father's Account of the Exercises performed in the *Indian Congregations*, will tell us what a Blessed Fruit our *Eliot* saw of his *Labours*, before he went unto those *Rewards* which God had reserv'd in the Heavens for him. Some of the *Indians* quickly built for themselves good and large Meeting Houses after the *English Mode*, in which also after the *English Mode*, they attended the *Things of the Kingdom of Heaven*. And some of the *English* were helpful to them upon this account; among whom I ought particularly to mention that Learned, Pious and Charitable Gentleman, the Worshipful *Samuel Sewal*, Esq; who at his own Charge built a Meeting House for one of the *Indian Congregations*, and gave those *Indians* cause to pray for him under that Character, *He loveth our Nation, for he hath built us a Synagogue*.

It only remains that I give a touch or two upon the Worship which is attended in the *Synagogues* of the *Indians*. And first, the very Name of *Praying Indians* will assure us that Prayer is one of their Devotions; be sure, they could not be our *Eliot's* Disciples if it were not so. But how do they *Pray*? We are told, it is *Without a Form*, because from the Heart; which is as I remember, *Tertullian's* Expression concerning the Prayers in the Assemblies of the Primitive Christians; namely, *sine monitore quia de pectore*. It is evident, that the Primitive Christians had no stated *Liturgies* among them; that no *Forms of Prayers* were in their time imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel, that even about the Platform of Prayer given us by our Lord, it was the Opinion of *Austin* himself, notwithstanding the Advances made in his Age towards what we count *Superstitions*, that our Lord therein Taught not what Words we should use in Prayer, but what things we should pray for. And whatever Scoffs the Profanity of our Days,

has abused that *Phrase* and *Thing* withal, *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Days, counted it the Honour of his Fathers publick Prayers, *That he had them from, and made them by the Holy Spirit*. Our *Indians* accordingly find, that if they study the *Words* of God, and their own *Sins* and *Wants*, they shall soon come to that Attainment, *Behold they pray!* They can pray with much Pertinence and Enlargement; and would much wonder at it, if they should hear of an *English Clergy*, that should Read their Prayers out of a Book, when they should pour out their Souls before the God of Heaven.

Their *Preaching* has much of *Eliot*, and therefore you may be sure much of *Scripture*, but perhaps more of the *Christian* than of the *Scholar* in it. I know not how to describe it better than by reciting the Heads of a Sermon, uttered by an *Indian* on a *Day of Humiliation* kept by them, at a time when great Rains had given much Damage to their Fruits and Fields; 'twas on this wise.

A little I shall say, according to that little I know.

Gen. 8. 20, 21.

And Noah built an Altar unto Jehovah; and he took of every clean Beast, and of every clean Fowl, and offered Burnt-Offerings on the Altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savour, and the Lord said in his Heart, I will not again Curse the Ground.

' In that *Noah* sacrificed, he show'd himself ' *Thankful*; in that *Noah* worshipped, he shew'd himself *Godly*. In that he offered *Clean Beasts*, he show'd that God is an *Holy God*. And all that come to God, must be *pure* and *clean*. Know, that we must by Repentance,

‘ purge our selves; which is the Work we are to do this Day.

‘ *Noah* sacrificed and so worshipped. This was the manner of old time. But what *Sacrifices* have we now to offer? I shall answer by that in *Psal.* 4. 5. *Offer to God the Sacrifice of Righteousness, and put your Trust in the Lord.* These are the true *Spiritual Sacrifices* which God requireth at our hands, the *Sacrifices of Righteousness*; that is, we must look to our Hearts and Ways that they be *Righteous*; and then we shall be acceptable to God when we Worship him. But if we be unrighteous, unholy, ungodly, we shall not be accepted, our *Sacrifices* will be stark naught. Again, We are to put our Trust in the Lord. Who else is there for us to trust in? We must believe in the Word of God; if we doubt of God, or doubt of his Word, our *Sacrifices* are little worth; but if we *trufteftedfastly* in God, our *Sacrifices* will be good.

‘ Once more, What *Sacrifices* must we offer? My Answer is, we must offer such as *Abraham* offered. And what a *Sacrifice* was that? We are told in *Gen.* 22. 12. *Now I know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not withheld thy Son, thy only Son from me.* It seems he had but one dearly Beloved Son, and he offered that Son to God; and so God said, *I know thou fearest me!* Behold, a *Sacrifice* in Deed and in Truth! such an one must we offer. Only, God requires not us to Sacrifice our Sons, but our Sins, our dearest Sins. God calls us this Day to part with all our Sins, tho’ never so beloved, and we must not withhold any of them from him. If we will not part with all, the *Sacrifice* is not right. Let us part with such Sins as we love best, and it will be a good *Sacrifice!*

‘ God smelt a sweet savour in *Noah’s Sacrifice*; and so will God receive our *Sacrifices*, when we worship him aright. But how did God manifest his Acceptance of *Noah’s Offering*: ’twas by promising to Drown the World no more, but give us *Fruitful Seasons*. God has chastised us of late, as if he would utterly Drown us; and he has Drowned and Spoiled and Ruin’d a great deal of our Hay, and threatens to kill our Cattel. ’Tis for this that we Fast and Pray this Day. Let us then offer a clean and pure *Sacrifice*, as *Noah* did; so God will smell a savour of Rest, and he will withhold the Rain, and bless us with such *Fruitful Seasons* as we are desiring of him.

Thus preached an *Indian* called *Nishokon*, above Thirty Years ago; and since that I suppose, they have grown a little further into the *New-English* way of Preaching: You may have in their Sermons, a *Kukkoxtomwebteaonk*, that is, a *Doctrine*, *Nabteotomwebteaonk*, or *Question*, a *Sampooonk*, or an Answer, *Witcheayeunok*, or a Reason, with an *Ourwotcank*, or an Use for the Close of all.

As for *Holy days*, you may take it for granted, our *Eliot* would not perswade his *Indians* to any *Stated* ones. Even the *Christian-Festival* it self, he knew to be a *Stranger* unto the *Apostolical Times*; that the exquisite *Vossius* himself acknowledges, ’twas not celebrated in the first or second Century: And that there is a Truth in the Words of the Great *Chemnitius*, *Anniversarium Diem Natalis Christi, celebratum fuisse, apud vetustissimos nunquam legitur.* He knew that if the *Day of our Lord’s Nativity* were to be observed, it should not be in *December*: That many Churches for divers Ages kept it not in *December*, but in *January*; that *Chrysestom* himself, about four Hundred Years after our Saviour, excuses the Novelty of the *December Season* for it, and confesses it had not been kept above Ten Years at *Constantinople*: No, that it should be rather in *September*, in which Month the *Jews* kept the Feast that was a *Type* of our Lord’s Incarnation; and *Solomon* also brought the *Ark* into the Temple; for our Lord was *Thirty Years* old when he entered upon his *Publick Ministry*; and he continued in it *Three Years and an half*: Now his Death was in *March*, and it is easy then to calculate when his Birth ought to be. He knew, that indeed God had bid this Day as he did the Body of *Moses*, to prevent *Idolatry*; but that *Antichrist* had chose this Day, to accommodate the Pagans in their Licentious and their Debauched *Saturnalia*; and that a *Tertulian* would not stick to say, *Shall we Christians who have nothing to do with the Festivals of the Jews, which were once of Divine Institution, embrace the Saturnalia, of the Heathen? How do the Gentiles shame us, who are more true to their Religion, than we are to ours? None of them will observe the Lord’s-day, for fear lest they should be Christians; and shall not we then by observing their Festivals, fear lest we be made Ethnicks?* In fine, it was his Opinion, That for us to have *stated Holy Days* which are not appointed by the Lord *Jesus Christ*, is a deep Reflection upon the Wisdom of that glorious Lord; and he brought up his *Indians* in the Principles which the old *Waldenses* had about such unwarrantable *Holy Days*.

Nevertheless, he taught them to set apart their Days for both *Fasting* and *Prayer*, and for *Feasting* and *Prayer*, when there should be *Extraordinary Occasions* for them; and they perform the Duties of these Days with a very laborious Piety. One Party of the *Indians* long since of their own accord, kept a *Day of Supplication* together, wherein one of them discoursed upon *Psal.* 66. 7. *He rules by his Power for ever, his Eyes behold the Nations, let not the Rebellious exalt themselves.* And when one asked them afterwards, what was the Reason of their keeping of such a Day, they reply’d, *It was to obtain five Mercies of God.*

‘ First, That God would slay the Rebellion of their Hearts. Next, That they might love God and one another. Thirdly, That they might

might withstand the Temptations of wicked Men, so that they might not be drawn back from God. Fourthly, That they might be Obedient unto the Councils and Commands of their Rulers. Fifthly, That they might have their Sins done away by the Redemption of Jesus Christ: And lastly, That they might walk in the good Ways of the Lord. I must here embrace my Opportunity to tell the World, that our Cautious *Eliot* was far from the Opinion of those who have thought it not only warrantable, but also commendable to Adopt some Heathenish Usages into the Worship of God, for the more easy and speedy gaining of the Heathen to that Worship. The Policy of treating the Pagan Rites as the Jews were to do Captives, before they married them, to shave their Hair, and pare their Nails, our *Eliot* counted as ridiculous as pernicious. He knew that the Idolatries and Abominations of Popery, were founded in this way of Profelyting the barbarous Nations, which made their Descent upon the Roman Empire; and he look'd upon the like Methods which the Protestants have used, that they might ingratiate themselves with the Papists, and that our Separation from

them should become the less dangerous and sensible, to be the most sensible and dangerous Wound of the Reformation. Wherefore as no less a Man than Dr. *Henry Moor* says about our Compliances with the Papists, which are a sort of Pagans, Their Conversion and Salvation being not to be compassed by needless Symbolizing with them in any thing, I conceive our best Policy is studiously to imitate them in nothing; but for all indifferent things, to think rather the worse of them for their using of them. As no Person of Honour would willingly go in the known Garb of infamous Persons. Whatsoever we court them in, they do but turn it to our Scorn and Contempt, and are the more hardened in their own Wickedness. To act upon this Principle, is the Design and Glory of New-England! And our *Eliot* was of this Perswasion, when he brought his Indians to a pure, plain Scripture Worship. He would not gratify them with a Samaritan sort of blended, mixed Worship; and he imagined, as well he might, that the Apostle *Paul's* first Epistle to the *Corinthians* had enough in it, for ever to deter us all from such Unchristian and unhappy TempORIZING.

(i) A Comparison between what the New-Englanders have done for the Conversion of the Indians, and what has been done elsewhere by the Roman Catholicks.

IT is to be confessed, That the Roman Catholicks have a Clergy so very numerous, and so little encumbred, and are Masters of such prodigious Ecclesiastical Revenues, as renders it very easy for them to exceed the Protestants in their Endeavours to Christianize the Pagan Salvages. Nor would I Reproach, but rather Applaud their Industry in this matter, wishing that we were all touched with an Emulation of it. Nevertheless, while I commend their Industry, they do by their Clamours against the Reformed Churches upon this account, oblige me to tax divers very scandalous things in the Missions which they make *pro propaganda fide* throughout the World; and therewithal to compare what has been done by that little Handful of Reformed Churches in this Country, which has in divers Regards out done the furthest Efforts of Popery.

The Attainments which with God's help we have carried up our Indians unto, are the chief Honour and Glory of our Labours with them. The Reader will smile perhaps, when I tell him, that by an odd Accident there are lately fallen into my hands, the Manuscripts of a Jesuite, whom the French employ'd as a Missionary among the Western Indians; in which Papers there are, both a Catechism, containing

the Principles which those Heathens are to be instructed in; and Cases of Conscience, referring to their Conversations. The Catechism which is in the Iroquoise Language (a Language remarkable for this, that there is not so much as one Labial in it) with a Translation annexed, has one Chapter about Heaven, and another about Hell, wherein are such Thick skull'd Passages as these.

Q. How is the Soyl made in Heaven?

A. 'Tis a very fair Soyl, they want neither for Meats nor Cloths: 'Tis but Wishing and we have them.

Q. Are they employ'd in Heaven?

A. No, they do nothing; the Fields yield Corn, Beans, Pumpkins, and the like, without any Tillage.

Q. What sort of Trees are there?

A. Always Green, Full, and Flourishing.

Q. Have they in Heaven the same Sun, the same Wind, the same Thunder that we have here?

A. No, the Sun ever shines; 'tis always fair Weather.

Q. But how their Fruits?

A. In this one Quality they exceed ours; that they are never wasted; you have no footer

‘ net pluckt one, but you see another presently hanging in its Room. And after this rate goes on the *Catechism* concerning *Heaven*. Concerning *Hell*, it thus discourſes.

‘ Q. *What ſort of a Soyl is that of Hell?*

‘ A. A very wretched Soyl; ’tis a *Fiery Pit*, in the Center of the Earth.

‘ Q. *Have they any Light in Hell?*

‘ A. No. ’Tis always dark; there’s always *Smoke* there; their Eyes are always in Pain with it; they can ſee nothing but the Devils.

‘ Q. *What ſhap’d things are the Devils?*

‘ A. Very ill ſhap’d things; they go about with *Vizards* on, and they terrify Men.

‘ Q. *What do they Eat in Hell?*

‘ A. They are always *Hungry*, but the Damned feed on hot *Aſhes* and *Serpents* there.

‘ Q. *What Water have they to drink?*

‘ A. Horrid Water, nothing but *melted Lead*.

‘ Q. *Don’t they die in Hell?*

‘ A. No: Yet they eat one another, every Day; but anon, God reſtores and renews the Man that was eaten, as a cropt Plant in a little time. repullulates.

It ſeems, they have not thought this Divinity too *Groſs* for the Barbarians. But I ſhall make no Reflections on it; only add one or two *Caſes of Conſcience*, from their Directory.

‘ ’Tis one of their weighty Caſes, ‘ Whether a Christian be bound to pay his Whore her Hire or no? To this Father *Brutas* answers, *Tho’ he be bound in Juſtice to do it, yet inasmuch as the Barbarians* [and you muſt ſuppoſe their *Whores* to be ſuch] *Uſe to keep no Faith in ſuch matters, the Christians may chuſe whether they will keep any too.* But Father *Pierron*, with a moſt profound Learning answers, *He is not bound unto it all; inasmuch as no Man thinks himſelf bound to pay a Witch, that has Enchanted him; and this buſineſs is pretty much a kin to that.* Another of their difficult Caſes is, ‘ Whether an *Indian* ſtealing an *Hatchet* from a *Dutch-man*, be bound to make Reſtitution? And it is very conſcientiouſly determined, ‘ That if the *Dutch man* be one that has uſed any Trade with other *Indians*, the Thief is not bound unto any Reſtitution; for ’tis certain, he gains more by ſuch a Trade than the Value of many *Hatchets* in a Year.

I’ll tire my Reader with no more of this wretched ſtuff. But let him underſtand that the proſelyted *Indians* of *New-England* have been inſtructed at a more Noble Rate; we have helped them to the *ſincere Milk of the Word*; we have given them the *whole Bible* in their own Language; we have laid before them ſuch a *Creed* as the Primitive Believers had, with ſuch Explications as we embark our own Souls upon the Assurance of. And God has bleſſed our Education of theſe poor Creatures in ſuch a meaſure, that they can *Pray* and *Preach* to better Edification (give me leave to ſay it) than Multitudes of the *Romiſh Clergymen*. We could

have Baptiſed many Troops of *Indians*, if we would have uſed no other meaſures with them, than the *Roman Catholicks* did upon theirs at *Maryland*, where they Baptiſed a great Crew of *Indians*, in ſome *New Shirts*, beſtow’d upon them to encourage them thereunto; but the *Indians* in a Week or two, not knowing how to waſh their Shirts when they were grown foul, came and made a Motion, that the *Roman Catholicks* would give *more Shirts* to them, or elſe they would renounce their *Baptiſm*. No, ’tis a *Thorough-paced Chriſtianity*, without which we have not imagined our *Indians* Chriſtianized.

Nor have we been acted with a *Roman Catholick Avarice*, and *Falſity*, and *Cruelty* in proſecuting of our Conversions; ’tis the Spirit of an *ELIOT*, that has all along directed us. ’Tis a *Specimen* of the *Popiſh Avarice* that their Miſſionaries are very rarely employ’d but where *Bever* and *Silver* and vaſt *Riches* are to be thereby gained; their Miniſtry is but a ſort of Engine, to enrich *Europeans* with the Treasures of the *Indies*; thus one eſcaped from Captivity among the *Spaniards* told me, that the *Spaniſh Friars* had carried their *Gospel* into the ſpacious Country of *California*, but finding the *Indians* there to be extremely *poor*, they quickly gave over the Work, becauſe forſooth *ſuch a poor Nation was not worth Converting*. Whereas the *New-Englanders* could expect nothing from their *Indians*. We are to Feed them and Cloath them, rather than receive any thing from them, when we bring them home to God. Again, the *Popiſh Falſity* diſpoſes them to ſo much *Legerdemain* in their Applications, as is very diſagreeable to the Spirit and Progreſs of the *Gospel*. My Worthy Friend, Mynheer *Dellius*, who has been ſedulous and ſucceſſful in his Miniſtry among the *Magua’s*, aſſures me, that a *French* Predicator, having been attempting to bring over thoſe *Indians* unto the Intereſt (not of our Saviour ſo much as) of *Canada*, at laſt, for a Cure of their Inſidelity, told them, he would give them a ſign of God’s Diſpleaſure at them for it; *The Sun ſhould ſuch a Day be put out*. This terrify’d them at a ſad rate, and with great Admiration and Expectation they told the *Dutch* of what was to come to paſs; the *Dutch* reply’d, *This was no more than every Child among them could foretel; they all knew there would then be an Eclipse of the Sun; but (ſaid they) ſpeak to Monſieur, that he would get the Sun extinguiſh’d a day before, or a day after what he ſpoke of, and if he can do that, believe him.* When the *Indians* thus underſtood what a Trick the *French-man* would have put upon them, they became irreconcilably prejudiced againſt all his Offers; nor have the *French* been ſince able to gain much upon that conſiderable People. The *New-Englanders* have uſed no ſuch *Stratagems* and *Knaveries*; ’tis the pure *Light of Truth*, which is all that has been uſed for the affecting of the rude People, whom ’twas eaſy to have *cheated* into our Profeſſion. Much leſs have we uſed that *Popiſh*

with Cruelty, which the Natives of America, have by some other People been treated with. Even a Bishop of their own, hath published very Tragical Histories of the Spanish Cruelties upon the Indians of this Western World. Such were those Cruelties, that the Indians at length declared, *They had rather go to Hell with their Ancestors, than to the same Heaven which the Spaniards pretended unto;* 'tis indeed impossible to reckon up the various and exquisite Barbarities, with which these execrable Spaniards murdered in less than fifty Years no less than fifty Millions of the Indians; it seems this was their way of bringing them into the Sheepfold of our Merciful Jesus! But on the other side, the good People of New-England have carried it with so much Tenderness towards the tawny Creatures among whom we live, that they would not own so much as one Foot of Land in the Country, without a fair Purchase and Consent from the Natives that laid claim unto it; albeit, we had a Royal Charter from the King of Great Britain, to Protect us in our Settlement upon this Continent. I suppose 'twas in revenge upon us for this Conscientiousness, that the late Oppressors of New-England acknowledged no Man to have any Title at all unto one Foot of Land in all our Colony. But we did and we do, think, notwithstanding the Banter of those Tories, that the Indians had not by their Paganism so forfeited all Right unto any of their Possessions, that the first pretended Christians that could, might Violently and yet Honestly seize upon them. Instead of this, the People of New-England, knowing that some of the English were sufficiently covetous and encroaching, and that the Indians in streights are easily prevailed upon, to sell their Lands, made a Law, *That none should purchase, or so much as receive any Land of the Indians, without the Allowance of the Court.* Yea, and some Lands which were peculiarly convenient for the Indians, our People who were more careful of them than they were of themselves, made a Law, *That they should never be bought out of their hands.* I suppose after this it would surprize Mankind, if they should hear such wonderful Creatures as our late Secretary Randolph affirming, *This Barbarous People were never civilly treated by the late Government, who made it their Business to encroach upon their Lands, and by degrees to drive them out of all.* But, how many other Laws we made in Favour of the Indians, 'tis not easy to reckon up.

'Twas one of our Laws, *That for the further Encouragement of the hopeful Work among them, for the Civilizing and Christianizing of them, any Indian that should be brought unto Civility, and come to live orderly in any English Plantation, should have such Allotments among the English, as the English had themselves.* And that if a competent number of them, should so come on to Civility, as to be capable of a Township, the General Court should grant them Lands for a Plantation as they do unto the English. Altho' we had al-

ready brought up their Claims unto our Lands. We likewise had our Laws, *That if any of our Cattle did any damage to their Corn, we should make them ample Satisfaction; and that we should give them all manner of Assistance, in Fencing of their Fields.* And because the Indians are excessively given unto the Vice of Drunkenness, which was a Vice unknown to them, until the English brought Strong-drink in their way, we have had a severe Law against all selling or giving any Intoxicating Liquors to them. It were well, if this Law were more severely Executed.

By this time I hope, I have stop'd the Calumnious Exclamations of the Roman Catholicks against the Churches of the Reformation, for neglecting to Evangelize the Natives of the Indies. But let me take this occasion to address the Christian Indians of my own Country, into some of whose Hands, 'tis likely, this little Book may come.

¶ Behold, ye Indians, what Love, what Care, what Cost, has been used by the English here, for the Salvation of your precious and immortal Souls. It is not because we have expected any Temporal Advantage from you, that we have been thus concerned for your good; No, 'tis God that has caused us to desire his Glory in your Salvation; and our Hearts have bled with Pity over you, when we have seen how horribly the Devil oppress'd you in this, and destroy'd you in another World. It is much that has been done for you; we have put you into a way to be happy both on Earth while you live, and in Heaven when you die. What can you think will become of you, if you slight all these Glorious Offers! Methinks you should say to your selves, *Vitoh weh kittinne peh quoh humunan mishanantamog ne mohsag wadchanittuonk!* You all believe that your Teacher Eliot, was a Good and a Brave Man, and you would count it your Blessedness to be forever with him. Nevertheless, I am to tell you, that if you don't become Real, and Thorough; and Holy Christians, you shall never have a comfortable Sight of him any more. You know how he has Fed you, and Cloath'd you, as well as Taught you; you know how his Bowels yerned over you, even as tho' had you had been his Children, when he saw any Afflictions come upon you; but if he find you among the wicked, in the Day of Judgment, which he so often warn'd you of, he will then be a Dreadful Witness against you, and when the Lord Jesus passes that Sentence on you, *Depart ye Cursed into Everlasting Fire with the Devil and his Angels,* even your own Eliot will then say Amen, unto it all. Now to deal plainly with you, there are two Vices, which many of you are too prone unto, and which are utterly inconsistent with a True Christianity. One of those Vices, is that of Idleness. If you had a Disposition to follow an Honest Calling, what should hinder you from growing as Considerable

rable in your Estates, as many of your *English Neighbours*: Whereas, you are now poor, mean, ragged, starved, contemptible and miserable; and instead of being able, as your *English Neighbours* do, to support the Ordinances of God, you are beholden to *them*, not only for maintaining of those Blessed Ordinances among you, but for many other Kindnesses. And have you indeed forgot the *Commandment* of God, which has been so often laid before you, *Six Days shalt thou labour!* For shame, apply your selves to such *Labour* as may bring you into more Handsome Circumstances. But the other of these Vices, is that of *Drunkennes*. There are godly *English Neighbours*, of whom you should learn to *Pray*; but there are some of you that

learn to *Drink*, of other profane, debauch'd *English Neighbours*. Poor Creatures, 'tis by this Iniquity that *Satan* still keeps Possession of many Souls among you, as much as if you were still in all your woful *Heathenism*; and how often have you been told, *Drunkards shall not inherit the Kingdom of God?* I beseech you to be sensible of the Mischiefs to which this thing exposes you, and never dream of escaping the *Vengeance of Eternal Fire*, if you indulge your selves in this *Accursed thing*.

' I have done, when I have wish'd, That the Gospel of the Lord Jesus may always *Run and be Glorify'd among you!*

The CONCLUSION: Or, Eliot Expiring.

BY this time, I have doubtless made my Readers loth to have me tell what now remains of this little History; doubtless they are wishing that this *John* might have *Tarried unto the Second Coming of our Lord*. But, alas, All-devouring *Death* at last snatch'd him from us, and slighted all those Lamentations of ours, *My Father, My Father, the Chariots of Israel, and the Horsemen thereof!*

When he was become a sort of *Miles Emeritus*, and began to draw near his *End*, he grew still more Heavenly, more Savoury, more Divine, and scented more of the Spicy Country at which he was ready to put ashore. As the Historian observes of *Tiberius*, That when his *Life* and *Strength* were going from him, his *Vice* yet remained with him; on the contrary, the *Grace* of this Excellent Man rather increased than abated, when every thing else was dying with him. 'Tis too usual with *Old Men*, that when they are past *Work*, they are least sensible of their Inabilities and Incapacities, and can scarce endure to see another succeeding them in any part of their Office. But our *Eliot* was of a Temper quite contrary thereunto; for finding many Months before his Expiration, That he had not Strength enough to Edify his Congregation with *Publick Prayers*, and *Sermons*, he importun'd his People with some Impatience to call another Minister; professing himself unable to die with Comfort, until he could see a good Successor ordained, settled, fixed among them. For this Cause, he also cry'd mightily unto the Lord Jesus Christ our *Ascended Lord*, that he would give such a *Gift* unto *Roxbury*, and he sometimes call'd his whole Town together to join with him in a *Fast* for such a Blessing. As the Return of their Supplications, our Lord quickly bestow'd upon

them, a Person young in Years, but old in Discretion, Gravity, and Experience; and one whom the Church of *Roxbury* hopes to find, *A Pastor after God's own Heart*.

It was Mr. *Nehemiah Walter*, who being by the Unanimous Vote and Choice of the Church there, become the *Pastor of Roxbury*, immediately found the Venerable *Eliot* Embracing and Cherishing of him, with the tender Affections of a Father. The good Old Man like Old *Aaron*, as it were disrobed himself, with an unspeakable Satisfaction, when he beheld his Garments put upon a Son so dear unto him. After this, he for a Year or two before his Translation, could scarce be perswaded unto any *Publick Service*, but humbly pleaded, what none but he would ever have said, *It would be a Wrong to the Souls of the People, for him to do any thing among them, when they were supply'd so much to their Advantage otherwise*. If I mistake not, the last that ever he Preached was on a *Publick Fast*; when he fed his People with a very distinct and useful *Exposition* upon the Eighty Third Psalm; and he concluded with an Apology, begging his Hearers to pardon the *Poorness*, and *Meanness*, and *Brokenness*, (as he called it) of his Meditations; but added he, *My dear Brother here, will by'nd by mend all*.

But altho' he thus dismissed himself as one so near to the Age of *Ninety*, might well have done, from his *Publick Labours*; yet he would not give over his Endeavours, in a more private Sphere, to *Do good unto all*. He had always been an Enemy to *Idleness*; any one that should look into the little *Diary* that he kept in his *Almanacks*, would see that there was with him, *No Day without a Line*; and he was troubled particularly, when he saw how much *Time* was devoured by that Slavery to *Tobacco*, which

which too many debase themselves unto; and now he grew old, he was desirous that his Works should hold pace with his Life; the less Time he saw left, the less was he willing to have left. He imagined that he could now do nothing to any purpose in any Service for God; and sometimes he would say with an Air peculiar to himself, *I wonder for what the Lord Jesus Christ lets me live; he knows that now I can do nothing for him!* And yet he could not forbear Effaying to Do something for his Lord; he conceived, that tho' the English could not be benefited by any Gifts which he now fancied himself to have only the Ruines of, yet who can tell but the Negro's might! He had long lamented it with a Bleeding and a Burning Passion, that the English used their Negro's but as their Horses or their Oxen, and that so little Care was taken about their immortal Souls; he look'd upon it as a Prodigy, that any wearing the Name of Christians, should so much have the Heart of Devils in them, as to prevent and hinder the Instruction of the poor Blackamores, and confine the Souls of their miserable Slaves to a Destroying Ignorance, meerly for fear of thereby losing the Benefit of their Vassalage; but now he made a Motion to the English within two or three Miles of him, that at such a time and Place they would fend their Negro's once a Week unto him: For he would then Catechise them, and Enlighten them, to the utmost of his Power in the Things of their Everlasting Peace; however, he did not live to make much Progress in this Undertaking.

At length, when he was able to do Little without Doors, he try'd then to do something within; and one thing was this. A young Boy in the Neighbourhood, had in his Infancy fallen into a Fire, so as to burn himself into a perfect Blindness; but this Boy being now grown to some Bigness, the good old Man took him home to his House, with some Intentions to make a Scholar of him. He first informed him of and from the Scripture, in which the Boy so profited, that in a little time he could even Repeat many whole Chapters Verbatim, and if any other in Reading missed a Word, he would mind them of it; yea, and an ordinary piece of Latin was become easy to the Lad; but having his own Eyes closed by Death, he could no longer help the poor Child against the want of his.

Thus, As the Aged Polycarp could say, *These Eighty Six Years have I served my Lord Jesus Christ; and he has been such a good Master to me all this while, that I will not now forsake him.* Such a Polycarp was our Eliot; he had been so many Years engaged in the sweet Service of the Lord Jesus Christ, that he could not now give it over: 'Twas his Ambition, and his Privilege, to bring forth Fruit in old Age; and what Veneration the Church of Smyrna paid unto that Angel of theirs, we were upon the like Accounts willing to give unto this Man of God.

While he was thus making his Retreat out of this evil World, his Discourses from time to time ran upon, *The Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ*; it was the Theme which he still had Recourse unto, and we were sure to have something of this, whatever other Subject he were upon. On this he talk'd, of this he pray'd, for this he long'd, and especially when any bad News arriv'd, his usual Reflection thereupon would be, *Behold, some of the Clouds, in which we must look for the Coming of the Son of Man.* At last, his Lord, for whom he had been long wishing, *Lord, come! I have been a great while ready for thy Coming!* At last, I say, his Lord came and fetched him away into the Joy of his Lord.

He fell into some Languishments attended with a Fever, which in a few days brought him into the Pangs (may I say? or Joys) of Death; and while he lay in these, Mr. Walter coming to him, he said unto him, *Brother, Thou art welcome to my very Soul. Pray retire to thy Study for me, and give me leave to be gone;* meaning that he should not, by Petitions to Heaven for his Life, detain him here. It was in these Languishments, that speaking about the Work of the Gospel among the Indians, he did after this Heavenly manner express himself, *There is a Cloud (said he) a dark Cloud upon the Work of the Gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that Work, and grant it may live when I am Dead. It is a Work, which I have been doing much and long about. But what was the Word I spoke last? I recal that Word, My Doings! Alas, they have been poor and small, and lean Doings, and I'll be the Man that shall throw the first Stone at them all.*

It has been observed, That they who have spoke many considerable things in their Lives, usually speak few at their Deaths. But it was otherwise with our Eliot, who after much Speech of and for God in his Life-time, uttered some things little short of Oracles on his Death-Bed, which, 'tis a thousand Pities, they were not more exactly regarded and recorded. Those Authors that have taken the pains to Collect, *Apophthegmata Morientum*, have not therein been unserviceable to the Living; but the Apophthegms of a Dying Eliot must have had in them a Grace and a Strain truly extraordinary; and indeed the vulgar Error of the signal sweetness in the Song of a Dying Swan, was a very Truth in our Expiring Eliot; his last Breath smelt strong of Heaven, and was Articled into none but very gracious Notes; one of the last whereof, was, *Welcome Joy!* and at last it went away calling upon the standers-by, to Pray, pray, pray! Which was the thing in which so vast a Portion of it, had been before Employ'd.

This was the Peace in the End of this Perfect and upright Man; thus was there another Star fetched away to be placed among the rest that

the third Heaven is now enriched with. He had once, I think, a pleasant Fear, that the Old Saints of his Acquaintance, especially those two dearest Neighbours of his, *Cotton of Boston*, and *Mather of Dorchester*, which were got safe to Heaven before him, would suspect him to be gone the wrong way, because he staid so long behind them. But they are now together with a Blessed Jesus, *beholding of his Glory*, and celebrating the High Praises of him that has *call'd them into his marvellous Light*. Whether Heaven was any more Heaven to him, because of his finding there, so many Saints, with whom he once had his Desirable Intimacies, yea, and so many Saints which had been the Seals of his own Ministry in this lower World, I cannot say; but it would be Heaven enough unto him, to go unto that Jesus, whom he had lov'd, preach'd, serv'd, and in whom he had been long assured, there does *All Fullness dwell*. In that Heaven I now leave him: Not without *Grynæus's* Pathetical Exclamations [*O beatum illum diem!*] ' Blessed will be the Day, O ' Blessed the Day of our Arrival to the Glorious ' Assembly of Spirits, which this great Saint is ' now rejoicing with!

Bereaved *New-England*, where are thy Tears, at this Ill-boding Funeral? We had a Tradition among us, ' That the Country could never ' perish, as long as *Eliot* was alive. But into whose Hands must this *Hippo* fall, now the *Austin* of it is taken away? Our *Elisha* is gone, and now who must *next Year invade the Land*? The *Jews* have a Saying, *Quando Luminaria patiuntur Eclipsin, malum signum est mundo*; But I am sure, 'tis a dismal Eclipse that has now befallen our *New-English* World. I confess, many of the Ancients fell into the Vanity of esteeming the Reliques of the *Dead Saints*, to be the *Towers and Ramparts* of the Places that enjoy'd them, and the *Dead Bodies* of two Apostles in the City, made the Poet cry out,

A Facie Hostili duo propugnacula presunt.

If the Dust of *dead Saints* could give us any Protection, we are not without it; here is a Spot of *American Soyl* that will afford a rich Crop of it, at the *Resurrection of the Just*. Poor *New-England* has been as *Glastenbury* of Old was called, *A Burying-place of Saints*. But we cannot see a more terrible Prognostick, than Tombs filling apace with such *Bones*; as those of the Renowned *Eliot's*; the whole Building of this Country trembles at the Fall of such a Pillar.

For many Months before he dy'd, he would often chearfully tell us, ' That he was shortly ' going to Heaven, and that he would carry a ' deal of good News thither with him; he ' said, he would carry Tidings to the Old ' Founders of *New-England*, which were now ' in Glory, that Church-Work was yet carried ' on among us: That the Number of our Chur-

ches was continually encreasing: And that ' the Churches were still kept as big as they ' were, by the Daily Additions of those that ' shall be saved. But the going of such as be from us, will apace diminish the Occasions of such happy Tidings.

What shall we now say? Our *Eliot* himself used most affectionately to bewail the Death of all Useful Men; yet if one brought him the notice of such a thing, with any Despondencies, or said, *O Sir, such an one is Dead, what shall we do?* He would answer, *Well, but God lives, Christ lives, the Old Saviour of New-England yet lives, and he will Reign till all his Enemies are made his Footstool*. This, and only this, Consideration have we to relieve us; and let it be accompanied with our Addresses to the *God of the Spirits of all Flesh*, that there may be *Timothies* raised up in the room of our Departed *Pauls*; and that when our *Moses's* are gone, the Spirit which was in those Brave Men, may be put upon the surviving *Elders of our Israel*.

The last Thing that ever our *Eliot* put off, was, *The Care of all the Churches*, which with a most Apostolical and Evangelical Temper he was continually solicitous about. When the Churches of *New-England* were under a very uncomfortable Prospect, by the advantage which Men that sought the Ruine of those Golden and Holy and Reformed Societies, had obtained against them. God put it into the Heart of one well-known in these Churches, to take a Voyage into *England*, that he might by his Mediations at *Whitehall*, divert the Storms that were impending over us. 'Tis not easy to express what Affection our Aged *Eliot* prosecuted this Undertaking with; and what *Thanksgiving* he rendred unto God for any hopeful Successes of it. But because one of the last Times, and for ought I know, the last of his ever setting Pen to Paper in the World, was upon this occasion; I shall transcribe a short Letter, which was written by the shaking hand, that had heretofore by *Writing* deserved so well from the Church of God, but was now taking its leave of *Writing* for ever. It was written to the Person that was Engaging for us, and thus it ran.

Reverend and Beloved Mr. Increase Mather,

I Cannot write. Read *Neh. 2. 10*. When ' *Sanballat* the Horonite, and *Tobijah* the ' Servant, the Ammonite, heard of it; it grie- ' ved them exceedingly, that there was come ' a Man to seek the Welfare of the Children ' of *Israel*.

' Let thy blessed Soul, feed full and fat upon ' this and other Scriptures. All other things I ' leave to other Men; and rest,

Your Loving Brother,

JOHN ELIOT.

These Two or Three Lines manifest the *Cure of the Churches* which breath'd in this great Old Man, as long as he had a Breath to draw in the World. And since he has left few like him for a Comprehensive and Universal Regard unto the Prosperity of all the Flocks in this Wilderness, we have little now to comfort us in the Loss of one so like a *Patriarch* among us, but only this, That our poor Churches, it may be hop'd, have still some Interest in the Cares of our Lord Jesus Christ, *Who walks in the midst of the Golden Candlesticks.* Lord! *make our Churches and keep them, yet Golden Candlesticks!* Amen.

BUT I have not obtained the *End* of this *History*, nor may I let this *History* come to an *End*, until I do with some Importunity bespeak the Endeavours of good Men every where, to labour in that Harvest which the Blessed *Eliot* justly counted worthy of his utmost Pains and Cares. It was the Confession of *Themistocles*, that the Victory of *Miltiades* would not let him sleep in Quietness; may those of our *Eliot* raise a like Emulation in those that have now seen the Life of this Evangelical Hero! One *Robert Baily* (a true Son of *Epiphanius*) many Years ago published a *Book*, wherein several *Gross Lies*, by which the Name of that *John Cotton*, who was known to be one of the Holiest Men then alive, was most injuriously made odious unto the Churches abroad, were accompanied with some Reflections upon poor *New-England*, whereof this was one, *The way of their Churches hath most exceedingly hinder'd the Conversion of the poor Pagans: Of all that ever crossed the American Seas, they are noted as most neglectful of the Work of Conversion.* We have now seen those Aspersions and Calumnies abundantly wip'd away. But let that which has been the *Vindication* of *New-England*, be also the *Æmulation* of the World: Let not poor little *New-England*, be the only Protestant Country that shall do any Notable thing for the *Propagation of the Faith*, unto those *Dark Corners of the Earth which are full of cruel Habitations.* But the *Addresses* of so mean a Person as my self, are like to prevail but little abroad with Men of Learning and Figure in the World. However, I shall presume to utter my *Wishes* in the sight of my *Readers*; and it is possible that the Great God who *despises not the Prayer of the poor*, may by the Influences of his Holy Spirit, upon the *Hearts* of some whose Eyes are upon these Lines, give a Blessed Answer thereunto.

Wherefore, May the People of *New-England*, who have seen so sensible a Difference between the Estates of those that sell *Drink*, and of those that preach *Truth*, unto the miserable Salvages among them, as that even *this* alone might inspire them, yet from a nobler Consideration than that of their own *outward Prosperity* thereby advanced, be encouraged still to profe-

cure, first the *Civilizing*, and then the *Christianizing* of the *Barbarians*, in their Neighbourhood; and may the *New-Englanders* be so far *Politick* as well as *Religious*, as particularly to make a *Mission* of the Gospel unto the Mighty Nations of the *Western Indians*, whom the *French* have been of late so studiously, but so unsuccessfully Tampering with; lest those horrid Pagans, who lately (as 'tis credibly affirmed) had such a Measure of *Devilism* and *Insolence* in them, as to shoot a Volley of great and small *Shot* against the Heavens, in Revenge upon *The Man in the Heavens*, as they called our Lord, whom they counted the Author of the Heavy Calamities which newly have distressed them; be found spared by our Long-suffering Lord, [who then indeed presently tore the Ground asunder, with immediate and horrible Thunders from Heaven round about them, but kill'd them not!] for a Scourge to us, that have not used our Advantages to make a *virtuous People* of them. If a King of the *West Saxons* long since ascribed all the Disasters on any of their Affairs, to Negligencies in this *Point*, methinks the *New-Englanders* may not count it unreasonable in this way to seek their own Prosperity. Shall we do what we can that our Lord Jesus Christ may bestow upon *America*, (which may more justly be call'd *Columbia*) that Salutation, *O my Dove!*

May the several Plantations, that live upon the Labours of their *Negro's*, no more be guilty of such a prodigious Wickedness, as to deride, neglect, and oppose all due means of bringing their poor *Negro's* unto our Lord; but may the *Masters* of whom God will one Day require the Souls of the *Slaves* committed unto them, see to it, that like *Abraham*, they have *Catechised Servants*; and not imagine that the Almighty God made so many Thousands of Reasonable Creatures for nothing, but only to serve the Lusts of *Epicures*, or the Gains of *Mammonists*; lest the God of Heaven out of meer Pity, if not *Justice*, unto those unhappy *Blacks*, be provoked unto a Vengeance which may not without Horrour, be thought upon. *Lord, when shall we see Ethiopians read thy Scriptures with Understanding!*

May the *English Nation* do what may be done, that the *Welch* may not be *destroy'd* for the lack of *Knowledge*, lest our Indisposition to do for their Souls, bring upon us all those Judgments of Heaven, which *Gildas* their Country-man, once told them, that they suffered for their Disregards unto *ours*; and may the nefarious Massacres of the *English* by the *Irish*, awaken the *English* to consider, whether they have done enough to reclaim the *Irish*, from the Popish Bigottries and Abominations, with which they have been intoxicated.

May the several *Factories* and *Companies*, whose Concerns lie in *Asia*, *Africa*, or *America*, be persuaded, as *Jacob* once, and before him

his Grandfather *Abraham* was, That they always owe unto God certain *Proportions* of their *Possessions*, by the honest *Payments* of which little *Quit-Rents*, they would certainly *secure* and *enlarge* their Enjoyment of the Principal; but that they are under a very particular Obligation to communicate of our *Spiritual Things*, unto those Heathens, by whose *Carnal Things* they are Enriched: And may they therefore make it their Study, to employ some able and pious *Ministers*, for the Instruction of those *Infidels* with whom they have to deal, and honourably support such *Ministers* in that Employment.

May the Poor *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Muscovites*, and others, in the Eastern Countries, wearing the Name of *Christians*, that have little *Preaching* and no *Printing*, and few Bibles or good Books, now at last be furnished with Bibles, Orthodox *Catechisms*, and *Practical Treatises* by the Charity of *England*; and may our *Presses* provide good store of good Books for them, in their own Tongues, to be scattered among them. Who knows what *Convulsions* might be hastened upon the whole *Mahometan World* by such an extensive Charity!

May sufficient Numbers of great, wise, rich, learned, and godly Men in the Three Kingdoms, procure well-composed *Societies*, by whose united Counsels, the Noble Design of *Evangelizing* the World, may be more effectually carried on; and if some generous Persons will of their own Accord combine for such *Consultations*, who can tell, but like some other *Celebrated Societies* heretofore formed from such small Beginnings, they may soon have that Countenance of Authority, which may produce very Glorious Effects, and give Opportunity to gather vast *Contributions* from all well disposed People, to Assist and Advance this Progress of Christianity. God forbid, that *Popery* should expend upon *cheating*, more than ten

times what we do upon *saving* the Immortal Souls of Men.

Lastly, May many Worthy Men, who find their Circumstances will allow of it, get the *Language* of some Nations that are not yet brought home to God; and wait upon the Divine Providence, for God's leading them to, and owning them in their *Apostolical Undertakings*. When they remember what *Ruffinus* relates concerning the Conversion of the *Iberians*, and what *Socrates*, with other Authors, relates concerning the Conversion wrought by occasion of *Fruventius* and *Ædesius*, in the *Inner India*, all as it were by *Accident*, surely 'twill make them try, what may be done by *Design* for such things now in our Day! Thus, let them see, whether while we at home in the midst of wearisome Temptations, are Angling with *Rods*, which now and then catch one Soul for our Lord, they shall not be Fishing with *Nets*, which will bring in many Thousands of those, concerning whom with *unspeakable Joy* in the Day of the Lord, they may say, *Behold, I and the Children which God has given me!* Let them see, whether, supposing they should prosper no farther than to *Preach the Gospel of the Kingdom in all the World for a Witness unto all Nations*, yet the *End* which is then *to come*, will not bring to them the more happy *Lot*, wherein they shall stand, that are found so doing.

Let no Man be discouraged by the *Difficulties*, which the Devil will be ready to clog such Attempts against his Kingdom with; for I will take leave so to Translate the Words of the Wise Man, in *Prov. 27. 4. What is able to stand before Zeal?* I am well satisfy'd, that if Men had the Wisdom, *To discern the Signs of the Times*, they would be all Hands at Work, to spread the Name of our Jesus into all the Corners of the Earth. *Grant it, O my God; and Lord Jesus, Come quickly.*

A Copy of a LETTER from the very Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter, to Mr. Increase Mather (then in London.)

Written upon the Sight of Mr. Eliot's LIFE, in a Former Edition.

Dear Brother,

I Thought I had been near Dying at 12 a Clock, in Bed; but your Book reviv'd me: I lay Reading it, until between One and Two. I knew much of Mr. Eliot's Opinions, by many Letters, which I had from him. There was no Man on Earth, whom I Honour'd above him. It is his *Evangelical Work*, that is the *Apostolical Succession* that I plead

‘ I plead for. I am now Dying, I hope, as
 ‘ he did. It pleased me to Read from him,
 ‘ my Case, [*My Understanding faileth, my Me-
 ‘ mory faileth, my Tongue faileth, (and my
 ‘ Hand and Pen fail) but my Charity faileth
 ‘ not.*] That Word much comforted me. I
 ‘ am as Zealous a Lover of the *New-England*
 ‘ Churches, as any Man, according to Mr.
 ‘ Noyes, Mr. Nortons, Mr. Mitchels, and the
 ‘ Synods Model.

‘ I loved your *Father*, upon the Letters I re-
 ‘ ceived from him. I love *you* better for your
 ‘ Learning, Labours, and peaceable Modera-
 ‘ tion. I love *your Son* better than either of
 ‘ you, for the Excellent Temper that appear-
 ‘ eth in his Writings. O that Godliness and
 ‘ Wisdom thus *Increase* in all Families!
 ‘ He hath Honoured himself *Half as much* as
 ‘ Mr. Eliot: I say, but *Half as much*; for
 ‘ *Deeds excel Words*. God preserve you, and
 ‘ *New-England*! Pray for,

August 3.
 1691.

Your Fainting,

Languishing Friend,

R. I. BAXTER.

REMAINS

REMAINS:

O R,

Shorter Accounts of Sundry Divines,

Useful in the

Churches of New-England.

Gathered by COTTON MATHER.

The Fourth Part.

Whereto is more Largely Added,

The LIFE and DEATH of the Reverend
Mr. JOHN BAILY.

INTRODUCTION.

READER,

Peruse, I pray, and ponder these Words of the Incomparable Turretine.

Singularem Dei Gratiam, non possumus, quin Æternis Laudibus, Celebremus, quod Novissimis hæc sæculis, restitutâ Evangelii Luce, tot tantosq; Viros, Doctrinâ & Insigni Pietate Præditos, ad Opus Reformationis Inchoandum & Promovendum Vocaverit; qui uberrimâ Rerum Sacrarum Scientiâ imbuti, & Heroico Spiritu donati, tanquam [אֵשׁ מוֹפֵת] Viri Prodigis, Tubæ Evangelicæ Sonitu, & Veritatis Divinæ Fulgore, Tenebras Erroris Crassissimas felicissime fugarunt, Antichristi Regnum Concusserunt, & Ecclesiam a Multis sæculis misere Captivam, & Tyrannidis Jugo plusquam ferreo tantum non oppressam, è Babylone Mysticâ gloriose Evocarunt.

Thou art prepared then to proceed, in what Remains of our History.

Reader, Thou knowest the way for a Man to become Wise, was thus declared by an Oracle, si concolor fieret Mortuis.

And thou wilt not forget that Lesson sometimes given;

‘ Since we have lived here, and since we are to die, and yet live after Death, and others will succeed us when we are Dead, We are greatly concerned, to send before us a very Good Treasure, to carry with us a very Good Conscience, and to leave behind us a very Good Example.

Behold

Behold some of them, who did so!

It hath been Remark'd, That when Sarah call'd her Husband Lord; her Speech was all an heap of Sinful Infidelity; there was but one Good Word in it: Yet the Spirit of God, long after takes notice of that Word. And why should

not we then take notice, of many a Good Work, occurring in the Lives of those, concerning whom yet we do not pretend or suppose, that they lived altogether free from Infirmities? Their Infirmities were but Humanities.

CH A P. I.

REMAINS of the First Classis.

THE surviving Friends of the Rest, mentioned in the *First Catalogue of Confessors*, by whom the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ was brought into this Wilderness, having supplied me with so few and small Informations concerning them, that I am of the Opinion, *Præstat nulla quam Pauca dicere*. Let all their Vertues then be *Galaxied* into this one Indistinct Lustre, they were Faithful Servants of Christ, and Sufferers for their being so.

Nor is it unlikely that there might be some among those good Men, who yet might be, in so little *Extraordinary*, that there might be the same Account given of them, that there was of a certain Bishop of Rome, in the Second Century, *Nil præclari de Gubernatione & factis ejus commemorari potest*; and although we *New-Englanders* do dwell in so Cold, and so Clear an Air, that more of the *smaller Stars* may be seen by our Considerers than in many other Places, yea, and not only the *Nebulosa of Cancer* it self, but even the *Lesser Stars* which compose that Cloud, are Considered among us; nevertheless, for us to attempt the Writing of their Lives, would carry too much Fondness in it: Nor do we forget, that *Suum est cuique, ordi vulgus*.

Moreover, there were divers of these Worthy Men, who by removing back to *England* upon the Turn of the Times, have almost released us from such a Large Account of them, as otherwise might have been expected from us: And yet some Good Account of not a few among them, is to be reported. I remember, Dr. Patin in his Travels, tells us, That in a certain *Museum* at Vienna, he saw a *Cherry-stone*, on which were engraved above an Hundred Portraitures, with different Ornaments of the Head upon them. I must now endeavour a Tenth part of an Hundred Pourtraitures, with different Ornaments of the Mind upon each of them; nevertheless I am to take up almost as much as little room as a *Cherry-stone* for them all. Particularly,

Mr. RICHARD BLINMAN. After a Faithful Discharge of his Ministry, at *Glocester*, and at *New-London*, he returned into *England*; and living to a good Old Age, he, who wherever he came, did set himself to Do Good, concluded

his Life at the City of *Bristol*, where one of the last Things he did, was to defend in Print the Cause of *Infant Baptism*.

Mr. SAMUEL EATON. He was the Son of Mr. Richard Eaton, the Vicar of *Great Burdworth* in *Cheshire*, and the Brother of Mr. Theophilus Eaton, the Renowned Governour of *New-Haven*. His Education was at the University of *Oxford*: And because it will doubtless recommend him to find such a Pen, as that which wrote the *Athene Oxonienses* thus Characterising of him, Reader, thou shalt have the very Words of that Writer, concerning him: *After he had left the University, he entred into the Sacred Function, took Orders according to the Church of England, and was Beneficed in his Country: But having been puritanically Educated, he did dissent in some Particulars thereof. Whereupon finding his Place too warm for him, he Revolted, and went into New-England, and Preached among the Brethren there.* But let us have no more of this Wood! Mr. Eaton was a very Holy Man, and a Person of great Learning and Judgment, and a most Incomparable Preacher. But upon his Dissent from Mr. Davenport, about the Narrow Terms, and Forms of *Civil Government*, by Mr. Davenport, then forced upon that *Infant-Colony*, his Brother advised him to a Removal: And calling at *Boston* by the way, when he was on his Removal, the Church there were so highly affected with his Labours, thus occasionally enjoyed among them, that they would fain have engaged him unto a Settlement in that Place. But the Lord Jesus Christ had more Service for him in *Old-England*, than he could have done in *New*; and therefore arriving in *England*, he became the Pastor of a Church at *Duckenfield*, in the Parish of *Stockport*, in *Cheshire*, and afterwards at *Stockport*; and a Person of Eminent Note and Use, not only in that, but also in the Neighbour-County.

After the Restoration of K. Charles II. he underwent first *Silencing*, and then much other Suffering, from the Persecution, which yet calls for a *National Repentance*. He was the Author of many Books, and especially of some in Defence of the *Christian Faith*, about the *Head of Christ*, against the *Socinian Blasphemies*:

mies: And his Help was joined unto Mr. Timothy Tailors, in writing some Treatises entituled, *The Congregational Way Justified*. By these he Our-lives his Death, which fell out at Denton, in the Parish of Manchester in Lancashire (where says our Friend *Rabshakeb Wood*, he had sheltered himself among the Brethren after his Ejection) on the Ninth Day of January, 1664. and he was Buried in the Chapel there.

Mr. WILLIAM HOOK. This Learned, Holy, and Humble Man, was born about 1600. and was for some time a Colleague with Mr. Davenport, in the Pastoral Charge of the Church at our New-Haven; on the Day of his Ordination, whereto he humbly chose for his Text those Words in *Judg. 7. 10. Go thou, with Pharah thy Servant*; and as humbly rais'd his Doctrine, *That in Great Services a little Help is better than none*; which he gave, as the Reason of his own being joined with so considerable a Gideon as Mr. Davenport. After this returning into England, he was for some while, Minister at Axmouth in Devonshire, and then Master of the Savoy on the Strand, near London, and so Chaplain to the Greatest Man, then in the Nation. He was the Author of divers Composures that saw the Light; whereof perhaps one of the most memorable is that about, *The Privileges of the Saints on Earth above those in Heaven*. But there was one of his Composures, which did more nearly concern himself, than perhaps his Persecutors did imagine; and that was about, *The Slaughter of the Witnesses*: For he bore a part in that Slaughter, when his Testimony to the Kingly Office of the Lord Jesus Christ, in his Church, procured him the Condition of a silenced Non-Conformist, from May 24. 1662. to March 21. 1677. when he died in, or near London, and went from the Priviledges of Labours among the Saints on Earth, to those of Rewards among the Saints in Heaven. He lies buried in the Sleeping-Place on the North-side of the New Artillery Garden.

Mr. ROBERT PECK. This Light having been by the Persecuting Prelates, put under a Bushel, was, by the good Providence of Heaven, fetch'd away unto New-England, about the Year 1638. where the Good People of our Hingham did Rejoice in the Light for a Season. But within Two or Three Years, the Invitation of his Friends at Hingham in England, perswaded him to a Return unto them; where, being though a Great Person for Stature, yet a Greater for Spirit, he was greatly serviceable for the Good of the Church.

Mr. HUGH PETERS. A Brief Narrative of his Life, both before and after his Abode,

for about Seven Years, in the Charge of the Church at Salem, the Reader may find at the Conclusion of his *Advice to his Daughter*, published under the Title of, *A Dying Father's last Legacy to an only Child*: And indeed, I heartily Recommend it unto his Reading. The Narrative of his Death has also been long since published unto the World: And it reports those to have been amongst his Last Words. *Oh! This is a Good Day! He is come that I have long looked for, and I shall be with him in Glory!*

Mr. THOMAS PETERS. He came over unto New-England, in the Time of the Civil War; and staying but about Three Years, he returned into England. A Worthy Man, and a Writer of certain Pieces, which will, I suppose, preserve his Memory among those that are Strangers, as I am thereunto.

Mr. SAXTON. He was a Yorkshire Man; a Studious and a Learned Person, a great Hebrician. The unsettled Condition of the Colony, and some unhappy Contention in the Plantation, where he Lived, put him upon removing from Scituate, first unto Boston, and so unto England, in his Reduced Age. I find in honest Mr. Ryther's Devout Book, Entituled, *A Plat for Mariners*, this Passage related concerning him. 'An Old Puritan Minister, [Mr. Saxton of Leeds, in Yorkshire,] in a Storm, coming from New-England, when they were all expecting the Vessel to sink, he said, *Oh who is now for Heaven, who is bound for Heaven!*

I say nothing, because I know nothing of Mr. Brecy; but this, he also returned into England. But the less of him, the more might be written of Mr. GILES FIRMIN, who visited New-England in his younger Years, but afterwards became, in England, an Eminent Preacher of the Gospel, and a Writer, as well as a Preacher of it. Among the rest of his Books, that Golden one, which is Entituled, *The Real Christian*, does Really prove the Title to be his own Character; and the rest, as well as that, prove him to be an Able Scholar, as well as a Real Christian. I suppose him to be yet living in a Fruitful Old Age, at Ridgewel in Essex: But such Demonstrations, he hath still given of his Affections to New-England, on all occasions, that he might have justly repented it, as an Injury, if he had been wholly omitted in the Caralogue of them that have deserved well of that Country.

Besides these Persons, there are some others, of whom a larger Account might be endeavoured.

Three shall be All that we will offer.

C H A P. II.

The LIFE of Mr. THOMAS ALLEN.

IT was a Computation made in that Year, when our Colony was just *Forty Years Old*, and our Land had *seen Rest Forty Years*, that of Ministers which had then come from *England* unto us, chiefly in the *Ten First Years*, there were *Ninety Four*: Of which Number, *Thirty One* were then *Alive*; *Thirty Six* had retired unto *Heaven*; *Twenty Seven* had returned back to *Europe*.

Of those *First Comers*, who again left the Country, soon after their *First Coming*, one was that Worthy Man Mr. *Thomas Allen*, who after he had for some time approved himself a Pious and Painful Minister of the Gospel, in our *Charlestown*, saw Cause to return back into *England*; where he lived unto a good Old Age, in the City of *Norwich*.

The Name of *Allen* being but our Pronunciation of the Saxon Word, *Alwine*, which is as much as to say *Beloved of All*, expressed the Fate of this our *Allen*, among the Generality of the well-disposed. And being a *Man greatly Beloved*, he applied himself to enquire much into the *Times*, wherein his Predecessor *Daniel*, was an Hard Student, when the Angel came to call him *so*.

Though he staid not very long in this Country, yet this Country lays claim especially to Two of his Composures, which have been Serviceable unto the World. The former of these was printed here; namely, *An Invitation unto Thirty-Sinners to come unto their Saviour*; pre-faced and assisted into the Light by our Worthy *Higginson*. But the latter was Printed beyond Sea; and Entitled, *A Chain of Scripture Chronology*: Wherein the Author was disposed like the Illustrious *Bucholtzer*, who being weary of *Controversy*, betook himself to *Chronology*, saying, *Malle se Computare quam Disputare*. This is a most Learned and useful Piece; and all my further Account of the Author shall be in the Words of the Famous *Greenhil*, in his Epistle before it. Says he,

‘ This Work having had its Conception in a Remote Quarter of the World, it was latent in his Closet, the greatest part of Seven Years; as *Joash* sometimes was kept secret in a Chamber of the Temple, before he was brought to publick View, by the Means of *Jehoadab*, that good Old High Priest: And it had still been suppressed had not the Author been pressed, and charged with hiding of a *Talent* in a Napkin, by such another as *Jehoadab* was [Mr. *John Cotton*] whose Soul is now amongst the Saints in Heaven, resting from its manifold Labours, and whose Name both is, and ever will be precious in all the Gates of the Daughters of *Sion*, through all Ages. When *Moses*, *Daniel*, and *John* were in suffering Conditions, they had much Light from God, and gave forth much Truth concerning the Church and the Times: And many of our Reverend, Learned, and Godly Brethren, being through the Iniquity of the Times driven into *America*, by looking up unto God, and by searching of the Scriptures, received and found much Light concerning the Church and the Times; and have made us, and Ages to come, beholden to them, by communicating the same; amongst whom now, is this Learned and Judicious Author.

From the *Epitaph* of *Helvicus*, the Great Chronologist, we will presume to borrow a *Tetrastick*, for this great Student in Chronology.

Epitaphium.

*Angelicos inter catus, Animasq; Beatas,
Spiritus ALLENI Gaudia Mille Capit:
Ad Litui Sonitum dum Corpus & Ossa resurgant,
Totus ut ALLENUS Vivificatus ovet.*

C H A P III.

The LIFE of Mr. JOHN KNOWLES.

OUR Blessed Saviour has denounced that Righteous and Fearful Curse, upon those, who despise the Offers of his Glorious Gospel, *Whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your Words, it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah, in the Day of Judgment, than for that City.* And the Excellent Knowles, was an Eminent Person among those *Embassadors of Heaven*, in the Quarrel of whose Entertainment, the *King of Heaven*, wonderfully accomplished that Prediction. If *New-England* hath been in some Respects *Immanuel's Land*, it is well; but this I am sure of, *Immanuel-College* contributed more than a little to make it so, a Fellow whereof once was our Mr. John Knowles.

He was among the *First Comers* into *New-England*, joined as a Colleague with Mr. Philips at *Watertown*. But as he began, so he ended his pious Days in *England*; between which there occurred one very Remarkable Providence, now to be Related.

In the Year 1641. One Mr. Bennet, a Gentleman from *Virginia*, arrived at *Boston*, with Letters from well-disposed People there, unto the Ministers of *New-England*, bewailing their sad Condition, for the want of the Glorious Gospel, and entreating that they might hence be supplied with Ministers of that Gospel. These Letters were openly Read at *Boston* upon a *Lecture-Day*; Whereupon the Ministers agreed upon setting apart a Day for *Fasting and Prayer*, to implore the Direction of God about this Business; and then the Churches of *Watertown*, *Braintree*, and *Rowly*, having each of them two Ministers apiece, Mr. Philips of *Watertown*, Mr. Thompson of *Braintree*, and Mr. Miller of *Rowly*, were pitched upon for the intended Service; whereof the General Court so approved, that it was ordered, the Governour should Recommend these Persons by his Letters to the Governour and Council at *Virginia*.

Mr. Philips being Indisposed for the Voyage, Mr. Knowles went in his Room; and Mr. Miller's Bodily Weaknesses, caused him also to Decline the Voyage. But the Two Churches of *Watertown* and *Braintree*, though they loved their Ministers very well, yet cheerfully dismissed them unto this great Concern; accounting it their Honour that they had such Desirable Persons, by whom they might make a Mission of the Gospel, unto a People that sat in the Region and Shadow of Death.

On Oct. 7. 1642. They began their Voyage: At *Rhode-Island*, they lay long Wind-bound;

and they met with so many other Difficulties, that they made it Eleven Weeks of dangerous Passage, before they arrived at *Virginia*: Nevertheless, they had this Advantage in the way, that they took in a Third Minister for their Assistance; namely, Mr. James, then at *New-Haven*.

Though their hazardous Retardations in their Voyage, made them sometimes to suspect, whether they had a clear Call of God unto their Undertaking, yet the Success of their Ministry, when they came to *Virginia*, did sufficiently extinguish that Suspicion. They had little Encouragement from the Rulers of the Place, but they had a kind Entertainment with the People; and in the several parts of the Country where they were bestowed, there were many Persons by their Ministry brought home to God.

But as Austin told Mankind, *The Devil was never turned Christian yet*: the Powers of Darkness could not count it for their Interest, that the Light of the Gospel powerfully preached, should reach those Dark Places of the Earth. The Rulers of that Province did not allow of their publick Preaching; but instead thereof, an Order was made, *That such as would not conform to the Ceremonies of the Church of England, should by such a Day, depart the Country.* By which Order, these Holy, Faithful, Painful Ministers, were driven away from the *Virginia* Coast: But when they return'd, as they Left behind them, not a few Seals of their Ministry, so they Brought with them some, who afterwards proved Blessings to *New-England*.

Well, before the Day fixed for the Departure of these Ministers came, the Indians far and near having entred into a Conspiracy, to cut off the English in those Territories, executed it in an Horrible Massacre, whereby at least Three Hundred poor English Virginians, were at once Barbarously Butchered, which Massacre was also accompanied with a Grievous Mortality, that caused many sober Persons to Remove out of that Colony, and others to acknowledge the Justice of God upon them, for the Ill-Treats, which had been given to the Ministers of his Gospel, and the Gospel brought by those Ministers.

After this, did Mr. Knowles remove back to *England*, where he was a Preacher at the Cathedral, in the City of *Bristol*, and Lived in Great Credit and Service for divers Years.

But when the Act of *Uniformity*, made such a Slaughter of *Non-Conformists*, Mr. Knowles was one of the Ministers which were silenced by that Act. And after that *Civil Death*, he lived in *London* a Collegue to the famous Mr. *Kentish*, and a Blessing to the Church of God.

Exercising his Ministry in the City of *London*, he underwent many *Grievous Persecutions*, and received as many *Glorious Deliverances*. — But when some of his Friends discouraged him, with Fears of his being thrown into Prison, if he did not affect more of *Privacy*, he Reply'd, *In Truth, I had rather be in a Gaol, where I might have a Number of Souls, to whom I might Preach the Truths of my Blessed Master, than live Idle in my own House, without any such Opportunities.*

He lived unto a very Great Age, and staid longer out of *Heaven*, than the most of them that *Live in Heaven upon Earth*. But in his great Age, he continued still to do *Great Good*; wherein his Labours were so fervent and eager, that he would sometimes *Preach* till he fell down; and yet have a *Youthful Readiness* in the *Matter and Spirit* of his Preaching. His last *Falling Down* was a *Flying up*; and an *Escape* to that Land where *The Weary are at Rest*.

Epitaphium.

*Vis Scire, Quis Sim? Nomen est KNOLESIUS
Dixi Satis! ———*

CHAP IV.

Elisba's Bones. The LIFE of Mr. HENRY WHITFIELD.

Cupiditatem Imitandi fecit; Spem abstulix.

There has been a *Trite Proverb*, which I wish indeed were so *Thread-bare* as to be never used more;

Angelicus Juvenis, senibus Satanizat in Annis.

which, though 'twere pity it should ever speak *English*, has been *Englshed*, *A Young Saint, an Old Devil*. I remember *Erasmus* believes, the *Devil* himself was the Author of that *Proverb*. This I am sure, the *Proverb* was none of *Solomon's*, who says, *Train up a Child in the way that he should go, and when he is old, he will not leave it*. Indeed a *Young Sinner* may make an *Old Devil*; a *Young Hypocrite*, a *Young Disssembler*, pretending to *Saintship*, may do so; but a *Young Saint* will certainly make an *Old Angel*.

And so did our *Blessed Whitfield*. He was a Gentleman of *Good Extraction* by his *Birth*; but of a *Better* by his *New-Birth*: Nor did his *New-Birth* come very long after his *Birth*. He did betimes begin his *Journey Heavenwards*; but he did not soon *Tire* in that *Journey*; nor did the *Serpent by the way*, the *Adder in the Path*, prevail to make him come *short home* at last.

His Father being an *Eminent Lawyer*, designed this his youngest Son, to be a *Lawyer* also, and therefore afforded him a *Liberal Education*, first at the *University*, and then at the

Inns of Court. But the *Gracious* and early *Operations* of the *Holy Spirit*, on his *Heart*, inclined him rather to be *Preacher* of the *Gospel*, and in his *Inclinations* he was encouraged by such *Eminent Ministers*, as *Dr. Stanton*, *Mr. Byfield*, and others.

He was very *pious* in his *Childhood*, and because *pious*, therefore *Prayerful*; yea, so addicted unto *Prayer*, that in the very *School* it self, he would be sometimes *Praying*, when the *Scholars* about him imagined by his *Postures*, that he had only been intent upon his *Book*.

As he grew up, he grew exceedingly in his *Acquaintance* with *God*, with *Christ*, and with the exceeding *Riches* of *Grace* display'd in the *New Covenant*. And he gained such a *grounded Assurance* of his own *saving Interest*, in that *Covenant*, that he had not for *Forty Years* together, fallen into any *Miscarriage*, which made any *Considerable Breach* upon that *Assurance*.

Oekely in *Surrey*, was the *Place* where the *Providence* of the *Lord Jesus Christ* now *station'd* him; where his *Labours* were blessed unto the *Good* of many, not only in his own *Town*, but in all the *Circumjacent Country*, from whence on *Holy-Days*, the *People* would flock to hear him. At length, observing that he did more *Good*, by *Preaching* sometimes

Abroad, than by preaching always at Home, and enjoying then a *Church-Living* of the first Magnitude, besides a fair Estate of his own, he procured and maintained another Godly Minister at *Okely*; and by means thereof, he had the Liberty to preach in many Places, which were destitute of Ministers, where his Labours were successful in the Conversion of many Souls unto God.

He was one who abounded in *Liberality* and *Hospitality*; and his House was always much Resorted unto. He was for Twenty Years, a *Conformist*; but yet a pious *Non-Conformist* was all this while very dear unto him: And such persecuted Servants of Christ, as Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Nye, then molested for their *Non-Conformity*, were sheltered under his Roof. At last, being present at the Conference between Mr. Cotton, and some other Famous Divines, upon the Controversies of *Church-Discipline*, there appeared so much of *Scripture* and *Reason* on that side, that Mr. *Whitfield* also became a *Non-Conformist*. But now, finding it impossible for him, to proceed in the Publick Exercise of his Ministry, he obtained a *Godly Successor*, he embraced a *Modest Secession*, and he Resigned his Place with the true Spirit of *Self-Denial*.

He now sold his *Personal Estate*, and came over to *New-England*, in the Year 1639. with a Multitude of poor People, out of *Surrey*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*, who could not live without his Ministry. With these, he began a New Plantation, about Twenty Miles from *New-Haven*, and called it *Guilford*: Where he mightily encouraged the People to bear with a Christian Patience and Fortitude, the Difficulties of the Wilderness, which they were come into; not only by his *Exhortations*, but also by his own Exemplary Contentment, with low and mean Things, after he had once lived in a more splendid manner, than most other Ministers.

His way of Preaching was much like Dr. *Sibs's*; and there was a marvellous Majesty

and Sanctity, observable in it. He carried much *Authority* with him; and using frequently to *Visit* the particular Families of his Flock, with Profitable Discourses on the Great Concerns of their *Interiour State*, it is not easy to describe the Reverence with which they entertained him.

He sojourned Eleven Years at *Guilford*, living with his large Family of Ten Children, mostly on his own Estate, which was thereby exceedingly exhausted. But the *Inconveniencies* of *New-England*, and *Invitations* to *Old*, at length overcame him, to return into his Native Country: And at the Time of parting, the whole Town accompanied him unto the *Water-side*, with a Spring-Tide of Tears, because they should see his Face no more.

This was in the Year 1650.

How highly his Ancient Friends then welcomed him; how highly the greatest Persons in the Nation then respected him; how faithfully he then discharged his Ministry in the City of *Winchester*; how many Services he occasionally did for *New-England*; and how Triumphantly at last he flew away to Heaven; must be no part of this History.

But let the Excellent Words of *Lupichius* in his *Epitaph*, be borrow'd for an *Epitaph* to this Rare Person; inasmuch as no Words can more *livelily* express the very Spirit of all his *Life*.

Dum mihi Vita fuit, Tibi, CHRISTE, Fidelis ut essem,

Mente Pia Studui, Dogma Sonando Tuum.

Tu mihi Delitia, — Tu Divitiarq; fuisti;

Tu mihi Defuncto, Gloria, Vita, Salus.

C H A P. V.

REMAINS of the Second Classis.

OF our *Second Catalogue* are now fallen asleep, *ARNOLD*, the Author of a Savoury Discourse, published under the Title of *David serving his Generation*: *BISHOP*, *BULKLY*, *CARTER*, *DEAN*, *HANFORD* [of which Worthy Man, let the Reader, here in a *Crotchet*, as we go along, refresh himself with one *Crotchetly Passage*: He was near Forty Years a Faithful, Painful, and Pious Minister at *Norwalk*, even from the first Settlement of that Plantation: But though he had the Comfort of seeing a Good and Great Success to his Ministry there, yet there were Times wherein the *Fire of Contention* annoy'd the Affairs of that Church exceedingly: And in this *Fire*, there once happened such a *Smoke*, that the People made this one of their Articles to the Council against him, that in a certain Paper of his, he had opprobriously called them *Indian Devils*: The Council thereupon with Wonder, calling for the Paper, wherein the Reproachful Terms was to be look'd for, found his Expression to have been only thus, *Every Individual among them*: Which occasioned a very Joco-serious Reflection upon the Ridiculous Errors and Follies that attend a Quarrellsome Disposition:] *HOUGH*, *NEWTON*. And into this *Catalogue* I am content that there should be received (for the Saints of this *Catalogue* already departed have received him) Honett Mr. *Nicholas Baker* of *Scituate*; who, tho' he had but a *Private Education*, yet being a Pious and Zealous Man; or as *Dr. Arrowsmith* expresses it, so Good a *Logician*, that he could offer up to God a *Reasonable Service*, so Good an *Arithmetician*, that he could wisely *Number his Days*; and so Good an *Orator*, that he *perswaded himself* to be a *Good Christian*; and being also one of good Natural Parts, especially of a strong *Memory*, was chosen Pastor of the Church there; and in the Pastoral Charge of that Church, he continued about Eighteen Years, until that *Horror of Mankind*, and *Reproach of Medicine*, the *STONE* (under which he preached *Patience*, by a very memorable Example of it; never letting fall any Word worse than this, which was an usual Word with him, *A Mercy of God it is no worse!*) *put an end unto his Days*.

But he that brings up the Rear, is Mr. *JOHN WOODBRIDGE*, of whom we are able to speak a little more particularly.

He was Born at *Stanton*, near *Highworth*, in *Wiltshire*, about the Year 1613. of which Pa-

rish his Father was Minister; and a Minister so Able and Faithful, as to obtain an high Esteem among those that at all knew the Invaluable Worth of such a Minister. His Mother was Daughter to Mr. *Robert Parker*, and a Daughter who did so *Virtuously*, that her own Personal Character would have made her highly esteemed, if a Relation to such a Father had not farther added unto the Lustre of her Character.

Our *JOHN* was, by his Worthy Parents, trained up in the Way that he should go, and sent unto *Oxford*, when his Education and Proficiency at *School* had ripened him for the *University*; and kept at *Oxford*, until the *Oath of Conformity* came to be required of him; which neither his *Father*, nor his *Conscience* approving, he removed from thence unto a Course of more *Private Studies*. The Rigorous Enforcing of the Unhappy *Ceremonies*, then causing many that understood, and regarded the *Second Commandment* in the Laws of Heaven, to seek a *peaceable* Recess for the pure Worship of the Lord Jesus Christ in an *American Desert*; our young *Woodbridge*, with the Consent of his Parents, undertook a Voyage to *New-England* about the Year 1634. and the Company and Assistance of his Worthy Uncle Mr. *Thomas Parker*, was not the least Encouragement of his Voyage.

He had not been long in the Country, before *Newberry* began to be planted; where he accordingly took up *Lands*, and so seated himself, that he Comfortably and Industriously studied on, until the Advice of his Father's Death obliged him to Return into *England*; where, having settled his Affairs, he Returned again unto *New-England*, bringing with him his Two Brothers; whereof one died by the way. He had married the Daughter of the Honorable *Thomas Dudely*, Esq; and the Town of *Andover* then first peeping into the World, he was by the Hands of Mr. *Wilson* and Mr. *Worcester*, Sept. 16. 1644. ordained the Teacher of the Congregation there.

Here he continued with Good Reputation, discharging the Duties of his Ministry, until upon the Invitation of his Friends, he went once more to *England*, in the Year 1647. where he soon found Employment (besides his being a Chaplain to the Commissioners treating with the King at the Isle of *Wight*) first at the Considerable Town of *Andover*, and afterwards at *Burford*

Burford St. Martins, in *Wiltshire*; at the last of which Places, he continued until the Return of *Episcopacy* first sequestred him, and they being outed of the School at *Newberry*, the infamous *Bartholomew-A&E*, caused him, in the Year 1663. (with his now Numerous Family) to come once more unto *New-England*. Here it was not long before the Church of *Newberry* solicited him, to become an Assistant unto his Aged Uncle *Mr. Parker*; and in answer to their Solicitations, he bestowed his Constant, Learned and Holy Labours upon them.

At last, there arose little Differences between him and some of the People upon certain Points of *Church-Discipline*, wherein his *Largeness* and their *Straitness*, might perhaps better have met in a *Temper*; and these Differences ended not, without his putting an end unto his own Ministry among them; after which, the Remarkable Blessing of God upon his own *private Estate*, abundantly made up to him the *Publick Stipend* which he had parted withal. The Country hereupon in Token of their Value for him, chose him a *Magistrate* of the Colony, that so he might in yet a more extensive Capacity, be *A Minister of God unto them for Good*; and upon the Alteration of the Government, he was made a *Justice of Peace*, in which Office he continued unto the last.

He had Issue *Twelve Children*, whereof *Eleven* lived unto the Age of Men and Women: And he had the Consolation of seeing *Three Sons*, with *Two Sons-in-Law*, Improved in the Ministry of the Gospel, and *Four Grandsons* happily advancing thereunto. A Person he was, truly of an *Excellent Spirit*; a *Pious Disposition* accompanied him from his *Early Childhood*, and as he grew in *Years*, he grew in the *Proofs* and *Fruits* of his having been sanctified from his *Infancy*. He spent much of his Time in Holy *Meditations*, by which the *Foretasts of Heaven*, were continually Feeding of his Devout Soul; and he abounded in all other Devotions of Serious, Heavenly, Experimental Christianity.

He was by *Nature* wonderfully Composed, Patient, and Pleasant; and he was, by *Grace*,

much more so: He had a great Command of his *Passions*, and *could*, and *would*, and often *did* forgive *Injuries*, at a rate that hardly can be imitated. It was rarely or never observed, that *Worldly Disappointments* made any *Grievous Impressions* upon his Mind; but as once, when Word was brought him, that a fore Disaster had befallen many of his Cattel, the Messenger was exceedingly surprized, on his beholding the only Resentments of this Good Man thereupon to be in these Humble Expressions, which were the first he utter'd, *What a Mercy it is, that this is the first Time that ever I met with such a Disaster!*

This was the Frame of Mind with which he still entertain'd all Disasterous Occurrences. Only he was observably overwhelmed by the Death of his most Religious, Prudent and Faithful Consort, when she was *July 1. 1691*. Fifty Years after his first Marriage unto her, torn away from the *Desire of his Eyes*. His Value for the *whole World*, was, after a manner, extinguished in this Loss, of what was to him the *best part* of it; and he sometimes declared himself desirous to be gone, whenever the *Lord of Heaven* should please to call him thither.

At last, about the Beginning of *March, 1695*. the *Strangury* arrested him; and he, who had been a Great *Reader*, a Great *Scholar*, a Great *Christian*, and a Pattern of *Goodness* in all the *Successive Stations*, wherein the *Lord of Hosts* had placed him, on *March 17*. the Day of the *Christian-Sabbath*, after much Pain, went unto his *Everlasting Rest*; having a few Minutes before it, refused a Glass of offered *Wine*, saying, *I am going where I shall have better!*

His Age was about *Eighty Two*.

Let him now report the rest himself, in a *Epitaph*, like that on the Tomb of *Christianus Machabens*.

*Quam Vivens Potui tantum sperare, Quiete
Mortuus in Solida nunc Statione fruor.*

C H A P. VI.

REMAINS of the Third Classis.

Several, in our Third Catalogue, have upon the late Revolutions, returned back to Europe, and several are yet living in Service and Esteem among our selves.

Article (I.) But of those that are gone unto the better World, we have cause particularly to remember Mr. THOMAS GILBERT, whose History is, it may be, sufficiently related in his Epitaph, which is at this Day to be read on his Tomb in Charlestown.

Here is Interred the Body of that Reverend, Sincere, Zealous, Devout and Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. THOMAS GILBERT, sometime Pastor of the Church of Christ, at Chedle in Cheshire: Also, sometime Pastor of the Church of Christ at Eling, in Old-England: Who was the Proto-Martyr, the first of the Ministers that suffered Deprivation, in the Cause of Non-Conformity in England: And after, betaking himself to New-England, became Pastor of the Church of Christ, in Topsfield; and at Sixty Three Years of Age, departed this Life. Interred Oct. 28. 1673.

Omnia præterunt, præter amare Deum.

*These Things pass for ever, Vain World, away;
But Love to God, This, This endures for ay.*

*Gilberti hic tenuem, Lectores, Ceruitis, Umbram,
Longè hæc Clara Magis Stella Micautq; fuit.
Sic fuit in Vitâ Gilbertus, sicq; Receptu,
Sicce detur nobis Vivere, sicq; Mori.*

*Lo here of Gilbert, but a Shadow slight;
He was a Star of more Illustrious Light.
Such Gilbert was in Life, such in his Death;
God grant we may so live, so yield our Breath.*

Article (II.) On Dec. 28. 1674. Died Mr. John Oxenbridge, a Successor to four Famous JOHNS, in the Pastoral Charge, of the First Church in Boston. He was Born in Daventry, Northamptonshire, Jan. 30. 1608. Both Cambridge and Oxford contributed unto his Liberal Education; and in one of those Universities he proceeded Master of Arts, in the Year 1631.

The Year following, he became a Publick Preacher of the Gospel; and after this, taking successively Two Voyages to Barmudaz, he at length returned into England, and in the Year 1644. became a Pastor to a Church in Beverly. I find him after this, a Fellow of Eaton-College: But in the General Shipwrack that befel the Non-Conformists, A. C. 1662. I find him swimming away to Surinam, in America. From thence he came to Barbados, in the Year 1667. and to New-England in the Year 1669. where he succeeded Mr. Davenport, and continued until his last Remove, which was to the City of God.

The Abilities and Inclinations of this Worthy Man, are discovered in several of his published Composures. In England he published several Discourses on, *The Duty of Watchfulness*. He also published, *A Proposition of propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies, in the Continent of Guiana being some Gleanings of a larger Discourse*. That larger Discourse is yet sleeping: But upon Perusal of the M. SS. I am sensible, that there is in it a grateful Variety of Entertainment. After he came to New-England, he published a Sermon, preached at the Anniversary Election of our Governour and Assistants. And he likewise published a Sermon about *Seasonable seeking of God*.

The Piety which breathed in these Composures, was but what he maintained in his Daily Walk: And sometimes he found the Leisure to Articulate the Breathings of it in Writing. We read concerning Balaam, *The Lord put a Word in his Mouth*: It should seem, his Heart was not Holily affected with what was expressed by his Mouth. But the Word was in the Heart, as well as in the Mouth of our Oxenbridge; and his Pen also sometimes transcribed his Heart. Once thus particularly,

‘ Certain late Experiments of the Grace of
‘ God in Christ, to J. O. a poor Worm, who
‘ desires to Record them, to the Praise of his
‘ Grace.

‘ Nov. 19. 1666. was a Dark Day; my Bo-
‘ dily Spirits being very low (tho’ without
‘ Pain) and my Heart shut up, that I could
‘ not look up to God. This made me to ap-
‘ prehend the sad Condition of a Soul deserted
‘ of God in a Time of Affliction; but the
‘ Lord suffered not this Dark Maze to continue.
‘ For that Night he thawed my Heart, and
‘ opened it with some Freedom to himself.

But

' But what shall I say for the strange and
 ' strong Consolations; with which he filled
 ' my Soul, on the 20 and the 21 of November?
 ' No Words can express what I have felt in
 ' my Heart. I was wholly taken up with the
 ' Thoughts of the Kindness of God. I said,
 ' *What Love is like this Love? And who is a*
 ' *God like unto thee? and what remains for me,*
 ' *but to love and to praise thee for ever?* Now
 ' Death was no Dark Thing to me, neither
 ' was any Concern of this Life considerable.
 ' And now I have said, *Who can lay any thing*
 ' *to my Charge, since Christ hath satisfied by his*
 ' *Death, and hath gotten a Release by his Re-*
 ' *surrection, and lives for ever to perfect my*
 ' *Salvation?* This hath been a great Stay to
 ' me in my *Solitary Condition*; tho' bereft of
 ' such Relations, a precious *Wife*, and two
 ' such *Children*. But the Lord Jesus liveth
 ' for ever, to do all for me, and be all to me.
 ' And I do the more admire and adore the
 ' Great God, in his condescending so much to
 ' so vile a Worm, that hath been so full of
 ' Fears and Doubts, and hath so much dis-
 ' pleased my Lord Jesus and his Holy Spirit.
 ' That which grieved me most, of late Months,
 ' is, the *Unfixedness* of my Thoughts on God:
 ' And Oh, that the Lord may, by his *Establish-*
 ' *ing Spirit*, confirm these Comforts on me, so
 ' that I may enjoy them in *Death*, and improve
 ' them for the good of others in *Life*. I know
 ' *Satan* is a Wrangler; but my *Advocate* is
 ' able to silence him!

When the Lord of this *Faithful Servant* came
 to call for him, he was found in his Master's
 Work. Towards the Close of a Sermon, which
 he was preaching at *Boston-Lecture*, he was
 taken with a Degree of an *Apoplexy* (as *John*
Cyril, the Worthy *Bohemian* Pastor was in the
 Beginning of the former Century, *Apoplexia*
in media ad populum concione correptus) which
 in two or three Days, ended his Pilgrimage.
 Thus he had the Wish of some great Men,
Oportet Concionatorem, aut Precantem aut Pre-
dicantem, Mori.

Epitaphium.

Vixi, & quem dederas Cursum, in Te Christe,
peregi.

Article (III.) On *March 24. 1675*. Expired
 that Excellent Man, Mr. THOMAS WALLEY,
 about the Age of Sixty one. I can't recover
 the Day of his *Birth*, Let it content my Rea-
 der, that the Primitive Christians did happily
 confound the Distinction of the Two Times
 mention'd by the Wise Man, *A Time to be*
Born, and a Time to Die, calling the Day of a
 Saint's *Death*, by the Name of their *Natalitia*.

This *Man of a Thousand*, was a well accom-
 plished *Scholar*; but his Accomplishments es-
 pecially lay in that which the Great *Gregory*
 asserts to be, *Ars Artium, & Scientia Scientia-*
rum, namely, *Animarum Regimen*.

He was a *Christian* in whom the *Graces* of
 Christ very richly adorned, but most of all,
 that which has most of *Christianity* in it, HU-
 MILITY; the *Happy Vertue* which we may
 address, with the Acknowledgment once made
 unto *Felix*, *By thee we enjoy great Quietness*:
 and by that Vertue he was eminently Service-
 able to make all *Quiet*, wherever he came. He
 was a *Divine*, well furnished with the Know-
 ledge necessary to *Master Builder* in the Church
 of God, and particularly knowing in those
 Points of *Divinity*, which *Non Lectio docet, sed*
Unctio, non Litera, sed Spiritus, non Eruditio,
sed Exercitatio.

He was a *Preacher*, who made CHRIST
 the main Subject of his *Preaching*; and who
 had such a Regard for *Souls*, that he thought
 much of nothing, by which he might recom-
 mend a CHRIST unto the *Souls* even of
 the meanest, as well as of the greatest: Being
 disposed, like that Great King of *France*, who
 being found instructing his *Kitchin-Boy* in the
 Matters of Religion, and being as'd with Won-
 der the Reason of it, answered, *The meanest*
has a Soul as precious as my own, and bought
by the Blood of Christ as well as mine! It may
 be I cannot give a Truer Description of this
 our WALLEY, than in the Words of him
 that writes the Life of the Famous *Belgic*
WALLÆUS; ' He was diligent in *Visit-*
 ' *ing* his *Parishioners*, whereby he Reformed
 ' many which were given to *Viciousness*. He
 ' satisfied *Doubting Consciences*, and extri-
 ' cated them out of the *Snares of Satan*. He
 ' comforted those that were cast down, with
 ' the *Apprehension of God's Wrath* for their
 ' *Sins*. He ministred Relief to *Widows, Or-*
 ' *phans*, and such as were destitute of Hu-
 ' mane Help. His Company was never Grie-
 ' vous.

His being such a one, did but render him
 the more likely to be found a *Non-Conformist*,
 when the Act of *Uniformity* struck Dead so
 many *Faithful Ministers* of the Gospel in the
English Nation. When the Church of *England*
 under the *New Form*, which its *Canons* after
 the Year 1660. depraved it into, was pressing
 its *Unscriptural Rites*, our *Walley* replied,
 with *Tertullian*, *si ideo dicitur, licere, quia*
non prohibeat Scriptura, æque reterquebitur,
ideo non licere, quia Scriptura non fubeat.

If the Church of *England*, in the Days of
New-England's first planting, did so want *Re-*
formation, that these Colonies must be planted
 for the sake thereof, how much more would
 the *Second Model* of it affright such *Conscien-*
tious Dissenters as our *Walley*, unto *Congrega-*
tions

tions that were more thoroughly Reformed? For, as one writes, 'Tho' the Church of England was never so Reformed, as Geneva, France, Holland, and other Reformed Churches; yet there is as vast a difference between the Old Church of England and the New one, as between Nebuchadnezzar, when sitting on his Throne and glittering in his Glory, and Nebuchadnezzar when grazing among Beasts in the Field, with his Hair like Birds Feathers, and Nails like Eagle's Claws. The Effect of all was, that Mr. Walley was driven from the Exercise of his Ministry in London, to New-England; where he arrived about the Year 1663.

Here he had a Great Service to do; for if the Apostle Paul thought it befitting an Apostle, to write a part of Canonical Scripture, about the Agreement of no more than Two Godly Persons [Phil. 4. 2.] certainly it must be a Great Service to bring a Divided Church of Godly Persons unto a Good Agreement. In Thebes, he that could reconcile any Quarellsome Neighbours, was honoured with a Garland. The Honour of a Garland, was on that score, highly due to our Walley.

The Church of Barnstable had been miserably broken with Divisions, until this Prudent, Patient, and Holy WALLLEY appeared among them: And,

Quum Pictate Gravem, ac Meritis hunc Forte Virum jam Conspexere, Silent. —

As among the Suevians it was a Law, That in a Fray, where Swords were drawn, if any one did but cry Peace, they must end the Quarrel, or else he died that struck the next Blow after Peace was named. Thus, after our WALLLEY, with his charming Wisdom, cried Peace, that Flock was happily united; and he continued in much Peace, and with much Fame, Feeding of it, all the rest of his Days.

I will now so far discover *myself*, as to applaud this Worthy Man, for Two Things, which it may be, many Good Men will count worthy rather of Reproach than Applause.

One is this: In my Father's Preface to his Discourses on the *New Jerusalem*, I meet with this Passage. *Tho' it hath been generally thought, that the First Resurrection spoken of in the Apocalypse, is to be understood only in a Mystical Sense; yet some of the First, and Eminent Teachers in these Churches, believed the First Resurrection to be Corporal. So did Mr. Davenport, Mr. Hook, and of later Years, that Man of an Excellent Spirit, Mr. Thomas Walley, Pastor of the Church in Barnstable.* Thus did our Pious Chiliaist, Walley, it seems, come to his Thoughts, as Joseph Mede before him did, and as in the Times of more Illumination Learned Men must and will: *Postquam alia om-*

nia frustra tentassem, tandem Rei ipsius Claritudine perstrictus, paradoxo Succubui.

Another is this: On a Great Occasion, our Walley declared himself in these Words, *It would not consist with our Profession of Love to Christ or Saints, to trouble those that peaceably differ from the Generality of God's People, in lesser Things; those that are like to live in Heaven with us at last, we should endeavour they might live peaceably with us here. A well bounded Toleration were very desireable in all Christian Commonwealths, that there may be no just Occasion for any to complain of Cruelty or Persecution; but it must be such a Toleration, that God may not be publicly Blasphemed, nor Idolatry practised.* With such Candor did he express himself against the way well decryed by Gerhard, *A Verbo ad Ferrum, ab Atramento ad Armamenta, a Pennis, ad Bipennes, confugere.*

I cannot find any more than one published Composure left behind; which is Entituled, *Balm in Gilead to heal Sion's Wounds: Being a Sermon preached before the General Court of the Colony of New-Plymouth, — Jun. 1. 1669. the Day of Election there: In which, Let it be remembred, he expressly foretels, That New-England, would e'er long, lose her Holiness, her Righteousness, her Peace, and her Liberty.*

Epitaphium.

*O Mors, Qualem Virum Extinxisti!
Sed bene habet;
Virtus WALLÆI Immortalis est.*

Article (IV.) The *small Stay* of the Reverend Mr. SAMUEL LEE in this Country, where he was Pastor of the Church at *New Bristol* [from the Year 1686. to the Year 1691.] will excuse me, if I say little of him; and yet the *Great Worth* of that Renowned Man, will render it inexcusable to say *Nothing* at all.

All that I shall say is, That if Learning ever merited a *Statue*, this Great Man, has as Rich an one due to him, as can be erected; for it must be granted, That hardly ever a more *Universally Learned* Person trod the *American Strand*.

Live, O Rare LEE, Live, if not in our Works, yet in thy own; Ten or Twelve of which, that have seen the Light, will *Immortalize* thee. But above all, thy Book *De Ex-cideo Antichristi*, shall survive and assist the

Funeral of the Monster, whose Nativity is therein, with such Exquisite Study calculated; and thy Book, Entituled, Orbis Miraculum; or The Temple of Solomon, shall proclaim thee to be a Miracle for thy vast Knowledge, and a Pillar in the Temple of thy God!

In his Return for England, the French took him a Prisoner, and uncivilly detaining him, he died in France; where he found the Grave of an Heretick, and was therein (after some sort, like Wickliff and Bucer) made a Martyr after his Death.

C H A P VII.

A Good Man making a Good End. The LIFE and DEATH of the Reverend Mr. JOHN BAILY, Comprised and Expressed in a Sermon, on the Day of his Funeral. Thursday 16 D. 10. M. 1697.

*Pulchra sunt Verba ex Ore
Ea Facientium. Adag. Judaic.*

READER,

WE are not so Wise, as the Miserable Paupers! Among them, a Person of Merit shall, at his Death, be Celebrated and Canonized by all Men agreeing in it, as in their Common Interest, for to applaud his Life. Among us, let there be Dues paid unto the Memory of the most Meritorious Person after his Decease; many of the Survivors are offended, I had almost said enraged at it: They seem to take it as a Reproach unto themselves (and it maybe, so it is!) That so much Good should be told of any Man, and that all the little Frailties and Errors of that Man, (and whereof no meer Man was ever free!) be not also told with all the Unjust Aggravations that Envy might put upon them. This Folly is as Inexpressible an Injury to us all; as it cannot but be an Advantage unto Mankind in General, for Interred Vertue to be Rewarded with a Statue.

If ever I deserved well of my Country, it has been when I have given to the World the Histories and Characters of Eminent Persons, which have adorned it. Malice will call some of those things Romances; but that Malice it self may never hiss with the least Colour of Reason any more, I do here declare, Let any Man living evince any one Material Mistake in any one of those Composures, it shall have the most Publick Recantation that can be desired. In the meantime, while some Impotent Cavils, nibbling at the Statues which we have erected for our Worthies, take pains to prove themselves, The Enemies of New-England, and of Religion, the Statues will out-live all their Idle Nibbles; The Righteous will be had in Everlasting Remembrance, when the Wicked who see it and are grieved, shall gnash with their Teeth and melt away.

A GOOD MAN making a GOOD END.

Uttered, Thursday 16 D. 10 M. 1697.

I Bring you this Day a Text of Sacred Scripture, which a Faithful Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, lately gone unto his, did before his going, order for you as his Legacy. Give your Attention.

'Tis That in Psal. XXXI. 5.

Into Thine Hand I Commit my Spirit.

THAT Holy and Worthy Minister of the Gospel, whose Funeral is this Day to be attended, having laboured for the Conversion

of Men unto God, at length grew very Presagious that his Labours in the Evangelical Ministry, drew near unto an End. While he was yet in Health, and not got beyond the Fifty Fourth Year of his Age, he did, with such a Presage upon his Mind (having first written on this wise in his Diary, *Oh! that Christ's Death might fit me for my own!*) begin to study a Sermon on this very Text, *Into thine Hand I commit my Spirit.* But his Great Master, who favoured him with such a Presage, never gave him an Opportunity to finish and utter, what

he had began to study. His *Life* had all this while, been a *Practical Commentary* upon his *Doctrine*; yea, 'twas an Endeavour to imitate our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ, who is said [Act. i. i.] first to *Do*, and then to *Teach*: And now, Behold! His *Death* must Expound and Apply the *Doctrine* which he would have preached unto us. He must show us, how to do that Important Work of *Committing a Departing Spirit into the Hands of God*, no otherwise than by the *Actual* doing of that Work himself. While therefore he lay a Dying, he ask'd one of his dearest Relations, *Dost thou know what I am doing!* She said, *No*; He then added, *I am Rendring, I am Rendring!* Meaning, I suppose, his own *Spirit* unto the Lord. But while he was doing of that Work, and with Humble Resignation *Communing his own Spirit into the Hands of God*, he desired of me, that I would preach upon the Text, about which he had been under such Intentions. Wherefore [If at least I may be thought worthy of such a Character!] You are now to consider me, shall I say, as *Executing the Will of the Dead?* Or, as *Representing a Man of God, whom God hath taken.* The *Truths* which we shall now Inculcate, will be such, as you are all along to think, *These are the things which a Saint now in Glory would have to be Inculcated.* And when we have briefly set those *Truths* before you, we will describe a little that *Excellent Saint*, as from whom you have them Recommended: We will describe him chiefly, with *Strokes* fetch'd from his own *Diaries*, out of which, in the little Time I have had since his Death, I have collected a few *Remarkables*.

Our *Psalmist*, the Illustrious *David*, now, as we may judge, drew near unto his End: And we may say of the *Psalms* here composed by him, *These are among the last Words of David, the Man who was Raised up on High.* The *Sighs* of the *Psalmist* here collected, seem to have been occasion'd by the *Sufferings*, which he underwent, when his own *Subjects* took up Arms against him. Nevertheless, as our *Psalter* is all over *The Book of the Messiah*, so this particular Hymn in it, is contrived Elegantly to point out the *Sufferings* of our Lord Jesus Christ unto us. In the Text now before us, the *Psalmist* apprehending himself in danger of *Death*, does the Great Work of a *Dying Man*: Which is, *To Commit a Surviving Spirit, into the Hand of God.* But in doing this, he entertains a special Consideration of God, for his Encouragement in doing it: This is, *Thou hast Redeemed me, O Lord God of Truth.* It is the *Messiah* that hath *Redeemed us*; It is the *Messiah* whose Name is *the Truth*; *David* upon a View of the *Messiah*, said, *This is the Man, who is the Lord God.* Wherefore. In *Committing our Spirits unto God*, our Lord Christ is to be distinctly considered; and he was, no doubt, by *David* considered. The Power of God is called his *Hand*; The *Wisdom* of God is called his *Hand*: But above all, the

Christ of God, who is *the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God*, he is the *Hand* of God; By *Him* 'tis, that the God of Heaven doth, what he doth in the World: And he is, for that Cause also styled, *The Arm of the Lord.* It is therefore to the *Power* and *Wisdom* and *Goodness* of God, in *Christ*, that our *Expiring Spirits* are to be committed.

There was indeed a wonderful Time, when our Lord Jesus Christ himself made a wonderful Use of this very Text. We read in Luke 23. 46. *When Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit; and having said thus, he gave up the Ghost.* *Sirs, God uttered his Voice, at this rate, and the Earth trembled at it!* And well it might, for never did there such an amazing thing occur upon the Earth before. Now, our Lord having said, *Into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, stop'd at those Words; for he was himself the *Redeemer, the Lord God of Truth.* But as for us, we are to consider God, as in our Lord Jesus Christ, when we *Commit our Spirits* into his Hands. As *Luther* could say, *Nolo Deum Absolutum*, I tremble to have to do, with an *Absolute God*; that is to say, a *God without a Christ*: So, we may all tremble to think of *Committing our Spirits* into the Hands of God, any otherwise than as he is, in *Christ Reconciling the World unto himself.* We are truly told in Heb. 10. 31. *It is a fearful thing to fall into the Hands of the Living God.* Our *Spirits* are by Sin become obnoxious to the *Fearful Wrath* of God; and wo to us, if our *Spirits* fall into his Hands, not having his *Wrath* appeas'd! *Sirs, we Commit Briars and Thorns, and wretched Stubble to infinite Flames, if we Commit our Spirits into the Hands of God, not in a Christ, become our Friend.* We deliver up our *Spirits* unto a *Devouring Fire*, and unto *Everlasting Burnings*, if we approach the *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God Almighty* any otherwise than thro' the *Immanuel, our Mediator.* We are to *Commit our Souls unto our Faithful Creator*: But if he be not our *Merciful Redeemer* too, then *He that made us will not have Mercy on us.* When *Hezekiah* was, as he thought, a *Dying*, he turn'd his Face to the Wall: I suppose it was to that side of the *Upper Chamber, the Praying Chamber*, where he lay, that had *God's Window* in it, the *Window* that opened it self towards the *Ark* in the Temple. When we *Commit our Spirits* into the Hand of God, we are to turn our Face towards that *Ark* of God, our Lord Jesus Christ. We have this Matter well directed by the Words of the *Dying Martyr Stephen*, in Acts 7. 59. He said, *Lord Jesus, Receive my Spirit.*

And now there is a weighty CASE, that lies before us;

After what manner should we commit our Spirits unto our Lord Jesus Christ, that so the Eternal Safety and Welfare of our Spirits, may be effectually provided for?

If our Faithful *BAILLY* were now *Alive*, I do not know any one *CASE*, that he would more *Lively* have discoursed among you: But I know, that he would have Discoursed on this, with a *Soul* full of Inexpressible Agonies. He was a Man, who had from a Child, been full of sollicitous Cares about his own Soul; and from hence in part it was, that when he became a *Preacher* of the Gospel, he preach'd nothing so much, as the Cares that all Men should have, about the Conversion of their Souls unto God, and the Sincerity of their Souls before him. There were many Great Points of our *Christian Faith*, which he still treated with shorter Touches, because his Thoughts were continually swallowed up with the *Vast Concern* of not being deceived, about the Marks of a Regenerate and a Sanctified Soul, and Hopes of being *found in Christ* at a Dying Hour. He was none of those Preachers, *Qui ludunt in Cathedra, & lugent in Gehenna*. Those two Words, *A Soul* and *Eternity*, were *Great Words* unto him; and his very *Soul* was greatly, and always under the Awe of them. Hence the very Spirit of his Preaching lay in the Points of turning from Sin to God in Christ, and the Tryal of our doing so, and the Peril of our not doing it. Wherefore, as far as alas, one of my sinful Coldness in those dreadful Points can do it, I will set before you in a few Minutes, what I apprehend, my dead Friend would have to be spoken, upon these Points, in Relation to the Case that is now to be considered.

I. Let every *mortal* Man be very sensible, that he hath an *Immortal Spirit* in him, and prize that Spirit exceedingly. How shall we *Commit a Spirit* into the *Hands* of the Lord Jesus Christ, if this thing be not Realized unto us, *That we have a Spirit, which will be horribly miserable to all Eternity, if the Lord Jesus Christ look not after it!*

Could that Mouth, which is this Day to be laid in the Dust, once more be opened among us, I know what Voice would issue from it: With a very zealous Vivacity, I know this Voice would be uttered, *Man, Thou hast a Soul, a Soul within thee; a Soul that is to exist throughout Eternal Ages; Oh! Prize that Soul of thine at the greatest rate imaginable.* I say then; we must be sensible, That we have *Spirits* which are Distinct from our *Bodies*, and which will out-live them: *Spirits* which are *Incorporeal Substances, endued with Rational Faculties; and tho' inclined unto our Humane Bodies, yet surviving after them.* An Infidel Pope of Rome, once lying on his Death-Bed, had such a Speech as this; *I shall now quickly be certified and satisfied, whether I have an Immortal Soul or no!* Woful Man, if he were not until then certified and satisfied! God forbid, that there should be so much as one *Epicurean Swine* among us, dreaming, That *Man* is nothing but a *meer Lump of Matter put into Motion.* Shall a Man dare to think, that he has not a *Rational Soul*

in him, which is of a very different Nature from his *Body*? Truly, his very *Thinking* is enough to confute his monstrous *Unreasonableness*: Meer *Body* cannot *Think*; and I pray, of what Figure is a *Rational Atom*? The Oracles of God have therefore assured us, That the *Fathers* of our *Bodies*, are not the *Fathers* of *Spirits*; No, these have another *Father*! And, That the *Spirits* of Men may go from their *Bodies*; and be caught up to the *Third Heaven* too! Well; But when our *Bodies* crumble and tumble before the Strokes of *Death*, are not our *Spirits* overwhelmed in the Ruines of our *Bodies*, like *Sampson*, when the *Philistine Temple* fell upon him? No; they are *Sparks of Immortality*, that shall never be Extinguished; they must live, and move, and think, until the very Heavens be no more. Among other Evidences, *That our Spirits are Immortal*, there is no contemptible one, in the *Presages*, which the *Spirits* of such good Men, as he which is anon to be interr'd, have had of their speedy Passage in a *World of Spirits*. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave his own Blood for the Purchase of our Souls, and can tell, sure! what it is that he has purchased; he has expressly told us in *Matth. 10. 28.* *They which kill the Body, are not able to kill the Soul.* Our Blessed Apostle *Paul*, a mighty Student and Worker for Souls, was not sed with Fancies, when he took it for granted, in *Phil. 1. 21.* That when he should be dissolved, he should be with Christ immediately. Do, try thou Fool-hardy Creature, to persuade thy self, *That thou hast not an Immortal Soul*: Thou canst not, for thy Soul, render thy self altogether, and evermore persuaded of it: With very dreadful Suspicions, of its Immortality, will thy own Conscience, a certain Faculty of thy Soul terrify thee, when God awakens it. I have known a sturdy Disputer against the *Immortality of the Soul*, go out of the World with this Lamentable Out cry, *Oh! my Soul, my Soul; what shall I do for my poor Soul?* Sirs, let this Principle stand like the very Pillars of Heaven with every one of us, *That we have Immortal Souls to be provided for.* But if a Man have an Immortal Soul within him, what will be the Natural Consequence of it? The Consequence is plainly this; That since the Soul is Immortal, it should be very precious. It was infinitely Reasonable for the Soul to be called, as it was in *Psal. 22. 20.* *My Soul, my Darling!* Oh! There should be nothing so dear to a Man as that Soul of his, that shall endure when all other things are changed: For, *O my Soul, of thy Years there shall be no end.* The Interests of our *Spirits* are to be much greater things unto us, than the Interests of our *Bodies*. What will become of our Souls? That, that is a thing that should lie much nearer to our Hearts, than what will become of our Lives, our Names, our Estates. We should set an high Value on our *Spirits*, and often meditate on the Text, which was once given to a Great Man, for his daily Meditation in *Matt. 16. 26.* *What is a Man profited,*

find, if he gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul.

II. Let every Man in this World that hath an Immortal Spirit, be above all Things, thoughtful for the Welfare of that Spirit in another World. When we *Commit a Spirit* into the *Hands* of the Lord Jesus Christ, it is, that so it may escape that Wretchedness, and attain that Blessedness in another World, whereof our Lord hath in his Word advised us. When that *Embassador of Christ*, who is lately gone back unto him, was Resident among us, there was no one thing that he more vigorously insisted on than this; *Oh! there is nothing so dreadful, as that Hell, which every wicked Soul shall be turned into: There is nothing so joyful as that Heaven which is prepared for every godly Soul: And there is nothing of so much Concernment for you, as to flee from that Wrath to come, and lay hold on that Life Eternal.* I say accordingly; there are astonishing Dangers, whereto our Souls are exposed by our Sins. Our Spirits are in Danger of being for ever banished from the Communion of the Lord Jesus Christ, into a State of Easeless and Endless Horror; our Spirits are in Danger to be plung'd into doleful Torments, among the Devils that have been our Tempters: Our Spirits are in Danger to be seiz'd by the Justice of that God against whom we have sinn'd, and laid under Everlasting Impressions of his Indignation. There are *Spirits in Prison*; there is Danger lest the Vengeance of God chain up our Spirits in that fiery Prison. (It was but a little before he went unto Heaven, that our *Baily* in Twenty Six Discourses on Rev. 6. 8. opened the Treasures of that Wrath among us.) And we should now be so thoughtful of nothing upon *Earth*, as how to get our Spirits delivered from this Formidable *Hell*. The fittest Language for us, would be like that in Psal. 116. 3, 4. *The pains of Hell are getting hold on me; O Lord, I beseech thee to deliver my Soul.* But then there is a Great Salvation, which our Lord Jesus Christ has wrought for us; and that Salvation is, *The Salvation of the Soul*. Our Spirits may be released from the Bonds, which the *Sentence of Death*, by the Law of God passed upon them, has laid them under. Our Lord Jesus Christ, satisfying of the Law, by his Death in our stead, hath procured this Release for the Spirits of his chosen. There are the *Spirits of Just Men made perfect*; and there is perfect *Light*, and perfect *Love*, and perfect *Joy*, among those glorified Spirits. Our Spirits may be advanced into the Society of *Angels*; and be with our Lord Jesus Christ in Heaven, the Spectators and Partakers of his Heavenly Glory. Now, we should be more thoughtful to make sure of such a Heaven for our Spirits, than to ensure any thing on *Earth*. We should wish for nothing so much as that in 1 Sam. 25. 29. *A Soul bound up in the Bundle of Life*. There are Souls which our Lord Jesus Christ has bundled like so many Slips, to be transplanted into the

sweet Garden of Heaven; say now, O Man, with all possible Ardour of Soul, *Oh! may my Soul be one of them!*

When our Father *Jacob* was a Dying, he seems, upon the Occasion of mentioning a Serpent, immediately to call to mind the Mischiefs which had been done by the old Serpent unto our Spirits: Whereupon he cried out, Gen. 49. 18. *I have waited for thy Salvation* [for thy JESUS!] *O Lord*. That our Spirits may not be destroy'd in our Dying, This, this is the Thing that we should be concerned for; That they may be saved by a *Jesus*, from the Mischiefs, which the old Serpent has brought upon them.

III. When we *Commit our Spirits* into the *Hands* of our Lord Jesus Christ, we must believe in him, as fully able to *save our Spirits unto the uttermost*. It is by Faith acted unto the uttermost, that we are to *Commit our Spirits* into the *Hands* of our Lord Jesus Christ: Now the Acts of this *Faith* are admirably expressed in 2 Tim. 1. 12. *I know whom I have believed, and I am perswaded, That he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him.* We would have our Spirits preserved from the Direful Anger of God, which threatens to swallow them up: Say now, *Lord Jesus, I am perswaded, Thou art able to preserve me.* We would have our Spirits enriched with the Knowledge and Image, and Favour of God, in his Kingdom: Say now, *Lord Jesus, I am perswaded, Thou art able to enrich me.* We are therefore to place our Faith on the Sacrifice which our Lord Jesus Christ hath offered unto God, on the behalf of his People. We read in Job 33. 22. *When a Soul draws near unto the Grave, If there be a Messenger with him, an Interpreter, then he says, Deliver him from going down to the Pit, I have found a Ransome.* Some of the Ancients take that, *Angelus Interpres*, to be *Christ the Mediator*. Sirs, when yours Souls are drawing near unto the Grave, 'tis high time to believe on that *Ransome*, which *One among a Thousand* has paid unto God for us. We must believe, That the *Sacrifice of the Soul of the Messiah*, when *He was cut off, but not for himself*, is a valuable *Sacrifice*, a sufficient *Sacrifice*, and a *Sacrifice* which the wondrous Grace of God invites us to depend upon; and with a firm Dependance on that *Sacrifice*, we must plead, *O let my Soul be delivered from going down to the Pit, since God has found such a Ransome for me!* But while we rely on our Lord Jesus Christ, as he has been sacrificed for us here below, we must also reply upon him, as he is now above, in the Holy of Holies, interceding for us. And that our Faith in committing our Spirits unto our Lord Jesus Christ, may be a truly *Christian Faith*. We must believe him to be no less than *The Lord God of Truth*; to be God as well as Man; to be God and Man in one Person. That Man is a very Foolish Man, who will trust his own Soul with

with any one less than the God who made our Soul, and who alone can save it. Our Belief must pronounce our Lord Jesus Christ, the same that his Bible has pronounced him; *The True God, the Great God, and God over all*; one who is every where, and who knows every thing. This Article of our Faith, which the modern *Jews* deny, is indeed so incontestable, that I could presently overwhelm them with an Army of Testimonies, from the Rabbies among the Ancient *Jews*, confessing, That the *Messiah* must be very *Jehovah* himself. I beseech you, let no Man dare to die in any Doubt, whether the Lord Jesus Christ, unto whom he commits his own Soul, be not more than a meer Man. Believing him to be God, let us believe, that his Blood is Price enough to obtain for us the Everlasting Happiness of our Spirits; what can our Spirits want that the Blood of God can't obtain? Let us believe, that his Holy Spirit can fit our Spirits for, and fill our Spirits with Eternal Glories; the Spirit of *Christ* is the Spirit of *God*: What can't he do for us? Let us believe, that he has Legions and Myriads, and Millions of Blessed Spirits to be our Convoy, and Safeguard from those Evil Spirits, which are waiting to arrest our Spirits at our Dissolution: He is God among the *Thousands* of his Angels, in *his Holy Place*: They'll fly like swift Flashes of Lightning to succour us, when ever he shall command them so to do. What shall we say? When *Jacob* fell asleep with his Head lying upon a Stone, he had a Vision of *Angels* concerned for him. Truly, our Lord Jesus Christ is, *The Stone of Israel*. If you don't fall asleep, till you have laid your Heads and Hopes on that Stone, you shall then see Armies of Angels about you, to secure you.

IV. When we commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, we must submit unto all his Gracious Operations upon our Spirits. We commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, we say: Well, he then demands of us, as in Mark 10. 51. *What wilt thou, that I should do unto thee?* And, I pray, mark it; If there be any *Article of Grace* always wrought by the Lord Jesus Christ, for the Spirits of his Elect, which you do not Consent unto, he will not receive your Spirits; no, he will destroy them dreadfully. Some commit their Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, they say; but they are not willing that the *Hand* of the Lord Jesus Christ should ever do for them, all that must done, in all that are brought Home unto God. Perhaps they would have their Spirit rescued from the Hands of the Devils hereafter; but they don't heartily commit their Spirits into the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, for to have all the Lusts that make their Spirits like Devils, here embittered, and Eradicated. They would have easy Spirits, it may be, but Oh! they are loth to have Holy Spirits. This Halving of it, thou Hypocrite, this Halving of a Christ, will hang the Mill stones of Damnation about the Neck of thy

Soul for ever. The Lord Jesus Christ puts this Question unto us, *Poor Sinner what shall I do for thy Spirit?* No Man can aright commit a Spirit into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, until he have seriously pondered on that Question. Ponder it Sirs, in the Fear of God! But then let our Answer to it, be according to that in 2 Thes. 1. 11. *That he would fulfil all the good pleasure of his Goodness in you, and the Work of Faith with Power.* In committing your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, Oh! Let your Hearts, *being made willing in the Day of his Power*, declare themselves willing to have him do for you, all that he is willing to do. 'Tis the Proposal of the Lord Jesus Christ, *Shall my Obedience to my Father furnish thee with that Attonement, and that Righteousness whereby thy Spirit shall stand without Fault before the Throne of God?* Reply, Lord, I commit my Spirit into thy Hand, for thee to justify it. The Proposal of the Lord Jesus Christ unto us is, *All the Maladies of thy Spirit, shall I heal them all?* Reply, Lord, I commit my Spirit into thy Hand, as into the Hand of the Lord my Healer; *O let that hand of thine open this Blind Mind, and subdue this base Will, and rectify all these depraved Affections; and on all Accounts renew a right Spirit within me.* Man, commit thy Spirit into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, with such a Disposition; and then rest assured, That Spirit shall never be lost.

V. If you would successfully commit your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, when you die, you are to do it for your Spirits before you die. Indeed, what should all our Life be, but a Preparation for Death? And all of our Life truly is little enough. So thought our Devout *Bailly*. It was the Counsel which he often gave to his Friends, *Let not one Day pass you, without an earnest Prayer, that you may have a Christ for to stand by you in a Dying Hour.* And his own Practice was according to that Counsel, as is well known to them that lived with him in his Family. Sirs, you are not sure, that when the *Decretory Hour* of Death overtakes you, you shall have one Minute of an Hour allow'd you, to commit your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ. Is not a *Sudden Death* a *Frequent Sight*? There are very many so suddenly snatched away by the Whirlwind of the Vengeance of the Almighty, that they have not opportunity so much as to say, *Lord have Mercy upon me!* And let me tell you, That a *Sudden Death* is most likely to be the Portion of those who most presumptuously put off to a *Death bed*, the Work of committing their Spirits into the Hand, that can alone befriend them. I have Read, That of old, according to the Laws of *Persia*, a Malefactor had Liberty, for an Hour before his Execution, to ask what he would, and what he ask'd was granted him. One that was under Sentence of Death, being admitted unto the use of this Liberty, desired neither one thing nor another, but only, *That he might see the*

the King's Face; which being allow'd him, he so plied the King in that Hour, that he obtained his Pardon: Whereupon the *Persians* altered their Custom, and covered the Face of the Malefactor, that he might never see the King any more. I will not now Enquire, how far this Passage, will illustrate the Story of *Haman*; but I will observe, That the Face of God is the Name of the *Messiah*; and in this Observation, I have given you a Golden Key to come at New Treasures in scores of Scriptures. And I will apply it with saying, you have it may be an Hour and no more allow'd you to address the Face of God in the Lord Jesus Christ. In this Hour you may obtain his Favour and Mercy, and Pardon. Don't slip this Hour, lest it be too late. Or, peradventure (and alas, 'tis but a peradventure!) you should upon a *Death-bed* have space enough to commit your Spirits into the Hands of the Lord, are you sure that you shall then have the Grace to do it? It is a solemn Caution that is given us, in Phil. 2. 12, 13. *Work out your own Salvation with Fear and Trembling; for it is God that works in you, both to will and to do of his own good Pleasure.* Even so fear and tremble, to delay committing your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord, so much as one Day longer; you don't know, that God will please to work in you, for the doing of it, when your last Moments are upon you.

I have read it, as the Observation of some very Experienced Ministers, that they never handled in their Ministry any Subjects more successfully than those which led them to discourse against Procrastination in the Concerns of their Souls. Our *Baily* was much in making of this Experiment. Many a Man infers that Clause in his *Last Will*, *I bequeath my Soul unto God that gave it.* But in the Name of God, art thou certain that he will accept of it? The Law says, *Legato renunciari potest, and Legatum accipere nemo nolens cogitur*; one may refuse a Legacy, there's no compelling one to accept it. It is true, our Compassionate Lord will ever accept a poor Soul, whenever 'tis with a true Faith brought unto him. Yea, but it may be, he will not accept of thy Soul, inasmuch as thou hast no true Faith to bring it withal; Faith, which is not of our selves, 'tis the Gift of God! Wherefore, O Man, if thou hast any Regard unto thy never dying Soul, go thy ways presently, and earnestly commit it unto the Lord before a Dying Hour. As the Apostle said, *This I say, Brethren, the Time is short*: Even so, this I say, My friend, thy Time it may be shorter than thou art well aware of. What shall I say? I say, *Boast not thy self of to Morrow.* I say, *This Night thy Soul may be required.*

And if thy Faithless Heart, have the Affluences of the Divine Grace withheld from it, when the damp Sweats of Death are upon thee, there is yet another Objection, with which the

God of Heaven will Thunder-strike thy Attempts to commit thy Spirit into his Hand. That is this: *That Spirit of thine, is it thy own to dispose of? Hast thou not already otherwise disposed of it?* It is a Rule in Law, *Nemo potest legare, quod suum jam non est*, No Man can by Will, Demise, Devise, Dispose of that, of which he had made Sale before. It is said of a very Ungodly Man, in 1 King. 21. 25. *He sold himself to work Wickedness, in the sight of the Lord.* Ungodly Sinner, the Devil has often bargain'd with thee, about thy Soul; he hath said, *By deliberate sinning against Heaven, do thou make over thy Soul to me, and thou shalt have the short Pleasures of Sin for it.* God knows how often thou hast thus bargain'd away thy Soul to the Devil; and since thou hast not in all thy Life revok'd that Bargain, then though thou do at thy Death cry unto him, *Lord, Receive this poor Soul of mine!* How justly may he say, *No, not I! Thou hast sold that Soul to another; and let him keep it for ever!* There will also be this further to be said, *What Power hast thou to dispose of thy Spirit? hast thou any thing at all at thy own Disposal?*

It is a Rule in Law, *Servus non potest Cedere Testamentum*; a Slave can't make a Will: He has nothing of his own to dispose of. It is said in Joh. 8. 34. *Whosoever practiseth Sin, is the Slave of Sin.* It may be, thou hast all this while been a very Slave; thy Lust is thy Lord, a Lust of Uncleanness, of Drunkenness, of Worldliness, it hath utterly enslaved thee. And, What? Not got out of that Slavery before thy Dim Eyes, and Cold Lips, and Faltering Tongue, and Failing Breath, hath put over thy Soul into the Hand of the Lord! How justly may he say, *Slave, Thou art not able to do for thy wretched Soul, what thou dost now pretend unto.* The Lord Jesus Christ will not cast off thy Soul with such Objections, if thou *Seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near.* I earnestly testify unto you, The Vilest and the Oldest Sinner among you all, may Come and be Welcome unto the Lord Jesus Christ, if you will come now, while it is the *Acceptable Time*, now while it is the *Day of Salvation.* Though thou art never so bad, yet come and heartily complain to him of all thy Badness, and he will do good unto thy Soul!

I am sure my *BAILY*, would have said nothing more heartily than this among you; you heard him often say it, *Come in to the Mercy of my Lord, for yet there is Room!* But it is to be fear'd, That if thou stay till the last Assaults of Death are made upon thee, the Door of Mercy will be shut, and so when the Shrieks are, *Lord, Lord, Open to me!* all the Answers will be Rebukes and Fiery Thunders.

VI. Often committing our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ while we live, Let us endeavour after such Characters upon our

our Spirits, as may assure us, that he will receive us when we die.

Indeed when we first commit our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, we are to bring them with no other Characters but those of Sin and Hell upon them. If we then commit our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the Encouragement of any Laudable Qualifications and Recommendations in them, *Ab! Lord, thou wilt abhor us and cast us off!* In our first Believing on the Lord Jesus Christ, he enquires of us, *What Spirit is that which thou dost now commit into my Hand?* Our Answer must be, *Lord, It is a guilty Spirit, a filthy Spirit, a Spirit full of Sin and Hell, as ever it can hold, and a Spirit horribly under the Curse of God.*

Sirs, If you answer any otherwise than so, the Redeemer of Spirits will not receive your Spirits. But when we commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the last Actions of our Life, it is to be supposed, That we only repeat what we have done before, and that our Lord Jesus Christ has already received our Spirits on our doing of it. Oh! 'Tis a dreadful thing for a Dying Man to think, *The Lord never yet received this poor Soul of mine; for I never till now committed it unto the Lord!* When such Persons commit their Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, under the Dimness of the Anguish of Death, 'tis as one says, *As if one should bequeath unto an Honourable Person some greasy Dish clout, or some dirty Shoe-clout.*

It is of unutterable Concernment, for every Man to get the Symptoms of a Received Soul upon him, now before his last surrender of a Distressed Soul: And for a Man to be able to say at the last, *Lord, I commit a poor sinful Spirit now into thy Hand; but it is a Spirit upon which thy Blood has been sprinkled, and it is a Spirit which thy Spirit has long since taken Possession of.* Now to render this unquestionable, we are to examine our selves, *Whether our Spirits have been renewed by the Holy Spirit of God?* And be Restless in our own Spirits, till we are sure of such a Renovation. The Apostle once concluded, That when our Spirits depart from hence, the Lord Jesus Christ will receive them into *an House not made with Hands, Eternal in the Heavens:* And upon what was it, that he raised this Conclusion? He says, in 2 Cor. 5. 5. *For he that wrought us, for this self same Thing is God.* The Greek Word used there, is the same that the LXX use for the Curious Works about the Tabernacle.

When Bezaleel had nearly wrought a Board, for to be set up in the Silver Sockets of the Tabernacle, he would not throw it away among the Rubbish. Man! If thou hast a well wrought Soul within thee, God will receive it, and advance and improve it, in his House for ever.

A Work of Grace produced by the Spirit of God, upon the Spirits of Men, is a sure Token of his purpose to bestow a State of Glory upon them, at their Departure from their Bodies. The Primitive Martyrs were bidden in 1 Pet. 4. 19. *To Commit the keeping of their Souls unto God, as unto a Faithful Creator.* But it is probable, the New Creation experienced by Renewed Souls, is especially therein referred unto. Has the Spirit of God made a New Creature of thy Spirit? This will be a Demonstration, that the Lord Jesus Christ has already received thy Spirit, and that when thou dost again commit thy Spirit unto him, he will receive it. When we do, in our last Actions, commit a Spirit into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ, what is it for? It is that he may put an *upper Garment* of Glory upon that Spirit. But he will demand, *Where is the under Garment of Grace upon it?* If thou art without that Garment, he will doom thy Spirit unto Outer Darkness, that is to say (for *Outer Darkness* was the Name of the Prison among the Jews) he will make a perpetual Imprisonment, the Portion of thy Soul. Wherefore, let us enquire diligently into the Signs of a *Newborn Soul* upon us before we come to die. Wo to us, if we are not *Born Twice* before we Die *Once!* Why should we incur this Desolation upon our Souls, That when at last we go to commit them into the Hand of the Lord, he shall reject them and say, *No, I know them not; they are none of mine; they are the Workers of Iniquity!*

The more certainly to prevent this Desolation, let this one Comprehensive Duty of the New Creature, be often renewed with you. Receive the Lord Jesus Christ into thy Soul, when he does command it of thee, and the Lord Jesus Christ will receive thy Soul into Heaven, when thou dost at last commit it unto him. As *Jotham* said, in Judg. 9. 7. *Hearken to me, that God may hearken to you:* Even this do I now say to you; and I carry it on to this Issue: Do you hearken to the Lord Jesus Christ, when he bids you to receive him, and when you pray him to receive you. He will then hearken to you.

The Lord Jesus Christ is often knocking at the Door of thy Soul: There would he enter, with all his Gracious Influences: Open to the Lord, by resigning up thy Soul to the sweet Influences of his Grace: Reply, *O come in, thou Blessed of the Lord, why standest thou without?* So when my last Sands are running, thou mayst joyfully think, *My Lord Jesus Christ will now receive me, more heartily than ever I received him: If I have had an Heart, alas a vile Heart! for him. I am sure he has an Heaven for me!* Lord, I now commit into thy Hand, a Spirit into which thou hast been received, when thy wondrous Grace demanded it for an Habitation: And thou wilt now receive this unworthy Spirit of mine into a better Habitation.

bitation. Think thus, and Rejoice with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory!

VII. When we come to commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, at and for our last Resignation, let us do it very Humbly, but very Willingly, but very Cheerfully.

How humbly ought we to commit our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ! With how much Loathing and Judging of our selves, and with what shameful Reflections on all our past Behaviours. We are bitterly to acknowledge the Disorders and Corruptions of our own Spirits, when we commit them unto the Lord, and acknowledge the numberless Errors whereinto our Spirits have betray'd us. When we lift up our Soul unto the Lord, let it be in Terms like those in Ezra 9. 6. *O my God, I am ashamed, and blush to lift up my Face to thee, my God!* And therefore, whatever Blessings we expect for our Souls, let us with all possible Self-Abhorrence found our Expectations on the pure Mercy of God, in our Lord Jesus Christ. Most sweetly did our Dying Hooker express the Frame of Spirit, wherewith a Spirit is to be committed into the Hand of the Lord: When one that stood weeping by his Bed-side said unto him, *Sir, You are going to receive the Reward of all your Labours*, he replied, *Brother, I am going to receive Mercy!* What shall I say? The Frame of Spirit necessary in this Glorious Transaction, I cannot better paint out unto you, than by reciting the Words, which I remember I once had, from an Eminent old Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, at my taking Leave of him: Said he, 'Sir, I am every Day expecting my Death; but I desire to die like the Thief, crying to the Crucified Jesus for Mercy. I am nothing, I have nothing, I can do nothing, except what is unworthy. My Eye, and Hope, and Faith, is to Christ on his Cross. I bring an Unworthiness, like that of the poor Dying Thief unto him, and have no more to plead than he. Like the poor Thief Crucified with him, I am waiting to be received, by the Infinite Grace of my Lord, into his Kingdom. And pray tell me, did not aged Paul mean something of this, when he said, *I am Crucified with Christ?*

Sirs, This is the Frame wherewith we are to do what we do. But then how Willingly, how Cheerfully! God forbid, That we should commit our Spirits into his Hand, as only drag'd and forc'd unto it by unavoidable Death. Our dying Lord said, *Father, Into thy Hands I commend my Spirit.* When God calls for our Spirit, we are to think, 'Tis my Father that calls for me; and shall not I go to my Father?

It was a good Speech even of an Heathen, *Bene Mori est Libenter Mori*, one thing in well dying, is to die willingly. 'Tis a dismal thing

for the Spirit of a Man to be torn from him, and be pull'd away with roaring Reluctances, with Horrid Convulsions. Where would be the sense of it, if a dying Man should say, *Lord, Into thy Hand I commit my Spirit, but if I could have my choice, my Spirit should never come there!* When we perceive that Call from our Lord Jesus Christ, *Go up and die!* Let us freely surrender our Spirits unto our Great Lord, and *Go up and die:* He is the Lord of our Lives. Freely, did I say? Yea, and gladly too. When we have aright committed our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord, then take up that Conclusion in Psal. 49. 15. *God will receive my Soul.* And then, let us wonderfully comfort our selves, in the Thoughts of that Spiritual World which we are going into. Think, *I shall quickly rest from Sin and all Temptations, and all Affections, and all the cursed Effects of Sin, and all the Annoyances of Ill Spirits for ever. I shall quickly be lodg'd among the pure Spirits that see God, and serve him Day and Night in his Temple, and God shall wipe away all Tears from my Eyes. Yea, I shall quickly be with my Lord Jesus Christ, which is by far the best of all.* Oh! Rejoice in the Hope of this Glory of God! And let not your Joy be interrupted by any Fear of what may become of your Friends, when you shall be dead and gone. The Lord that calls you to commit your Spirits into his Hand, calls you at the same time, to commit your Widows, your Orphans, and all your Friends, into that Omnipotent Hand: He says, *Leave them all with me, and I'll take the Care of them all!*

It was noted of the *English Martyrs*, which dy'd at the Stake in the Bloody *Marian* Persecution; *That none of them went more joyfully to the Stake, than those that had the largest and the dearest Families then to commit unto the Lord:* And afterwards those large Families, were wondrously provided for. The Excellent Mr. *Heron*, a Minister, that had a Family of many small Children in it, when he lay a dying, his poor Wife said with Tears, *Alas, what will become of all these Children?* He presently and pleasantly replied, *Never fear, he that feeds the young Ravens, won't starve the young Herons!* And it came to pass accordingly.

Sirs, Thus you are to commit your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jesus Christ.

My Reverend *BAILT* did so; and it is as from him, that I do this Day bespeak your doing like him; yea, not from him only, but from the Lord Jesus Christ, the God, *whose he was, and whom he served.* If you would more particularly be told after what manner he did commit his own Spirit into the Hands of the Lord, I can faithfully recite you his own Account of the Transaction. He gives it thus,

'I spent half the Day alone in seeking of God; desiring to give up my self unto God in
G g g g Christ

‘ Christ wholly, and to be his in Soul and Body. The Particulars I omit. I hope, God in Christ, will accept of me, and enable me by his Spirit to keep touch with him: For I owned my self wholly unworthy to enter into Covenant, and also unable to keep it; but Jesus Christ is both worthy and able.

’Tis from one who thus did it, that you are now call’d upon to do likewise.

When you see the Coffin of this Man of God, anon carried along the Streets, imagine it a mournful Pulpit, from whence, *Being Dead he yet speaks* thus unto you; *Whatever you do, commit your perishing Souls into the Hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, as you have been advised.*

That these Admonitions may have the more of Emphasis, a short Account of this worthy Man must now be given you.

He was Born on Febr. 24. 1643. near *Blackbourn* in *Lancashire*; of a very Pious Mother, who even before he was Born, often as *Hannah* her *Samuel*, Dedicated him unto the Service of the Lord.

Of this his *Birth-day*, in the Return of every Year, he still took much Notice in his *Diaries*: And made his humble and useful Reflections thereupon.

Once particularly, I find him thus entertaining it.

‘ This is my *Birth-day*, I am ready to say of it, as *Job* doth of his: But I forbear any unadvised Words about it: Only, I have done little for God, and much against him; for which I am sorry.

When this Day, last arriv’d unto him, he thus wrote upon it.

‘ I may say with a great Sigh, *This was my Birth-day!* O how little Good have I done all this while! O what Reason have I to stand amazed at the Riches of God’s Forbearance! Much may happen this Year! Lord, Carry me through it!

From a Child he did know the Holy Scriptures, yea, From a Child he was wise unto Salvation. In his very Childhood he discovered the Fear of God, upon his young Heart; and Prayer to God was one of his Early Exercises.

There was one very Remarkable Effect of it. His Father was a Man of a very Licentious Conversation; a Gamester, a Dancer, a very Lewd Company-keeper. The Mother of this Elect Vessel, one Day took him, while he was yet a Child, and calling the Family together, made him to pray with them. His Father coming to understand, at what a rate, the Child

had pray’d with his Family, it smote the Soul of him with a great Conviction, and prov’d the Beginning of his Conversion unto God. God left not off working on his Heart, until he proved one of the most Eminent Christians in all that Neighbourhood. So he lived; so he died; a Man of more than ordinary Piety. And it was his manner sometimes to retire unto those very Places of his former Lewdnesses, where having this his little Son in his Company, he would pour out Floods of Tears in repenting Prayers before the Lord.

This Hopeful Youth having been educated in Grammar-Learning under a worthy School-master, one Mr. Sager, and in further Learning, under the Famous Dr. Harrison, at length, about the Age of Twenty Two, he entred on the Publick Employment of Preaching the Gospel. In so doing, he was not one of those, of whom even the great Papist *Bellarminæ* complains, *Qui non valde solliciti esse solent, an ea qua par est preparatione accedant, cum finis eorum magis sit cibus Corporis, quam Animæ.* He began at *Chester*; but afterwards went over to *Ireland*, where his Labours were so frequent, and fervent, that they gave those Wounds unto his Health, which could never be recovered. About Fourteen Years of his Time, in *Ireland*, he spent at *Limrick*, and saw so many Seals of his Ministry, in that Country, that he seem’d rather to fish with a Net, than with an Hook, for the Kingdom of God.

I am not willing to relate, how grievously, and yet how patiently he suffered long and hard Imprisonments, from those Men, concerning whom a conformable Divine of the Church of *England*, very truly says, *That they were Atheists, with the Inventions of Ceremonies habited like Christians, for the Service of the Devil, to corrupt and destroy true Christianity: I should relate but little of this, because that Spirit of Persecution, has been repented by an happy Act of Parliament.*

And yet for the Admonition of our Inexcusable Young Men, *The Sin of which Young Men is very great before the Lord!* above that of those, who have been brought up, as many very Godly Christians have in those ways of the Church of *England*, for a Secession from which, this Country was first planted: Young Men, who notwithstanding their Descent from Fathers and Grandfathers, that were great Sufferers for their Non-Conformity to an Uninstituted Worship of Christ, and notwithstanding their Education in the Knowledge of what is Required, and what is Forbidden in the Second Commandment, and notwithstanding their being urged by no Temptation of Persecution, or being tempted by any thing, but the Vanity of their own Minds, do yet so Rebel against the Light, as to turn Apostates from the First Principles of *New England*; it may be seasonable to repeat so much of the History

History of this Worthy Man, as a little further to illustrate this Article.

He no sooner began to preach the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, but his Fidelity to that Gospel, was tried by an hard Imprisonment, which he underwent because his Conscience could not conform to Humane Inventions in the Sacred Service of Heaven. Yea, while he was yet a Young Man, he often travelled far by Night in the Winter, as well as in the Summer, that so he might enjoy the Ordinances purely administred in the Meetings of the Faithful; and was laid up sometimes in *Lancashire* Gaol, for being found at those Meetings. When he was at *Limrick*, the Attendance of a Person of Great Quality, and his Lady, (who were nearly related unto the Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) upon his Ministry, provoked the Bishop to complain unto the Lord Lieutenant. This Gentleman then profered unto Mr. *Baily*, that if he would conform, he would procure his being made Chaplain to the Duke, and having a Deanery immediately, and a Bishoprick upon the first Vacancy: But he refused the Profer. Albeit, another Eminent Non-Conformist Minister, not far from *Limrick*, a Godly and an able Man, and one who had appeared much against Conformity at the first pressing thereof, did afterwards accept of the aforesaid Chaplainship, and by degrees conformed, and arrived unto several Places of Preferment: Pretending, *That he did it for the sake of Opportunities to preach the Gospel.* But it was remarkable! God so disabled him with Distempers after this, that he was very seldom, if ever able to preach at all.

Mr. *Baily* went on in the Exercise of his Ministry, not pursuing any Factious Designs, but merely the Conversion of Men to Christ, and Faith, and Holiness, which the Devil counts the worst of all Designs. And now, although he were so harmless and blameless in his whole Conversation, that he was always much beloved wherever he came, yet another long Imprisonment was inflicted on him, while the Papists in the Neighbourhood, had all manner of Liberty and Countenance. When he was before the Judges, he told them, *If I had been drinking and gaming and carousing at a Tavern with my Company, my Lords, I presume that would not have procured my being thus treated as an Offender. Must praying to God, and preaching of Christ, with a Company of Christians, that are as Peaceable and Inoffensive, and Serviceable to his Majesty and the Government as any of his Subjects, must this be a greater Crime?* The Recorder answered, *We will have you to know, it is a greater Crime.*

While he was imprisoned, his Church being divided into Seven Parts, visited him one part a Day, so that preaching to them, and praying with them every Day, he once in a Week ser-

ved them all. But this, in a little while gave such Offence, that a Violent Obstruction was given thereunto; and though his Flock, particularly his Dear Young Men (as he call'd them) did pray without ceasing, and not without fasting, for his Release; and humble Applications were also made unto the Judges at the Assizes for it, yet no Release could be granted him, without his giving Security, to depart the Land, within a little time then limited unto him.

It was not long, before a Wrath unto the uttermost came upon the City, which had thus persecuted this Faithful Minister of God; and that Person particularly, who had been the chief Instrument of his Persecution, was (as we have been told) within a while, upon other Accounts, himself run into Prison, where he cried out with Horror, of the Wrongs done by him to Mr. *Baily*, and then running Distracted, he died miserably. But *New England*, a Country originally a Retreat for persecuted Non-Conformists, hereupon afforded unto our *Baily* an Opportunity of labouring near Fourteen Years more, in the Work which he loved above all things in the World; the Work of *Turning the Souls of Men from Darknes to Light, and from Saton to God*: Wherein for some time, his Younger and Godly, and sweet natur'd Brother, who came over with him, was his comfortable Companion and Assistant; until he got the start of him in his Departure to the Glories of the better World. They were indeed, *Fratrum dulce par*; a *David* and a *Jonathan*. *Death*, which for a while parted them, has now again brought them together. This Mr. *Thomas Baily*, died *January 21, 1689.* as this his Brother and Colleague notes in his Diary; *He died well, which is a great Word; so sweetly as I never saw the like before!* But as for this Elder Brother, he was a Man of Great Holiness, and of so tender a Conscience, that if he had been at any time innocently chearful, in the Company of his Friends, it cost him afterwards abundance of sad Reflection, through Fear, lest e'er he had been aware, he might have grieved the Holy Spirit of Christ. A Savoury Book of his about *The Chief End of Man*, published among us, has fully described unto us, that Savour of Spirit, which was in his daily Walk maintained.

Sic Oculos, Sic ille manus, Sic era ferebat.

The Desire of this Holy Man, was (as himself expressed it) to get up unto Three things: To Patience under the Calamities of Life; To Impatience under the Infirmities of Life; and to earnest Longings for the next Life.

And his Desire at another Time, he thus expressed. *Oh! that I might not be of the Number of them, that live without Love, speak without Feeling, and act without Life!* Oh! that

God would make me his Humble and Upright and Faithful Servant!

From this Holy Temper it was, that when some kind Presents were made unto him, he wrote in his Diary thereupon; *I have my Wages quickly; But Oh! that God may not put me off, with a Reward here! Oh! that God may be my Reward!*

We will more particularly note a few Notable, wherein the Holiness which irradiated him, will be described unto us.

We might begin with observing, That the Holy Word of God was very dear to him, as indeed it is to every Holy Man. Hence, I find this Passage in his Diary, *Jan. 11.* *'I finished the Reading of the Bible, in my Family (as formerly) Oh! it's a Dear Book; it's always New. In the Beginning of every Chapter it's good to say, Lord, open my Eyes, that I may see Wonders out of thy Law; And when we shut it up to say, I have seen an end of all Perfection, but thy Law is exceeding Broad. Oh! how terrible are the Threatning; how precious are the Promises; how serious are the Precepts; how deep are the Prophecies of this Book! But we will pass on to some further Observations.*

What is Holiness but a Dedication to the Lord Jesus Christ? This Holy Man was often breathing in himself, and pressing on others, that great Point of dedicating every thing to the Service of the Lord. Thus in his Diary, there frequently occur such Strains as these. *'Oh! that I may glorify God with all I am, or have; even with all the Faculties of my Soul, all the Members of my Body, and in all the Places and Relations that I stand in, as Man, Master, Minister, Husband, Kinsman, and Neighbour. Oh! I stand in need both of a Justifying Christ, and a Sanctifying Christ. When shall I sensibly find a Christ swaying his Scepter in my Soul! Thus whatever House he came to live in, it came under a Dedication; and once upon a Remove, he wrote this Passage in his Diary. 'I could not but leave my Old House, with a Prayer in every Room of it, for pardoning Mercy.*

But it was particularly expressed, when one of his Children was to be Baptized. He thus wrote upon it. *'I spent some time in offering up my self, and my Child unto the Lord, and in taking hold of the Covenant for my self and him. It is actually to be done to Morrow, [in Baptism.] I prayed hard this Day, all this Day, that I might be able in much Faith, and Love, and New-Covenant Obedience to do it to morrow. It is not easy, though common to offer a Child unto God in Baptism. Oh! that's a sweet Word, I will be a God to thee, and thy seed after thee. No marvel Abraham fell on his Face at the hearing of it!*

Hence, when he parted with the greatest Enjoyment he had in this World, he thus wrote upon it, in his Diary;

'If I can but Exchange outward Comforts for inward Graces, 'tis well enough: Oh! for an Heart to Glorify God in the Fire!

From this Holiness proceeded that Watchfulness, which discovered a singular Fear of God, in his whole Conversation. I find him entering in his Diary such Passages as these.

At one Time.

'I did not watch my Tongue so as I ought; which cost me much Trouble afterwards, and made me walk heavily. It's a mad thing to Sin!

At another Time.

'I spoke two unadvised Words to Day. Tho' there was no great harm in them, yet I was rebuked by my Conscience for them. Let the Lord forgive them; and for the future, set a watch before the Door of my Lips. Let my Thoughts and Words be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord.

At another Time.

'That a serious Word, methinks, in Eph. 5. 30. I have grieved the Holy Spirit, by my unedifying Communication. Oh! that in speaking, I might administer Grace to the Hearer! Oh! that Honey and Milk were under my Tongue continually.

At another Time.

'I was too forgetful of God, and exceeding in Tobacco. The Lord pardon that, and all other Sins, and heal this Nature, and humble this Heart.

At another Time.

'This Day I have been more chearful than I have been of a long time. It hath afflicted me since, fearing it was not suitable. Oh! I ought to walk in the midst of my House, in a perfect way. I ought every Day to be writing Copies; and to leave a Stock behind me that others may trade for God withal, when I am dead. And behold, you see this Day, that he did so.

And as Holy Men use to be full of hearty Prayers and Wishes for the Good of other Men, thus this Holy Man has fill'd many Places in his Diaries, with his Prayers for the Welfare of those, with whom he was concerned; from whence we may gather how full his Heart was of Blessings for his Neighbours.

Once particularly I find him thus writing.

‘ I desired to know of Dr. O. what I was indebted to him for those many rich things I have had from him : He told me, *Nothing* ; [which was a great Favour!] only desired my Prayers for him. Oh! that I could pray ! Whenever I can pray, I will heartily say to God in the Name of Christ for him, *The Lord bless him indeed! Let thy Hand be with him, and keep him from all Evil, that it may not grieve him.*

Moreover, It was not only among the great Signs, but also among the great Means of his Holiness, that he was very sollicitous, as well in his Preparation for the Table of the Lord, as in his Observation of what Communion he enjoyed with the Lord Jesus Christ, at his Table.

His Diary abounds with Passages of this Importance, the Expressions of a Careful Soul.

The last time of his being at the Lord’s Table, he wrote the ensuing Passages.

‘ I was encouraged to carry my late bad Frame to the Cross of Christ, and to bewail there my late Prayerlessness and Unthankfulness. Of late it hath troubled me, to think how little I have admired Christ for bringing me out of some late Plunges of Temptation. I now come to him for two things; namely, for Pardon; and also for double Power; both to receive him, and to shew forth his Praises.

Let me add; Sometimes, as he was able, he would set a part half a Day for extraordinary Prayers: He still did so, when there were any extraordinary Cares upon him. Thus he Records in his Diaries.

At one Time.

‘ Being of late in so ill a Frame, I spent some time, to seek the fair Face of Jesus-Christ; and I did, on purpose, address my self to him, who is the most Admirable Saviour. I left my self with him; my Mind, Heart, Mouth; especially my *Conscience*. Oh! how many Wonders are to be wrought in me! I know, the Loving and Wonder-working *Jesus* can do them all.

At another Time.

‘ I spent some time alone in Prayer, from 8 to 3. I was much tired. Oh! that I might wait for Returns, and never more turn to Folly. I can’t tell how God should admit me near him, considering how I have grieved his Spirit. Having pray’d in the Morning in the Family, I retired; and first fought at large unto God for help to go through the

Day: Especially begging Repentance, and not only so, but Faith; that I might not rest in the bare Work; that Satan might get no Advantage after it; that I might have Reason to desire more such days. Then after a little Meditation and Breathing, I went to Prayer again, only to confess my Sin before God, and to set my Soul as before the Lord; labouring to judge and loath my self, for all my Sin, from first to last. God helped a little; but Oh! that my Heart was broken in pieces, and humbled to the Dust. After a little more Meditation, I went to Prayer in way of Petition, and that at large. Oh! Lord, hear me, and give me the Wisdom that I want. I hope God will hear, pity, pardon, and help me. After a little more Meditation, I fell to praise and bless God for my Mercies, by Sea and Land; but was somewhat short in this part, for which I am sorry. At last I concluded all, in praying for the Church of God in general, for *London, Lancashire, and Limrick*, and for *New-England* also. Here I brought all my Relations to the Lord. Oh, Lord, accept of me, and my poor Services in Christ. Oh! that I may watch afterward, and never more be sensual, unbelieving, proud, nor hypocritical. Lord, say *Amen*.

And that Praises, as well as Prayers might not be forgotten with him, I find him once particularly in his Diary, thus expressing himself.

December 15. 1691.

‘ I resolved, through the Grace and Strength of Jesus Christ, even in the midst of all my Sorrows and Sinkings, Despairings and Distractions, to keep as much of this Day as I could in Thanksgiving; which I did; but could not go thorow with it, through bodily Faintness. I spent Five Hours somewhat comfortably; but after that I flagged. I resolved to do three things. First, to spend some time in praising God for his Excellencies. God was with me, I hope, in that part of it, and I spent my self so much therein, that I was disabled for the rest. To help it forward God brought to hand Mr. *Burroughs*, of the Nature of God; I bless God for it. After that, I went to Prayer, labouring to exalt God; (it was a good Time!) after that I sang the 148th. Psalm. Secondly, after that, I set my self to bless God for his Benefits and Kindnesses to me. But being spent, I did not much; only going to Prayer, I made mention of some Mercies; such as these, *viz.* for Christ; his Covenant of Grace; and the Promises of it (some of which, were particularly mentioned and pressed;) also my Education; my manifold Preservations by Land and Sea; (especially that in *Ipswich Bay*;) and manifold tedious Sicknesses since; for the long Day of God’s Patience, notwithstanding many Sins: For my comfortable Provisions all along;

‘ along; for preserving his great Name, that
 ‘ I have in nothing openly dishonoured it; for
 ‘ my Success and Acceptance in my Work; for
 ‘ my dear Wife, that I had her so long; and
 ‘ that my Brother and my dear Wife died both
 ‘ of them glorifying of God: They are in Hea-
 ‘ ven, and I am out of Hell! that I have hither-
 ‘ to been kept from Distraction and Despair,
 ‘ and kept to my Work: That I have any
 ‘ Friends (in this strange Land) and any in my
 ‘ Family to mind me and tend me: That I have
 ‘ Work here, and Opportunities of Service: For
 ‘ my sore Crosses and Losses of late Afflictions
 ‘ and Temptations, hoping they may work for
 ‘ Good. *Thirdly*, To conclude all, with a
 ‘ cheerful accepting of Christ, and devoting my
 ‘ self to his Service: To do for him, that had
 ‘ done all this for me: Saying, If God would
 ‘ help me to study, he should have all the
 ‘ Glory of it. Thus did he walk with God.

His Ministry was very Acceptable to the Peo-
 ple, whose Good he most aimed at, wherever
 he came: Great Auditories usually flocking
 thereunto, proclaimed it. But that he might
 not be *Lifted up*, it seemed meet unto the Wis-
 dom of Heaven, to humble him with sore and
 long *Temptations*, often Recurring to *Buffet*
 him. In his *Days*, he saw many Disconsolate
Hours; he was fill’d with Desponding Jealous-
 lies, left after he had preached unto others, he
 should be himself a *Cast-away*: And he often in-
 treated those, who saw the Distresses of his
 Mind, That they would by no means take up any
 Prejudice against the sweet and good Ways of
 Religion, from what they saw of his Disconsolate
 Uneasinesses.

It may be, ’twill be profitable unto some
 Discouraged Minds, to understand how he ex-
 presses himself on such Occasions. In Sermons
 on those Words, *I am oppressed, undertake for*
me, he much described it unto us. But in his
 Diaries ’twas thus:

At one Time.

‘ I was almost in the *Suburbs of Hell* all
 ‘ Day; a meer *Magor Missabib*. I saw *Death*
 ‘ and *Sin* full of Terror: I thought I never
 ‘ sought the Glory of God: Ah! What a match-
 ‘ less Wretch am I! Oh! That I could love
 ‘ above all things, and seek the Glory of God,
 ‘ and live contentedly on him alone! Oh! that
 ‘ I could see the Blood of Christ on my Soul,
 ‘ and at the Bottom of my Profession. Oh!
 ‘ for a Sight of the Mystery and Majesty of
 ‘ the Grace and Love of Jesus Christ; so that
 ‘ all Excellencies might fall down before it!

At another Time.

‘ I am in a woful Frame; far from saying,
 ‘ with Dr. *Avery*, *Here I lie, not knowing*
 ‘ what God will do with me, but tho’ I thus

lie, God doth not terrify me, either with my
 Sin, or with my Death, or with himself.

At another Time.

‘ If God should yet save my Soul, and his
 ‘ Work in my Hand, it would be amazing.
 ‘ There is a *May be!* If these inward Troubles
 ‘ hold, I shall be forced to lay down my
 ‘ Work. O Lord, step in for my Relief! O
 ‘ the Worth of the Sense of God’s Love in
 ‘ Christ!

At another Time.

‘ I am oppressed unto Death, and fill’d with
 ‘ the Angry Arrows of God: It ariseth not at
 ‘ present from any *particular Cause*, but the
 ‘ Sense of my woful Estate in *general*. Oh!
 ‘ that the Issue may yet be *Peace*, and that I
 ‘ may not fetch Comfort unto my self, but by
 ‘ Faith in *Jesus Christ*.

At another Time.

‘ Oh! That Jesus Christ would undertake
 ‘ for me! If God marvellously prevent not, I
 ‘ shall lay down my Work. O Lord, appear.
 ‘ Oh! for one saving Sight of the Love, and
 ‘ Loveliness of Jesus Christ. I wish I could
 ‘ say, as my dear Tutor Dr. *Harrison* said,
 ‘ That he could not live a Day, without a fresh
 ‘ *Manifestation of God unto his Soul!*

At another Time.

‘ The Eclipse of the Moon last Night, made
 ‘ one think, Oh! that I could mourn bitterly,
 ‘ who have sinned my self into *Darkness*. How
 ‘ is the Earth interpoling! Lord, Remove it. Let
 ‘ the *Son of Righteousness* in his Glory and
 ‘ Strength yet be seen by me!

At another Time.

‘ I have much Reason to bless God, for Re-
 ‘ buking of Satan. I have been many a Time
 ‘ ready to give up all, and lay down my Mini-
 ‘ stry, thinking that God had utterly forsaken
 ‘ me, and hid Jesus Christ from me; which I
 ‘ would justify him in. But by the Considera-
 ‘ tion of the Brazen Serpent, I was somewhat
 ‘ Recovered.

At another Time.

‘ I was now supported by the Thoughts of a
 ‘ Precious JESUS. I should for ever sink, but
 ‘ for him! When I look backward or forward,
 ‘ upward or downward, I die, I sink; but
 ‘ when I look at the sweet JESUS, I live. I
 ‘ may resolve with Dr. *Preston*; (O that I
 ‘ could!) saying, *I have often try’d God, and*
 ‘ now I’ll trust him. It’s a good Resolution;
 ‘ Lord, help me to it!

At another Time.

‘ I would gladly think, *That God is my Father.* And if so, Oh! what Glory is due to the Riches of Free Grace! Oh! how glorious is that Grace, and how will it shine through all Eternity! If ever I see my self safe at last, I must for ever cry out, *I am wonderfully saved!*

In fine, One thing that much relieved him in his internal Troubles, was what he had occasion (thus) to write in his Diary, a little before his End.

‘ I do more see into the great Mystery of our Justification by Faith, merely of Grace. There is no respect in it, unto this or that; but Jesus Christ having wrought out a Redemption for us, and by his Active and Passive Obedience procured a sufficient Righteousness, and making a *Tender* of it in the Gospel, it becomes mine, by my accepting of it, and relying on it alone for Salvation. And shall I not accept of it? God forbid!

‘ I see (said he) there are two things, wherein I can't easily exceed, *viz.* In ascribing to the Grace of God, the Freedom and Richness of it in Man's Salvation; and in ascribing to the Righteousness of Christ in Man's Justification.

At length, dismal Pains of the Gout, with a Complication of other Maladies, confined him for a Quarter of a Year together. Under the Pains of his Confinement, he took an extraordinary Contentment in the Fifty Third Chapter of *Isaiah*, which represents the Sorrows of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby all our Sorrows are sanctified: And he would often roll over those Words of our Saviour, elsewhere occurring, *They pierced my Hands and my Feet.* When the Remains of his Flock, which waited on him to *New-England*, visited him, his usual and solemn Charge to them was, *I charge you, That I find you all safe at last!* My Brethren, God make the Charge of your dead Pastor abide upon you. For some time in his last Sickness, his Heavenly Soul was harrassed with terrible Discouragements: Under all of which, it was yet a common Expression with him, *The Master hath done all things well!* But at last, he arrived unto a Blessed Satisfaction, That the Lord Jesus Christ had made his Peace in Heaven, and that he was going into Eternal Peace. Yea, at the worst, he would say, *That his Fear was not so much about the End of all as about what he might meet withal in the way to that End.* He had begun to prepare a Sermon for our *South-Church*, upon those Words, *Who is this that comes up from the Wilderness, leaning on her Beloved?* And he now spake of it, as expressing his own Condition; *This am I going (said he) out of the Wilderness of all my Temptations, leaning on my Blessed*

Jesus! When his Affectionate Friends were weeping about him, he bestow'd this Rebuke upon them, *Away with your Idols! Away with your Idols!* It was not very long before he fell sick, that he wrote this Passage in his Diary.

‘ I was affected with what I read of Mr. *Shewel* of *Coventry*, who died in the Pulpit. *Lord, Let not me die meanly, but in dying bring much Glory to thee.* And now it shall be so! At last, just as he was going to expire, he seem'd as if he had some extraordinary Apprehensions of the Glory, in which our Lord Jesus Christ is above enthroned: He strove to speak unto his Vertuous Consort and anon spake thus much, *Oh! What shall I say? He is altogether lovely?* His Worthy Sister-in-Law, then coming to him, he said, *Oh! All our Praises of him here, are poor and low things!* And then added, *His Glorious Angels are come for me!* Upon the saying whereof he closed his own Eyes, about the time when he still opened his Bible for his Publick Labours: On the Lord's Day, about three in the Afternoon; and he never opened them any more.

This was he whom you are now going to Bury; but I pray you, Bury not with him all the Holy Counsels and Warnings, that we have heard from him; *Remember how you have received and heard.*

He was one, who took much Notice of what was from the Oracles of God, spoken to him, in the Sermons of other Men. He has much replenished his Diaries, with Remarks of this Importance; *I have heard a good Word to day!* And he would often decline going to Feasts, whereto his Friends invited him, that he might go to *Private Meetings* in some other Parts of the Town, where he might at the same time *Feast* on the Word of God. Thus, more particularly.

At one Time.

‘ I heard a very good Word. *Are ye not Carnal?* Ah, Lord, I am *Carnal.* The Lord give me his Spirit to make me *Spiritual!* I was in many things justly reprov'd: Let me take it, and be wrought into the Likeness of this good Word.

At another Time.

‘ To day I heard a most precious Word, with which I was much edified and refreshed, *viz.* *Christ is all.* Oh! that I might never forget it! Oh! that it might be written upon the Table of my Heart! Let my Soul feed upon it for ever. It was very seasonable. Though it was a Day most intolerably cold; so cold, that there was little writing it; yet it heartily warmed me. I needed a Christ: Oh! that I could get him, and keep him for ever! I would make him my *All*, and count him my *All.* I need a *whole Christ*: Oh! that I may prize a *whole Christ*, and improve a *whole Christ*

‘ *Christ*. I have of late thought, that this may
 ‘ be one Evidence of my Right unto Glory,
 ‘ that *Christ* is more precious to me than ever.

What I say upon it, is; Imitate him in a
 point so Imitable. This Preacher is well wor-
 thy to be imitated, as he was an Hearer.

You can all testify, that he was none of those
Cold Preachers, whereof one complains, *Verba*
vita in quorundam. Doctorum Labiis, quantum
ad Virtutem, & Efficaciam Moriuntur: Adeo
enim tepide, adeo remisse, verba Dei annunciant,
ut Extincta in Labiis Eorum penitus videantur;
unde Sicut ipsi Frigidi sunt, & Extincti, sic
Frigidos & Extinctos relinquunt, & utinam non
facerent Auditores.

For his Preaching, he particularly prescribed
 unto himself, according to a *Memorandum*,
 which I found thus entred in his Diary.

‘ Old Mr. *Thomas Shepheard*, when on his
 ‘ Death-bed, said unto the young Ministers
 ‘ about him, *That their Work was great, and*
 ‘ *called for great Seriousness*. For his own part,
 ‘ he told them three things. First, That the
 ‘ studying of every Sermon cost him Tears; he
 ‘ wept in the studying of every Sermon. Se-
 ‘ condly, Before he preach’d any Sermon, he
 ‘ got Good by it himself. Thirdly, He always
 ‘ went up into the Pulpit, as if he were to
 ‘ give up his Accounts unto his Master. *Oh!*
 ‘ *that my Soul* (adds our *Baily*) *may remember*
 ‘ *and practise accordingly!*

To this his Preaching, when he saw God gave
 any Success, he would still in his private Pa-
 pers, take as Thankful a Notice, as if great

Riches had been heaped in upon him. And
 yet he would add [such Passages I sometimes
 find.]

‘ Let my Soul rejoice. But, Lord, keep me
 ‘ from Pride. I desire to be humbled for it.
 ‘ Do I not know that God makes use of whom
 ‘ he pleases, and usually of the *Wakest!* No
 ‘ *Flesh shall glory!*

But if the Word preached by this lively Dis-
 penser of it, live not in our Lives, after he is
 Dead, he will himself be, which he often told
 you, he fear’d he should be in the Day of God,
 a *Witness* against many of you.

That we may then meet him with Joy, *Let*
us remember them, who have spoken to us the
Word of God, and follow their Faith, considering
the End of their Conversation.

But be thou sensible, O all my Country of
New-England, how much thou art weakened,
 by the Departure of such Blessings to the World
 of the Blessed.

Thy *Baily* could sometimes write such Passa-
 ges as this, (I find) in his Reserved Papers.

‘ There was a Day of Prayer. God was with
 ‘ me in Prayer, helping me to plead with him
 ‘ an Hour and half, *for this poor Land*, and in
 ‘ some measure to *Believe* for it. I hope, God
 ‘ will hear and help.

Such an one taking Flight from thee, Let thy
 Lamentations thereupon be heard; *My Father,*
my Father!

SAL GENTIUM.

THE

Fourth BOOK

OF THE

New = English History.

CONTAINING

An ACCOUNT of the

UNIVERSITY.

From whence the Churches of NEW-ENGLAND, (and many other Churches) have been *Illuminated*.

Its LAWS, its BENEFACTORS, its VICISSITUDES, and a CATALOGUE of such as have been therein *Educated* and *Graduated*.

Whereto are ADDED,

The LIVES of some Eminent Persons, who were *Plants of Renown* growing in that NURSERY.

Offered unto the Publick

By COTTON MATHER.

Here, as in Furnaces of Boiling Gold
Stars Dipt, Come back, full as their Orbs can hold
Of Glitt'ring Light! ———

AB. COULÆUS, de AMERICA.

*Ingenium, Pietas, Artes, ac Bellica Virtus,
Huc profugæ venient, et Regna Illustria condent ;
Et Domina his Virtus erit, et Fortuna Ministra.*
Plantar. Lib. 5.

LONDON,

Printed for Tho. Parkhurst. 1702.

THE UNIVERSITY

BOOK

English - German

1880

UNIVERSITY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHICAGO, ILL.

1880

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1880

CHICAGO, ILL.

1880

CHICAGO, ILL.

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CHICAGO, ILL.

THE

H I S T O R Y

O F

Harvard-Colledge.

INTRODUCTION.

IF there have been Universities in the World, which a Beza would call Flabella Satanæ, and a Luther would call Cathedras Pestilentiæ, & Antichristi Luminaria, and a Third ventures to style, Synagogas Perditionis & Puteos Abyssi; the Excellent Arrowsmith has truly observed, That it is no more to be inferred from hence that all are so, than that all Books are to be burnt, because the Christians did burn the Magical Ones at Ephesus. The New-Englanders have not been Weigelians: or the Disciples of the Furious Fanatick, who held forth [Reader, Let it never be translated into English!] Nullam esse in Universo Terrarum Orbe Academiam, in qua Christus inveniatur; In Academijs nè tantillam quidem Christi Cognitionem reperiri posse: Noluisset Christum Evangelium prædicari per Diabolos; ergo non per Academicos. Lest all the Hellebore of New-England (a Countrey abounding with Hellebore) should not suffice to restore such Dreamers unto their Wits, it hath produced an University also, for their better Information, their utter Confutation. Behold, an American University, presenting her self, with her Sons, before her European Mothers for their Blessing. An University, which hath been to these Plantations, as Livy saith of Greece, for the good Literature there cultivated, *Sal Gentium*; An University, which may make her boast unto the Circumjacent Regions, like that of the Orator on the behalf of the English Cambridge, *Fecimus (absit Verbo Invidia, cui abest Falsitas) ne in Demagorij Lapis federet super Lapidem, nè deessent in Templis Theologi, in Foris Jurisperiti, in Oppidis Medici; Rempublicam, Ecclesiam, Sedatum, Exercitum, Viris Doctis replevimus, eoque melius bono publico inservire comparatis, quò magis eruditi fuerint: Finally, An University which has been what Stangius made his Abbey, when he turn'd it into a Protestant Colledge; Τῆς Θεολογίας παιδευτικῶν ἢ Ψυχῶν διδασκαλιῶν Νομικῶν. And a River, without the Streams whereof, these Regions would have been meer, Unwatered Places, for the Devil!*

PART I.

Its Laws, Benefactors, Vicesitudes, and its Graduates.

§.1 **T**HE Nations of Mankind, that have shaken off Barbarity, have not more Differed in the Languages, than they have Agreed in this One Principle, That Schools for the Institution of Young Men, in all other Liberal Sciences, as well as that of Languages, are necessary to procure, and preserve, that Learning amongst them, which

Emollit Mores, nec finit esse feros.

To relate the Thousandth Part of the Brave Things, which have been done by the Nations

of Asia, in former, or the Nations of Europe, in later Ages, pursuant to this Principle, would be to fill huge Folio Volumes, with Transcribing from *Hospinian* or *Middendorpius*, from *Alsted*, from *Junius*, and from *Leigh*, and from very many other Authors. America is the part of the World, whereto our History is confined; and one little Part of America, where the First Academy, that ever adorned any English Plantation in America was erected; and an Academy, which if *Majores nostri* Academijs signato vocabulo appellavere Universitates, quod Universarum Divinarum Humanarumque; Rerum Cognitione, in ijs, ut *Theſaurus conservata aperiatur*, it may, though

it have otherwise wanted many Priviledges, from the very Foundation of it, pretend unto the Name of an **University**. The Primitive *Christians* were not more prudently careful, to settle *Schools* for the Education of Persons, to succeed the more immediately Inspired Ministry of the Apostles, and such as had been Ordained by the Apostles; (and the Apostate *Julian*, truly imagined, that he could not sooner undo *Christianity*, than by putting of them down!) than the *Christians* in the most Early Times of *New-England* were to form a **Colledge**, wherein a Succession of a Learned and Able *Ministry* might be Educated. And, indeed, they foresaw that without such a Provision for a *Sufficient Ministry*, the Churches of *New-England* must have been less than a *Business of One Age*, and soon have come to Nothing: The Other Hemisphere of the World, would never have sent us over *Men* enough to have answered our Necessities; but without a Nursery for such *Men* among our selves *Darkness* must have soon covered the Land, and *Gross Darkness* the People. For some little while, indeed, there very Hopeful Effects of the Pains taken by certain particular Men of Great Worth and Skill, to bring up some in their own *Private Families*, for *Publick Services*; but much of *Uncertainty* and of *Inconveniency* in this Way, was in that little while discovered; and when Wise Men considered the Question handled by *Quintilian*, *Utilius ne sit Domi, atq; intra privatos Parietes studentem continere, an frequentia Scholarum, & velut publicis Præceptoribus tradero?* they soon determined it as He did, That *Set-Schools* are so necessary, there is no Doing without them. Wherefore a **Colledge** must now be thought upon: A *Colledge*, the best Thing that ever *New-England* thought upon! As the Admirable *Voetius* could happily boast of it, that whereas there are no less than *Ten Provinces* in the *Popish Belgium*, and there are no more than *Two Universities* in them, there are but *Seven Provinces* in the *Reformed Belgium*, and there are *Five Universities* therein, besides other *Academical Societies*; thus the First Possessors of this *Protestant and Puritan Country*, were zealous for an *University*, that should be more significant than the *Seminaries of Canada and Mexico*; *New-England* compared with other Places, might lay Claim to the Character that *Strabo* gives of *Tarsus*, the City of our Apostle *Paul's* first Education; They had so great a Love to *Philosophy*, [*τοιαύτη σπουδή πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν*] and all the *Liberal Sciences*, that they excelled *Athens, Alexandria*, and if there were any other Place worth Naming where the *Schools*, and *Disputes of Philosophy*, and all *Humane Arts* maintained. And although this Country did chiefly consist of such as by the Difficulties of Subduing a Wretched Wilderness, were brought into such a Condition of *Poverty*, that they might have gone by the Title, by which the modestly-clad *Noblemen and Gentlemen*, that first petitioned against the *Inquisition* in the *Low-Countries*, were distinguished, namely, *A Troop of Beggars*, yet these *Guenx* were willing to let the Richer Colonies, which

retained the Ways of the Church of *England*, see *How much True Religion* was a Friend unto good *Literature*. The Reader knows that in every Town among the *Jews*, there was a *School*, whereat Children were taught the Reading of the *Law*; and, if there were any Town destitute of a *School*, the Men of the Place did stand excommunicate, until One were erected: Besides and beyond which they had *Midrashoth*, or *Divinity-Schools*, in which they expounded the *Law* to their Disciples. Whether the Churches of *New-England* have been duely careful or no, about their other *Schools*, they have not been altogether careles about their *Midrashoth*; and it is well for them that they have not.

§. 2. A General Court held at *Boston*, Sept. 8. 1630. advanced a *Small Sum* (and it was then a Day of *Small Things*) namely, Four Hundred Pounds, by way of *Essay* towards the Building of something to begin a *Colledge*; and *New-Town* being the *Kiriath Sepher* appointed for the Seat of it, the Name of the Town was for the sake of somewhat now founding here, which might hereafter grow into an *University*, changed into *Cambridge*. 'Tis true, the *University of Upsal* in *Sueden*, hath ordinarily about seven or eight Hundred Students belonging to it, which do none of them live *Collegiately*, but board all of them here and there at *Private Houses*; nevertheless the Government of *New-England*, was for having their Students brought up in a more *Collegiate Way* of Living. But that which laid the most significant Stone in the Foundation, was the Last Will of Mr. *John Harvard*, a Reverend, and Excellent Minister of the Gospel, who dying at *Charlstown*, of a Consumption, quickly after his Arrival here, bequeathed the Sum of *Seven Hundred, seventy nine Pounds, seventeen Shillings and two Pence*, towards the Pious Work of building a *Colledge*, which was now set a foot. A Committee then being chosen, to prosecute an *Affair*, so happily commenced, it soon found Encouragement from several other *Benefactors*: The other *Colonies* sent some small Help to the Undertaking, and several particular Gentlemen did more, than whole *Colonies* to support and forward it: But because the Memorable Mr. *John Harvard*, led the Way by a Generosity exceeding the most of them, that followed His Name was justly *Æternized*, by its having the Name of *Harvard-Colledge* imposed upon it. While these Things were a doing, a Society of *Scholars*, to Lodge in the *New Nests*, were forming under the Conduct of one Mr. *Nathanael Eaton* [or, if thou wilt, Reader, *Orbilus Eaton*] a Blade, who marvellously deceived the Expectations of Good Men concerning him; for he was One fitter to be Master of a *Bridewel* than a *Colledge*: And though his *Avarice* was notorious, enough to get the Name of a *Philargyrius* fixed upon him, yet his *Cruelty* was more scandalous than his *Avarice*. He was a *Rare Scholar* himself, and he made many more such; but their Education truly was *In the School of Tyrannus*. Among many other Instances of his Cruelty

Cruelty, he gave One in causing two Men to hold a young Gentleman, while he so unmercifully beat him with a *Cudgel*, that upon Complaint of it, unto the Court in *September*, 1639. he was fined an Hundred *Marks*, besides a Convenient Sum to be paid unto the young Gentleman, that had suffered by his Unmercifulness; and for his Inhumane Severities towards the *Scholars*, he was removed from his Trust. After this, being first Excommunicated by the Church of *Cambridge*, he did himself Excommunicate all our Churches, going first into *Virginia*. then into *England*, where he lived privately until the Restoration of King *Charles II.* Then Conforming to the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, he was fixed at *Biddisford*, where he became (as *Apostata est Or sui Ordinis*) a bitter *Persecutor* of the Christians, that kept faithful to the *Way of Worship*, from which he was himself an *Apostate*; until he who had cast so many into *Prison for Conscience*, was himself cast into *Prison for Debt*; where he did, at length, pay One *Debt*, namely, that unto *Nature*, by *Death*,

§. 3. On *August 27.* 1640. The *Magistrates*, with the *Ministers*, of the Colony, chose Mr. *Henry Dunstar*, to be the President of their *New Harvard-Colledge*. And in time convenient, the *General Court* endued the Colledge with a *Charter*, which made it a *Corporation*, consisting of a *President*, two *Fellows*, and a *Treasurer* to all proper Intents and Purposes: Only with Powers reserved unto the *Governour*, *Deputy-Governour*, and all the *Magistrates* of the Colony, and the *Ministers* of the six next *Towns* for the Time being, to act as *Overseers*, or *Visitors* of the Society. The *Tongues* and *Arts* were now taught in the *Colledge*, and *Piety* was maintained with so *Laudable a Discipline*, that many *Eminent Persons* went forth from hence, adorned with *Accomplishments*, that rendred them formidable to *other Parts* of the *World*, as well as to this *Country*, and *Persons* of good *Quality* sent their *Sons*, from *other Parts* of the *World*, for such an *Education*, as this *Country* could give unto them. The *Number* of *Benefactors* to the *Colledge*, did herewithal increase to such a *Degree* of *Benefits*, that although the *Præident* were supported still by a *Salary*, from the *Treasury* of the *Colony*, yet the *Treasury* of the *Colledge* it self was able to pay many of its *Expences*; especially after the *Incomes* of *Charlstown Ferry*, were by an *Act* of the *General Court* settled thereupon. To *Enumerate* these *Benefactors* would be a piece of *Justice* to their *Memory*, and the *Catalogue* of their *Names*, and *Works* preserved in the *Colledge*, has done them that *Justice*. But as I find One *Article* in that *Catalogue* to run thus, *A Gentleman not willing his Name should be put upon Record, gave fifty Pounds*; thus, I am so willing to believe, that the most of those *Good Men* that are mentioned were content with a *Record* of their *Good Deeds* in the *Book of God's Remembrance*, that I shall Excuse this *Book of our Church-History* from swelling with a particular *Mention* of them: albeit for us to leave unmentioned in this

place a *MOLSON*, a *SALTONSTAL*, an *ASHURST*, a *PENNOYER*, a *LODDRIDGE*, an *HOPKINS*, a *WEB*, an *USHER*, an *HULL*, a *RICHARDS*, an *HULTON*, a *GUNSTON*, would hardly be excusable. And while these made their *Liberal Contributions*, either to the *Edifice* or to the *Revenue* of the *Colledge*, there were others that enrich'd its *Library*, by presenting of *Choice Books* with *Mathematical Instruments*, thereunto, among whom *Sir Kenelm Digby*, *Sir John Maynard*, *Mr. Richard Baxter* and *Mr. Joseph Hill*, ought always to be remembered. But the most *Considerable Accession* to this *Library* was, when the *Reverend Mr. Theophilus Gale*, a well known *Writer* of many *Books*, and *Owner* of more, bequeathed what he had, unto this *New-English Treasury* of *Learning*; whereof I find in an *Oration* of *Mr. Increase Mather*, at the *Commencement* in the Year 1681. this *Commemoration*, — *Libris quam plurimis usq; Lectu dignissimis Bibliotheca Harvardina locupletatur, quos THEOPHILUS GALEUS (ὁ μακαρίτης) Theologus nunquam satis Laudatus, legavit; quosq; Novanglorum Moses, Dominum Gulielmum Stoughtonum volo, procuravit, eoque se primarium Hujus Academæ Curatorem præbuit, atq; Harvardinos omnes sibi in perpetuum Devinctos habet.* — Indeed this *Library* is at this *Day*, far from a *Vatican*, or a *Bodleian Dimension*, and sufficiently short of that, made by *Itolomy* at *Alexandria*, in which *Fame* hath placed *Seven Hundred Thousand Volumes*, and of that made by *Theodosius* at *Constantinople*, in which a more certain *Fame* hath told us of *Ten Myriads*: Nevertheless, 'tis I suppose the best *Furnished* that can be shown any where, in all the *American Regions*; and when I have the *Honour* to walk in it, I cannot but think on the *Satisfaction*, which *Heinsius* reports himself to be fill'd withal, when shut up in the *Library* at *Leyden*; *Plerumq; in eâ simulac pedem posui, foribus Pessulum obdo, et in ipso Aternitatis Gremio, inter tot Illustræ Animas sedem mihi Sumo: cum ingenti quidem Animo, ut subinde Magnatum me misereat, qui Felicitatem hanc ignorant.*

§. 4. When *Scholars* had so far profited at the *Grammar Schools*, that they could Read any *Classical Author* into *English*, and readily make, and speak true *Latin*, and Write it in *Verse* as well as *Prose*; and perfectly Decline the *Paradigms* of *Nouns* and *Verbs* in the *Greek Tongue*, they were judged capable of *Admission* in *Harvard-Colledge*; and upon the *Examination*, were accordingly *Admitted* by the *President* and *Fellows*; who, in *Testimony* thereof, signed a *Copy* of the *Colledge Laws*, which the *Scholars* were each of them to *Transcribe* and *Preserve*, as the continual *Remembrancers* of the *Duties*, where-to their *Priviledges* obliged them. While the *President* inspected the *Manners* of the *Students* thus *Entertained* in the *Colledge*, and unto his *Morning* and *Evening Prayers* in the *Hall*, joined an *Exposition* upon the *Chapters*; which they Read out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, from the *Old Testa-*

Testament in the Morning, and out of *English* into *Greek*, from the *New Testament* in the Evening; besides what *Sermons* he saw cause to Preach in publick Assemblies on the *Lord's-Day* at *Cambridge*, where the Students have a particular *Gallery* allotted unto them; the *Fellows* Resident on the Place, became *Tutors* to the several *Classes*, and after they had Instructed them in the *Hebrew Language*, led them through all the *Liberal Arts*, e're their first *Four Years* expired. And in this Time, they had their *Weekly Declamations*, on *Fridays* in the *Colledge-Hall*, besides publick *Disputations*, which either the *Præsident* or the *Fellows* moderated. Those who then stood *Candidates* to be *Graduates*, were to attend in the *Hall* for certain Hours, on *Monday*s, and on *Tuesday*s, Three Weeks together towards the Middle of *June*, which were called *Weeks of Visitation*; so that all Comers that pleased, might examine their Skill in the *Languages* and *Sciences*, which they now pretended unto; and usually, some or other of the *Overseers* of the *Colledge*, would on purpose *Visit* them, whilst they were thus doing what they called, *sitting of Solstices*: When the *Commencement* arrived, which was formerly the *Second Tuesday* in *August*, but since, the *First Wednesday* in *July*; they that were to proceed *Bachelors*, held their *Act* publickly in *Cambridge*; whither the *Magistrates* and *Ministers*, and other *Gentlemen* then came, to put Respect upon their Exercises: And these Exercises were besides an *Oration* usually made by the *Præsident*, *Orations* both *Salutatory* and *Valedictory*, made by some or other of the Commencers, wherein all *Persons* and *Orders* of any fashion then present, were Addressed with proper Complements, and Reflections were made on the most Remarkable Occurrents of the præceding Year; and these *Orations* were made not only in *Latin*, but sometimes in *Greek* and in *Hebrew* also; and some of them were in *Verse*, and even in *Greek Verse*, as well as others in *Prose*. But the main Exercises were *Disputations* upon *Questions*, wherein the *Respondents* first made their *Theses*: For according to *Vossius*, the very Essence of the *Baccalaureat* seems to lye in the Thing: *Baccalaureus* being but a Name Corrupted of *Batualius*, which *Batualius* (as well as the French *Bataile*) comes à *Batuendo*, a Business that carries *Beating* in it: So that, *Batualii fuerunt vocati, quia jam quasi, Batuissent cum Adversario, ac Manus conseruissent; hoc est, PUBLICE DISPUTASSENT, atque ita Peritiæ suæ Specimen dedissent.* In the Close of the Day, the *Præsident*, with the Formality of Delivering a *Book* into their Hands, gave them their *First Degree*; But such of them as had Studied *Three Years* after their *First Degree*, to Answer the *Horation* Character of an Artist,

Qui Studiis Annos Septem dedit insenuitque Libris et Curis.

And besides their Exhibiting *Synopses* of the *Liberal Arts*, by themselves composed, now again publickly disputed on some *Questions*, of perhaps

a little higher Elevation; These now, with a like Formality, received their *Second Degree*, proceeding *Masters of Art*. — *Quis enim Doctrinam amplectitur ipsam, præmia si tollis?* The Words used by the *Præsident*, in this Action, were

For the *Fatchelours*.

Admitto Te ad Primum Gradum in Artibus, scilicet, ad Respondendum Questioni, pro more Academicarum in Angliâ.

Tibiq; Trado hunc Librum, unâ cum Potestate publicè Prælegendi, in aliquâ Artium (quam profiteris) quotiescunq; ad hoc Alumnus evocatus fueris.

For the *Masters*.

Admitto Te ad Secundum Gradum in Artibus, pro more Academicarum in Angliâ.

Tradoque Tibi hunc Librum, unâ cum Potestate Iresitendi, ubicunq; ad hoc Munus publicè evocatus fueris.

§. 5. Mr. *Henry Dunster*, continued the *Præsident* of *Harvard Colledge*, until his unhappy Entanglement in the Snares of *Anabaptism*; fill'd the *Overseers* with uneasy Fears, lest the Students by his means, should come to be Ensnared: Which Uneasiness was at length so signified unto him, that on *October 24. 1654.* He presented unto the *Overseers*, an Instrument under his Hands; wherein he Resigned his *Presidentship*, and they accepted his Resignation. That brave Old Man *Johannes Amos COMMENIUS*, the Fame of whose Worth hath been *Trumpeted* as far as more than *Three Languages* (whereof every one is Endebted unto his *Janua*) could carry it was indeed agreed withall, by our Mr. *Winthrop* in his Travels through the *Low Countries*, to come over into *New-England*, and illuminate this *Colledge* and *Country*, in the Quality of a *President*: But the Solicitations of the *Swedish Ambassador*, diverting him another way, that Incomparable *Moravian* became not an *American*. On *November 2, 1654.* Mr. *Richard Mather* and Mr. *Norton*, were employed by the *Overseers*, to tender unto Mr. *Charles Chancey* the Place of *President*, which was now become *Vacant*; who on the *Twenty Seventh Day* of that Month, had a Solemn *Inauguration* thereunto. A Person he was, of whom 'tis not easie to say too much; but let it here be enough, to Recite the Words of Mr. *Increase Mather* (who now succeeds him) in one of his *Orations*.

Cl. Ille Chancæus. quem CAROLUM magnum, jure optimo nominare possumus: Fuit ille Senex Venerandus, Linguarum & Artium præsidii Instruclissimus, Gymnasiarcha præclarè Doctus; qui in filiis Prophetarum Erudiendis fidem navavit operam omnemque diligentiam adhibuit. Abitus & Obitus tanti Viri, Collegium quasi truncatum, ac tantum non enecatam reliquerunt. After the Death of Mr. *Chancey*, which was at the latter End of the Year 1701. The *Alma Mater Academia*, must look among her own Sons, to find a *President* for the rest of her Children; and accordingly the

Fellows

Fellows of the Colledge with the Approbation of the Overseers, July 13. 1672. elected Mr. Leonard Hoar, unto that Office; whereto, on the Tenth of September following he was Inaugurated.

This Gentleman, after his Education in Harvard-Colledge, travelled over into England; where he was not only a Preacher of the Gospel in divers Places, but also received from the University in Cambridge, the Degree of A Doctor of Physick. The Doctor, upon some Invitations, relating to a Settlement, in the Pastoral Charge with the South Church at Boston, returned into New-England; having first married a Virtuous Daughter of the Lord Lisle, a Great Example of Piety and Patience, who now cross'd the Atlantick with him; and quickly after his Arrival here, his Invitation to Præside over the Colledge at Cambridge, superseded those from the Church in Boston. Were he considered either as a Scholar, or as a Christian, he was truly a Worthy Man; and he was generally reputed such, until happening, I can scarce tell how, to fall under the Displeasure of some that made a Figure in the Neighbourhood, the Young Men in the Colledge, took Advantage therefrom, to ruine his Reputation, as far as they were able. He then found the Reftorship of a Colledge to be as troublesome a Thing, as ever Antigonus did his Robe; and he could subscribe to Melchior Adam's Account of it, *Sceptrum illud Scholasticum, plus habet solitudinis quam pulchritudinis, plus curæ quam Auri, plus Impedimenti quum Argenti.* The young Plants turned Cud-weeds, and with great Violations of the Fifth Commandment: set themselves to Travestie whatever he did and said, and aggravate every thing in his Behaviour disagreeable to them, with a Design to make him Odious; and in a Day of Temptation, which was now upon them, several very Good Men did unhappily countenance the Ungoverned Youths, in their Ungovernableness. Things were at length driven to such a pass, that the Students deserted the Colledge, and the Doctor on March 15. 1675. resigned his Præsidentship. But the Hard and Ill Usage, which he met withal made so deep an Impression upon his Mind, that his Grief threw him into a Consumption, whereof he dyed Novem. 28. the Winter following, in Boston; and he lies now interr'd at Braintree: Where he might properly enough have this Line inscribed over him for his

E P I T A P H,

Malus celeri faucibus Africo.

The Fate of this Ingenious Man, was not altogether without a Parallel, in what long since befel Dr. Metcalf, the Master of St. John's Colledge in Cambridge; who, as Dr. Fuller has related it, was injuriously driven from the Colledge, and expired soon after his going out of his Office: But I would not have my Reader go too far, in Construing the Remark, which the Great Cains made thereupon, *Omnes qui Metcalfi excludendi Autores extiterunt, multis Adversa Fortuna*

procellis, sive Divina Ultione, seu Fato suo, jactati, mortem obierunt Exemplo Memorabili. All that I shall farther add concerning our Doctor, is, that in his Time, there being Occasion for the Colledge to be recruited with New-Edifices, there was a Contribution made for it through the Colony, which, in the whole, amounted unto One Thousand, Eight Hundred, Ninety Five Pounds, Two Shillings and Nine Pence; and of this, there was Eight Hundred Pounds given by the One Town of Boston; and of that, there was One Hundred Pounds given by the One Hand of Sir Thomas Temple, as True a Gentleman, as ever set foot on the American Strand; and this Contribution with some other Assistances, quickly produced a New Colledge, wearing still the Name of the Old One, which Old One is now so mouldred away, that

— *Jam Seges est ubi Troja fuit.*

After the Death of Dr. Hoar, the Place of Præsident pro Tempore, was put upon Mr. Urian Oakes, the Excellent Pastor of the Church at Cambridge; who did so, and would no otherwise accept of the Place; though the Offer of a Full Settlement in the Place, was afterwards importunately made unto him. He did the Services of a Præsident, even, as he did all other Services, Faithfully, Learnedly, Indefatigably; and by a New Choice of him thereunto, on Feb. 2. 1679, was, at last, prevailed withal to take the full Charge upon him. We all know, that Britain knew nothing more Famous, than their Ancient Sect of DRUIDS; the Philosophers, whose Order, they say, was instituted by One Samothès, which is in English, as much as to say, An Heavenly Man. The Celtic Name, *Deru* for an Oak, was that from whence, they received their Denomination; as at this very Day, the Welch call this Tree *Derw*, and this Order of Men *Dermyddon*. But there are no small Antiquaries, who derive this Oaken Religion and Philosophy, from the Oaks of Mamre, where the Patriarch Abraham had as well a Dwelling as an Altar. That Oaken-Plain, and the Eminent Oak under which Abraham lodged, was extant in the Days of Constantine, as Isidore, Jerom and Sozomen have assured us. Yea, there are shrew'd Probabilities, that Noah himself had lived in this very Oak-plain before him; for this very Place was called *Ozzyan*, which was the Name of Noah, so styled from the *Ozgyan* (*subcineritiis panibus*) Sacrifices, which he did use to offer, in this Renowned Grove: And it was from this Example that the Ancients, and particularly that the Druids of the Nations, chose Oaken Retirements for their Studies. Reader, Let us now upon another Account, behold the Students of Harvard-Colledge, as a Rendezvous of Happy Druids, under the Influences of so Rare a Præsident: But alas! our Joy must be short lived; for, on July 25. 1681. the Stroak of a sudden Death fell'd the Tree,

— *Qui tantum inter Caput extulit Omnes, Quantum Lenta solent, inter Fiburnæ Cypressi.*

Mt. Oaks, thus being Transplanted into the Better

Better World, the Præidentship was immediately tendered unto Mr. *Increase Mather*; but his Church upon the Application of the Overseers unto them, to dismiss him unto the Place, where to he was now chosen, refusing to do it, he declined the Motion. Wherefore, on *April 10. 1682.* Mr. *John Rogers* was Elected unto that Place; and on *August 12. 1683.* he was Installed into it. This Worthy Person was the Son of the Renowned Mr. *Nathanael Rogers*, the Pastor to the Church of *Ipswich*; and he was himself a Preacher at *Ipswich*, until his Disposition for *Medicinal Studies* caused him to abate of his Labours in the *Pulpit*. He was One of so sweet a Temper, that the Title of *Delicia humani Generis* might have on that Score been given him; and his Real Piety set off with the Accomplishments of a Gentleman, as a Gem set in Gold. In his Præidentship, there fell out one thing particularly, for which the Colledge has cause to remember him. It was his Custom to be somewhat *Long* in his *Daily Prayers* (which our *Præsidents* use to make) with the *Scholars* in the Colledge-Hall. But one Day, without being able to give Reason for it, he was not so *Long*, it may be by Half as he used to be. Heaven knew the Reason! The *Scholars* returning to their Chambers, found one of them on fire, and the Fire had proceeded so far, that if the Devotions had held three Minutes longer, the Colledge had been irrecoverably laid in Ashes, which now was happily preserved. But him also a Præmature Death, on *July 2. 1684.* the Day after the *Commencement*, snatcht away, from a Society, that hoped for a much longer Enjoyment of him, and counted themselves under as Black an *Eclipse* as the *Sun* did happen to be, at the Hour of his Expiration.

But that the Character of this Gentleman may be more perfectly exhibited, we will here take the Leave to transcribe the *Epitaph* engraved on his Tomb, in *God's-Acre*, at *Cambridge*. It is the Desire of *Immortality* in wrought into the very Nature of Man, that produced the Invention of *Epitaphs*, and while some will ascribe the Invention unto the *Scholars* of *Linus*, who so signified their Affection to their slain Master, others will that it may be ascend as high as the *Great Stone* of *Abel*, mentioned in the first Book of *Samuel*, which they'll tell us, was Erected as a Memorial to *Abel*, by his Father *Adam*, with that Inscription upon it, *Here was shed the Blood of the Righteous Abel*.

Now to *Immortalize* this their Master, one of the *Scholars* in *Harvard-Colledge*, gave to the *Great Stone* of *ROGERS*, the ensuing Lines to be now read there for his Memorial; which for the same Cause, we make a part of our History.

*Mandatum huic Terræ & Tunulo,
Humanitatis Ararium,
Theologicæ Horreum,
Optimarum Literarum Bibliotheca,
Rei Medicinalis Systema,
Integritatis Domicilium,*

*Fidei Repositorium,
Christiana Simplicitatis Exemplar,
πασάν τῶν ἀρετῶν θησαυρός.*

*Sc. Domini Reverendissimi,
D. JOANNIS ROGERSII,
Rogersij Doctissimi Ipsuicensis in
Nov-Anglicâ, Filij,
Dedhamensis, in Veteri Angliâ; per
Orbem Terrarum Clarissimi, Nepotis,
Collegij Harvardini
Lectissimi, ac Meritò dilectissimi Præsidis,
Pars Terrestrior.
Cælestior, à nobis Erepta fuit,
Julij 2º. A. D. M. DC. LXXX. IV.
Ætatis sue, LIV.*

Chara est pars restans nobis, & quando cadaver.

§. 6. The Colledge was now again by Univerfal choice, cast into the Hands of Mr. *Increase Mather*, who had already in other Capacities, been serving of it; and he accordingly, without leaving either his *House* or his *Church* at *Boston*, made his continual Visits to the Colledge at *Cambridge*, managing as well the *Weekly Disputations*, as the *Annual Commencements*, and inspecting the whole Affairs of the Society; and by Preaching often at *Cambridge*, he made his Visits yet more profitable unto them.

Reader, the Interest and Figure which the World knows this my *PARENT* hath had, in the *Ecclesiastical Concerns* of this Country, ever since his first Return from *England* in the *Twenty Second*, until his next Return from *England* in the *Fifty Third Year* of his Age; makes it a Difficult thing for me to Write the *Church-History* of the Country. Should I Insert every where, the Relation which he hath had unto the Publick Matters, it will be thought by the *Envious*, that I had undertaken this Work, with an Eye to such a *Motto* as the Son of the Memorable Prince of *Orange* took his Device, *PATRIÆQUE PATRIQUE*: Should I on the other side bury in utter silence, all the Effects of that Care and Zeal wherewith he hath Employed in his peculiar *Opportunities*, with which the *Free Grace* of Heaven hath *Talented* him to do Good unto the Publick; I must cut off some *Essentials* of my Story. I will however Bowle nearer to the latter Mark than the former; and if no Body blame Sir *Henry Wotton* for still mentioning his *Father* with so much Veneration, as *that best of Men*; my *Father*, I hope I shall not be blamed for saying thus much, *my Father hath been desirous to do some Good*. Wherefore I will not only add in this Place, that when the Honourable *Joseph Dudley Esq;* was by the King's Commission made *President* of the Territory of *New-England*; this Gentleman, among other Expressions of his hearty Desire to secure the Prosperity of his *Mother*, whose *Breasts* himself had sucked; continued the Government of the Colledge in the Hands of Mr. *Mather*, and altered his Title into that of a *RECTOR*. But, when Wise Persons apprehend

hend that the Constitution of *Men* and *Things*, which followed after the Arrival of another Governor, threatened all the Churches with Quick Ruines, wherein the *Colledge* could not but be comprehended, Mr. *Mather*, did by their Advice, repair to *Witchball*; where being Remarkably favoured by *Three Crowned Heads*, in Successive and Personal Applications unto them, on the behalf of his distressed Countrey, and having obtained several Kindnesses for the *Colledge* in particular, he returned into *New-England*, in the Beginning of the Year, 1692. with a *Royal-Charter*, full of most ample Priviledges. By that *Royal Charter* under the Seal of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, the Country had its *English*, and its *Christian* Liberties, as well as its *Titles* to its *Lands* (formerly contested) secured to it; and the *Province* being particularly enabled hereby to incorporate the *Colledge* (which was the Reason, that he did not stay to sollicite a particular *Charter* for it) immediately upon his Arrival, the *General Assembly* gratified his Desire, in Granting a *Charter* to this *University*. Mr. *Mather* now reassuming the Quality of *President* over the *Colledge*, which in his Absence had flourished for divers Years, under the Prudent Government of Two Tutors, Mr. *John Leveret*, and Mr. *William Brattle*, he does to this Day continue his Endeavours to keep alive that *River*, the Streams whereof have made glad this *City of God*. Unto this brief Recitation of Occurrences relating to the *Colledge*, I shall only annex a few Passages, used by Mr. *Mather*, when he gave the *Deprees*, at the first Commencement, after his Arrival; because they are Expressive of Things purely *Academical*.

Gradus Academicus est Honor ob Virtutem potissimum Intellectualem, merentibus, collatus: Estq; *Baccalaureatus*, *Magisterium*, ac *Doctoratus*. *Doctoratus* in Nostro Athenæo plane ignotus; Et quod supra nos, nihil ad nos. De verâ Nominis *Baccalaurei* Notatione, inter Peritissimos ambigitur. Nonnulli Verbum à *Bacculo*, derivari volunt; unde Scholastici hanc *Baccalaurei* Descriptionem formarunt, *Baccalaureus est Persona habens Dignitatem Bajulandi; Baculum, premovibilis in Magistrum*. Ridiculum Animal *Baccalaureus* sit oportet, si hæc Definitio, suo Definito per Omnia quadraret! A *Baccâ Laurus* Vocem desumi verisimilius est; Caveant artem *Baccalaurei*, ne *Laureos*, in *Mustaceo* quærunt. Ad *Magisterii* Gradum quod attinet, eo decorari solent, qui absoluto Liberalium Artium studio istâ Lauream, se dignos præbent. *Magister Artium*, in quibusdam Academiis *Philosophiæ Doctor* audit: Sic apud *Belgas*, et sic etiam, ni fallor, apud Nonnullos *Germanos*; quamvis *Anglis*, *Gallis*, *Hispanis*, *Italibus*, *Polonis*, iste Titulus sit Ignotus. De Antiquitate et Utilitate *Graduum Academicorum*, Multi multa scripserunt, præcæteris *Atingius* et *Conringius*. Honos alit Artes. Ea quidem Virtutis Perfectio est, ut propter se expecti debeat; Ea tamen est Humani Ingenii Perversitas, quod nisi Honoribus Erigantur Artes, Neglectui habentur.

Vix facile invenies multis in Millibus Unam, Virtutem Pretium, qui putet esse sui.

De Jure Conferendi Academicos Honores, juvenis Doctissimus *Christiannus Itterus*, Librum pereruditum nuper edidit: Atq; alterum de Jure Erigendi Academiæ, *Zeiglerus* publici Juris fecit. Mitto *Kotmarum*, qui Collegia Corpora *Ecclesiastica* esse vult ac igitur pro Academiis non habendas, quæ Privilegiis Pontificiorum non sunt Donatæ. Jus Constituendi Academiæ, omnibus & solis, qui *liberæ* habent in Republica tribuitur. Oggerent forsitan aliquis, si hæc Potestas inter *Regalia* numeretur, quid *Novanglia* cum *Academia*? Quid *Cantabrigia Novanglorum* cum *Gradu Academico*? Ejusmodi Objectores sciant velim, nostram Academiæ Regis Autoritate jam firmatam & munitam esse. Notius est quam ut meâ Narratione egeat, quod non solum Summæ Potestates, sed alii, eorum Nomine, hos Honores disperiant, quod, Exempli gratiâ, in Imperio *Romano Germanico*, *Archiducibus Austriæ*, etiam et *Comites Palatini*; quodq; in *Fœderato Belgio*, singuli *Ordines*, id unaquaq; *Provincia*, hæc Potestatem habeant & exerceant. Imo, et *REX* ipse Magnus *Gulielmus*, magis *Britanniæ Imperator*, mihi dicere Dignatus est, se sat scire, quod apud suos in *Novangliâ* subditos esset *Academia*: Quæ *Academia* (aiebat, *Delicium Humani Generis*, *Rex noster Potentissimus*) mihi erit in *Gratiâ*. Quid Verbis Regiis Gratius esse poterit? Deinde verò Summa *Provincia Massachusettensis* *Curiâ*, *Gubernator*, *Senatus*, *Populusq; Nov. Anglianus*, *Collegium Harvardinum*, *Academiæ*, cum Autoritate Conferendi *Gradus* pro more *Academiarum Angliæ* nominarunt & instituerunt. Adfunt deniq; *Illustres Duumviri*. *D. Gulielmus PHIPSIVS*, Hujus Territorii *Gubernator* Amplissimus, Regis *Mandato* delegatus; nec non *D. Gulielmus STOUGHTONUS*, *Pro-Gubernator*, *Mæccnas* noster æternum Honorandus; quos equidem tanquam *Cancellarium* & *Vice-Cancellarium*, hujus *Academiæ* veneror, *Animo*, *Menteq;* *suspicio*. Hæc cum istâ se habeant, ad *Gradus Academicos* sine morâ, ac solito more, cur non procederemus, nullus video.

§. 7 At the Commencement, it has been the Annual Custom for the *Bachelors* to publish a Sheet of *Theses*, pro virili *Defendende*, upon all or most of the *Liberal Arts*; among which they do, with a particular Character, distinguish those that are to be the Subjects of the Publick *Disputations* then before them; and those *Theses* they dedicate as handsomely as they can, to the Persons of Quality, but especially the *Governour* of the *Province*, whose *Patronage* the *Colledge* would be recommended unto. The *Masters* do, in an half sheet, without any *Dedication*, publish only the *Quæstiones pro Modulo disciendæ*, which they purpose either *Affirmatively* or *Negatively* to maintain as *Respondents*, in the *Disputations*, which are by them to be managed. They that peruse the *Theses* of the *Bachelors* of later Years published, will find that though the

Roman Discipline be in this Colledge preferred unto the *Aristotelean*, yet they not to confine themselves unto *That* neither, as to deprive themselves of that *Libera Philosophia*, which the *Good Spirits* of the Age have embraced, ever since the Great Lord *Bacon* show'd 'em the way to *The Advancement of Learning*; but they seem to be rather of the *Self*, begun by *Potamon*, called *ἐκλεκτικοί*, who adhering to no former *Self*, choise out of them all, what they lik'd best in any of them: At least, I am sure, they do not show such a Veneration for *Aristotle* as is express'd at *Queens-Colledge* in *Oxford*; where they read *Aristotle* on their *Knees*, and those who take *Degrees* are sworn to defend his Philosophy. A *Venetian* Writer pretends to enumerate no less than Twelve Thousand Volumes published in the Fourteenth Age, about the Philosophy of *Aristotle*, none of ours will add unto the Number. For this let the Learned Reader, accept the Excuse, which their present *President*, in one of his Orations, at the Close of their Exercises, has helpt us unto.

Mihi quidem maximè arridet, quòd vos qui estis in Artibus Liberalibus Initiati, Liberum Philosophandi Modum, potius quam *Peripateticismum* sapere videmini. Nullus addubito quin *Cl. Gassendi* Exercitationes vobis non sunt ignotæ, in quibus, quòd apud *Aristotelem* multa deficiant, multa superfluant, multa fallant, pluribus Ostendit. Tritum est illud, *Qui non vult Intelligi debet negligi*; Nonnulla autem in Libris *Aristotelis*, Nemo mortalium potest Intellegere. Fertur itaque de *Hermolao Barbaro*, quòd *Dæmonem* ab Inferis Excitaverit, ut quid *Aristoteles* per suam *ἐνδειξιαν* voluit, exponeret. En. Egregium *Aristotelis* Interpretem! Quam plurima in ejus Scriptis, Authoris Paganissimum redolent: Mundum facit Increatum: Mortuorum Resurrectionem possibilem negat; Animam mortalem. Nonnulli *Pyrrhonem*, qui fuit Pater *Scepticorum*: Alii *Zenonem*, qui fuit Pater *Stoicorum*; Multi *Platonem*, qui fuit Pater *Academicorum*; *Aristoteli* præferunt. Vos autem quibus *Libere Philosophari* contigit, in Nullius jurare Verba Magistri, estis addicti: Ast unicum *Aristotelis* Dictum verè Aureum, memoriâ teneatis, *Amicus* Plato, *Amicus* Socrates (ad do ego *Amicus* *Aristoteles*) sed magis *Anica Veritas*.

They likewise which peruse the *Questiones* published by the *Masters*, will find, that as these, now and then presume to fly as high as *Divinity*; so their *Divinity* is of that *Reformed Stamp*, which carries as frequent Confutations of *Arminianism* with it, as are possible: Herein condemning those *Protestant Universities*, abroad in the World, which have not preserved the Glorious *Doctrines of Grace*, in such Purity, as that great Party among the *Romanists* themselves, which go under the Name of *Jansenists*. But for this also let their Present *President* be Accountable, whose Orations at the End of their Exercises, have uttered such Passages as these unto them.

Gravis illa fuit *Profundi Doctoris* Querela, totum pene Mundum post *Pelagium* in Errorem abire. Causa in promptu est; nam propter *Adæ*,

et in eo Peccantis Humani Generis, Naufragium, mortales prout Res sint, nec sentiunt, nec judicant. Toti, toti, quanti quantiq; sunt, a Bono & Vero aversi, conversi ad Malum & Errorem. *Pelagianismus* itaq; Homini in Statu lapsò Naturalis est, nec unquam sic avelli potest, quòd non iterum tanquam infelix Lolium, in Fundo Naturæ corruptæ exoriatur. Videmus *Papistas*, *Socinianistas*, nec non *Arminii* Sequaces, *Pelagii* de *Liberi Arbitrii* Viribus, virus Absorbentes ac Devorantes; tametsi eorum Error, non tantum ab *Augustino*, jamdudum, & a *Lutbero*, in Libro Insigni cui Titulus est, *De servo Arbitrio*, sed etiam ab Innumeris hujus Seculi Viris perquam Eruditis, refutatur. Sed facessat jam *Arminianismus*, cum sit *Neo-pelagianismus*. Mihi in Mentem venit Anagramma, sive Ingeniosa Nominis *Arminii* Interpretatio, ex Literarum Trajectione. *Jacobus Arminius*, ἀναρρομαλιζουέως est, *Vani Orbis Amicus*; At nobis ergo non sit *Amicus*. Habemus autem in *Amyraldo*, *Arminium Redivivum*; parum enim, aut nihil afferunt *Amyraldistæ*, quos *Novatores* & *Methodistas* vocant, nisi quæ ab *Arminianis* acceperunt, uti Multis *Cl. Molinus* evicit. Facessant igitur *Novatores*, et in Nostra Academia, nec Vola, nec Vestigium *Arminianismi* unquam inveniatur. In quantum verò *Inceptores* nostri veram contra *Arminianismum* Sententiam pro virili propugnârunt, eos Laureâ Dignos habeamus.

And now, I hope, that the *European Churches* of the *Faithful*, will cast an Eye of some Respect upon a little University in *America*, recommended by the Character that has been thus given of it. Certainly they must be none but Enemies to the *Reformation*, the Sons of *Edom* (which the *Jewish* Rabbins very truly tell us, is the Name of *Rome* in the Sacred Oracles) that shall say of such an University, *Rase it! Rase it!*

§. 8. But our Account of *Harvard-Colledge*, will be rendred more compleat, if we do here transcribe the Laws of it; which *Latus*, now, Reader, do bespeak thy Patience.

Statuta, Leges, & Privilegia, a Preside & Sociis, Collegij HARVARDINI, apud Cantabrigienses in Novâ Angliâ, approbata & sancita; quibus Scholares sive Studentes, et Admissi & Admittendi, ad Literas & bonos Mores, promovendam, subjicere tenentur.

1. Quicumq; fuerit Peritia Legendi *Ciceronem*, aut quemvis alium ejusmodi Classicum Autorem ex tempore, et congruè Loquendi ac Scribendi Latinè Facultas, Oratione tam solutâ quàm Ligatâ, suo (ut aiunt) Marte, & ad unquam inflectendi Græcorum Nominum, & Verborum Paradigmata; Hic Admissionem in Collegium jure potest expectare: Quicumque vero destitutus fuerit hæc Peritiâ, Admissionem sibi Neutiquam vendicet.

2. Quicumq; in Collegium admittuntur, iidem etiam Contubernio excipiendi sunt; et Unusquisq; Scholarium Oeconomo tres Libras cum Hospitio

Hospitio accipitur; numerabit; Eidem ad finem cuiusq; Trimestris quod debitum erit, solvet: Nec licet Ulli Academico, nondum Gradu Ornato, Convictum extra Collegium quærere, nisi veniã impetratã à Præsìde, aut suo Tutore. Si quis autem hanc Præsìdis aut Tutoris Indulgentiam obtinebit, Consuetudinem usitatam; fideliter observabit; sin autem aliquis a Collegio Defcedendo, privatam Institutionem quæserit; copia à Præsìde, vel a Tutoribus illi non factã, nullo Privilegio Academico patietur.

3. Dum hic egerint, Tempus studiose Redimunt; tam Communes Omnium Scholarium horas, quam suis Prælectionibus destinatas, Observando.

4. Unusquisque Scholarium Exercitia omnia Scholastica et Religiosa, tam publica quam privata sibi propria præstabit. Adhuc in Statu pupillari degentes, Sexies quotannis Rostra Oratoria ascendent. Unaquaque Septimanã bis Disputationibus publicis Sophistæ interesse debent: Cum Baccalaurei tum Sophistæ, Analysin in aliquam S. Literarum partem, instituent: Baccalaurei singulis semestribus, publicè Quæstiones Philosophicas sub Præsìdis Moderamine discutient: Absente vero Præsìde, duo Seniores Tutores Moderatoris partes alternatim agent.

5. Ne quis sub quovis Prætextu, Hominum, quorum Perditi ac Discincti sunt Mores, Consuetudine utitor.

6. Nemo in statu pupillari degens, nisi concessa prius a Præsìde, vel a Tutoribus, veniã ex Oppido exeat: Nec quis quam Cuiuscunque Gradus aut Ordinis fuerit, Tabernas aut Diversoria, ad Comestandum, aut Bibendum, accedat, nisi ad Parentes, Curatores, Nutricios, aut huiusmodi, accessitus fuerit.

7. Nullus Scholaris, nullo Parentum, Curatorum, aut Tutorum approbante, quicquam emito, vendito, aut commutato qui autem secus fecerit, a Præsìde aut Tutore, pro Delicti Ratione Multabitur.

8. Omnes Scholares a Vestibus, quæ Fastam aut Luxum præ se ferunt, abstineant; nec Ulli Studenti extra Limites Academice, sine Toga, Tunica, vel Penula, exire liceat.

9. Omnis Scholaris non Graduat, solo Cognomine vocetur, nisi sit Commensalis, aut Equitis Primogenitus, vel insigni Genere natus.

10. Omnis Commensalis, quinque Libras, in perpetuum Academice Usus solvet, priusquam in Collegium admittatur.

11. Unusquisque Scholaris in Statu pupillari degens, Tutori suo duas Libras, at si Commensalis, tres Libras, per Annum dinumerare tenebitur.

12. Nulli ex Scholaribus Senioribus, solis Tutoribus et Collegii sociis exceptis, Recentem sive Juniorem, ad Itinerandum, aut ad aliud quodvis faciendum, Minis, Verberibus, vel aliis Verbis impellere licebit. Et si quis non Graduat, in hanc Legem peccaverit, Castigatione Corporali, Expulsione, vel aliter, prout Præsìdi cum Sociis, visum fuerit punietur.

13. Scholares, cuiuscunq; Conditionis, a Lusu Alearum vel Chartarum pictarum, nec non ab

omni Lusu Genere, in quo de pecuniã concertatur, abstineant, sub pœnã viginti Solidorum toties, quoties, si sit Graduat, vel aliter, pro Arbitrio Præsìdis & Tutoris, si non sit Graduat.

14. Siquis Scholarium a Præcibus, aut Prælectionibus abfuerit, nisi necessitate Coactus, aut Præsìdis aut Tutoris nactus veniam; Admonitioni, aut aliusmodi, pro Præsìdis aut Tutoris, prudentiã, pœnæ, si plusquam semel, in Hebdomade peccaverit, erit obnoxius.

15. Nullus Scholaris quavis de Causã (nisi præmonstrata & approbata, Præsìdi & Tutori suo) à Studiis, stative Exercitiis abesto: Exceptã semiborã Jentaculo, Prandio vero sesquihorã, concessã; nec non Cœnæ usq; ad horam nonam.

16. Siquis Scholarium ullam Dei aut hujus Collegii Legem, sive Animo perverso, sive ex supinã Negligentiã violarit, postquam fuerit bis admonitus, gravioribus pro Præsìdis aut Tutoris prudentiã, pœnis, coerceatur. In Atrocioribus autem Delictis, ut adeo gradatim procedatur, Nemo expectet.

17. Quicunq; Scholaris, probatione habitã, poterit sacrus utriusq; Instrumenti Scripturas, de Textu Originali Latine Interpretari; & Logicè resolvere; fueritq; Naturalis & Moralis Philosophiæ Principiis Imbutus; Vitaq; & Moribus inculpat; et publicis quibusve Comitiiis à Præsìde & Sociis Collegii, approbatus, primo suo Gradu possit Ornari. Aliter Nemo, nisi post Triennium et decem Menses ab Admissione in Collegium, ad primum, in Artibus Gradum admittetur.

18. Quicunq; Scholaris Locum habuit Communem, scriptamq; Synopsin, vel Compendium Logicæ, Naturalis & Moralis Philosophiæ, Arithmeticæ, aut Geometriæ, aut Astronomiæ, exhibuerit, fueritq; ad Theses suas defendendas paratus; nec non Originalium, ut supra dictum, Linguarum, peritus; quem etiamnum Morum Integritas ac Studiorum Diligentia cohonestaverint, publicis quibusvis Comitiiis probatione factã, secundi Gradus, Magisterii nimirum, capax erit.

19. Statutum est, quòd qui Theologiæ dat Operam, antequam Baccalaureatum, in illa Facultate Consequatur, Gradum Magisterii in Artibus, suscipiat, ac sedulo Theologicis & Hebraicis Lectionibus incumbat; quibus Annorum septem dabit Operam: quo Spatio, bis Disputabit contra Theologiæ Baccalaureum, semelq; Respondebit in Theologia; concionabitur Latine semel, & semel Anglice, vel in Templo, vel in Aula Academice: Et si, in hoc Tempore, in Theologia profecerit, per solennem Inaugurationem, Baccalaureus fiet: Hæc tamen Cautione servatã, ne quis ante quinquennium completum à suscepto Magistrati Gradui, Concionem huiusmodi habere permittetur.

20. Statutum est, Quòd qui cupit in Ordinem Doctorum Theologiæ cooptari, per Integrum Quinquennium, post susceptum Baccalaurei gradum, Lectionibus & Studiis Theologicis dabit Operam, et antequam Incipiendum, in eadem

Facultate admittatur, in Quæstionibus Theologicis bis Opponet, semel Respondebit, idq; Doctori, si commodè fieri poterit; Latinè semel, Anglicè semel, concionabitur in Templo, vel in Aula Academiæ; solenniter sexies Legat, et Explicet aliquam Scripturæ partem, et post solennem Inceptionem, semel infra Annum ipse sibi Quæstionem proponere, tenebitur in Aulâ Academiæ, cujus Ambigua & Dubitationes, in utramq; partem, enucleabit, definiet & determinabit.

21. Statutum est, quòd præter cætera Exercitia, pro Gradibus Theologicis præstanda, unusquisq; tam pro Theologiæ Baccalaureatu, quam pro Doctoratu Candidatus, Tractatum quendam contra Hæresim vel Errorem aliquem Grassantem, aut in aliud utile quoddam Argumentum (dirigentibus id Præside & Collegii Sociis) pro Comuni Ecclesiarum commodo, in Lucem emittere, tenebitur.

22. Gradus Academici, qui à Præside & Curatoribus Collegii Harvardini, antehac Collati sunt, pro Validis habeantur.

23. Unusquisq; Scholaris harum Legum Exemplar, à Præside, & Aliquo Tutorum Subscriptum, sibi comparabit, priusquam in Collegium admittatur.

§. 9. Among the Laws of *Harvard-Colledge* thus recited, the Reader will find the Degrees of a *Baccalaureate* and a *Doctorate*, in *Divinity*, provided for those, that by coming up to Terms, beyond those required, in any one *European* University, shall merit them. Now tho' there are Divines in the Country, whose Abilities would fully answer the Terms thus proposed; yet partly from the *Novelty* of the Matter it self, which under the former *Charter* was never pretended unto, and partly from the *Modesty* of the Persons most worthy to have this Respect put upon them, there was yet never made among us any of these *Promotions*. 'Tis true, these Titles, are of no very Early Original; for the Occasion of them first arose, about the Year of our Lord, 1135. *Lotharius* the Emperor, having found in *Italy*, a Copy of the *Roman Civil Law*, which he was greatly taken withal, he ordained, that it should be *Publicly expounded in the Schools*; and that he might give Encouragement unto this Employment, it was Ordained, that the Publick Professors of this Law should be Dignified with the Style of *Doctors*, whereof *Bulgarius Hugolinus*, with Others, was the First. Not long after, this Rite of Creating *Doctors*, was borrowed of the *Lawyers*, by *Divines*, who in their *Schools* publickly taught *Divinity*; and the Imitation took place, first, in *Bononia*, *Paris* and *Oxford*. But I see not, why such Marks of Honour may not be properly given by an *American* University, as well as an *European* to them, who by such *Capacity* and *Activity* for the Service of the Churches, do deserve to be so distinguished. Indeed, this University did present their President with a *Diploma*; for a *Doctorate* under the Seal of the *Colledge* with the Hands of the Fellows annexed; which, because it is the *First* and the *Sole* Instance of such a Thing done in the whole *English America*, I will here transcribe it.

Quam Gradus Academicas, tam in *Theologia*, quam in *Philosophiâ*, pro more Academicarum in *Anglia*, Conferendi Potestas, ab Amplissimo Governatore, et a Summa *Massachusettsensis* Provinciæ Curia, secundum Sereniss. Regis ac Reginæ *Gulielmi & Mariæ*, illis Concessum Diploma, sit ad nobis Commissa: et quoniam Vir Clarissimus, D. CRESCENTUS MATHERUS, Collegii Harvardini in *Novâ Angliâ* Præses Reverendus, Libros quam plurimos tam Anglicè quam Latinè edidit, Omnigenâ Literaturâ Refertos, multisq; præterea tradis, non solum in Linguis et in Artibus Liberalibus peritissimum, verum etiam in *S. S. Scripturis* & in *Theologia* se ostendit versatissimum; Atq; per Studia & Merita verè extraordinaria, non tantum apud *Americanas*, sed et *Europæas* Ecclesiâs commendatissimum se reddidit; propterea dictum D. CRESCENTIIUM MATHERUM, Doctorali Cathedrâ dignum, judicamus, eumq; pro Autoritate nobis Commissâ, *S. Theologiæ DOCTOREM*, Nominamus ac Renunciamus. In cujus Rei Testimonium, Academiæ Sigillum Hisce Literis affiximus; Nos, quorum hic sunt subscripta Nomina, Datum Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum Die Novembris Septimo, Anno Domini Millesimo, Sexcentesimo, Nonagesimoq; Secundo.

Nevertheless, whatever Use he may hereafter, see Cause to make of this *Instrument*, he hath hitherto been willing to wear no other Title, than what formerly he had, in the *Catalogue of our Graduates*. which is the Next Thing, that my Reader is to be entertained withal.

§. 10. Reader, *The Sons of HARVARD* are going to present themselves in Order before thee. The *Catalogue* pretends not unto such Numbers, as *Osiander* will find for us in his *Academy of Tubinga*, which yielded more than Four Thousand Masters, *Inter quos erant magna Nomina & Lumina*; nor such Numbers, as *Hewel* reports of *Paris*, where there have been known, at One Time, *Twenty Thousand*, yea, *Thirty Thousand* Students; nor such Numbers as *Aisted* reports of *Prague*, where the University had at Once, *Forty Four Thousand* Foreigners, that were Students in it, besides the Native *Bohemians*. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged, That here are pretty Competent Numbers, for a *poor Wilderness* in its Infancy; and a *poor Wilderness* indeed it had been, if the Cultivations of such a *Colledge* had not been bestowed upon it. In the perusal of this *Catalogue*, it will be found, that, besides a Supply of Ministers for our Churches from this Happy *Seminary*, we have hence had a Supply of Magistrates, as well as Physicians and other Gentlemen, to serve the Common-wealth with their Capacities. Yea, the Considerable Names of *STOUGHTON* and *DUDLEY*, in this List, have been advanced unto the Chief Place in Government: Nor has the Country sent over

over *Agents* to appear at *Whitehall*, for any of its Interests upon any Occasion for more than these Thirty Years, but what had their Education in this Nursery. It will be also found that *Europe* as well as *America*, has from this Learned *Seminary*, been enriched with some Worthy Men; among whom I will rather choose to omit the mention of *Sir George Downing*, who occurs in the first Class of our *Graduates*, than reckon him with a Company so disagreeable to him, as the Rest, that were many of them afterwards Famous Ministers of the Gospel in *England* and *Ireland*. *Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur*. It will be likewise found, that not a few of these *Harvardians*, have by their *Published Writings* been useful unto the World. That Excellent Man, who is the Leader of this whole Company, and who was a *Star of the first Magnitude* in his Constellation, to wit, *Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge*; an Eminent Herald of Heaven, at *Salisbury*, and afterwards at *Newbury* in *England*, and (after the *Act of Uniformity* and the Persecution following hereupon creeped him) in several other Places, as he had Opportunity: He wrote several Considerable Treatises about *Justification*; as also, *Against the Unwarrantable Practice of Private Christians, in Usurping the Office of Publick Preaching*; and as the *Scoffing Wood* acknowledges, *He was accounted among the Brethren a Learned and a Mighty Man*. After Him we have had, besides those, whose *Lives* are anon to be Written, many others that by *Writing* have made themselves to *Live*; and not only have we had a *Danforth*, a *Nathanael Mather*, an *Hoar*, a *Rowlandson*, a *Nowel*, a *Whiting*, an *Hooker*, a *Moodey*, an *Eleazar Mather*, a *Richardson*, a *Thacher*, an *Adams*, a *Saltonstall*, a *Walter*, the Authors of Lesser Compositures, out of their modest Studies, even as with a *Cæsarean Section*, forced into Light; but also we have had an *Hubbard*, an *Isaac Chancey*, a *Willard*, a *Stoddard*, the Authors of larger Compositures. Yea, the Present President of the Colledge has obliged the Publick with more than *Thirty* several Treatises of Diverse Matters, and Figures, and in Diverse Languages. 'Tis true, there is *One more* among the Sons of this Colledge, that might already bring in a *Catalogue* of more than *Threescore* several Books, which the *Pres* has had from him; nevertheless as *Ronsard* the *Trench Poet* upon Reading of *Du-Bartas's* *WEEKS*, would say, *Monsieur Du Bartas a fait plus en une Semaine, que Je n'ay fait en toute ma Vite*; *Du-Bartas has done more in One Week, than I have done all the Days of my Life*: So it must be acknowledged, That *Three Compositures* of One Writer may be more valuable than *Threescore* of another. Nor indeed, must it be Enumerated among the least Blessings of *New-England*, that it has been above all the rest of the *English America*, furnished with *Presses*, from which it has had a Thousand Ways, the Benefits of that *Art of Printing*; a Gift of Heaven, whereof *Beroaldus* well sang;

*Quo nil Utilius dedit Vetustas,
Littros Scribere quæ deces premendo.*

Finally, if *Harvard* be now asked, as once *Jesse* was, *are here all thy Sons*? It must be answered, *no*; for upon a Disatisfaction, about an Hardship which they thought put upon themselves, in making them lose a good part of a Year of the Time, whereupon they Claimed their *Degree* (about the Year 1655) there was a Considerable Number, even Seventeen of the *Scholars*, which went away from the Colledge without any *Degree* at all. Nevertheless, this Disaster hindered not their future serviceableness in the Churches of the Faithful, and some of them indeed proved extraordinary serviceable: Among whom it would be Criminal for me to forget *Mr. William Primsmead*, Pastor at this Day to the Church of *Malborough*; and *Mr. Samuel Torrey*, of *Wegmouth*, (of whose there are published *Three Sermons*, which at so many several times were Preached, at the Anniversary Elections of *Magistrates*.) And unto these I may add *Mr. Samuel Wakeman*, the Pastor to the Church of *Fairfield*, of whom we have *Three or Four* several Sermons published.

What now Remains, is to look over our *Catalogue*; and then single out some Subjects for a more particular *Biography*. Only, while I carry in my Reader to speak with them, the *Writer* himself, (solicitous, that the Name which *Philo Judæus* puts upon a Colledge; Namely, *Διδασκαλῶν ἀνὴρ ἀρετῆς ἀρετῆς*, or, *A School of all Virtue*, may ever and justly be the Name of *Harvard Colledge*) will take the Leave to Address their *Successors*, with certain Admonitions, translated from no less than a *National Synod* of the Protestant Churches in *France*. The last *National Synod*, that sat before the Dissipation of those Renowned Churches, after the Other, and many, Cares, which the former most Venerable *Assemblies* took of their *Universities*, by their Decree, earnestly exhorted the *Governors of the Universities*, to exert all their Power, *For the Suppression of Abuses crept in among them, redounding to the Disgrace of Religion, and opening the Flood-gates to the Deluge of Profaneness, to break in upon the Sanctuary*; and under Severe Penalties enjoined the *Scholars*, but most especially the *Students in Divinity*, *To keep themselves at the greatest Distance from such Things, as are contrary to Christian Modesty and Sanctity, and to perfume the House of God, betimes with the sweet Odours of an Early Religious Conversation, every way becoming the Sacred Employment, whereto they be designed*. Now when we have transcribed some of the Excellent Words, used by *Monsieur Guitton*, at the presenting of this *Decree* to the *University of Saumur*, we will, without any further Delay give our *Catalogue* Leave to appear before us.

“You have Consecrated your Labours; your
“Time, your whole Man, unto the Service of
“the Sovereign Monarch of the Whole World;
“that Lord, who is ador'd by all the *Angels*. Your
“own Consciences, Sirs, as well as mine, must
“needs tell you, you cannot bring with you, too
“much *Humility*, nor too much *Self-abasement*,
“nor too much *Self-Annihilation*, nor too much
“*Simplicity*

“ *Simplicity* and *Sincerity*, when you come into
 “ His Presence, whose Eyes are as a *Flaming*
 “ *Fire*, and who *searcheth your Hearts and trieth*
 “ *your Reins*; and offer your selves to be Enroll’d
 “ in the Number of his *Mental Servants*, and
 “ *Gospel-Ministers*.

“ To be short, Sirs, You are destinatèd unto
 “ an Employment, in which there be no *Advance-*
 “ *ments* made, but by *Prayers*; and *Prayers* are
 “ never Heard, nor Answered by God, further
 “ than they be *Sincere*; and they be not in the
 “ least *Sincere*, where the *Hearts* are not guided
 “ and purified by the Truth of God’s Holy
 “ Word and Spirit, who dictateth our *Prayers*
 “ and quickneth and sanctifieth our *Affections*.
 “ Do you imagine, Sirs, that God will give you
 “ His *Holy Spirit*, without whom you are Nothing
 “ and *can do Nothing*, unless you ask Him of
 “ God? And are you then Qualified and Fitted
 “ for *Prayer*, a most Holy Duty, when as your
 “ Spirit is stuffed up, occupièd and distractèd,
 “ with your *Youthful Lusts*, and replenishèd with
 “ the Provoking Objects of your *Vanity*? Or,
 “ can you bring unto this Sacred Ordinance,
 “ unto this most Religious Exercise, that *Atten-*
 “ *tion*, *Affiduity* and *Perseverance*, which is need-
 “ ful to the Getting of Gracious Answers, and
 “ Returns from Heaven, whereas the Better and
 “ far Greater Part of your *Time*, is consumed in
 “ *Worldly Companies* and *Conversations*? Cer-
 “ tainly, Sirs, You will find it exceeding Diffi-
 “ cult to disentangle your selves from those Im-
 “ pressions you have *first* received, and to empty
 “ your selves of the *Vanities* you have imbibed,
 “ that you may be at Liberty to Reflect and Me-
 “ ditate upon God’s *Holy Word*.

“ My Dear Brethren, Honour and Adorn that
 “ *Profession*, whereto you are Devoted, and it

“ will *Reflect* Beams of Honour again upon you.
 “ Consider, Sirs, what is *Recoming* you, and God
 “ will communicate what is needful for you, to
 “ ev’ry one of you. Let His *Name* and *Glorj*
 “ be the Principal Mark and Butt of your Con-
 “ ditions and Studies, and it will bring down
 “ the Choicest and Chiefest of Blessings of God
 “ upon you. Let your *Lives* and *Conversations*
 “ be Accompanied and Crowned with all the
 “ Virtues and Graces of *Reformed Christians*; with
 “ that *Humility*, which becometh the Servants of
 “ God; with that Universal *Modersty* and *Simplicity*,
 “ which God requireth from the *Ministers* of His
 “ *Sanctuary*, in their Lives, Actions, Habits,
 “ Language, Behaviour, and in your whole Course.
 “ And then, Sirs, this your *Sanctification* will be
 “ most Acceptable unto God, and saving unto
 “ your selves; it will bring your *Profession* into
 “ Credit and Reputation; it will attract upon
 “ you the Best *Blessings* of Heaven; it will ren-
 “ der your Studies, and Employments prosperous,
 “ successful and edifying; the *Churches* will be
 “ the Better for you, and the Kingdom of our
 “ Lord Jesus Christ will be by you Promoted
 “ and Advanced.

To these Admonitions of Monsieur Guitton, I
 will only for a Farewel, unto every Scholar now
 address’d, subjoin *That* wherewith Mr. Carter
 took his Leave of a Scholar, *Fuge Fastum, Igni-*
viam & Antichristum.

Our CATALOGUE is now, without any
 further Ceremony to be produced; A Catalogue
 of *Christian Students*, instructed in those, which
 the other Day were *Pagan Regions*; A Catalogue,
 whereof I may therefore say as the Historian does
 of the *Temples* built by *Constantine*, It is *πικανὸν*
εὐκαταστόν, & πικθίονον θέαμα, To all Good Men, a
desireable Spectacle.

C A T A L O G U S,

Eorum qui in COLLEGIO HARVARDINO, quod est CANTA-
 BRIGIÆ Nov-Anglorum, ab Anno 1642. ad Annum 1698. alicujus
 gradus Laurea donati sunt.

1642.
 * Benjamin Woodbridge.
 * Georgius Downing.
 * Johannes Bulklæus Mr.
 Gulielmus Hubbard Mr.
 Samuel Bellingham Mr. M D.
 Ludg.
 * Johannes Wilsonus Mr.
 * Henricus Saltonstall.
 * Tobias Barnardus.
 * Nathanael Brufterus. *Th. Bac.*
Dub. Hib.

1643.
 * Johannes Jonesus. Mr.
 * Samuel Matherus Mr. *Socius*.
 * Samuel Danforth Mr *Socius*.
 * Johannes Allin.

1644.
 1645.
 * Johannes Oliverus.
 * Jeremias Hollandus.
 * Gulielmus Amesius.
 * Johannes Russellus. Mr.
 Samuel Stow, Mr.
 * Jacobus Ward.
 * Robertus Johnson.
 1646.
 * Johannes Alcock Mr.
 * Johannes Brock Mr.
 * Georgius Stirk.
 * Nathaniel White. Mr.

1647.
 * Jonathan Mitchel Mr. *Socius*.
 * Nathaniel Matherus Mr.
 Confolantius Star Mr. *Socius*.

* Johannes Barden.
 * Abrahamus Walver.
 * Georgius Haddenus Mr.
 * Gulielmus Mildmay Mr.
 1648.
 1649.
 * Johannes Rogerius. Mr. *Præses*
 * Samuel Eaton, Mr. *Socius*.
 * Urianus Oakes Mr. *Socius*,
Præses.
 * Johannes Collins Mr. *Socius*
 * Johannes Bowers.
 1650.
 Gulielmus Stoughton Mr *Opsonii*.
 * Johannes Gloverus *MD Aberd*
 Joshua Hobartus. Mr.
 Jeremias Hobartus. Mr.
 * Edmundus Weid.

* Samuel

- * Samuel Philipſius Mr.
 * Leonardus Hoar *Mr. M. D. Cantabr. Præſes.*
 * Iſaacus Allertonus
 * Jonathan Inceus Mr. 1651.
 Michael Wigglesworth Mr. **Socius.**
 * Marigena Cottonus Mr.
 * Thomas Dudlæus Mr. **Socius**
 * Johannes Gloverus Mr.
 Henricus Butlerus Mr.
 * Nathaniel Pelhamus.
 * Johannes Daviſius Mr.
 Iſaacus Chauncæus Mr.
 * Ichabod Chauncæus Mr.
 * Jonathan Burræus Mr. 1652.
 * Joſephus Rowlandſonus. 1653. *Aug. 9.*
 Samuel Willis.
 * Johannes Angier Mr.
 * Thomas Shepardus Mr. **Socius.**
 * Samuel Nowel Mr. **Socius.**
 * Richardus Hubbard Mr.
 * Johannes Whiting-Mr.
 * Samuel Hookerus Mr. **Socius**
 * Johannes Stone *Mr. Cantab. Angl.*
 Guilielmus Thomſonus
Qui ad ſecundum Gradum admiſſi fuere 1655. Diei ſequentis Baccalauræi, ad ſecundum Gradum admiſſi ut moris eſt. 1656.
 1653. *Aug. 10.*
 * Edwardus Rawſonus.
 * Samuel Bradſtreet Mr. **Socius.**
 * Joſhua Long Mr.
 Samuel Whiting Mr.
 * Joſhua Moody Mr. **Socius.**
 Joſhua Ambroſius Mr. *Oxoni.*
 * Nehemiah Ambroſius Mr. **Socius.**
 Thomas Croſbæus. 1654.
 * Philippus Nelfon. 1655.
 Gerſhom Bulklæus Mr. **Socius**
 Mordecai Matthewſius. 1656.
 * Eleazarus Matherus.
 Creſcentius Matherus *Mr. Dubl. Hib. Socius, Rector. Præſes. S. T. D.*
 Robertus Painæus Mr.
 * Subael Dummerus.
 * Johannes Hayneſius Mr. *Cantab.*
 * Johannes Eliotus Mr.
 * Thomas Graveſius Mr. **Socius.**
 Johannes Emmerſonus Mr. 1657.
 Zecharias Symmes Mr. **Socius**
 * Zecharias Brigden Mr. **Socius**
- Johannes Cottonus Mr.
 Johannes Hale Mr.
 Eliſha Cookæus Mr.
 * Johannes Whiting.
 * Barnabas Chauncæus Mr. 1658.
 * Joſephus Eliotus Mr.
 * Joſephus Haynes.
 * Benjamin Bunker M.
 Jonah Fordhamus.
 * Johannes Barſham.
 * Samuel Talcot.
 * Samuel Shepardus Mr. **Socius** 1659.
 Nathaniel Saltonſtall.
 * Samuel Alcock.
 P Abijah Savagius.
 Samuel Willard Mr. **Socius,**
 Thomas Pariſh.
 Samuel Cheverus.
 * Ezekiel Rogerus.
 Samuel Belcherus.
 Jacobus Noyes.
 Moſes Noyes. 1660.
 * Simon Bradſtreet Mr.
 * Nathaniel Collins Mr.
 * Samuel Eliotus Mr. **Socius.**
 * Guilielmus Whittingham.
 * Joſephus Cookæus.
 * Samuel Carterus.
 * Manalleh Armitagius.
 * Petrus Bulklæus Mr. **Socius** 1661.
 * Johannes Bellingham Mr.
 * Nathaniel Chauncæus Mr. **Socius.**
 * Elnathan Chauncæus Mr.
 Iſrael Chauncæus Mr.
 * Compensantius Osborn.
 * Daniel Weld.
 * Joſephus Cookæus.
 Joſephus Whiting Mr. **Socius**
 Caleb Watſonus Mr.
 * Johannes Parkerus
 * Thomas Johnſonus
 * Bezaleel Shermannus 1662.
 Johannes Holiokus
 Benjamin Thomſonus
 Solomon Stodardus Mr. **Socius**
 Moſes Fiſkæus Mr.
 Ephraim Savagius
 Thomas Oakes 1663.
 * Samuel Symondus
 Samuel Cobbet
 * Johannes Reynerus Mr.
 * Benjamin Blackman
 * Thomas Mighil Mr.
 * Nathaniel Cutler. 1664.
 * Alexander Nowellus Mr. **Socius.**
 * Joſiah Flintæus Mr.
- * Joſephus Pynchonus Mr. **Socius.**
 * Samuel Brackenburius Mr.
 * Johannes Woodbridge
 Joſephus Eaſterbrookæus Mr.
 Samuel Street. 1665.
 * Benjamin Eliotus Mr.
 Joſephus Dudlæus Mr.
 * Samuel Biſhop
 * Edvardus Mitchelſonus
 Samuel Mannæus
 * Sperantius Athertonus
 Jabez Foxius Mr.
 * Caleb Cheeſchaumuk *Indus* 1666.
 * Joſephus Brownæus Mr. **Socius.**
 * Johannes Richardſonus Mr. **Socius.**
 * Daniel Maſonus
 Johannes Filerus 1667.
 Johannes Harriman Mr.
 * Nathaniel Atkinſonus
 * Johannes Foſterus
 Gerſhom Hobartas Mr.
 * Japheth Hobartus
 Nehemiah Hobertus Mr. **Socius**
 Nicholaus Noyes. 1668.
 Adamus Winthrop
 * Johannes Cullick
 Zecharias Whitmannus
 Abramus Pierſonus
 Johannes Prudden 1669.
 * Samuel Epps Mr.
 Daniel Epps
 Jeremias Shephardus Mr.
 Daniel Gookin Mr. **Socius**
 Johannes Bridghamus Mr.
 * Daniel Ruſſellus Mr.
 * Joſephus Taylorus Mr.
 Jacobus Bayley Mr.
 Joſephus Gerrish
 Samuel Treat Mr. 1670.
 Nathaniel Higginſon Mr.
 * Ammi Ruhamah Corlet Mr. **Socius.**
 Thomas Clarke Mr.
 * Georgius Burrrough 1671.
 * Iſaacus Foſterus Mr. **Socius.**
 Samuel Phips Mr.
 Samuel Sewall Mr. **Socius.**
 Samuel Matherus
 * Samuel Danforth Mr. **Socius**
 Petrus Thacherus Mr. **Socius**
 * Guilielmus Adamus Mr.
 Thomas Weld Mr.
 * Johannes Bowles Mr.
 Johannes Nortonus
 Edvardus Taylorus. 1672.

1672.
1673.
Edvardus Pelhamus
* Georgius Alcock
Samuel Angier Mr.
Johannes Wife Mr.
1674.
* Edmundus Davic *M. D. Padua.*
* Thomas Sergeant.
1675.
Josephus Hanley
Johannes Pike Mr.
Jonathan Russellus Mr.
* Petrus Oliverus Mr.
Samuel Andrew Mr. *Socius.*
Jacobus Minot
Timothæus Woodbridge Mr.
* Daniel Allin Mr.
Johannes Emmerfonus Mr.
* Nathaniel Gookin Mr. *Socius.*
1676.
* Thomas Shepardus Mr.
Thomas Brattle Mr.
Jeremiah Cushing.
1677.
Thomas Chevers Mr.
Johannes Danforth Mr. *Socius*
Edvardus Payson Mr.
Samuel Sweetman
Josephus Capen Mr.
Thomas Scottow.
1678.
Johannes Cottonus Mr. *Socius*
Cottonus Matherus Mr. *Socius*
Grindallus Rawsonus Mr.
* Urianus Oakes.
1679.
* Jonathan Danforth Mr.
* Edvardus Oakes Mr.
* Jacobus Alling Mr.
Thomas Barnardus Mr.
1680.
* Richardus Martin
Johannes Leveretus Mr. *Socius*
Jacobus Oliver Mr.
Gulielmus Brattle Mr. *Socius*
* Percivallus Green Mr.
1681.
* Samuel Mitchel Mr. *Socius.*
Johannes Cottonus Mr.
Johannes-Hasting Mr.
Noadiah Russellus Mr.
Jacobus Pierpont Mr.
Johannes Davie
Samuel Russellus Mr.
Gulielmus Denison Mr.
Josephus Eliot Mr.
1682.
1683.
Samuel Danforth Mr.
Johannes Williams Mr
Gulielmus Williams Mr
1684.
* Johannes Denison Mr.
Johannes Rogerius Mr.
Gordonius Saltonstall Mr.
- * Richardus Wenslæus
Samuel Mylefius Mr.
Nehemiah Walterus Mr. *Socius*
Josephus Webb M.
Edvardus Thompsonus
Benjamin Rolf Mr.
1685.
* Thomas Dudlæus Mr.
Warhamus Matherus Mr.
* Nathaniel Matherus Mr.
Roulandus Cottonus Mr.
Henricus Gibs Mr.
* Thomas Berrius Mr.
* Johannes Whiting Mr.
Edvardus Mills Mr.
Johannes Eliotus Mr.
Samuel Shepardus
* Petrus Ruck
Isaacus Greenwood.
Johannes White Mr. *Socius.*
Jonathan Pierpont Mr.
1686.
Franciscus Wainwright
Benjamin Lynde Mr.
Daniel Rogerius Mr.
Georgius Phillipfius Mr.
Robertus Hale
Carolus Chauncæus
* Nicolaus Mortonus.
1687.
Johannes Davenport Mr.
Johannes Clark Mr.
Nathaniel Rogers Mr.
* Jonathan Mitchel Mr.
Daniel Brewer Mr.
Timotheus Stevens Mr.
* Nathaniel Welsh
* Josephus Dasset Mr.
Henricus Newman Mr.
Josias Dwight
Sethus Shove Mr.
1688.
1689.
* Jacobus Allen Mr.
Samuel Moody Mr.
Gulielmus Payn Mr.
Addingtonus Davenport
Johannes Haynes
* Gulielmus Partrigg
Richardus Whittingham Mr.
Johannes Emersonus Mr.
Johannes Sparhawk Mr.
* Benjamin Marston
Johannes Eveleth
* Benjamin Pierpont Mr.
Johannes Hancock Mr.
Thomas Swan. Mr.
1690.
Paulus Dudlæus Mr. *Socius.*
Samuel Matherus Mr.
Johannes Willard Mr.
* Daniel Denison
Johannes Jonesus Mr.
Josephus Whiting Mr.
Nathaniel Clap.
Josephus Belcherus Mr.
Nathaniel Stone.
- Johannes Clark Mr.
Thomas Buckinghamus
Samuel Mensfield Mr.
Petrus Burr Mr.
* Johannes Selleck
Johannes Newmarch Mr.
Thomas Greenwood Mr.
Benjamin Wadsworth Mr. *Socius*
Thomas Ruggles Mr.
Stephanus Mix Mr.
Edmundus Goffe Mr.
Nicholæus Lynde
* Benjamin Easterbrookæus Mr.
1691.
Johannes Tyng Mr.
Ebenezer Pemberton Mr. *Socius.*
* Thomas Mackarty Mr.
Josephus Lord Mr.
Christopherus Tappan Mr.
Samuel Emery Mr.
* Thomas Atkinsonus
Timotheus Edwards Mr.
1692.
Benjamin Colman Mr.
Zecharias Alden
Ebenezer White Mr.
Jacobus Townfend
Johannes Mors Mr.
Caleb Cushing Mr.
1693.
Isaacus Chauncæus Mr.
Sthephanus Buckinghamus
Henricus Flintæus Mr.
Simon Bradstreet Mr.
Johannes Wadæus Mr.
Nathanael Hodson
Penn Townfend
Nathanael Williams Mr.
Georgius Denison
Johannes Woodward Mr.
Josephus Baxter Mr.
Gulielmus Veazie
Nathanael Hunting Mr.
Benjamin Ruggles Mr.
Gulielmus Grosvenor Mr.
1694.
Adamus Winthrop Mr.
Johannes Woodbridge
Dudlæus Woodbridge
Eliphalet Adamus Mr.
Johannes Savage
Johannes Ballantine Mr.
Salmon Treat
Jabez Fitch Mr. *Socius.*
1695.
Samuel Vassal
Gualterus Price Mr.
Richardus Saltonstall Mr.
Nathaniel Saltonstall Mr.
Johannes Hubbard Mr.
Simon Willard Mr.
Habijah Savage Mr.
Oliver Noyse Mr.
Thomas Phips

Timotheus Lindal
Jonathan Law
Ezekiel Lewis
Thomas Blowers Mr.
Thomas Little
Ephraim Little,
Johannes Perkins Mr.
Jedediah Andrews Mr.
Josephus Smith
Johannes Robinfon Mr.
Josephus Green Mr.
Josephus Mors Mr.
Nicolaus Webster.

1696.

Georgius Vaughan
Petrus Thacherus
Dudlaeus Woodbridge
Jonathan Remington

Samuel Whitman
Samuel Estabrookæus
Andreas Gardner
Samuel Melyen.

1697.

Elisha Cookæus
Antonius Stoddardus
Antonius Stoddardus
Jabez Wakeman
Nathaniel Collins
Samuel Burr
Johannes Read
Samuel Moodey
Richardus Brown
Hugo Adams
Johannes Swift
Johannes Southmayd
Josephus Coit.

Josephus Parfonus.
1698.

Thomas Symmes
Josias Cottonus
Samuel Matherus
Josias Willard
Dudlaeus Bradstreet
Petrus Catler
Johannes Foxius
Nathanael Hubbard
Henricus Swan
Johannes White
Josias Torrey
Oxenbridge Thacherus.
Richardus Billings.

*Illi quorum Nominibus hæc Nota
Præfigitur, e Vivis cesserunt.*

CANTABRIGIÆ NOV-ANGLORUM Sexto Quintilis.
M DC XC VIII.

We will conclude our *Catalogue* of the *Graduates* in this Colledge, with the *Elegy*, which the Venerable Mr. JOHN WILSON, made upon its Founder.

In Pientissimum, Reverendissimumq; Virum,
JOHANNEM HARVARDUM,
è singello Sacro *Caroloensi* ad Cælos Ejectum,
Ad Alumnos *Cantabrigienses* Literatos, Poëma.

Johannes Harvardus.
Anagr.

Si non (ah!) surda Aure.

En, mihi fert Animus, Patroni Nomine Vestri
(Si non (ah!) surda spernitur Aure) loqui.
Sic ait.

Me Deus, immenso per Christum Motus amore,
Ad Cælos fervum jussit abire suum.
Parebam; monitq; Dei præeunte paravam
Quicquid ad Optatum sufficiebat Opus.
Me (Licet Indignum) Selegit Gratia Christi,
Fundarem Mulis, qui pia Tecta pijs.
(Non quòd vel Chara, moriens Uxore carerem,
Aut Hæres alius quòd mihi nullus erat :)
Hæredes vos ipse meos, sed linquere suasit,
Usq; ad Dimidium fortis opumq;, Deus.
Me commune Bonum, præsertim Glória Christi,
Impulit et charæ Posteritatis Amor :
Sat ratus esse mihi Sobolis, Pietatis Amore
Educet Illustres si Schola nostra Viros.

Hæc mihi Spes (Vita Morienti dulcior olim)
Me recreat, Cæli dum Requiete fruor.
At si degeneres liqueat vos esse (quod absit!)
Otia si Studiis sunt potiora bonis :
Si nec Doctrinâ, nec Moribus estis Honestis
Imbuti, (Fastu non leviore tamen)
Grata sit aut Vobis, si secta vel Hæresis ulla,
Vos simul inficiens, Vos, Dominiq; gregem :
Hæc mihi Patrono quàm sunt contraria vestro !
Atq; magis summo Displicitura Deo !
Nec tamen, ista meo sic Nomine dicier opto,
Mens quasi promittat non meliora mihi !
Gaudia Cælorum vix me satiare valerent,
Si tanta Orbatus, Speq; Fideq; forem.
Ille Deus Vobis, Vestrisq; Laboribus, aliam,
Et dedit, et porro suppeditabit opem.
Ejus in Obssequio, sic, O ! sic, pergite cuncti,
Ut fluat hinc major Gloria Lausq; Deo.
At si quis recto malè sit de Tramite gressus
(Quod David, et Solomon? et Petrus ipse queat.)
Hic sibi nè placeat, Monitus neq; ferre recuset,
In rectam possint qui revocare viam.
Sic Grati Vós este Deo ! Vestriq; Labores
Quos olim in Christo suscipietis erunt.
Utq; Vetus meruit sibi Cantabrigia Nomen,
Sic Nomen fiet dulce Feraxq; Nova.

Johannes Wilsonus.

Verba Doct. Arrowsmith, in Orat. Antiweigeliana.

Faxit Deus Optimus, Maximus, tenacem adeò Veritatis hanc Academiam, ut deinceps in Angliâ Lutetiam, in Hibernia Bifonem, invenire facilius sit, quàm aut Socinianum, aut Arminianum in Cantabrigiâ.

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
Harvard-Colledge.

PART II.

The LIVES of some Eminent Persons therein Educated.

Discant ergo rabidi adversus Christum canes, discant eorum Sectatores, qui putant Ecclesiam nullos Philosophos et Eloquentes, nullos habuisse Doctores, quanti et quales Viri eam extruxerint et ornaverint, et desinant Fidem nostram Rusticæ tantum Simplicitatatis arguere, suamque potius Imperitiam agnoscant. *Hieron. Præf. ad Cath. de Script. Eccles.*

§. 1. **T**HE Great *Rasil* mentions a Certain *Art*, of Drawing many *Doves*, by anointing the Wings of a *Few* with a Fragrant Ointment, and so sending them abroad that by the Fragrancy of the Ointment they may allure others unto the House, whereof they are themselves the *Dome-sticks*. I know not how far it may have any Tendency to draw others unto the Religion hitherto professed and maintained in *Harvard-Colledge*: But I have here sent forth some of the *Doves* belonging to that House, with the Ointment of a *Good Name* upon them. And yet I should not have bestow'd the Ointment of their *Embalmed Name*, as I have done, if the God of Heaven by first bestowing the Ointment of His Heavenly *Grace* upon them, had not given them to deserve it. *Socrates* being asked, which was the most Beautiful Creature in the World, answered, *A Man garnished with Learning*. But, with

his Leave, a more Beautiful Creature is, *A Man garnished with Vertue*. Reader, I will now show thee *Ten Men garnished with Both*.

§. 2. The Death of those Brave Men that first planted *New-England*, would have rendred a fit Emblem for the Countrey. A *Beech-Tree* with its Top lopt off, and the Motto, *Ruina Relinquor*; (which Tree withers when its Top is lopt off!) if *Harvard-Colledge* had not prevented it. But now, upon the Lops of Mortality, *Uno avulso non defecit Alter*. We have Opportunity to Write the *Lives* of another *Set*, who indeed had their *Whole Growth* in the Soyl of *New-England*; Persons, whom I may call *Cedars* and *Fir-Trees*, as *Jerom* did *Cyprian* and *Hilary*, and other Holy Men in his Comment on that Passage, *Isa. 60. 13. The Glory of Lebanon shall come unto thee, the Fir-Tree, and the Pine-Tree, to beautifie the Place of my Sanctuary*.

C H A P. I.

FIDES IN VITA:

OR, THE

L I F E

O F

Mr. John Brock.

Olim Fides erat in Vita, magis quam in Articulorum Professione. Erasmi. Epist.

§. 1. **D**esigning to Write the *Lives* of some *Learned Men*, who have been the *Issue* and the *Honour* of *Harvard-Colledge*, let my Reader be rather *Admonished* than *Scandalized* by it, if the *First* of these *Lives*, exhibit One, whose *Goodness* was above his *Learning*, and whose *Chief Learning* was his *Goodness*. If One had asked Mr. JOHN BROCK, that *Question* in *Antoninus*, Τις οὐκ ἔστιν: *Of what Art hast thou proceeded Master?* He might have truly answered, Ἀγαθὴν ἔβην. *My Art is to be Good*. He was a *Good Grammarian*, chiefly in this, that he *Stil spoke the Truth from his Heart*. He was a *Good Logician*, chiefly in this, that he *Presented himself unto God with a Reasonable Service*. He was a *Good Arithmetician*, chiefly in this, that he *So numbred his Days as to apply his Heart unto Wisdom*. He was a *Good Astronomer*, chiefly in this, that his *Conversation was in Heaven*. It was chiefly by being a *Good Christian*, that he proved himself a *Good Artist*. The *Elogy* which *Gregory the Great* bestow'd on *Steven the Monk*, *Erat huius Lingua Rustica, sed Docta Vita*; so much belong'd unto this *Good Man*, that so *Learned a Life*, may well be judg'd worthy of being a *Written One*.

§. 2. He was Born at the Town of *Stradbrook*, in the County of *Suffolk*. A. D. 1620. And from his own Trial of *Early Piety* in himself, while he was yet a *Youth*, he was qualified, in a more *Significant* and *Efficacious* Manner, to *Recommend* it unto *Young People*, as he very much did, when he came to be *Old*. When he was about *seventeen Years* of Age, he came to *New-England*, as to a *Nursery* of *Piety*, with his *Parents*: And here, no sooner was he recovered of the *Small Pox*, wherein he was very nigh unto

Death, but another *Fit* of *Sickness* held him for no less than *Thirty Weeks* together; whereby the *Hand* of *Heaven* ordering the *Furnace*, prepared him for the *Services* that he afterwards performed.

§. 3. He was admitted into *Harvard-Colledge*, A. D. 1643. where he studied for several *Years*, with an *Exemplary Diligence*; being of the *Opinion*, that as *Caleb* said unto his *Men*, *I bestow my Daughter upon one of you, but he that will have her, must first win Kiriath-Sepher*; i. e. *A City of Books*; thus, One is not worthy to have a *Church* bestow'd upon him, until he hath some time lain before *Kiriath-Sepher*, and staid at some *Univeristy*. After five *Years* lying here (as loth to be one of the *Sacerdotes Momentandi*, or, *Modò Idiotæ* mox *Clerici*, sometimes by the *Ancients* complained of) he entred upon the *Work* of the *Evangelical Ministry*; first at *Rowly*, and then at the *Isle of Sholes*. Here *Scaliger* might have indeed found *Wisdom inhabiting the Rocks*; and here a *Spiritual Fisherman*, did more than a little *Good* among a *Rude Company* of *Literal Ones*.

§. 4. In the *Year*, 1662. he became a *Pastor* to the *Church* at *Reading*. And here he continued in the *Faithful Discharge* of his *Ministry*, until the *Time*, that (as the *Ancients* expressed it) *He took his Journey a little before his Body, into another Country*. He wholly devoted himself, unto his *Beloved Employment*; preaching on *Lord's Days*, and on *Lectures* at *Private Church-Meetings*, and at *Meetings* of *Young Persons* for the *Exercises* of *Religion*, which he mightily encouraged, as *Great Engines*, to render his more *Publick Labours* effectual on the *Rising Generation*. His *Pastoral Visits*, to *Water* what had been *Sown* in his

Publick Labours, were also very sedulous and assiduous; and in these he managed a peculiar *Talent*, which he had at *Christian Conference*, whereby he did more Good, than some Abler Preachers did in the Pulpit. He was herewithal so Exemplary for his *Holiness*, that our Famous Mr. Mitchel would say of him, *He dwelt as near Heaven, as any Man upon Earth.*

§ 5. About Three or Four Years before his Death, he was visited with a Long and Sore Fit of Sickness: But upon his Restoration from that Sickness, he enjoy'd a more *Wonderful Presence* of God with him in his Ministry than ever before, and a more *Wonderful Success* of it. At length, he told One in his Family, that he had besought this Favour of Heaven; *To live but fourteen Days after the Publick Labours of his Ministry should be finished*: And he was in this thing most particularly favoured. He fell sick, and after a Sickness of just *Fourteen Days*, on June 18. 1688. his Friends full of Sorrow for their Loss, might use *Nazianzen's* Words concerning him, *Ἀπίστῳ τῷ, He is flown away.* But their Sorrow, *Quid talem miserint*, was (to use the Words of *Jerom* to *Neposian*) accompanied with Gladness, *Quid talem habuerint.*

§. 6. Good Men, that labour and abound in Prayer to the Great God, sometimes arrive to the Assurance of a *Particular Faith*, for the Good Success of their Prayer. 'Tis not a Thing that never happens, That the Children of God, in the midst of their Supplications for this or that *Particular Mercy*: find their Hearts very Comfortably, but *Unaccountably* carried forth to a strange *Perswasion*, that they shall receive this *Particular Mercy* from the Lord; and this *Perswasion* is not a meer Notion and Fancy but a special Impression from Heaven, upon the Minds of the Saints that are made Partakers of it. This *Particular Faith* is not the *Attainment* of Every Christian, much less an *Endowment* of Every Prayer. There is no *Real Christian*, but what *Prays in Faith*; his Prayer hath a *General Faith* in the Power, and Wisdom, and Goodness of God, and the *Mediation* of Christ. But there is many a *Real Christian*, who is a Stranger to the Meaning of this Thing; *A particular Faith for such Mercies, without which a Man may get safe to Heaven at the last.* It is here and there a Christian, whom the *Sovereign Grace* of Heaven, does Favour, with the *Consolations* of a *Particular Faith*: Nor if a Christian taste of these Joys, may he expect more than a *Taste* of them; they are *Dainties* that are not every Day to be *Feasted* on: 'Tis not in every Prayer, that the King of Heaven will admit every one to so much of *Intimacy* with himself. Indeed, such a *Particular Faith*, is not so much the *Duty* of a Christian, as his *Comfort*, his *Honour*, his *Priviledge*. There is a *Praying in Faith*, incumbent on every Christian in every Prayer; but this *Particular Faith* for the bestowal of such and such desired Mercies, is not incumbent on a Christian; 'tis not required of him. 'Tis a vast Priviledge, for a Christian to be *Assured*, that the Lord will

do this or that individual Thing for him; however, 'tis no *Sin* for a Christian to break off not *Assured* of it. But it is the *Holy Spirit* of the Lord Jesus Christ, that with a *Singular Operation*, does produce in a Christian this *Particular Faith*; which indeed is near akin to the *Faith of Miracles*. Nor does the *Principal Efficency* of the *Holy Spirit*, in these Illapses, exclude and hinder, the *Instrumentality* of the *Holy Angels* in them: They are no doubt the *Holy Angels*, that with an *Inexpressible Impulse*, bear in upon the Mind, the *Particular Faith*, wherewith some Saints are at some Times irradiated. The *Wondrous Meltings*, the *Mighty Wrestlings*, the *Quiet Waitings*, and the *Holy Resolves*, that are Characters of a *Particular Faith*, which is no *Delusion*, are the Works of the *Holy Spirit*, wherein His *Holy Angels* may be *Instruments*.

Eminent was Mr. Brock, for this *Mysterious Excellency*. This *Good Man*, was One *Fall* of the *Holy Spirit*, and *Faith*. He had many of those Things, which we may call (as the Martyr *Cyprian* call'd, those *Communications* from Heaven, which often directed him in his Exigencies.) *Divine Condescensions*. And there were many *Notable Effects* of his Faithful and Fervent Prayers, whereof the *Exact History* is now lost, because it was not in the proper Season thereof composed and preserved.

Some few Remarkables, are not only still remembered, but also well Attested.

One *Thomas Bancroft* lay very sick of the *Small Pox*, his distressed Mother came drowned in Tears to Mr. Brock; she told him, *She left her Son so sick, that she did not imagine ever to see him alive again*; he replied, *Sister, Be of good Cheer; the Lord has told me nothing of your Son's dying, I'll again go with his Case unto the Lord.* The Young Man recovered, and is at this Day a Deacon of the Church in *Reading*.

A Child of one *Arnold*, about six Years old, lay sick, so near dead, that they judg'd it really dead. Mr. Brock perceiving some Life in it, goes to Prayer; and in his Prayer used this expression, *Lord, wilt thou not grant some Sign, before we leave Prayer, that thou wilt spare and heal this Child? We cannot leave thee till we have it!* The Child sneez'd immediately, Mr. Brock then gives Thanks, and breaks off. The very next Day, the Child visited Him, and carried him a Present.

When Mr. Brock lived in the *Isle of Shoals*, he brought the People into an Agreement, that, besides the *Lord's-Days*, they would spend one Day every Month together in the Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ. On a certain Day, which by their Agreement belong'd unto the Exercises of Religion, being arrived, the Fishermen came to Mr. Brock, and ask'd him, that they might *Put by their Meeting*, and go a Fishing, because they had lost many Days by the Foulness of the Weather. He seeing, that without and against his Consent, they resolv'd upon doing what they had asked of him, replied, *If you will go away, I say unto you, catch Fish, if you can! But as for you,*

you, that will tarry, and worship the Lord Jesus Christ this Day, I will pray unto Him for you, that you may take Fish till you are weary. Thirty Men went away from the Meeting, and Five tarried. The Thirty which went away from the Meeting, with all their Skill could catch but Four Fishes; the Five which tarried, went forth afterwards, and they took Five Hundred. The Fishermen after this readily attended, whatever Meetings Mr. Brock appointed them.

A Fisher-man, who had with his Boat, been very Helpful, to carry a People over a River, for the Worship of God, on the Lord's-Days, in the Isle of Shoals, lost his Boat in a Storm. The poor Man laments his Loss to Mr. Brock; who tells him, Go home, Honest Man, I'll mention the Matter to the Lord, you'll have your Boat again to Morrow. Mr. Brock now considering, of what a Consequence this Matter, that seem'd so small otherwise, might be among the untractable Fishermen, made the Boat an Article of his Prayers; and behold, on the Morrow, the poor Man comes rejoicing to him, That his Boat was found, the Anchor of another Vessel, that was

undesignedly cast upon it, having strangely brought it up, from the Unknown Bottom, where it had been sunk.

When K. Charles II. sent One of his Infamous Creatures, whose Name was Cranfield, for to be Governour of Hampshire, a Northern Province of New-England, one of the Illegal Outrages committed by that Cranfield was, the Imprisoning of Mr. Moodey, the Minister of Portsmouth. One, who then lived with Mr. Brock, seeing him one Morning very sorrowful, ask'd him the Reason of his present Sorrow. Said he, I am very much troubled for my Dear Brother Moodey, who is imprisoned by Cranfield: but I will this day seek to ithe Lord on his behalf, and I believe my God will hear me! And on that very Day was Mr. Moodey (forty Miles off) by a marvellous Disposal of Providence, delivered out of his Imprisonment.

Multitudes of such Passages, whereof these are but some few Gleanings, caused our Mr. John Allin of Dedham, to say concerning Mr. Brock; I scarce ever knew any Man so Familiar with the Great God, as His Dear Servant Brock!

CHAP. II.

FRUCTUOSUS!

OR, THE

L I F E

OF

Mr. Samuel Mather.

*Hæc casti maneant in Religione Nepotes
Et Nati Natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis,*

§. 1. **I**T is a Thing truly, and justly thought among the Churches of God, *Fœlix illa Anima, quæ Aliis est Forma Sanctitatis*: Thrice and Four Times Happy that Man, from whose Example, other Men may learn to be Holy and Happy. Now, for this Happiness, not only were many among the first Fathers of New-England, with the History of whose Exemplary Lives, the Faithful have been entertained, considerable; but some among the Sons of those Fathers also, have bin so exemplary for their Holiness, that their Lives also deserve to fill the Pages of an Ecclesiastical History. One

of those is now going to be set before my Reader; and one, who, whether we consider his Early Sanctity, or his Fervent Ministry, will appear so much of a John Baptist unto us, that I choose the Confession of, Josephus the Jewish Historian (who, if he were admitted into the Discipline of Banus, a Disciple of John, as, he says, he was, he might well make such a Confession) concerning that John; to express the Character of this Worthy Man; *He was an Excellent Man, and One that stirred up the People to Piety and Virtue, Holiness and Purity*. This was Mr. Samuel Mather.

§. 2. Mr.

§. 2. Mr. Samuel Mather, was Born May 13. A. D. 1626. at Much-Wootton in Lancashire. But was the Question of Saul concerning David, *Whose Son is this Youth?* About the Meaning of which Question, there may be some Wonder, because David had already been serviceable, at the Court of Saul, some while before: And therefore some take the Meaning of the Question to be, *What Manner of Man's Son is this?* It was Observed, that some of the Notablest Men in the Land, were of this Family, and, among the rest, Joab was of it, Joab, who for his Valour was made General of the Field, Joab, who never once in his Life mis'd of the Victory; He was the Son of Jesse's Daughter. Now Saul was inquisitive, *What manner of Man this Jesse was,* that all his Children prov'd so Eminent. If my Reader, thereto excited by the Figure, which as well this Person, as divers of his Brothers have made in the Church of God, shall accordingly enquire *Whose Son was this Youth?* It must be answered, that his Father was the Famous Mr. Richard Mather, whose Life has been already a Considerable Part not only in our own Church-History, but also in the last Volume of Mr. Clark's Collections. Brought up, and brought over by this his Father, our Samuel came to New-England, in the Year 1635. delivered with the rest of his Family, from as Eminent Danger of Death, as ever was escaped by Mortal Men, in a Fierce and Sore Hurricane on the New-English Coast.

§. 3. Let the Silly Romanist please himself with his Romance of St. Rimald, who as soon as he drew his First Breath, cryed Three Times *I am a Christian!* and then making a plain Confession of his Faith, desired, that he might be baptized: It is most certainly True, that Samuel Mather, did not suffer two Times Three Years to pass him after his First Breath, before he had, many times, manifested himself to be a Christian, under the Regenerating Impressions of that Spirit, into whose Name and Faith, he had been baptized. The Holy Spirit of God made Early Visits unto our Samuel, who from his Childhood was devoted unto the Tabernacle. He was in his Early Childhood, an Extraordinary Instance of Discretion, Gravity, Seriousness, Prayerfulness, and Watchfulness, which accompanied with a certain Generosity of Temper, and an usual Progress in Learning, wherein

Rerum Prudentia Velox,
Ante Pilos venit;

render'd him the Delight of all that part of Mankind, that know him; and as the Name of Παιδάριος, was of Old given to Macarius, thus this Blessed Young Man was commonly called, *The Young Old Man*, by those that mentioned him. R. Eliezer, the Son of R. Azariah, when made President of the Jewish Sanhedrin, at sixteen Years of Age, was not one of a more composed Behaviour. A certain Arabian Commentary upon the Alchoran reports, That when John Baptist was a Child, other Boys asked him to play with them; which he refused, saying, I

was not sent into the World for Sport: Such great Thoughts inspired our Samuel Mather, while he was yet a Child! To Demonstrate and Illustrate this Part of his Character, I shall only recite an Extract of a Letter,; which he wrote from his Lodging in Cambridge, to his Father in Dorchester, when he was no more than Twelve Years of Age.

— Though (saith he) I am thus well in my Body, yet I question whether my Soul doth prosper as my Body doth; for I perceive, yet to this very Day little Growth in Grace; and this makes me question, whether Grace be in my Heart or no. I feel also daily Great Unwillingness to good Duties, and the Great Ruling of Sin in my Heart; and that God is angry with me, and gives me no Answers to my Prayers, but many times, He even throws them down as Dust in my Face; and He does not Grant my Continual Requests for the Spiritual Blessing of the Softning of my Hard Heart. And in all this I could yet take some Comfort, but that it makes me to Wonder, What God's Secret Decree concerning me may be; for I doubt whether ever God is wont to deny Grace and Mercy to His Chosen (though Uncalled) when they seek unto Him, by Prayer, for it; and therefore, seeing he doth thus deny it to me, I think, that the Reason of it is most like to be, because I belong not unto the Election of Grace. I desire that you would let me have your Prayers, as I doubt not but I have them; and rest

Your Son,

Samuel Mather.

Behold the Language of One, more able than the Famous Cornelius Mus, to have been a Preacher (as they say he was) when Twelve Years of Age! Now albeit, such Early accomplishments, use to be threatned with Cicero's, *Non potest in eo succus esse diuturnus, quod nimis celeriter maturitatem est affecutus:* And with Quintilian's, *Ingeniorum præcox Genus, non temere unquam pervenit ad Frugem;* and with Curtius's, *Nullus est et Diuturnus & Præcox Fructus;* which our Proverb has Englished, *Soon Ripe, soon Rotten;* there was no such Observation to be made of our Samuel, who still continually grew in his Accomplishments, and instead of losing them, like the Hermogenes mentioned by C. Rodiginus, he kept advancing in all Wisdom and Goodness, 'till he was found Ripe for Eternal Glory.

§. 4. In the Catalogue of the Graduates proceeding from Harvard-Colledge, our Samuel Mather, was the First, who appears as a Fellow of that Happy Society; wherein his careful Instruction, and exact Government of the Scholars under his Tuition, caused as many of them as were so, to mention him afterwards with Honour, as long as they lived; and such was the Love of all the Scholars to him, that, not only when he read his Last Philosophy-Lecture, in the Colledge-Hall, they heard him with Tears, because of it's being

being his *Last*, but also, when he went away from the Colledge, they put on the Tokens of *Mourning* in their very Garments for it. But by this his Living at *Cambridge*, under the Ministry of Mr. *Shepard*, he had the Advantage to conform himself, in his younger Years, more than a little, unto the *Spirit* and *Preaching* of that Renowned Man; (of whose Life, he afterwards published certain *Memoirs* unto the World) Of which Thing the Famous Mr. *Cotton* speaking to this our young *Mather*, did Congratulate his Happiness therein; adding, that in like manner, one Great Reason, why there came so many Excellent Preachers out of *Cambridge*, in *England*, more than out of *Oxford*, in some former Days, was the Ministry of Mr. *Perkins*, in that University. Our *Mather* being not only by Notable *Parts*, both *Natural* and *Acquired*, and by an Eminently *Gracious* Disposition of Soul, but also by a certain *Florid* and *Sparkling Liveliness* of Expression, admirably fitted for the Service of the Gospel, several Congregations in this Wilderness, applied themselves unto him, for the Enjoyment of his Labours among them. In Answer to their Applications, he spent some time with the Church of *Rowly*, as an Assistant unto Old Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*; where the Zeal of the People to have him settled, was the Cause of his not settling there at all; but when the *Temptations* arising from the Zeal of the People, caused him to choose a *Removal* from thence, it went so near unto the *Hearts* of some Good Men there, that it contributed, as 'twas thought, even unto shortning of their *Days*, in the World. Here, although in his Rich Furniture of Learning, from the Schools, the *Lamps* were lighted, before he did venture to bring his *Incense* unto the Altar, yet his Great Learning did not make his *Preaching* so obscure, as to give the plain Country-People Occasion for the Complaint, which they sometimes made of another; *This Man may be a Great Scholar, but he wants Beetle and Wedges to hew our knotty Timber withal.* Afterwards a Church being to be gathered, in the North Part of *Boston*, they had their Eyes upon *Him* to be their Pastor, and accordingly *He* entertained a Vast Auditory of Christians, with so incomparable a Sermon upon the Day, when that People publicly embodied themselves into their *Ecclesiastical State*, that Old Mr. *Cotton*, with whom he then sojourned, said upon it, *Such a Sermon from so young a Man as this, is a Matter of much more Satisfaction, than such an One from One of us Elder Men; for this young Man is, Spes Gregis.* And with this People he continued the Winter following; among whom, he was long after succeeded, by One of his Worthy Brethren.

§. 5. Having in him, the true Spirit of a *Witness* for our Lord Jesus Christ, he did, even while he was a Young Man, in this Country set himself, with a prudent, but yet fervent *Zeal*; upon all Occasions to bear a just *Witness*, against every thing which he judged contrary unto the Interests of *Holiness*. But there was hardly any

one thing, against which he used more of *Thunderbolt*, than that *Unholy Spirit of Antinomianism*, wherewith many People in those Days were led aside. It was with a particular *Agony* of Dissatisfaction, that he would still speak of those *Ungodly Men, who turned the Grace of God into Wantonness*. He would speak of them in such Words as these [Reader, they are of his own Words, in a Sermon about *Hardness of Heart*.] The same Word is used for *Blindness* and *Hardness* (Eph. 4. 18. & Rom. 11. 7, 8.) when *Ahabucrus* was offended with *Haman*, his Face was covered; and amongst us, when the Cloath is pulled over the Face, at an Execution, the Wretch is presently to be turn'd off. Thus, when the *Eyes* of the Soul are covered, and the *God of this World blinds them*, and they are *Given over to believe a Lye*, this is the Beginning of their utter *Hardness*, and Eternal Perdition. There are now many *Principles of Darkness*, whereby Mens Hearts are *Hardened in Sin*; whereof One is, *The Abrogation of the Moral Law, as a Rule of Life unto a Christian*: A Conceit that came out of Hell; and is directly against the *Clearst Light of Scripture*; *Mat. 5. 17, 18, 19.* And blasphemously injurious to the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ; who dyed for this End, to make his People *Zealous of good Works*, and therefore it makes him to *Dye in vain*. This Principle works *extream Hardness of Heart*; for when a Man hath drunk in this Poison, he may sin without Sorrow, yea, and without any Check of Conscience for it. If he be not bound to *Keep to the Rule*, why should he be troubled for *Breaking of it*? What are such Errors but as *Calvin* speaks, *Exundantis in Mundum Furoris Dei Flagella*, the Scourges of the Overflowing Fury of an Angry God against this Wicked World? Hence also there comes to be such Extreme *Blindness* and *Blockishness*, and *Blackness of Hell*, upon the Spirits of some, as to Deny the Necessity of a *Broken Heart*, and *Sorrow for Sin*, in these Times. Ministers must preach *Old Errors*, and call them by the Name of *New Light*. Why, because they are *Gospel Times*, as if it were the Work of the Gospel to *Harden Mens Hearts*, and make them *Stocks or Stones*, or like the *Sturdy Oaks of Bashan*, before the Words of the God of *Israel*.

Nor could he with easier Terms, at any time, speak of the *Licentious Disposition*, engendred by the *Antinomianism* broached and Rampant, at that time, among many Professors of *Christianity*.

§. 6. But he that *Holds the Stars in his Right Hand*, intending that a *Star* of this Magnitude, should move in an Orb, where his Influences might be more Extended than they could have been by any Opportunities, to be enjoyed and improved in an *American Wilderness*, He inspired our *Mather* with a strong Desire to pass over into *England*, and by the Wisdom of Heaven, there fell out several *Temptations* in this *Wilder-*

Wilderness, which occasioned him to be yet more desirous of such a Removal. To *England* then he went, in the Year 1650. Where the Right Honourable *Thomas Andrews*, Esq; then Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, quickly took such Notice of his Abilities, as to make Choice of him, for his *Chaplain*; and by the Advantage of the Post, where he was now placed in that *Chaplainship*, he came into an Acquaintance, with the most Eminent Ministers in the Kingdom; who much Honoured and Valued him, and, though of different Perswasions, Loved, *Christum habitantem in Mathero*. Here his Inclination To do Good, produced Good and Great Effects; but yet *One* that had like to have proved fatal unto himself. For being a Man of such Excellent Accomplishments, he was Courted so often to preach in the Biggest Assemblies, that by *Overdoing* therein, he had like to have undone his Friends, and lost his *Life*. The Famous *Mr. Sydrach Symphon*, observing this Inconvenience, did with a *Brotherly*, yea, with a *Fatherly* Care, obtain of him a *Promise*, that he would not *Preach* abroad at all, except when *He* should give his Consent; and accordingly when any publick Sermons were asked of him, he would refer those that asked unto *Mr. Symphon*, who with a *Wise* and *Kind* Consideration of this his Friend's Health, would give his Consent, but when it should be convenient.

§. 7. *Mr. Mather*, was after this, invited unto a Settlement, in several Places; and in Answer to those Invitations, he did preach for a while, at *Graves-End*, and after that, at the *Cathedral*, in the City of *Exeter*. But having from his Childhood, a Natural and Vehement Affection to a *Colledge-Life*, he retired unto *Oxford*, where he became a *Chaplain* in *Magdalen-Colledge*; and he had therewithal an Opportunity, sometimes at *St. Maryes*, to preach the Gospel of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, which for the Sake of the Lord Redeemer, whom he loved always to preach, he gladly took. And having before this, proceeded *Master of Arts* in the only Protestant Colledge of *America*, he was now admitted, *Ad Eundem*, not only in the Renowned University of *Oxford*, but in that of *Cambridge* also. But having been some time resident in *Oxford*, the *English Commissioners*, then going into *Scotland*, were willing to carry with them some *English Ministers*, whose Eminent Learning, Wisdom, Goodness and Reputation, might be serviceable unto the Interests of *Truth* and *Peace* in that Nation. Accordingly *Mr. Mather* was one of the Persons chosen for that Service; and there he continued at *Leigh*, preaching the Gospel of *God our Saviour*, for Two Years together.

§. 8. In the Year 1655. he returned into *England*: And the Lord *Henry Cromwel*, then going over Lord-Deputy for *Ireland*, there were several Ministers of great Note pitched upon to go over with him, for the Service of the Christian Religion there, whereof was *Dr. Harrison*, *Dr. Winter*, *Mr. Charnock* and our *Mr. Mather*.

When *Mr. Mather* came to *Dublin*, he was made a Senior Fellow of *Trinity-Colledge*; and from that University he had the Offer of a *Baccalureatus in Theologia*, but he modestly declined it, and seemed inclinable to the *Jewish Rule*, about the Rabbinate, *Love the Work, but Hate the Rabbinship*; yet he that had already proceeded *Master of Arts*, in so many Universities, did here again proceed *Ad Eundem*. Of any further Degrees our *Mather* was ready to say with the Great *Melancthon*, who would not accept an Higher Title than that of *Master*; *Vides meum Exemplum; Nemo me percellere potuit, ut illum quamlibet Honorificum Titulum Doctoris mihi decerni sinerem. Nec ego Gradus illos parvifacio, sed ideo, quia judico esse magna Onera, et necessaria Reipublica, verecunde petendos esse, et conferendos sentio*. But now in preaching to that Renowned City, and in the *Pastoral Charge* of the Church there, he was joined as a Colleague with *Dr. Winter*; and here preached every Lord's Day Morning at *St. Nichol's Church*; besides his Turn which he took once in six Weeks, to preach before the Lord Deputy and Council. A *Preacher* he now was of Extraordinary Esteem and Success; and as the whole Kingdom took Notice of him, so he did *Service* for the whole Kingdom, in the Eminent Station, where God had placed him. The more special Excellencies for which his Ministry was here observed, were, *First*, A most *Evangelical Endeavour* to make the Lord *Jesus Christ* the Scope and Sum of all that he said. *Secondly*, A most Angelical Majesty, wherewith his Messages were still uttered, as coming from the Throne of God; And *Thirdly*, Such a Clearness of Reason and Method, that it was commonly remark'd, *Mr. Charnock's Invention, Dr. Harrison's Expression, and Mr. Mather's Logick*, meeting together, would have made the *Perfellest Preacher* in the World. And if the *Slothful Man* in *Prov. 19. 24.* who *Will not so much as bring his Hand unto his Mouth*, were by the Ancients understood concerning the *Unholy Minister*, who will not bring *Voci sua Vitam suam*, our *Mr. Mather* was no *Slothful Preacher*; for besides his being a *Preacher*, who, as *Melchior Adam* describes *Jacobus Andreæ, Si quando opus erat, mera sonabat Tonitrua*, he was also a *Preacher* very Eminent for *Holiness*, and he Taught the People at other Times, besides when he Opened his Mouth.

§. 9. A certain Writer, who does continually serve the *Romanizing Faction* in the Church of *England*, with all manner of Malice and Slander against the best Men in the World, that were in any measure free from the Spirit of that Faction, yet mentioning our *Samuel Mather*, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, gives this Account of him; 'Tho' he was a *Congregational Man*, and in his Principles an *High Non-Conformist*, yet he was observed by some to be Civil to those of the *Episcopal Perswasion*, when it was in his Power to do them a Displeasure. And when the Lord-Deputy gave a Commission to him, and others, in Order unto the Displacing of *Episcopal Ministers*, in the Province of *Munster*, he decli-

ned it; as he did afterwards to do the like Matter in Dublin; alledging, that he was called into that Country, To Preach the Gospel, and not to hinder others from doing it. He was a Religious Man in the Way he profest, [This Author confesses] and was valued by some, who differ'd from him as to Opinion in Lesser, and Circumstantial Points of Religion. Thus One of themselves, even a Bigot of their own, has reported, and his Report is true! For which Cause when the Storm of Persecution, fell upon the Non-Conformists in Ireland, Mr. Mather, in his Address to the Lord-Chancellor for his Liberty, used these, among many other Passages; *I can truly say, I desire no more, not so much Favour for my self now, as I have shewed unto others formerly, when they stood in need of it. But I will not say, how much cause I have to resent it, and to take it a little unkindly, that I have met with so much of Molestation from those of that Judgment, whom I have not provoked unto it, by my Example, but rather have obliged by sparing their Consciences, to another manner of Deportment. For indeed, I have always thought, that it is an Irksome Work, to punish or trouble any Man, so it is an Evil and Sinful Work, to trouble any Good Man with Temporal Coercions, for such Errors in Religion, as are consistent with the Foundation of Faith and Holiness. It is no Good Spirit in any Form, to fight with Carnal Weapons; I mean, by External Violence, to impose and propagate it self, and seek by such means, the suppressing of Contrary Ways, which by Argument it is not able to subdue.* But let the Merits of Mr. Mather have bin what they will, he could not avoid the Hardships, which the Historian proceeds to relate in these Terms. 'After his Majesty's Restauration, he was suspended from Preaching, till his Majesty's Pleasure should be known for Two Sermons, which were judged Seditious. Thus writes the veriest Zosimus, that ever set Pen to Paper; even that Zosimus the Younger, who cannot mention any Well-wisher to the Reformation of the Church of England, without giving One Occasion to think on Dr. Howel's Observations upon the Old Zosimus; *We know it to be the Practice, in all Reformations, of those who are addic'd unto the Old Way, to render Infamous such, as have bin Instruments in the Iteration; and by a Prejudice against the Persons most ridiculously to insinuate an ill Opinion of the Thing, or Cause it self.*

§. 10. One Principal Character upon the Spirit of Mr. Mather, and One Remarkable in the Studies and Sufferings of his Life, will be given to my Reader, in an Account of the Two Sermons, which were the pretended Occasions of his being silenced. Know then, that the Episcopal Party in Ireland, immediately upon the King's Restauration, hastning to restore their Spiritual Courts, and summon the Ministers of the Gospel to appear before them, and submit unto those Unscriptural Impositions, which many Years had bin laid aside *Ratione Belli* (as they expressed it) *Rabieq; Hæreticorum & Schismaticorum*, and answer for the Breach of Canons, which (as the

Others answered) *We bless God, we have never kept, to His Praise we speak it, and we hope through His Grace, we never shall: It was thought necessary on this Occasion, that a Publick Testimony should be born against the Revival of those Dead Superstitions.* Accordingly Mr. Mather, being the fittest Person on many Accounts to be put upon that Service, He did in the Capital City of the Kingdom, in a Great Auditory, preach Two Sermons upon *K. Hezekiah's* breaking in pieces the Brazen Serpent, and calling it *Nebustan*, and thence advance this Assertion, *That it is a Thing very pleasing in the Sight of God, when the Sin of Idolatry, and all the Monuments, all the Remembrances and Reminders of it, are quite destroyed and rooted out from among His People: Wherein his Note upon the Text, was indeed but the very same with what his Adversaries, who are usually Great Admirers of every thing said by Grotius, might have read in the Commentary of that admirably Learned (though frequently Socinianizing, and at last Romanizing) Interpreter, upon the very same Text; Egregium Documentum Regibus, ut quamvis bene Instituta, sed non Necessaria, ubi in iis malè usurpantur, & Conspectu tollant, ne ponant Offendiculum Cæcis.* In the Prosecution of this Assertion, he offered many Arguments; why the Ceremonies of the Church of England, which were but the Old Leaven of Humane Inventions and Popish Corruptions remaining in the Worship of a Church, whose Doctrine he yet approv'd, as generally owned by Good Men, should not be reassumed, and by the Old Cruel Methods of Pœnal Laws, reinforced. Against the Ceremonies in General, he argued, That the Preface to the Common-Prayer-Book, expressly declared them to be *Mystical and Significant*, and so they differed nothing from Sacraments, but that they wanted a *Divine Institution*; and, said he, *The Promoters of them do pretend only the Authority of the Church; but if the Second Commandment was given to the Church, Thou shalt not make any Graven Image, or Form of Worship to thy self; They are a manifest Breach of that Commandment.* He added, That, as they were the Monuments of the Old Papal and Pagan Idolatry, and Men did therein, but Symbolize with Idolaters, thus, by the Greater Weight almost perpetually laid upon them, than upon Greater Things, they were still made further Idols. Particularly, he argued against the Surplice, That it was a Continuation of the Superstitious Garments, wherein the False Worshipers did use to officiate; That the Aaronical Garments being Typical of the Graces attending the Lord Jesus Christ, they are by His Coming antiquated; That the Scriptures give not the least Intimation of any Garments, whereby Ministers are to be distinguished. He added, That among the First Reformers, the most Eminent were in their Undistressed Judgments, against the Vestment; and that when the Canons of 1571. forbad the Gray Amice, or Any other Garment defiled with the like Superstition, the Equity of that Canon would exclude This also. He argued against the Sign of the Cross in Baptism, That whatever was to be said against Oyl, Cream, Salt, Spittle, therein, is to be

said against the *Cross*, which indeed never had bin used, in the Worship of God, as *Oyl* had bin of Old. That there is as much Cause to worship the *Spear* that pierced our Lord, as the *Cross* which hanged him, or that it were as Reasonable, to scratch a Child's Forehead with a *Thorn*, to shew that it must suffer for him, who wore a *Crown of Thorns*: That the *Cross* thus employed is a Breach of the *Second Commandment* in the very Letter of it, being an *Image* in the Service of God of *Man's Devising*, and fetch'd, as Mr. Parker says, *From the Erthel-House of God's greatest Enemy*. He argued against *Kneeling at the Lord's-Supper*, That it is contrary to the *First Institution*, which had in it none but a *Table-Gesture*; That it is gross *Hypocrisie* to pretend unto more Devotion, Holiness, and Reverence, in the Act of Receiving, than the *Apostles* did, when our Lord was there *Bodily present* with them; That it countenanced the Error of the *Papists*, who *Kneel* before their *Bread* God, and profess; that *They would be sooner torn in pieces than do it, if they did not believe that Christ is there Bodily present*: And, That since it was a Rule in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, set forth in K. Edward's Time, 1549. *As touching Kneeling and other Gestures, they may be used or left, as every Man's Devotion serveth*, it was a shameful Thing to be so retrograde in Religion, as now to establish that *Gesture*. He argued against *Bowing at the Altar*, and setting the *Communion-Table* *Altarwise*, That the *Communion-Table* is in the Sacred Oracles called a *Table* still, and, no where, an *Altar*; and if it were an *Altar*, it would imply a *Sacrifice*, which the *Lord's Supper* is not; yea, it would be Greater and Better, than the *Lord's Supper* it self, and sanctifie it; That if it were an *Altar*, yet it should not be fasten'd unto the Wall, *Dresser-Fashion*; but so stand, as that it might be *Compass'd about*; That the placing of it at the *East-End* of the Church, with *Steps* going up to it, and especially the Setting of *Images*, or other *Massing Appurtenances* over it, smells rank of *Paganism*: And, That, whereas in the very Beginning of the *Reformation*, this Abuse, was One of the *First Things* put down, it were a most *Romish* Vergency, Now to Conjure it up again. He argued against *Bowing at the Name of Jesus*, That the Phrase of *Bowing in τῷ ὀνόματι*, in the Text, wrested unto this purpose, is but very untowardly translated, *AT the Name of Jesus*, instead of *IN the Name*; and it were as proper to speak of, *Baptizing AT the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit*, and of *Believing AT God the Father*, and *AT Jesus Christ his Son our Lord*, and *AT the Holy Ghost*. That by the Name of *JESUS*, is not meant the Sound of the Syllables in the Word *JESUS*, but the Power, Majesty, Dominion and Authority of the Person of the Lord Jesus; and it is a Piece of *Cabalistical Magic*, to make an *Incurvation* at the Sound of this Name, without paying the like Respect unto other Names of the Blessed God, or particularly the Name *Christ*, which is more distinguishing for our Lord, than that of *JESUS*; or, why not at the *Sight* as well as the *Sound*? That

the Apostle speaks of such a *Name* to be acknowledged with *Bowing*, as was given to our Lord after His *Resurrection*, and as the *Effect* and *Reward* of his *Humiliation*, which the Name *JESUS* was not; it is the Name of *Christ Exalted*, or *Christ the Lord*; and by *Bowing the Knee*, is meant the Universal Subjection of all Creatures unto his *Lordship*, especially at the *Day of Judgment*. He argued against *The Stated Holydays*, That being *Feasts* which the *Jeroboam* of Rome had devised of his own *Heart*, yea some of them, especially the *December-Festival*, an Imitation of an *Heathenish Original*, if the Apostle forbid the Observation of the *Jewish Festivals*, because they were a *Shadow of Good Things to come*, it could not but be amiss in us, to observe the *Popish Ones*, which were *Ethnic* also; That it was a deep Reflection upon the *Wisdom* of the Lord Jesus Christ, our *Lawgiver*, the Lord of *Time*, and of the *Sabbath*, to add unto His Appointments, and it is an Infringement of our *Christian Liberty*; That an Occasional Designation of *Time* for *Lectures*, for *Fastings*, for *Thanksgivings*, which are *Duties* required by God, is vastly different from the *Statting of Times* for Holy, so that the *Duties* are then to be done for the sake of the *Times*. He added, the *Wish* of *Luther*; then sevenscore years ago, in his Book, *De Bonis Operibus*; That there were no other *Festival Days* among *Christians*, but only the *Lord's Day*: And the Speech of K. James, to a National Assembly in *Scotland*, wherein, He praised God, that he was King in the *Sincerest Church* in the World; *sincerer than the Church of England*, for their *Service* was an *Ill-said Mass* in *English*; *sincerer than Geneva* it self, for they observed *Pasche* and *Yoole*, that is *Easter* and *Christmas*; and (said the King) *What Warrant have they for that?* Against *Holiness of Places*, he argued, That they were the standing *Symbols* of God's Presence, which made stated *Holy Places* under the Law, and those *Places* were *Holy* because of their *Typical Relation* to the Lord Jesus Christ, and there was a further *Institution* of God, which did make them to be *Parts* of His Worship, and *Ways* and *Means* of Men's Communion with Himself, and to *Sanctifie* the *Persons* and *Actions* approaching to them; which cannot be said of any *Places* under the *New-Testament*; That under the *New-Testament*, God has declared Himself to be, both no *Respecter of Persons*, and no *Respecter of Places*; and our *Meeting-Places* are no more sacred, than the *Ancient Synagogues*: That some Excellent Men of the *Episcopal Way* it self, have been above the Conceit of any *Difference in Places*; Dr. *Usher* more particularly, who says, *In Times of Persecution*, the *Godly* did often meet in *Barns*, and such *Obscure Places*, which indeed were public, because of the *Church of God* there; the *House* or *Place* availing nothing to make it *Public* or *Private*; even, as wheresoever the *Prince* is, there is the *Court*, although it were in a *poor Cottage*. He added, That yet the *Churches* (as they were *Metonymically*, and almost *Catechrestically* called) in the *English Nation*, were not for the sake of *Old Abuses* to be demolished, as were the *Temples* of the *Canaanites*, inasmuch

as they were built for the *Worship of God*; and those *Places* are no longer polluted, when they are no longer so *Abused*. He argued against *Organs and Cathedral Music*, That there was a *Warrant of Heaven for Instrumental Music* in the Service of God under the *Law*, when also this was not a *Part of their Synagogue-Worship*, which was *Moral*, but of their *Ceremonial Temple-Worship*, whereas there is no such *Warrant* under the *Gospel*: That the *Instrumental Music* under the *Law*, was intended for a *Shadow of good Things to come*, which being now come, it was abolished; That even *Aquinas* himself, as late as four Hundred Years ago, pleaded against this *Instrumental Music*, as being used among the *Jews*, *Quia Populus erat magis Durus & Carnalis*; the Church of Rome it self, it seems, had not then generally introduced it, as he says, *Nè videatur judaizare*. Finally, against the *Book of Common-Prayer*, he argued, That it is a *Setting of Mens Posts by Gods*, to introduce into the Public *Worship of God*, as a *standing Part* thereof, and impose by Force, another *Book* besides the *Books of God*; nor is there any *Precept* or *Promise* in the *Book of God*, for the Encouragement of it, nor any *Example* that any *Ordinary Church-Officers*, imposed any stin-
 ted *Liturgies* upon the Church: That *K. Edward VI.* in his Declaration acknowledged, *It seemeth unto you a New-Service, but is indeed no other, but the Old, the self-same Words in English, that were in Latin, saving a few things taken out, which were so fond, that it had bin a shame to have heard them in English*: Yea, some of the *Bishops* themselves have reported, that *Pope Paul IV.* did offer *Q. Elizabeth* to ratifie it by his Authority, *Ut Sacra hęc omnia, hoc ipso, quo nunc sunt apud nos modo, procurari fas esset*; Now inasmuch as the Church of Rome is the *Mother of Harlots*, let any *Protestant* judge, whether it be fit for us, to fetch the Form of our *Worship* from thence, and indeed a great part of the *Form* from that *Old Conjuror Numa Pompilius*: That for *Ministers*, instead of using their own *Ministerial Gifts*, to discharge the Work of their *Ministry*, by the *Prescriptions of others*, is as bad as carrying the *Ark* upon a *Cart*, which was to have bin carried upon the *Shoulders of the Levites*; and it is a *Sin* against the *Spirit of Prayer*, for *Ministers* in these Days to be diverted from the *Primitive Way of Praying*, which was according to *Tertullian's Account*, *Sine Monitore, quia de Pectore*, in Opposition to the *Præscript Forms of Prayer* amongst the *Pagans*. He also touched upon the *Corruptions* in the very *Matter of the Common-Prayer*; the grievous Preference therein given unto the *Apocryphal* above the *Canonical Writings*; the Complementing of the Almighty *To give us those things, which for our Unworthiness we dare not presume to ask*; the *Non-sense* of calling the *Lessons* out of the *Prophets, Epistles*; and many more such Passages, which he but briefly touched, though, he said, *It would fill a Volume to reckon them*. He concluded these Discourses with an *Admonition* to the *Bishops* and *Episcopal Party*, that they would not now *Revive*, or, at least, not *Impose*, the *Superstitions* of the former Times: But among *Many things which he*

spoke in his *Exhortation*, I shall only transcribe these Words, 'When you have stopt our Mouths from *Preaching*, yet we shall *Pray*; and not only *We*, but all the Souls that have bin *Converted*, or *Comforted* and *Edified* by our *Ministry*, *They* will all cry to the Lord against you for *Want of Bread*, because you deprive them of those that should *Break the Bread of Life* unto them. Now I had rather be environed with *Armies of Armed Men*, and compassed round about with *Drawn Swords*, and *Instruments of Death*, than that the least *Praying Saint* should bend the Edge of his *Prayers* against me; for there is no standing before the *Prayers of the Saints*. Yea, I testify unto you, that as the *Saints* will *Pray*, so the Lord Himself will *Fight* against you, and will take you into His own *Revenging Hand*: I speak it *Conditionally*, in Case you *Persecute*, and I wish all the *Bishops in Ireland* heard me! For in the Name; and in the Love of *Christ*, I speak it to you, and I beseech you so to take it. I say, if once you fall to the *Old Trade of Persecution*, the Lord Jesus will never bear it at your Hands, but He will bring upon you a *Swift Destruction*. And your *Second Fall* will be worse than the *First*; for, *Dagon*, the first Time, did only *Fall* before the *Ark of God*; but when the Men of *Ashdod* had set him up in his Place again the *Second Time*, than he *Brake himself to pieces* by his *Second Fall*, inso-much that there was Nothing but the *Stump of Dagon* left. *Persecution* is a very *Ripening Sin*; and therefore if once you superadd the *Sin of Persecution*, to the *Sin of Superstition*, you will be quickly *Ripe* for final Ruine; and in the Day, when God shall visit you, the *Guilt of all the Righteous Blood*, that hath bin shed upon the Face of the Earth, from the *Blood of Abel*, to the *Blood of Udal*, and unto this Day, will come down the Hill upon your Heads, even upon the *Persecutors of this Generation*. The Lord Jesus, when the *Day of Vengeance* is in his Heart, and when the *Year of His Redeemed* is come, which is not far off, He will then *Require* all that *Blood*, and *Revenge* it all upon your Heads, if you justify the Ways of former *Persecutors*, by *Walking in the same Steps of Blood and Violence*.

Mr. Mather having thus faithfully born his *Testimony*, his *Persecutors* yet let him live quietly for more than *Five Months* after it; but *Then* they thought it their Time to call these *Two Sermons* (though there were not one Word therein, directly, or indirectly against the *King*, or His Government) *Seditious Preaching*; and thereupon they silenced him, though with so much *Noise*, that both *English* and *French Gazets* took Notice of it: But all the Notice, which he took of that Charge himself, was to say, 'If it be *Sedition* to disturb the *Devil's Kingdom*, who rules by his *Antichristian Ceremonies*, in the *Kingdom of Darkness*, as the Lord Jesus Christ doth by His own *Ordinances*, in His Church, which is the *Kingdom of Heaven*, I may say, *I did it before the Lord, who hath chosen me to be a Minister, and if this be to be Vile, I will yet be*

more *Pile* than *ibus*. Indeed there belong'd unto him the Character once given of *Erasmus Sarcinus*; *Lucebat in hoc Viro commemorabilis Gravitas & Constantia; non Minas, non Exilia, non ullam ullius Hominis Potentiam aut vim pertimescebat: pene dixerim, solem facilius de Cursu dimoveri potuisse, quam Matherum, a Veritatis Professione.*

§. 11. Mr. Mather being so silenced by those Dwellers on the Earth, who had bin thus tormented by him, he did with the Consent of his Church, in the latter End of the Year 1660. go over to England; where he continued a Publick Preacher in great Reputation, at *Burton-Wood* in *Lancashire*, until the General Death upon the Ministry of the *Non-Conformists*, at the *Black Bartholomew-Day*, August 24. 1662. The Act of which Day doubtless made the *Presbyterians* think on the *Bartholomew-Day*, which had been in another Kingdom Ninety Years before; after which, the *Deputies* of the Reformed Religion, treated with the *French King*, and the *Queen Mother*, and some others of the Council, for a *Peace*, and *Articles* were on both sides agreed; but there was a *Question* upon the *Security* for the Performance of those *Articles*; whereupon the *Queen* said, *Is not the Word of a King a sufficient Security?* but one of the *Deputies* answered, *No, by St. Bartholomew, Madam, It is not!* Mr. Mather being one of the *Twenty Hundred Ministers*, expelled from all Public Places, by that Act, which was compleated by the *Active Concurrence* (as that Excellent and Renowned Person, *Dr. Bates*, has truly observed) of the *Old Clergy* from *Wrath and Revenge*, and the *Young Gentry* from their *Servile Compliance with the Court*, and their *Distast of serious Religion*; His Church in *Dublin* sent unto him, to Return unto his Charge of them; having, by this time, Opportunity to use that Argument with him, for his Return, *The Men are dead that sought thy Life*. Accordingly, he spent all the Rest of his Days with his Church in *Dublin*; but he preached only in his *Own Hired House*, which being a very large One, was well fitted for that purpose. And there was This Remarkable concerning it; That although no Man living used a more Open and Generous Freedom, in Declaring against the *Corruptions of Worship*, reintroduced into the Nation, yet such was his *Learning*, his *Wisdom*, his known *Piety*, and the true *Loyalty* of his whole Carriage towards the Government, that he lived without much further Molestation; yea, the God of Heaven recompenced the Integrity of this his Faithful Servant, wherein he exposed himself above most other Men for the Truth by granting him a Protection above most other Men, from the Adversaries of it. For which Cause he did in the Year 1668. thus write unto his Aged Father in *New-England*. 'I have enjoy'd a Wonderful Protecting Providence in the Work of my Ministry. I pray Remember me daily in your Prayers, that I may Walk northy of this Goodness of God, and be made useful by him, for the Good of the Souls of his People. If any had told me in April 1660. that I should have exercised the Liberty of my Ministry and Conscience; either in *England* or *Ireland*, and that without Conforming to the Corruptions of

the Times; and this for seven or eight Years together; I should not have believed it, I should have thought it next to an *Impossibility*; but With God all Things are possible.

§. 12. Although Mr. Mather was thus full of Zeal against *Corruptions in the Worship of God*, and in that Just Zeal, he also wrote a Treatise containing *Reasons* against *Stinted Liturgies*, and the *English* One in particular, and *Answers* to the *Lamentable Concessions*, which a Reverend Person (whose Name, for Honours sake he yet spared) had made, in his *Disputations*, for them; nevertheless, like the Apostle *John*, whom he had, long before, imitated, when he was a *Young Disciple*, upon other Accounts, he was full of Love towards the Persons of Good Men, that were too much led away with those *Corruptions*. Hence he carried it with all possible Respect unto *Godly*, and *Worthy* Men of that Way, which he so much disliked; the *Episcopal*: However, while they excluded the *Scripture* from being the Rule of *Church-Administrations*, and made *Unscriptural Rites*, with *promiscuous Admissions* to the *Lord's Table*, and the Denial of *Church-Power* unto the proper *Pastors* of the Churches, to be the *Terms of Communion* he thought it impossible for *Non-Conformists* to coalesce, in the same *Ecclesiastical Communion* with them. Albeit he had the *Union of Charity and Affection*, with all *Pious Conformists*, of whom his Words were, *There is Christian Love and Esteem due to such, as personally considered, and we should be willing and ready to receive them in the Lord*; yet for the *Union of an Ecclesiastical Combination*, with Men that were of such Principles, and by such Principles became the Authors of a *Schism*, he said, *Unto their Assently, my Glory, be not thou United*; and he added, *The best Way for Union with them, is to labour to reduce them from the Error of their Way*. Nevertheless, Mr. Mather beholding, that they who appeared studious of *Reformation* in the Nations, were unhappily subdivided into *Three Forms*, or Parties, commonly known by the Name of *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and *Antipado-Baptists*, he set himself to endeavour an Union among all the Good Men, of these three Perswasions. To this purpose, he did Compose a most Judicious *Irenicum* (afterwards Printed) wherein he stated the *Agreement* of these Parties: He found, That they were agreed in all the *Fundamental Points* of the *Christian Faith*, and *Rules of a Christian Life*: That they were agreed in the *Main Acts* of *Natural Worship*, namely *Prayer*, and *Preaching*, and *Hearing* of the Word; and in the *Special Time* for Publick Worship, namely, *The Lord's Days*: That as to Matters of *Institution*, they were agreed in Declaring for the *Scriptures*, as the *Direction* of all; they were agreed, that the Lord hath appointed a *Ministry* in the Church, who are bound by *Office* to publish the *Gospel*, and in His Name therewith to dispeuce *Sacraments*, and the *Disciplines* of the *Gospel*, and that all *Ignorant* and *Ungodly* Persons, are to be debarred from the *Holy Mysteries*; and finally, that the *Humane Inventions* used and urged in the Service of the Church of *England*, are unlawful. He proceeded then to Consider the *Articles of Difference*

Difference, which were betwixt them; and he found those Articles to be mostly so merely *Circumstantial*, that if the several *Sides* would but patiently understand one another, or Act according to the *Concessions* and *Confessions* which are made in their most *Allowed Writings*, they might easily *Walk together*, wherein they were of *One Mind*, and wherein they were *not so*, they might willingly bear with One another, *Until God reveal unto them*. Only such as *Unchurch* all others besides themselves, he found by the Severity of their own *Disuniting Principle*, rendered incapable of Coming into this *Union*: But unto all the Societies of these Christians, that made *Union and Communion* with the Lord Jesus Christ, the Foundation of *Church-Communion*, he did, with a most *Evangelical Spirit*, offer, First, That they should mutually give the *Right Hand of Fellowship*, unto each other, as true Churches of the Lord Jesus Christ. Secondly, That they should kindly *Advise and Assist* each other in their Affairs, as there should be Occasion for it: Thirdly, That they should admit the *Members* of each other's *Congregations*, unto *Occasional Communion*, at the Table of the Lord. In this *Uniting Scheme* of his; as there was a due *Tenderness* towards *Various Apprehensions*, without *Scepticism* in Religion, so there was a *Blessed Essay* to remove the *Greatest Stumbling-Blocks* of Christianity. Indeed such a *Generous Largeness of Soul* there was in our *Mather*, that he could with the *Excellent-spirited*, Mr. *Burroughs*, have written it as the *Motto*, upon his Study-Door, *Opinionum Varietas, et Opinantium Unitas, non sunt Asinaria*.

§. 13. While Mr. *Mather* was fulfilling his Ministry in *Dublin*, as One, who might justly have claimed the Name of the *Spanish Bishop*, *Fructuosus*, there were many *Salleys* to the *Doing of Good*, which he added unto the *Weekly and Constant Services* of his Ministry; whereof *One* was this. A certain *Roman Catholick* having published a short, but subtil *Discourse*, Entitled, *Of the One, Only, Catholick and Roman Earth*, whereby the Faith of some *Uncatechized Protestants* was not a little endangered. Mr. *Mather* was desired by Persons of Quality, to give the World an Answer to this *Discourse*. And in Answer to their Desire, he Composed and Emitted, a most Elaborate, Pertinent, Judicious, though Brief *Treatise*, Entitled, *A Defence of the Protestant, Christian Religion against Popery, wherein the manifold Apostasies, Heresies, and Schisms of the Church of Rome, as also the Weakness of their Pretensions from the Scriptures and the Fathers are briefly laid open*. But there was another Thing, which gave the Studies of this Learned and Holy Man, a Considerable Exercise. There was one Mr. *Valentine Greatreats*, who felt a vehement *Impression*, or *Suggestion* upon his Mind, of this Import; [*I have given thee the Gift of Curing the Evil!*] In Compliance with which *Impulse*, he stroked a Neighbour grievously afflicted with the *Kings-Evil*, and a Cure succeeded. For about a Twelve-month he pretended unto the Cure of no other Distemper; but, then, the *Ague* being rife in the Neighbour-

hood, the same sort of *Impulse* told him [*I have given thee the Gift of Curing the Ague!*] After which, when he laid his Hand, on People in their Fits, the *Ague* would leave them. About half a Year after this, the *Impulse* became yet more General, and said [*I have given thee the Gift of Healing.*] and then our *Stroker* attempted the Relief of all Diseases indifferently: But frequently with such violent *Rubbing*, as from any One, would have had a Tendency to disperse *Pains* arising from *Flatulencies*. All this while, he doubted, whether there were any thing more in the Cause of the Cure, than followed this *Friktion*, than the strong *Fancy* of the feeble People that addressed him; Wherefore to convince his *Incredulity*, as he lay in his Bed, he had one *Hand* struck *Dead*, and the usual *Impulse* then bid him, to make a Trial of his *Virtue* upon himself; which he did with his other *Hand*, and immediately it returned unto its former *Liveliness*: This happened for two or three Mornings together. But after this, there were Thousands of Persons, who flockt from all Parts of *Ireland*, unto this Gentleman, for the Cure of their various Maladies, among whom there were some *Noble*, some *Learned*, and some very *Pious* Persons, and even *Ministers* of the Gospel; and although it was observed, That a Cure seldom succeeded without *Reiterating Touches*; That the Patients often *relapsed*; That sometimes he utterly fail'd of doing any thing at all, especially, when there was a *Decay of Nature*; and that there were many *Distempers*, that were not at all Obedient unto the Hand of this Famous *Practitioner*: Nevertheless his *Touches* had Thousands of Wonderful Effects. There were some *Philosophical Heads*, who refer'd all this *Virtue* in the *Hand* of our New sort of Chyrurgion, unto a particular *Complexion* in him, or a sort of *Sanative* or *Balsamic Ferment*, which was in the *Spirits* of the Man; and who conceived the *Impulse* upon him to be, but a *Result* of his *Temper*, and like *Dreams*, that are usually according to our *Constitution*; or perhaps, there might be something of a *Genius* they thought, also in the Case. But Mr. *Mather* apprehended the *Hand of Joab* in all this; and a Plot of *Satan*, that *Went down*, *Generis Humani Hostis*, lying at the Bottom of all. Mr. *Greatreats* had confessed unto him, that before these things, he had bin a Student in *Cornelius Agrippa*; and had essay'd the Cure of *Distempers*, by his *Abra kat Abra*: And Mr. *Mather* now feared, that the *Devil*, with whom he had bin so far familiar, did not only now *Impose* upon the Man himself, but also *Design* upon multitudes of other People. Wherefore to rectifie the Thoughts of People, about the Danger of *Unaccountable Impulses*, which had precipitated *Greatreats* into his present *Way of Cures*; and about the Nature and Intent of *Real Miracles*, whereof 'twas evident there were none in the *Cures* by *Greatreats* pretended unto; and moreover, to prevent the *Superstitious* Neglect of *God*, and of *Means*, which People were apt, on this Occasion, *Profanely*, to run into; and finally, to prevent the Hazards, which might arise unto our Sacred Religion by our Popular *Apotheisag* of a *Blade*, who made *Scepticism* in Religion, one part of his

his Character; Mr. *Mather* drew up a Discourse relating thereunto. This Discourse, being shown to some of the King's *Privy-Council* in *Ireland*, was approved and applauded, as most worthy to be printed; but the *Primate's* Chaplain, at last, obstructed it, because forsooth; the *Geneva Notes*, and Dr. *Ames*, were quoted in it, and it was not convenient, that there should be any Book printed, wherein any Quotations were made from such *Dangerous Fanaticks*. However, God blessed this Manuscript, for the setting of many *Unstable Minds*, and the stopping of *Mischiefs* that were threatened.

§. 14. It is reported, in the Life of Mr. *Rothwel*, that being advised by a Clergy-man more Great than Wise, to forbear meddling with the Types, as Themes not convenient for him to study upon, he made that very Prohibition, but as an Invitation, to expect something of an extraordinary Concernment in them; and accordingly falling upon the Study of the Types, he found no part of his Ministry more advantageously employed for himself or others. Our Mr. *Mather* on the other Hand, was earnestly desired by the Non-Conformist Ministers, in the City of *Dublin*, to preach upon the Types of *Evangelical Mysteries*, in the Dispensations of the *Old Testament*; in Compliance with which, he had not proceeded very far, before he saw Cause to Write unto One of his Brothers, *The Types and Shadows of the Old Testament*, if but a little understood, how full are they of Gospel-Light and Glory! Having gone through diverse of them, I must acknowledge, with Thankfulness to the Praise of the Freeness of the Grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I have seen more of Him, than I saw before. With much Labour and Judgment, at length, he finished his Undertaking, and in a Course of Sermons, from March 1666. to Feb. 1668. on first the Personal Types, and then the Real Ones, whether first, the more Occasional Types, and, then, the more Perpetual Ones. And his Church after his Death, calling another of his Worthy Brothers, namely, Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, to succeed him; that Brother of his, in Imitation of what *Ludovicus Capellus*, did for His Brother, and what Mr. *Dyke*, Mr. *Culverwel*, and others have done for theirs, in Publishing the profitable Works of the Deceased, Published this Course of Sermons unto the World; with some Judicious Discourses, against *Modern Superstitions*, intermixed. Here, the Waxen Combs of the Ancient and Typical Cells, being melted down is (as One expresses it) Rolled up into shining Tapers, to illuminate the Students of those Mysteries, In finding out the Honey, that couches in the Carcase of the slain Lion of the Tribe of *Judab*. All the Talents which *Cato* spent in Erecting a Tomb of *Thracian Marble* for his Dead Brother *Capio*, turned not unto so much Account, as the Care used by Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, thus to bring into the Light the Meditations of his Excellent Brother *Samuel*; upon a Subject wherein but few had ever waded before him. And if there be a Truth in that Opinion of some Divines, That the Glory and Gladness of the Saints in Heaven, receives Additions, as the Good

Effects of what they formerly did, on Earth are there increasing; his Action herein, was yet more Worthy, the Relation of a Brother. But Mr. *Mather* did not so converse with one more Obscure Part of the Sacred Scripture, as to leave Another Uncultivated with his Industrious, and Inquisitive Studies thereupon: The Difficulties in the Prophetical Part of the *New-Testament*, as well as in the Figurative Part of the *Old*, were happily assail'd by his Learned Contemplations. When he had made a considerable Progress herein, he wrote unto his Youngest Brother, who was then a Minister in *New-England*, and since President of the Colledge there; I must needs tell you, how much I do rejoyce, that it hath pleased God to stir up your Spirit, to search into the Prophetical Parts of the Scripture; of which I have often thought and still do, That it is great pity, they are so little minded and seen into, by many, both Ministers and others, who do deprive themselves of much Satisfaction, which they might receive thereby. It is not good, to despise any part of the Mind and Counsel of God, revealed in his Word; there are Unknown Treasures and Pleasures there stored up, more precious than Gold and Silver; and shall we not, in the Strength of His Spirit search for them? And as the Brother to whom he thus wrote, gave in sundry Treatises, and in diverse Languages, unto the Church of God, several Happy Fruits of his Enquiries into the Inspired Prophecies, which Blessed are they that read and bear; so our Mr. *Mather* himself arrived unto such Attainments herein, that he had no Cause to make the Confession (tho' such was his Modesty, that he was ready enough to do it) of some Eminent Persons, *Nullus sum in Prophetis*. When 'tis said, Blessed are they that Keep the things written in this Prophecy, a Mathematician will tell us, that what we render Keep, is rather to be render'd Observe, or Watch, or Mind; for *ἰνενειν*, is used by the Greeks, as a Term of Art, expressing the Astronomical Observation of Eclipses, Planetary Aspects, and other Celestial Phænomena Mr. *Mather* accordingly counted it his Blessedness, to take an Observation of what Fulfillment the Divine Books of Prophecy already had received, and thence make a Computation of the Times, that were yet before us, and of the Things to be done in those Times. But of all his Apocalyptical Explications, or Expectations, I shall here take the Liberty to insert no more, than this One, which may deserve perhaps a little thinking on. That whenever God sets up in any of the ten Kingdoms, which made the ten Horns of the Papal Empire, such an Establishment, Sovereign and Independent, wherein Antichrist shall have neither an *ἔξουσία*, nor a *δυναμίς*, neither Power of Laws, nor Force of Arms, to defend him and his Corruptions; Doubtless, then, the Witnesses of our Lord, are no more trodden down, to prophecy in Sackcloth, any longer. Then therefore expires the 1260 Years, and since that such a Kingdom well may be called The Lord's, then will the seventh Trumpet begin to sound. Which, that it is Near, even, at the Door, I may say, through Grace I doubt not.

§. 15. While Mr. *Mather* was thus employ'd, it pleas'd the God of Heaven, to Take away from him

him the Desire of his Eyes. He had in the Year 1656. married a most Accomplished Gentlewoman, the Sister of Sir *John Stevens*, by whom he had Four or Five Children, whereof there lived but One, which was a Daughter. But in the Year 1668. this Gentlewoman fell into a Sickneſs, that laſted Five or Six Weeks; all which Time ſhe continued full of Divine Peace and Joy, and uttered many extraordinary Expreſſions of Grace, wherewith her pious Friends were extreemly ſatiſfied. When ſhe drew near her End, her Husband, ſeeing her in much Pain, ſaid, *You are going where there will be no more Pain, Sighing or Sorrow: Where to ſhe answered, Ay, my Dear, and where there will be no more Sin!* And her Siſter ſaying to her, *You are going to Heaven,* ſhe answered, *I am there already!* So ſhe went away, having thoſe for her laſt Words, *Come, Lord, Come, Lord Jeſus!* Not very long after this did Mr. *Mather* fall ill himſelf, of an Impoſtume in his Liver: But as in the Time of his Health and Strength, he had maintained an *Even Walk with God*, without ſuch *Raptures* of Soul, as many Chriſtians have bin carried forth unto, ſo now in the Time of his *Illneſs*, he enjoyed a certain *Tranquility* of Soul, without any Approaches toward *Rapturous Extaſie*. He never was a *Man of Words*, but of a *Silent*, and a *Tbinking Temper*, a little tinged with *Melancholly*; and now he lay ſick, he did not ſpeak much to thoſe that were about him; yet, what he did ſpeak, was full of Weight and Worth; nor will his Friends ever forget, with what Solemnity, he then-told them; *That he had preached unto them the Truths of the Great God, and that he now charged them to adhere unto thoſe Truths, in the firm and full Faith whereof, he was now entering into Glory: And that he did particularly exhort them to waſh every Day, in the precious Blood of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by Faith apply His perfect and ſpotleſs Righteouſneſs unto their own Souls.* It has indeed bin commonly obſerved, that Children, *Who honour their Father and their Mother*, according to the *Fiſt Commandment*, in the *Second Table* of the Law, which has a peculiar *Promise* annexed unto

it, have the *Recompence* of a *Long Life upon Earth*. And I take Notice, that in the *Commandment*, what we Tranſlate, *That thy Days may be long*, is to be Read, *That they may prolong thy Days*; that is, *Thy Father and thy Mother, They ſhall prolong thy Days*, by *Bleſſing* of thee, in the Name of God, if thou carry it well unto them. But when the *Sovereign Providence* of Heaven makes *Exceptions* unto this *General Rule*, we may believe, that what is not fulfilled in the *Letter*, is fulfilled in the *Better*; and ſome, that *Live long in a little time*, alſo have their *Days prolonged* in the Enjoyment of *Life* with the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our *Life*, throughout *Eternal Ages*. Thus our Mr. *Mather* had bin as Dutiful a *Joſeph*, as perhaps ever any Parents had; and by his Yearly and Coſtly *Presents* to his Aged Father, after he came to be a *Maſter* of Poſſeſſions in *Ireland*, he continued the Expreſſions of his Dutifulneſs unto the laſt; nevertheless he now dyed, *Octob. 29. 1671*. When he wanted about ſix Months of being *Six and Forty Years Old*: And yet as they, who have gone to prove *Adam*, a longer-lived Perſon than *Methuſelah*, uſe to urge, that *Adam*, was to be ſuppoſed Fifty or Sixty Years old, being in the *Perfect Stature of Man*, at his *Fiſt Creation*, ſo, if it be conſider'd how much of a Man, our *Mather* was, while he was yet a Child, and if it be further conſidered how much *Work* he did for the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, after he came to the *Perfect Stature of Man*, he muſt be reckoned, *An Old Man full of Grace, though not full of Days*; and that *Epitaph*, which was once the Great *JEWEL's*, may be Written on his Grave, in the Church of *St. Nicholas*, in the City of *Dublin*, where his *Aſhes* lye covered.

Diu vixit, licet non diu fuit.

But now,
Gone where the Wicked ceaſe from
Troubling, and where the Weary are
at Reſt.

CHAP. III.

THE

L I F E

OF

Mr. Samuel Danforth.

§. 1. **M**OST Chriſtian and Candid, is the Speech of a Certain Author, who yet writes himſelf, *A Beneficed Miniſter, and Regular Son of the Church of England*, when he ſays, *I never thought them good*

Painters, who draw the Pictures of the Diſſenting Brethren with Dirt and Soot; but I, knowing them to be unlike thoſe Pictures, have with juſt Offence beheld their Injuries, and would have been pleaſed to have ſeen them deſcribed by ſome Impartial and Ingenious Maſter,

Master, as fit to adorn the Palaces of Princes. Reader, I am going to draw the Picture of another Minister, who was a Nonconformist unto *Eminentables*, in the Church of England; wherein tho' I am not *Ingenious*, yet I will be *Impartial*, and therefore instead of the *Dirt and Soot*, which the Persecuting *Bigots* for a few *Ceremonies*, would employ upon the Memory of such Men, I will with an *Honest and Modest Report* of his Character cause him to be remembered next unto the *First Fellow* of that Colledge, whereof He was the Next.

§. 2. This was Mr. Samuel Danforth, Son to Mr. N. Danforth; a Gentleman of such Estate and Repute in the *World*, that it cost him a Considerable Sum to escape the *Knighthood*, which K. Charles I. imposed on all of so much *Per Annum*; and of such Figure and Esteem in the Church, that he procured that Famous Lecture at Framlingham in Suffolk, where he had a fine Mannour; which Lecture was kept by Mr. Burroughs, and many other Noted Ministers in their Turns; to whom, and especially to Mr. Shepard, he prov'd a *Gaius*, and then especially when the *Laudian Fury* scorched them. This Person had Three Sons, whereof the Second was our Samuel, born in September in the Year 1626. and by the Desire of his Mother, who died Three Years after his Birth, earnestly Dedicated unto the *Schools of the Prophets*. His Father brought him to New-England in the Year 1634. and at his Death, about four Years after his Arrival here, he committed this Hopeful Son of many Cares and Prayers, unto the Paternal Oversight of Mr. Shepard, who proved a kind Patron unto him. His Early Piety, answered the pious Education bestowed upon him; and there was One Instance of it somewhat singularly circumstanced: When he was reciting to his Tutor, out of the *Heathen Poets*, he still made some Ingenious Addition and Correction, upon those Passages, which ascribed those Things unto the *False Gods* of the *Gentiles*, that could not without *Blasphemy* be ascribed unto any, but the *Holy One of Israel*: His Tutor gave him a sharp Reprehension for this, as for a meer *Impertinency*; but this Conscientious Child reply'd, *Sir, I can't in Conscience recite the Blasphemies of these Wretches, without Washing my Mouth upon it!* Nevertheless, a fresh Occasion occurring, his Tutor gave him another sharp Reprehension, for his doing once again as he had formerly done; but the Tutor to the Amazement of them all, was terribly and suddenly seized with a Violent *Convulsion-Fit*; out of which when he at last recovered, he acknowledg'd it as an Hand of God upon him, for his Harshness to his Pupil, whose *Conscientiousness* he now applauded.

§. 3. His Learning with his Virtue, e're long brought Him into the Station of a Tutor; being made the Second *Fellow* of *Harvard-Colledge*, that appears in the Catalogue of our *Graduates*. The *Diary*, which even in those Early Times, he began to keep of Passages belonging to his In-

terior State, gave great Proof of his Proficiency in *Godliness*, under the Various *Ordinances* and *Providences* of the Lord Jesus Christ; the Watchfulness, Tenderness and Conscientiousness of *Aged Christianity* accompanied him, while he was yet but *Young* in Years. His Manner was to Rise before the Sun, for the Exercises which Isaac attended in the Evening; and in the Evening likewise he withdrew, not only from the Conversation then usually maintained, which he thought hurtful to his Mind by its *Insolent Levity*, but from *Supper* it self also, for the like Exercises of Devotion. Although he was preserved free from every Thing *Scandalous*, or *Immoral*, yet he seem'd as *Tertullian* speaks, *Nulli Rei natus nisi Penitentiae*; and the Sin of *Unfruitfulness* gave as much Perplexity to him, as more *Scandalous* and *Immoral Practices* do to other Men; for which *Comprehensive Sin*, keeping a *Secret Fast*, once before the Lord, the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ so powerfully and rapturously comforted him, with those Words, *He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much Fruit; without me ye can do nothing*: That the Remembrance thereof, was all his Days, afterwards Comfortable unto him.

§. 4. Mr. Welds returning for England, the Church at Roxbury invited Mr. Danforth, to become a Colleague to Mr. Eliot, whose Evangelical Employments abroad among the *Indians*, made a Colleague at Home to be necessary for him. The Pastoral Charge of that Church he undertook in the Year 1650. and no Temptations arising, either from the *Incompetency* of the Salary, allow'd him to support an Hospitable Family, or from the *Provocation*, which unworthy Men in the *Neighbourhood* sometimes tried him withal, could perswade him to accept of Motions, which were made unto him, to remove unto more Comfortable Settlements; but keeping his Eye upon the Great Man's Motto, *Prudens, qui patiens*, he continued in his Roxbury Station, for Three Years more than Thrice seven together. All this time, as he studied *Use*, by Endeavours to *Do good*, not only in that particular Town, but with Influences more General and Extensive, so he did endeavour to signalize himself, by studying of *Peace*, with a Moderating and Interposing Sort of *Temper*, in rising Differences; being of the Opinion, *That usually they have little Peace of Conscience, who do not make much Conscience of Peace*. And when he then came to *Dye*, spending one whole *Sleepless Night*, in a Survey of his past Life, he said, *He could find no Remarkable Miscarriage (through the Grace of Christ) in all this time, to charge himself withal, but that with Hezekiah, he had served the Lord with a perfect Heart all his Days*.

§. 5. The Sermons with which he fed his Flock, were Elaborate and Substantial; He was a Notable *Text-Man*, and one who had more than Forty or Fifty *Scriptures* distinctly quoted in One Discourse; but he much recommended himself by keeping close to his Main Text, and avoiding

avoiding of all remote Excursions and Vagaries; and there was much Notice taken of it, that though he were a very *Judicious Preacher*, yet he was therewithal so *Affectionate*, that he rarely, if ever ended a Sermon without Weeping. On the Lord's Days in the *Forenoons*, he expounded the Books of the *Old-Testament*; in the *Afternoons*, he discoursed on the *Body of Divinity*, and many Occasional Subjects, and some Chapters in the Epistle to the *Romans*, until the Year 1661; and then he began to handle the *Harmony of the Four Evangelists*, proceeding therein to those Words of our Lord Jesus Christ, in *Luke 14. 14. Thou shalt be recompenced at the Resurrection of the Just*: On which, having preached his *Last Sermon*, it proved indeed his *Last*; and from thence he had no more to do, but now *Waits all the Days of his appointed time, until his Change come*, at that *Resurrection*, when our Lord Jesus Christ shall Call, and he shall *Answer* that Call, and the Lord shall have a *Desire to the Work of His Hands*. He also preach'd a *Monthly Lecture*, and on many *Private Occasions*, at Meetings of Christians, in the Families of the Faithful. But instead of ever venturing upon any *Extemporaneous Performances*, it was his Manner to write his Sermons *twice over*; and it was in a fair long Hand that he wrote them. His *Utterance* was free, clear, and giving much in a little time; his *Memory* very tenacious, and never known to fail him, though he allow'd it no Assistances. And unto all the other Commendable Things observed in the Discharge of his Ministry; he added that of a most *Pastoral Watchfulness* over his Flock. Hence he not only visited the *Sick*, as a *Messenger from Heaven* to them, *One among a Thousand*, but when he met Persons recovered from *Sickness*, he would, at this Rate accost them, *Well, you have been in God's School, but what have you learnt? What Good have you got?* And notable were the Effects of these his Applications. Hence also he took much Care, that none should keep an *House of Publick Entertainment* in his Town, but such as would keep Good Orders and Manners in their House; and the Tavern being in View of his own Study-Window, when he saw any Town-Dwellers tipling there, he would go over and chide them away. Hence likewise he would animadvert upon Miscarriages that came in his Way, with all Watchful and Zealous Faithfulness, and One Instance of his Doing so, had something peculiar in it. A *Day of Humiliation* was to be attended, and a Man of another Town, by unseasonable Driving a *Cart* through the Street, caused this good Man to come out and reprove him, for the Affront he thereby put upon the Devotions of the People in the Neighbourhood: The Man made him an *Obstinate and Malapert Answer*, but when he came home, he found One of his Children suddenly *Dead*; upon this he could have no Rest in his Mind, until he came to this *Reprover in the Gate*, with Humble and many Tokens of Repentance.

§. 6. After his *Contraction*, according to the *Old Usage of New-England*, unto the Virtuous

Daughter of Mr. *Wilson* (whereat Mr. *Cotton* preached the Sermon) he was married unto that Gentlewoman, in the Year 1651. Of *Twelve* Children by her, there are *Four* now at this Day, surviving; whereof *Two* are now *Worthy Ministers of the Gospel*. When his Wife was under Discouragements at any time, through *Domestick Straits*, he would reply, *Ben't you discouraged; if you undergo more Difficulties than other Gentlewomen, still we have the Lord's part, and at last you shall have an Ample Recompence, a Prophet's Recompence!* As his End approached he had strong Apprehensions of its Approach; and the very Night before he fell sick, he told his Wife, *He had been much concerned, how she with her Children would subsist, if he should be removed; but now he had got over it, and firmly believed in the Covenant of God for them, that they should be, by the Divine Providence, as well provided for, as they could be, if he were alive*: Which has been since accomplished unto *Admiration!* Immediately after this, he fell sick of a putred Fever, occasioned by a *Damp, Cold, Nocturnal Air*, on a Journey; and in the Space of six Days, passed from *Natural Health, to Eternal Peace*, Nov. 19. 1674. Of his *Dying Prayers* for his Comfort, one of the most Lively was, that her Daughter (now the Wife of *Edward Bromfield, Esq;*) might be made a *Rich Blessing and Comfort* unto her; and this also hath not been without its *Observable Accomplishment!* But if we now Enquire after an *Epitaph*, to be Incribed on the Tomb, where his Ashes now lye, with those of our Governour *Dudley*, for whose Honourable Family he always had a *Great Friendship*, I know not, whether One might not be taken out of the Words of his Venerable Old Colleague Mr. *Eliot*, who would say, *My Brother Danforth made the most Glorious End, that ever I saw!* Or, from a Poem of Mr. *Weld's* upon him, which had a Clause to this purpose.

*Mighty in Scripture, searching out the Sense,
All the Hard Things of it, unfolding thence:
He Liv'd Each Truth; His Faith, Love, Tenderness
None can to th' Life, as did his Life express:
Our Minds with Gospel, his Rich Lectures fed;
Luke, and his Life, at once are finished:
Our New Built Church now suffers too by this,
Larger its Windows, but its Lights are less.*

§. 7. The least Pupils in *Astronomy*, cannot now without some *Diversion*, reflect upon the *Astronomy of the Ancients*, when we read them declaiming against the *Spherical Figure* of the Heavens: The many Passages to this purpose in *Justin Martyr*, and *Ambrose*, and *Theodoret*, and *Theophylact*, and the Great *Austin* himself, I will not recite, least, Reader, we should, before we are aware, play too much with the *Beards of the Fathers*: Nor would we lay aside our Value for Good Old *Chrysostom's* Theology, because we we find him in a *Confident* and a *Triumphing* Manner upbraiding the World with such an Opinion as, *πῶς ἔτιον ἂν σκαταεἰδῶν ἕγραντο ἐν αὐτῷ ἀπαραύτουτο;* Where are those Men that imagine, that the Heavens

have a Spherical Form? Since the Scripture saith, God stretched forth the Heavens as a Curtain, and he spread them as a Tent to dwell in, which are not Spherical. We will not call them Fools for these Harangues; but leave it unto One of themselves, even Jerom, to pass his Censure upon them, *Est in Ecclesia stultiloquium, si quis Coelum putet fornicis modo curvatum, Esais, quem non intelligit, Sermone deceptus.* 'Tis Foolish Speaking in the Church, if any through Misapprehensions of the Words of Isaiab, shall affirm, That the Heavens are not round. The Divines of the Latter Ages, are (though to our surprize, the Voluminous Toftatus was not!) better Astronomers, than those of the former; and among the Divines that have been Astronomers, our Mr. Samuel Danforth, comes in with a Claim of some Consideration. Several of his Astronomical Composures have seen the Light of the Sun; but one especially on this Occasion. Among the Four Hundred and Odd Comets, the Histories whereof have preseryed in the Records of Learned Men, a special Notice was taken of that, which Alarum'd the Whole World in the Year 1664. Now although our Danforth had not the Advantages of Hevelius, to discover how many Odd Clots, compact and lucid, there were in the Head of that Blazing-Star, with One thicker than the rest, until it was grown to Twenty four Minutes Diameter, nor to determine that it was, at least, six Times as big as the Earth, and that its Parallax rendred it at length, as Remote from the Earth, as Mars himself; nevertheless, he diligently observed the Motions of it, from its first Appearance in Corvus, whence it made a Descent, crossing the Tropick of Capricorn, till it arrived unto the Main Top-sail of the Ship, and then it returned through Canis Major, and again crossed the Tropick of Capricorn, passing through Lepus, Eridanus; and the Equinodial, and entred into the Mouth of the Whale, and so into Aries; where it retired not leaving any Philosopher able to fulfil the Famous Prophecy of Seneca, in predicting the New Appearance of it. He therefore published a little Treatise, Entitled, *An Astronomical Description of the late Comet, with a Brief Theological Application thereof*; In which Treatise he not only proves, that a Comet can be no other than a Cœlestial Luminary moving in the Starry Heavens, whereof especially the Largeness of the Circle, in which it moves is a Mathematical and Irrefragable Demonstration, but also he improves the Opinion of a Comet's being portentous, endeavouring as it became a Devout Preacher, to awaken Mankind by this Portent, out of a sinful Security. Now, though for my own part, I am sometimes ready to say, with a Learned Man, *Tædet me Divinationis in Re tam incertâ*; yet when I consider, how many Learned Men have made Laborious Collections of Remarkable and Calamitous Events, to render Comets ominous, I cannot reproach the Essays of Pious Men, to persuade us, *That when the Hand of Heaven is thus writing MENE TEKEL, it is not anisf for us Mortals to make serious Reflections thereupon.* But besides this, there are Two other Discourses of this Worthy Man printed among us. One is,

The Cry of Sodom, enquired into, or, a Testimony against the Sins of Uncleanness, which with much Wonder and Sorrow, he saw too many of the Rising Generation, in the Country carried away withal. Another is, *A Recognition of New-England's Errand into the Wilderness, or a Sermon preached unto the General Assëmbly of the Colony, at their Anniversary Election; the Design of which was to remind them, of what he summarily thus expresses, You have solemnly expressed before God, Angels and Men, that the Cause of your leaving your Country, Kindred and Father's Houses, and transporting your selves, with your Wives, Little Ones, and Substance over the Vast Ocean, into this Waste and Howling Wilderness, was your Liberty to walk in the Faith of the Gospel with all good Conscience, according to the Order of the Gospel, and your Enjoyment of the pure Worship of God, according to his Institution, without Humane Mixtures and Impositions.*

E P I T A P H I U M.

*Non dubium est, quin e^o iverit, quò Stellæ eunt,
DANFORTHUS, qui Stellis semper se associavit.*

In December 1659. the (until then unknown) Malady of Bladders in the Windpipe, invaded and removed many Children; by Opening of one of them the Malady and Remedy (too late for very many) were discovered. Among those many that thereby expired, were the Three Children of the Reverend Mr. S. D. the Eldest of whom (being upward of five Years and half; so Gracious and Intelligent were her Expressions and Behaviour both living and dying, and so Evident her Faith in Christ) was a Luculent Commentary on that Marvellous Prophecy, that the Child should dye an Hundred Years old. How the Sorrowful Father entertained this Solemn Providence may be partly gathered from what he expressed unto such as came to attend his Branches unto their Graves; of which may be said, as was said of Job, *In all this he sinned not* He saw meet to pen down the Minutes of what he spake, and they are faithfully taken out of his own Manuscript.

My Friends,

If any that see my Grief should say unto me as the Danites unto Micah, *What aileth thee?* I thank God, I cannot answer as he did, *They have taken away my Gods.* My Heart was indeed somewhat set upon my Children, especially the Eldest; but they were none of my Gods, none of my Portion; my Portion is whole and untoucht unto this Day. To understand my self, and to communicate unto my Hearers, the Spiritual Meaning and Compass of the Law and Rule, and the Nature of Gospel Obedience hath been my Design and Work, upon which I have employ'd much Reading and Study, and what Faith, Hope, Love, Patience, &c. the Glorious Wisdom, Power and Mercy of God do oblige us to render. I have endeavoured to set forth before you, what if God will now try whether they

they were meer Notions and Speculations that I spake, or whether I believed as I spake, and whether there be any Divine Spark in my Heart? I remember him that said to *Abraham*, *Herby I know that thou fearest me, in that thou hast not with-held from me thy Son, thine only Son.* It is the Pleasure of God, that (besides all that may be gain'd by Reading, and Studying, and Preaching) I should learn and teach Obedience by the Things that I suffer. The Holy Fire is not to be fetcht for you, out of such a Flint, as I am, without smiting. Not long before these Stroaks light upon us, it pleased God marvellously to quicken our Hearts (both Mine and my Wife's) and to stir up in us most Earnest Desires after Himself: And now he hath taken our Children, will he accept us unto freer and fuller Communion with Himself, Blessed be his Holy Name. I trust the Lord hath done, what he hath done in Wisdom, and Faithfulness, and Dear Love, and that in taking these pleasant Things from me, He exerciseth and expresseth as Tender Affection unto me, as I now express towards them in Mourning for the Loss of them. I desire with *Ephraim*, to bemoan my self, &c. Jer. 31. 18, 19. O that I might hear the Lord answering me, as he did *Ver.* 20. It is meet to be said to God, *We have born Chastisement, we will not offend; What we see not, teach thou us; and if we have done Iniquity, we will do so no more.* We know, and God much more knows enough in us, and by us to Justifie his repeated Stroaks, tho' we cannot tax our selves with any known Way of Disobedience. My Desire is, that none may be overmuch dismayed at what hath befallen us; and let no Man by any means be offended. Who may say to the Lord, *What dost Thou?* I can say from my Heart, tho' what is come upon us is very dreadful and amazing, yet I consent unto the Will of God that it is good. Doth not the Goldsmith cast His Metal into the Furnace? And you Husbandmen, do you not cause the Flail to pass over your Grain, not that you

hate your Wheat, but that you desire Part^c Bread? Had our Children replyed when we Corrected them, we could not have born it: But, poor Hearts, they did us Reverence; how much rather should we be subject to the Father of Spirits and live. You know, that Nine Years since, I was in a desolate Condition without Father, without Mother, without Wife, without Children: But what a Father, and Mother, and Wife have been bestow'd upon me, and are still continued tho' my Children are removed. And above all, although I cannot deny, but that it pierceth my very Heart to call to Remembrance the Voice of my Dear Children, calling *Father, Father!* a Voice, now not heard: Yet I bless God, it doth far more abundantly refresh and rejoyce me, to hear the Lord continually calling unto me, *My Son, my Son! My Son, despise not the Chastening of the Lord, nor faint thou when thou art corrected of Him.* And blessed be God, that doth not despise the Affliction of the Afflicted, nor hides his Face from Him. 'Twas the Consideration that God had sanctify'd and glorify'd Himself, by striking an Holy Awe and Dread of his Majesty into the Hearts of his People, that made *Aaron* hold his Peace: And if the Lord will glorifie himself by my Family, by these Awful Stroaks upon me, quickning Parents unto their Duty, and awakening their Children to seek after the Lord, I shall desire to be content, tho' my Name be cut off: And I beseech you be earnest with the Lord for us, that he would keep us from sinning against him; and that he would teach us to sanctifie his Name, and tho' our Dear Branches have forsaken us, yet that He that hath promised to be with his Children in six Troubles and in seven, would not forsake us. My Heart truly would be consum'd, and would even dye within me, but that the Good Will of Him that dwelt in the Burning Bush, and His good Word of Promise are my *Trust* and *Stay*.

C H A P. IV.
E C C L E S I A S T E S.

The LIFE of the Reverend and Excellent Jonathan Mitchel; a Pastor of the Church, and a Glory of the Colledge, in Cambridge, New-England.

Written by COTTON MATHER.

— Simul et Jucunda et Idonea
dicere Vita,
Lectorem Delectando Simul atque monendo.

The Second Edition.

The EPISTLE Dedicatory.

To the Church at Cambridge in New-England, and to the Students of the Colledge there.

Right Worshipful, Reverend, and Dearly Beloved,

THERE have been few Churches in the World so *Lifted up to Heaven*, in respect of a Succession of Super eminent Ministers of the Gospel, as the Church in Cambridge has been. *Hooker, Shepard, Mitchel, Oakes* (all of them yours) were *Great Lights*. You know that if *Light* has been brought into a Room, when it is removed, the Place becomes *Darker*, than if never any such *Light* had been there. A Learned Pen in

Dr. Tuckney's Epistle prefixed to Mr. Cotton on Ecclesiastes.

an *Epistle Dedicatory* to the Inhabitants of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, puts them in Mind what an Happy People they once were, while under the Teaching of Mr. Cotton, who was from them removed to plant Churches for Christ, in this *American Desert*: And prays them to consider, ' That as Empires and Kingdoms, so particular Churches have had their Periods. *Bethel* has prov'd a *Beth-haven*: In after times we find young profane Mockers in *Bethel*, and scornful Neuters in *Penuel*. Go to *Shiloh*; think of the sometimes Glorious Churches in *Asia*, says he. And he adds, That he had on purpose visited some Places, where God had before planted his Church, and a Faithful Ministry, to see, if He could discern any Footsteps and Remembrances of such a Mercy, and Lo, they were were all overgrown with Thorns, and Nettles had over-covered the Face thereof, and the Stone-wall thereof is broken down. And as he further well observes, when the Lord has

been provoked to remove the Candlestick, He is very hardly induced to restore it again. The *Ark* never returned to the same Place, from whence it was in a Way of Judgment removed, and the *Glory of the Lord*, when after its Gradual Removes, was at last quite gone from the *First Temple*, was not restored in the *Second*, till Christ's *First Coming*, nor will it be in this their Rejection, till His *Second*. Mercy forbid that such Things as these should be verified in *New-England*, or in *Cambridge*! That this may not be your Case, it concerns you not wantonly to *Play* or *Fight* by the *Light* yet remaining, but to make the best Improvement of your present Advantages, giving all due Encouragement to that Worthy Person, who is now over you in the Lord.

Concerning your Famous Pastor, *Mitchel*, I confess, I had the Happiness of a special Intimacy with him, in his *Life* time, nor do I know any one *Death* (that of Natural Relations excepted) that ever has been so Grievous and Afflictive to my Spirit, as was *his*. By reason of his Eminent Parts and Piety, he had an happy Influence on all these Churches. Many of them fare the better at this Day, because the Preachers whom they are now instructed by, whilst *Students* at the Colledge, lived under his Ministry. The Colledge, Cambridge, New-England may Glory, that ever such an One had his Education there! As for the Description of his *Life*, by my SON Emittid herewith, I have nothing

thing to say concerning the *Writer*, or this Endeavour of his, because of my Relation to him; Only, that it is what he could Collect; whether by Informations from those that knew that Excellent Man, or from his private Manuscripts, which he had the Perusal of. It is not without the Providence of Christ, that it should be committed to the *Press*, at such a Time, when there are Agitations about some *Disciplinary Questions* amongst your selves. What the Judgment of that *Man of God* was, you have in the subsequent Relation of his Life presented to your View.

The Original Manuscript written by Mr. *Mitchel*'s own Hand, I have by me. Whether he committed his Thoughts to Writing, with any Design of Publication, or for the Satisfaction of some Persons in a more private Way, I know not; but it is now Evident, that when his Spirit was inclined thereunto, Heaven designed his Meditations should be brought into *Publick View*. Whilst he was Living, you that were of his Flock, had (and considering his Great Worth and Wisdom, it would have been a Reproach to you, if you had not had) an High Esteem of his Judgment. *Being Dead he yet speaketh to you*, out of his Grave. Those of you that retain a Living Remembrance of him, in your Hearts, will easily discern something of Mr. *Mitchel*'s Spirit, in the way of his Arguing. He does therein (according to his wonted Manner) express himself with great *Caution* and *Prudence*, avoiding *Extreams*, in the Controverted Subject. It cannot be denied; but that there has been an Error in some Churches, who have made this or that *Mode* to be a *Divine Institution*, which Christ has not made to be so: And that there has been an unjustifiable *Severity*, in Imposing *Circumstantial*s not instituted, whereby some truly Gracious Souls have been discouraged from Offering themselves to joyn in Fellowship with such Churches. Thus it has been, when an Oral Declaration of *Faith* and *Repentance* has been enjoyned on all Communicants, and that before the *whole Congregation*; when as many an Humble Pious Soul has not been Gifted with such *Confidence*. So likewise has it been, when the Exact Account of the *Time* and *Manner* of *Conversion* has been required: Whenas there have been multitudes of true Believers (such especially as have been advantaged with a *Religious Education*),

Mr. *Baxter*
of *Infants Baptism*, p. 129,
133.

that the Seed of *Grace* has sprung up in their Souls, they know not how Mark 4. 27. Mr. *Baxter* relates, that he was once at a Meeting of many Christians as Eminent for *Holiness*, as most in the Land, of whom divers were *Ministers* of Great Fame; and it was desired, that every one should give an Account of the *Time* and *Manner* of his *Conversion*, and there was but *One* of them all, that could do it. And (says he) *I averr from my Heart, that I neither know the Day nor the Year, when I began to be sincere*. For Churches, then to expect an Account of that from all, that they receive into their Fellowship, is *Unscriptural* and *Unreasonable*. Nevertheless, it concerns them to Beware of the o-

ther *Extream* of *Laxness* in Admission unto the *Lord's Holy Table*. You know that your *Pastor Mitchel* had a *Latitude* in his Judgment as to the Subject of *Baptism* (as also Dr. *Ames*, Mr. *Cotton*, and others of the *Congregational Perswasion* had) but as to Admissions to the Sacrament of the *Lord's-Supper*. I know no Man, that was more Conscientiously careful to keep *unqualified Persons* from partaking therein than was he. As for this or that *Mode* in *Examining* of Persons, that offer themselves to be Communicants in our Churches, whether it shall be by a more continued *Relation* of the Work of *Grace*, in their Hearts; or by *Questions* and *Answers* (as was practised in the Church at *Hartford* in Mr. *Hooker*'s Time, and which may possibly be as Edifying a Way, as the former) or whether the Persons designing to partake in the *Lord's-Supper*, shall Declare their Experiences *Orally*, or in *Writing*; are *Prudentials*, which our Lord has left unto Churches to Determine as they shall find most Expedient for their own Edification. Nevertheless the *Substance* of the Thing (*viz. Either a Relation, as 'tis called, or an Equivalent*) ought to be insisted on. Churches are bound in Duty to Enquire, not only into the *Knowledge* and *Orthodoxy*, but into the *Spiritual Estate* of those whom they receive into full Communion in all the Ordinances of Christ. Some have thought, that such Qualifications are not to be expected from *Children* born in the Church, as from *Strangers*; but they never had that Opinion out of the Scripture, which says expressly concerning them that would Eat the Passover, that, *There is One Law to him that is Home-born, and to the Stranger*. Exod. 12. 49. Numb. 9. 14. Wherefore in the Platform of Discipline it is said, *The like Trial is to be Required* Capt. 12. of such Members of the Church as were §. 7. born in the same, or Received their Membership, and were baptized in their Infancy, or Minority, by virtue of the Covenant of their Parents, when being grown up to years of Discretion, they shall desire to be made Partakers of the Lord's Table, unto which, because Holy Things are not to be given to the Unworthy, therefore it is requisite, that those as well as others should come to their Trial and Examination, and manifest their Faith and Repentance by an open Profession thereof, before they are received to the Lord's Supper, and otherwise not to be admitted thereunto; These are the Words, in the Platform of Discipline, agreed unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches in the Synod at Cambridge; In which Synod; were Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Norton*, Learned and Aged Divines; besides many others of Great Eminency. It is not the Opinion of Men, but the Scripture which must decide the Controversie. Nevertheless, the Judgment of those Eminent Divines who had deeply searched into these Matters, is not to be slighted. Nor is the *Private Sentiment* of this or that Person, to be laid in the Ballance, with the Judgment of a Synod, consisting of Persons, of far greater Authority than any younger Ones pretended to be of a Contrary Opinion. Nor is there Weight in that Allegation, that when a

Man declares his own *Experiences*, he *Testifies* concerning himself, and therefore his Testimony is of no Validity. By the same reason it may be said, Churches are not to Examine those, that essay to joyn themselves to them, about the soundness of their *Faith*. For they may (as *Arius* did) profess, that they *Believe* Articles of Faith, which God knows, they do not *Believe*, nor is there any thing but their own *Testimony* to prove that they do *believe* as they *profess*. But above all, their Notion is to be rejected, as a *Church-corrupting Principle*, who assert that the *Sacrament* is a *Converting Ordinance*. *Papists*, *Erastians*, and some others, whom I forbear to mention have so taught; but their *Heterodoxy* has been abundantly Refuted, not only by *Congregational Writers*, such as Mr. *John Beverly* against *Timpson*, but by Worthy Authors of the *Presbyterian* Perswasion, particularly by Mr. *Gelassy* in his *Aarons Rod*, Dr. *Drake* in his Answer to Mr. *Humphrys*, and Mr. *Vines*, in his *Treatise of the Lord's-Supper*. If the *Sacrament* were appointed to be a *Converting-Ordinance*, then the most *Scandalous* Persons in the World, yea, *Heathen* People ought to have it Administred unto them, for we may not withhold from them the Means appointed for their *Conversion*. The Scripture says, *Let a Man examine himself, and so let him eat of that Bread.* 1 Cor. 11. 28. which clearly intimates, that if upon *Examination*, he finds himself in a State of *Sin* and *Unregeneracy*, he ought not to *Eat of that Bread*.

Blessed Mr. *Mitchel* would frequently assert, That if it should pass for Current Doctrine in *New-England*, That all Persons *Orthodox* in Judgment, as to Matters of *Faith*, and not *Scandalous* in Life, ought to be admitted to partake of the *Lord's-Supper*, without any Examination, concerning the *Work of Saving Grace* in their Hearts, it would be a *Real Apostacy* from former Principles, and a *Degeneracy* from the *Reformation*, which we had attained unto. I am willing upon this Occasion, to bear my Testimony to the *present Truth*, and to leave it upon Record unto Posterity; not knowing how soon the Lord *Jesus* may by one Providence or other (of which I have had several Warnings) remove me from my *present Station* among these Churches. The Arguments which have induced me to believe and testify, as now I do, are such as these.

1. Time was when Churches in *New-England*, believed there was *Clear Scripture Proof* for the Practice we plead for. Particularly that Scripture, *Psal. 4. 10. I have not hidden thy Righteousness from the great Congregation.* And that, *Psal. 66. 16. Come and Hear all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he has done for my Soul,* And that Scripture, *1 Pet. 3. 15. Be ready always to give an Answer to every Man, that asks you a Reason of the Hope that is in you,* does by just Consequence intimate as much as what we assert. Some have been bold to say, that since the Apostle in the Place alledged, speaks of Believers *Apologizing* for their Hope before Persecutors, it is an Abuse of Scripture from thence to infer, that any thing of that Nature ought to be done for

the Satisfaction of Churches. But Renowned Mr. *Hooker* in a Manuscript, which I have seen, answering the Objections of some who disliked the Practice of these Churches, in Examining and Inquiring into the Spiritual Estate of their Communicants (especially their requiring an Account from the Children of the Church) argues Judiciously that if Christians are bound to give an Account of the Grounds of their Hope to Persecutors, much more to Churches that shall desire it. So Mr. *Shepard*, the Faithful and Famous Pastor of the Church in *Cambridge*, in his Answer to Mr. *Ball*. And to the same purpose, in the Platform of Discipline it is inferred, that Men must declare and shew their Repentance, and Faith, and Effectual Calling, because these are the Reason of a Well-grounded Hope. Now for any Man to charge these Worthies of the Lord, and the *Platform of Discipline*, with abusing Scripture when they made such an Inference, is a very unbecoming Presumption. It was formerly thought, that Scripture Examples are not wanting, to Warrant the Practice of our Churches in this Matter, since *John* required those whom he admitted to his Baptism, to make a Confession of their Sins. And the Apostles expected a Declaration of their Repentance from such as they admitted into the Primitive Church. *Acts 2. 38.* And *Philip* examined the *Eunuch* concerning the Sincerity of his Faith. *Acts 8 37.*

2. That Principle which tends to bring Persons not duly qualified, to partake in Holy Things, must needs be displeasing to the Holy Lord *Jesus Christ*. He would have his Servants to Distinguish betwixt the Precious and the Vile. *Jer. 15. 19.* And to Turn away from such as have only the Form, and not the Power of Godliness in them, *2 Tim. 3. 5.* they that have only a *Doctrinal Knowledge*, and an *External Conversion* free from Scandal, without Regeneration, have no more than a *Form of Godliness*. If Christians should not make such Persons their Familiars, certainly they ought not admit them to their *Sacred Communion*. It is a very solemn Word, which the Lord has spoken, saying, *You have brought into my Sanctuary Uncircumcised in Heart, to be in my Sanctuary to pollute it; even in my House, when you Offer the Bread and the Blood. No Stranger uncircumcised in Heart, shall enter into my Sanctuary.* *Ezek. 44. 7, 9.* That Man does but defile the Sanctuary of the Lord, that has not the *Water of Separation* (the Blood of *Christ* through Faith) *Sprinkled upon him.* *Numb. 19. 20.* But this Principle or Position, That Persons are to be admitted to the Table of the Lord, without Enquiring into their *Regeneration*, tends to bring the *Uncircumcised in Heart*, into the *Sanctuary*. If Churches should neglect all Examinations concerning the *Orthodoxy* of those they receive into their Communion; would not that have a Natural Tendency to bring *Heterodox*, and it may be *Heretical* Persons into their Communion? By a *Parity of Reason*, the Omitting all Enquiries, as to the *Spiritual Experience* of them that come to the Table of the Lord, has a Tendency to fill the Sanctuary with those, who never had any *Experimental Knowledge* of the Things of God.

3. *The Church ought to know, as far as Men can judge, that the Persons whom they admit to the Lords Table are fit, and have a right to be there. Now none are meet to partake of the Lord's Supper, excepting such as have experienced a Saving Work of Grace. They must be such as can and will, Examine themselves.* 1 Cor. 11. 28. And therefore must have the Matter of Self-Examination, which is Faith, Repentance, and Love, and other Graces. Thus it was in the Primitive Apostolical Church, Acts 2. 47. *The Lord added to the Church daily, such as should be saved,* Churches are to receive such as the Lord has received, Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3. Such as are United to Christ, 1 Cor. 12. 27. 1 Thes. 1. 1. *Living Stones* must be in that Building, 1 Pet. 2. 5. Made ready by a Work of Divine Grace on and in them, before they are laid there; of which the Prepared Materials in Solomon's Temple were a Type, 1 Kings 6. 7. They ought to be Saints and Faithful in Christ Jesus, Eph. 1. 1. How shall the Churches know, that the Persons who offer themselves to their Communion are such, unless they pass under their Trial. Rev. 2. 2. If a Man claim Right to a Priviledge, and yet sheweth no sufficient Reason, he ought to be debarred until he can some way or other prove his Claim. It is true, the Judgment of Churches is fallible: Grace being a Secret Thing, hid in the Heart; only Christ seeth it: Churches cannot always discern the Tares from the Wheat. Nevertheless, they may not willingly receive in Hypocrites. Bellarmine himself is fain to Confess, as much as that comes to. When such were found in Churches in the Apostolical Times, it is said, that they Crept in privily and unawares. Gal. 2. 4. Jude v. 4. Which intimates unto us, that they did not willingly admit such into their Fellowship. When the Enemy sowed Tares in the Field, a Culpable Sleeping in those, that should have been more Watchful was the Cause of it. Math. 13. 25. They who object, that we are bound in Charity to believe, that the Persons, who offer themselves to our Communion, are Regenerate, without ever making any Enquiry into their Spiritual Estate, may with as good Reason affirm, that we are bound in Charity to believe, that they are sound in the Faith, without Examining them about that Matter. A Rational Charity, grounded upon Evidence, and not a Blind Charity is the Rule according to which Churches are to proceed.

4. *That Practice, which Christ has owned with His special Blessing and Presence, ought not to be decried as an Humane Invention, but rather owned as a Divine Institution.* Was not the Lord's Blessing Aaron's Rod an Effectual Demonstration, that his Ministry had a Divine Approbation? Is not Paul's calling to the Ministry, and Peter's also, proved from this Argument, that God owned and Blessed them both? 1 Cor. 9. 1, 2. Gal. 2. 7, 8, 9. That Christ has owned His Churches, in their Enquiries into the Spiritual Estate of such as they admit into their Communion with His special Gracious Presence, is most certain. Have not some been Converted by hear-

ing others give an Account of their Conversion? How many have been Comforted, and how many Edified thereby! which proveth, that this Practice is Lawful and Laudable, and that to Stigmatize it so, as some have done is not pleasing to the Lord.

5. *To use all Lawful Means to keep Church Communion pure, is a Duty incumbent upon all Churches, and most eminently on Churches in New-England.* It is known to all the World, that Church Reformation, and Purity as to all Administrations therein, was the Thing designed by our Fathers, when they followed the Lord into this Wilderness: And therefore Degeneracy in that Respect would be a greater Evil in us, than in any People. We shall not act like Wise Children, if we seek to pull down with our Hand, That House (or any Pillar-Principle, whereon it is founded) which our Wise Fathers have built. The Debasing the Matter of Particular Churches must needs Corrupt them. A Learned and Renowned Author has Evinc'd, *That the Letting go this Principle, That Particular Churches ought to Consist of Regenerate Persons, brought in the Great Apostacy of the Christian Church.* The Way to prevent the like Apostacy in these Churches, is to Require an Account of those, that offer themselves to Communion therein, concerning the Work of God on their Souls, as well as concerning their Knowledge and Belief. If once this Practice and Principle of Truth be deserted, *A World of unqualified Persons* will soon fill, and pester and corrupt the House of God, and cause Him to Go far off from His Sanctuary. We may then justly fear, that these Golden Candlesticks, will be no longer so, but become Dross and Tin, and Reprobate Silver, until the Lord has rejected them. Let us Dread to have an Hand, in causing it to be so! It is a solemn Passage which Mr. Cotton (whom Dr. Goodwin calls the Apostle of this Age) has in his Judicious Treatise of the Holiness of Church Members. p. 60. *Methinks* (says he) *the Servants of God should Tremble to Erect such a State of the visible Church, in Hypocrisie and Formal Profession, as whose very Foundation threateneth certain Dissolution and Desolation.* True it is, That we may not Do Evil, that Good may come of it. We may not Use any unlawful Practice to prevent Impurity, as to the Matter of our Churches. But no Man can say, That the Practice we plead for is Sinful. If then the Use of it may (by the Blessing of Christ) be a Means to keep our Churches and Communion pure, why should it be laid aside? Mr. Mitchell in a Manuscript of his, which I have seen, has these weighty Words, 'The Over-enlarging of full Communion or Admission of Persons thereunto, upon slight Qualifications, without insisting upon the Practical and Spiritual Part of Religion, will not only lose the Power of Godliness, but in a little time, bring in Profaneness, and Ruine the Churches these two Ways. 1. Election of Ministers will soon be carried by a formal, looser Sort. 2. The
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Exercise of Discipline, will by this means be rendered impossible. Discipline falling, Profaneness riseth like a Flood. For the Major Part wanting Zeal against Sin, will foster Licentiousness. It is not setting down good Rules and Directions, that will save it: For the Specification of Government is from Men, not from Laws. Let never so good a Form of Government be agreed upon, it will soon degenerate, if the Instruments (or Men) that manage it, be not Good. Blessed *Witchel!* These are thy Words; This was thy Spirit!

6. In the Primitive and Purest Times of the Church, there was great Strictness used in Examining such as were admitted to Sacraments, concerning the Sincerity of their Repentance towards God, and their Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. There are who pretend, That this is a New Practice, begun by a few Separatists in Amsterdam, not an Hundred Years since. But such Persons discover their Ignorance, and that they are unacquainted and unstudied in Ecclesiastical Story. *Justin Martyr* (who lived 130 Years after Christ) in his Second Apology for the Christians, writeth, That they did Examine such as were admitted to their Communion, whether they were able to conform themselves in all things to the Word and Will of God. If we would know what Things were practised by the Churches in the Primitive Times, the Writings of *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, (as Learned *Usher* has truly observed) give us the clearest Discovery thereof. It is evident from them, that in those Days, there was rather too much Rigidity, than too much Laxness, in their Admission to Sacraments. They would keep Men, who were Catechumens and Competentes a long time, before they did receive them into full Communion in the Church. They required not only a Profession of Faith, and a Confession of Sins, but a Submission to a Severe Scrutiny concerning their Sincerity therein.

Alcuinus. *Fiant Scrutinia, ut sepius explorentur, an post Renunciationem Satanae sacra verba date Fidei radicitus Corde defixerint.* They were to be Examined again and again, to find out, whether the Words of the Faith they professed, were indeed fixed in their Hearts. *Cyprian* in his third Epistle says, *Mibi labor est persuadere fratribus ut recipendis Consentiant, Vix Plebi persuadeo, ut tales patientur admitti, quia nec cum vera penitentia venerant.* That he could not easily persuade the Brethren in Churches, to consent to the Admission of such Persons to their Communion, of whose Sincere Repentance, there was any doubt. *Origen* declares, as much as that amounts to. When in after Ages, Churches degenerated, *Chrysostom* complains, that by Admitting ungodly Men into the Church, they had filled the Temple with Beasts, and he professed, that he would sooner choose to have his Right Hand cut off, than Administer the Sacrament to a Known wicked Man. It is well known, that the *Waldenses*, amongst whom Religion was preserved, during the Reign of Popery, were strict in this matter. And so were the *Bohemian Bre-*

thren: *Comenius* testifies concerning them, that they used a Diligent Exploration concerning the Faith and Repentance of their Communicants, lest haply it should be only Superficiary and Fallacious, There was an *Examen Conscientiarium* used amongst them. It must be acknowledged, that in the Protestant Reformation, there has been a great Neglect and Defect, as to what concerns the Discipline and Government of Christ in His Church. As the Apostasy was gradual, so has the Reformation been.

And there was (as *Dr. Owen* well observes) a Wise Providence in ordering it to be so. For had the First Reformers set themselves to remove out of the Church all such as were unmeet for its Communion, and to have reduced Things to their Primitive Institution, by Reason of the Paucity of the Number of such Church Members, the Endeavour for a General Reformation of Doctrine and Worship would have been obstructed. Hence it comes to pass, That the Reformation of the Church, as unto the Matter of it, was not attempted, until *Calvin* set up his Discipline in Geneva, which has filled the World with Clamours against him to this Day. In most other Places the Matter or Members of Churches were, as to their Lives and Conversion as bad as the Papists. Nevertheless, Eminent Divines of the Reformation, in this and the last Century, have approved of that which we are pleading for. *Beza* laments the Remissness of Protestant Churches in not taking more Care about the Qualifications of their Members; concluding, that there will never be such a Reformation as ought to be endeavoured after, nisi a Conversione Cordium Initium Instauracionis sumatur, except Men with Converted Hearts, be laid in the Foundation. *Bucer* finds fault with the English Churches for Admitting Children who had been baptized, unto the Lord's Supper, upon too low Terms. He says, there should be manifest Signs of Regeneration in them first: That they should appear to be such as had upon their Hearts a Sense of the Word of God, and that they did use Secret Prayer, &c. But how should such Things be known concerning them without Enquiry into their Spiritual State! *Comier* commends the Strictness used in the Primitive Times, in Examining those that desired to joyn to the Church, ne quantum fieri poterit lateant Simoniacs, that so *Simon Magus* may not creep into the Church, if it were possible to prevent it. *Luther* did at last sorrowfully bewail it, That he began his Reformation with such Promiscuous Admissions to the Table of the Lord, heartily wishing, that he had taught and practised such a Church Discipline, as that which was professed by the *Bohemian Brethren*. *Chemnitius* wisheth, that the Strictness used among the Ancients in the Probation of Communicants were restored, and

*Ratio disciplin.
Fratrum. Bohem.
P. 44, &c.*

*Dr. Owen, of the
Nature of a Gospel
Church. p. 13.*

*Bucer Script.
Anglio Cap. 17
p. 482, 483.*

*Chamier de
Baptismo. l. 5.
cap. 15.*

revived in the Churches of the Reformation. His Godly Desire and Hope that in Time it will be so, is approved of by Gerbard in his Common Place, *de Sacra Cœna*.

Some of those that are called *Presbyterians* fully concur with us, as to the *Substance* of what we plead for. When Mr. Norton in his Answer unto *Apollonius*, does assert, That four Things are to be required of those, that desire Admission into Church Fellowship. 1. A Confession of Faith. 2. A Declaration of their Experience concerning a Work of Faith. 3. A Blameless Conversation. 4. Professed Subjection to the Gospel, and the Order of it. That Learned and Worthy Professor of Divinity, in the University of

Hornbeck Epistola ad Duraum p. 299.

Leyden, Dr. *Hornbeck* declares his Concurrence with him therein, and that in these Particulars, those of the *Congregational Way*, agree with some other *Reformed Churches*. To my certain Knowledge, Eminent Ministers of the *Presbyterian* Perswasion, in *London*, Examine their Communicants (before they admit them to partake with them, at the Lord's Table) concerning their Faith and Repentance. And so (notwithstanding what is pleaded for by the Godly Learned Mr. *Rutherford*) some do in *Scotland*, as divers Worthy Ministers of that Nation, have assured me.

The Difference as to this Matter, between a *Presbyterian* and a *Congregational Man*, (who are nevertheless *United Brethren*) is this. There is no *Congregational Man* but he reports to the Church something, of what the Person desiring Communion with them, has related to him; which, the *Presbyterian* does not, only Declares his own Satisfaction, and giveth the Brethren a Liberty to object against the Conversation of the *Admittendi*. I know *Presbyterians*, who are stricter in their Examinations and Admissions, than some *Congregational Men*. It appears therefore, that such *Enquiries* into the *Spiritual Estate* of them, who are to be admitted unto full Communion, in all the Ordinances of the Gospel, is no *Singular* or *Novel Practice*: Nothing but what is confirmed by *Reverend Antiquity*, and has been ingeniously asserted by the *Great Reformers*, both of the former, and this present Age. Whether the *Brethren*, as well as the *Elders* should not be concerned as *Judges*, concerning the Qualifications of those whom they Receive into their Communion, is another *Question*, which I shall not here enlarge upon. It is certain, that in the *Primitive Ages* of the Church, they had that Liberty; otherwise *Cyprian* would never have said, *Vix Plebi persuadeo ut Tales patientur admitti*, &c. And elsewhere confessed his Obligations, and Resolutions, *Nihil sine consensu plebis, privata sententia genere*.

It is also certain, that this is an avowed Principle of all who are esteemed *Congregational*. In the Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in *Congregational Church* in *England*, agreed and consented unto, by their Elders and Messengers, in their Meeting at the *Savoy*, Octob. 12. 1658. They declare, That the Members of Particular Churches are Saints by calling, visibly ma-

nifesting their Obedience to the Call of Christ, who being further known to each other by their Confession of Faith wrought in them by the Power of God, declared by themselves, or otherwise manifested, consent to walk together according to the appointment of Christ. I have known many in *England* of that way; but never any that did not concern the Brethren as well as themselves, to be Judges of the fitness of those who have desired to be received into their Communion. It is evident, that the Church, (and not the Officers only) have Power given them by Christ, to Judge who are meet to be put out of their Communion. *Mat. 18: 17.* *1 Cor. 5: 12.* Then they must needs have the like Power as to those that are to be taken into their Communion. *Ejusdem est potestatis constituere et destituere*, is a known received *Axiom*. If the whole Church has power to Judge of the Repentance of one that is to be Re-admitted, then of the Repentance of one that is to have his first Admission. But the Apostle speaks to the Church, and not to the Officers only to restore the penitent *Corinthian* to their Communion. *2 Cor. 2: 8.* Again, If the whole multitude of Disciples have Power to Judge, whether Persons are qualified with that Wisdom and Grace, as to be meet for Office-Relation in the Church, then they have Power to Judge concerning the Knowledge and Grace of Communicants. The Argument is a *majori ad minus*. They that are meet Judges in a greater Matter, much more in that which is less. But the former is clear from the Scripture. *Acts 6: 2, 3, 4.* For further Satisfaction in this point, Mr. *Norton*, and Mr. *Shepard* may be consulted, with that Man of vast Reading and Learning, Mr. *Robert Parker*.

These Things I have supposed to be proper for me to Write to you the Church of Christ in *Cambridge*; not as doubting of your Stedfastness in the Truth to this day professed and practised by you, but as desiring that those who shall succeed you, may continue to walk therein; and that so I might testify, the peculiar Respect, that I do (and ought to) bear unto you, on the Account of the Undeserved Love, which all of you have manifested towards me. Five Years are not expired, since you were pleased unanimously to Invite me to Accept of the *Pastoral Office* over you. But the Unwillingness of the Dear People, among whom I have been Labouring in the Gospel for the Space of Thirty six Years, that I should leave them, in Consideration with some other Obstacles, kept me from complying with that your Loving Motion. Nevertheless, I cannot but whilst I Live, have a Dear Affection for you, and know not how to express it more, than by Endeavouring what in me lies, that you and your Children after you, may be confirmed in those Ways of the Lord, which your Fathers, and your selves too, have experienced so much of His Presence in. And I have also considered, that you are singularly circumstanced, in that there are Residing with you, the Sons of the Prophets, whose Establishment in the present Truth, I am more than any Man in the World, under an Obligation to promote,

and I certainly know (not altogether without an Awful Sense of it) that the *Son of God*, will e're long Enquire of me, whether I did in this Matter, Discharge my Duty, according to his Expectation, to whom I must be accountable concerning the Improvement of whatever *Talents* or Opportunities to Serve His Interests, He has or shall Trust me with, whilst I am in this World.

A few Words let me further speak to you, who belong to that *Nursery*, for Religion and Learning, which has for a long time been the *Glory*, not of *Cambridge* only, but of *New-England*. Sixteen Years will this *Summer* be lapsed, since God, by his Providence, devolved the *Præsidenship* of that Society into my Hands, to manage it (so far as my *Insufficiencies* for such a Service will permit) for the Ends, which He (and our *Fathers*, as his *Instruments*) did at first Erect a *Colledge* in *New-England* upon; which was chiefly, that so *Scholars* might there be Educated for the Service of Christ and His Churches, in the *Work of the Ministry*, and that they might be seasoned in their Tender Years with such *Principles* as brought their Blessed Progenitors into this Wilderness. What my Sollicitudes for this have been in both *Englands*, is known to Him, who said to the Churches, *I know your Works*. There is no One Thing of Greater Concernment to these Churches, in present and after-times, than the Prosperity of that Society. They cannot subsist without a *Colledge*. There are at this day not above Two or Three of our Churches but what are supplied from thence. Nor are the Churches like to continue *pure Golden Candle-sticks*, if the *Colledge*, which should supply them, prove *Apostate*. If the *Fountain* be corrupted, How should the *Streams* be pure, which should make *Glad the City of God*? How should *Plants of Renown* spring up from thence, if the *Colledge* it self become a *Degenerate Plant*? You that are *Tutors* there, have a Great Advantage put into your Hands (and I pray God give you Wisdom to know it!) to prevent it. The Lord hath made you *Fathers* to many *Pupils*. You will not deny, but that He has made me a *Father* to you. It was my Recommendation, that brought you into that *Station*. And therefore, as my Joy will be Greater to see you Acquit your selves *Worthily*, so my earnest Sollicitudes for it must needs be the more, on that Account. There are many (I believe, you wish you could say so of all of them) who were once under your *Tuition*, that do worthily in *Ephratah*, and are like to be famous in *Bethlehem*, for which you ought to (and I doubt not but you do) humbly Bless the Lord, That you (and they who shall succeed you) may be yet *Greater Blessings*, Let me commend unto you the Example of this Blessed Man, whose *Life* is here described. When *Jerom* had considered the Life of *Hilarion*, he Resolved *Hilarion shall be the Champion, whom I will follow!* Say each of you, *Mitchel*, (once a *Tutor* in *Harvard-Colledge*) shall be the Example, whom I will imitate! You will see in the Story of his Life, that he did not only Instruct his *Pupils* in the Knowledge of the *Tongues* and *Arts*, but that he would sometimes discourse them about the *Spiritual Estate* of their Immortal Souls. Such private *Personal Instructions*, are many times more Effectual to *Conversion* than *Publick Sermons*. Some very worthy Persons who were once his *Scholars*, have a Living Remembrance of his Words, to this Day. Others of them are now with him in *Glory*, blessing God to Eternity, whose Providence disposed them under such a *Tutor*. Famous *Dr. Preston* chose rather to Live in *Cambridge*, than in any Place of *England*, because by Reason of the *University* there, he had an Opportunity, *Non modo dolare Lapides sed Artichitectos*, to prepare Builders for the House of God. The *Angels* in Heaven would not think it beneath them, to be employed in so Great a Work and Service for the Churches of Christ, as that which Infinite Grace has call'd you unto. If you follow those, that have gone before you (*Mitchel* in particular) as they have followed Christ, your Names will be Precious and Honourable like theirs, and you shall Live after you are Dead, as they now do.

As for you that are the *Students* in the *Colledge*: I have often (as you know) in my Discourses among you, Exhorted you above all Things to Study Christ, and to be mindful of, *The one Thing Necessary*. Gifts without Grace will be of no Avail unto you at last. You may excel in Knowledge, and yet be of all in the Worldd the most Miserable, and most like to the Devils, as a *Converted Indian* once said concerning some *Scholars*: You know, that many *Philosophers* who were *Heathen* excelled in that which is called, *Humane Learning*. And so have some *Popish* Authors (*Jesuites* especially) done, whose Books have been very Edifying to others. I must confess, that as to that small measure of Knowledge which I have attained unto, I have, (for some part of it) been beholden to the Divine Providence for the Works of *Ricciolus*, *Galtruchius*, and others of that Fraternity, who were very Learned Men, tho' Enemies of the *True Protestant Religion*. Knowledge then without Christ and Holiness, will never bring you to Heaven. One has written a Book, *De Salute Aristolis*; And another, *De Animabus Paganorum* endeavouring to prove, that the *Philosophers* who Knew not the Only True God, nor *Jesus Christ*, have *Eternal Life*. Let such and all other *Pelagian* and *Arminian* Principles be far from you. But do not think it is enough, if you be *Orthodox*, in the *Fundamental Points* of Religion. It was not (I can assure you) on any such Account that your Fathers followed Christ into this Wilderness, when it was a Land not sown. If you degenerate from the Order of the Gospel (as well as from the Faith of the Gospel) you will justly merit the Name of *Apostates* and of *Degenerate Plants*. And such Degeneracy in the Children of *New-England*, and most of all in you will be worse, than in any Children in the World. If any of you shall prove such, Remember that you were told, that you take an unhappy Time to Degenerate in. He whose Fan is in his Hand, will thoroughly purge his Floor. The Day is near, when the Lord Jesus Christ will make His Churches more Pure and Reformed, than in the

the former Ages; and will you at such a time corrupt your selves with loose and large Principles in Matters relating to the House of God, *Whose House Holiness becomes for ever!* How if some of you should live to see that Scripture verified, where the Lord says, *The Levites that are gone far from me, when Israel went astray, they shall not come near unto me, to do the Office of a Priest unto me, but the Sons of Zadok that kept the Charge of my Sanctuary, they shall enter into my Sanctuary, and they shall come near to my Table to Minister unto me!* Ezek. 44. 10, 15. Let me Recommend unto you the weighty Words of my most Dear and Worthy Friend and Predecessor, Mr. Oakes, once your Learned President, which he delivered (and afterwards Printed) on a very solemn Occasion. He speaketh to you thus,

In his Election Sermon on Deut. 32. 29. p. 44. &c.

Consider (saith he) what will be the End of Receding or making a Defection from the Way of Church-Government established amongst us. I profess, I look upon the Discontinuation and Settlement of the Congregational Way, as the Boon, the Gratuity, the Largess of Divine Bounty, which the Lord graciously bestowed on His People, that followed Him into this Wilderness; and a great part of the Blessing on the Head of Joseph, and of them who were Separate from their Brethren. These Good People that came over, shewed more Love, Zeal, and Affectionate Desire of Communion with God in pure Worship and Ordinances, and did more in Order to it than others, and the Lord did more for them than for any People in the World, in shewing them the Pattern of His House, and the true Scriptural-way of Church Government and Administrations. God was certainly in a more than ordinary Way of Favour present with his Servants in laying of our Foundations, and in settling the Way of Church Order according to the Will and Appointment of Christ. Consider, what will be the sad Issue of Revolting from the Way fixed upon, to one Extream or to another, whether it be to Presbyterianism or Brownism; as for the Presbyterians, it must be acknowledged, that there are among them as Pious, Learned, Sober, Orthodox Men, as the World affords; and that there is as much of the Power of Godliness among that Party, and of the Spirit of the good Old Puritans, as among any People in the World. And for their Way of Church-Government, it must be confessed, that in the Day of it, it was a very Considerable Step

to Reformation. The Reformation in K. Edward's Days was then a Blessed Work. And the Reformation of Geneva and Scotland, was then a larger Step, and in many respects purer than the other. And for my part I fully believe, that the Congregational Way far exceeds both, and is the Highest Step that has been taken towards Reformation, and for the Substance of it, it is the very same way, that was established and practised in the Primitive Times, according to the Institution of Jesus Christ. I must needs say, that I should look upon it, as a sad Degeneracy, if we should leave the Good Old Way, so far as to turn Councils and Synods into Clauses and Provincial Assemblies, and there should be such a Laxness in Admission of Members to Communion, as is pleaded for, and practised by many Presbyterians, and Elders should manage all themselves in an Autocratical Way, to the Subversion of the Liberty and Privilege of the Brethren. Thus Mr. Oakes. As for that Excellently Learned and Holy Man Mr. Charles Chauncey, who for many Years Presided over Harvard-Colledge, none of you, who now belong to that Society, can remember him. But you have heard what his Dying Charge to his Sons (who through Grace tread in their Father's Steps) was in his Last Will and Testament, which you may see Published with his Life in due Time. He that is now your President — *A longe sequitur vestigia semper adorans*; yet is willing not to Evert or Undermine the Foundation, which his Blessed Predecessors, have laid, but to Build thereon. I remember Buchanan (who was Tutor to K. James I.) in the Preface to his Baptistes, which he Dedicates to that K. says, That the Reason why he did so, was, 'That in case He should through the Influence of Evil Counsellors, or from any other Cause, be Guilty of Male-Administration in His Government, after Ages should know, that the Blame ought to be imputed not to His Tutor, but to Himself. So let me say, If you the Students in Harvard-Colledge, or any of you, shall deviate and degenerate from the Holy Principles and Practices of your Fathers, the World shall know, and Posterity shall know, That the Reason of it is not for want of being otherwise instructed by your Present, as well as by Former Presidents,

May 7.

1697.

INCREASE MATHER.

ECCLESIASTES.

OR, THE

L I F E

O F

Mr. Jonathan Mitchel.

*Sanctorum Vitas Legere & non Vivere, frustra est ;
Sanctorum Vitas Degite, non Legite.*

§. 1. **I**T is Reported concerning the Ancient *Pbrygians*, that when a *Priest* expired among them, they Honoured him with a *Pillar* Ten Fathom high, whereon they placed his *Dead Body*, as if he were to continue after his *Death*, from thence Instructing of the People. Nor can a *Minister* of the Gospel have any more Honourable Funeral, than *That*, by which his Instruction of the People, may be most continued unto the People, after his Expiration. But I may without any Danger of *Mistake*, venture to affirm, That there cannot easily be found a *Minister* of the Gospel in our Days, more worthy to have the Story of his *Life* employed for the Instruction of *Mankind* after his Decease, than our Excellent *Mitchel*. And therefore I shall now endeavour to set him on as high a *Pillar*, as the best *History*, that I can give of his Exemplary *Life*, can erect, for that *Worthy Man* ; for whom Statues of *Corinthian Brass*, were but Inadæquate Acknowledgments.

§. 2. If it were counted an Honour to the Town of *Halifax* in *Yorkshire*, that the Famous *John de Sacro Bosco*, Author of the well-known Treatise *De Sphæra*, was born there ; this Town was no less Honoured by its being the Place of Birth to our no less worthily Famous *Jonathan Mitchel*, the Author of a better Treatise *Of Heaven*, who being descended (as a Printed Account long since has told us) of *Pious* and *Wealthy* Parents, here drew his first Breath, in the Year 1624. The precise *Day* of his Birth is lost, nor is it worth while for us to enquire by an *Astrological Calculation*, what Aspect the *Stars* had upon his Birth, since the *Event* has proved, That *God the Father* was in the *Horoscope*, *Christ* in the *Mid-Heaven*, the *Spirit* in the *Sixth House*, *Repentance*, *Faith* and *Love*, in the *Eighth* : And in the *Twelfth*, an *Eternal Happiness*, where no *Saturn* can dart any malignant Rays. Here,

while the *Father* of his *Flesh* was endeavouring to make him *Learned* by a proper Education, the *Father* of *Spirits* used the Methods of Grace to make him *Serious* ; especially by a sore *Feavour*, which had like to have made the *Tenth Year* of his *Life* the *Last*, but then settled in his *Arm* with such *Troublesome Effects*, that his *Arm* grew, and kept a little *bent*, and he could never stretch it out *Right* until his *Dying Day*. And upon this Accident he afterwards wrote this Reflection ; *Thus the Lord sought to make me Serious (Oh ! when will it once be !) by steeping my first Entrance into Tears of Understanding, and into the Changes of Life, and my first Motions to New-England, in Eminent and Special Sorrows.* Now his *First Motions* to *New-England*, mentioned in this Reflection ; invite us to Hasten unto that part of our *History*, which is to relate, that his Parents were some of those Exemplary *Christians*, which by the *Unconscionable Impositions* and *Persecutions* of the English *Hierarchy* upon the *Consciences* of People, as Remarkable for *True Christianity* as any in the Realm, were driven out of it in the Year 1635 : the *Ship*, which brought over Mr. *Richard Mather*, and many more of those *Puritans*, which had found the *Church of England*, then governed by such an *Assembly of Treacherous Men*, (a Faction to whom that Name, *The Church of England* never truly belonged) that they were put upon wishing with the persecuted Prophet, *Oh ! that I had in the Wilderness a Lodging-place of Way-faring Men !* was further enriched by having on Board our *Jonathan*, than a Child of about Eleven Years of Age ; whose Parents with much Difficulty and Resolution carried him unto *Bristol* to take Shipping there, while he was not yet recovered of his Illness. On the Coast of *New-England*, they were delivered from a most Eminent and Amazing Hazard of perishing, in a most *Horrible Tempest* ; upon which Deliverance Mr. *Mather* preached a Sermon from that Scripture, *John 5. 14. Sin no more*
least

least a worse thing come unto thee; whereby further Impressions of Seriousness were made upon the Soul of this Young Disciple.

§. 3. The Godly Father of our *Jonathan* found, that *America* as well as *Europe*, *New-England* as well as *Old England*, was a part of *Old Adam's World*; well stocked every where with the *Thorns* of *Worldly Vanities* and *Vexations*; and that a *Wildernefs* was a Place, where *Temptation* was to be met withal. All his Family, and the *Jonathan* of the Family, with the Rest, were visited with *Sickness*, the Winter after their first Arrival at *Charlstown*, and the *Scarcity* then afflicting the Country added unto the Afflictions of their *Sickness*. Removing to the Town of *Concord*, his greater Matters continually became smaller there, his Beginnings were there consumed by *Fire*, and some other Losses befel him in the *Latter End* of that Winter. The next Summer he removed unto *Say-brook*, and the next Spring unto *Weathersfield* upon *Connecticut River*, by which he lost yet more of his Possessions, and plunged himself into other Troubles. Towards the Close of that year he had a Son-in-law Slain by the *Pequot Indians*; and the Rest of the Winter they lived in much fear of their Lives from those *Barbarians*, and many of his Cattel were destroyed, and his Estate unto the Value of some Hundreds of Pounds was damnified. A *Sballop*, which he sent unto the River's Mouth was taken, and burned by the *Pequots*, and Three Men in the Vessel slain, in all of whom he was nearly concerned: So that indeed the *Pequot Scourge* fell more on this Family, than on any other in the Land. Afterward there arose unhappy Differences in the place where he lived, wherein he was an *Antagonist* against some of the *Principal Persons* in the place, and hereby he that had hitherto Lived in precious Esteem with Good Men, wherever he came (as a Record I have seen, testifies concerning him) now suffered much in his Esteem among many such Men, as 'tis usual in such Contentions, and he met with many other Injuries: For which Causes, he transferred himself, with his Interests, unto *Stamford* in the Colony of *New Haven*. Here his House Barn and Goods were again consumed by *Fire*; and much Internal Distress of Mind accompanied these Humbling Dispensations. At last, that Most Horrible of Diseases, the *Stone*, arrested him, and he underwent unspeakable Dolors from it, until the Year 1645. when he went unto his Rest about the Fifty Fifth Year of his Age.

§. 4. Although the Good Spirit of God, gave our *Jonathan* to improve much in his Holy Dispositions while he was yet a Youth, by the Calamities, which thus befel his Father; and particularly upon Occasion of a sad thing befalling a Servant of his Father's, who instead of going to the Lecture at *Hartford*, as he had been allowed and Advised, would needs go fell a Tree for himself, but a broken Bough of the Tree struck him dead, so that he never spoke or stirred more; our *Jonathan*, who was then about Fifteen Years old, in one

of his Papers does Relate, *This Amazing Stroke did much stirr my Heart, and I spent some time in Endeavouring the work of Repentance according to Mr. Scudder's Directions in his Daily Walk: nevertheless he had this Disadvantage, that he was thereby Diverted from Study and Learning, for the first seven years after his Coming into the Country. Had it not been for the Disadvantage of this Intermision, we had seen some Lively Emulation of Bellarmine's open Lectures of Divinity, at Sixteen years of Age, or Torquato Quasso's Receiving his Degrees in Philosophy and Divinity at Seventeen, or Grotius's publishing of Commentaries at the like Seventeen. For he was, as the Historian observes, all that will prove Considerable, must be, Puer, qui Seminario Virtutum Generosiore concretus, aliquid Inclytum designasset. But after so long an Intermision, as until September in the year 1642. and the Eighteenth year of his Age, upon the Earnest Advice of some that had Observed his great Capacity, and especially of Mr. Mather. with whom he came into New-England, he Resumed his Designs for Study and Learning: wherein he made so vigorous a Progress, that in the year 1645. he was upon a strict Examination Admitted into Harvard Colledge. Nor was it very long before Mr. Mather, who was the Adviser of this matter, had the Consolation of seeing the Excellent Labours of this person in the Pulpit worthy of his own Constant Journeys to his monthly Lectures; yea, and the most Considerable Fathors of the Country, with himself, treating this person, as not Coming behind the very Chiefest of them all, and Tasting his Communications, not as Unripe Grapes, or Wine just out of the Press.*

§. 5. But before we can fairly Arrive to that part of our Story, it will be as profitable, as necessary for us to Observe the Steps whereby God made him Great. The Faculties of Mind, with which the God that Forms the Spirit of man, enriched him, were very Notable. He had a *Clear Head*, a *Copious Fancy*, a *Solid Judgment*, a *Tenacious Memory*, and a certain *Discretion*, without any *Childish Lascivety*, or *Levity* in his Behaviour, which commanded Respect from all that viewed him: So that it might be said of him, as it once was of a Great Person in the English Nation, *They that knew him from a Child, never knew him any other than a Man.* Under these Advantages, he was an *Hard Student*, and he so prospered in his *Indefatigable Studies*, that he became a Scholar of *Illuminations*, not far from the *First Magnitude*: Recommended by which Qualifications, it was not long before he was Chosen a *Fellow* of the *Colledge*. But the main Strokes of his *Colledge-Life*, that I shall single out for my Readers Observation, are of yet an higher Character. Know then, that as it was his own Counsel to his Brother, *The Writing of sometimes your former and present Life, would be a Thing of Endless Use*, thus it was his manner, whilst in the *Colledge*, to keep a brief *Diary*, written in the *Latine Tongue*, which he wrote indeed fluently and handsomely; and from a part of this *Diary*, by him Entitled, *Vite Hyponemata*, happily fallen into my Hands, I shall note some few Remarkables.

He kept a strict Eye upon his *Interior State*, before God ; and upon the Dispositions of his Heart, as well in Sacred as in Civil Entertainments : but with an Extreme *Severity of Reflection* upon himself, when perhaps, at the same time the *Severest Spectator* upon Earth besides would have judged every thing in him worthy to have been *Admired*, rather than *Censured*. He would Record such Things as these.

One Time,

Inter precandum, Deus ab Inspido ac Desolato Corde juste absuit, ut me (quo nihil magis necessarium) humiliaret; Nam aliter (si paulo melius aliquando se habeat Cor) est in me, quod prophana Spirituali Superbia titillatur. Eram tamen inde nonnihil ad Deum Excitator.

At another Time,

Jejunio privato interfui, ubi multo Stupore, & multa vanitate Oppletus sum; aliqua tamen viguerant Suspiria & Deus non visus est me omnino abdicare, sed paulo meliorem fecit; utinam tenuissem & fovissem Desideria, quæ tunc accendit.

At another Time,

Locum communem habui; vix abstinui secreta superbia; Licet turpissima vanitas Animi (qua nunquam non omnia mea venenantur) me coram Deo prostravisset, præter alia mea peccata, quæ me infra vermes ponunt, Neque sane unquam aliquid aut facio aut dico, unde plus pudoris quam Honoris, mihi non nascitur, si omnia mecum perpendo; & Deus solet semper aliquid relinquere, unde me (saltem apud me) pudefacit.

At another Time,

Colloquiis Hilaribus, cum Sociis quibusdam nimis indulsi.

At another Time,

Adibam Bostonium, & ibi Libertatem Civilem accepi, sed ex Oblectamentis Leve & Inspidum Cor.

At another,

Liberius quam prudentius quædam locutus sum, unde mihi pudor.

Again; He laid up the more especial *Admonitions* which touched him, in the Sermons that he heard Preached, or in other more private and useful Conferences, and the *Resolutions*, which he thereupon asked the Help of Heaven to follow. He would Record such Things as these,

One Time,

Vix aliquid apud Deum sapui, sed excitavit me Concio Magistri Shepardi, Tremenda planè et præstantissima. Docuit Aliquos esse qui videntur inveniri & Servari a Christo & tamen postea pereunt. Hæc me terrebant (& utinam infixæ hærent!) ne tantum viderer esse Christi, & ne ad mortem usque sic pergerem. Rogavi Deum, ut mei Misertus totam rem ageret. Illa Noctè multo pudore, apud me suffusus eram, quod hætenus nihil in Meditatione quotidiana, feceram, & hinc cæcus & ignarus in Divinis, extra meipsum, & sine Deo, per Integras Septimanas vixeram. Jam Statui Meditandi opus quotidie urgere, quod ante hæc aliquoties statui, sed, heu!

In my Prayer, God was justly withdrawn from my Unfavoury and Desolate Heart, that so He might Humble me; than which there is nothing more needful for me. For otherwise (if my Heart be at any time in a little better frame) there is that in me, which is tickled with Spiritual Pride. Nevertheless I was from hence more Excited God-ward.

I was present at a private Fast, where I was filled with much Sottishness and Vanity: Yet I had some Lively Sighs; and God seemed not wholly to cast me off, but made me a little Better than I was before. I wish I had Retained and Cherished the Desires, which He then Enkindled!

I Common-placed. I could Scarce abstain from Secret Pride; altho' a very base Vanity of mind (with which every thing of mine is poison'd!) had laid me low in the Dust before God, besides my other Sins, which lay me lower than the very Worms of the Dust. But indeed, I never Do or Say any thing, from whence there arises not more of Shame than of Honour to me, if I Consider all things; and God uses in all ever to leave something, by which He makes me at least ashamed of my self.

I gave too much Liberty unto Merry Talk; with some of my Friends.

I went unto Boston, and there took a Civil Liberty: But from such Entertainments my Heart grew light and unfavoury.

I discoursed some things with more Freedom than Wisdom; for which, I was ashamed of my self.

I had little Savour on my Spirit before God: but a terrible and Excellent Sermon of Mr. Shepards awakened me. He taught, that there are some who seem to be found and Sav'd by Christ, and yet afterwards they perish. These things terrified me, (and I wish, they had stuck fast in me!) lest I should only seem to belong unto Christ, and lest I should thus go on unto Death. I Beg'd of God, that He would have mercy on me, and accomplish the whole work of His Grace for me. That Night I was covered with no little shame, because I had hitherto done in a manner, nothing at the work of DAILY MEDITATION, and hence I had lived Blind, and Ignorant in Divine Things, a stranger to my self, and without God, for whole Weeks together. I now Resolved, every Day to urge the work of MEDITATION, which heretofore I have often Resolved, but alas,

Proposita violavi; unde succenset Deus. Ah, Quot & Quarta scire potuissim de Deo, si serius & constans in Meditatione fuissim!

At another Time,

D. Shepardus utilissime docuit. Illa Nocte Serie instabant Cogitationes, de infanda mea miseria, qua sine Deo, sine Redemptione, a Sabbato ad Sabbatum miserrimus pergo. Inde Tria statuebam mihi Observanda, quæ etiam Deo commendabam, ut in me efficeret. Primo, Non Quiete manendum in hac mea conditione; Intolerabile esse, ut sic pergerem, Secundo, Precandum constanter, sine Languore, aut Intermissione, mane nocteque Implorandum Deum, intimis & ineffabilibus suspiriis. Tertio, si Deus non auscultaverit, & quæ opus sunt præstavit, in Amore suo manifestando, saltem Lugeam & Lachrymem, & pergam in Amaritudine Animæ; si Consolationem & Pacem a Deo, non habuero, saltem nullam omnino habeam!

At another Time,

D. Samuel Matherus eximie concionatus est, de Immutabilitate Dei. Inde Redarguebat mutabilitatem & Inconstantiam Hominum erga Deum. Hæc me tetigerunt: Conscius eram Inconstantie meæ; Et serio, intusque percussus, prostratus coram Deo vehementer Orabam Gratiam.

Furthermore, He Acquitted himself, as One concerned for the *Souls* of his *Pupils*, when he came to have such under his Charge; and was very desirous to see their *Hearts* renewed by Grace, the (*Beginning* or) *Head* of *Knowledge*, as well as their *Heads* furnished with other *Knowledge*. He would Record such Things as these.

At One Time,

Alloquebar M. W. de Salutis Negotio. Multis illum hortabar, monebam, & dirigebam, ad illud curandum, ne suffocaret Convictiones, & inconstantia Deum luderet, sed precibus ΠΡΟΣΚΑΡΤΗΡΗΣΗ. Utinam ipse præstarem, quæ dixi! Deus, serva illum Juvenem!

At another Time,

S. M. primus e Pupillis meis, me allocutus est de Animæ suæ statu; plura quidem quam sperassem lætus audiui; & (quod Deus dedit) Consilium addidi, ut pergeret diligenter Deum sequi, Animabam ad sequendum Deum; At pudebat me Ariditatis Animi mei.

I have Violated my purposes; for which cause, God is Angry with me. Ah! How many, how mighty Things of God might I have understood, if I had been Serious and Constant in MEDITATION!

Mr. Shepard Preached most profitably. That night, I was followed with Serious Thoughts, of my Inexpressible misery, wherein I go on most miserably from Sabbath to Sabbath, without God, and without Redemption. From hence I determined, That there are Things which I must Observe; and I Commended these Things unto God, that he would Effect them in me. *First*; That I must not remain quietly in this my condition; but that it is Intolerable for me to proceed as I am. *Secondly*; That I must pray constantly, without fainting, or any Intermission: Day and Night I must cry unto the Lord, with Groans that cannot be uttered. *Thirdly*; If God will not Hear me, nor do the Things that are needful for me in manifesting to me His Love, let me at least Mourn, and Weep, and go on in the Bitterness of my Soul. If I shall not have Comfort, and Peace, from God, let me have None at all!

Mr. Samuel Mather Preached Excellently, concerning, *The Unchangeableness of God*. From hence he Rebuked the Changeableness and Inconstancy of men, towards God. These Things Touch-ed me; for I was Conscious to my own Inconstancy; and being Seriously and Inwardly Smitten with the sense of it, I cast my self down at the Feet of God, with Vehement Supplications for His Favour.

I spoke unto M. W. about the matters of Eternal Salvation, I largely exhorted him, advised him, directed him to be careful of This, that he did not Stifle his Convictions, and mock God by Inconstancy, but be instant in Prayer. I wish I could my self Do, what I spoke! Lord, Save that Young man!

S. M. the first of my Pupils had some Speech with me, about the State of his own Soul; I Glad-heard more from him, than I Expected; and (with the Help of God) I Counsell'd him, that he would go on to follow hard after God. I Encouraged him to follow the Lord; but I was ashamed of the Barrenness of my own Soul!

Yea, How Watchful he was, on all Occasions, to Observe what Occasions he might have to Do Good among all the Scholars. I shall no more than Transcribe the following Passage, to intimate

Nocte, inter Scholares, multa seria dixi de Cognoscendis Rebus Pacis Nostræ, in Die nostro. Utinam ipse mibimet Auscultarem! Die sequenti plura ego collocutus sum cum Centubernalibus,

At Night, among the Scholars, I uttered many Serious Things, about *Knowing the Things of our Peace in our Day*. Oh! that I could my self here-in but hearken to my self! The Day following, I discoursed more, with my Chamber-fellows,

ad probandum, esse Deum, & Scripturas esse ipsius verbum. Ab, nimium serpit inter nos ATHEOTES, & video Satanam multos perniciosissimos Dialogismos in Nonnullorum Mentis injicere! Hoc malo peribunt multi Juvenes, ni miserearis, O Deus! Et sensi me adhuc in his miserrime tenebricosum, nec magis aliquid Rogandum, quam ut Stabiliret me quoad Fundamentales istas veritates, clarissimeque hic visionem daret! Hinc aliquando Occasiones Capto Realitatem, ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΡ inculcandi, & illustrandi: quod non prorsus mane video. Utinam majori Cordis sensu, ego possem Deum prædicare. Sed quid mirum me oppleri Tenebris, qui Oppletus sum Cupiditatibus!

to prove, That there is a GOD, and that the Scriptures are His Word. Alas, *Atheism* creeps in too much among us, and I see that Satan does cast many most Pernicious Reasonings into the minds of some. Many Young men, will perish by this Mischiefe, Except thou, O Lord God, have Mercy on them! I found my self also most miserably dark in these things; nor is there any thing that I have more cause to ask, than this; That He would Establish me in these Fundamental Truths, and give me a Clear Vision of them! From hence I sometimes do Snatch at Occasions, to inculcate and illustrate the Reality of the Things of God: which I see, is not altogether in vain I wish, I could Preach God, with greater sense upon my Heart. But what wonder is it, if I that am full of Lusts, be also full of *Darkness*!

Reader, see how impossible it was, for this Excellent young Man to Record any thing in this *Diary*; without some stroke of *Humiliation* and *Admonition* to himself in the Close of all: The ready way of becoming *Excellent*!

And while he was thus a young man, residing in the *Colledge*, he would sometimes, on the *Saturday*, Retire into the *Woods*, near the *Town*, and there spend a great part of the *Day*, in Examining of his own *Heart* and *Life*, Bewailing the *Evils*, which made him want the *Mercies* of God, and Imploring the *Mercies* which he wanted of the *Lord*: which Custom of spending *Saturday*, he had formerly attended also at *South-Hampton*, while he was yet, but as a *School-Boy* there. Moreover, it was, while he thus Resided at the *Colledge*, that his Brother *David*, under deep Distresses of mind about his Everlasting Interests, addressed him for *Counsel*; and our *Jonathan* then wrote unto his Brother that *Golden Letter*, which was almost *Thirty* years after, published in *London*, at the End of his *Discourse of Glory*; A *Letter* whereof the famous *Collins* makes this Remark, *Every Reader sensible of Spiritual Things, will see it written with an Excellent Spirit, the Spirit of God, and drawn out of his own Experiences, and this when but newly Entering upon his Ministry*. A *Letter*, wherein he Discovers that *Experimental Acquaintance* with the *Operations of Sin*, and of *Grace*, upon the *Souls of Men*, which may Intimate how *Eminent* he was in *One of the Accomplishments* most necessary to the *Ministry of the Gospel*, before he had yet *Entred* upon it. If *Chrysostom*, the *Ancient*, were sometimes called *Insignis Animorum tractandorum Artifex*, Reader, here was a young man, who effectually proved himself, *An Artist, at handling the Cases of a Soul*! I Remember, that *Alexander More* judges *Three certain Epistles*, to be the most *Consummate Pieces*, that ever the *World* saw; Namely, *That of Calvin* before his *Institutions*; *That of Thuanus*, before his *History*; and *That of Casaubon*, before his *Polybius*. Now though this *Epistle* of our young *Mitchel*, come not into that *Class*, for the *Embellishments of Literature*, yet it has been Reckoned *One of the most Consummate Pieces*, in the *Methods of Addressing a Troubled Mind*.

§ 6 The *Extraordinary Learning, Wisdom, Gravity* and *Piety* of this *Incomparable Young Man*, caused several of the most *Considerable Churches* in the *Countrey*, to contrive how they might become *Owners* of such a *Treasure*, even before ever he had, by one *Publick Sermon*, brought forth any of the *Treasure* wherewith *Heaven* had *Endowed* him. The *Church of Hartford* in particular, being therein *Countenanced* and *Encouraged* by the *Reverend Mr. Stone*, sent a *Man*, and *Horse*, above an *Hundred miles*, to obtain a *visit* from him, in expectation to make him the *Successor* of their ever famous *Hooker*, and though upon the first motion to him from *Hartford*, his *Humble Soul*, wrote these words, *I had more need get alone into a Corner, and weep, than think of Going out into the World, to Do such Work: Darknes and Death clouds my Soul!* Yet he was prevailed withal to visit them. At *Hartford* he Preached his *First Sermon*. *June 24. 1649.* upon *Heb. 11. 27. He Endured, as seeing Him who is Invisible*; On which *Action*, though with his usual *Humility*, he wrote this *Reflection* in his *Diary*; *In Preaching I was not to seek of what I had prepared; but my own Heart was Drie, Carnal and Unaffected, and methought I could not speak with any Evidence, or Presence of the Spirit of God; so that when I had done, I was deeply ashamed within my self, and could not but Loath my self, to think how miserably I had behaved my self, in that High Employment, and how unfavoury, sottish and foolish my Heart had been therein; I thought I, and all I did, well deserved to be Loathed by God and man: Yet that Judicious Assembly of Christians, were so well pleased with the Labours whereof he himself thought so meanly, that in a Meeting the Day following, they Concluded to give him an Invitation to Settle among them: Adding, That if he saw it his best way to continue a year longer at the *Colledge*, they would however immediately upon his Acceptance of their Invitation advance a considerable Sum of Money, to assist him in furnishing himself with a *Library* (not unlike what the *Uratlavian Senate* once did for the *Hopeful young Lucas Pollio*, when they saw him, *Juvenem Dotibus Ornatum a Deo, non vulgaribus*;) which they said, was, *No new thing unto them, having had Mr. Hooker's Instruction for Doing so.**

But he durst not then Accept of their kind Proposals: For before his Journey to *Hartford*, the Renowned Mr. *Shepard*, with the Principal Persons in *Cambridge*, had importunately pray'd him, that he would come down from *Hartford*, as free as he went up, inso much as he did upon divers Accounts most belong to *Cambridge*, and *Cambridge* did hope, that he would yet more belong unto them. When Mr. *Shepard* first mentioned this thing unto him, he did with his constant Humility record it in his Diary, with this Reflection, *Ego mirabar hinc rem: Quid in me videt Populus Dei-Totum Negotium Reliqui Deo agendum. I wondred at this matter! What is it that the People of God sees in me? I left the whole Business to the Divine Management!* And now Returning to *Cambridge*, he no sooner came into the Pulpit (*Aug. 12. 1649.*) but Mr. *Shepard*, must go out of it! Mr. *Shepard* in the Evening told him, *This was the Place where he should, by right, be all the rest of his Dayes:* and enquiring of some good People, *How Mr. Mitchel's first Sermon was approved among them;* they told him, *Very well.* Then said he, *My Work is done!* And behold, within a few Dayes more, that Great Man was by Death taken off, so that the Unanimous Desire of *Cambridge* for Mr. *Mitchel* to be their Pastor was Hastened, with several Circumstances of Necessity for him to Comply with their Desire. But as the Jews used to say about the Birth of *R. Jehuda*, on the very same Day that another famous Rabbi dyed, *Eo die occidit Lux Israelis, et iterum Orta est;* So I may now say, *The same Day was the Light of New-England, Extinguished and Revived!*

§. 7. *Occubuit Sol; Nox nulla Secuta est.* Upon the setting of *Shepard* there arose *Mitchel*, in whose Light not only the Church of *Cambridge*, but the Colledge, and the whole Country, were now to Rejoyce for a Season. The Eyes of all *New-England* were upon him with Great Expectations; and he did more than answer their Expectations: for he was indeed an Extraordinary Person. But scarce a Paragraph of his Life can be written to the Life, without some Reflection upon that Humility, with which the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ hath prepared him for, and adorned him in all of that Figure, whereto he Arrived in the Service of the Churches. Just upon the Time of his Beginning his Ministry at *Cambridge*, he was taken dangerously Sick of the *Small Pox*, but though he were Sick nigh unto Death, God had Mercy on him, and not on him only, but on all the Churches thro' this Wilderness in him. No sooner was he Recovered of that Sickness, but this Humble Soul wrote, *Octob. 4. 1649.* in his Diary, (which after this time spoke English,) these among other passages: *It has been of late Weeks a special time of Adversity with me, The Lord Help me to Consider it! I might say, My skin is Broken, and become Loathsome; and There is no Rest in my Bones because of my Sin, my Loins are filled with a loathsome Disease, and there is no soundness in my flesh; By such a foul roisom, filthy Disease, it well appeared, what I indeed was; as the Prophet speaks, Full of putrefying Sores, It being at this Time, I was as a City set upon an Hill;*

That when I was attempting the Pure and Sacred Work of the Ministry, I should be surprized with that Horrible Disease! Do I begin to be some Body in the world? God will make me Vile in the Eyes of the whole Country; God will Humble me before the Sun, and in the Sight of all Israel. He will have me begin my Ministry with this Disease: He knows, that I have need of a Great Deal of Purifying, before I come to that. A loathsome Sinner shall have a loathsome Sickness! And the Grace of Heaven that made this Fit of Sickness, to be Considered thus as an Humiliation by this Eminent young man, then Entering upon his Ministry, did by continually Infusing other Thoughts full of Humiliation into him, lay the Foundation of stately Superstructures. As our Lord Jesus Christ, entering upon His Ministry, endured the sorest Conflict of Temptation, that He had ever met withal, so did this Excellent Ambassador of that Lord; He had his Mind forely Buffeted with Amazing and Confounding Apprehensions. Perhaps it will be many ways profitable unto some Candidates of the Ministry, as well as others to see these Papers Recite some of the sad Passages, that rolled over the Soul of a most Lovely Preacher, when he was Beginning to Preach the Gospel of Peace. We then find him at a Time, when every one admired the Excellencies that Beautified him, thus Writing and Thinking of himself, as the Deformedest Sinner in the World. At one time

'I have Lived in this World almost Twenty five years, and unto this Day have known little of God in Christ, made little Provision for Eternity, got little Acquaintance with the favour and love of God. How I have Improved this Time, Wo to me, I may be ashamed to speak, amazed to think! At another time. 'Lord, I know not whether ever such a Sinner as I, came to Thee for Mercy; whether ever such a work was done to any poor Wretch, as the saving of my Soul must be. At another time. 'I have run through all the means of Knowledge, and yet see no Truth Really, and in the Glory of it; All Afflictions, and yet am not Humbled nor Serious; All Mercies, and yet am not Thankfull; All Means of Good, and yet am Evil, only Evil, Transcendently Evil, in the highest Degree to this Day. At another time. 'If God do me any Good, or do any Good by me, it must be a Creating work. Lord, I am fit for nothing; (Good for nothing at all) neither to Live, nor Dye; neither to Teach, nor Learn; neither to Think, nor Speak; neither to Do, nor suffer; neither to Communicate Good, nor receive any; Go through all that I am, either within, or without, what am I, but Vileness, and Abomination? At another time. 'The Church will (I suppose) this day consider, and determine a Day for Ordination; but did there ever such a Creature, as I am, go about such a business? I was low, and vile this time Twelve-month, when they first made the Motion; but I am far lower and viler now. Great is the wrath of God that lyes upon me; and the tokens of it are in some respects increased. I cannot with Confidence go to God as my Father in Jesus Christ. I know no Truth of God to

any purpose. I have no Treasure of Christian Experience: I know not what belongs to the main Matters of Conversion and Salvation. My Sin is enough to bring a Curse upon all I do, and upon the whole place: I am under the very Feet of Satan, in respect of it. *Object.* But shall not my Sin then binder me, and make me Refuse this Work of the Ministry? *Answer.* That is to mend one Sin with another. The more evil, and the less good I have done, the more need I have to give my self up to do what Good I can now; I should not choose my Sin, and leave God's Work; and if I cast it away, and go to God to take it away, and wait on Him, 'tis possible with Him, to deliver me from it, and to Help me in His Work: Though that would be the greatest Wonder, that ever was done! However, let me lye at his Feet, and leave my self with Him. *Quest.* Why do I enter upon it? *Answer.* Because God bids me, and commands me? *Luke 5.* He will have it so, and why should my self, or Sin, or Satan, say, What dost Thou? *Object.* But it may be God will take no pleasure in me? *Answer.* I deserve He should not, but yet He deserves to be Honoured and Served; and let it be my Happiness and Joy to do that, whatever becomes of me at last. *At another time.* My Case is now such (so Dreadful, Desperate and Forlorn) as I think, there never was the like upon Earth, since Adam was formed, unto this Day: There is only this place of Hope, That there is a Degree of Mercy in God, beyond what any ever yet made use of! for no Man ever came to the End of Infinite Mercy: Lord, Honour Thy self by me, some way or other, whatever become of me. *At another time.* Lord, It is the Hour and Power of Darknes with me; I feel the Dreadful Rage of Satan, and my vile Heart, now against me, to overturn me, and to cut off thy Name, which Thou callest me to bear in this place. I know not what will become of me, nor what to say to Thee; but I leave my Woful Soul, and self to thy Disposing, Lord, I am in Hell, wilt thou let me lye there? *At another time.* God hath put this Fear into my Heart, lest this be the Fruit and Recompence of my Sin, that I shall never know God for mine in Truth, but Live and Dye, in an unsound and self Deceiving way; that I should have many Fears and Prayers, and good Affections, and Duties, and Hopes, and Ordinances, and Seemings, but never an Heart soundly Humbled, and soundly Comforted unto my Dying Day, but be a Son of Perdition to the last, and never have God's special Love Revealed and Assured to me! Lord, keep this Fear alive in my Heart! Such Passages as these, abundantly discover the *Contritions*, that laid him exceeding Low, in his own Apprehension of himself, at the Time when God was raising him to High Improvements among His People; and it was by these *Abasements*, that Heaven prepared him for those *Improvements*. But being, after such

Preparations, called forth to the Service of the Churches, his Employments came in so thick upon him, that he had not such leisure as heretofore to Enrich his *Diarys*, with his Observations. He was at length reduced unto this Custom, that Ordinarily, on the Week before he administered the Sacrament of the *Lord's-Supper*, which was once in two Months, he spent a Day in Prayer with *Fasting* before the Lord; and one of his Exercises on such a Day, was to Remind and Record, such Passages of Divine Providence towards Himself, his *House*, his *Flock*, the whole *Country*, yea, and the whole *Nation*, as he judged Useful to be Remembred with him; and such especially as might Quicken the *Humiliations* and the *Supplications*, wherein he was engaged.

§. 8. The Death of Mr. Shepard, was a Death-wound unto the Soul of Mr. Mitchell, whose Veneration for the Great Holiness, Learning, and Wisdom, of his Predecessor, caused him to Lament exceedingly the Loss of so Rich a Blessing, and begin his own Publick Ministry, at Cambridge with Sermons full of those *Lamentations*. Indeed when he had Occasion to mention his own Living Four Years under Mr. Shepard's Ministry, he added, *Unless it had been four years living in Heaven, I know not how I could have more cause to bless God with Wonder, than for those Four Years.* Under an Affliction, which he so much repented, the Comfort which he so sought for himself, he thus expressed: *What a blessed Thing is it to have this Mediator, the Man Christ Jesus to go unto, when I have no Friend that I can fully speak to, and open all my Complaints and Ails into his Bosom? I think, were Mr. Shepard now alive, I would go and intreat his Counsel and Help, and Prayer. Why, now I may go freely into the Bosom of the Man Christ Jesus, who is able, faithful, tender-hearted above the best of meer Men. And I may go, and tell him not only my Sorrows (and yet that is no small matter) but also my Sins, all my Sins; though not without shame, yet without fearful Despair. I may complain to Him of a strong Lust, and of an hard Heart. And He does not only Pity me (and that He does more than any Man could do) but is also fully able to Help me against Sorrow, yea, and against Sin too. And in him, I may see, and take hold of the Pity, and Love. and Grace of God the Father, who through Him, is well-pleas'd.* But that he might signalize his Affection to the Predecessor, he speedily took the Pains to peruse and publish the Sermons of that Worthy Man, upon the *Parable of the Ten Virgins*, which make a Volumn in Folio; with a most Excellent, and Judicious Preface of his thereunto. Which afterwards, was not without its *Recompence* in the *Providence* of God, when after his own Death, his own Sermons upon *The Glory to which God hath called Believers by Jesus Christ* (carefully Transcribed, and so Transmitted by Captain Laurence Hammond of Charlestown, to whose Cares about it, the Church is now beholden for this Treasure) were by some surviving Friends, printed at London. And he whom I have once already compared unto

Pollio, who dyed, when between Forty and Fifty Years old, was in this also, like that *German*: Divine, who left behind him a Book of Sermons, *De Vita æterna*, whereof *Melchior Adam* says, *Non solum suæ Confessionis Homines omnium Ordinum in Deliciis habuerunt, atque habent; sed etiam Adversariorum nonnulli, minus morosi probaverunt*: Both Friends and Foes approved it. The young Gentlewoman, whom his Predecessor had married a little before his Decease, He now also married upon the General Recommendations of that Widow unto him; and the *Epithalamiums*, which the Students of the Colledge then Celebrated that Marriage withal, were expressive of the Satisfaction, which it gave unto all the Good People in the Vicinity. Howbeit, before this, he had address'd himself unto the Venerable Old Mr. Cotton, for Leave to become his Son-in-law, and Mr. Cotton prognosticating the Eminency, which he would arrive unto, had given Leave unto it: But the Immature Death of that Hopeful Young Gentlewoman Mrs. *Sarah Cotton* preventing, so desirable a Match, made way for his pursuing and obtaining this other Settlement. Being so settled; he wholly gave himself up to the Services of his Ministry, with such a Disposition, as he expressed in his *Parting Advice* to another, who Travelling from hence to *England*, had these Words from him at his Farewel; *My serious Advice to you is, That you keep out of Company, as far as Christianity and Civility will give you leave; Take it from me; The Time spent in your Study you will generally find spent the most Profitably, Comfortably and Accountably.*

§. 9. Eighteen Years did he continue a Pastor to the Church of *Cambridge*. And as that which encouraged him to Accept at first the Pastoral Charge of that Flock, was his being able to write that Character of them, *That they were a Gracious, Savoury-spirited People, principled by Mr. Shepard, liking an Humbling, Mourning, Heart-breaking Ministry and Spirit; Living in Religion, Praying Men and Women: Here (said He) I might have Occasions of many sweet Heart-breakings before God, which I have so much need of!* So the Continual Prayers of such a People to the Lord Jesus Christ for him doubtless contributed more than a little unto his being furnished from Heaven with such Rich Treasures of Light and Grace, as made his Ministry richly serviceable unto them all. In this his Ministry he preached over a great part of the Body of Divinity. And as *Paul* appealed unto his two first Chapters to the *Ephesians*, thus in some Degree, an Appeal might have been made unto those Labours of this Admirable Preacher, to demonstrate his Knowledge of the Mystery of Christ. He made a most Entertaining Exposition on the Book of *Genesis*, and part of *Exodus*; [an Evangelical Targum of *Jonathan*] he made many Incomparable Discourses on the four first Chapters of *John*: Occasional Subjects he also Handled many with much Variety: He likewise kept a *Montly Lecture*, where he largely Handled Man's Misery

by Sin, and Salvation by Christ, and entred on the Doctrine of Obedience due thereupon; and vast Assemblies of People from all the Neighbouring Towns reckoned it highly worth their Pains to repair unto that Lecture. The Sermons, wherewith he fed the Church of God, were admirably Well-studied; they still smelt of the Lamp; and, indeed, if there were nothing else to prove it, yet the Notes which he wrote in his Preparations for his Publick Exercises, were Proof enough of his being an Indefatigable Student. He ordinarily medled with no Point, but what he managed with such an extraordinary Invention, Curious Disposition, and Copious Application, as if he would leave no material Thing to be said of it, by any that should come after him. And when he came to Utter what he had Prepared, his Utterance had such a becoming Tunè-ableness, and Vivacity, to set it off, as was indeed Inimitable; though many of our Eminent Preachers, that were in his Time Students at the Colledge, did essay to Imitate him. It has been observed by others, as well as *Jerom*, that *Quæ firmiter concepimus, bene loquimur, siquidem Tali in Animæ Substantiam quasi Concoquendo sunt Conversa*; And our *Bitchel*, having accordingly well Concocted what he was to deliver, with clear and strong Thoughts upon it, expressed it with a Natural Eloquence, which, (as *Tully* says of all True Eloquence) cast the Hearers into Wonderment. Profound Meditation having first, in his Heart got ready a well composed Meat-Offering for the House of God, his Tongue was as the Pen of a Ready Writer to bring it forth: and his Auditories usually counted themselves at a Feast with the Inhabitants of Heaven, while he was thus Entertaining of them. His Preaching was not that which Dr. *Manton* would justly Rebuke under the Name of *Gentleman-Preaching*: Or, a sort of *Harangue* finely laced and guilded with such *Phalerate Stuff*, as plainly discovers the Vanity of them, that jingle with it: but he still spoke, as reckoning, that if *Seneca's* Philosopher was to remember, *Ad miseros vocatus es; opem laturus Nansfragis, Captis, Agriis, Intentæ securi subiectum præstantibus Caput*: Such a thing is much more to be Remembered by a Minister of the Lord Jesus Christ. Hence, though he had a very Clean Style, and spoke, — *Munda, sed e medio, Consuetaque verba*; — by the same Token, that when he had once used one Word, in the Pulpit, which it may be, no Body else besides himself would have so severely Criticised upon, after he came home, he wrote a severe Animadversion upon it; *I was after in my self ashamed of it (he wrote) as being a Phrase too coarse for the Pulpit!* Nevertheless, he had also a Plain Style, for which he might have been justly called, as *Melancthon* was by *Keckerman*, *Ille, ut sic dicam, Perspicuitatis Genius*; but so pungently improved, that what he spoke, was felt by his Hearers, as *Quick and Powerful*. One, that hath address'd the World with a Treatise of *Ecclesiastical Rhetorick*, saith, *Credat mihi Ministris Candidatus; Tria sunt, quæ valde commendant Concionatorem; Vocis Amabilitas, Epithetorum Empha-*

sis, & Connexionis Concinnitas: Now all of these Three Commendations did belong to the Preaching of our *Mitchel*. And, as it was the Remark of that then *Matchless* Preacher *Bucholtzer*, to whom I have often in my Thoughts match'd our *Mitchel*, That a Preacher was known by his Peroration, so 'twas remarkt of our *Mitchel*, that tho' he were all along in his Preaching, as a very lovely Song of one that hath a pleasant Voice, yet as he drew near to the Close of his Exercises, his Comely *Fervency* would rise to a marvellous Measure of *Energy*; He would speak with such a Transcendent Majesty and Liveliness, that the People (more Thunderstruck than they that heard *Cicero's* Oration for *Ligarius*) would often Shake under his Dispensations, as if they had Heard the Sound of the Trumpets from the Burning Mountain, and yet they would Mourn to think, that they were going presently to be dismissed from such an Heaven upon Earth. He had indeed an Uncommon Measure of that Priviledge, that is Reported of *Bucholtzer*, *Ut, licet nonnisi finita Hora Altera peroraret, nullum tamen Audiendi Tedium, vel e media cuiquam plebe, Obrepserit*: Though he preached Long Sermons, the People were never weary of Hearing them. Vast was the Happiness of the Scholars at the Colledge, and (in them) of all the Churches in the Country, while Cambridge was illuminated with such a Ministry! It was a Reflection upon this Matter long since Printed unto the World; Reason and Prudence requireth, that the Minister of that Place, be more than Ordinarily endowed with Learning, Gravity and Wisdom; Orthodoxy, Ability, Excellent Gifts in Preaching, that so the Scholars; which are Devoted to be Preachers of the Gospel, might be seasoned with the Spirit of such an *Elijah*: In which Regards this Holy Man of God was eminently furnished; and his Labours were abundantly blessed: For, very many of the Scholars bred up in his time (as is observed) do savour of his Spirit for Grace, and a most attractive manner of Preaching. Truly, as it was no rare thing for a German Divine to give solemn Thanks unto God, For being born in the Days of Melancthon; so there is many a New-English Divine, who has given Thanks to God, For their being at the Colledge in the Days of *Mitchel*. But it must here be added, That altho' the chief Labours of this Exemplary Pastor were in the Study, and the Pulpit, yet he did not think himself thereby excused from those Pastoral Visits which his Flock expected from him. Herein he visited at fit Hours, which he set apart for it, the several Families of his Flock; not upon Trivial Desigs, but with serious and solemn Addresses to their Souls upon Matter of their Everlasting Peace; and the *Gildas Salvianus* of Mr. Baxter was herein our *Mitchel* himself, as well as much Read and Priz'd by this Faithful Pastor, who Watch'd for Souls, as one that was to give an Account.

§. 10. What he was in his Ministry, the same he was in his Discipline, when Offences arose, that called for his Consideration, in the Church whereto he was related: Faithful, Prudent, Zealous,

Holy, and like an Angel of a Church, Not Bearing with those that are Evil. When a publick Admonition was to be dispensed unto any One, that had offended scandalously, one could have heard nothing more *Pathetical*, or more *Powerful*, than his Discourses, on those unwelcome Occasions; the Hearers would be all drowned in Tears, as if the Admonition had been, as indeed he would with much Artifice make it be directed unto them all; but such would be the Compassion, and yet the Gravity, the Majesty, the Scriptural and Awful Pungency of these his Dispensations, that the Conscience of the Offender himself, could make no Resistance thereunto. But when the Lord Jesus Christ intends to make any Steward in His House, eminently Prudent and Faithful, He commonly Tries that Person, by Ordering some very Difficult Church Cases to arise, quickly after his first Entrance upon the Stewardship. Some such Thorny Church-Cases did soon Exercise the Thoughts of this truly Aged young Man; in all of which he conscientiously considered the Rights of the Fraternity to judge in their own Church-Cases, as that Renowned Minister, and Martyr, the Blessed *Cyprian* did, when he could say in one of his Epistles unto his Flock, *From the very Beginning of my Ministry, I determined to do nothing without the Consent of my People*: And again, *All Church Affairs, as mutual Respect requireth* [in commune tractabimus] *we will manage them in common*; and again, He would Restore and Admit none, but those who should plead their cause before all the people; [Acturi apud plebem universam Causam suam:] and order none of their Matters, but [presentibus et Judicantibus vobis,] with their Presence and Judgment. And if Mr. *Mitchel* had heard any reckon the Liberty of the Brethren thus confessed in the Days of *Cyprian*, to be an Apostasy from what was in the Beginning, he would have ask'd them, whether they reckon'd the Loss of this Liberty afterwards in the Rise of Popery, to be any Beginning, or Tendency towards Church-Reformation, and Recovery? Now tho' this Liberty of the Brethren, which our *Mitchel* according to the Primitive Congregational Church-Discipline allow'd, be that wherein for the most part the Repose of the Pastors has been by the Compassionate Wisdom of our Lord Jesus Christ provided for, yet some Trouble sometimes has arisen to the Pastors from the Brethrens abuse of their Liberty, which has call'd for much Patience and Prudence in those that have the Rule over them. And so there did unto our *Mitchel*, who on this Occasion, as on all others, was readier still to condemn himself, than any others; and once particularly recorded this Passage in his Diary. *I was Troubled, [at some improper Cavils from the Brethren] and I fear spake not so Lovingly and Prudently as I should have done. I feel my Spirit ready to rise, and forget my Principles of Lying low in the Dust, and bearing with others Infirmities, and becoming all Things to all Men, for their Edification. Oh! Lord Humble me, and Teach me how to carry it!* Thus did this Excellent Person write, when he was Enumerating his Humbling Circumstances,

in a *Secret Fast* before the Lord. But there was an *Harder Case* than any of these to Exercise him. Our *Mitchel*, presently upon his becoming the *Pastor of Cambridge*, met with a more than ordinary *Trial*, in that the Good Man, who was then the *President of the Colledge*, and a Member of the Church there, was unaccountably fallen into the *Briars of Antipædobaptism*; and being *briar'd* in the *Scruples* of that Perswasion, he not only forbore to present an *Infant* of his own unto the *Baptism* of our Lord, but also thought himself under some *Obligation* to bear his Testimony in some *Sermons* against the Administration of *Baptism* to any *Infant* whatsoever. The *Brethren* of the Church were somewhat vehement and violent in their signifying of their *Dissatisfaction* at the *Obstruction*, which the *Renitencies* of that Gentleman threatned unto the Peaceable *Practise of Infant-Baptism*, wherein they had hitherto walked; and judged it necessary for the *Vindication* of the Churches Name abroad in the Country, and for the *Safety* of the Congregation at home, to desire of him, that he would cease *Preaching* as formerly, until he had better satisfied himself in the Point now doubted by him. At these things extream was the *Uneasiness* of our *Mitchel*, who told the *Brethren*, That more *Light and less Heat* would do better: but yet saw the *Zeal* of some against this Good Man's Error, to push this Matter on so far, that being but a *Young Man*, he was likely now to be *Embarrass'd* in a *Controversie* with so Considerable a Person, and with one who had been his *Tutor*, and a *Worthy* and a *Godly Man*. He could give this Account of it, *Through the Churches being apt to Hurry on too fast, and too impatiently, I found my self much oppressed; especially Considering my own Weakness to grapple with these Difficulties; This Business did lye down, and rise up, sleep and wake with me: It was a dismal Thing to me, that I should live to see Truth or Peace dying or decaying in poor Cambridge.* But while he was with a *Prudence* incomparably beyond what might have been expected from a *Young Man* managing this *Thorny Business*, he saw Cause to Record a *Passage*, which perhaps will be judged worthy of some Remembrance. That Day (writes he, Decemb. 24. 1653.) after I came from him, I had a strange Experience: I found *Hurrying* and *Pressing* Suggestions against *Pædobaptism*, and injected *Scruples* and *Thoughts* whether the other way might not be right, and *Infant-Baptism* an *Invention of Men*; and whether I might with good *Conscience* baptise *Children*, and the like. And these *Thoughts* were darted in with some *Impression*, and left a strange *Confusion* and *Sickliness* upon my *Spirit*. Yet methought, it was not hard to discern, that they were from the *EVIL ONE*. First, Because they were rather injected, *hurrying* Suggestions, than any deliberate *Thoughts*, or bringing any *Light* with them. Secondly, Because they were *Unseasonable*; *Interrupting* me in my *Study* for the *Sabbath*, and putting my *Spirit* into a *Confusion*, so as I had much ado, to do ought in my *Sermon*. It was not now a time to *Study* that Matter; but when in the former part of the *Week*, I had given my self to that *Study*, the more

I studied it, the more *Clear and Rational Light* I saw for *Pædo-baptism*. But now these *Suggestions* burryed me into *Scruples*. But they made me cry out to *God* for His *Help*; and He did afterward *Calm* and *clear up* my *Spirit*. I thought the *End* of them was, First, To shew me the *Corruption* of my *Mind*; How apt that was to take in *Error*, even as my *Heart* is to take in *Lust*. Secondly, To make me walk in *Fear*, and take hold on *Jesus Christ* to keep me in the *Truth*; and it was a *Check* to my former *Self-Confidence*, and it made me fearful to go needlessly to *Mr. D.* for methought I found a *Venom* and *Poison* in his *Insnuations* and *Discourses* against *Pædobaptism*. Thirdly, That I might be mindful of the *Aptness* in others to be soon shaken in *Mind*, and that I might warn others thereof, and might know how to speak to them from *Experience*. And indeed my former *Experience* of *Irreligious Injection* was some *Help* to me to discover the *Nature* of These. I Resolved also on *Mr. Hooker's Principle*, That I would have an *Argument* able to remove a *Mountain*, before I would recede from, or appear against a *Truth* or *Practise*, received among the *Faithful*. After the *Sabbath* was over, and I had time to reflect upon the *Thoughts* of those things, those *Thoughts* of *Doubt* departed, and I returned unto my former *Frame*. The *Troubles* thus impending over the Church of *Cambridge*, did *Mr. Mitchel* happily wade through; partly, by much *Prayer* with *Fasting*, in secret, before *God*, for the good Issue of these things; partly, by getting as much *Help* as he could from the *Neighbouring Ministers*, to be interposed in these *Difficulties*; and partly, by using much *Meekness* of *Wisdom* towards the *Erroneous Gentleman*; for whom our *Mr. Mitchel* continued such an *Esteem*, that although his *Removal* from the *Government* of the *Colledge*, and from his *Dwelling Place* in *Cambridge*, had been procured by these *Differences*, yet when he dyed, He Honoured him with an *Elegy*, from which I will transcribe one *Stanza* or two, because it very truly points out that *Generous, Gracious, Catholick Spirit*, which adorned that Person, who wrote it.

Where Faith in JESUS is Sincere,
That Soul, He Saving, pardoneth;
What Wants, or Errors else be there,
That may and do Consist therewith.

And though we be Imperfect here,
And in One Mind can't often meet,
Who Know in part, in part may Err,
Though Faith be One, All do not see't:

Yet may we once the Rest obtain,
In Everlasting Bliss above,
Where Christ with Perfect Saints doth Reign,
In Perfect Light and Perfect Love:

Then shall we all Like-minded be,
Faith's Unity is there full-grown;
There One Truth, all both Love and See,
And thence are Perfect made in One.

*There Luther both and Zuinglius,
Ridley and Hooper, there agree;
There all the truly Righteous,
Sans Feud live to Eternity.*

But there was a *special Design* of Heaven in Ordering these Trials to befall our *Mitchel*, thus in the Beginning of his Ministry. He was hereby put upon Studying and Maintaining the Doctrine of *Infant-Baptism*; and of Defending the *Visible Interest* of the Children of the Faithful in the *Covenant of Grace*, under the *New Administration* of it, as well as under the *Old*, wherein we all know the *Infants* of Believers enjoyed the *Seal* of being made *Righteous by Faith*. In the Defence of this *Comfortable Truth*, he not only Preached more than half a score ungainsayable Sermons, while his own Church was in some Danger by the *Hydrophobic* of *Anabaptism*, which was come upon the Mind of an Eminent Person in it; but also when afterwards the Rest of the Churches were *Troubled* by a strong Attempt upon them from the *Spirit of Anabaptism*; there was a *Publick Disputation* appointed at *Boston* two Days together, for the clearing of the *Faith* in this Article, this Worthy Man was he, who did most Service, in this Disputation; whereof the Effect was, that although the *Erring Brethren*, as is usual in such Cases, made this their Last Answer to the Arguments, which had cast them into much Confusion, *Say what you will, We will Hold our Mind!*

[*Concurrat veterum licet in Te turba, potes Tu,
Hac omnes una vincere voce, Nego:*]

Yet others were happily established in the *Right Ways* of the Lord. Nor was this all the Good and Great Work, for which this rare Person was marvellously prepared, by these Temptations: There is a further Stroke of our *Church-History*, to be here *briefly Touched*, though elsewhere more fully to be given.

§. 11. *New-England* was a *Wilderness* Planted by a People, generally so Remarkable in their Holy Zeal for the Ordinances belonging to the House of God, that for the sake of Enjoying the Administrations of those Ordinances with *Scriptural Purity*, they had undergone the severe *Persecutions* which at last Exiled them into that *American Wilderness*: And hence there were few People of any Significancy in the Transplantation, but what at their first Coming over, joyned themselves unto the *full Communion* of the Churches in all *special Ordinances*, though many of them had (I say not, justifiably) made the *Terms* of their Communion so strict, that it might justly have been reckoned a difficult thing for some *Sincere Christians* of smaller Attainments in *Christianity* to come up unto them. For this cause, although several of our *Seers* did so far See the State, which our Matters would e're long devolve into, that they Laboured much to have the *Principles* of Truth concerning *The Church*

State of the Children born in the Church Declared and Asserted, in the Platform of Church Discipline, among the First Principles of New-England, nevertheless many Worthy Men were slow to make any Synodical Decision of those Principles, until there should arise more Occasion for the Practices, that were to be deduced from them. This Occasion did in Twenty or Thirty Years time come on with some Importunity and Impetuosity, when the Country began to be filled with the Adult Posterity of the First Planters; among which there were Multitudes of Persons, who by the good Effects of a pious Education under the Means of Grace observable upon them in their Profession of the Faith, not contradicted by any thing scandalous in their Life, deserved another Consideration in the Churches, than what was allowed unto Pagans; and yet were not so far improved in all the Points of Experimental Godliness, that they could boldly Demand an Admission unto the Mysteries at the Table of the Lord; the Conditions whereof confined it unto Persons that were sensibly Grown in Grace, and in the Knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ. The most of the Ministers then, and before then, in the Land, were desirous to have the thus Qualified Posterity of the Faithful, acknowledged in the Churches, as the Nursery, from whence a successive Supply of Communicants was to be expected; and it was their Desire that this Nursery might be Watered with Baptism, and Pruned with Discipline, as well as otherwise Dressed by the Ministry of the Word. Yea, they thought, that besides the Internal Benefits of the New Covenant unto the Elect of God, the Sealing of that Covenant unto them, that were visibly the Right Subjects of it, would be an Assurance from God, that when these Persons grew up to years of Discretion, He would infallibly make them the Offer of His Covenant, and so continue the Gospel of it among them: Whereas if They and Theirs were no other accounted of than Heathens, there would not pass many Generations, before the Sacred Religion of Christ, would, through the just Wrath of Heaven be lost among them in utter Heathenism! However, all Men did not then see all things! When the Church of Roxbury particularly in the Year 1653. was put upon Doing what was their Duty in this respect, our Mitchell was yet (he said) in the dark about it; he wished and wrote, That it might not yet be pressed; and added, The Lord teach me Humility, Modesty, and Wisdom in these things! Many a day did this Excellent Man spend now in Praying with Fasting before God; and when he was thus engaged in the Exercises of a Sacred and Secret Fast, I find him, inserting this, as not the least cause of his being so engaged: The Case of the Children of the Church in Regard of the Doctrine and Practice about it. Oh! that God would shew me His Mind and Way clearly in those things: Enable me to Teach them convincingly, and set upon the Practice thereof: and that the whole Country might be guided aright therein; That Abraham's Commanding Power might have its due Exercise as to the Children of our Churches. And that all the remaining Knots and Difficulties about

about Church-Discipline, and the Management of Christ's visible Kingdom might once be resolved according to the Word. Lord, Humble me, and prosper my poor Studies, and Teach me to know and do thy whole Will herein! as Ezek. 43. 11. And at another Time; The Points about Church-Discipline, I have been long aiming to look more thoroughly into. Lord, Help and Guide me therein! and Grant that I may be kept from Extreams (the great Undoing of the World :) both from immoderate Rigidity on the one Hand, either in Principles, Spirit, or Practice; and on the other hand, from wronging either Truth, or Conscience, by any sinful Compliance. To these Devotions, he joyned indefatigable Studies upon the great Question then agitated; and the Determination of the Question at last, was more Owing unto him, than unto any One Man in the World: For He was a Great Part in that Renowned Synod; that met at Boston in the Year 1652. The Result of the Synod afterwards published, was chiefly of his Composition, and when a most Elaborate Answer to that Result was published by some very worthy Persons, that were then Disputers, the Hardest Service in the Defence was assigned unto him. In fine, Our Lord Jesus Christ made this Great Man, even while he was yet a Young Man, one of the Greatest Instruments we ever had, of Explaining and Maintaining the Truths, relating to the Church-State of the Posterity in our Churches, and of the Church Care, which our Churches owe unto their Posterity: And I have laid before the Reader one of the most Extensive and Expensive Labours, that exhausted his Life, when I have mentioned The Propositions of the Synod about the Subject of Baptism. All that remains necessary to Illustrate this Paragraph of our History, is to Describe in a Line or two, the Disposition which our Mitchell did prosecute this Grand Concern withal; and I will therefore only Transcribe a little from a Judicious Letter of his, to Mr. Increase Mather upon that Subject, which that Reverend Person afterwards Printed unto the World; with an Unanswerable Vindication of these First Principles of New-England, both from the Imputations of Apostacy, by some ignorantly cast upon them, and from whatever other Objections might be advanced against them: 'As for the Substance of the Cause wherein we have Engaged (saith he) I am daily more and more confirmed, that it is the Cause of Truth, and of Christ, and that wherein, not a little of the Interest of Christ's Kingdom, and of the Souls of Men, is laid up. We have been reflected upon by some, as seeking our selves, and Driving on, I know not what Design; though I cannot readily Imagine, what self-Interest or self-End, we here should be led by in this matter; Sure I am, that for my own part, I prejudice myself much, as to Name, Interest, and Ease, for my appearing in this Cause: Neither was I so unsensible, as not to feel it from the First. I know my self to be a poor, vile, sinful Creature, and I can with some feeling say, Chief of Sinners, and Least of Saints; but in this particular matter, I have often said, I wish my Brethren could see through me; for I know not

any Design or Desire I have in it in all the World, but only that the Will of God might be done among us, His Kingdom be advanced, these Churches settled on Right Bases, and flourish in the Ways of Truth, Purity and Peace, and that the Good of the Souls of Men might be promoted both in this, and after Generations. Touching the Matter it self, that hath been in Debate please to consider at leisure, these Three Propositions.

First, The whole visible Church, under the New Testament is to be Baptized.

Secondly, If a Man be one in the Church, (whether admitted at Age, or in Infancy) nothing less than Conspicuous Evil, can put him out.

Thirdly, If the Parent be in the Visible Church, his Infant Child is so also.

Whether the Persons described in the Fifth Proposition of the Synod should be Baptized, as a Catholick, or in a Particular Church-State, is another Question: And I confess my self not altogether so peremptory in this Letter, as I am in the Thing it self; [viz. That they ought to be baptized,] yet still I think, when all Stones are turned it will come to this, That all the Baptized are and ought to be under Discipline in particular Churches.

And now 'tis more than time for us to dismiss this part of our Mitchellian Pourtraiture, from any further Elaborations.

§. 12. Mr. Mitchell's Desire had been, To be kept from Extreams; and indeed there was nothing more Observable in his Temper, than such a Study of a Temper in all Difficult Matters, as renders a Person aimable, wherever 'tis Observable. I remember, I have met with a Note of a very famous Preacher, who, in the midst of many Temptations on both Hands, relieved himself by Interpreting from the Context that Passage in Eccles. 7. 18. He that feareth God shall come forth from them all, to be meant of a Deliverance out of all Extreams. The Fear of God in our Mitchell had this Effect, and Reward: And his wise coming forth from all Extreams, was no where more Conspicuous, than in those points of Church-Discipline, for the clearing of which he had been, (I may say Extreamly) exercised. Had the sweet, Charitable, Amicable Spirit, that signalized this Good Man, been expressed by all good Men, as much as it was by him, a great part of the Ecclesiastical Differences in the World had been evaporated, and it had not been so long before the Names of Presbyterian and Congregational, had been melted down into that One of United Brethren. It was the Wish of our Mitchell, to have those Two Things in the State of the Church, lively represented unto the Sense of the World: First, the Grace, and then at the same time, the Holiness, of the Lord Jesus Christ, the King of the Church; and for the Obtaining of such a Representation, he thought nothing more effectual, than the Middle Way; For the Children of the Faithful to be taken within the Vow of the Church, under the Wings of the Lord Jesus Christ in his Ordinances, and under Church Care, Discipline, and

and Government, and to be in a State of *Initiation* and *Education* in the Church of God, and consequently to have *Baptism*, which is the *Seal of Initiation*: But that they shall not come up to the *Lord's Table*, nor be admitted unto an equal *Share* with the *Communicants* in the Management of *Church Affairs* peculiar to them, until, as a Fruit of the aforesaid *Helps* and *Means*, they attain unto such *Qualifications*, as may render their Admission fair, safe, and comfortable, both to themselves and others. His Words were, *We make account, that if we keep Baptism within the Compass of the Non-Excommunicable, and the Lord's Supper, within the Compass of those that have (unto Charity) somewhat of the Power of Godliness (or, Grace in Exercise) we shall be near about the Right Middle-way of Church-Reformation.* And hence, when he had pleaded with as *Irresistible Reason*, as *Indefatigable Study*, for the *Grace* of the *Kingdom of Heaven* to be exhibited in our Churches, by Administering the *Baptism* of the Lord unto the *Persons*, and *Infants* of all, who understand the *Doctrine of Faith*, and publicly profess their *Assent* thereunto, and are not scandalous in *Life*, and Solemnly own the *Covenant of Grace* before the Church, and Subject themselves, and theirs unto the Lord in His Church: He then set himself to plead for the *Holiness* of that *Kingdom*, to be exhibited in the Churches, not only by *Censuring* the *Baptized*, when they fell into *Scandalous Evils*, but also by *Requiring* further Degrees of *Preparation*, in those that they received unto the *Supper* of the Lord. Nothing was more agreeable unto him, than such a Notion of Things, as *Polanus* had, when Writing of the *Lord's Supper*, he had these Words; *Nec ad eam admittendi sunt ulli, nisi prius Pastoribus Ecclesie exploratum sit, eos veram Fidei Doctrinam recte tenere et profiteri, ac intelligere quid in sacra cena agatur, quove fine, et seipos probare possent, an sint in Fide.* — *Quocirca etiam Catechumeni aut Imperiti, e vulgo, tamdiu differendi donec de Fide, et vita eorum Pastoribus probe constet.* Now, because it may be a singular Service unto the Churches, to lay before them the Judgment of so Eminent a Person, upon a Concern of some Curious and Critical Contestation in them, I shall reckon it no Digression from the Story of his *Life*, to recite the Result of those Meditations, in the Digesting of which no little part of his *Life* did roll away. He thus wrote for his own Satisfaction, on *Januar. 4. 1664.* And I shall be glad, if it may now be for my Reader's.

PROPOSITIONS.

I. It is a Necessary Qualification, in *Worthy Receivers* of the *Lord's Supper*, that they *Examine themselves*, and *Discern the Lord's Body*. 1 Cor. 11. 28, 29.

II. Those whom the Church admits to the *Lord's Supper*, must be such as she in *Charity* judgeth, that they can and will *Examine themselves*, and *Discern the Lord's Body*; because she must admit none, but such as are in *Charity* (or visibly) *Worthy Receivers*; and they only are in *Charity* *Worthy Receivers*, who in *Charity* have the necessary *Qualifications* of such.

Either she must give it only to visibly *Worthy Receivers*, or she may give it to visibly *Unworthy Receivers*, which were to profane and pollute it. We must dispence Ordinances, unto fit and proper Subjects, as *Christ's faithful Stewards*. 1 Cor. 1. 1, 2.

III. None can be such *Self-Examining* and *Discerning* Christians without some *Experience* of a *Work of Grace*, (or without *Grace in Exercise*) so as to have an *Experimental Savoury Acquaintance*, with the *Essentials* of *Effectual Calling*, viz. *Conviction* of *Sin* and *Misery* by *Nature*, *Illumination* in the *Knowledge* of the *Gospel*, and *Conversion* of *Heart*, by *Repentance* towards *God*, and *Faith* towards our *Lord Jesus Christ*. 1. *Self-Examination* implies both, that there is the *Grace* of *Faith* and *Repentance* (or of *Vocation*) the *Matter* to be *Examined*: And also an *Ability* to *Reflect* upon that *Grace*, that is and hath been wrought in us; to *Prove* it, and find it to be *Approved*, at least by a *preponderating Hope*. 2. *Discerning the Lord's Body*, the shewing forth or *Annunciation* of His *Death*, imports some *Acquaintance* with, and *Actual* *Eying* of the main and most *Spiritual Mysteries* of the *Gospel*, concerning *Christ*, His *Death*, *Righteousness*, *Redemption*, and all the *Benefits* thereof; and those as exhibited in this *Ordinance* of the *Supper*. 3. That a lively or *special Exercise* of *Grace*, (by *Reviving* and *Renewing* our *Faith*, *Repentance* and *Love*) is required in *Preparation* for, and *Participation* of the *Lord's Table*, is abundantly evident, both by the *Sense* of the *Expressions* aforesaid, and by the *Scope* of this *Ordinance*, which is to *Seal* not only *Union*, but *Actual Communion* and *Fruition*. 1 Cor. 10. 16. By the *Active Use* of all the *Outward Senses*, in *Receiving* the *Sacrament*, implying that there must be an *Actual*, and *Active Use* of *Exercised Senses*, in *Reference* to the *Inward Part* of it.

IV. None can appear unto *Rational Charity* to have the *Qualifications* aforesaid, without *Holding forth* the same in some way or other. Man can judge of *Internal Qualifications* no way but by *External Signs*. *Invisible Grace* is made *visible* to us by some *Outward Tokens* and *Manifestations*. Here, *Esse, et Apparere, Non Esse, et Non Apparere*, are all One.

V. Besides a *Doctrinal Knowledge* of the Principles of Religion, there are *Two Things* required to the *Holding forth* of *Grace* in *Exercise* (or of an *Experimental Savoury Acquaintance* with the *Essentials* of *Effectual Calling*) viz. 1. A *Gracious Conversation*. 2. *Gracious Expressions*. By a *Gracious Conversation*, I mean, not only *Freedom* from *Notorious Scandal* and *Obstinacy* therein, but a *Conversation* wherein some *positive Fruits* of *Piety* do appear, so as they that know the *Parties*, can give a *positive Testimony* for them. Gal. 5. 6. Jam. 2. 18, 26. *Gracious Expressions*, or *Words* are, when a *Person* can so *speak* of the *Essentials* of *Effectual Calling*, as doth signify, not only a *Doctrinal*, but a *Practical* or *Spiritual Acquaintance* therewithal. That these are *Necessary*

to shew *Grace in Exercise*, appears; Because
 1. *Good Words* are in Scripture made the great
 Sign of a *Good Heart*. Mat. 12. 34, 35, 37.
 Prov. 10. 20. And if it be so in *Ordinary*
Conversion, much more may this *Sign* be ex-
 pected, when a Man comes to *Hold forth*, and
 give *Evidence* of the *Grace* that God has bestow-
 ed upon him, in Order to Partaking of the
Lord's Table. 2. *Confession with the Mouth* is
 that by which *Faith* evidences it self to be *Sa-*
ving and Effectual. Rom. 10. 9, 10. 3. It can-
 not be imagined, how a Person can have had
Experience of a *Work of Grace*, and that unto
 a *Comfortable Discerning* thereof in himself, but
 that he can *speak of it*, in some way or other,
 after a *savoury manner*.

VI. Hence, either a *Relation of the Work of*
Conversion, such as hath been ordinarily used,
 in most of our Churches, or *Some what Equi-*
valent thereunto, is necessary in order unto
Full Communion, or to Admission unto the
Lord's Table. There is an *Equivalent* there-
 unto. 1. When an Account of the *Essentials*
 of *Conversion* is given in way of *Answers*, unto
Questions propounded thereabout. 2. In a *Se-*
rious, Solemn and Savoury Profession, or *Con-*
fession, De Præsenti, i. e. when a Person doth
 with *Understanding and Affection*, express and
 declare himself sensible of his *Sin and Misery*,
 and *Absolute Need of Christ*, his *Believing* or
 Casting himself on *Christ* in the *Promise*, for
Righteousness and Life, and his unfeigned *Pur-*
pose and *Desire* through the *Grace* and
Strength of Christ, to renounce every *Evil*
Way, and walk with God in the *Ways of New*
Obedience; pointing also to some special *Truths*,
Considerations or *Scriptures*, that have or do
 affect his Soul with Reference to these Things,
 though he do not *Relate* the *Series* of former
 Passages and Experiences. 3. When a Person
 is *eminently known* to Excel in *Gifts and Grace*,
 (as a long approved *Minister of the Gospel*,
 or other *eminently Holy Christian*;) This is
 more than *Equivalent* to such a *Relation*.

The Sum is, The *Modus Agendi* may be va-
 rious and mutable, and much therein left unto
 the *Prudence of Church-Officers*; But the *Thing*
 is necessary; viz. To *Hold forth* in one way
 or other, *Experience* of a *Work of Grace*, or
 a *Practical Acquaintance* with the *Essentials* of
Effectual Calling. The Reason is, Because with-
 out *This* they cannot shew themselves able to
Examine themselves, and *Discern the Lord's*
Body, which is essentially Necessary to *Worthy*
Receiving, and hence the *Appearance* of it Ne-
 cessary in a Subject of orderly Admission to
 the *Lord's Table*. A Man must make a *Rela-*
tion to himself; viz. by *Reviewing* of his *Faith*
 and *Repentance*, or at least an *Equivalent* pre-
 sent *Renewing* thereof in Preparation for the
Lord's Table; i. e. To give himself a *Comfor-*
table Regular Admission thereunto. And should
 he not *Declare* and *Manifest* such a Thing to
 the *Church* or *Officers* thereof, to give them a
Comfortable Ground to *Admit* him?

Object. But why may it not suffice, for a Man

publickly to say, *I believe on Christ, or do un-*
feignedly Repent of my Sins? Or to consent to
 such Expressions being Read, or propounded
 unto him, without any more adoe?

Ansiv. 1. He that can *Groundedly* so say, or
 profess before God, Angels and Men, that he
 hath, (yea, knows that he hath) unfeigned
Faith and *Repentance*, can say somewhat more
 particularly to show the *Reality* of his *Acquain-*
tance with those things. And if he cannot
 say it, *Groundedly*, it is not meet to put him so
 to say.

2. He that either *Cannot*, or *Will not* say any
 more than so, (especially in Times of such
 Light and Means as we live in) he renders
 the *Truth* of his *Faith* and *Repentance* *suspici-*
ous, so as that *Rational Charity* cannot acquiesce
 in it. For all Men know, that *Faith* is not dropt
 into Mens Hearts out of the Clouds, without
 prævious, concomitant and subsequent *Opera-*
tions; or if it was first wrought in *Infancy*,
 yet it will (especially when grown to such a
 Lively Exercise, as fits for the *Lord's Supper*)
 shew it self in *Effects*, *Renewings* and *In-*
creasings by the Word and Ordinances, so as
 a Man will be able to hold forth some *Expe-*
rience of the *Operations* of *Grace*.

3. That *Mode of Profession*, which the *Objection*
 mentioneth, hath been found by plentiful *Ex-*
perience, to be a *Nurse of Formality* and *Irre-*
ligion. Now it is a *Rule* concerning the *Modus*
Agendi, or such like Circumstances, That when
 by *Experience* a thing proves inconvenient, and
 subject to *Abuse*, there ought to be an *Alter-*
ation thereof.

VII. Besides this, from the *Qualifications*
 requisite to the *Lord's Supper*, there be other
 Reasons serving to confirm the *Necessity* of
Practical Confessions (viz. by *Relations*, or o-
 therways, as was before said) in those that
 are admitted unto full *Communion*.

As, 1. Let those *Scripture Examples* be con-
 sidered, wherein the *Grace* wrought in the
 faithful is *Evidenced*, or *Collected* from the
Lord's Dealings with them in the *Work* of
Conversion, and *Experiences* relating thereto,
 or to the *Fruits* thereof. See 1 *Thes.* 1. 4, 5,
 6, 7, 9, 10. Let those Words be paraphrased
 according to their obvious Sense, they will
 make up a full *Relation*. And if *Paul* knew, or
 gathered the *Grace* that was in the *Thessalo-*
nians from such Things as those, does it not
 show, that such things are a proper and ratio-
 nal Ground for us to gather *Grace* from? If
 they be *famously known* otherwise (as they were
 in that case to *Paul*) it sufficeth, as was above-
 said; but otherways how should they be known,
 but from the Party's own Mouth? So *Col.* 1.
 4, — 8. Is there not a kind of *Relation*, of the
Work, and *Manner* of the *Conversion* of those
 3000 in *Acts* 2. set down in that Chapter?
 And consequently, the *Substance* of such a *Rela-*
tion or *Work* was then *de facto* obvious to
 the *Apostles*. And so, of the *Conversion* of
Paul Chap. 9. and of *Cornelius*, Chap. 10. Yea,
 if we look into most of the *Examples* in the

Acts. Consider, if they be not more immediately reducible to [*A manifestation of a Work of Grace*] than to that of *Knowledge*, and a *Blameless Life*? *Paul* had little to say for a foregoing *Blameless Life* to the Disciples of *Damascus*; but a *Work of Conversion* he could hold forth to them, and a *Profession de præfenti* thereupon. So *Acts* 9. 26, 27.

2. Ministers in giving the *Lord's Supper* to Persons, do give a Great and Solemn Testimony to them, [*Take, Eat, This is Christ's Body, that was broken for you;*] therefore surely they may take, and require a Solemn Testimony from

them, and had not need to be slight therein. 3. The *Power of Godliness* will soon be lost, if only *Doctrinal Knowledge*, and *Outward Blamelessness* be accounted sufficient for all *Church-Priviledges*, and *Practical Confessions*, (or, *Examinations of Mens Spiritual Estate*) be laid aside. For that which People see to be publickly required, and held in Reputation, that will they look after, and usually *no more*, but content themselves with *That*. Consider; if this hath not been a Reason of the Formality and Deadness, that hath overgrown many Churches. *January* 4. 1664.

Thus did a Manuscript of this Worthy Man's, now in my Hands, Harmonize with a Notable Passage about the *Bohemian Churches*.

Demum. quia Objiciebatur, Fratres non habere Ecclesiam apertam cum plena Sanctorum Communionem, sed Administrare Sacramenta Quibusdam tantum sibi addictis: Responsum fuit, Sancta dare non Sanctis, prohibuisse Christum; Cristianismumque a pœnitentia, auspicandum, non a Sacramentis; neque secundum Instituta Christi Absolutionem nunciansam nisi Resipiscitibus et Credentibus, quod utrumque (Pœnitentiam & Fidem) ne Superficiarium sit et fallax, Exploratione indigere; Exploratione vero Tempore Justo: et quia Nudis Sacramentis Salutis Vim adscribere, ex Opere Operato, Errorum in Papatu Basis est, Errorem hunc corrigi non posse aliter, quam ut certa probatione, nec illa Subitanea, Cordium Arcana Revelentur, Novitiique diu & caute tum Informentur, tum Explorentur.

Ratio Discipl. Patr. Bohem. p. 4, 5.

Because it was objected, That the Brethren have not an *Open Church* with the full Communion of Saints, but administer the Sacraments only to some of their own party; it was answered, That *Christ* hath forbid our Giving of *Holy Things* unto *Unholy Persons*; and that *Christianity* is to be begun with *Repentance*, and not with the *Sacraments*; and that according to the Institutions of our Lord, *Absolution* is not to be pronounced upon any but those that *Repent* and *Believe*; both of which (*Repentance* and *Faith*) that it may not be *Superficiary* and *Fallacious*, it must have some *Exploration*; and this *Exploration* must have a *Sufficient Time* for it. And because to ascribe a *Saving Virtue* unto the bare *Sacraments Ex Opere Operato*, is the bottom of the Errors of *Popery*, this Error cannot otherwise be Corrected, than by this means; That by a certain, and no sudden *Trial*, the *Secrets of Mens Hearts* may be laid open, and *Novices* may be, with a long *Caution*, both instructed and examined.

Reader, If the Beating out of *Truth* in Controversies, that have risen among us relating to our *Church Discipline*, had not been the *special Service*, wherein all our Churches beheld the Lord *Jesus Christ* making use of this our Learned, Able, Holy, and no less Considerate, than Considerable *Mitchel*, I had not given thee so long an Entertainment as that of these *Propositions*; *Propositions*, which if they should in the Opinion of any, fall short of *Demonstrations*, and contribute nothing to *Unite* and *Settle* the various Apprehensions of some very Worthy Men among us about an Important Point in our *Church Government*, yet they will in the Opinion of all serve to express the *Dispositions of Mind*, which the rare Spirited Author of them did both *Live* and *Dye* withal: They show how much he was against that *Rigid*, *Unscriptural*, *Uninstituted*, and *Unwarrantable* Insisting upon *Modes*, wherein some of our Churches had sinned sometimes against the *Grace* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*; and yet how much he was for all *Scriptural* and *Rational Methods* to preserve the Churches from sinning against the *Holiness*, which does become those *Houses of God for ever*.

§. 13. I have said, that the *Life* of our *Mitchel* was in a special manner Engrossed by the *Services* of Explaining, Maintaining and Perfecting those *Principles*, whereby the *Christian Religion* must be preserved, with a True and Pure *Church State* among us, and conveyed and secured unto *Posterity*; and this leads me to that part of his Character, which distinguished him, as much as any One whatsoever; Namely, *A Care of all the Churches*. Our Lord *Jesus Christ* complains, *That the Children of this World are* (for so I read it) *wiser for their own Generation, than the Children of Light*. But our *Mitchel* was *Wise for his Generation*, and Exercised his *Wit* with much Contrivance, and much Diligence, that his *Generation*, even the Faithful People of God in the World might be accommodated in all their Interests. He was endued with a certain soaring and serious *Greatness of Soul*, which rendred *Fly-catching* too low a Business for him; though he were One of a very *Lowly Spirit* in his Disposition to be always condemning of himself, yet he nourished in himself a Generous *Disdain of Low, Little, Trifling Matters*, and was of a *Leading Spirit* where hard Service was call'd for, and of a

Publick Spirit, for Doing of Service to as many as he could: His Thoughts moved in a *Large Sphere of Usefulness*, and he was continually projecting how to *Do good*, in the most Extensive Manner unto more than an whole Country. The *Bucholtzerian* Expression of the Apostolical ΠΑΝΤΑΧΟΡΣΙΑ might be transferred into our Account of Mr. *Mitchel*: He was a Circle, whereof the Center was at Cambridge, and the Circumference took in more than all New-England. Hence, when he set apart his Days for Secret Prayer with Fasting before God, he would recapitulate in his private Papers the Humbling Occasions for Supplication, which he saw not only in Afflictive Things on his own particular Flock, but also in all the sad Sights, which in Disasters either upon the Civil or Sacred Concerns throughout all our Three Colonies, and all Gradual Decays of our Glory, occur'd unto him; yea, and he would then Travel so far, as to Observe the Condition of the Church throughout Great Britain, and the Nations of the European World; and all these Occasions of Distress and Request, he would enumerate before the Lord, with the Matters of his own Everlasting Welfare. From the same Heroick Vertue (as I may properly call it) in him it was, that in the Weekly Meetings of the Neighbouring Pastors, after the Weekly Lectures in the Towns which he could visit; and at all other such Meetings, he would with a most becoming Discretion and Modesty, be still putting forward something or other, that might be for General Advantage: And when the Ministers met at any time so much without Advantageous Effects of their Discourses, that it could be said, The Time had been smoked away to no purpose, he would be Troubled at it: It caused him once to write this Lamentation; Little done! I have begun to feel the sadness of the present time, and the Lord's withdrawing from us and our Chariot wheels taken off: I find that in all Societies, where I have any thing to do, Commonwealth, and Church and Colledge Things stick, and we draw heavily, and nothing can be gotten forward: All Things, and all the Spirits of Men, seem to be off the Hinges: Ob! Lord, Affect my Heart therewithal! In this Lamentation, the Reader finds the Colledge mentioned, and indeed the Colledge was nearer unto his Heart, than it was to his House, though next adjoining to it. He was himself an Accomplished Scholar, and he loved a Scholar dearly; but his Heart was fervently set upon having the Land all over illuminated with the Fruits of a Learned Education. To this End, he became a Father to the Colledge, which had been his Mother, and sought the Prosperity of that Society, with a very singular Sollicitude; but among other Contrivances which he had for the Prosperity of the Colledge, One was, A Model for the Education of Hopeful Students at the Colledge in Cambridge. His Proposals were, for Septennia! Subscriptions by the more Worthy and Wealthy Persons, in this poor Wilderness; to be disposed of by Trustees (namely, the Magistrates and Ministers of the six next Towns, for the time being, with seven other Gentlemen by them chosen out of the said Towns, of which any Seven to be a

Quorum, if three Ministers were among them,) who should single out Scholars eminently pregnant and pious, and out of this Bounty support them in such Studies, as they should by these Trustees be directed unto, until they had either performed such profitable Services, as were Imposed on them in the Colledge it self, or prepared themselves for other Services abroad in the World. He was mightily affected with a Passage of Luther's, If ever there be any Considerable Blow given to the Devil's Kingdom, it must be by Youth excellently educated. And therefore, Res seria est; Ingens est, It is a Serious Thing, a Weighty Thing, and a Thing that hath much of the Interest of Christ, and of Christianity in it, that Youth be well trained up, and want no Helps for that end; that Schools, and School-Masters, and poor Scholars be maintained. It is the Flourishing of a Common-Wealth, to be well furnished with Learned, Worthy and Able Men for all Purposes. And God will not give us such Men by Miracle, seeing He hath vouchsafed us other ways, and means to obtain them. Learning is an Unwelcome Guest to the Devil, and therefore he would fain starve it out. But we shall never long retain the Gospel without the Help of Learning. And, if we should have no Regard unto Religion, even the Outward Prosperity of a People in this World would necessarily require Schools and Learned Men. Alas, that none are carried with Alacrity and Seriousness to take Care for the Education of Youth, and to help the World with Eminent and Able Men. 'Twas from Considerations, like these of Luther's, that he did with an Accurate and Judicious Pen, shape these Proposals. But if New-England then had not many Persons in it, of the same Inclination with Pope Paul 2. who pronounced them, Hereticks, that should mention the Name of an Academy, and exhorted People, that they would not put their Children to Learning, inasmuch, as it was enough if they could but Read and Write: yet, through the Discouragements of Poverty and Selfishness, the Proposals came to nothing. Moreover, the Remarkable Acuteness joined with an Extraordinary Holiness in this Renowned Man, caused the Churches in all Quarters far and near, when their Difficult Church-Cases called for the Help of Councils, to make their Applications unto Cambridge, for Mr. *Mitchel* to come and help them in their Difficulties. And in these Councils, as well as when Weighty Cases have been laid before the Elders of the Churches, by the General Courts, though usually most of the Ministers present were Elder than he, yet the Sense and Hand of no Man, was relied more upon than His, for the Exact Result of all. With so much humble Wisdom and Caution, did he Temper the Significant Forwardness at Well-doing which he still carried about him, that the Disproportion of Age, hindered not the most Aged and Able, and Venerable Angels in our Churches, from their Paying a very strange Respect unto him. Yea, as the Jewish Midrash upon that Passage in the first Psalm, His Leaf shall not wither; I remember is this, Omnes necessitatem habent Colloquii ejus; even such a necessary Tree of Life, was *Mitchel* accounted, in the Garden of New-Eng-

land. However, he encountered with such *Temptations* as must buffet all that have in them any thing of *Significancy*; for which cause, once particularly, when he had been admirably acquitting himself in an Undertaking of Great Consequence to the Churches, he came home, and wrote these Words. *My Spirit was carried out in too much forwardness: I see cause to be deeply abased and loath my self, and hang down my Head before God and Men. How do I marr God's Work, and marr what he gives me therein, by my own Folly! Sometimes I am ready to resolve to put forth my self no more in Publick Work, but keep my self silent, and unengaged, as I see others do. But then I perceive, that this tasteth of Forwardness and Pride. Lord, Give me more Wisdom to manage and demean my self! But if thy Service and Honour may be promoted by my Weakness and Folly, Let me be willing to be Vile, that God may be exalted.* 2 Sam. 6. 21, 22. Upon the whole, he was unwilling to affect such an *Unserviceable Privacy*, that they who passed by his House, might say, *Hic situs est Mitchellius.*

§. 14. I know not how far that Learned Frenchman, who Writes, *The Conformity of the Congregational Church-Government unto that of the Ancient Primitive Christians*, hath seen verified his Observation, *All Disinterested Persons may easily be persuaded that the Congregational Communion retains most of the Apostolick, because it is not only the Cream and best of the others, but also because it hath more Charity.* 'Tis very rarely seen (saith he) that any One of the Congregational Way does not love all Good Men of what Communion soever they be, and that they do not speak of them, as of the True Churches of Jesus Christ: Whereas even the most Sober and Holiest Party of the Episcopal Men, and some of the Presbyterians, are so strongly possessed with Prejudices against those of Congregations, that they are in their Account, no better than Hypocrites, Schismatics, and Men of strange Enthusiasms. If any of the Congregational Way do not answer this Character, Let these Words condemn them; as I know those of the Presbyterian Way in this Country have by their Charitable Temper much confuted that part of the Discourse, by which they are here Characterized. But the Observation I am sure, was verified in our *Mitchel*; who was one fully satisfied and established in the Congregational Way of Church Government, and yet had a Spirit of Communion for all Godly Men in other Forms, and was far from Confining of Godliness unto his own. It was a frequent Speech with him, *The Spirit of Christ, is a Spirit of Communion!* And I can tell, what he would have said, if he had lived to see the Books of so Ridiculous a Schismatick, as he that has made himself infamous by attempting to prove, *That where there is no Episcopal Ordination, there is no True Church, Minister, Sacrament, or Salvation.* His Great Worth caused him to be called forth several times with an Early and Special Respect from the General Court of the Colony, to preach on the Greatest Solemnity that the Colony afforded; Namely, *The Anniversary Election of Governour and Magistrates*: And one of the Sermons which he preached on those Occasions, was after his

Death, published unto the World under the Title of *Nehemiab upon the Wall*. In that Sermon, Reader, Take notice of the Discovery which he gave of his own *Catholick Charity*, when he says, *Do not wrong and marr an Excellent Work, and Profession, by Mixing and Weaving in Spurious Principles, or Practices; as those of Separation, Anabaptism, Morellian (Anarchical) Confusion.* If any would secretly twist in, and espouse such things as those, and make them part of our Interest, we must needs renounce it as none of our Cause, no part of the End, and Design of the Lord's faithful Servants, when they followed him into this Land, that was not sown. Separation and Anabaptism, are wonted Intruders, and seeming Friends, but secret fatal Enemies, to Reformation. Do not, on pretence of avoiding Corruption, run into sinful Separation from any True Churches of God, and what is Good therein; and yet it is our Errand into the Wilderness to study and practise true Scripture-Reformation, and it will be our Crown in the Sight of God and Man, if we find it and hold it, without *Adulterating Deviations*. Thus, though he were a Reformer, yet he had nothing in him of a Donatist: For which cause Mr. Baxter hearing of him, said, *If an Occumenical Council could be obtained, Mr. Mitchel were worthy to be its Moderator.* And this Disposition of Charity in him, was rewarded with the Respects which he found from Learned and Pious Men, that were in many things not of his own persuasion: Such Holiness, and Patience, and sweet Condescension, were his Incomparable Abilities accompanied withal, that Good Men, who otherwise differed from him would still speak of him with Reverence. To give one particular Instance: 'Tis well known that the Reverend Charles Chancey, President of the Colledge, and a Neighbour in the Town and Church with our much younger *Mitchel*, at the Time of the Synod, zealously and publickly, by Pen as well as by Speech opposed the Synodalian Principles whereof Mr. *Mitchel* was no small Defender: But so far was the Dissent between them, in the very Heat and Height of all the Controversie, from causing the Reverend Old Man to handle his Antagonist, in any measure as the Angry *Dioscorus* did the Dissenting *Flavian*, in the Council of Ephesus, that he would commonly say of him, *I know no Man in this World, that I could envy so much, as Worthy Mr. Mitchel, for the Great Holiness, Learning, Wisdom and Meekness, and other Qualities of an Excellent Spirit, with which the Lord Jesus Christ hath adorned him.*

§. 15. And shall we a little more particularly Describe that Holiness of this Excellent Man, which we have so often mentioned? It is an Aphorism of a *Machiavel*, [and, Reader, was it not worthy of a *Machiavel*!] *That he who writes an History, must be a Man of no Religion.* By that profane Rule, the first and the best Historian in the World, the most Religious MOSES, was ill accomplished for a Writer of History. But the History, which we are now writing, does professedly

fessedly intend nothing so much as the Service of Religion, even of that Religion whereof our **Mitchel** made an Exemplary Profession. Wherefore we go on, to say; Know, Reader, That he was a Great Example of a *Walk with God*; and of Religion he was much in *Prayer*, much in *Fasting*, sometimes taking his *Virtuous Wife*, therein to make a *Consort* with him; and sometimes also he kept whole *Days of Thanksgiving* privately with his Family, besides what he did more publicly; Devoting himself as a *Thank Offering* to God for his *Mercies*, with a *Reasonable Service*. In his *Diary*, He betimes laid that Rule upon himself, *Oh! that I could remember this Rule, never to go to Bed, until I have had some renewed, special Communion with God!* He kept a strict *Watch*, over not only his *Words*, but also his very *Thoughts*; and if by the *Reflections*, which he was continually making on himself, he judged that his *Mind* had not been always full of *Heaven*, and his *Heart* had been, what he called, *hard and slight*, that he had been *Formal* in his *Devotions*, that he had not profited abundantly by the *Sermons* of other Men, that he had not made Conscience of Doing all the Good he could, when he had been in any *Company*; he would put *Stings* into his *Reflections*, and rebuke and reproach himself with an *Holy Indignation*. Severe might seem the Rule of *R. Hanina*. *If two sit together and there be no Discourse of the Law, 'tis the Seat of the Scornful*: Severe might seem the Rule of *R. Simeon*, *If Three do Eat at one Table, and say nothing about the Law, they are as if they Eat the Sacrifices of the Dead*: And severe might be the Rule of *R. Hananiah*, *He that wakes in the Night or walks by the way, and let's his Heart lie idle, sins against his own Soul*: But our **Mitchel** reckoned it no *Severity* unto himself, to impose upon himself such *Rules* as these for his *Conversation*. I have read, That *Five Devout Persons* being together, there was this Question started among them, *How, in what ways, by what means, they strengthened themselves in abstaining from Sin against the God of Heaven?* The First answered, *I frequently, meditate on the Certainty of Death, and the Uncertainty of the Time for my Death, and this makes me live in the Fear of Sin every Day as my last*. The Second answered, *I frequently meditate on the strict Account of Sin that I am to give at the Day of Judgment, and the Everlasting Torments in Hell, to be inflicted on them that can give no Good Account*. The Third answered, *I frequently meditate on the vileness, and filthiness, and loathsomeness of Sin, and the Excellency of Grace, which is contrary unto so vile a Thing*. The Fourth answered, *I frequently meditate on the Eternal Rewards and Pleasures reserved in Heaven for them that avoid the Pleasures of Sin, which are but for a moment*. The Fifth answered, *I frequently meditate on the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and his wondrous Love to miserable Sinners, in dying a cursed and a bitter Death for our Sin; and this helps me to abstain from Sin, more than any other consideration whatsoever*; And the Answer of this last was indeed the greatest of all. Now all these were the Subjects, which our Holy **Mitchel**, obliged

himself to an assiduous *Meditation* upon; and by *Meditating* on these it was, that he became very *Holy*. Moreover, he was as *Holy Men* use to be, very solicitous to make a due Improvement of all *Afflictions*, that the Providence of Heaven dispensed unto him. He would say, *When God personally afflicts a Man, it is as if He called unto the Man by Name, and jogged him, and said, Oh! Repent, be humbled, be serious, be awakened*: Yea, he could not so much as be kept a little from the Labours of his *Ministry* by an *Hoarse Cold* arresting him, without writing down this Improvement of it; *My Sin is legible in the Chastisement: cold Duties, cold Prayers (my Voice in Prayer, i. e. my Spirit of Prayer fearfully gone) my Coldness in my whole Conversation, chastisement with a Cold; I fear that I have not improved my voice for God formerly as I might have done, and therefore He now takes it from me*. But the *Affliction* which most of all Exercised him, seems to have been in the successive *Death* of many and *Lovely Children*, though all of them, in their *Infancy*. 'Tis an Observation made by some, upon several Passages in the Scripture concerning that *Generous and Gracious Man, David*, that he was *Liberorum Amantissimus*, full of *Affections* to his *Children*; and that was to be observed in our *Mr. Jonathan Mitchel*; for which cause, when his *Children* were *Sick*, his *Paternal Bowels* felt more than ordinary *Wounds*; and when they were *Dead*, his *Humiliations* thereupon were extraordinary. He wrote whole *Pages of Lamentations* on these Occasions; and one of his *Infants* particularly expiring before it could be brought forth to an orderly *Baptism*, I cannot but recite a little of the *Meditations* then written by him: *It was a further sad Hand of the Lord (says he) that it should dye unbaptized. Though I do not think they are Orthodox, that have Salvation upon Baptism, and not rather upon the Covenant, yet as it is appointed to be a Confirming Sign, and as it is an Ordinance of Grace, so to be Deprived of it is a great Crown, and a sad Intimation of the Lord's Anger: And though it may be well with the Child notwithstanding (that it becomes me to leave unto the Lord!) yet it is to us a Token of Displeasure. And what Construction or Thoughts tending to the Lord's Dishonour it may occasion, I know not: That after my Labours in Publick about Infant-Baptism, the Lord should take away my Child without and before Baptism! Hereby the Lord does again and again make me an Example of His Displeasure before all Men, as if He did say openly, that He hath a special Controversie with me; Thus remarkably taking away One after another. The Lord brings me forth, and makes me go up and down, as one smitten of God: The Lord spits in my Face by this thing. See 2 Sam. 12. 12. Numb. 12. 12. Deut. 28. 45, 46, 58, 59.* Such, and many more were the *Workings* of his *Tender Soul* under his repeated *Afflictions*. And such were the *Unsearchable Dealings* of God, that besides the *Children* which he sent unto *Heaven* before him, when he went unto *Heaven* himself, he left behind *Three Sons*, and *Two Daughters*, all of which lived unto somewhat of *Youth*, yet they have all of them since dyed in their *Youth*: except

cept only a Vertuous Young Gentlewoman, married unto Captain Stephen Sewal of Salem; unto whom (with her Off-spring, the only Posterity of this Great Man) may the Lord multiply all the Blessings of that Covenant, for which their Progenitor proved so serviceable a Pleader in his Generation!

The last Thing that ever he wrote in his Reserved Papers, after he had bitterly reproached *The Sinful Deadness, Straitness, Enmity, and Uncharitableness* (as he called it) upon his own Heart, upon which he added this Pathetical Expression, *I feel I shall fall, and tumble down into the Pit of Hell, if left unto my self*; It was June 7. 1668. To quicken his Cares of *Daily Meditation*.

‘ *First*, Far younger than I, some of them now got to Heaven, have done much this way. *Nulla Dies sine Linea*.

‘ *Secondly*, *Meditation*, yea, *Daily Meditation*, in general, is an indispenible Duty. *Psal.* 1. 2. and *Psal.* 119. 97 And because it is so, there may be something of *Meditation* in *Prayer*, in *Reading* the Word; *Josh.* 1. 8. with *Deut.* 17. 19. and in *Occasional* Transient Thoughts; yet surely some sett *Meditation* daily besides these, is at least to me a Duty, who am set apart, for the Holy Work of the Ministry, wherein it would be Helpful, as well as to my own Soul.

‘ *Thirdly*, *Heaven* is here begun upon *Earth*: shall I be *Thinking* on, and *Talking* with, *Christ*, to all Eternity, and not *Discourse* with Him, o. e quarter of an Hour in a Day now?

‘ *Fourthly*, The Great Enemies of all Good, *Flesh*, *Satan* and *World*, do of all other things, most oppose *Meditation*, which shows that there is much Good in it. *Flesh*, by Awkness, Giddiness; *World*, by Distractions; *Satan*, by stirring up both. *Lord*, *Awaken* me, and *keep* me *Awake*!

§. 16. But what and when, was the End of this Holy Walk? The Incongruities and Inconsistencies of *Historians*, are not more notorious in any one Article, than in that of the Deaths of the *Heroes*, whose *Lives* they have *Eternized*. With what *Varieties* are the Deaths of *Cyrus*, of *Antiochus*, of *Alexander*, of *Hannibal*, of *Romulus*, of *Scipio*, of *Plato*, of *Aristotle*, reported? There is hardly any *Philosopher*, but he dies Twice or Thrice over in *Laertius*; and there is hardly one of *Plutarch*’s *Worthies*, but he dies as many Ways. The Death of our *Mitchel* remains now to be related with more of *Certainty*. Though *Bodily Exercise* does profit a little, as the Apostle concedes, namely, to the Health of the *Body*; and Mr. *Mitchel* had from a Principle of *Godliness*, used himself to *Bodily Exercise*; nevertheless he found it would not wholly free him from an ill Habit of *Body*. Of extream *Lean*, he soon grew extream *Fat*; and at last, in an extream hot Season, a *Fever* arrested him, just after he had been Preaching on those Words, *I know that thou wilt bring me to Death, and unto the House appointed for all the Living*. The *Fever* did not seem to threaten his Death; however in his Illness, to

them that visited him, he said, *If the Lord Jesus Christ have any Service for me, to do for Him, and His Dear People, I am willing to do it; but if my Work be done, His Will be done!* But the Distemper suddenly assaulting him with a Mortal Malignity, and summoning him to the House appointed for all the Living, he fell to admiring the manifold Grace of God unto him, and broke forth into these Words, *Lord, Thou callest me away to Thee; I know not why, if I look to my self; but at thy Bidding I come!* which were some of the last Words, which he spoke in the World: For his Friends, who had not for many Hours, entertained the Expectation of any such dismal Event, were compelled in Floods of Tears, to see him dye on July 9. 1668. in the Forty Third Year of his Age: When (as one expresses that Matter) he left his Body to be dipped in the River of *Jordan*, that afterwards in it’s Resurrection, passing into *Canaan*, it may, beyond the Story of *Achilles*, become impenetrable and invulnerable. Wonderful were the *Lamentations*, which this Deplorable Death fill’d the Churches of *New-England* withal; for as the Jewish *Rabbies* lamented the Death of *R. Jose*, with saying, That after his Death, *Cessarunt Botri*, i. e. *Virgatales, in quibus omnes, tum Eruditionis, cum Virtutis, cumuli erant*: So, after the Departure of our *Mitchel*, it was fear’d there would be few more such *Rich Grapes* to be seen growing in this Unthankful Wilderness. Yea, they Speak of this Great Man in their *Lamentations* to this Day; and what they speak is briefly the same, that One of our most Eminent Persons has Writ in those Terms, *All New-England shook, when that Pillar fell to the Ground*.

E P I T A P H.

AND now, Reader, Let us go to the best of Poets in the *English Nation* for those Lines, which may, without the least Wrong to Truth be applied as an *EPITAPH* to this best of Preachers in our little *New-English Nation*. The Incomparable Dr. *Blackmore*’s Orator *Tylor*, shall now be our *MITCHEL*.

THIS the Great *Mitchel*, whose Immortal worth Raises to *Heav’n* the *Iste* that gave him Birth. A Sacred Man, a Venerable Priest, Who never spake, and *Admiration* mist. Of Good and Kind, he the just Standard seem’d, Dear to the Best, and by the Worst esteem’d. A Gen’rous Love, diffus’d to Humane Kind, Divine Compassion, Mercy unconfind, } Still reign’d Triumphant, in his Godlike Mind. } Greatness and Modesty their Wars compose, Between them here a perfect Friendship grows. His Wit, His Judgment, Learning, equal rise; Divinely Humble, yet Divinely Wise: He seem’d Express, on *Heav’n*’s High Errand sent, As *Moses* Meek, as *Aaron* Eloquent. Nestar divine flows from his *Heav’nly* Tongue, And on his Lips, charming *Perswasion* hung.

When

When he the Sacred *Oracles* reveal'd,
 Our Ravish'd Souls in blest *Enchantments* held,
 Seem'd lost in *Transports* of Immortal Bliss;
 No Simple *Man* could ever speak like This!
 Arm'd with *Cælestial Fire*, his Sacred *Darts*
 Glide thro' our *Breasts*, & melt our yielding *Hearts*.
 So Southern Breezes, and the Springs mild Ray,
 Unbind the *Glebe*, and thaw the Frozen Clay.
 He Triumph'd o'er our Souls, and at his Will,
 Bid *this Touch'd Passion* rise, and *that* be still.
 Lord of our *Passions*, he, with wondrous Art,
 Could strike the Secret Movements of our *Heart*;
 Release our *Souls*, and make them soar above,
 Wing'd with *Divine Desires*, and *Flames* of
Heav'nly Love.

But what need I travel, as far as *Europe* for an
Elegy upon this Worthy Man? Let it be known,
 that *America* can *Embalm* Great Persons, as well
 as *Produce* them, and *New-England* can bestow
 an *Elegy*, as well as an *Education* upon its *Heroes*.
 When our *Mitchel* was dying, he let fall such a
 Speech as this unto a young Gentleman, that
 lodg'd in his House, and now stood by his Bed,
My Friend, As a Dying Man I now charge you,
that you don't meet me out of Christ in the Day of
Christ. The Speech had a marvellous Impression
 upon the Soul of that Young Gentleman; who
 then compos'd the Ensuing Lines.

To the MEMORY of the

REVEREND

JONATHAN MITCHEL.

*Quicquid Agimus, quicquid Patimur,
 venit ex Alto.*

THE Countries *Tears*, be ye my *Spring*; my *Hill*
 A General *Grave*; let *Groans* inspire my *Quill*.
 By a warm *Sympathy*, let *Feverish Heat*
 Roam thro' my *Verse* unseen: And a *Cold Sweat*
 Limning *Despair*, attend me: *Sighs* diffuse
Convulsions thro' my *Language*. such as use
 To Type a *Gasping Fancy*; lastly, *Shroud*
Religion's Splendor in a *Mourning Cloud*,
 Replete with *Vengeance*, for *Succeeding Times*,
 Fertile in *Woes*, more Fertile in their *Crimes*.
 These are my *Muses*; These Inspire the *Sails*
 Of *Fancy*, with their *Sighs*, instead of *Gales*.
 Reader, Read Reverend *Mitchel's* Life, & then
 Confess the World a *Gordian Knot* agen.
 Read his *Tear-delug'd* Grave, and then decree,
 Our present *Woe*, and future *Misery*.

Stars falling speak a *Storm*; when *Samuel* dies,
Saul may expect *Philistia's Cruelties*,
 So when *Jehovah's Brighter Glory* fled
 The *Temple*, *Israel* soon was *Captive* led.
Geneva's Triple Light made one *Divine*:
 But here that vast *Triumvirate* combine
 By a blest *Metempsychosis* to take
 One *Person* for their larger *Zodiack*.
 In *Sacred Cenfures*, *Farels* dreadful *Scrol*
 Of *Words*, broke from the *Pulpit* to the *Soul*.
 In *Balmy Comforts*, *Virets* *Genius* came
 From th' *Wrinkled Alps*, to wooe the *Western Dame*;
 And *Courting Cambridge*, quickly took from thence
 Her *Last Degrees* of *Rhetorick* and *Sense*.
Calvin's Laconicks thro' his *Doctrine* Spred,
 And *Childrens Children* with their *Manna* fed.
 His *Exposition Genesis* begun,
 And fatal *Exodus* eclips'd his *Sun*.
 Some say, that *Souls* oft sad *Presages* give:
Death-breathing Sermons taught us last to *Live*.
 His *System of Religion*, half unheard,
 Full double, in his *Preaching Life* appear'd.
 He's gone, to whom his *Country* owes a *Love*,
 Worthy the *Prudent Serpent*, and the *Dove*.
 Religion's *Panoply*, the *Sinner's Terror*,
Death summon'd hence; sure by a *Writ of Error*!
 The *Quaker* trembling at his *Thunder* fled;
 And with *Caligula* resum'd his *Bed*.
 He, by the *Motions* of a *Nobler Spirit*,
 Clear'd *Men*, and made their *Notions Swine* inherit.
 The *Munster Goblin*, by his *Holy Flood*
 Exorcis'd, like a *Thin Phantasma* stood.
Brown's Babel shatter'd by his *Lightning* fell,
 And with *Confused Horror* pack'd to *Hell*.
 The *Scripture*, with a *Commentary* bound,
 (Like a *Lost Calais*) in his *Heart* was found.
 When he was *Sick*, the *Air* a *Fever* took,
 And *Thirsty Phæbus* quaff'd the *Silver-brook*:
 When *Dead*, the *Spheres* in *Thunder*, *Clouds*, & *Rain*
 Groan'd his *Elegium*, mourn'd and wept our *pain*.
 Let not the *Brazen Schismatick* aspire;
Lots leaving *Sodom* left them to the *Fire*.
 'Tis true, the *Bee's* now dead; but yet his *Sting*
 Death's to their *Dronish Doctrines* yet may bring.

EPITAPHIUM.

Here Lies within this *Comprehensive Span*,
 The *Churches*, *Courts*, and *Countrys* *Jonathan*.
 He that speaks *Mitchel* gives the *Schools* the *Lie*;
 Friendship in him gain'd an *Ubiquity*.

F. Drake

FINIS.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

DRUSIUS NOV-ANGLICANUS.

THE

L I F E

O F

Mr. Urian Oakes.

*O Utinam plures similes tibi pectore nossem,
Aut in Doctrinâ, aut Sedulitate pares.*

§. 1. **I** Remember, 'tis the Report given by *Sylvius* concerning *Rhodes*, That it is blessed with a perpetual Shine of the Sun; imagine, that there passes not a Day in the Year, wherein the Sun shines not upon it. And methinks our *Cambridge*, had not been much otherwise privileged for more than Forty Years together; being shined upon by a successive *Triumvirate* of such Eminent and Heavenly Lights; as, First, *Shepard*, then *Mitchel*; and Lastly our Excellent *Urian Oakes*. Those three Golden Men and very *Chrystostoms*, have given to *Cambridge* its Golden Age! The Church of *Cambridge* had a Succession in some sort like that in the Church of *Ephesus*, a *Paul*, a *Timothy*, and a *Tychicus*.

§. 2. 'Tis Remarkable, That in the Sacred Story at least Forty *Dukes* of *Edom* have their whole Story crouded into one short piece of a Chapter; Three or Four of them are jostled into a Line, Seven or Eight of them into Two; all but their meer Name is buried in a Dark Vault of Eternal Oblivion: While above a dozen Chapters are employ'd, in describing the Vertues, and relating the Actions of one Younger Son of *Israel*, the Son of a Plain Man who dwelt in Tents. If the Greatest Persons of *Edom* [that is to say, of *Rome*] have their History lost, the Church of God would have no great-Loss in it; A Son of *Israel* may more worthily, and more usefully have his Memory preserved in *Church-History* with the most Extended Paragraphs: Yea, the Son of a Plain Man, who dwelt in Tents, may deserve an Everlasting Remembrance among them, who most consider what they have most Reason to remember. Make Room then, for *Urian Oakes*, Ye Records of *New-England*. He was born in *England*, and now in his Childhood brought over to *New-England*, by his pious Parents, who were

blessed with several Worthy Sons, the Effects of whose Liberal Education in our Colledge have rendred the Family not the Least in our little *Israel*. While he was yet a Child, he was deliver'd from an Extream Hazard of Drowning by a *Miracle*, I had almost said, a *Miracle* of Divine Providence; God reserving him to be a *Moses* among his People. And the sweet Nature, which accompanied him all his Days, did now so remarkably recommend him, that Observers have made this Reflection, *If good Nature could ever carry One to Heaven, this Youth has enough to carry him thither*

§. 3. His prompt Parts adorned and advanced with the Grace of God at such a Rate, as to make the Considerate say of him, as they said of young *Ambrose*, *To what will this Child grow?* were improved in our Colledge; where he took his two Degrees. Being here yet a Lad of small, as he never was of great Stature, he published a little parcel of *Astronomical Calculations* with this apposite Verse in the Title Page,

Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua Gratia parvis.

But here, being furnished with the Armour, and the Treasure of the Schools, he went from hence unto the Work of Building the Temple of God; preaching his first Sermon at *Roxbury*.

§. 4. Returning back to *England*, he there Grew in Favour with God and Man. After he had been a while Chaplain to One of the most Noted Persons then in the Nation, *Titchfield* was the place, where this Bright Star became fixed; there 'twas that he settled in the Charge of Souls, which he discharged in such Lively Preaching and such Holy Living, as became a Minister of the New-Testament; there 'twas that like a Silkworm, he spent

spent his own *Bowels* or *Spirits*, to procure the *Garments of Righteousness* for his *Hearers*; there 'twas, that he might challenge the *Device* and *Motto* of the Famous *Dr. Sibs*, a *wasting Lamp* with this *Inscription*, *Præluendo perco*, or, *My Light is my Death*.

§. 5. But the *Expensive Labours* of his *Ministry* did not so hasten a *Natural Death* upon him, as to anticipate a *Civil Death* by the *Persecution*, that silenced the *Non-conformist Ministers* throughout the *Nation*. A *Civil Death*, I say; because although the *Authors* of that *Act*, *XIV Car. 2.* would not be reckoned among *The Slayers of our Lord's Witnesses*, yet it may surprize the most attentive *Consideration*, to read how much oftner than *Twice* or *Thrice* in that *Act*, the silenced *Ministers* are pronounced *as Dead*, and, *as if naturally Dead*! This *Act* slew the *Ministry* of this *Faithful Witness* to the *Truths of the Gospel*, whereof he was a *Minister*; but that *Worthy* and *Well-known* *Collonel Norton*, proved the *Obadiab*, who then gave this *Good Man* a *Residence* in his *House*; where his *Presence* and *Prayers* produced a *Blessing*, like that on the *House of Obed-Edom*. Nevertheless, when the *Heat of the Persecution* was a little abated, he returned unto the *Exercise of his Ministry*, in a *Congregation*, where *Mr. Symmons* was his *Colleague*.

§. 6. Our *Cambridge* deprived of their *Incomparable Mitchel*, and lamenting, that, *Of all her Sons, there were so few to take her by the Hand*; after solemn *Addresses* unto the *Great Shepherd of the Sheep* for His *Direction*, sent over their *Agents* into *England*, with an *Invitation* to *Mr. Oakes*, to *Come over and Help them*. A *Council*, upon that *Occasion*, called approving of the *Invitation*, the *Good Stork* flew over the *Atlantick Ocean* to feed his *Dam*. Whereupon One wrote,

Welcome, Great Propbet, to New-England Shore,
The Fam'd Utopia, of more Famous MORE,
Unfabled, for New-England is by thee,
Now Twisse's Guests too must Accomplisht be;
That for the New-Jerusalem, there may
A Seat be found in Wide America.

§. 7. The *Church of Cambridge* could now show this *Orient Jewel* for divers *Years*, before the *Almighty* would have it made up *Among his Jewels*; though the *Troubles* and *Sorrows* of a *Quartan Ague*, often diverted him from his *Publick Services*. And here he had the *Opportunity*, for which *Dr. Preston* chose rather to preach at *Cambridge*, than any other place, *Dolare non tantum Lapides sed Artifices*. Of the *Divine Favour* to them, in their *Enjoyment* of such a *Pastor*, the *Church* was now so sensible, that they kept a *Day of Publick Thanksgiving* for it. At this *Thanksgiving* a *Sermon* being expected from himself, he took for his *Text* those *Words* in *2 Cor. 12. 11.* *I be nothing*. And the *Holy Endeavours* that he used in the *Sermon*, to take off the *Thoughts* of the *Faithful* from any thing in *Man*, to every

thing in *Christ*; were very agreeable to a *Man*, whom *Christ* had made *something* among the *People*. But the *Colledge* in *Cambridge* languishing under somewhat worse than an *Ague*, by the *Want* of a *President*, this *Accomplished Man* was invited unto that *Place*: For divers *Years*, he would admit no other *Title* to this *Place*, but that of *Pro Tempore*, which indeed seems to have been a little *Proleptical* and *Prophetical*. From this *Time*, and *But for a Time*, he was the *Jerom* of our *Bethlehem*!

§. 8. Soon after he had accepted his *Presidentship*, he was arrested with a *Malignant Fever*, which presently put an *End* unto his *Days* in this *World*. The *Prayer* of some *Great Saints* has been contrary to that in the *Litany* for a *Sudden Death*; and such was the *Death* of this desirable *Person*, if any *Death* may be accounted *sudden* to him, that was *always prepared* for it. When he had lain sick about a *Day* or *Two*, and not so long as to give the *People of God* *Opportunity* to *pray* for his *Recovery*, his *Church* coming together with *Expectation* to have the *Lord's-Supper* on the *Lord's Day* administered unto them, to their *Horror*, found the *Pangs of Death* seizing their *Pastor*, that should have broken to them the *Bread of Life*. And, indeed, I have often seen the *Lord of Heaven*, taking off His *Ministers*, perhaps to *Heaven*, at that *Season*, when the *Eucharist* should have been celebrated! which is a thing that might admit of some *Useful Reflections*.

§. 9. He was upon all *Accounts* truly, an *Admirable Person*. Consider'd as a *Christian*, he was *Full of all Goodness*, and like a *full Ear of Corn*, he stoop'd with a most profound *Humility*, adorning all his other *Graces*; but though he were *Low* in his own *Opinion* of himself, yet he was *High* in his *Attainments*; *High* in his *Principles*. He carried *Heaven* in his *Name Urianus*, *q. uæguros*,] but much more in his *Heavenly Mind*. Considered as a *Scholar*, he was a *Notable Critick* in all the *Points of Learning*; and well *Verfed* in every *Point of the Great Circle*. Vast the *Treasures* lodged in the *Soul* of such a *Scholar*! Consider'd as a *Preacher*, He was an *Orpheus*, that would have drawn the very *Stones* to *Discipline*; had *Austin* been here, he might now have seen *Paul in the Pulpit*: indeed, he was, as one said, *An Uncomfortable Preacher*; *Why?* He drove us to *Despair*, namely, *Of seeing such another*. Finally, I cannot speak more *Comprehensively* of him, than *Mr. Increase Mather* does in his *Preface* to a *Discourse* of this *Renowned Man's*, published just after his *Decease*.

There have been several of the same Name, heretofore *Renowned* for their *Rare Accomplishments* in some particular *Faculty*, wherein they have excelled. *Josephus Quercetanus* was a *Learned* and *Famous Physician*. *Johannes Ervsius* (the *Greek Word* for *Oakes*) was a *Great Divine*, and *Eminent* for his *Critical Genius*. But an *Age* doth seldom produce One so many *Ways* excelling as this *Author* was.

‘ If we consider him as a *Divine*, as a *Scholar*,
 ‘ as a *Christian*, it is hard to say, in which he
 ‘ did most excel. I have often in my Thoughts,
 ‘ compared him unto *Samuel* among the Prophets
 ‘ of Old ; in as much as he did truly *Fear God*
 ‘ from his Youth, and was *Betimes* improved in
 ‘ *Holy Ministrations*, and was at last called to be
 ‘ *Head of the Sons of the Prophets* in this *New-*
 ‘ *English Israel*, as *Samuel* was President of the
 ‘ *Colledge at Najoth*. And in many other Parti-
 ‘ culars, I might enlarge upon the Parallel, but
 ‘ that it is inconvenient to extend such Instances
 ‘ beyond their proportion.

——— *Heu, tua nobis*
Morte simul tecum Solatia rapta !

‘ It may without Reflection upon any be said,
 ‘ That He was one of the *Greatest Lights*, that ever
 ‘ shone in this Part of the World, or that is ever
 ‘ like to arise in our Horizon. He is now be-
 ‘ come a *Royal Diadem* in the Hand of the Lord ;
 ‘ being, as One speaks concerning a Great Wor-
 ‘ thy, *An Ornament unto Heaven it self*.

§. 10. As for his *Works*, ’tis an Exceeding
 Pity, that the *Press* has given to the *Light* no
 more of them ; for *Quicquid tam Docta condidit*
Manus, Cælum est : Nevertheless, Four or Five
 of his Published Composures are carried about
 among us, like *Paul’s Handkerchiefs*, for the
 Healing of our *Sick Land*. We may read some-
 thing of what he was, in a Sermon, called *The*
Conquering and Unconquerable Christian Soldier, on
Rom. 8. 37. preached unto the *Artillery-Com-*
pany in Boston, on their *Election* : And in a Ser-
 mon preached on the like Occasion in *Cambridge*,
 from *Eccles. 9. 11.* showing, That *Chance* is in-
 fallibly determined by God : And in a Sermon
 upon a *Fast*, which from *Isa. 43. 22.* presses for
Sincerity and *Delight* in the Service of God : But
 most of all in a Sermon on *Dent. 32. 22.* preach-
 ed unto the *General Court of the Massachusetts-Colo-*
ny ; wherein, he pleaded with his Country, to
 Consider what would be the *Latter End* of the
Evils then growing in the Country ; after a
 Manner, so Faithful, so Solemn, so Affectionate
 as was hardly to be equalled. Now, that the
 Reader may see some Account of this Learned
 Man’s Judgment in the Matters of *Church-Disci-*
pline, without which we may not say, that we
 have written his *Life*, we will from that Ser-
 mon only Transcribe the few following Lines.

‘ I profess, I look upon the Settlement of
 ‘ the *Congregational Way*, as the Boon, the Gra-
 ‘ tuity, the Largest of *Divine Bounty*, which the
 ‘ Lord graciously bestow’d upon His People, that
 ‘ followed him into this Wilderness ; and a great
 ‘ part of the Blessing on the Head of *Joseph*, and
 ‘ of them that were *Separate from their Brethren*.
 ‘ Those Good People that came over hither shew-
 ‘ ed more Love and Zeal, and Affectionate De-
 ‘ sire of *Communion* with God in pure Worship
 ‘ and Ordinances, and did more in Order to it
 ‘ than others, and the Lord did more for them,
 ‘ than for any People in the World, in shewing

‘ them the *Pattern of his House*, and the true *Scrip-*
 ‘ *tural Way* of Church-Government and Admini-
 ‘ strations, I do not think, that they were at
 ‘ a *Nè plus ultra*, and that nothing was left unto
 ‘ the Discovery of after-times ; but the *Beginning-*
 ‘ *Work* was substantially done by them ; they
 ‘ were set in the Right Way, wherein we are
 ‘ now to proceed, and make a *Progress*. It will
 ‘ be our Wisdom, Interest, and Duty to fol-
 ‘ low them, as they followed the Guidance of the
 ‘ *Spirit of Christ*. The *Reformation* in *K. Edward’s*
 ‘ Days was then a Blessed Work ; and the Re-
 ‘ formation of *Geneva* and *Scotland* was a larger
 ‘ Step, and in many Respects purer than the o-
 ‘ ther ; and for my part, I fully believe, that the
 ‘ *Congregational-Way* far exceeds both, and is
 ‘ the highest Step that has been taken towards
 ‘ *Reformation*, and for the Substance of it, is the
 ‘ very way that was established and practised in
 ‘ the Primitive Times according to the Institu-
 ‘ tion of Jesus Christ. There is a *Sweet Tempera-*
 ‘ *ment* in the *Congregational-Way* ; that the Liber-
 ‘ ties of the People may not be overlaid and op-
 ‘ pressed, as in the *Classical-Way*, nor the *Rule*
 ‘ and *Authority* of the *Elders* rendred an insigni-
 ‘ ficant thing, and trampled under foot as in
 ‘ the Way of the *Brownists* ; but that there may
 ‘ be a *Reconciliation* or due Concurrence in the
 ‘ Ballancing of the One justly with the Other :
 ‘ And herein, the Wisdom of our Lord Jesus
 ‘ Christ in the Frame of *Church-Government* (for
 ‘ it is not any *Politick* or *Prudential* Contrivance
 ‘ of Man, but modell’d by the great *Law Giver*,
 ‘ the Lord Jesus) is greatly to be admired by us.

§. 11. The Rest of the Report that we will give
 of this *Memorable Person*, shall be but a Transcript
 of the *Epitaph* on the Tomb-stone in the *Sleeping-*
place at Cambridge, dedicated unto his *Memory*.
 And know, Reader, that though the *Stones* in this
 Wilderness are already grown so *Witty* as to *Speak*,
 they never yet, that I could hear of, grew so *Wicked*
 as to *Lye*.

URIANI OAKESII,

Cujus, Quod, Reliquum est,
clauditur hoc Tumulo ;

Exploratâ Integritate, summâ Morum Gravitate,
Omniumq; meliorum Artium insigni Peritiâ,
Spe&atissimi, Clarissimiq; omnibus Modis Viri,
Theologi, merito suo, celiberrime,
Concionatoris verè Melliflui,
Cantabrigiensis Ecclesiæ, Doctissimi et Orthodoxi Pastoris
In Collegio Harvardino Præsidis Vigilantissimi,
Maximam Pietatis, Eruditionis, Facundia, Laudem
Adepti ;

Qui, Repentinâ Morte subitò correptus,
In JESU sinum efflavit Animam,
 Julii XXV. A. D. M. DC. LXXXI.

Memoriæ

Ætatis suæ L.

Plurima quid Referam, satis est si dixeris Unum,
Hoc Dictu satis est, Hic jacit OAKESIUS.

C H A P. VI.

THE

L I F E

O F

Mr. Thomas Shepard.

§. 1. **W**HEN We find that Passage in the Oracles of Heaven, *Behold, Philistia, and Tyre, with Ethiopia; this Man was born there; it follows, And of Sion, it shall be said, This and That Man was born in her*: And the Meaning and the Reason of this different Expression hath been a Matter of some Enquiry. It seems, that of *Rahab, Babylon, Philistia, Tyre and Ethiopia*, it was said, *Behold* (as being almost a Wonder!) that *This Man*, some one single Man of Eminency a *Rara Avis in Terris*, was born there. But of *Zion*, it might be said, [*וְיָשָׁב וְיָשָׁב*] Man and Man, *This and That Man*, that is to say, Very many Eminent Men, *Multi pietate, Doctrinâ Ingenio, Rerum Bellicarum Gloriâ aliisq; Virtutibus Insignes*, were Born in her. That little Spot of Ground, where God planted His Church, afforded more Excellent Men for Holiness and other Noble Accomplishments, in proportion, than all the World besides. I will now make no *Odious Comparisons* between *Harvard-Colledge* and other Universities, for the proportion of Worthy Men therein educated: But *New-England*, compared with other Parts of *America*, may certainly boast of having brought forth *Very many Eminent Men*, in proportion, more than any of them; and of *Harvard-Colledge* (herein truly a *Sion-Colledge*) it may be said, *This and That Man was bred there*; of Whom, not the least was *Mr. Thomas Shepard*.

§. 2. Reader, Esteem it not *preposterous*, if I begin the *Life* of this Worthy Man, with Relating that his *Death* fell out, on *Decemb. 22. A. D. 1677*. When the *Pestilence* raged so much in *Alexandria* of Old, that *There was not an House, wherein there were not many Dead*, it was the Observation of Mankind, that while the *Pagans* cast off all Humanity and inhumanely forsook their Dearest Friends, in the Distresses of their *Sickness*, the *Christians* without any regard unto their own *Life*, boldly ventured into the *Sick-Chambers*, and cheerfully assisted and relieved their Infected Brethren, and very often dyed that they might preserve others from *Death*, or attend them in it. *Mr. Thomas Shepard* had in him that Spirit

of the *Primitive Christians*. He was the *Pastor* of the Church in *Charlstown*; and the *Small-Pox* growing as *Epidemically Mortal* as a *Great Plague* in that place, this Excellent Man, who had for many Years most faithfully done all the Duties of a *Pastor* unto his Flock, apprehended it now his Duty to *Visit* One of his Flock, who lying sick of this Distemper, desired a *Visit* from him. He went with *His Life in his Hand*, and which he courageously, and undauntedly expected, the *Contagious Distemper* arresting of him, did put an End unto his *Life*, and therein, surely, after some sort entitle him unto the *Crown of Martyrdom*. Thus, as an *Elegy* upon his *Death* expressed it.

*Rather than run from's Work, he chose to dye,
Running on Death, sooner than Duty fly.*

Behold, a *Shepherd*, who was (as the Emperor *Probus* had it said of him) *Vir sui Nominis!*

§. 3. And now, that the *Portraiture* of this Person, who was, as *Great a Blessing and Glory as ever Charlstown had*, may be drawn to the *Life*, it is fit, that other *Pencils*, than such poor ones as *mine*, should be employ'd; for indeed it was very truly confessed in an *Elegy*, made upon him,

*Here's Worth enough to overmatch the Skill,
Of the most Stately Poet Laureat's Quill.*

We will therefore employ *Three* other Testimonies and Descriptions to give *Posterity* the Knowledge of him; whereof the *First* shall be the *Epitaph* engraved on his *Tomb-stone*, in such Terms as these,

D. O. M. S.
*Repositæ sunt hic Reliquiæ Thomæ Shepardi,
Viri Sanctissimi,
Eruditione, Virtute, Omnigenâ, Moribusq; suavissimis
Ornatissimi;
Theologi Consultissimi,
Concionatoris Eximii:
Qui Filius fuit Thomæ Shepardi Clarissimus,
Memoratissimi Pastoris olim Ecclesiæ Cantabrigiænsis;*

Et in Ecclesia Caroliensis Presbyter docens ;

Fide ac Vita Verus Episcopus :

Optimè de Re Literaria Meritus :

Quà Curator Collegii Harvardini vigilantissimus ;

Quà Municipii Academici Socius Primarius.

Та Іа Іноу Хейсу, а Іа саулу Знѣв.

In D. Jesu placidè obdormiuit, Anno 1677. Dec. 22.

Ætatis suæ 43.

Totius Novangliæ Lachrymis Destectus ;

Usq; & Usq; Destendus.

*Let Fame no longer boast her Antique Things,
Huge Pyramids and Monuments of Kings :
This Cabinet that locks up a Rare Gem,
Without Presumption may compare with them.
The Sacred Reliques of that Matchless One
Great Shepard, are Enshrin'd below this Stone.
Here lies Entomb'd an Heavenly Orator,
To the Great King of Kings Embassador :
Mirror of Virtues, Magazine of Arts,
Crown to our Heads and Loadstone of our Hearts :
Harvard's Great Son, and Father too beside,
Charlstown's Just Glory & New-England's Pride :
The Church's Jewel, Colledge's Overseer,
The Clergy's Diadem without a Peer :
The Poor Man's ready Friend, the Blind Mans Eyes,
The wandring mildred Soul's Conductor Wife :
The Widow's Solace, and the Orphan's Father,
The Sick Man's Visitant, or Cordial rather :
The General Benefactor, and yet Rare
Engrosser of all Good ; the Man of Prayer :
The Constant Friend, and the most Cheerful Giver,
Most Orthodox Divine and Pious Liver :
An Oracle in any Doubtful Case,
A Master-piece of Nature, Art and Grace.
In this Bed lye repos'd his weary Limbs ;
His Soul's Good Company for Seraphims.
If Men be Dumb in Praising of his Worth,
This Stone shall cry, For Shame ! and set it forth.*

*Si Sheparde Tuo, nisi quæ sint Digna Sepulchro,
Carmina nulla forent, Carmina nulla forent.*

§. 4. The whole Country was fill'd with Lamentations upon the Decease of the Person thus Entomb'd, and many bestowed their Elegies upon him with Resentments like those, which One of them thus uttered ;

*Next to the Tears our Sins do need and crave,
I would bestow my Tears on Shepard's Grave.*

But there was none who found a deeper Wound at this Decease, than the Reverend President of the Colledge, Mr. *Urian Oakes* ; who was his *Particular Friend*. For, as *Austin* had his *Alipius*, as *Basil* had his *Nazianzen*, as *Jerom* had his *Heliodorus*, as *Eusebius* had his *Pamphilus*, or, if you will, as *Paul* had his *Barnabas* ; even such was the Friendship, that *Unanimated* our *Oakes* and our *Shepard*. He besides other ways of expressing his Value for this his Departed *Jonathan*, took the Opportunity of the next *Commencement*, with no small part of his *Elegant Oration*, thus to Embalm his Memory.

Referunt Historici *Caium Caligulam*, Monstrum illud Hominis, queri palam de Conditione Temporum suorum esse solitum, quod nullis Calamitatibus publicis insignirentur. Quod si nunc in Vivis, apud nos ageret, nihil esset illi Querelæ loci relictum, adeo Calamitosa sunt Omnia, et Fœlicitates, bonas nobis adversas habemus. Ecquid verò Calamitosius, quàm quod Morbus ille *Variolarum* in Vicinis oppidis passim grassatus fuerit. Heu ! Quæ Funera dedit ! Quas Strages edidit ! Miserum me ! Hæreo, stupeo, vehementer perturbor Animo ; neque Mens, neque Vox, neque Lingua consistit, quoties subit Animum, quàm grave Vulnus, vel ex Unius Viri, Interritu, non ita pridem accepimus. Video me, Necessitate coactum, Officii, Auditores, Infandum renovare Dolorem, Vulnusq; recens acceptum, refricando, retractandoq; exacerbare. Amisimus, Amisimus Memoratissimum illum Virum, Reverendissimum *Thomam Shepardum* : Republica Civem optimum ; Ecclesia Theologum clarissimum : Academia non Filium tantum & Alumnum charissimum, sed Curatorem etiam vigilantissimum ; Municipium Scholasticum, Socium suum primarium, amiserunt ; Amicum ego singularem & integerrimum. Heu Pietas ! Heu prisca Fides ! Obiit, proh Dolor ! Ornatus *Shepardus*, Vir dignus, si quis alius, qui nunquam ægrotaret, nunquam moriretur. Dabitis Veniam, Auditores, ut mœsti nos Harvardinates, etiam in ipsis Fœriis Academicis, pietissimi *Thomæ Shepardi* Manibus, alieno quidem, uti videri potest Tempore, et Exequialia justa, parentemus. Dolemus tanto Reipublicæ Vulnere, Mortemq; tanti Viri, jure optimo, Luctu publico esse Honorandam, existimamus ; qui Fatalis Morbi vi ereptus, non Ecclesiam solum *Caroliniensem*, sed totam etiam *Novangliam*, Orbem ac Debilitatam reliquit ; quocum defuncto, Republica Ecclesia, Academia vacillare certè, si non Corruisse videantur. Cum *Caius Cæsar* satis se diu, vel Naturæ vixisse, vel Gloriæ dixisset ; Satis, inquit *Cicero*, si ita vis, Naturæ fortasse ; addo etiam, si placet Gloriæ ; at quod maximum est, Patriæ certe parum : Multò profecto verius & sincerius à me dici potest, Clarissimum *Shepardum*, satis diu vixisse sibi metipsum, & Gloriæ suæ, cum piè adeo vixerit, ut ad cœlestem verè vitalem vitam sincerâ fide, Virtutum Christianarum Exercitio, viam aditumq; sibi munierit, Nomen suum immortalitati consecravit ; at Reipublicæ, non satis diu, at Ecclesiæ, at Academia, parum certè vixit ; Quocum occubente, titubare ac nutare videntur omnia, Est et illud Iræ Divinæ vehementer in nos excandescens Argumentum et Indicium insigne, quòd gravissimis Reipublicæ Temporibus, Academia Necessitatibus, Ecclesiarum Precibus & Lachrymis hujus eximii Viri vitam noluerit Deus condonare. Amisimus *Shepardum*, alienissimo Reipublicæ Tempore extinctum : At quem & qualem Virum ! Theologum profecto non unum è multis, sed inter multos propè singularem ; Neminem cum illo conferendum non ausim dicere : neq; detrahere quidquam ab aliis necessum habeo, cum Encomia defuncto *Shepardo* debita persolvo. At verò inter Gregarios Theo-

logos (quod sine cujusquam Injuria dici velim) tantum Caput extulit

Quantum lenta solent inter Viburna Cupressi.

Certabat in eo, cum Pietate minimè fucatà, Eruditio minimè vulgaris; cum Eruditione verò Prudentia, Modestia, Humanitas et Industria singularis. Quanta Gravitas in vultu? Quantum pondus in Verbis? Quam nihil non consideratum exhibat ex Ore? Quàm nihil in Gestu affectatum, aut indecorum? Fuit quidem ὁ μακάριος, Animo sedatissimo; candidissimo Pectore, felicissimo Ingenio, acerrimo Judicio, suavissimis deniq; temperatissimisq; Moribus ornatissimus. Sic autem universam vitam traduxit, ut aliis illustre quoddam veræ Pietatis ac Virtutis Exemplar, ad imitandum propositum; in eoq; quasi Exempli causâ, antiqui Officii vestigia remanebant. Non ille inanem occupatus est Rumorem, neq; ullus umbra falsæ Gloriæ confectatus est, aut insolentius extulit se; sed a Supercilio, Fastuq; omni longè longèq; absuit. In summis ejus Dotibus, propter quas, Honoribus Autoritate, Gratiâ floruit, summa Animi Demissio & Modestia singularis emicuerunt; Et rara quidem (ut dici solet) *Virtus est Humilitas Honorata*. Vetus est Verbum Ἐὐς Ἄνδρ' ἔστις Ἀνὴρ, *Unus, Vir, Nullus Vir*. Ego verò non minus vere possum dicere Ἐὐς ἐμὸς πρῶτος. *Unus mihi fuit instar decem Millium*. Prorsus assentior *Nazianzeno* dicenti φιλοπρωτὴς ἐκ ἑῶν ἂν ἀλάστωμα τῶν ὄσων ἔστιν. *Amicitiam unicam esse vitæ condimentum*. Miserrum me! Quam triste nobis sui Desiderium reliquit! Qui mihi ita Charus, ita Jucundus fuit, ut ejus Aspectu Dolor omnis fuerit abstersus, et omnis, quæ me angebat, cura planè confederit. Probè memini, quam me olim frons ejus tranquilla, vultusq; (ut *Ovidius* loquitur) *Plenus Gravitate serena*, inter dicendum animadvertit. Ille horum Comitiorum (ut mea tulit Opinio) *Pars adeo magna fuit*, ut quemadmodum (Autore *Cicerone*) *Antomachus Clarius* Poeta, cum convocatis Auditoribus recitaret iis ingens Volumen, quod conscripserat, eumq; legentem, omnes præter *Platonem* reliquissent. *Legam, inquit, Nihilominus; Plato enim mihi unus, instar est Omnium*: Ità profectò, alter *Plato* (absit verbo Invidia) fuit mihi *Shepardus* et instar omnium. Dici non potest, quàm me perorantem, in Comitiiis, conspectus ejus, multò Jucundissimus recrearit & refecerit. At non comparet hodie *Shepardus* in his Comitiiis: Oculos huc illuc torqueo; quocunq; tamen inciderint, *Platonem* meum in tanta Virorum illustrium frequentia requirunt; nusquam Amicum & pernecessarium meum, in hac solenni Panegyri, inter hosce Reverendos Theologos, Academix Curatores, reperire aut Oculis vestigare possum. Amisimus Virum illum sanctis-

simum strenuum, Orthodoxæ Fidei propugnatorem, non Hominibus solùm gratum & acceptum, sed, et Deo ipsi Charissimum, *Divinæ Familiaritatis Virum*, sicuti *Tertullianus* nuncupat *Abrahamum*. Quamobrem, Honoratissimi Viri, lugete amissum civem planè ἡσυχαστὴν, Optimarum semper, in Republica, partium et in rebus optimis, constantissimum virum; Columen atq; Ornamentum Reipublicæ vestræ; cujus Unius Funere, propè dixeram, elatam esse Reipublicam. Lugete, Reverendissimi Presbyteri, amissum charissimum Fratrem, et Symmistam Ordinis vestri Decus & Lumen singulare. Lugete, Carolinenses, sublatum, ex Oculis vestris, eximium Episcopum vestrum, Delicias olim & Amores vestros. Urgete, Academici amissum Curatorem vigilantissimum, cujus interritu, Collegii Dignitatem, immane quantum diminutam, salutem ipsam periclitatam esse, quis non intelligit? Lugete, quotquot adestis, Auditores, amissum illum Virum, consummatissimum, Carrum & Equites Israelis, dignissimum profectò, qui Nov-Angliæ Lachrymis usq; & usq; defleatur. Quòd si nimius in hoc Argumento, et longius, quam par est provecus esse videor, quæso, obtestorq; ut veniam aliquam Dolori meo, et Mærori Animi tribuendam putetis. Videtis me, in amplissimas Charissimi *Shepard*i Laudes, tanquam in Oceanum descendisse, et difficile quidem esse, cum Laudandi, tàm Lugendi Finem reperire.

This was one Paragraph in a Commencement-Oration pronounced by the *Lactantius*, of *New-England*. And that Stroke, which this very Person had in an *Elegy*, by him composed on the Death of his Dearest *Shepard*.

*They that can Shepard's Goodness well display,
Must be as Good as He: but who are They?*

He did himself make a near *Essay* towards the doing of it, and in *my* Thought, he was according to his *own* Rule, well qualified for the doing of it.

§. 5. But if the Reader must have One in all Things, *As Good as He*, to Display his Goodness, behold then *He* shall effectually, and not improperly, do it *Himself*. Let the Reader peruse his Elaborate Sermon, preached at the Anniversary *Election* of the Governour and Magistrates in *Boston*, May 5. 1672. and afterwards printed; and he will there see *Constellated* so much Learning, Wisdom, Holiness and Faithfulness, that he will pronounce the Author to have been a Person of more than Common *Talents* for the Service of our Churches.

C H A P. VII.

St. Stephen's Reliques.

MEDITATIONS, Awakened by the Death of the Reverend Mr. Joshua Moodey ; With some Short Character of that Eminent Person : Who Slept in Jesus, 4 d. 5 m. 1697. In the Sixty Fifth Year of his Age.

By COTTON MATHER.

The Second Edition.

JOSH. XXIV. 22, 23 29.

JOSHUA said unto the People, ye have chosen you the Lord, to serve Him.

Now therefore, incline your Heart unto the Lord.

And it came to pass, after these things, that Joshua, the Servant of the Lord dyed.

R E A D E R,

TELL me not, that the People's being taken with *Publicola's* Funeral Oration in Praise of the Dead *Brutus*, or the Decree of the *Roman Senate*, That it should be Lawful to make a Funeral Oration on such as deserved well of the Common-wealth, made *Polydore Virgil* say, *Hinc mortuos Laudandi mos fluxit, quem nos hodie Servamus*. The Book of *Lamentations*, on the Death of *Josiah*, is of an Elder Date ; the Roll of *Lamentations* on the Death of *Jonathan*, is of yet an Elder ; and certainly, to be imitated among the Faithful People of God. Tell me not, that some Eminent *Non-conformists* have therefore scrupled, the Preaching of any *Funeral Sermons* : That in some *Reformed Churches*, the Practice of them is wholly omitted ; that in the *Primitive Churches* they were not practiced until the *Apostacy* began ; and that there have been *Decrees of Councils* against them. I readily grant, That the Custom of *Fraising the Dead*, has been scandalously abused ; but I cannot grant, That the Abuse is best corrected, by taking away all *Publick Meditations* on the *Funerals* of those, in whose *Deaths* God from Heaven speaks Great Things unto the *Living*. We do but wisely fulfill our Ministry by *Watching*, to suit the *Words* of God unto those *Works* of His, which occur to our Notice, when *Men of Note* are taken away. Behold, According to the *Laudable Usage* in the Churches of *New-England*, the *Meditations* which have been awakened by the falling *Asleep* of an Eminent Person, who was, *A Memorable Servant of those Churches* ! I am out of measure astonished, when I read in an

Author as Old, and as great as *Austin*, the Wonderful Effects which the pretended *Reliques* of the Martyr *Stephen* had upon those who repaired thereunto for the Cure of *Maladies*. Howbeit, When I find that Great Man in his Epistle to the Clergy of *Hippo*, denying that any *Miracles* were then done in *Africa* (which he also again said, in his Book, *De Utilitate Credendi*) and in his Book of *True Religion*, affirming that God permitted not *Miracles* to continue until then lest the Minds of Men should be too much taken up with *Visible Matters*, I perswade my self, that the Story of the *Reliques* of *Stephen* was foisted into his Book, *De Civitate Dei* ; by some later Hand. The best sort of *Reliques* after all are those which we have here preserved and proposed ; and it will be no *Superstition*, to hope, that a Cure of *Spiritual Maladies* too generally prevailing, may be promoted by repairing unto them. And, I do not more question the Opinion of a very Learned Man concerning the *Angels*, whom we find mention'd in the Scriptures as doing very *Humane Actions*, *Veros Homines fuisse, qui a Spiritu Messia, et a Spiritibus Angelicis agebantur ; et movebantur ad ea agenda, quae ipsi non intelligebant, phantasia Eorum obfessa, et a Cogitationibus consuetis abdulta : Qui Homines, Negotio peracto, ad quod fuerant a Deo adhibiti, discusso veterno, et cessante Ecclasi, ad Consuetam munera reversi sunt, immemores eorum, quae Impulsore Spiritu Divino, aut Angelico egerant* : Than I do believe, That in our *Actions*, there is an Imitation of the Holy *Angels* to be endeavoured, by which a Man may become another *Stephen*.

The Way to Excel.

ACTS VI. 15.

— Looking stedfastly on him, they saw his Face, as it had been the Face of an ANGEL.

Since the Oracles of Heaven, have (with a most Significant Admonition!) allow'd a well served Church, to call its Pastor by the Name of its Angel, we may now say, *The Angel of the Church of Portsmouth has newly taken Wing!* Yea, not the least of the *Angelical Chariots and Horsemen* of New-England, have departed from us, in the *Withdrawing* of One, after whom that bereaved Church is crying, *My Father, My Father!*

To preserve the *Idea* and *Memory* of his Face, as far as the *Infirmities* of this *Mortal State* permitted any Approaches to the *Angelical* Character in it, is that whereto not only *Nature* does invite us: 'Twill be but a Compliance with that *Edict* of Heaven, *Remember them who have spoken to you the Word of God; whose Faith follow, considering the End of their Conversation.*

'Tis well known, That among the Chief Works of the Most High, Created by the Son of God, at the First Beginning of Time, there were His *Good ANGELS*: *Angels*, which are *Spiritual* and *Rational* Substances, Created by the Lord, for His own *Immediate Service* and *Honour*. None deny, none dispute, the *Existence* of those *Good Angels*, but Men that are under a more than ordinary Possession of *Evil Ones*.

Our Lord Jesus Christ has given it, as a *Description* of that *Future State*, wherein He will make us *Happy* for ever, *Mat. 22. 30.* *They are as the Angels of God in Heaven*. And if we hope to be *Happy* in that *Future State*, we must endeavour to anticipate it, by being very *Holy* in our *Present State*. But the way for us, to be very *Holy*, is to resemble, and imitate, the *Angels of God in Heaven*, while we are on *Earth*, as far as we are able. Every *Holy Man* does a little of This; and how much of it, was done by that *Holy Man*, who is now gone to live and praise, and see *CHRIST* among the *Angels* for ever, may be proposed with some Advantage unto the *Exhortation*, wherein I have a few *Things* to preach unto the *People*.

But my *Exhortation* must be introduced with a Report of that *Glory*, which the *Martyr Stephen*, while he was yet on *Earth*, attain'd unto.

There being occasion to choose *Deacons* in the *Primitive Church*, that so they who were to give themselves continually unto the *Ministry* of the *Word*, might be released by the faithful *Cares* of those *Deacons*, from *Secular Encumbrances*; One of them was the *Blessed Stephen*; who being the First that arriv'd unto the *Crown* of *Martyrdom*, for our Lord Jesus Christ in the *New-Testament*,

had in the Name of *Stephen*, which signifies, *A Crown*, a *Notable Specification* of the *Event* and *Reward*, which will attend all our *Sufferings* for the Lord.

It was then an Age of many *Miracles* wrought by the *Spirit* of our Lord Jesus Christ; and such a *measure* of that *Spirit* possessed this Excellent Man, that by the *Impulse* of that *Spirit*, He could with all Assurance perceive, when the *Spirit* was going to work *Miracles*, and apply himself to accompany the *Miracles* of the *Spirit*, by some wonderful *Actions* of his own. This illustrious Worker of *Miracles* was accused before the *Council* at *Jerusalem*, for saying, That it was the *Design* of *Jesus* to destroy the *Temple* and the *City*, and alter the *Rites*, which *Moses* had from *God* commanded unto *Israel*. When he appear'd before the *Council* to answer this *Accusation*, 'tis here said, *They saw his Face, as it had been the Face of an Angel.*

Concerning the *Face* of an *Angel*, we have a Remarkable Account, in what we read about one of the *Angels*, in *Mat. 28. 3.* His *Countenance* was like *Lightning*. And we read concerning a Great Man, who had got the *Face* of an *Angel*, by being much with the *Angels*, in *Exod. 34. 10.* *Behold, the Skin of his Face shone*. If we carry the Passage now before us unto the Highest Sense, which it would lay Claim unto, we are to suppose, That such a *Splendor* was discernible upon the *Face* of *Stephen*: And surely, if they who discerned it, had not the *Heart* of a *Devil* in them, they durst not have gone on, to abuse a *Man*, that appeared before them with the *Face* of an *Angel*. Alas, the more of an *Angel* there is in any *Man*, the more *Stones* will the *Devil* procure to be thrown at such a *Man*! But behold the *Agreeableness* of the Matter; *Stephen* was persecuted for vilifying of *Moses*; and behold, at this very Time, he is vindicated with a *Shine* upon his *Face*, like that once upon the *Face* of *Moses*. The *Things* here spoken by *Stephen*, were those very *Things*; which the *Angel Gabriel*, had formerly spoken unto the *Prophet Daniel*; and behold, the *Aspect* of an *Angel* adorns him in his *Discourse*.

We may from hence take Leave to Observe, That a *Saint* on *Earth*, may arrive to those *Attainments*, that shall make him look like an *Angel* of Heaven.

There are *Angelical Excellencies*, a Degree whereof, poor *Man*, sorry *Man*, sinful *Man*, even while such, may very much attain unto.

But now, this *CASE* calls for our Attention; What are those *Excellencies* that would make a *Saint*, Look like an *ANGEL*?

And the General Answer hereunto is, The Excellencies of Holiness. For,

First, The Angels of God have many Excellencies, the Imitation whereof cannot by Men in this Life, be reasonably proposed. The Angelical Majesty, as a Mortal Eye would not be able steadily to Behold it, much less, in this Mortal State may we affect it. A Man may not wish to shine like Stephen in this World, and have a Face that may dazzle the Spectators. Or, what would it avail, if a Man could make a Glare on his Face, by smearing it with some of the *Nostiluca's* invented by the Modern Chymistry? A Devil has before now, pretended unto such a Face. 'Tis not the Face, but the Grace of an Angel, which is here to be aspired after. It were a Foolish, and a Faulty Thing, for any Man to be ambitious of wearing in this World such a Figure as that in Dan. 10. 6. *His Body like the Beryl, and his Face as the Appearance of Lightning, and his Eyes as Lamps of Fire, Immortality* it self is one of the Angelical Excellencies. But, while we are among Mortals here, we must submit unto the Laws of Mortality and be willing to dye, When and How, the Sovereign God shall order it. There are also those Flights of Wisdom, and those Heights of Power among the Angelical Excellencies, wherein, 'tis not for us, to Dream of being like them, until we are become, *The Children of the Resurrection*. It was the Ruine of our First Parents, to imagine in Gen. 3. 5. *They might be as Elohim!* No, this cannot be, until our Lord Jesus Christ has by a New Birth brought us into that World to come, where the Wise Converters of many to Righteousness, will be those who shall Shine as the Brightness of the Firmament, and as the Stars for ever and ever! Our Lord Jesus Christ will make us the Angels of the New World. Indeed the Angels now turn and move all the Wheels of the Kingdoms of this World, but we are they that shall Receive the Kingdom that cannot be moved.

But, Secondly, The Excellencies of Holiness [For, the Saints are the Excellent!] These are They, wherein the Imitation of the Angels by Men, may be very far proceeded in. The Angels of God, are styled in Mat. 25. 31. *The Holy Angels*; and in Dan. 4. 17. *The Holy Ones*. 'Tis not as they are *Mighty Angels*, but as they are *Holy Angels*, that we must propound our Coming to look like unto them. These *Holy Angels* never did, and never will sin against their God; but are continually serving of him; *They serve Him Day and Night in his Temple!* And it may be, the *Bright Garments*, wherein these Angels of Light have appeared, may be an Emblem of their Holiness and their Purity. Now it hath been the Will of God in our Lord Jesus Christ concerning us, that there should be set before us the Greatest Examples of Holiness for our Imitation. And hence, as we have the Greater Example of our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himself given unto us, to Direct and Excite and Promote our Holiness, with a Charge, *To be Holy, as He that hath called us is Holy*; So, we have also the Example of the *Holy Angels* given unto us, That we may strive as far as may be,

to be like unto them in their Holiness. Hence when the Psalmist of old saw the Angels praising of God, he cried out, *O my Soul, do Thou so too!* Yea, some Interpreters judge, That when the Face of Stephen look'd like an Angel, it was no more than what you and I may thro' Christ who strengthens us reach unto. q. d. The Consolations of the Holy Spirit of God so filled him, that he discovered not the least Consternations in his Face: His Face was as Joyful and Serene, as if he had stood free from all the Sorrows of this World, among the Angels of God.

I remember the Apostle enjoins the Woman in the Church to have a covering on her Head in Token of Subjection to her Husband; *Because of the Angels* [2 Cor. 11. 10.] Why, if you turn to the Beginning of the sixth Chapter of *Isaiab*, you'll find the Angels before their Superiour, the Lord Jesus Christ in the Temple assuming a Covering, out of the Reverence which they pay unto Him. Hence then, says the Apostle, it becomes Women to take Example by the Angels; let them consider, how the Angels behave themselves in the Presence of the Son of God, who is the Grand Representative of the Image and Glory of God; and let them in their Habit show some Analogy to the Habit of the Angels, betokening their Subjection to the Man, who is under the Lord Jesus Christ, the Image and Glory of God, while They the Women, are so of the Man. But I only touch on this Gloss by the by. What I insist on, is, That the Angelical Example is to be imitated.

Indeed, we shall, as long as we Live in this World, come far short of the Original, when we go to Write after the Angelical Example. In this Present Evil World, we cannot approach near to the Holiness of the Good Angels: Much of Sin, and Fault, and Folly, will unavoidably cleave unto us: That Leprosie will never wholly out of the Walls, until the Clay-house be utterly demolished: There will be as much Distance between the Blessed Spirits and Us, as between Giants and Children, as between Stars and Glowworms, as between the Cedars of Lebanon and the Hyssop that grows out of the Wall; Thus it will be, until we come at length to dwell [And, Oh! Why do we no more long for it!] with the Innumerable Company of Angels, in another World.

However, to Attempt the Imitation, is the ready way to be Excellent. Particularly in the Ensuing Instances.

I. If a Man could have his Eye upon the Face of God continually, would not that procure the Face of an Angel for him? It would make a Man look like an Angel, if he were looking unto God, in the Lord Jesus Christ continually. Of the Angels there is that Account given, in Mat. 18. 10. *In the Heavens, they do always behold the Face of my Father which is in the Heavens*. The Angels do converse with GOD continually. And, why may not we press after a Converse with GOD, a little Emulating the Angelical? To be Heavenly-minded, by having the God of Heaven almost always in our Minds, and by being in the Fear of God all the Day long; This were to be as the Angels

gels are! Oh! That we were thus *Filled with the Fulness of God.*

First, We may have a continual *Apprehension* of GOD in our Minds. In every *Place*, we may *Apprehend* GOD. Wherever we are, we may subscribe to that Article of the Ancient Faith, in *Psal.* 139. 7. *Lord, Whither shall I flee from thy Presence?* What if we should never be from under the *Awe* of such a Thought as that, *The Omnipresent God observes all my Ways!* And we may apprehend GOD in every *Thing*. We need not stay at any *Second Causes*; but we may with a *Spiritualized Soul*, soar up to some Notice of God in all. Upon all the Works of *Creation* we may say, *The Finger of God is here!* And we may make the Positions of the *Pauline* Philosophy, in *Acts* 17. 24, 28. *God made the World, and all Things therein; In Him we live and move and have our Being.* Upon all the Works of *Providence*, we may say, *This comes from that God whose Kingdom ruleth over all.* And we may make the Conclusions once taught by our Lord, no doubt alluding to the *Two Birds*, whereof one was to be killed, the other to be *Let loose into the Open Field*, at the cleansing of the *Leper* in *Mat.* 10. 29. *Two Sparrows, one of them shall not fall to the Ground without our Father.* To be led into some Notice of GOD continually, This, O This, it is *Angelical*. 'Tis *Godliness*. What is *Holiness*, but *Godliness*? This were a little of the *Angelical Holiness*.

Secondly, Our continual *Apprehension* of GOD, may bring a continual *Dedication* to GOD, upon all that we *Have*, and all that we *Do*. If we *Glance* at *Inferiour Ends*, yet we may not *Stop* there: All our *Ends* are to be swallowed up in GOD. We should not, with any patience consent unto it, that any but GOD, should have our *Strength*, our *Time*, our *All*. Whatever *Possessions* are bestowed upon us, we may put them under that Consideration, which the *House of David* had, in *Psal.* 30. *Tit. Dedicated Things.* All our *Possessions*, all the *Powers* of our *Spirits*, all the *Members* of our *Bodies*, our *Estates*, our *Credit*, our *Desirable Friends*: we may contrive with our selves, *What Acknowledgments may GOD have out of these Things!* And improve them no farther, than as *Instruments*, whereby GOD may be *acknowledged*. Yea, and our daily *Actions*; may we not be driving a *Trade* for GOD in all? As 'tis said in *1 Cor.* 10. 31. *Whatever ye do, do all to the Glory of God:* So, our *Eating*, our *Drinking*, our *Sleeping*, what is it for? We may distinctly say, *I do This, that I may be supported in the Service of God.* Thus, our *Labours*, our *Travels*, our *Visits*, and our *Exercises of Religion*, we may thus *ennoble* them, *I do This, I will do it carefully and cheerfully, because God hath commanded my doing of it.* A *Dedication* to GOD, is the proper meaning of *Holiness*: And very *Angelical* would be our *Holiness*, if we could be frequent, and constant in such Acts of *Dedication*.

Thirdly, Our continual *Apprehension* of GOD, may produce our continual *Satisfaction* in GOD, under all His *Dispensations*. Whatever *Enjoyments* are by God conferred upon us, where lies the *Relish*, where the *Sweetness* of them? Truly, we may come to relish our *Enjoyments*, only so far as we

have something of GOD in them. It was required in *Psal.* 37. 4. *Delight thy self in the Lord.* Yea, And what if we should have no *Delight*, but the *Lord*? Let us ponder with our selves, over our *Enjoyments*; *In these Enjoyments I see God, and by these Enjoyments I serve God!* And now, let all our *Delight* in, and all our *Value* and *Fondness* for our *Enjoyments*, be *Only*, or *Mainly*, upon such a *Divine Score* as *This*. As far as any of our *Enjoyments* lead us unto GOD, so far let us relish it, affect it, embrace it, and rejoice in it; *O Taste, and Feed upon God in all*; and ask for nothing, no, not for *Life* it self, any further than as it may help us, in our *Seeing* and our *Serving* of our GOD. And then, whatever *Afflictions* do lay Fetters upon us, let us not only remember, that we are concerned with GOD therein, but let our Concernment with GOD procure a very profound *Submission* in our Souls. Be able to say with him, in *Psal.* 39. 9. *I opened not my mouth, because, thou didst it.* In all our *Afflictions*, let us remark the *Justice* of that GOD, before whom, *Why should a Living Man complain for the Punishment of his Sin?* The *Wisdom* of that GOD, whose *Judgments* are right; the *Goodness* of that GOD, who *Punishes us less than our Iniquities do deserve*. Let us behave our selves, as having to Do with none but GOD, in our *Afflictions*: And let our *Afflictions* make us more conformable unto GOD; which Conformity being effected, Let us then say, *'Tis Good for me that I have been afflicted.* Sirs, what were this, but a pitch of *Holiness*, almost *Angelical!* Oh! Mount up as with the *Wings of Eagles*, of *Angels*; be not a sorry, puny, mechanick Sort of *Christians* any longer; but *reach forth* unto these things, that are thus before you!

But, in fine, 'Tis our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who is *The Face of God*. That is His *Name*, frequently in the Old Testament; and in this *Hint*, I have given you a *Golden Key* to come at the sense of many Passages in the Sacred Pages, about *The Face of God*, and *The Light of that Face*: 'Twas the *Messiah*. 'Tis then our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who is to be the more *Immediate Object* of our *Apprehensions*, when we would become *Angelical*; 'tis God in our Lord JESUS CHRIST: Whenever we entertain any Thing of GOD in our Minds, it should be with a CHRIST, and thro' a CHRIST. Those who do all they can, to forge a CHRISTIANITY without a CHRIST, are so far from being like *Angels* of the Lord, that they are *Traitors* to the King of Heaven!

II. We may render our selves *Angelical*, by our Endeavours of a *present*, and a *pleasant* and an *Universal Obedience*, unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST, the *Lord of Angels*. Whose are the *Angels*, but the *Angels of the Lord*? And [as in *1 Kings* 13. 12. and *Acts* 8. 39.] *The Spirits of the Lord*. Our Lord JESUS CHRIST is the *Lord General* of all the *Angels*; He is the *Lord of Hosts*; and all those *Hosts* of Heaven are under His *Command*; We read in *Psal.* 103. 20, 21. *They do His Commandments, hearkening unto the Voice of His Word: They are His Ministers which do His Pleasure.* The very Highest *Angel* in Heaven desires and studies to be a *Servant* of the

Lord JESUS CHRIST: The Great God would soon strike him down from Heaven, with Hot Thunder-bolts if he did so. Even *Michael* the Archangel has received that Charge from God, concerning our Lord Redeemer, *Do thou Worship Him! Gabriel* himself must give this Account of himself, *I stand in the presence of the Lord Jesus Christ*; namely, as a *Servant* standing in the Presence of his Master.

Come then; Let every one of us, become the *Servants* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. By consenting to the Methods of *Grace* in the *New Covenant*, let us yield our selves unto our Lord JESUS CHRIST, as unto our LORD; and say with him in *Psal. 119. 38. Lord, I am thy Servant, devoted unto thy Fear.* Let us reckon it the *Highest Pleasure* unto our selves, to be always *Pleasing* of our Lord Jesus Christ: Let us esteem it the highest *Honour* unto our selves, to be always *Honouring* of Him. To be *A Man of God*, is to be like an *Angel*, an *Angel* was called in *Judg. 13. 8. The Man of God.* We are *Men of God*, when we become the *Devoted Servants* of our Lord Jesus Christ. Sirs, The *Bright Angels* of Heaven invite us, to become their *Fellow Servants*, by giving our selves up unto the *Work of Witnessing* to the *Truth* and *Ways* of their Heavenly Lord. When we have solemnly consecrated our selves unto this *Work*, then, whatever *Commands* our Lord Jesus Christ lays upon us, let us readily, joyfully, universally yield *Obedience* thereunto. Be upon the *Wing* as the *Angels*, to do every thing, that our Lord Jesus Christ would have to be done. Delay none, despise none, refuse none of the *Commandments*, which our Lord Jesus Christ shall give unto us; but say, as in *1 Joby 5, 3. His Commandments are not grievous.* And whatever we shall know to be *Acceptable* unto our Lord Jesus Christ, let us immediately do what we know: Let this be *Argument* enough unto us for any thing, though *Flesh* and *Blood* [Body and Soul] be never so much against it: *My Lord JESUS CHRIST would have me to do this thing!* Thus our *Labour* should be according to our *Prayer*, that *The Will of God may be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven.*

III. To be very *Serviceable* is to be *Angelical*: To do *Good* is the *Disposition* of a *Good Angel*. Those *Men*, whose perpetual *Business* 'tis, *To go about for the doing of Good*, as they are like the Lord Jesus Christ, [*Acts 10. 38.*] So they are like the *Angels* that wait upon our Lord Jesus Christ. The *Angels* are always employ'd in some *Service* for our Lord Jesus Christ, and for those that belong unto Him. 'Tis said in *Heb. 1. 14. Are they not all ministering Spirits?* Oh! let it in like sort, be our *Ambition* to *minister* some way or other for the *Good* of them, that are to be the *Heirs of Salvation*; and let us be much and oft, in studying with our selves, *What Good may I do with those Talents, wherewith my Lord Jesus Christ has entrusted me?* How many *Good Offices* does the *Bible* report, as done by the *Angels* of God for the *People of God*? And how many such *Good Offices* are still done for the *People of God*, by the *Angels* of God, which *Ercamp* as an *Hist* about

them that fear Him? *Christians*, if we are advised of any *Opportunity* to do *Good*, let us be as ready to do, as the *Angel* that came down to the *Pool of Bethesda*, was to help the *Miserables* assembled there. Yea, though they should be never so poor, never so small, never so mean *People*, that we may do *Good* unto, let us be ready to do it with all our *Hearts*. The first *Apparition* of an *Angel* that we read in *Scripture*, was to relieve a *poor Maid* in *Trouble* of *Spirit*. The *Martyr Bradford*, that *Man* had the *Face* of an *Angel*, concerning whom it was noted, *He was always, either with Purse, or Tongue, or Pen, doing of Good.* Whatever *Company* we fall into, 'tis ealie for us ordinarily to think, *What Good may I do in this Company before I leave it?* That *Man* speaks with the *Tongue* of *Angels*, who will never dismiss his *Company*, without some *Conscientious Essay*, to speak what shall be *profitable* unto them. And, *Inventions* to do *Good*, and be *Benefactors* to all that are about us, the more *Upright* we are, the more we shall *Seek out many such Inventions*. There is an *Angelical Air* upon them!

IV. *Near Approaches* to God in *Devotions* and *Communion*s, full of *Intimacy* with Him, will give a *Man*, if not the *Face*, yet the *Heart* of an *Angel*. When was it, that the *Face* of *Moses* had an *Angelical*, and an *Extraordinary Lustre* upon it? It was, when he had been with *God* in the *Mount*. We read in *Exod. 34. 29. When Moses came down from Mount Sinai, with the two Tables of Testimony the Skin of his Face shone.* They that are very much with *God* in those *Exercises*, wherein the *Power of Godliness* does mainly consist, will contract a *Lustre*, therefrom, and be somewhat like the *Angels*, made *Partakers of the Divine Nature*. To be often in *Secret Prayers* and *Secret Praises*, with raised *Strains of Heavenly Zeal* before the Lord, *This* is to be as it were, of the *Angelical Fraternity*! Yea, 'Tis a *Golden Passage* of *Cryostom*, *That the very Angels themselves, cannot but honour the Man, whom they see Familiarly and Frequently admitted unto the Audience, and as it were Discourse with the Divine Majesty.* Truly, whether the *Angels* may reverence these *Men* or no, these *Men* do resemble the *Angels*. It becomes more notably thus, when *Men* do often set apart *whole Days* for their *Prayers* and their *Praises*, and are *With God* in the *Mount* for *whole Days* together. Great *Things* did the *Angels* do for *Moses*, great *Things* for *Elias*, who often spent *whole Days* alone with the Lord; and what said an *Angel* unto *Daniel*, when he had been spending *whole Days* at such a rate, *Thou art a Man of Desires, and an Angel thinks not much to fly down from Heaven unto thy Conversation!* Such *Days* do leave an *Angelical Savour* upon the *Souls* of *Men*; they leave our *Souls*, for many *Days* afterward, under such a *Gracious*, and *Generous*, and *Serious*, and *Watchful*, and *Useful Bias*, as has the *Face* of an *Angel* thereupon. And therefore, the *Lords Days*; Let us keep them with a peculiar *Sollicitude*, a singular *Elevation of Sanctity*. It was the *Privilege* of *John* in *Rev. 1. 10. To be in the Spirit on the Lord's Day.* Sirs, If we are so, we shall be with the *Angels* on the *Lord's Day*; and if with them, then

then like them. To be wholly under the *Confinement* [I mistook the Word, I should say *Liberty*!] of *Religious Applications*, throughout our whole *Christian Sabbath*, let us not count it as a Ceremonious Person once call'd it, *A being on the Rack an whole Day together*. *Angels* have strangely visited and comforted some on the *Rack*; but never such as complain'd, that a strict *Lord's Day* put 'em on a *Rack*. During the whole *Day*, let our *Thoughts* be full of *God*, and *Christ*, and *Heaven*; during the whole *Day*, let our *Words* be few, and fit, and *swoury*, and such as may minister *Grace* unto the *Hearers*; during the whole day, let our *Earthly Defilements* be banished from us; let our *Hearts* be every Hour sallying forth with numberless *Ejaculations* to the *Lord*. Such *Lord's Days* will ripen Men into *Angels* at the last! But on the *Lord's Day*, there sometimes does recur a most special and signal Opportunity to *Draw near unto God*, namely, *The Lord's Supper*; an Ordinance of the *Nearest Fellowship* with *Heaven*; an Ordinance wherein a *CHRIST* suffering for us, is by the Symbols of *Bread* and *Wine* so tendred unto the Faithful, that in their Obeying His Appointment thereof, they do with ineffable Advantage partake of Him. Well then, let our *Preparations* for this Great Ordinance be with as much of Solemnity, as if we were to dye our selves at the Time, when we do *annunciate* here the *Death of our Lord*. Let us *examine* our selves and *supplicate* our *God*, before we come to the *Table of the Lord*, as if we were to dye when we come. And at this *Holy Table*, where *Man eats Angels Food*, let us fix our *Meditations* on our *Lord JESUS CHRIST*, with all possible *Attention*, with all suitable *Affection*. Thus, *Beholding, as in a Glass, the Glory of the Lord, we shall be changed into the same Image, from Glory to Glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord*. Now, 'tis that *Glory* that makes an *Angel*!

V. An *Heart* much affected with the *Lord JESUS CHRIST* will procure the *Face of an Angel*, unto the *Man* who hath an *Heart* so affected. Unto the *Angels* there is nothing so precious, and nothing so glorious as the *Lord JESUS CHRIST*; yea, 'tis our *CHRIST* that makes the best part of their *Heaven* for them. Our *Lord JESUS CHRIST* is, as the *Apostle* enumerates it among the *Misteries* and *Evidences* of our Faith, in *1 Tim.* 3. 16. *Seen of Angels*. But how *seen*? Truly, *seen* with *Wonders*, and *seen* with *Raptures*, and *seen* with *Endless Hallelujahs*. Would we be like the *Angels*? Then let our *Lord Jesus Christ* be *seen* by us, as the *Best Thing* in *Heaven* and *Earth*, and as infinitely *Better* than the very *Angels* themselves. At the *Incarnation* of our *Lord JESUS CHRIST*, what were the *Songs of Angels*? in *Luke* 2, 14. *There was a multitude of the Heavenly Host, praising of God, and saying, Glory to God in the Highest!* Would we be like the *Angels*? Let us then join in a *Consort* with those *Morning Stars*, and *Sons of God*. It was with *Joy unspeakable and full of Glory*, that the *Angels* attended upon our *Lord Jesus Christ*, first throughout His *Humiliation*, and then unto His *Exaltation*. Let the whole of *That*, be the most *Ravishing Subject* of our *Contemplation*; Let us love to see our *Lord Jesus Christ*,

first *Suffering* and then *Entering into His Glory*. And let our *Acclamations* be like those of the *Angels*, upon those marvellous *Dispensations* of the *Grace of God*! When the *Angels* do look on *Jesus Christ*, they are covered with *Astonishment*, and cry out, *O Holy, Holy, Holy Lord of Hosts, all Heaven is full of thy Glory!* And shall not we so look on that our *Lord of Glory*? When the *Angels* do speak of our *Lord Jesus Christ*, they make a most *Reverent Mention* of His *Holy and Reverend Name*, and say, *Oh! there is none among the Sons of the Mighty, that may be compared unto this Lord*. And shall not we so speak of that *Great King*, with a *Tongue like the Pen of a ready Writer*? Something of *Christ* the *Angels* must have, they would think themselves to be starved, if they had not this *Manna* to feed upon! *Sirs*, Let the *Meat* of our *Souls* be the *Fruit* growing on this *Tree of Life*; and let the *Drink* of our *Souls* be, the *Honey of this Rock*: This is the daily *Repast* of *Angels*; this *Nourishment* will *Angelise* us in a little while. What shall I say? The *Mystery of CHRIST* is the most grateful *Contemplation* of the *Angels*: Those *Cherubims* about the *Ark of God*, we are told in *1 Pet.* 1. 12. *They desire to look into these Things*. I say then, *Go and do likewise*.

VI. If we would always behave our selves as before the *Face of Angels*, we should at length obtain the *Face of an Angel* by the *Exactness*, the *Circumspection*, the *Accuracy* of our *Behaviour*. It was a *Good Memento* written upon a *Study-Wall*, *Angeli adstant*; or, *The Angels of God stand by!* Did Men remember the *Eye of the Invisible Angels* upon them in all their *Ways*, how grave, how cautious, how pious would they be? and at last, how like unto those *Angels*! If a *Man* were as bad as *Balaam* himself, yet the bare *Suspicion* of having the *Eye of some Angel* upon him, would be enough to stop him from rushing on to *Sin*. *Why shouldst thou sin*, says the *Wise Man*, in *Ecc.* 5. 6. *before the Angel*? If we were *wise*, we should often think, *I am now before some Angel!* and that *Thought* would make us *wise*. The *Aged Apostle* said unto a younger *Minister*, *I charge thee before the Elect Angels*: From whence 'tis infallibly sure, That the *Elect Angels* take notice, how we acquit our selves, each one in his *Charge*. Said the *Psalmist*, in *Psal.* 238. 1. *Before the Gods I will sing praise unto thee*: The *LXX.* translate it, *I will sing praise unto thee, before the Angels*. *Christians*, The *Angels* take notice of us in all our *Employments*, yea, in our closest *Retirements*. We give no *Praises* to *God*, we perform no *Duties*, we endure no *Troubles*, we resist no *Temptations*, but the *Angels of God* are the *Witnesses* of what we do; we are a *Spectacle to Angels* in all of our *Encounters*. Well, Now let our *Deportment* be mightily under the *Influence* of this *Consideration*; *The Angels take notice*; what *Report* will the *Angels of God* give of my *Behaviour*! It has been propounded as a *Rule of Prudence*, for a *Man* wherever he comes, to imagine, that there is present some *Eminent, Wise, and Good Man*, to see and hear all that passes. *Man*, There is an *Angel* to see and hear all that passes, wherever thou comest; this is no *meer Imagination*. Could we, like the *Servant of*

the Prophet in the Mount, see the unseen Regiment of the World by the subordinate Government of *Angels*, what an *Awe* would it strike us with! The *Angels* of the Lord see how Men are disposed and employed for the Service of their Lord, and gladly contribute their unknown Assurances unto that Service. But it cannot be any other than a Grief unto those *Angels* to see *Enormities* in those, for whose Welfare they are concerned. If they have Joy over a *Penitent*, they must needs have some sort of *Grief* over a *Transgressor*. Yea, in all probability, the miscarriages of such Offenders, work in them a sort of *Distaste*, which inclines them on many Accounts, to withdraw from the Offenders, until they have washed themselves over again, *In the Fountain set open for Sin and for Uncleanness*. Now, let this Consideration accompany us in all our Walk; and let the Eye of an *Angel* be more to us, than the Eye of a *Cato*, could be to any *Roman*. The *Face of Angels* will at last be gain'd by such a Consideration!

VII. Let us beware of every *Sin*; for *Sin* will turn a *Man* into a *Devil*. Oh! Vile *SIN*, horrid *SIN*, cursed *SIN*; or, to speak a more pungent Word, than all of That; Oh, *SINFUL Sin*; how pernicious art thou unto the Souls of Men! 'Tis said, in 1 *John* 3. 8. *He that committeth sin is of Devil. Holiness will make Men Incarnate Angels; but Wickedness will make them Devils Incarnate.* An impenitent *Sinner*, hath he the *Face of an Angel* No, but the *Heart of a Devil* in him. Let your *Zeal* against all *Sin* then be like that of the *Seraphim*. The *Angels* are *Seraphims*, or burning Ones; they burn [and so let us!] against all *Sin*, because of its being so contrary and provoking to their most *Holy Lord*. Sirs, Mark it; if any of you wittingly and willingly sin against God, you do as the *Devils* do, and as the *Devils* would have you to do, and as our Lord Jesus Christ speaks, in *John* 8. 44. *Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the Lusts of your Father ye will do.* Dreadful words! There is the *Image of the Devil*, and there is the *Practise of the Devil* in every *SIN*. To commit *SIN* is *Humane*; to indulge it will be *Diabolical*. But especially, there is much of the *Devil* in *Apostacy* from good Beginnings. Of the *Devils*, we find in *Jude* 6. *They kept not their first Estate: They once joined, it seems, in praising of God with the Angels of the Blessed Regions; but they left it all.* You that have left the *Societies*, and the *Exercises of Christianity*, wherein you were at first engaged; behold, who your Leader is! The first and great *Apostate*, the *Devil* is your Leader in this *Desertion*; and, alas whither will he lead you? There is much of the *Devil* also in *Hypocrisy* under good Professions. When there was a secret, rotten *Hypocrite* among the Disciples of our Lord. Our Lord said in *John* 6. 70. *He is a Devil: Indeed, the Devil is never so much a Devil, as when Transformed into an Angel of Light.* When strict Pretenders and Pleaders, and it may be Preachers of the *Gospel* shall yet *Cloak some Hidden Practices of Dishonesty* under their fair Pretences, Behold, Men playing the *Devil* horribly. What shall I say more? The *Devil* is an *Unclean*

Spirit, a *Lying Spirit*, a *Proud Spirit*, a *Spirit full of Envy*. Oh! Take heed lest you be of such a *Spirit*, and so, lest you perish with the *Devil* and his *Angels* throughout *Eternal Ages*.

Thus, the *Rules* of becoming *Angelical* have been set before us.

But if we do now Humbly reflect upon our selves, for our not living up to these *Rules*; we cannot easily be more Humble in such Reflections, than was that *MAN OF GOD*, the Reverend *JOSHUA MOODEY*, who from his *Essays*, to obtain the *Face of Angels*, is now gone unto the *Place of Angels*.

All the Churches of *NEW-ENGLAND* considered him, as a Person, whom an Eminency both in *Sense* and in *Grace*, had made considerable. All the Churches of *BOSTON* enjoy'd and admired, his Accomplishments for the *Evangelical Ministry*, many years together. The Church of *Portsmouth* (a part of the Country that very much ow'd its *Life* unto him!) crys out, of a *Deadly Wound* in his *Death*; and is ready to cry out, *Our Breach is great like the Sea; who can heal it?* His *Labours* in the *Gospel* were frequent and fervent; whereof the *Press* hath given some *Lasting*, as the *Pulpit* gave many *Lively Testimonies*: Yea, if it were counted one of the most Memorable Things in *St. Francis de Sales*, that he made *Four Thousand Sermons* to the People, I can relate as Memorable a Thing of our *Moodey*: At the Beginning of his Sermons he still wrote in his Notes (which were fairly and largely written) how the Number of them advanced; and before he died, he had numbred some Hundreds more than *Four Thousand* of them. And unto his Cares to edifie his Flock by *Sermons*, he added more than Ordinary Cares to do it by *Visits*: No Man perhaps being a kinder *Visitant*. He was not only ready to *Do good*, but also to *Suffer* for doing it; and as he was Exemplarily zealous for a *Scriptural Purity* in the Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, so he cheerfully submitted unto an *Imprisonment*, for that *Cause of God*, and of this Country; wherein, like *Stephen*, he had the Honour to be the *First*, that suffered in that way for that *Cause* in these parts of the World. Briefly, For *Piety*, for *Charity*, and for *Faithfulness* to the main Interests of our Churches; all that knew him, and know the Worth of these Things, wish that among the *Survivors* he may have many *Follower*s.

He was of a very Robust and Hardy Constitution, and a notable Exception to the General Remark, *Rarosolent Ingenia insigniter sœlicia, Robusta fortiri Corpora*; and it may be, too *Prodigal* of his *Athletick Strength*, in doing the Service whereto a Good Master called him. Nevertheless, when a *Complication* of Distempers was divers Months before his Dissolution brought thereby upon him, he exceedingly lamented *His Neglect* (as he accounted it) of his past *Opportunities to be serviceable*. At length, coming to *Boston* for Advice about the Recovery of his lost Health, his Distempers here so grew upon him, as to threaten a quick Period unto his Pilgrimage. His distressed Church at *Portsmouth* now importunately made their *Prayer* with *Fasting* before the *Great Shepard of the Sheep*,

Sheep, that they might not be deprived of so Rich a Blessing; and he was himself exceedingly desirous to have returned unto *Portsmouth*, that he might establish his Flock yet further against all Temptations to forsake the *Right Ways of the Lord*. But Heaven determines otherwise.

When the Last Summons of *Death* came to be served upon him, he had neither *Time* nor *Strength* to speak very much; and they that have spoken much while they *live*, sometimes must not speak very much at their *Death*. His Discourses were generally full of *Self-condemnation*; and indeed, that Man knows not how to *dye*, who thinks to *dye* otherwise, than *Condemning of himself* exceedingly. The most of what he said was, I suppose, unto a Minister who visited him the Day before his Expiration. Unto that Minister he signified, That he was *Rejoycing in the Hope of the Glory of God*; That he was *Longing to go to the Precious Christ, whom he had chose and serv'd*; That the *Spirit of Christ had comfortably taken away from him the Fear of DEATH*. When that Minister urged him, to leave with him any special Desire, that he should judge proper to be mentioned, he said, *The Life of the Churches! The Life of the Churches! and the Dying Power of Godliness in them; I beseech you to look after that*; The Minister at last said, *The Lord Jesus Christ is now, Sir, going to do for you, as once for Joshua [your Names-sake!] He is just going to take from you, your old, sorry, ragged Garments, Those of your Flesh, and cloath you with change of Raiment, with the Garments of Heavenly Glory, and give you a place among His Angels: Whereto he replied with some Transport, I believe it! I believe it!* After this, he said little, but lay in an

uneasie Drowsiness until the Afternoon of the day following; which was *The Lord's Day*; and then, even on the Day, whereon he had so often been *in the Spirit*, he went unto the Blessed *World of Spirits*; on the Day, which he had so often sanctified in a *Sacred Rest*, he went unto his *Eternal Rest*. A *Fatal Day* was this unto our Land! It is an Omen of a sad Fate unto a Land, when the *Angels* do say, *Migremus hinc*; Let us be gone! How far he had the *Face of an Angel* while he sojourned here, no doubt *Envy* may *carvil*; and I have sometimes with wonder seen it, in the poor *Energumens* among us, that when the *Minister*, who might be the most likely to do them good, came unto them, the Fiends that possessed them, would make the Minister's *Face* look so dirty and swarthy, that they must by no means acknowledge him. This I may venture to say without Flattery: It is long ago, that in another sense than *Aquinas*, we call'd him *An Angelical Doctor*; and he has now attained the *Face of an Angel*, without the least *Wrinkle* in it. He is, with *Stephen*, and the *Angels of God*, gone to behold the *Glory of the Lord JESUS CHRIST*, and bear a part with the *Many Angels round about the Throne*, saying, *Worthy is the Lamb that was slain!* I cannot but recommend him to you, as one that was, *A Candidate of the Angelical Life*; and solicit you to remember, not only the *Lessons*, and *Counsels*, and *Warnings*, which you have had from him, in private or publick Dispensations, but also his *Example*, to follow him wherein he followed [and in many things he followed!] the *Lord JESUS CHRIST*.

FINIS.

CHAP. VIII. GEMINI.

THE

L I F E

OF THE

COLLINS'S.

§. I. **W**HEN several Sons of *Diagoras* had so acquitted themselves, as to merit and obtain Applause in their publick Actions, he, that brought the Old Man the Report of it, gave him that Salutation, *Dye quickly, or, I am going to tell you that which will keep you out of Heaven!*

There was a good Old Man, called *COLLINS*, the *Deacon* of the Church at *Cambridge*, who is now gone to *Heaven*; but before he went thither had the Satisfaction to see several most *Worthy Sons* become very *Famous Persons* in their *Generation: Sons*, that having *worthily served* their *Generation*, are now gone thither as well

as he; Two of them are found among the Graduates of Harvard-Colledge.

§. 2. Mr. JOHN COLLINS in his Youth received a Wound by a Fall, which had like to have cost him his Life; but whilst he lay gasping, the Renowned Mr. Thomas Shepard came to him with this Consolation; *I have just now been wrestling with the Lord for thy Life, and God hath granted me my Desire; Young Man, thou shalt not dye but live; but remember, that now the Lord says, Surely, thou wilt now fear Him, and receive Instruction.* The Life, then continued unto that Young Man, afterwards proved so very Considerable among the Congregational Divines of Great Britain, and especially in the Great City of London; where he mostly spent his Days of publick Service, that it well deserves a Room in our Account of Worthies. His Abilities as he was a Preacher, did chiefly signalize him; for such was the Life and Charm, which accompanied his Exercises in the Pulpit; that none but Persons of the same Humour with him, who wrote certain Things like Books, to prove, *That Cicero wanted Elquence, went away Unmoved or Unpleas'd from them.* Nevertheless, being under Disadvantages to come at the more perfect Story of his Life, my Reader shall have only the *Contracted Report*, which his Epitaph has thus given of it. Reader, The Stones will speak, if his Friends do not Celebrate him!

JOHANNES COLLINS.

*Indolis Optimæ Puerulus, Patrem Pietate Insignem,
Castiorem Dei Cultum, et Limatiorem
Ecclesiæ Disciplinam, anhelantem,
In Americanum Anglorum, secutus est Colonium,
Ubi, quæ Gymnasiis, quæ Cantabrigiensi isthic Collegio,
(Deo indefessis aspirante Studiis)
Scriba factus ad Regnum Cælorum Instruētissimus,
Antiquæ cum fœnore, rependitur Angliæ.
Scotiæ etiam celeberrimum Ministrorum Gens fertilis,
Et audiuit, & mirata est Concionantem.
Utrobique multos Christo lucrificavit;
Plures in Christo ædificavit.
Præsertim hac in Metropoli, Gregis gratissimi Pastor;
Nil segnīs Otii Gnævo indulgens Animo;
Nec Laboribus, Morbisque, fracto, parcens Corpori;
Meditando, Prædicando, Conferendo, Votaque, faciendo,
Vitam insumpsit fragilem,
Ut æternæ aliorum Vitæ consuleret;
Quo Ecclesiarum itaque, nulla Pastorem Optimum,
Aut Vivum magis Venerata est,
Aut magis indoluit morienti.*

M. D^{ris} Die III^o. Anno Ære Christianæ
M DC LXXXVII.

This is the Language of the Epitaph, the Truth-Speaker.

And as I have thus found the Story of his Life, so I can in a yet more unsuspected Quarter now find a Sermon on his Death. In the Third Volume of the *Morning-Exercises* published by that Good Man, the very Barnabas of London, that very Reverend and Excellent Man, Dr. Annesley; there is a Sermon wearing the Name of no other Au-

thor, but N. N. on that Case, *How the Religions of a Nation are the Strength of it?* Now the Author of that Sermon was this Mr. John Collins, who tho' he thus reckoned himself a *No Body*, yet was by Others esteemed so Considerable a part of the *Strength of the Nation*, that at the Affectionate Prayer of the Reverend Mr. Mead, poured out before God for his Recovery when he lay sick; I have been told, there was hardly one dry Eye to be seen in the Great Congregation of the Lecture at Pimms-Hall, where he also had been a Lecturer. Let the Reader but make the Application of that Sermon to the Author of it; and read this as the Running Title, *The English Nation weakened by the Death of Mr. JOHN COLLINS*: Thus a *Funeral Sermon* upon him will not be wanting!

§. 3. A Younger Brother, but yet a Brother to him, was Mr. NATHANAEL COLLINS, at whose Death, Dec. 28. 1684. in the Forty Third Year of his Age (wherein he got the start for Heaven!) there were more Wounds given to the whole Colony of Connecticut in our *New-England*, than the Body of *Cæsar* did receive, when he fell wounded in the *Senate-House*. Reader, I would have made an *Essay* to have lamented the Fate of this our Collins in *Verse*, were it not for Two Discouragements: Not because *Annatus* the Jesuite reckon'd it a Thing worthy of a Scoff in our Dr. Twiss, to be guilty of a little Flight at Poetry; for the *Noblest Hands* have scann'd Poetical Measures on their Fingers: But because my *Mean Faculties* would not carry me beyond the Performances, whereof the Gentleman in *Thuanus* was afraid, when he made it a Clause in his Last Will, *That they should not burden his Hearse with bad Funeral Verses*; and because that Sacred Thing *Verse*, hath been by the *Licentious Part* of Mankind so prostituted, that now the Truth of whatever is therein offered, therefore does become suspected. Nevertheless his Merits were such, that his Life must be written, or at least so much of it as this, That he merited highly to have his Life written. But our History of him is to be abridged into this brief Account, That the Church of *Middletown* upon *Connecticut-River* was the *Golden Candlestick* from whence this Excellent Person illuminated more than that whole Colony; and that all the Qualities of most Exemplary Piety, Extraordinary Ingenuity, Obliging Affability, join'd with the Accomplishments of an Extraordinary Preacher did render him truly Excellent. In saying this of him, I may confirm what I say, in Words like those of *Jerom* on a like Occasion, *Testor, Christianum de Christiano, vera proferre*; and for his Character add this Epitaph.

*Ille pius Pastor, quo non præstantior Unus,
Qui faciendo docet, quæ facienda docet.*

But indeed, as the Mother of *Brasidas* bravely comforted her self, upon the Death of her much lamented Son, *Vir bonus est Brasidas et fortis, sed habet multos Sparta similes*: Even such was the Consolation of *Connecticut*, by the Special Favour of

Hea-

Heaven to the Colony; That though in the Death of COLLINS they lost an Excellent Man, yet he was not the only Excellent Man they had among them. In the Acknowledgments of Worth, there may come in for a great Share with him, several

most Worthy Men, wherewith Connecticut Colony has been singularly favoured Whiting of Hartford, Woodbridge of Wethersfield, Wakeman of Fairfield will never be forgotten, till Connecticut Colony, do forget it self, and all Religion;

CHAP. IX.

THE

L I F E

O F

Mr. Thomas Shepard.

*Cui præmaturum, Mortemque queramus Acerbam?
Mors Matura Venit, cum Bona Vita fuit.*

§. 1. **I**F it were accounted a Great Honour to the Family of the *Curii* in Rome, that there arose from that Stock Three Excellent Orators, One succeeding another; we may account it a greater Honour signaling the Family of the *Shepards* of New-England, that no less than Three Excellent Ministers have successively issued from it. The Eldest Son of Mr. Thomas Shepard, the Ever Memorable Pastor to the Church of Cambridge, was Mr. Thomas Shepard, the Pastor to the Church of Charlestown; and the Only Son of Mr. Thomas Shepard that Pastor of Charlestown, was our last Mr. Thomas Shepard, *Paternæ Virtutis ex asse Hæres*, his Grandfather's and his Father's Genuine Off-spring. The Lives of those his Predecessors make a Figure in our Church-History, and though this our Third Mr. Thomas Shepard must have it said of him, *That he did not attain to the Days of the Years of the Life of his Fathers in the Days of their Pilgrimage*; nevertheless his Life had that in it, which may justly render it *Observable* and *Exemplary*. Yea, such a *Similitude* of Spirit, there was descending from the Father to the Son, and from the Son to the Grandson in this Holy Generation, that albeit, they were all of them severally *Short-lived*, the Two First not living much more than Forty, and the last not so much as Thirty Years in the World, yet there might a sort of *Foisted Longevity* be ascribed unto the Generation; for when the Father went away, *Non totus recessit*, we had him still surviving to the Life in the Posterity. As the Name of *Abner* may be taken both ways, either *Pater Lucerna*, or *Lucerna Patris*; either the Father was the *Brightness* of the Son, or the

Son was the *Brightness* of the Father: Such a Lustre did Father, and Son, and Grandson, mutually reflect upon One another, in this Happy Family. It might be said of them as *Nazianzen*, I remember, speaks about the Family of a *Basil*: The Parents were such, that, if they had not such blessed Children, they had been of themselves Renowned; and the Children were such, that if the Parents had not been so of themselves, yet for the sake of These they had been Famous in the Church of God. Or, they may make us think of the *Glory*, with which the most Illustrious Family in the Oracles of God, is usually set off when *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, are so often together introduced, where the Root gives a Verdure to the Branches, and the Flourishing Branches again commend the Root.

§. 2. When Mr. Thomas Shepard the Second of New-England, and the First of Charlestown, died, he left behind him such a *Picture*, as that which Tully mentions of *Sextus Sulpicius*; *Nullum unquam Monumentum clarius. S. Sulpicius relinquere potuit, quam Effigiem Morum suorum, Virtutis, Constantiæ, Pietatis, Ingenii Filium*; A Son that was the *Lively Picture* of his Virtues. And now that Son also is dead without any *Male Off-spring*; we will make an *Essay* at the Drawing of his *Picture* after another manner; even by such a Narrative of his *Life*, as may be indeed his *Picture to the Life*: In the Doing whereof, perhaps the Children of Godly and Worthy Ancestors, may find the Encouragement of a Confirmation to that Observation, That as the *Snow-Ball*, the further it rolls, the greater it grows, thus the further that the

Grace of God is continued, and received, and valued in any Family, the *Greater Effects* of that Grace will be still appearing. For there were some singular Circumstances of *Early Blessedness*, attending this our youngest and latest *Shepard*, wherein it might be said of him, as it was of the Well-known *Grandson*, of whom this was indeed a *True Son*, *His Blessings exceeded the Blessings of his Progenitors*. And we may the rather take Notice of this Matter, because there was hardly One *Consideration*, which oftner possessed the Mind of this our *Shepard*, or more powerfully operated upon him to make him *Eminent*, than *The Obligations laid upon him from his Ancestors to do worthily*. As the Famous *Bolelaus* always carried about with him, the Picture of his *Father* in his Bosom, upon which often looking, he would say, *Let me never do any thing unworthy the Son of such a Father*: This was the very Spirit of our *Shepard*, who always bore about with him the Image of his *Father*, and as often as perhaps almost any one Thing, thought on this, *How he might approve himself the Son of such a Father*.

§. 3. Descended from such Ancestors, our *Thomas Shepard* was born at *Charlstown* in *New-England* on *July 5. 1658*. How he was in his Earliest Years disposed, I choose to relate by reciting some of the Words, afterwards used by himself, when he addressed the Church of *Charlstown* for Admission to their Sacred Communion. 'As to the Thing of that which is commonly called *First Conversion* or *Regeneration*, I have had many Thoughts about it; but have been afraid, and am still, to determine it unto this or that particular. What I have found by my self, hath made me oftentimes to question, whether the *Former Operations* of the Spirit of God about me, were any more than *Common*; or, whether such and such *Sins* were consistent with *Saving Grace*; that which hath helped me in this Case, hath been partly, what I have heard from a Reverend Man of God; 'That such as are from time to time disquieted with such Thoughts, the best, if not the only way to put it out of doubt, that they have *True Faith*, is by *Exercising Faith*, to convert again unto God. And putting my Soul in the way of the *Breathings* of God's Spirit, and then observing the *Actings* thereof, I have by the Help of the same Spirit, found something of Relief under those *Doubts*. On my *Childhood* and *Youth*, I have too much cause to say (as *Solomon* of the things of this World) *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity!* Yet by the Blessing of God on the faithful Endeavours, and fervent Prayers of my Religious Parents; especially of my Honoured, Blessed; and most Exemplary Father, who of all, as the most *Able* to further, so was most *Sollicitous*, *Studious*, and tenderly Careful, always about the Everlasting Well-being of a Son, from the very Beginning of my Days, to the End of his, I do think, I was by Precept and Holy Example, imbued with a *Natural Love* and Liking to the Word and Ways of God; though not saving, yet such as whereby a Pre-

judice against Religion was prevented. Now as God blessed the Religious Cares of his Father to tinge him with such a Savour of Religion in his *Childhood*; and he would not only on the *Lord's Days*, while he was yet a Boy, so notably repeat by heart in his Father's Family, all the Heads of the Longest Sermons preached in the Publick, that it might have served for a sufficient Repetition, instead of using the Notes usually produced on such Occasions, but also his Virtuous Carriage on the *Week Days*, he show'd, that the Sermons had indeed their Impressions on his Heart: So his *Childhood* was remarkable for the Diligence of it, and his Love of his Book. And such was the Effect of this Diligence, that though he had not in his Attainments the *Pracocity* of *Jacobus Martini*, the *Venetian Boy*, who not many years agoe) when he was but seven years old, publicly disputed at *Rome*, on *Theses*, which he published of *Theology*, *Law*, *Physick*, and the other Disciplines, unto the Astonishment of all the Orders there, yet he did attain unto such Learning, as gave him an *Early Admission* into the *Colledge*, and rais'd great Hopes in good Men concerning him.

§. 4. Being admitted into the Colledge, never was Father more Careful of his *Ascanius*, than the Father of this our *Shepard* was of this his *Only Son*. And the Care of his Father for his Welfare, caused him then, in imitation of what the *Grandfather* had once done for him, to give him, in Writing a Paper of *Golden Instructions*, directing his Behaviour, while he should continue a Student in that Society.

The Sum of those Instructions was,

I. To remember the great End of his Life even the Glorifying of God through Christ, and the End of this Turn of his Life, even The fitting him for the most Glorious Work of the Holy Ministry. For this End (wrote that Excellent Man) Your Father hath set you apart with many Tears, and hath given you up to God that He might delight in you. And (he proceeded) I had rather see you buried in your Grave, than grow light, loose, wanton or profane: God's Secrets in the Holy Scriptures are never made known to common and profane Spirits; and (added he) therefore be sure you begin and end every Day, wherein you study with earnest Prayer to God; reading some part of the Scripture daily, and setting apart some time ev'ry Day (though but one Quarter of an Hour) for Meditation of the Things of God.

II. To remember, that these are Times of much Knowledge, and therefore One had almost as good be no Scholar, as not to Excel in Knowledge; Wherefore (said he) abhor one Hour of Idleness, as you would be ashamed of one Hour of Drunkenness. Though (as he also said) I would not have you neglect Seasons for Recreation a little before and after Meals, and though I would not have you study late in the Night usually, yet know, that God will curse your

your Soul, while the Sin of Idleness is nourished, which hath spoiled so many hopeful Youths, in their first Blossoming in the Colledge. Hence (*he said likewise*) don't content your self to do as much as your Tutor sets you about, but know, that you will never excel in Learning, unless you do somewhat else in private Hours, wherein his Care cannot reach you.

III. To make his Studies as Pleasant, and as Fruitful as could be, First by singling out Two or Three Scholars, the most Godly, Learned, and Studious, and such as he could Love best, and such as would most Love him, of any that he could find among his Equals, as also some that were Superiours, and often manage Discourses with them on all Subjects, which he had before him; and mark diligently what occur'd remarkable in every ones Conferences, Disputations and other Exercises, but, by no means letting too much leak away in Visits. Next, by having a Variety of Studies before him, that when he should be weary of one Book or Theme, he might have recourse to another. Then, by prosecuting of Studies in some Order and Method; and therefore, every Year at least, if not oftner, fixing the Course thereof, so as he might not allow himself to be Ordinarily therein interrupted. Fourthly, By giving of Difficult Studies the Flower of his Thoughts, and not suffering any Difficulty to pass him, till by Industry or Inquiry he had mastered it. Fifthly, By keeping an Appetite for Studies, by intermixing Meditation, and at fit Seasons Recreation, but by such as might moderately stir the Body, and render the Spirit more lively for its Duties. Sixthly, By making of Choice Collections from what Authors he perused, and having proper Indices to his Collections; and therewithal contriving still how to reduce all unto his own more peculiar Service in his Exercises or otherwise. Seventhly, By taking pains in preparing for his Recitations, Declamations, Disputations, and not upon any pretence whatever hurry them off indigestedly. (*Said he*) Reading without Meditation will be useles; Meditation without Reading will be barren. But here I would not have you forget a Speech of your Blessed Grandfather to a Scholar, that complained to him of a bad Memory, which discouraged him from Reading, *Lege, Lege, aliquid hærebit.* That Sentence [*he added*] in *Prov. 14. 23.* deserves to be written in Letters of Gold on your Study-Table, *In all Labour, there is Profit.* But, Lastly, By praying much not only for Heavenly, but also Humane Learning; For (*said he*) Remember that Prayer at Christ's Feet, for all the Learning you want, shall fetch you in more in an Hour, than possibly you may get by all the Books, and Helps you have otherwise in many Years.

IV. To be Grave and Kind in his Carriage towards all the Scholars; but be Watchful against the Two great Sins of many Scholars. Whereof his Words were these. The first is youthful Lusts, speculative Wantonness, and secret Filthiness, for which God hardens and blinds young Men's Hearts, his Holy Spirit departing from such unclean Styes. The Second is, Malignancy and

secret Distaste of Holiness, and the Power of Godliness, and the Professors of it. Both of these Sins (*said he*) you will quickly fall into, unto your own perdition, if you be not careful of your Company: For there are, and will be such in every Scholastical Society, for the most part, as will teach you how to be filthy; and how to jest, and scoff, and scorn at Godliness, and at the Professors thereof; whose Company, I charge you to fly as from the Devil, and abhor: And that you may be kept from these, read often that Scripture, *Prov. 2. 10, 11, 12, 16.*

V. Remember (*so wrote he*) to intreat God with Tears, before you come to hear any Sermon, that thereby God would powerfully speak to your Heart, and make His Truth precious to you. Neglect not to Write after the Preacher always in handsom Books, and be careful always to preserve and peruse the same. And upon Sabbath Days, make exceeding Conscience of Sanctification; mix not your other Studies, much less vain and carnal Discourses with the Duties of that Holy Day, but remember that Command, *Lev. 19. 30. Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary, I am the Lord.*

VI. Remember (*so likewise wrote he*) that whensoever you hear, read, or conceive any Divine Truth, you study to affect your Heart with it, and the Goodness of it. Take heed of receiving Truth into your Head, without the Love of it in your Heart, lest God give you to strong Delusions: If God reveal any Truth to you, be sure you be Humbly and deeply Thankful.

These Excellent Instructions his Father concluded with these Words

My Son, if thine Heart be wise, my Heart shall rejoyce even mine.

And I may now abridge the whole *Academical Life* of our young Shepard, even until he proceeded *Master of Arts*, into this brief Account of him, That he did make the Heart of his Worthy Father to rejoyce by his Conscientious and Exemplary Attendance unto these Instructions. Yea, when he had Occasion to mention them, it was in these Terms, *My, next-to Christ, most Beloved Father's Advice*: Nor was there any one part of his Character more conspicuous than this, *A Reverence for the Person and Advice of his Father.*

§. 5. But before he could proceed *Master of Arts*, a Terrible Hand of God upon (more than) *Charlstown*, put an End unto the Days of his Father in the World. And albeit that very considerable Church, under this Bereavement, had now a prospect of a Supply from several Quarters, yet after much Praying and Fasting before the Great Shepherd of the Sheep for His Direction, they could fix no where, but upon this Hopeful Son of their former Pastor. Indeed, for the most part, *A Prophet is without Honour in his own Country*, nevertheless in this Country, as well as among some of the Primitive Churches, there have been more than two or three Instances of Sons, that have happily succeeded (yea, and assisted)

their *Fathers* in the *Evangelical Prophecy*. And *Charlstown* particularly (not altogether unlike the *Magistrates of Basil*, who from their Esteem of the Excellent *Buxtorf*, chose his very young Son to succeed him in the *Hebrew Professorship*) knowing the *Prayers*, the *Tears*, the *Faith*, which their *First Shepard* had used for this *Only Son*, concluded, that like the Son of *Monica*, *It was impossible, that he should not be blessed, and made a Blessing*; and seeing also the Early Disposition of our Young *Shepard*, in all things to imitate his Excellent *Father*, they believed, that nothing would more continue *Day-light after Sun-set* unto them, than for them here to make their choice. Accordingly, at their Desire, he preached his *First Sermon* among them, while he was yet little more than twenty Years of *Age*; and with a very Charming, Solid and Serious Gravity, he discoursed on *Exod. 15. 2. He is my Father's God, and I will exalt Him.* Upon this, and other such Experiments of his Abilities; his *Father's Flock* were at no Rest, until they had obtained his Establishment with *Ordination*, to be their *Feeder*; which was consummated on *May 5. 1680.* And the last *VVords* used in the Sermon by a Reverend Person, who then preached on that Passage in *Ezek. 33. 7. Son of Man, I have set thee a Watchman*, will by being here transcrib'd, help to finish the *Picture*, which we have undertaken.

Be much in Prayer for your *Watchmen*, and particularly for him, who is this Day to be established in the *VVork* of the Lord *Jesus Christ* among you; You have honoured *Your selves* in thus expressing the Love and Honour which you had for his Excellent *Father*; and as it was said in *Ruth 2. 20. Blessed be he of the Lord, who hath not left off his Kindness to the Living, and to the Dead*; so I will say to you, *Blessed be this Church of the Lord, that you show Kindness unto your Dead Pastor, and to his Living Son.* As for him, that is now to become your *Watchman*, he needs your *Prayers*; I may say of him as *David of Solomon, My Son is young and tender, and the House is magnificent!* I know not whether any so young as he, was ever left alone with such a *Charge*. Now tho' the *Work be great*, yet the Lord *Jesus Christ* is able to carry him well through it all; but it must be through the Help of your *Prayers*, that he comes to have such a *Supply of the Spirit*, pray for him in particular, and that ev'ry Day! *VVho* knows what God may do for you, in *him*, and by *him*, as in and by his *Father* before him? Let it be your Prayer, that He would take of the *Spirit*, that was in his *Father* and his *Grandfather*; who were both of them *Great Men* in their Generation, and bestow thereof a *Double Portion* upon him. And let that *VVord* encourage you, *My Spirit which is upon thee, and my Word which I have put in thy Mouth, shall not depart out of thy Mouth, nor out of the Mouth of thy Seed, nor out of the Mouth of thy Seed's Seed; saith the Lord.*

Thus did he become the *Pastor of Charlstown*, and herein he did not leap from a vain, lewd and un sanctified *Youth* into the *Pulpit*, as into a

Shop, where to earn a *Living*, and there suddenly put on just so much *External Devotion*, as may serve to recommend one's Performances unto an *Auditory* of the Faithful. *Evan* the Heathen *Moralist*, observed the great *Mischief* done in the *VVorld* by the *Mercenary Masters of Precept*, who endeavoured more to talk just Things, than to do them; τὰ δὲ δὲ ἀγαθὰ μὲν λέγουσιν, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἔδωκεν. Our *Shepard* was none of these. But after long Preparations of a *Renewed Heart* and a *Religious Life*, and with *Awful Apprehensions* of the *Account*, which he was to give unto the *Lord of the Flock*, and of the *Worth* and *Charge* of *Immortal Souls* in his *Flock*, he was thrust forth into publick *Labours*. And the *Lord* encouraged his *Holy Labours* by making of such *Additions* unto his *Church*, as few *Churches* in the *Country* for the time had the like; but yet, as when *Peter* had a mighty Draught of *Fishes*, he cryed out, *Lord! I am a sinful Man!* Thus the mighty Draught of *Souls*, which this young *Disciple* found in his *Gospel-Net*, was indeed so far from *Lifting* of him up, that he sensibly grew in his *Humility*, and in his low and vile Thoughts of his own *Attainments*.

§. 6. Although he were a *Young Man*, yet might be applied unto him, a *Stroke* in the *Epitaph* on one of *Mr. Henries Children, Præterquam ætatem, nil Puerile fuit*: And he made the most *Judicious* of his *People* pass this *Judgment* on him, that he was no *Novice*: And such an Example was he *In Word, in Conversation, in Civility, in Spirit, in Faith, in Purity*, that he did *Let no Man despise his Youth*. Such indeed was his whole *Conduct* of him, that he made one think of those *Words of Origen, Sennum est prophetare; etiamsi videas aliquando juvenem prophetantem, non dubites dicere de eo, quia secundum interioreni hominem sensit, propterea Prophetæ est.* By the *Gravity* by his *deportment* he kept up his *Authority* among all sorts of *Persons*, and by the *Courtesy* of it he won their *Affection*. He set himself to *Do good* unto all among his *People*, and the *Charity* of his *Purse*, as well as of his *Tongue* and *Heart*, was felt on all just *Occasions*. But there were none dearer to him than the *Good Old People*; those *Holy Devout Aged Souls*, who had grown well towards *Ripe for Heaven* under his *Blessed Father's Ministry*: He was much in their *Company*, and he valued their *Prayers* for him, and their *Serious and Savoury* and *Heavenly Communications* at no ordinary *Rate*. Nor shall I ever forget the *Consolation*, which he told me, he had received from the *Words*, which one of those plain, old *Saints* used unto him, when he was under discouraging *Fears*, how he should go through his *Work*: *Sir (said he) If you'll give up your self to do the Work of the Lord Jesus Christ, never fear but He will help you to do yours.* When he came to have a *Family* of his own, it was a *Well-Ordered One*: He *Morning* and *Evening* read in it a *Portion* of the *Scripture*, and then pray'd out of what he read: But on the *Satur-day Nights*, he chose to *Repeat* a *Sermon*, commonly what had been preached on some *Lecture* the forgoing *Week*, or *One* of his deceased *Father's*; and on *Lord's-Day*

Day Nights he Repeated the Sermon of the Day foregoing. And while he made his House a *Bethel*, for the Devotion therein performed; he made it a *Bethesda*, for the Hospitable Entertainment which he gave unto those that repaired unto him: And *Munerarius Pauperum et Egentium, candidatus sic festinavit ad Cælum*. For all other things he so made the *Hundred and First Psalm* the *Rule of his House*, as to give therein a Demonstration of his Ability to *Rule the Church of God*. From hence, if we follow him unto his *Beloved Study*, there we shall find him affording yet a more Notable, and Eminent Instance of an *Holy Walk*. Here besides his *Daily Supplications*, he did *One Thing*, which had a mighty Tendency, to keep his own Spirit in an healthy, vigorous, thriving Temper, and bring down the manifold Blessings of God upon all the *Weighty Concerns*, which he had in his Hands; and a *Thing* it was, without which he thought, he could never prove either a *Watchful Christian*, or a very *Useful Minister*. This was that he scarce permitted *one Month* to pass him, without spending at least *One Day* in the Exercises of a *Secret-Fast* before the Lord. It is remarkable, that ev'ry One of those *Three*, who are famous in the Book of God for *Miraculous Fasting*, were honoured by God with the *Miraculous Feeding* of other Men. Our *Shepard* thought, that he should never do any great Things in *Feeding* of his Flock, if he did not great Things in *Fasting* by himself. The Commendations given to *Fasting*, by *Basil* and *Cyprian*, in their Orations about it, and by *Ambrose* in his Book of *Elias*, were believed by our *Shepard*; his Holy Heart could subscribe unto the *VVords* of *Chrysostom* concerning this Duty, who in his *Homily* says, *Fasting is, as much as lies in us, an Imitation of the Angels, a Contemning of Things present, a School of Prayer, a Nourishing of the Soul, a Bridle of the Mouth, an Abatement of Concupiscence: It mollifies Rage, it appeases Anger, it calms the Tempests of Nature, it excites Reason, it clears the Mind, it disburthens the Flesh, it chases away Night-Pollutions, it frees from Head-ach. By Fasting, a Man gets composed Behaviour, Free Utterance of his Tongue, Right Apprehensions of his Mind.* *VV*herefore he still would set apart a *Day* every *Month*, wherein he would strictly examine the *Error* of his *Heart* and *Life*, and confess and bewail those *Errors*, and obtain the *Sealed Pardon* thereof, by a *Renewed Faith* in the Obedience of the Lord Jesus Christ; and then wrestle with Heaven for *New Supplies of Grace*, to carry him well thro' the whole Service incumbent on him; and therewithal implore the *Smiles* of Heaven on all the *Souls* that were under his Charge, and on the *Land* and *World*. And this his *Piety* was accompanied with proportionable *Industry*, wherein he devoured Books even to a Degree of *Learned Gluttony*; in-somuch, that if he might have changed his Name, it must have been into *Bibliander*. *VV*hence, tho' he had a fine, and large, and a continually growing *Library*, yet, that he might avoid the Disgrace of that Salutation, *Salvete Libri sine Doctore*, he took a very particular course, to make himself Master of the *Learning*, which was lodg'd in so Rich a Treasury: For so little did he deserve to be numbered among the *Chaplains* of *K. Lewis* the XI.

the *French King*, who seeing their *Learning* to bear no proportion unto their *Libraries*, wittily said of them, *They were like such as had crooked Backs, carrying a Burden about with them, which they never saw in their Lives*, that he had hardly left a *Book* of Consequence to be so used, in his *Library* (shall I now call it, or his *Laboratory*) which he had not so perused as to leave with it in an *Inserted Paper*, a *Brief Idea* of the whole *Book*, with *Memorandums* of more *Notable Passages* occurring in it, written with his own *Diligent* and so *Enriching Hand*. He might say with *Seneca*, *Nullus mihi per otium exiit Dies, partem etiam Noctium studiis vendico*; and it is well if he were not a little too much of a *Seneca*, in hurting of his *Health* by so spending of his *Life*.

§. 7. He faithfully set himself to discharge the whole Duty of a *Pastor*; and as he walked humbly under the *Awe* of that *VVord* in *Heb. 13. 17.* *They watch for your Souls, as those that must give an Account*; so methinks, I hear him give up this *Account* unto the *Judge* of all.

' Gracious Lord; I watch'd, that I might see what *special Truths* from time to time, were most proper to be inculcated on my *Flock*, and I thoroughly preached those *Truths*. I watch'd, that I might see what sort of *Temptations* did most threaten my *Flock*, and I set my self to strengthen them against those *Temptations*. I watch'd, that I might see what sort of *Afflictions* did most assault my *Flock*, and I set my self to comfort them under those *Afflictions*. I did watch, to Learn what sort of *Duties*, were most *seasonable* to be recommended to my *Flock*, and I vigorously recommended them in the *Seasons* thereof. I did watch, to see what *Souls* of my *Flock* did call for my more particular *Addresses*, and I often address'd one or other of them. Yet not I, but the *Grace* which was with me!

But if we consider him yet more particularly, as a *Preacher*, he did thus acquit himself. In the writing of his *Discourses* for the *Pulpit*, he did, as they say, *Aristotle* did, when he wrote one of his *Famous Books*, *Dip his Pen into his very Soul!* *VV*hen he was going to compose a *Sermon*, he began with *Prayer*; thinking, *Benè orasse est benè studuisse*. He then read over his *Text* in the *Original*, and weigh'd the *Language* of the *Holy Ghost*. If any *Difficulty* occur'd in the *Interpretation*, he was wary, how he ran against the *Stream* of the most solid *Interpreters*, whom he still consulted. He was then desirous to draw forth his *Doctrines*, and perhaps other *Heads* of his *Discourse* in the *Beginning of the Week*, that so his *Occasional Thoughts*, might be useful thereunto. And he would ordinarily improve his own *Meditations* to shape his *Discourse*, before he would consult any other *Authors* who treated on the *Subjects*, that so their *Notions* might serve only to *Adorn* or *Correct* his own. Lastly, Having finished his *Composure*, he concluded with a *Thanksgiving* to the *Lord*, his *Helper*. And then for the *Utterance* of the *Sermons* thus prepared, though his *Pronunciation* were not set off with all the *Advantages*, that *Itching Ears* would have asked for, yet he had the *Divine Rhetorick*, recommended by *Dr. Stoughton* in that *Speech* of his, *This I know and dare avouch, that*

the highest Mystery in Divine Rhetorick is, To feel what a Man speaks, and then to speak what he felt. In thus fulfilling his Ministry, he went through a Variety of Subjects; but there were especially Two Subjects, that were singled out by him towards the Close of it. First, It being a Time, when a Conjunction of Iniquity and Calamity made but an Ill Aspect upon the Countrey, he did in One part of the Lord's Day choose to insist upon the Prayer of Jonas; which he handled in Forty five Sermons, whereof the last was uttered about a Month before his End. Secondly, A Synod of Churches having discovered, and condemned a Number of Provoking Evils, by degenerating whereinto, the Land was exposed unto the Judgments of Heaven, he did on the other part of the Lord's Days insist on those Provocations; and having dispatch'd what he intended hereof also, he took Two Texts; the One to awaken the Obstinate, namely, that in Jer. 13. 17. *If you will not bear, my Soul shall weep in secret places for your Pride.* The Other to encourage the Penitent, namely, that in Mat. 11. 28. *Come to me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you Rest.* And he was never after heard speaking in the Name of the Lord.

§. 8. A while before his Death, he preached Thirteen Sermons on that Passage Eccles. 12. 5. *Man goeth to his Long Home.* And he had a strange and strong Presage on his own Mind, that he was himself to be not long from that Home.

I find the Patriarch Isaac, in Gen. 27. 2. fill'd with many Thoughts about the Day of his Death at hand, and enquiring after some special Reason for it, I find that Isaac was now come to that Age, at which his Brother Ishmael died fourteen Years before. This probably now, above any other time, awakened him to think of his own Death as near unto him. It may be, the Presage of our Shepard, that he should not outlive the Age of Twenty seven, might be somewhat excited, by his calling to Mind, the Age at which his Uncle expired.

Our First Shepard of Cambridge had Three Sons, whereof, if the Eldest, namely, Thomas (the Father of our Thomas of Charlestown) were one singularly Enlarged in his Endowments and Improvements; I am sure, the Second was one, whose Heart was a Tent in which the Lord remarkably chose to Dwell: It was Mr. Samuel Shepard, of whose Holy Life and Death I may here interweave a distinct Account, by but reciting the Words which I find written in a private Manuscript of our Excellent Mr. Mitchel concerning him. His Words are these,

On April 7. 1668. dyed Mr. Samuel Shepard, Pastor of the Church of Rowly (just two Months after his Wife) a very Precious, Holy, Meditating, Able and Choice Young Man; One of the First Three. His Attainments in Communion with God, and in daily Meditation and Close Walking, may shame those that are Elder than he. He was but Twenty six years of Age in October last. He was an Excellent Preacher, most dearly Beloved at Rowly, and of all that knew him; but just settled among them. The

People would have Plucked out their Eyes for him, to have saved his Life. But he was ripe for Heaven, and God took him thither: A Gain to him but an invaluable Loss to us.

Now this our Thomas had an almost unaccountable Apprehension, that in his Early Death he should be like his Uncle Samuel; and under the Influence of this Apprehension, he so liv'd, and so preach'd, as to avoid the Danger of a Sudden Death, by being always prepared for it. Accordingly, it came to pass that about June 5. 1685. on Friday being indisposed in his Bowels, he yet continued his Pains and Hopes, all the Saturday following, to be ready for the Exercises of the Lord's Day, when the Lord's-Supper also was to have been administred. But on the Saturday Night his Illness grew so much upon him, that he said unto his Wife, *I would gladly have been, once more, at the Table of the Lord, but I now see that I shall no more partake thereof, until I do it after a new Manner in the Kingdom of Heaven.* On Lord's Day Noon I visited him, and at my parting with him, he said, *My Hopes are built on the Free Mercy of God, and the Rich Merit of Christ, and I do believe, that, if I am taken out of the World, I shall only change my Place; I shall neither change my Company, nor change my Communion: And as for you, Sir, I leg the Lord Jesus to be with you unto the End of the World!* After this, he spoke little to his Attendants; but was often overheard pouring out Prayers, especially for the Widow-Church; (as he often expressed it) which he was to leave behind him. And in the Night following, to the extream Surprize of his Friends on Earth, he went away to those in Heaven! If his Age be now enquired after, it is remarked, that altho' the Scripture doth mention the particular Age of many Heroes eternized in it's Oracles, yet after the Lord Jesus Christ came, and continued in this lower World, no longer than Thirty two Years and an half, the Scripture does not mention the Age of any one Person whatsoever, as if the time of any one's Continuance in this World more or less, were not worth minding, since the Son of the Most High Tabernacled so little a while among us. However, we will here mention the Age of our Shepard; it was a Month short of Twenty seven. But,

*An miserum dices, citò quòd Terrona reliquit!
Felicem certè, quòd meliora tenet.*

§. 9. Wisdom, Gravity, Prudence, Temperance (as One speaks) are not always confined unto them, that have wrinkled Faces, furrow'd Brows, dim Eyes, and palsy Hands, leaning on a Staff; nor is a Young Man incapable of being a Divine. Although our Shepard had not outlived the Years of Youth, when he went from hence, yet he had outgrown the Airs of it; and among all the Vertues of an Old Man which adorn'd him, not the least of his Ornaments was, his being well established in the Study of Divinity. To accomplish himself in that Study, he did not apply himself unto the Reading of those Authors, who, pretending to describe unto us, The Whole Duty of Man,

Man, and the Condition of our Obtaining the Benefits purchased by Christ, are careful to insist on any thing rather, than that a Reliance on the Righteousness of the Obedience, yielded by the Lord Jesus Christ as our Surety unto God for us, which is the *One thing needful*, or that Faith, whereby we come to have the Union with our Lord Jesus Christ, from which alone all Good Works arise: And those, who amidst their Volu- minous Harangues upon Moral Virtue, are very careful to avoid the least Insinuation, that a Man cannot be truly Virtuous, until the Spirit of God by a Supernatural Operatiou, infusing a New Principle into him hath regenerated him, and that a Man can do nothing truly Virtuous without the Supernatural Aids of that Spirit. He look'd upon many late Books written to undermine the Ortho- dox Articles of the Church of England, in these Matters, by Persons, who perhaps had got into Preferments by subscribing those very Articles, as Books that indeed betray'd the Christian Religion, under the Pretence of Upholding it. And the Mercy of God having preserved the Mind of this our Young Student from the wrong Schemes, which might have afterwards entailed such an Eternal Unsuccessfulness upon his Ministry, as uses to attend the Ministry, wherein the Grace of the Gospel is not acknowledged, he chose to read those Authors, which have the Truer Spirit of the Gospel in them. I find therefore under his own Hand, a List of such Authors as these, to be considered by him, as indeed worthy to be perused and considered; Mr. Perkins, Dr. Preston, Dr. Usher, Dr. Manton, Mr. Jeans, Mr. Strong, Mr. Caryl, Mr. Swincock, Dr. Jacomb, Dr. Owen, Mr. Polhill. And however he saw a Sherlock, after a very Un- evangelical Manner, abusing the Writings of his Grandfather Shepard, his Value for those Writ- ings, and the Writings of such Men as Mr. Hooker or Dr. Goodwin, was thereby not abated; but his Detestation of the New-Divinity, wherein he saw the Mysteries of Union with Christ confounded, Acquaintance with Christ reproached, and Living

by Faith on Christ, and Coming to Christ with no- thing for all things made a Ridicule, was more than a little augmented. And as it was a Principal En- deavour with him, to settle himself in the True, Protestant, New-English Anti-Arminian Points of Truth, so on all Occasions he prov'd himself One able to maintain the Truth against all Opposers: Whence, the Immature Death of so Accomplish'd a Divine, cannot but be a sensible Wound unto our Churches. But He that Holds the Stars in his Right Hand, can, if we address him for it, up- on the Setting of some, cause others to rise; yea, it is possible, and it is indeed proposed, that by writ- ing the Lines of some such, others may be exci- ted and assisted, in shining like unto them.

This was the Short Life of my Dear Shepard. I confess my Affection unto him to have been such, that if I might use the Poet's Expression of his Friend, *Anima dimidium meæ*, I must say, *I am half buried since he is dead*, or, *He is but half dead since I am alive*. Nevertheless, this Affection hath not bribed my Veracity in any part of the Character which I have given of him; for as on the one side, I count it base to throw Dirt on the Face, which Dust hath been cast upon; so, on the other side, I think, that Painting becomes Dead People worse than Living.

A Line or Two of Emanuel Thesaurus, upon that First and Young Shepherd ABEL, we may now leave upon him for his

E P I T A P H.

*Conditur sub hoc Cespite, Virgineus PASTOR,
Qui mortem, omnibus, vitæ am nemini flendam transsegit.*

Or This,
*Great Minds must like New Stars, but look about,
Be wondred at a little, and go out.*

Or, This.
*Dear Shepard, sure we dare not call thee Dead:
Tho' gone, thou'rt but unto thy Kindred fled.*

C H A P. X.

EARLY PIETY, Exemplified in the Life and Death of Mr. Nathanael Mather; Who having become at the Age of Nineteen, an Instance of more than Common Learning and Virtue, changed Earth for Heaven, Octob. 17. 1688.

*Si spectes Annos, Annis Puer ille videtur:
Si Mores spectes, Moribus esse Senex.*

The Fourth Edition.

With a Prefatory Epistle by Mr. Matthew Mead.

To the R E A D E R.

OF all Reading, History hath in it a most taking Delight, and no History more delightful than the Lives of good Men, it being not only pleasant but profitable; and so while other Pleasures become a Bait to Vice, this becomes a Motive to Virtue. It may be said of such Lives, as that Excellent Mr. Herbert said of Verses,

A Life may find him who a Sermon flies,
And turn Delight into a Sacrifice.

Thou hast here a rare History of a Youth, that may be of great Use and Advantage both to Old and Young: That the Aged seeing themselves out-done by Green Years, may Gird up their Loins, and mend their Pace for Heaven; and that Young Ones may be so wrought into the Love of Religion, as it is Exemplified in this Holy Person, as to endeavour with all Diligence to write after his Excellent Copy.

It is a great Work to dye, and to dye well is a greater; and no Work calls for greater Diligence than this, because the Errours of the first Work can never be corrected in a second. One great Reason why this Duty is seldom well done, is because we grudge Time to do it in, and leave it to be done at once. It is never like to be well done, unless it be always doing; and therefore we should, in Conformity to that great Apostle, die daily.

This was the Practice of this Young Disciple, who among all his other Learning (wherein for his time he excelled most) had in Nineteen Years so perfectly learned this Lesson, that the Wise God saw it fit he should take out.

About Fourteen Years old he did dedicate himself wholly to God and his Service, and entred into a Solemn Covenant with God to that purpose; which as he did not begin rashly, and without great deliberation, so he did not transact it slightly, but with great Sense and Seriousness: The Matter and Form

of which Covenant you have in this ensuing Narrative signed with his own Hand, according to that Word of the Prophet, (Isa. 44 5.) One shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the Name of Jacob, and another shall subscribe with his Hand to the Lord. And with what Care and Conscience he performed this Covenant in Fasting, in Prayer, in Watchings, in Self-Examination, in Meditation, in Thanksgiving, in Walking with God in all, is fully witnessed in what follows, which shews that he was a true Nathanael, an Israelite indeed in whom was no Guile. Not like those Israelites which the Prophet reproveth, for that they flattered God with their Mouth, — lied to him with their Tongues, their Hearts not being right with him, nor steadfast in his Covenant. For having once given up himself to God, He kept the Ways of the Lord, and did not wickedly depart from his God.

When his Worthy Father (my Dear Friend) was pleased to send this Narrative to me, I confess I could not read it without great Reflection and Shame: Thought I, God will not gather his Fruit till it is ripe, and therefore I live so long; nor will he let it hang till it is rotten; therefore Nathanael dyed so soon. We are not sent into the World merely to fill up a Number of Years, but to fill up our measures of Grace, and whenever that is done, our Time is done, and we have lived to Maturity, and so did this Youth, and therefore came to his Grave in a full Age (tho' at Nineteen) like as a Shock of Corn comes in in his Season.

The following History is written by his own Brother, (a Worthy Minister) the fittest of any for such a Province, the Nearness of Relation occasioning that Intimacy which others could not easily have. In what he hath done herein, he hath deserved highly of all who love Goodness and Virtue, having used great Faithfulness, and great Modesty: Great Faithfulness, and that both to the Dead and to the Living; to the Dead, in raising up the Name of such a Brother; and to the Living, in giving us a Narration of his Life, without

without an Oration in his Praise; which indeed was altogether needless, when it was so fairly written by himself, for his own Works praise him in the Gates. And he hath used great Modesty, in speaking for the most part out of the Journal of the Deceased, so that it is the Dead who speaks while the Living writes. And since his End is more to provoke to Imitation than to bespeak Admiration, How greatly doth it concern them into whose Hands this Narrative shall hap-

pily fall, to joyn earnest Prayer and diligent Endeavour together in following this great Example, otherwise he that gave it, and he that writes it, will both rise up in Judgment against an unteachable Generation.

London, June
17. 1689.

Matthew Mead.

To the READER.

IT is not for me to say much of the Person who is the Subject of the Ensuing History, for that I am his younger Brother. I have read a Letter (dated October 25. 1688.) written to his and my Ever Honoured Father, wherein are these Expressions.

Never could Parent have cause of more Comfort in a Child, than you have in that Son of yours. I have seen his private Papers, and in them such an Instance of a Walk with God, as few Ancient Ministers perhaps have Experience of, especially for the three last years of his Life, I find that he maintained a Course of wonderful Devotion, Supplication and Meditation every Day; that solemn Humiliations and Thanksgivings in secret, were no Strangers to his Practice, that he would be often thinking with himself, *What shall I do for God?* And in a Word, that Dr. Owen's Book about *Spiritual Mindedness*, has been in a very rare Manner transcribed into his Conversation.

He has bin for his Years a great Scholar, but a better Christian. The Life of the Famous Young *Faneway*, I think, has not more of Holiness illustrious in it, than that of your Dear *Nathanael's*.

I write these Things, because I judge you have no greater Joy. Some Eminent Ministers here, have maintained a pleasant, intimate, familiar Conversation with him, and the Chara-

cter which they gave of him, is very Extraordinary. Thus that Letter.

I have likewise heard my Father say, that he was more grieved for the Loss which the Church of God has sustained in the Death of that my Brother, than for his own Loss thereby.

When I parted from him not a Year ago, I hoped that would not have been my *Ultimum Vale*; but I now lament my Unhappiness, in that I gain'd no more by him: And yet must acknowledge, that the little Understanding which God has given me in the Hebrew or Greek Tongues, was by that my Brother as the Instrument: So that I have cause whilst I shall live, to honour his Memory. His Death makes me remember the Poet's Words.

*Οὐ φίλῃ Θεὸς ἀποβάσκει νέος.

I cannot but know, that if I should not fear and serve the God of my Brothers, and of my Fathers, and of my Grand-Fathers, the nearest Relations I ever had in the World, will be Witnesses against me at the Last Day. The Lord give us a joyful Meeting in Day of Christ.

London, February,
5th. 1689.

Samuel Mather.

The INTRODUCTION.

MY Reader will quickly discern what it is that I attempt the doing of; and I suppose he will then see no Occasion of enquiring *Why*. The *Apology's* wherewith Writers usually fill the *Prefaces* of their Books, *Do come of Evil*; either the Vanity of the *Composers* is discovered, or the Candor of the *Perusers* questioned in them. That I write the *Life* of a *Christian*, cannot be faulted by any one who considers, That the *Lives* of Pious Men have been justly esteemed among the most useful *Histories* which the Church of God enjoys; or that the *best Pens* in the World have been employ'd in thus helping the *Just* unto *Eternal Memory*.

Our Lord will have as mean a Thing as one Act of Devotion and Charity, in a poor *Woman*, to be mentioned wherever his *Gospel* comes. That I write the *Life* of a *Brother*, will not be reckoned absurd by them who understand what *Partners* I have, both *Ancient* and *Modern*, for my doing so. *James Faneway* among the rest has had our Thanks for what an Account he has given of his Brother *John*. Indeed, if I should not thus raise up for my Departed Brother a Name in *Israel*, I were not worthy to wear a *Shoo*, or to have a *Face unspit upon*. My *Natural Relation* to him doth oblige me to bestow an *Epitaph* upon his Grave; that the Survivers may not forget whose

Dust they tread upon: But I am by (that which *Ambrose* calls) a *Greater and Better Fraternity*, concerned to Embalm the Memory of One, who maintained such a *Walk with God*; as he did until *God took him to Himself*. It has been observed, That they who *Live in Heaven while they are on Earth*, often *Live on Earth after they are in Heaven*. It were lawful for me to desire and study such a Thing on the behalf of my Brother, whose *Early Piety* is at once my own *Shame and Joy*: But I pursue an higher End than this, designing rather to procure *Followers*, than to bespeak *Admirers* of this good Example: That this is my *Main Scope*, in what I am now doing of, I declare sincerely and very solemnly. And hence I have not here made an *Oration* in his *Praise*, but given barely a *Narrative* of his *Life*, and this mostly by transcribing of his own *Memorials*, in all affecting the *plain Style* of a just *Historian*. I do therefore address this *Exemplary Life* unto the young People of *New-England*, and especially unto those of *North-Boston*, who are the *Lambs* that I have received a peculiar Charge from the Lord *Jesus* about the *Feeding* of. To you do I present this *Mirroure*, wherein you may see the *Exercises* of a *Virtuous Youth*, not only *prescribed*, but also *practised* before your Eyes: You shall see, as what *should* be done, so what *may* be done by a *Young Person*, in order to *Everlasting Felicity*; see him and hear him as *One come from the Dead*, saying, *Do as I have done*. The *Father* of him whom I describe has laboured exceedingly for the *Conversion* of the *Rising Generation* in *New-England*; and his *CALL* to them has been printed and reprinted here among us. Tho' the *News* of a *Sons* Death must needs be afflictive to him, when he shall have the Report of it arriving to him in the other *England*, yet I make no doubt, but his *Parental Grievs* will be not a little mitigated, when he shall behold that *Son* thus renewing his *CALL* by *speaking* after he is dead. This young

Man did pray much for you while he was alive, that you might be truly converted unto God; he does preach now to you from the *Grave*, or rather from the *Sky*, that you would Remember your *Creator* in the *Days of your Youth*. I wish that he may (to use *Chrysostom's* Phrase) become a *Brother* to you by *Faith*, as he is to me by *Blood*: And I extend this my Wish with a most *Affectionate Application* to the young *Gentlemen*, who belong to the *Colledge* which he was a *Member* of. As you have had in his *Father* a *Rector*, whose *Generous* and *Expensive* Cares have not been for your *Disadvantage*; so you have in his *Diligence* and his *Devotion*, a *Copy* which is not altogether unworthy of your *Imitation*: I am setting before you the *Exercises* and *Accomplishments* of a *Scholar*, whose *Chief Study* it was, to be wise unto *Salvation*; a *Scholar*, which laboured while he was learning all other Things, not to be ignorant of Him, Whom to know was *Life Eternal*. I am not without *Hope*, that some of you will now resolve as *Jerom* did when he had read the *Life of Hilarion*, shutting up the *Book* and saying, *Well, here shall be the Champion whom I will follow*: When you come to *dye*, you will certainly commend such a *Life* as his; God grant that none of you may then have cause to sigh *Qualis Artifex pereo!* Or to complain, *Surgunt Indocti & rapiunt Caelum; Nos cum nostris Doctrinis mergimur in Infernum*. That *Great Man Hugo Grotius* near his End professed, That he would gladly give all his *Learning* and *Honour* for the *Integrity* of a *poor Man* in his *Neighbourhood*, that spent *Eight Hours* of his *Time* in *Prayer*, *Eight* in *Labour*, and *Eight* in *Sleep* and other *Necessaries*; and unto some that applauded his marvellous *Industry*, he said, *Ab, Vitam perdidit operose nihil Agendo!* But unto some that asked, the best *Counsel* which a *Man* of his *Attainment* could give, he said, *Be serious*. 'Tis with this *Counsel* that I humbly offer you the *Ensuing History*.

THE

LIFE and DEATH

OF

Mr. Nathanael Mather.

I Write the *Life* and *Death* of a *Young Man*, whose *Ornaments* will awaken in the *Reader*, an *Enquiry* like that which the *Atchievements* of *David*, produced concerning him, *Whose Son is this Youth?*

To Anticipate that Enquiry:

Nathanael Mather had for his *Grand-Fathers* Two of *New-England's* *Fathers*, the *Famous*

Richard Mather, and the not less *Famous John Cotton*; whose *Names* have been in the *Church* of *God*, as an *Ointment poured forth*, and whose *Lives* bear no little *Figure* in the *Ecclesiastical Histories* of our *English Israel*. His *Parents* being yet *living*, it's too soon to give them their *Character*; yet I may venture to say, It's no *Disgrace* unto him in the *Opinion* of *Men* that love *Learning* and *Virtue*, that he was the *Son* of *Increase Mather*, the *well-*

well known Teacher of a Church in *Boston*, and Rector of *Harvard-Colledge* in *New-England*. What *Gregory Nazianzen* judged not improper to be said about his yet surviving *Father*, in his Funeral Oration upon his Deceased *Brother*, I may without any culpable Adulation on this Occasion, say of him, *He is another Aaron or Moses in the House of his God*.

Our *Nathanael* was born on *July 6th*. 1669. which I find him recording in his *Diary*, when he was fourteen Years old; with such an humble Reflection thereupon, *How little have I improved this time to the Honour of God as I should have done!* He wanted not the Cares of his *Father* to bestow a good *Education* on him, which God blessed for the *Refraining* him from the lewd and wild Courses by which too many Children are betimes resigned up to the possession of the Devil, and for the *Furnishing* him with such Accomplishments as give an *Ornament of Grace unto the Head of Youth*. He did *Live* where he might learn, and under the continual Prayers and Pains of some that looked after him, he became an Instance of unusual *Industry*, and no Common *Piety*; so that when he dyed, which was *Octob. 17th*. 1688. he was become in less than twenty Years, *An Old Man without gray Hairs upon him*.

To those *Two Heads*, with a sorrowful Addition of a *Third*, I shall confine my Account of this Young Man; in which the *Picture* to be now drawn, has nothing but the *Truth*, and at least so much of *Life* in it, as to look upon every Reader, yea, *Speak* unto every young Reader, saying, *Go and Do likewise*.

I. His INDUSTRY.

He was an hard *Student*, and quickly became a good *Scholar*. From his very Childhood, his *Book* was perhaps as dear to him as his *Play*, and hence he grew particularly acquainted with *Church-History*, at a rate not usual in those that were above thrice as Old as *He*. But when he came to somewhat more of *Youth*, his Tutor (who now writes) was forced often to chide him to his Recreations, but never that I remember for them. To be *Bookish* was natural unto him, and to be *plodding* easie and pleasant rather than the contrary. Indeed he afforded not so much a *Pattern* as a *Caution* to young Students; for it may be truly written on his Grave, *Study kill'd him*. When One told the Excellent Mr. *Charnock*, that if he *Studied* so much it would *Cost him his Life*; he replied, *Why? It cost Christ his Life to save, and what if it cost me my Life to study for Him?* Our Studious *Nathanael* was of this Disposition. The *Marks* and *Works* of a Studious Mind were to be discerned in him, even as he walked in the *Streets*; and his Candle would burn after *Midnight*, until, as his own Phrase for it was, *He thought his Bones would all fall asunder*. This was among the Passages once noted in his *Diary*.

10 *M. 26 D.* three quarters of an Hour after 12 at Night.

' After the many wearisom *Hours, Days, Months,* nay, *Years*, that I have spent in humane Litera-

ture; and after my many toilsom Studies in those Hours; when the *General Silence* of every House in Town, proclaimed it high time for me to put a stop unto my working Mind, and urged me to afford some Rest unto my *Eyes*, which have been almost put by my Intenfeness on my Studies; after these, I say, and when I am ready to do it: Oh! how unwilling am I to do it, considering; *How little have I served God in the Day!*

While he thus *devoured Books*, it came to pass that *Books devoured him*. His weak Body would not bear the *Toils* and *Hours*, which he used himself unto; and his Neglect of *Moderate Exercise*, joyned with his Excess of *Immoderate Lucubration*, soon destroyed the *Digestion* which his Blood should have had in the last Elaboration of it; by that time sixteen *Winters* had snow'd upon him, he began to be diitempered, with many *Pains* and *Ails*, especially in some of his *Joints*, which at last were the *Gates of Death* unto him; not without such very afflictive Touches of *Melancholy*, too, as made him sometimes to write himself *Deodatus Melancholicus*. This was his Way of *Living*, shall I say, or of *Dying*? And the *Success* of this Diligence was according to the *Temper* of it, *Great*. When he was but twelve Years old he was admitted into the *Colledge*, by strict Examiners: And many Months after this passed not, before he had accurately gone over all the *Old Testament* in *Hebrew*, as well as the *New* in *Greek*, besides his going through all the *Liberal Sciences*, before many other Designers for *Philosophy* do so much as begin to look into them. He commenced *Batchelour of Arts* at the Age of sixteen, and in the *Act* entertained the *Auditory* with an *Hebrew Oration*, which gave a good Account of the *Academical Affairs* among the ancient *Jews*. Indeed the *Hebrew Language* was become so Familiar with him, as if (to use the Expression which one had in an *Ingenious Elegy* upon his Death) he had apprehended, it should quickly become the *only Language*, which he should have Occasion for. His *Secord Degree*, after seven Years being in the *Colledge*, he took just before Death gave him a *Third*, which last was a promotion infinitely beyond either of the former. He then maintained for his Position, *Datur vacuum*; and by his Discourses upon it (as well as by other *Memorials* and *Experiments* left behind him in Manuscripts) he gave a Specimen of his Intimate Acquaintance with the *Corpuscularian* (and only right) *Philosophy*. By this time he had informed himself like another *Mirandula*, and was admirably capable of arguing about, almost every Subject that fell within the Concernments of a Learned Man. The Difficulties of the *Mathematicks* he had particularly overcome, and the abstruse parts both of *Arithmetick* and *Astronomy*, were grasped in his Knowledge.

His Early *Almanacks* and *Calculations* do something, but the *MSS Adversaria*, left behind him in his Closet, much more, speak such Attainments in him. His *Chronology* was exact unto a Wonder, and the State of *Learning* with the *Names* and *Works* of Learned Men, in the World, this *American Wilderness* hath few that understand as well

as he. Besides all this, for the vast Field of *Theology*, both *Didactical* and *Polemick*, it is hardly credible how little of it his Travel had left *unknown*. *Rabbinick Learning* he had likewise no small measure of; and the Questions referring unto the *Scriptures* which *Philology* is conversant about, came under a very Critical Notice with him. Indeed he was a Person of but few Words, and his Words with his Looks, made the *Treasure* in him wholly unsuspected by Strangers to him; yet they that were intimately acquainted with him, can attest unto the Veracity of him that giveth this Description; and there are no mean Persons who will profess with Admiration, *That they could scarce encounter him in any Theme of Discourse, which he was not very notably acquainted with.*

But the *Bark* is now split in which all these Riches were stowed. A *Spanish Wrack* hath not more *Silver* than the Grave of such a Young Man hath *Learning* buried in it. Indeed these things, *Mortis Erum*; perhaps they dyed with him: But there is a more *Immortal* Thing to be observed in him; and that is,

II. His PIETY.

Tho' a *fine Carriage* was the least thing that ever he affected, yet a *Good Nature* made him dear to those that were familiar with him. He was always very obliging and officious, and more ready to do, than others could be to ask a good turn at his Hands: But he was above all happy, by being *Early* in *pure Religion*.

The Common Effects of such a *Pious Education*, as the Family in which he lived afforded unto him, were seen even in his Childhood; and *secret Prayer* became very beimes one of his Infant Exercises. He does in his MSs. particularly take notice of a *Scripture Copy* set for him when he learned to *Write*, as a thing that had much Efficacy on him; but when he was *Twelve* (or more) Years old, more powerful Conviction did the Spirit of God set home upon him than he had been used unto; some Records therefore I find in his Papers, with this Clause in the Head of the Account, *Rejoyce, O my Soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.* Now it was that he allowed his Pen to write these, among other Expressions of his Trouble about his Estate.

Feb. 19. 1682.

‘ What shall I do? What shall I do to be sav’d?
‘ Without a Christ I am undone, undone, undone
‘ for Evermore! O Lord, let me have Christ, tho’
‘ I lye in the Mire for ever! O for a Christ! O
‘ for a Christ! a Christ! Lord, Give me a Christ
‘ or I dye!

It was now another of his registred Meditations.

‘ I have been in a great Hesitancy, whether I
‘ should choose *Jesus Christ* for my Prophet, Priest
‘ and King, with all his *Inconveniencies*, to take
‘ up my *Cross* and follow him: Wherefore I do
‘ now take him as mine; my whole Christ, and
‘ my only Christ; and I am resolved to seek him.
‘ All that I have shall be at his *Service*, and all my
‘ *Members*, and all my *Power*, shall endeavour
‘ his Glory.

And yet again there were these Considerations in his Mind.

‘ Had I not better seek the Lord Christ, while
‘ I have a *Time* of Prosperity and Peace, while he
‘ offers himself to me, saying, *Come unto me, and*
‘ *I will save thee, and lay all thy Burdens upon me,*
‘ *and I will sustain thee:* Than in Affliction to cry
‘ and not be heard? when he stretcheth forth his
‘ Hand and says, *Believe on me and thou shalt be*
‘ *saved;* and now to *Day* he offers himself, shall
‘ I refuse, and say, Lord, *To Morrow?* No surely.
‘ And these patheticall *Groans* then likewise
‘ got a Room in his Papers.

‘ O that I had a *Christ!* O that I had Him who
‘ is the *Delight* of my Soul! Then, O then I
‘ should be perfectly Blessed, and want no Food
‘ that would make me so!

This is a *Copy* of the Passages then recorded in this Young Believers Diary.

Thus did he now labour to affect his *own Soul* with his *own State*, and leave things no more at *peradventures* between God and him: He read many favoury Books about *Faith*, and *Repentance*, and *Conversion*, and he transcribed many Notes therefrom, not resting satisfied within himself, until he had some Experience of a true *Regeneration*. Among other Workings of his Heart at this Age, his Papers have such things as these.

‘ Reasons for my speedy closing with Jesus
‘ Christ.

‘ *First*, It’s the *Command* of Jesus Christ, that
‘ I should come unto him.

‘ *Secondly*, Jesus Christ *Invites* me also in *Mat*
‘ 11. 28. *Come unto me.*

‘ *Thirdly*, He hath laid me under many *Obligations*
‘ to turn unto him, in that he hath recover’d
‘ me from *Sickness* so often, and now given me a
‘ curious *Study*.

‘ *Fourthly*, In that I have vow’d unto the Lord,
‘ if he would do so and so for me, I would make
‘ a *Solemn Covenant* with him, and endeavour to
‘ serve him.

And again elsewhere.

‘ O that God would help me to seek Him
‘ while I am *Young!* O that he would give un-
‘ to me me His *Grace!* However, I will lay my
‘ self down at his Feet. If he *Save* me, I shall
‘ be happy for ever; if he *Damn* me, I must ju-
‘ stifie him. *O thou Son of God, have mercy on me!*
‘ I know not what to say, but I will take thee at
‘ thy Word: Thou sayst, *Come unto me;* my Soul
‘ answers, *Lord, at thy Command I will come.*

He thus continued *following hard after God*, enjoying and answering many *Strivings* of his Holy Spirit until he was about *Fourteen* Years old.

In this time he did not a little acquaint himself with *profitable Godliness*, being frequent and fervent in his *Prayers* to God upon all Occasions, and careful, not only to *hear Sermons*, but also to consider after them *what Improvement* he should make of *what he heard*. Not only his *Prayers*, but his *Praises* too now took Notice of even the smallest Affairs before him. I know not whether you can see any thing *Childish*, I am sure I see something *serious*, in a passage or two that I shall fetch out of his *Diary*, written when he was was about *Thir-*

teen Years old: On March 13. he wrote, *This day I received of my Father, that Famous Work, The Biblia Polyglotta, for which I desire to praise the Name of God: Again on June 29. he wrote, This day my Brother gave me Schindlers Lexicon, a Book for which I had not only longed much, but also prayed unto God: Blessed be the Lord's Name for it. The Thoughts of Death also now found a Lodging in his Heart, and he rebuked himself because he had been so much without them. Tho' at this Age for the most part, Persons think of any thing, every thing more than of their dying Day. And his Writings discovered him to be peculiarly affected with that Ancient History (or Apologue) of him who after a dissolute and ungodly Youth, going to repent in Age, heard that Voice from Heaven to him, Des illi Furfurem cui dedisti Farinam: The Devil had thy Flower, and thou shalt not bring thy Bran to me.*

Self-Examination was also become one of his Employments; and once particularly in one of his Diaries, he does thus express himself.

April 8. 1683.

' This Morning I was much cast down with the Sense of my Vileness. I Examined,

' I. What Sins I had that were not mortified:
' 1. My Sin of Pride. 2. My Sin of Unthankfulness. 3. My not improving the Means of Grace, as I ought to do.

' II. What Graces I find need of. 1. Converting and Regenerating Grace. 2. Humiliation for my many Sins against such a good God as the Lord is.

' III. What Mercies I had received, for which I desire to bless the Lord's Name. 1. He hath given me to be born of Godly Parents. 2. I have always had the Means of Grace lengthen'd out unto me. 3. The Lord hath graciously pleased to give me some Answers of Prayer

' 1. As to the lengthning out of my Health. 2. As to the Increase of my Library, What shall I render to the Lord for all his Loving Kindness towards me? I resolved to Dedicate my self wholly to God and his Service.

And he did accordingly.

This Year did not roll about, before he had in a manner very solemn entred into Covenant with God. This weighty and awful thing was not rashly done by him, or in a sudden Flash and Pang of Devotion: He Thought, he Read, he Wrote, and he Prayed not a little before this Glorious Transaction between God and him, and upon mature Deliberation, he judged it most adviseable for him to make his Covenant with God as Explicit as Writing and Signing could render it; that so it might leave the more Impression upon his Heart and Life, and be an Evidence likewise, which in Temptation or Desertion he might have recourse unto: Wherefore he set apart a Time for (I think) secret Fasting and Prayer before the Lord, and then behold how this Young Man counting it high time for him to be bound out unto some Service, took a course for it: He subscribed an holy Covenant, of which this was the Matter, this the Form.

' The Covenant between God and my Soul, renewed, confirmed and signed, Nov. 22. 1683.'

' Whereas not only the Commands of God [wh^o hath often called upon me, by his Word preached; to give up my self, both Body and Soul, to be at his Disposall, which calls by the publick Ministry, were enough to engage me unto this] but also the Christian Religion which I profess; and my Baptism in which I took the Lord to be my God, and promised to renounce the World; the Flesh, and the Devil, and to dedicate my self unto the Service, Work and Will of God, do bind me hereunto; In that God is such a God as deserves this, yea, infinitely more than this, at my hands; my Creator, the Fountain of my Being; my Preserver; my Benefactor, my Lord, my Sovereign, my Judge; He in whose Hands my Life, my Breath, and all my Concerns are; He that doth protect me from all Dangers, and supply me in all Wants, support me under all Burdens, and direct me in all Streights; He alone that can make me happy or miserable; He alone that can save me or damn me; He alone that can give inward Peace and Joy, that is my Friend, my God; In that, Self-Dedication is the Creatures Advancement; these First-Fruits, if in Sincerity, putting upon me a Gloriousness and Excellency.

' In that Felicity hereafter depends upon my dedicating of my self unto God now.

' In that this is the highest piece of Gratitude I am capable of expressing unto God, and I know no better way to Obey the Will of God, than first to give up my self unto him.

' And whereas the Mercies which the Lord hath been pleased graciously to bestow upon me, are so many, that even bare Morality, doth shew me that I can never enough requite one that hath done so much for me, except by Giving up my self wholly to him.

[1659]

' Whereas God hath given me a Godly Father and Mother.

[1674]

' In that when I was like to dye, being twice sick of a Fever, God was pleased to bless means for my Recovery, and lengthen out the Thread of my Life.

[1675]

' Whereas, when I by an Accident fell down, and had like to have been deprived of the use of my Tongue, God was in his good Providence graciously pleased to give me the use of it.

[1678]

' Whereas, when I was sick of the Small-Pox, God was pleased to bless Means for my Recovery.

' Whereas, then I made Promises unto God, that if he would give me my Health, I would endeavour to become a New-Creature, and he hath done so for these five Years: And whereas God hath of late been bestowing many and wonderful Mercies upon me, What can I do less than give up my self wholly to him?

' Which now I do.

' And, O Lord God, I beseech thee to accept of thy poor Prodigal, now prostrating of himself before thee. I confess, O Lord, I have fallen from thee by my Iniquity, and am by Nature a Son of Hell; but of thy Infinite Grace thou

thou hast promised Mercy to me in Christ, if I will but turn unto thee with all my Heart: Therefore upon the Call of thy Gospel, I come in, and from the Bottom of my Heart I renounce all thy *Enemities*; with whom I confess I have wickedly sided against thee, firmly *Covenanting* with thee; not to allow my self in any known Sin, but conscientiously to use all Means which I know thou hast prescribed, for the utter Destruction of all my Corruptions. And whereas I have inordinately let out my Affections upon the World, I here resign my Heart unto thee that made it; humbly protesting before thy Glorious Majesty, that it is the firm Resolution of my Heart (and that I do unfeignedly desire Grace from thee, that when thou shalt call me thereunto, I may put in Practice my Resolution) through thine Assistance, to forsake all that is dear unto me in the World, rather than to turn from thee to the Ways of Sin; and that I will watch against all its Temptations, whether of Prosperity or Adversity, lest they should withdraw my Heart from thee, beseeching thee to help me.

I renounce all my own Righteousness, and acknowledge that of my self I am helpless and undone, and without Righteousness.

And whereas, of thy bottomless Mercy, thou hast offer'd to accept of me, and to be reconciled to me, and to be my God through Christ, if I would accept of thee, I do this Day avouch thee to be the Lord my God. I do here take the Lord Jehovah, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, for my Portion and Chief Good, and do give up my self Body and Soul for thy Servant, promising to endeavour to serve thee in Righteousness and Holiness. I do here also on the bended Knees of my Soul, accept of the Lord Jesus Christ as the only and living Way, by which Sinners may have access to thee, and do here joyn my self in a Marriage-Covenant with him. O Lord Jesus, I come to thee, hungry, poor, miserable, blind and naked, and a most loathsome Creature, a condemned Malefactor: Who am I, that I should be married unto the King of Glory!

I do accept of thee for my Head and Husband, and embrace thee in all thy Offices. I renounce my own Worthiness, and do choose thee the Lord my Righteousness. I do renounce my own Wisdom, and do take thine for my Guide. I take thy Will for my Will, and thy Word for my Law. I do here willingly put my Neck under thy Yoke; I do subscribe to all thy Laws as Holy, Just and Good; and do promise to take them as the Rule of my Thoughts, Words and Actions; but because I am subject to many Failings through Frailty; I do here protest, here before thee, that unallowed Miscalriages, contrary to the constant bent of my Heart, shall not disannul this Everlasting Covenant.

Nathanael Mather.

It may be justly taken for granted, that such a Work as this, would have an Influence into his

Conversation afterwards; and so it had, producing in him, a Conversation which became the Gospel of Christ. He kept waiting upon God, not only in the Family, but also under the Ministry of two that were a-kin unto him; namely, his Father and his Brother, whereby the Grace thus begun in him was not little cherished and promoted: And unto all known Sins he now kept saying, as I find once in Short-hand written by him.

To my Lusts.

I have had Communion with you all this while, but I dare not have so any longer: Wherefore I renounce all Communion with you any more; I will cleave to the God that made me. But a Year or two after this, it was with him, as I have observed it is too commonly with such as are Converted betimes unto God. And unhappy gradual Apostacy carried him aside from those Degrees of Seriousness and Intenseness in Divine Things, which he had been used unto: 'Tis possible an Entanglement in a Familiarity with some that were no better than they should be, did abate of the good Savour which had been upon him, and decoy him by insensible Steps to some Vanities (tho' not to any scandalous Immoralities) that were disadvantageous to him. For divers Months he seemed somewhat, yet not totally, much less finally, forsaken of that Wisdom and Vertue which he had before been an Example of; but the good Spirit of God will not let go his Interest in a Soul of which he hath taken a saving Hold. This Young Man soon entertained just Resentments of his own Declensions, and it was impossible for the most Badger-tooth'd Malice in the World to aggravate any of his Errors half so much as he did himself in his own Repentance for them. In the Year 1635. God visited him with fore Terrors and Horrors in his wounded Soul, the anguish whereof he thought intollerable; yet he made not his Condition known to any Body all the while. He could say, My Complaint is not to Man, but he made it unto the Lord; This poor Man cryed and the Lord heard, and delivered him out of Distresses. He arrived in time unto settlement and renewal of his Peace with God: He confessed and bewailed his own Sins before the Lord, and declared his Detestation of them, and applied himself unto the Lord Jesus Christ for Salvation from them all. Good Terms being thus establish'd between the Almighty Lord and this Immortal Soul, he maintained, I think, a constant and an even Walk with God, until he dyed. I find now that Language in his MSS: Let me be as active a Servant of Christ, as I was of Satan heretofore. For more than the three last years of his Life, he lived at a strange rate for Holiness and Gravity, and retired Devotions. He read Mr. Scudder's Christians daily Walk, and Dr. Owen of Spiritual Mindedness, and had a restless raging Agony in his Mind until the Methods of Religion advised by those Worthy Men, were Exemplified in his own Behaviour. 'Tis a Note in one of his Diaries.

O my great Unprofitableness under the means of Grace! I have cause to bless God for ever for the Writings of that never enough to be admired

' mired and loved by *me*, Dr. Reynolds, and for the Light I have received thereby, concerning the *Sinfulness of Sin*; as also that Excellent Book of him whom I shall always honour, Dr. Owen of *Spiritual-mindedness*, and Mr. Scudder's *Christians daily Walk*, by which three Books I have profited more than by any other (*S. Scripturis exceptis*) in the World.

He was at first surprized at the measure of *Spiritual-mindedness*, without which that *Great Saint* Dr. Owen, apprehends the *Life and Peace of Souls* to labour under Prejudices; and he thought a Mind swallowed up in such *Heavenly Frames and Works* as were needful thereunto, almost wholly to be despair'd of; until (as himself a few Hours before he dyed said unto me) he deem'd he saw an Instance of such a *Walk with God*, not very far from the Place of his Abode: To which purpose his reserv'd Papers have a large Discourse, of which this is in the Conclusion: *There might be a greater Progress in Religion, than is commonly thought for. What have I Examples for, but to imitate them? Abraham is fam'd for believing so strongly, when he had no Example before him: Let me try and see, whether I having such Opportunities may not arrive to as high a pitch in Christianity, as any that I have known.* He then in the Strength and thro' the Love of God set himself into a way of strict, secret, laborious Devotion; whereby tho' none but God and He fill'd the Theatre, which he acted upon, he would be *in the Fear of the Lord all the Day long*. He withdrew from the Delights of this World, and gave himself up to an assiduous Contemplation of God and Christ, and a sedulous Endeavour after utmost Conformity unto him: Thus he kept *abounding in the Work of the Lord*, until three Years of wonderful *Holiness* had ripened him for *Eternal Happiness*.

My Account of him will be an *Unfinished Piece*, unless all the Ensuing Strokes go to make it up. These Things he was Exemplary for.

First, He was one that *walked by RULE*. He was very Studious to learn the *Way of Conversing with God* in every Duty, and there was a *Rule* which he attended still unto.

In his private Papers, I find a wise Collection of *Rules*, by which he governed himself in the several Duties of Christianity, and in all the *Seasons and Stations* of his Life. He consulted the best Authors for Instruction in the *Affairs of Practical Religion*, and not into *Paper* only, but into *Action* to be transcribed what he most approved; in all which *The will of God* was the bright Pole-Star by which he steer'd his Course.

The Reader shall enjoy (and O that he would follow) two of this Young Man's *Directories*. One of them was this.

' I. O that I might lead a *Spiritual Life*! Wherefore let me regulate my Life by the *Word of God*, and by such Scriptures as these.

' 1. For regulating my *Thoughts*, Jer. 4. 14. Isa. 55. 7. Mal. 3. 17. Psal. 104. 34. Phil. 4. 8. Prov. 23. 26. Deut. 15. 9. Eccles. 10. 20. Prov. 24. 9. Mat. 9. 4. Zec. 8. 17.

' 2. For regulating my *Affections*, Col. 3. 2, 5. Gal. 5. 24.

' For my *Delight*, Psal. 1. 2. Psal. 37. 5. For my *Joy*, Phil. 4. 4. Psal. 43. 4. My *Desire*, Isa. 26. 8, 9. Ezek. 7. 16. My *Love*, Mat. 22. 37. Psal. 119. 97. My *Hatred*, Psal. 97. 10. My *Fear*, Luke 12. 4, 5. My *Hope*, Psal. 39. 7. My *Trust*, Psal. 62. 8. Isa. 26. 4.

' 3. For regulating my *Speech*, Eph. 4. 29. Col. 4. 6. Deut. 6. 6, 7. Psal. 119. 46. Psal. 71. 8, 24. Prov. 31. 26.

' 4. For regulating my *Work*, Tit. 3. 8. 2 Tim. 2. 12. 1 Tim. 5. 10. Titus 2. 14. Mat. 5. 47. 1 Tim. 6. 8. Rev. 3. 2. Rom. 13. 12. Acts 26. 20.

Another of them was form'd into an *Hymn*, the singing of which might produce fresher and stronger *Efforts of Soul* towards the *Thing that is good*.

It shall be here inserted.

II. ' Lord, what shall I return unto
' Him from whom all Mercies flow?

' (I.) To me to live, it Christ shall be
' For all I do I'll do for Thee.

' (II.) My Question shall be oft beside,
' How thou may'st most be Glorify'd?

' (III.) I will not any Creature love,
' But in the Love of Thee above.

' (IV.) Thy Will I will embrace for mine,
' And every Management of thine
' Shall please me. (V.) A Conformity
' To thee shall be my Aim and Eye.

' (VI.) Ejaculations shall ascend
' Not seldom from me. (VII.) I'll attend
' Occasional Reflections, and
' Turn all to Gold that comes to hand.

' (VIII.) And in particular among
' My Cares, I'll try to make my Tongue
' A Tree of Life, by speaking all
' As be accountable who shall.

' (IX.) But last, nay first of all, I will
' Thy Son my Surety make, and still
' Implore him, that he would me bless
' With Strength as well as Righteousness.

Besides these *Rules* which concerned his *whole Walk*, he treasur'd up many more, that refer'd to this and that *Step* in it; and it was the predominant Care and Watch of his Heart, not to tread awry? Thus one might see a *Skilful Christian* in him. And as he was desirous to live by *Precept*, so he was to live by *Promise* too.

He fell into a particular Consideration, how to improve the *Promises* of God in all the *Occasions of Life*; which is indeed one of the most *sanctifying Exercises* in the World.

It was a Proposal which I find he made unto himself.

' Let me salute these *Promises* once a Day.

' 1. For

1. For supplying the *Wants* of the Day, *Phil.* 4. 19.
 2. For Growth in *Grace*, *Hof.* 14. 5.
 3. For subduing my *Sins*, *Mic.* 7. 19.
 4. For *Success* in my Undertakings, *Psal.* 1. 3.
 5. For turning all the Events of the Day for good, *Rom.* 8. 28.
 6. For Audience of my *Prayers*, *Joh.* 14. 13, 14.
 7. For *Strength* to manage all the Work of the Day, *Zech.* 10. 12.
 8. For Direction in *Difficulty*, *Psal.* 32. 8.
 9. For *Life Eternal*, *Luke.* 12. 31. *Joh.* 3. 16.
 Besides these two, *Mat.* 11. 28. and *Isa.* 44. 3. Certainly that Man must quickly grow another *Ench.*, who does thus *Walk with God*.

Secondly, He was one that lived in PRAYER. He was oft and long in the Mount with God: It was his Custom every Day to Enter into his Closet, and shut his Door, and pray to his Father in secret. And I guess from some of his Writings, that he did thus no less than thrice a Day, when he met with no Obstruction in it: Nor did he slubber over his Prayers with hasty Annotations, but wrestle in them for a good part of an Hour together.

It was a most refreshing Communion with God, which his Devotions brought him sometimes unto. Thus in one of his *Diaries*.

Dec. 10.

In the Margin he wrote, Remember.
 I prayed earnestly unto God, earnestly petitioning that Jesus Christ might be my Comfort and Redeemer. There was immediately something that did as it were persuade me it should be so.

Again, Aug. 19.

My Thoughts were some little while busied about the Condescension of Christ in taking of humane Nature on him; but for the most part in Ejaculations, and Acts of Faith on a Crucified (ah! sweet Word) Jesus. I saw I gained not much by those: Wherefore I addressed my self to solemn Prayer, and had some Assurance in it.

Once more, Aug. 20.

I was much affected in Prayer, and exercised (I hope) many Acts of Faith, and Love, and Delight in God. I several times was breaking off, but I was as it were constrained to go on in the Duty with much Enlargement. Lord, Answer me for the sake of Christ.

Thus under the Fig-tree did our Lord Jesus often behold this Nathanael; yea, unto Prayer he became so habituated, that while others can sleep in Prayer, he sometimes would pray in Sleep. He records it among his Experiences, that upon Assaults of Imagined Temptations, when he has been asleep, he has quickly been at Prayer; and so caused the Phantasms to leave annoying of him.

And Extraordinary Prayer was also with him

not altogether Extraordinary. Tho' he were a Bottle that seemed incapable of holding it, yet this Wine agreed with him very well. As Young as he was, he knew the Mystery of a Soul fasting by fasting, and thriving by hungering and thirsting after Righteousness. He was very inquisitive after the right way to manage a Day of Fasting and Prayer, and he would sometimes keep such a Day. On such a Day it was his Custom to make a very particular and penitent Confession of all the Sins that he could perceive himself guilty of; and renew his Covenant with the Holy One of Israel; to this End, he had by him in writing a large Catalogue of Things forbidden and required in the Commandments of God, which was the Glass in which he then viewed his Ways; and having found what Achans might procure Trouble to him, he then fell to stoning of them. One may shape some Conjecture at his Humiliations, by the Indignation with which he spoke, and wrote of the Vanities which his Childhood had. 'I came into the World (saith he in one of the Papers penn'd by him on a Day of secret Fasting and Prayer, October the 17th. 1685.) without the Image of the Holy God on my Soul; my Understanding, my Will, my Affections, and my whole Soul were altogether depraved, and wounded. When very Young I went astray from God, and my mind was altogether taken with Vanities and Follies; such as the remembrance of them doth greatly abase my Soul within me. Of the manifold Sins which then I was guilty of, none so sticks upon me, as that being very young, I was whittling on the Sabbath-day; and for fear of being seen, I did it behind the door. A great Reproach of God! A Specimen of that Atheism that I brought into the World with me!

This was more than the more meagre and feeble sort of Christians, though much older than he, are us'd to do. But paulo majora! There was a Sublimer Way of Drawing near to God, which he was not willing to leave unattempted. He understood that secret Days of Thanksgiving had not been unpractised by some whom he designed to imitate; and therefore he would make some Essays for such an Intimate Fruition of God, and generous Devotion to him, as would fill such Days as these.

Hence this I find among the Records of his Soul: —

Resolved, To set apart every two Months, a Day for Solemn Examination and Meditation, to humble my self; and every two Months to keep a Day of Private Thanksgiving.

But though his Prayers were chiefly in, yet they were not confined to his Closet. There were divers private Praying Meetings of younger People in North-Boston, which he visited as often as he could; and one of those might peculiarly be called His. Yea, it was his Desire, though with as little Aim to be seen of Men as could be, to support all such Opportunities of Good among them, that were of the same Age with him.

Wherefore I find this among the Notes in his Diary:

Quest. What shall I do for God?

Answer.

‘ *Ansiv.* It was suggested to me, to get some of my Acquaintance to spend some while every Friday night in Prayer, for the Success of the Work of Grace in New-England, especially in Boston, on the Souls of the Rising Generation.

‘ Let me propound this to some serious devout young Persons.

Thus was his Prayer as it were his *Breath*, and thus he was always fetching of it, until at last it expired in Eternal Praise.

Thirdly, He was one that Thought much of his GOD, and his END. There was a sort of Heaven formed in the just Soul of this Young-man, by the Thoughts that were continually sparkling there. He had an unquenchable Dissatisfaction at himself until good Thoughts were lodg’d in him, and vain ones were forced to gnash their Teeth, and melt away: Nothing would content him, but the bringing of his Thoughts into a Subjection to the Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore he chew’d much on the Excellent Sermon of Mr. Charnock about Thoughts; which he wrote out not only with his Hand, but in his Heart, and made it the very Mould of his Gracious Mind. There are none, but very Renew’d Souls, that are at great Pains in a Course of Meditation on the Things of God. Yet this Young-man, like another Isaac, was grown very expert at it, and frequent in it. It was his manner in the Morning to meditate very seriously and fixedly upon some Truth, or some Text, for a good part of an Hour together. He had collected a good variety of Subjects and Scriptures to handle, in thus communing with himself, and went over more than a little Divinity in this transcendent Exercise. Sometimes, when thus he separated himself to intermeddle with all Wisdom, I find him committing his Thoughts, or some breviate of them, unto the durable Custody of his Papers; from which Memoirs I will produce but an Instance or two of many.

August 16. 1685.

‘ Med. about, The Reason I have to love God; because of what he has been to me, and what he is in himself. And I thought, is not God the Best Good? Surely then he is worthy to be my Last End. Has he not been shewing many Mercies to me? and what! shall I not give up my self to Live unto God, because of his Goodness to me? Much affected with the Thoughts of these Things: And, I hope, I closed with the Motion.

Again, October 1.

‘ I Meditated on that; If a Man does intend to be truly Religious, he must expect nothing but to save his Soul?

‘ But how can this be true?

‘ Must I lose my Body altogether?

‘ Must I be willing that the Union between my Body and Soul should for evermore be loosed?

‘ Must I be willing to be for ever without a Body? No, no.

‘ All that the Lord requires of me, is, to have

my Body for a few Days or Years (a few I say, for they cannot be many) to be wholly at the Service of my Soul, and to be willing that the Union between those two Mates, then should be dissolved; the Soul first taking its progress into everlasting Bliss; the Body being laid in the Dust, to rise at the Resurrection, accompanying the Soul into its Eternal Felicity.

‘ My present Notion of this Thing is this:

‘ This Dissolution of the Union between the Soul and Body, is but a Dismission of the Spirit into its Happiness, after a wearisom Conflict here. And as long as it shall be best for me to be here, here I shall continue. Infinite Wisdom is to be the Orderer of this; and it will be a grievous and shameful Reflection thereupon, for me to say, *It will be better for me to live, than to dye*, at such a time when I am called thereunto.

‘ With my Body I must expect to lose all the pleasant Enjoyments of this World, Liberty, Library, Study and Relations. But yet neither shall I lose those. As for my Liberty, by True Religion, and by Dying for it too, when Need requires, I shall gain the only Liberty, even from the Body of Sin.

‘ As for my Library, if I dye for Christ, or in the Lord, I shall have no need of it. My Understanding shall be enough enlarged, and I shall not need to turn over Books for Learning. As for my Study (my Paradise) I shall have a better, a larger, and a more compleat than this.

‘ As for my Relations, those of them that are truly pious, I shall only go before them; and if there should be any of them not pious, the longer I should stay with them here (if they continue impenitent) it would but make my Grief more intolerable, to think when I leave them, that I shall have no hopes to see them again for ever.

‘ But this is not all neither. —

‘ My Body must be used as the Souls Instrument; and here all that Strength and Ease which I have, must be used for the Soul: And truly there is Reason enough for it, that so there may be Eternal Happiness for both together.

‘ In Marriage, the Husband and Wife should have the same Design. Would it not be inhumane, for the one to have a Design which tends to the Ruine of the other? Just so my Soul and Body should have the same Design; and the Body being the more vile of the two, should be subordinate to the Soul. And it is a necessary Disjunction, either the Body, the Strength, and Ease, and Members of it, must be used for the good, or for the Hurt of the Soul; for there is no Medium here.

‘ Let me then herein make my Body useful to my Soul, in accomplishing all the good Designs of it, which it is capable of being interested in.

‘ Let me then herein make my Body useful to my Soul, in accomplishing all the good Designs of it, which it is capable of being interested in.

‘ Nor is there is any thing else worth speaking of, that must be foregone, except Health, and the Momentaneousness of all bodily Torments, will make them very tolerable.

My

My Resolutions be.

That I will not expect, by devoting my self unto the Fear of God, to gain any thing as to my Body in this World.

That through the Grace of Christ; I will use the Strength, Ease, and Health of my Body, yea, my whole Body in subordination to my Soul, in the Service of the Lord Jesus.

With such Meditations as these, he kept mellowing of his own Soul, and preparing it for the state wherein Faith is turned into Sight.

But there was yet a more delightful and surprizing way of Thinking, after which he did aspire. He considered, that the whole Creation was full of God; and that there was not a Leaf of Grass in the Field, which might not make an Observer to be sensible of the Lord. He apprehended that the idle Minutes of our Lives were many more than a short Liver should allow: That the very Filings of Gold, and of Time, were exceeding precious; and, that there were little Fragments of Hours intervening between our more stated Bu-nesses, wherein Thoughts of God might be no less pleasant than frequent with us.

The Elegant and Excellent Meditations of Sir William Waller had particularly affected him unto a commendable Emulation of them; and hence he did attempt to make even the more common and more trivial Occurrents of Humane Life, the Occasions of Great Thoughts within him. He would with the Chymistry of Occasional Reflections, distill sublime Spirits from Earthly Bodies; and from the view of mean things, fill his nobly employed Mind with Lessons and Prayers, which only the Father of Spirits was a Witness to.

Some of these his Occasional Reflections I find in his private Papers; and of one or two for a Taste, I will bespeak the Reader's Acceptance.

Jan. 8. A. M.

Being about to rise, I felt the Cold in a manner extraordinary; which inclin'd me to seek more Warmth in my Bed before I rose; but so extream was the Cold, that this was not feasible: Wherefore I resolved to dress my self without any more ado; and so going to the Fire in my Cloaths, I soon became warm enough.

Turn this, O my Soul, into an useful Meditation. There is a necessity of my rising out of my Bed, the Bed of Security which I am under the Power of, and to live unto Christ, and to walk in the Light.

In order hereunto, I must put on my poor Soul the Garments which are to be had from the Lord Jesus. To awaken me out of my Sleep, and my Security, I am to set before me the Sun, the Gospel of the Sun of Righteousness doth enlighten my Mind, and tell me, that I was before muffled up in Darknes; and that if I continued therein, I should starve and perish. I am also taught, That when Men are convinced of their miserable Condition, they will rather endeavour to Ease, and comfort and cherish themselves by something in themselves, than put on the Spi-

ritual Garments which the Lord Jesus Christ has provided for them. An Evil to be by me avoided.

Again, another time.

Upon Water taken from the Five, I saw a Lukewarmness quickly seize; like the Frame of Spirit, which many Pretenders to Religion have after a glorious and affectionate Profession of it. Of this sort were some among the Laodiceans of old; which is exceedingly displeasing to the Lord Jesus Christ: Whence it is that he saith, I will spew thee out of my Mouth. Let me endeavour to beware of this hateful and odious frame of Spirit; and let the contrary thereto be my Desire, my Endeavour.

Once more.

Among some Gentlemen that were sitting in a Room illuminated with a Candle, one beginning to read unto us, there was another Candle brought unto him, for his assistance in it. Which afforded me such a Meditation as this:

That those who are to be Teachers of others, have need of as much Light again as ordinary Christians have. They, if any, need a double Portion of the Gifts that are in other Men; and the Helps of Knowledge that other Persons have, they much more should be furnish'd withal.

It was not because they had better Eyes than him whose Office it was to read, that they needed but One Candle, when he had Two provided for him; but the Work incumbent on him, and expected from him was the Occasion of it.

But I design little more than a Confirmation with an Illustration of my History, for which a touch or two upon every Article will serve. I am now to add, That this Young Man had a principal Regard unto the Scriptures for the Subjects of his Meditations, and he was very expensive of his Thoughts on the Book of God. He was daily digging in the sacred Mines, and with delight he ferched thence Riches better than those of both the India's; and he could say, O how I love thy Law! it is my Meditation every Day!

Even in the time of his Mortal Sicknes, he was very angry at himself, if he had not heard a Portion of the Bible read unto him from Day to Day.

Once when he was near his End, a good part of a Day having pass'd before he had enjoyed his Meal of Scripture; he said unto his Sister with some impatience, Alas! what an ungodly Life do I lead! pray come and read my Bible to me; and read me the forty ninth Psalm. Indeed he read the Scripture not cursorily, but very deliberately and considerately; and as an Effect of his doing so, he could give such an Account of the Difficulties in it, as the most not only of Christians, but of Divines too, would judge an Attainment extraordinary. Not long before he dyed, he had read over all the large and great Annotations on the Bible, lately published by Mr. Pool, and some other

Non-conformist Ministers; but having dispatched those two Noble *Folio's*, he said unto one that was intimate with him, *Thus have I read the Bible, but I have now learnt a better way!* And that way was this. He would oblige himself in reading to fetch a *Note* and a *Prayer* out of every *Verse* in all the Bible; to dwell upon every *Verse* until it had afforded at least one *Observation*, and one *Ejaculation* to him.

He imagined that an incredible deal both of *Truth* and *Grace*, would in this way make its impression upon his *Mind* (besides what *Exercise* of *Wit* it must have call'd for) and so most certainly it would have done; but before he had made much *Progress* in it, the *Coariots of God* fetch him away to that place, in which a *Jesus* is a *Bible* to the there *perfect Spirits* of the *Righteous*.

Such a *thinking* Person was he; and yet after so many kind of *Thoughts* in the *Day*, he could not rest a *Night* quietly, unless he compos'd himself for *sleeping* by *thinking* a little more.

He knew that no better a *Man* than one of the *Moral Heathens* propounded a *Nocturnal Self-Examination*, as a *part* and *cause* of no little *Wisdom*, and that much more a *sober Christian* should endeavour to maintain a good *Understanding* of himself, by such *Nightly Recollections*. Wherefore before the *Slumbers* of the *Evening*, this *Young Man* would put *three General Questions* to himself, with divers *particular ones* that were subordinate thereunto. The *Questions* were,

Question 1.

What has God's Mercy to me been this Day?

Here he considered what *Favours* God had newly smil'd upon his *Inward*, or his *Outward Man* withal.

Question 2.

What has my Carriage to God been this Day?

Here he considered what *Frames*, and *Words* and *Works*; and what *Snares* and *Sins* he had newly been concerned with.

Question 3.

If I dye this Night, is my Immortal Spirit safe?

Of this he judged by his *Closure* with *God*, as his *best good*, and *last end*, and with *Christ* as his *Prophet*, and his *Priest*, and his *King*, and by his *Resolution* always to be a *Witness* for the *Lord*, and an *Enemy* to every *Sin*: Tho' sometimes he would with a more large and long *Attention* *Examine* his own *Hopes* of *Eternal Happiness*, for which purpose he had in *Writing* by him, his *Bundles of Marks* and *Signs* which testify a *Man* to be born of *God*. When he had thought on these things, he was able to lay himself down in *peace* and *sleep*; but this was a way to keep a *Soul* awake.

I begin to suspect that my *Reader's* patience is almost expir'd; and therefore I shall cause the *Remainder* of this *Narrative* to omit where it cannot *contract*, what is yet well worthy to be the *Matter* of it.

Fourthly, He was one that *mortified* and *conquer'd* the *SINS* which were a *Vexation* to him. There were some *Sins* which gave to this *young Man* a more violent and outrageous disturbance than he could without much *passion* bear: These

did he contrive and conflict much in his *Oppositions* to, and gave not over till he had a certain *Prospect* of a *Victory*.

Of all the things which ever troubled him, I know not whether any were more grievous than the *Blasphemous Injections* which like *fiery* venomous *Darts* inflam'd sometimes his very *Soul* within him.

It may be some *Testimony* of *Sincerity*, when *Persons* are not a little *afflicted* for, as well as *assaulted* with, *Blasphemous Imaginations* about *God*; which rise within us in *contradiction* to all that *Reverence* of him, which we know not how to lay *aside*.

This *Person* on his *Death-bed* complained to me, that *Horrenda de Deo*, *Horrible Conceptions* of *God*, buzzing about his *Mind*, had been one of the bitterest of all his *Trials*; and I find his *private Papers* making sad *Lamentations* over the *Miseries* of this *Annoyance*. You shall read how he did encounter these *Fiends*, as one that was no *Stranger* to the *Wars* of the *Lord*.

Once in his *Diary*, he says;

' Troubled exceedingly with *Blasphemous Suggestions*, my *Soul* bleeds at the *Thoughts* of them.

' O that *Christ* would deliver me from them! they make my *Life* unpleasant, I do believe that *Satan* never struggled so hard to keep any one from *Christ*, as he has done to keep me!

' From hence I learn, 1. My great *Enmity* to, 2. My great *Need* of, the *Lord Jesus Christ*.

At another time:

' Troubled with *Blasphemous Thoughts*, I learn from hence,

' 1. Seeing these would have me to entertain a *low Esteem* of *Christ* and *God*.

' I will endeavour to have a more high and eminent *Esteem* of *God* and *Christ*.

2. Seeing these do so perplex me *continually*, I learn that I am unable of my self to raise good *Thoughts*, much less to perform good *Acts* of *Obedience*. I would be deeply *humbled*, that my *Soul* should be thus *defiled*!

' Seeing, I have often so much *Experience* and *Stirrings* of *Enmity* in my *Soul* to *God*, I would be excited thereby more heartily to cleave unto him.

Once more.

' I hope I have now got *Strength* over my *Blasphemous Thoughts*, after this manner.

' 1. *Humbling* my self under a sense of my own *Vileness* and *Wretchedness*.

' 2. *Praying* earnestly for the removal of the *Enmity* that is in my *Soul* to the *Things* of *God*; especially as to this matter.

Thus discreetly did he manage the *Shield* of *Faith* against those *barbed Arrows* of *Hell*: Nor did his other *Corruptions* escape the *Offensive*, as well as the *Defensive* *Weapons* of his *Soul*.

Under the most furious of their *Assaults*, I find this to be one of his *Honourable Retreats*.

' For the *Relief* of my *Soul* under the *Power*

of Corruption; let me by Faith apply these Scriptures.

First, Rom. 6, 14.

Secondly, Ezek. 36. 26.

Thirdly, Mic. 7. 19.

Fourthly, Zec. 13. 1.

Besides Zec. 9. 12. Mat. 16. 18. John 12.

31. and Rom. 16. 20. and these Considerations:

First, Christ is a Compleat Redeemer, Heb. 7.

25. 1 John 1. 7. Heb. 9. 14.

Secondly, God's Infinite Power is engaged on my behalf, if I be in Covenant with him.

Thirdly, God will perfect Holiness where he hath begun it.

In such Engagements as these against his Invisible Adversaries he continued, until he is now a Conqueror, and more than a Conqueror.

Fifthly, He was one that wisely prepared for the CHANGES that were before him. It is a Remark in one of his Papers: *I think it convenient for me to observe the Temptations, I am, or shall be obnoxious unto, and get suitable Remedies against them.*

He seem'd indeed to have a strange Presage of what he was to meet withal, and O how he laid in that he might not be unprovided for it! A Prudence rarely seen among the Children of Men, whose Misery is great upon them because they know not their Time.

There were especially two Calamities which he had a fore-boding of, Dismal Pain and Early Death, As for his Pain, he was it seems to undergo exquisite Anguishes, for many Months before his Dissolution; but before ever it came upon him, how strangely did he fortifie himself against it! He said in his Diary some Years before he left the World,

Sept. 2.

I had not in the Morning time enough for solemn Meditation: Great Deadness and Dulness was in my Heart, as to Spiritual Thoughts afterwards; the Reason was, because I did not perform my solemn Meditation as I should.

I had now Apprehensions that I must undergo sore Tryals and Conflicts, and great Afflictions.

Wherefore it highly become me to get as great a measure of Grace, as the Opportunities which I enjoy may afford, and therefore I purpose to be more serious in my Meditations, not omitting other Duties therewithal.

I see my Resolutions must every Day be renewed, as to great diligence in my serving God.

And since I must expect great Afflictions, I must make it my daily Work by solemn Meditation to go over the whole Body of Christianity, and particularly to have daily Thoughts on the Condescension of Jesus Christ: I must also endeavour to get a large measure of sanctified Knowledge; wherefore,

First, There is need of Earnest Prayer; and

Secondly, Of very Holy Walking.

Thirdly, Of Entertaining the Truth with greatest Affection; and

Fourthly, Looking on it as it is in Jesus; and

Fifthly, Solemn Meditation; and

Sixthly, Much Reading; and

Seventhly, Living upon the Truths which I know, and Thankfulness for the Knowledge which I have already,

And at another time there was this written in his Diary.

This Morning I meditated about a part of Self-denial; Namely, the denial of Bodily Health, and of Ease from Torment.

My Resolution was, that it was better to part herewithal, than to sin. I hope there is a thorough purpose in my Heart to perform accordingly, when I shall be call'd thereunto.

I do feel the Stirrings of Self in my self this day: It would fain be in the Throne of God within me; but I am resolv'd Christ shall be my King.

And as he thus put on the whole Armour of God, that he might be able to stand when he should be tryed, so he found the Benefit of it, when he came into the Field. Few in the World ever bore such Dolours with such a silent and a quiet and compos'd Temper as he. Some that were intimate with him, would say, He was one of an Iron Patience, and they had rarely if ever seen such a Patient Patient. But his Death he seem'd all along most careful to be ready for.

In his Papers.

Meditations on the four last things, was a Title mentioning a Subject of his most solicitous Contemplations. Above three Years before his Translation, his Diary hath such a Note as this.

Speaking to Day something concerning my Commencement, I was strangely surprized, and had many Thoughts, yea, Perswasions, That I should not live till then.

In the Margin he wrote, Deceived.

Rest. What may be the Import hereof I cannot tell; yet I gather thus much: That is incumbent on me without further delay, to make my Calling and Election sure.

He hath also left behind him, Some Meditations tending to the Exercise of Repentance, and Faith, and Preparation for Death, as he hath himself intitled them; but the Reader by this time will easily pardon my forbearing the Communication of them.

Indeed, Preparation for Death, in one word, contains the Substance of what he had been doing divers years before the King of Terrors took his Clay House away.

And as he was desirous to prepare for what Passive Obedience he might be put upon, so he was loath to have his Heart not well ordered or furnished, when Active Obedience might be called for at his Hands. Tho' he never liv'd to preach any other than some private Sermons, yet he was not unthoughtful of the Time when publick Ones might be expected from him. It may not be unuseful for me to insert one of his Meditations here; it runs in such terms as these.

Whether

¶ Whether I should be a Minister ?

“ I considered all *Objections* which Persons might make against it, and answer'd them every one. But one *Objection* startled me more than the rest, to wit, *Personal Unfitness*, from my *Hebetude*, or want of Invention. To which I answer'd, with minding that Promise in *Exod. 3. 12. Certainly I will be with thee.* And the beginning of *ver. 18. They shall hearken to thy voice.* And where God finds *Work*, there he will give *Strength.* I likewise considered *1 Chron. 28. 10, 20. and Mat. 28. 19, 20. and Josh. 1. 9. and Judg. 6. 12, 14.*

“ And then I thought with my self, That as for *living in a remote part of the Country*, I should be willing thereunto, if so I might do Service for God, and bring Glory to his Name. And whilst I was musing on these Things, I was melted into a Frame, that I thought heretofore I should never be in, namely, *Humble Submission to the Good Pleasure of God, however he should dispose of me.* I knew, that though I were reproached for what *Meanness* I should this way be exposed unto, there is an Answer in *Rom. 1. 16. and in Mark 8. 38. and in Psal. 31. 19. and in Prov. 16. 7. and in Psal. 37. 5, 6.* So were the Apostles, *1 Cor. 4. 3, 9. If I serve Christ, God will honour me, John 12. 26.*

Every one must own, that however such things as these, in an *old Man*, may be below our Admiration; yet in a *young Man*, that out-lived not the Years which the *Nodes* of the *Moon* take to dispatch a Revolution, they deserve a *Memory* among them that may be edified by such *Exemplary Practices.* Indeed, he was himself extremely unsensible of the least *Worth* or *Shine* adorning of him; and in his whole Deportment he discovered a modest, an humble, and a reserved *Mein*; which might be reck'ned to bear little *proportion* with his other Accomplishments, were it not that the more *gracious Men* are, the more humble they always are; and they are the *Fullest* and *Richest* Ears of Corn, which most hang down towards the Ground. But while he in a sort wronged himself, to escape the *Bane* and *Blame* of *Pride*; it is a piece of *pure Justice* in the Survivers, to *Embalm* the Name of a Person thus delirable, since he is gone thither where he has no *Chaff* to take fire at the Sparks of our Praises.

¶ Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat ?

Such a *young Man* as this it is, that the Church of God is now deprived of! What a *Blessing* might his Living have proved unto the World! But as the *Long-liv'd Patriarchs*, before the Flood, have still that Clause introduced of them, *And he dyed*; which Clause awakened and converted a Person of *Quality*, who came in occasionally while the Minister was reading the *Fifth Chapter of Genesis* to the Congregation; so must I now say of the *Short-liv'd Person*, whom we have been paying our last Respect unto, he lived thus long in a little time, *And he died.*

Before I break off, I must relate,

III. His DEATH.

Too soon and too sad a thing for me to mention without Sighing, *Ab my Brother*, in my Lamentation over it. He had contracted an universal *Ill Habit* of Body; which was attended with a particular Generation of *Ill Humours*, where the *Os Ileon* and *Os Sacrum* joyn; from whence it fell into his *Thigh*, until there was a very large collection of it there.

There was an *Incision*, with mature Advice made into the *Tumour*, about a Month before his Expiration, which gave good hopes of his Recovery into a capacity of serving the Church of God; but the *Circulation*, which was now given unto the *putrid Juices* which his Blood, through his continual and sedentary Studies, had been annoyed withal, soon enkindled a Fever, which burnt afunder the thread of this pious Life.

One might suppose, that such a *Walk with God* as the Reader has newly had pourtrayed before him, should end in *Raptures* and *Extasies* of Assurance; but I am to tell him, That this Young Person had them not. And there wanted not Reason for it. For his *Natural Distemper* disposed him to what is contrary to Joy; but his deep Humility had a greater share in the *Jealousies* and *Suspitions* which he would still cherish of himself. He was indeed so afraid of being an *Hypocrite*, and he would scarce allow himself to be called a *Christian*, and he did not care so much as to tell any of his own *Experiences*, no, nor his *Inclinations*, unless to one or two Divines, who kindly refreshed him with their daily Visits; and with them too he would uphold his Discourse only in *Latin*, if any one else were by.

Never did I see more Caution against *Hypocrisie*, than what was in him; and a certain *Self-aborrence* accompanying of it, caused to proceed from him no Expressions, but those of an *Abased Soul*. When his Brother having recited the Terms of the Gospel to him, with a design to obtain from him a Renewal of his *Explicit Consent* thereunto, asked him, *Whether he did not judge himself sincere in that Consent?* He only replied, *I should think so, if it were not for the Seventeenth of Jeremiah, and the Ninth.*

He was *Dejected*, yet not *Despairing*; and he discovered a wonderfully *Gracious*, when he had not a *Joyful Frame*. He was all made up of Longings and Breathings after all the *Fulness of God*, when he could not or would not pretend unto any Confidence of his *Acceptance* with the Lord.

In the time of his *Health*, he had not been without the comfortable Persuasions for which he follow'd hard after God. In one place, I find him saying (on such a day) *I had Fears lest I should not love the Blessed God; but yet I was sure I desired to keep his Commandments.* Another time so; *For three Quarters of an Hour, I pleaded earnestly for assurance of the Love of God unto me, and I said, As many as received Christ Jesus, to them he gave Power to become the Sons of God; And I did receive Jesus Christ, as the the Free Gift of God, and received him to save me on his own Terms: I chose him to be my Priest, and Prophet, and King.* Now I begg'd

begg'd of him that he would manifest his Acceptance of me, and give me the Spirit of Adoption: I had then, I hope, some Assurance. But when Sickness came, he was loth to own a clear Title to the Rest of God: Yet before he died, he suffered some sober Intimations of his Hopes to fall from him. There was a good Man in this Land, whose last Words yet were, *It had been good for me that I had never been born.* The Words of this humble Self-loathing Young-Man were of another strain. In the last Night, that we had him with us, he would have his Watcher to read, *The Song of Simeon, unto him, Now lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace: And in the Morning after, he said, I have now been with Jesus Christ! which, from such a little Speaker as he, we could not have his Explication of.*

In one of his last Minutes, a faithful Minister said unto him, *Find you not Comfort in the Lord Jesus Christ?* To which he made only this discreet and humble Answer, *I endeavour to do those things which will issue in Comfort; and then he quickly surrendred up his Redeemed and Renewed Soul unto him who had loved him, and washed away his Sins in his own Blood.*

Thus he went away to the Heavenly Society, where he is beholding the Face of God in Righteousness, and solacing himself in the Company not only of his blessed Grandfathers and Uncles, and all the Spirits of the Just; but of the amiable Jesus himself, which is by far the best of all. His Tears are all dried up, his Fears vanished away, and his Hopes more than answered in Joys unspeakable, and full of Glory.

His Elder Brother having thus written of him, now satisfies himself in the Duty therein done to God and Man; and would keep waiting for his own Change, until Thy Free Grace, O my God, shall give unto the most miserable Sinner in the World, an Admission into Emmanuel's Land.

Cotton Mather.

One that had an Acquaintance with him, did him the Justice of weeping over his Grave such an Epitaph as this.

Inclosed in this Sable Chest,
The Host once of an Heavenly Guest
Here lies: Upright Nathanael,
True Off-spring of God's Israel.
Him Dead, how term we, from his Birth,
Who liv'd in Heaven whilst on Earth?
His Head had Learning's Magazine,
His Heart the Altar, whence Divine
Whole Hecatombs, which Love had fir'd
Of high Praise, and warm Pray'r aspir'd:
His Life, the Decalogue unfolded;
A Meat-Off'ring, his Speech well-weigh'd;
His rare Devotion, such now seen,
A Sign of Ninety at Nineteen.
Years but in bloom, Grace at full growth
Angels, you Know and Think his Worth.
Thus Time, Youth's Glass, turn'd e're 'twas run,
And Ages too, before begun.

Rest, Glorious Dust, and let thy perfum'd Name
Sound in the Trumpets of Immortal Fame.
For tho' Times Teeth Mausolean Monuments deface,
They'll never gnaw thy Name which with the Stars has
place.

Posuit, R. H.

Unto which we will add another borrowed from another.

*Siccine, Nathanael, properas ad cœlica? Mentis
Cœlestes tractat non bene Terra: sapis.*

FINIS.

Acts

Acts and Monuments.

The Fifth B O O K
OF THE
New English History :

[In Four P A R T S.]

CONTAINING
The FAITH and the ORDER
IN THE
Churches of New-England :

Agreed by the

Elders and Messengers of the CHURCHES
Assembled in SYNODS.

WITH
HISTORICAL REMARKS

UPON

All those VENERABLE ASSEMBLIES.
And a great Variety of other CHURCH-CASES,
Occurring and Resolved in these *American*
CHURCHES.

Aurea perpetuâ semper dignissima vitâ.

Compiled by C O T T O N M A T H E R.

*Non debemus nos de Regimine Ecclesiæ quicquam asserere quod ex Humanis Rationibus
videretur asserendum, sed id quod ipso factò est à Christo Institutum, & in Ecclesiâ
ab ipsius Fundatione observatum.* A. Spalatenfis, de R. pub. Eccles.

L O N D O N,

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

The Journal of the
New York Historical Society
for the year
1851
Published by the Society
at the City of New York

HISTORICAL REMARKS
ON THE
All those who have
and a great variety of other
Concerning and
CHURCHES

Compiled by
J. O. R. D. N.

Printed for
Gives in

The Fifth B O O K.

SYNODICON AMERICANUM.

The First P A R T.

T H E

F A I T H

Professed by the

Churches of New-England.

Periculosum nobis ac miserabile est, tot Fides existere quot voluntates, & tot nobis Doctrinas esse, quot mores. Hilar.

§ 1. **I**T was once an *unrighteous* and *Injurious* Asperſion caſt upon the Churches of *New-England*, That the World knew not their Principles: Whereas they took all the Occaſions imaginable to make all the World know, That in the Doctrinal Part of Religion, they have agreed entirely with the Reformed Churches of Europe: And that they deſired moſt particularly to maintain the Faith profeſſed by the Churches of *Old England*, the Country whereto was owing their Original. Few Paſtors of Mankind ever took ſuch pains at Catechiſing, as have been taken by our *New-Engliſh* Divines: Now let any Man living read the moſt judicious and elaborate Catechiſms published, a leſſer and a larger by Mr. Norton, a leſſer and a larger by Mr. Maſher, ſeveral by Mr. Cotton, one by Mr. Davenport, one by Mr. Stone, one by Mr. Norris, one by Mr. Noyes, one by Mr. Fiſk, ſeveral by Mr. Eliot, one by Mr. Sea-born Cotton, a large one by Mr. Fitch; and ſay, whether true Divinity were ever better handled; or, whether they were not the trueſt Sons of the Church of *England*, who thus maintained its *Fundamental Articles*, which are ſo many of them firſt ſubſcribed, and then denied and confuted by ſome that would monopolize that Name unto them-

ſelves: But as a further Demonſtration hereof, when there was a Synod aſſembled at *Cambridge*, Sept. 30. 1648. even that Synod which framed, agreed and published, *The Platform of Church Diſcipline*, there was a moſt unanimous Vote paſſed in theſe Words; *This Synod having peruſed and conſidered (with much gladneſs of Heart and Thankfulneſs to God) the Confeſſion of Faith, publiſhed by the late Reverend Aſſembly in England, do judge it to be very Holy, Orthodox and Judicious, in all Matters of Faith, and do therefore freely and fully conſent thereunto for the Subſtance thereof. Only in thoſe Things which have reſpect to Church-Government and Diſcipline, we refer our ſelves to the Platform of Church-Diſcipline, agreed upon by this Preſent Aſſembly: And we do therefore think it meet, that this Confeſſion of Faith, ſhould be commended to the Churches of Chriſt among us, and to the Honour'd Court, as worthy of their due Conſideration and Acceptance.* This Vote was paſſed by the Miniſters and Meſſengers of the Churches, in that Venerable Aſſembly, when the Government recommended unto their Conſideration, *A Confeſſion of Faith*, as one Thing, which the *Transmarine Churches* expected from them. And they hoped, that this Proof of them being *Fellow Heirs*

of the same Common Salvation, with the Churches beyond Sea, would not only free them from the Suspicion of *Heresie*, but clear them from the Character of *Schism* also; in as much as their Dissent from those Churches, was now evidently but in some lesser Matters of *Ecclesiastical Polity*; And a Dissent not managed either with such *Arrogancy* or *Censoriousness*, as are the Essential Properties of *Schismatics*.

§ 2. As to make a *Confession of Faith*, is a Duty wherein all *Christians* are to be made *Confessors*; and Multitudes of 'em have been made *Martyrs*; thus to write a *Confession of Faith*, is a Work which the *Faithful* in all Ages have approved and practised, as most singularly profitable. The *Confessions* thus emitted by such Worthies as *Irenaeus* and *Atbanasius* formerly, and *Beza*, as well as others more lately, have been of signal Advantage to the Church of God: But when many *Churches* do join together in such *Confessions*, the Testimony born to the Truth of God, is yet more glorious and effectual. How remarkably the *Confessions* of the four General Councils, were owned for the Suppression of the *Heresies* then spawned, is well known to all that have set foot but as far as the Threshold of *Church-History*; and surely the fabulous *Musick* of the *Spheres*, cannot be supposed more delicious than that *Harmony*, which is to be seen in the *Confessions* of the *Reformed Churches*, that have therefore been together published. Wherefore, besides the Vote of the *New-England Churches*, for a Concurrence with the *Confession of Faith* made by the Assembly at *Westminster*, a *Synod* assembled at *Boston*, May 12. 1680. whereof Mr. *Increase Mather* was *Moderator*, consulted and considered, what was further to be done for such a *Confession*. Accordingly, the *Confession of Faith* consented by the *Congregational Churches* of *England* in a *Synod* met at the *Savoy*; which, excepting a few Variations, was the same with what was agreed by the Reverend Assembly at *Westminster*, and afterwards by the General Assembly of *Scotland*; was twice publicly read, examined and approved; and some small Variations made from that of the *Savoy* in compliance with that at *Westminster*; and so, after such *Collations*, but no *Contentions*, voted and printed, as the *Faith* of *New-England*. But they chose to express themselves in the Words of those Assemblies; That so (as they speak in their Preface) we might not only with one Heart, but with one Mouth, glorifie God and our Lord Jesus Christ.

§ 3. It is true, that particular Churches in the Country have had their *Confessions* by themselves drawn up in their own Form; nor indeed were the Symbols in the most primitive Times always delivered in *ipsissimis verbis*. It is also true, that few *Learned Men* have been admitted as Mem-

bers of our Churches, but what have, at their *Admissions*, entertained them with notable *Confessions* of their own composing; insomuch, that if the *Protestants* have been by the *Papists* call'd *Confessionists*, the *Protestants* of *New-England* have, of all, given the most laudable occasion to be called so. Nevertheless, all this *Variety* has been the exactest *Unity*; all those *Confessions* have been but so many *Derivations* from, and *Explications* and *Confirmations* of, that *Confession*, which the *Synods* had voted for them all; for, *Ut plures Rivuli, ab uno Fonte, ita plures Fidei Confessiones ab una eademq; Fidei Veritate, manare possunt*. Now that *Good Confession* remains to be exhibited.

Reader, 'Tis a memorable Passage, that is related by *Ruffinus* in his *Ecclesiastical History*, that a Pagan Philosopher, in a publick Disputation, evaded and rejected the most powerful Arguments for *Christianity*, brought by the most Learned Christians in the Assembly: Until an honest Elder of one of the Churches, but of Abilities which were so much inferior to the rest, that the rest were afraid and sorry to see his Undertaking, did undertake to silence him. This honest Man, after this manner addressed the Adversary: 'In the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, I require you to hear the Truth: There is but one God, who made the Heavens and the Earth, and hath formed Man of the Dust thereof, with an Immortal Soul inspired into him: He, by his Word and Power brought forth this whole Creation, and sanctifies us by his Holy Spirit: And He, who is the Word, whom we own to be the Son of God, taking Compassion on fallen Man, hath become a Man: He was born of a Virgin, and by suffering, even to death, for us, he hath delivered us from Eternal Death, and by his Resurrection he hath made sure of Life Eternal for us. Him we look for again to be the Judge of the World: Believest thou this, O Philosopher? The Man found himself Thunder-struck, into a more than ordinary Consternation at this Discourse, and cry'd out, *I believe it, I confess it!* Whereupon the holy Man said, *Then follow me, and be baptised*. He did so, and unto his Party then present he said, *While I had to do with the Words of Men, I could oppose Words unto them; but when I felt a Power from God, I could not resist it. I find that Man cannot oppose himself to God.*

Our *Ecclesiastical History* shall now give a plain and a pure *Confession of our Faith*. May the Reader now find an irresistible Power of God, and of Grace irradiating his Mind, with all Satisfaction in it. 'Tis composed of Things, which as *Chrysostom* speaks, *ἥλιον ἂν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστέρων καθαρώτερον*, Clearer than the Beams of the Sun.

A

Confession of Faith;

Owned, and consented to, by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches, Assembled at *Boston* in *New-England*, *May 12. 1680.* Being the Second Session of that *SYNOD.*

C H A P. I.

Of the Holy Scriptures.

I. **A**lthough the Light of Nature, and the Works of Creation and Providence do so far manifest the Goodness, Wisdom and Power of God, as to leave Men inexcusable; yet are they not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his Will, which is necessary unto Salvation: Therefore it pleased the Lord, at sundry times, and in divers manners to reveal himself, and to declare that his Will unto his Church; and afterwards for the better Preserving and Propagating of the Truth, and for the more sure Establishment and Comfort of the Church against the Corruption of the Flesh, and the Malice of Satan, and of the World, to commit the same wholly to Writing: Which maketh the Holy Scripture to be most necessary; those former ways of God's revealing his Will unto his People being now ceased.

II. Under the Name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the Books of the *Old and New Testament*, which are these:

Of the Old Testament.

Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

Of the New Testament.

Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, The Acts of the Apostles, Paul's Epistle to the Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 To Timothy, 2 To Timothy, To Titus, To Philemon, The Epistle to the Hebrews, The Epistle of James, The first and second Epistles of Peter, The first, second and

third Epistles of John, The Epistle of Jude, The Revelation.

All which are given by the Inspiration of God to be the Rule of Faith and Life.

III. The Books commonly called *Apocrypha*, not being of Divine Inspiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no Authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other Humane Writings.

IV. The Authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the Testimony of any Man or Church, but wholly upon God (who is Truth it self) the Author thereof; and therefore, it is to be received because it is the Word of God.

V. We may be moved and induced by the Testimony of the Church, to an high and reverend Esteem of the Holy Scripture. And the Heavenliness of the Matter, the Efficacy of the Doctrine, the Majesty of the Style, the Consent of all the Parts, the Scope of the whole (which is to give all Glory to God) the full Discovery it makes of the only way of Man's Salvation, the many other incomparable Excellencies, and the entire Perfection thereof, are Arguments, whereby it doth abundantly Evidence it self to be the Word of God; yet notwithstanding our full Persuasion and Assurance of the infallible Truth and Divine Authority thereof, is from the inward Work of the Holy Spirit, bearing Witness by and with the Word in our Hearts.

VI. The whole Counsel of God concerning all things necessary for his own Glory, Man's Salvation, Faith and Life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary Consequence may be deduced from Scripture; unto which nothing, at any time, is to be added, whether by new Revelations of the Spirit, or Traditions of Men. Nevertheless, we acknowledge the inward Illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word: And that there are some Circumstances concerning the Worship of God and Government of the Church,

Church, common to humane Actions and Societies, which are to be ordered by the Light of Nature and Christian Prudence, according to the general Rules of the Word, which are always to be observed.

VII. All things in Scripture, are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed and observed for Salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture, or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient Understanding of them.

VIII. The *Old Testament* in *Hebrew*, (which was the Native Language of the People of God of old) and the *New Testament* in *Greek*, (which at the time of writing of it, was most generally known to the Nations) being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular Care and Providence kept pure in all Ages, are therefore Authentical; so as in all Controversies of Religion the Church is finally to appeal unto them. But because these Original Tongues

are not known to all the People of God, who have Right unto, and Interest in the Scriptures, and are commanded in the Fear of God to read and search them; therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar Language of every Nation into which they come, that the Word of God dwelling plentifully in All, they may worship him in an acceptable manner, and through Patience and Comfort of the Scripture may have help.

IX. The infallible Rule of Interpretation of Scripture, is the Scripture it self; and therefore when there is a Question about the true and full Sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold, but one) it must be searched and known by other Places that speak more clearly.

X. The Supreme Judge, by which all Controversies of Religion are to be determined, and all Decrees of Councils, Opinions of ancient Writers, Doctrines of Men, and private Spirits, are to be examined, and in whose Sentence we are to rest, can be no other, but the Holy Scripture delivered by the Spirit; into which Scripture so delivered our Faith is finally resolved.

C H A P. II.

Of God and the Holy Trinity.

I. **T**HERE is but one only Living and True God; who is infinite in Being and Perfection, a most pure Spirit, invisible, without Body, Parts or Passions, Immutable, Immense, Eternal, Incomprehensible, Almighty, most Wise, most Holy, most Free, most Absolute, working all things according to the Counsel of his own Immutable and most Righteous Will, for his own Glory; most Loving, Gracious, Merciful, Long-suffering, abundant in Goodness and Truth, forgiving Iniquity, Transgression and Sin; the Rewarder of them that diligently seek him; and withal most Just and Terrible in his Judgments, hating all Sin, and who will by no means clear the Guilty.

II. God hath all Life, Glory, Goodness, Blessedness, in and of himself; and is alone in and unto Himself, All-sufficient; nor standing in need of any Creatures, which he hath made, nor deriving any Glory from them, but only manifesting his own Glory in, by, unto, and upon them. He is the alone Fountain of all Beings; of whom, through whom, and to whom are all

Things; and hath most Sovereign Dominion over them, to do by them, for them and upon them, whatsoever himself pleaseth: In his sight all things are open and manifest; his Knowledge is Infinite, Infallible and Independant upon the Creature, so as nothing is to him contingent or uncertain. He is most Holy in all his Counsels, in all his Works, and in all his Commands. To him is due from Angels, and Men, and every other Creature, whatsoever Worship, Service or Obedience, as Creatures they owe unto the Creator, and whatever he is further pleased to require of them.

III. In the Unity of the God-head, there be Three Persons, of one Substance, Power and Eternity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost: The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; The Son is eternally begotten of the Father; The Holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son. Which Doctrine of the Trinity is the Foundation of all our Communion with God and comfortable Dependence upon him.

C H A P. III.

Of God's Eternal Decree.

I. **G**OD from all Eternity did by the most Wise and Holy Counsel of his own Will, freely, and unchangeably ordain, whatsoever comes to pass; yet so, as thereby neither is God the Author of Sin, nor is Violence offered unto

the Will of the Creatures, nor is the Liberty or Contingency of second Causes taken away, but rather established.

II. Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all supposed Conditions,

tions, yet hath he not decreed any thing because he foresaw it, as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such Conditions.

III. By the Decree of God, for the manifestation of his Glory, some Men and Angels are predestinated unto everlasting Life, and others fore-ordained unto everlasting Death.

IV. These Angels and Men, thus predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their Number is so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

V. Those of Mankind that are predestinated unto Life. God before the Foundation of the World was laid, according to his eternal and immutable Purpose, and the secret Counsel, and good Pleasure of his Will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting Glory, out of his meer Free-Grace and Love, without any foresight of Faith or good Works, or Perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the Creature, as Conditions or Causes moving him thereunto, and all to the Praise of his Glorious Grace.

VI. As God hath appointed the Elect unto Glory, so hath he by the eternal and most free Purpose of his Will, fore-ordained all the means thereunto: Wherefore they who are elected be-

ing fallen in *Adam*, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto Faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season, are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his Power through Faith unto Salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, or effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified and saved, but the Elect only.

VII. The rest of Mankind, God was pleased according to the unsearchable Counsel of his own Will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth Mercy, as he pleaseth, for the Glory of his Sovereign Power over his Creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to Dishonour and Wrath, for their Sin, to the Praise of his Glorious Justice.

VIII. The Doctrine of this high Mystery of Predestination, is to be handled with special Prudence and Care, that Men attending the Will of God revealed in his Word, and yielding Obedience thereunto, may from the certainty of their effectual Vocation be assured of their eternal Election.

So shall this Doctrine afford Matter of Praise, Reverence and Admiration of God, and of Humility, Diligence and abundant Consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel.

CHAP. IV.

Of Creation.

IT pleased God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, for the manifestation of the Glory of his eternal Power, Wisdom and Goodness in the Beginning, to create or make of Nothing the World and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six Days, and all very good.

II. After God had made all other Creatures, he created Man Male and Female, with reasonable and immortal Souls, endued with Knowledge, Righteousness and true Holiness, after

his own Image, having the Law of God written in their Heart, and Power to fulfil it; and yet under a possibility of transgressing, being left to the Liberty of their own Will, which was subject to change. Besides this Law written in their Hearts, they received a Command not to eat of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil; which whiles they kept, they were happy in their Communion with God, and had Dominion over the Creatures.

CHAP. V.

Of Providence.

GOD the Great Creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, dispose and govern all Creatures, Actions and Things, from the greatest even to the least, by his most Wise and Holy Providence, according to his infallible Foreknowledge, and the free and immutable Counsel of his own Will to the Praise of the Glory of his Wisdom, Power, Justice Goodness and Mercy.

II. Although in relation to the Foreknowledge and Decree of God, the First Cause, all things come to pass immutably and infallibly, yet by the same Providence he ordereth them to fall out, according to the Nature of Second Causes, either necessarily, freely, or contingently.

III. God in his ordinary Providence, maketh use of means, yet is free to work without, above and against them at his Pleasure.

IV. The Almighty Power, unsearchable Wisdom, and the infinite Goodness of God, so far manifest themselves in his Providence, in that his determinate Counsel extendeth it self, even to the first Fall and all other Sins of Angels and Men, (and that not by a bare permission) which also, he most wisely and powerfully boundeth, and otherwise ordereth and governeth in a manifold Dispensation, to his own most Holy Ends, yet so as the sinfulness thereof proceedeth only from the Creature, and not from God, who being most Holy and Righteous, neither is, nor can be the Author or Approver of Sin.

V. The

V. The most wise, righteous and gracious God doth oftentimes leave for a Season his own Children to manifold Temptations, and the Corruption of their own Hearts, to chastise them for their former Sins, or to discover unto them the hidden Strength of Corruption, and Deceitfulness of their Hearts, that they may be humbled, and to raise them to a more close and constant Dependance for their Support upon himself, and to make them more watchful against all future Occasions of Sin, and for sundry other just and holy Ends.

VI. As for those wicked and ungodly Men, whom God, as a righteous Judge, for former Sins, doth blind and harden, from them, he

not only withholdeth his Grace, whereby they might have been enlightned in their Understandings, and wrought upon in their Hearts; but sometimes also withdraweth the Gifts which they had, and exposeth them to such Objects, as their Corruption makes Occasions of Sin; and withal gives them over to their own Lusts, the Temptations of the World, and the Power of Satan, whereby it comes to pass that they harden themselves, even under those Means, which God useth for the softning of others.

VII. As the Providence of God doth in General reach to all Creatures, so after a most special manner, it taketh Care of his Church, and disposeth all Things for the Good thereof.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Fall of Man : Of Sin, and of the Punishment thereof.

I. **G**OD having made a Covenant of Works and Life thereupon, with our First Parents, and all their Posterity in them, they being seduced by the Subtilty and Temptation of Satan, did wilfully transgress the Law of their Creation, and break the Covenant, in eating the forbidden Fruit.

II. By this Sin, they and we in them, fell from Original Righteousness and Communion with God, and so became dead in Sin, and wholly defiled in all the Faculties and Parts of Soul and Body.

III. They being the Root, and by God's Appointment standing in the room and stead of all Mankind, the Guilt of this Sin was imputed, and corrupted Nature convey'd to all their Posterity descending from them by ordinary Generation.

IV. From this Original Corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled and made opposite to all Good, and wholly inclined to all Evil, do proceed all actual Transgressions.

V. This Corruption of Nature, during this Life doth remain in those that are regenerated; and altho' it be, through Christ, pardoned and mortified, yet both it self and all the Motions thereof are truly and properly Sin.

VI. Every Sin both Original and Actual being a Transgression of the righteous Law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth, in its own Nature, bring Guilt upon the Sinner, whereby he is bound over to the Wrath of God, and Curse of the Law, and so made subject to Death, with all Miseries Spiritual, Temporal and Eternal.

C H A P. VII.

Of God's Covenant with Man.

I. **T**HE Distance between God and the Creature is so great, that altho' reasonable Creatures do owe Obedience to him as their Creator, yet they could never have attained the Reward of Life, but by some voluntary Condescension on God's Part, which he hath been pleas'd to express by way of Covenant.

II. The first Covenant made with Man was a Covenant of Works; wherein Life was promised to Adam, and in him to his Posterity, upon Condition of Perfect and Personal Obedience.

III. Man by his Fall having made himself incapable of Life by that Covenant, the Lord was pleas'd to make a Second, commonly call'd the Covenant of Grace; wherein he freely offereth unto Sinners Life and Salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them Faith in him, that

they may be sav'd, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto Life, his Holy Spirit to make them willing and able to believe.

IV. This Covenant of Grace is frequently set forth in Scripture, by the Name of a *Testament*, in reference to the Death of Jesus Christ, the Testator, and to the everlasting Inheritance, with all things belonging to it, therein bequeathed.

V. Although this Covenant hath been differently, and variously administr'd in respect of Ordinances and Institutions in the time of the Law, and since the coming of Christ in the Flesh; yet for the Substance and Efficacy of it, to all its spiritual and saving Ends, it is one and the same; upon the Account of which various Dispensations it is called the *Old and New Testament*.

C H A P. VIII.

Of Christ the Mediator.

IT pleased God in his Eternal Purpose, to chuse and ordain the Lord Jesus, his only begotten Son, according to a Covenant made between them both, to be the Mediator between God and Man: The Prophet, Priest and King, the Head and Saviour of his Church, the Heir of all things, and Judge of the World, unto whom he did from all Eternity give a People to be his Seed, and to be by him, in time, redeemed, called, justified, sanctified and glorified.

II. The Son of God, the second Person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one Substance, and equal with the Father, did, when the fulness of Time was come, take upon him Man's Nature with all the Essential Properties, and common Infirmities thereof, yet without sin, being conceived by the Power of the Holy Ghost in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary* of her Substance: So that two whole perfect and distinct Natures, the Godhead and the Manhood were inseparably joined together in one Person without Conversion, Composition or Confusion; which Person is very God and very Man, yet one Christ, the only Mediator between God and Man.

III. The Lord Jesus in his humane Nature, thus united to the Divine, in the Person of the Son, was sanctified and anointed with the Holy Spirit above Measure, having in him all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge, in whom it pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, to the end that being holy, harmless, undefiled and full of Grace and Truth, he might be thoroughly furnished to execute the Office of a Mediator and Surety, which Office he took not unto himself; but was thereunto called by his Father, who also put all Power and Judgment into his Hand, and gave him Commandment to execute the same.

IV. This Office the Lord Jesus Christ did most willingly undertake; which that he might discharge, he was made under the Law, and did perfectly fulfil it, and underwent the Punishment due to us, which we should have born and suffered, being made sin and a curse for us, enduring most grievous Torments immediately from

God in his Soul, and most painful Sufferings in his Body, was crucified and died, was buried, and remain'd under the Power of death, yet saw no Corruption; on the 3d day he arose from the dead with the same Body, in which he suffered, with which also he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, making Intercession, and shall return to judge Men and Angels at the end of the World.

V. The Lord Jesus by his perfect Obedience, and Sacrifice of himself, which he, through the Eternal Spirit, once offered up unto God, hath fully satisfied the Justice of God, and purchased not only Reconciliation, but an everlasting Inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven, for all those whom the Father hath given unto him.

VI. Altho' the *Work of Redemption* was not actually wrought by Christ, till after his Incarnation, yet the Virtue, Efficacy and Benefits thereof, were communicated unto the Elect in all Ages successively from the beginning of the World, in and by those Promises, Types and Sacrifices; wherein he was revealed and signified to be the Seed of the Woman, which should bruise the Serpent's Head, and the Lamb slain from the beginning of the World, being yesterday and to day the same, and for ever.

VII. Christ in the Work of Mediation acteth according to both Natures, by each Nature doing that which is proper to it self; yet by reason of the Unity of the Person, that which is proper to one Nature is sometimes in Scripture, attributed unto the Person denominated by the other Nature.

VIII. To all those for whom Christ has purchased Redemption, he doth certainly and effectually apply and communicate the same, making Intercession for them, and revealing unto them in and by the Word, the Mysteries of Salvation, effectually perswading them by his Spirit to believe and obey, and governing their Heart, by his Word and Spirit, overcoming all their Enemies, by his Almighty Power and Wisdom, in such Manner and Ways, as are most consonant to his wonderful and unsearchable Dispensation.

C H A P. IX.

Of Free-Will.

I GOD hath endued the Will of Man with that Natural Liberty and Power of Acting upon Choice, that it is neither forced, nor, by any absolute Necessity of Nature, determined to do Good or Evil.

II. Man in his State of Innocency had Freedom and Power to Will and to Do that which was Good and well-pleasing to God; but yet mutably, so that he might fall from it.

III. Man by his Fall into a State of Sin, hath wholly lost all Ability of Will to any Spiritual Good, accompanying Salvation, so as a Natural Man being altogether averse from that Good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength to convert himself or to prepare himself thereunto.

IV. When God converts a Sinner, and translates him into the State of Grace, he freeth him

him from his natural Bondage under Sin, and by his Grace alone enables him freely to Will and to Do that which is Spiritually Good; yet so, as that, by reason of his remaining Corruption, he doth not perfectly nor only Will that which is Good, but doth that which is also Evil.

V. The Will of Man is made Perfectly and Immutably Free to Good alone, in the State of Glory only.

C H A P. X.

Of Effectual Calling.

I. **A**LL those whom God hath predestinated unto Life, and those only, he is pleased in his appointed and accepted Time effectually to call by his Word and Spirit, out of that State of Sin and Death, in which they are by Nature, to Grace and Salvation by Jesus Christ, inlightning their Minds Spiritually and Savingly to understand the Things of God, taking away their Heart of Stone, and giving unto them an Heart of Flesh, renewing their Wills, and by his Almighty Power determining them to that which is Good, and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ: Yet so, as they come most Freely, being made willing by his Grace.

II. This effectual Call is of God's Free and Special Grace alone, not from any thing at all foreseen in Man, who is altogether Passive therein, until being quickned and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to answer this Call

and to embrace the Grace offered and conveyed in it.

III. Elect Infants dying in Infancy, are Regenerated and Saved by Christ, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaseth: So also are all other Elect Persons, who are incapable of being outwardly called by the Ministry of the Word.

IV. Others not elected, altho' they may be called by the Ministry of the Word, and may have some common Operations of the Spirit, yet not being effectually drawn by the Father; they neither do nor can come unto Christ, and therefore cannot be saved; much less can Men, not professing the Christian Religion, be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they never so diligent to frame their Lives according to the Light of Nature, and the Law of that Religion they do profess: And to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be detested.

C H A P. XI.

Of Justification.

I. **T**Hose whom God effectually calleth, he also freely Justifieth, not by infusing Righteousness into them, but by pardoning their Sins, and by accounting and accepting their Persons, as Righteous, not for any thing wrought in them, or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; nor by imputing Faith its self, the act of Believing, or any other Evangelical Obedience to them, as their Righteousness, but by imputing Christ's Active Obedience unto the whole Law, and Passive Obedience in his Sufferings and Death, for their whole and sole Righteousness, they receiving and resting on him and his Righteousness by Faith, which Faith they have not of themselves, it is the Gift of God.

II. Faith thus receiving and resting on Christ, and his Righteousness is the alone Instrument of Justification; yet it is not alone in the Person justified, but is ever accompanied with all other saving Graces, and is no dead Faith, but worketh by Love.

III. Christ by his Obedience and Death did fully discharge the Debt of all those that are justified, and did, by the Sacrifice of himself in the Blood of his Cross, undergoing in their stead the Penalty due unto them, make a proper, real, and full Satisfaction to God's Justice in

their Behalf: Yet inasmuch, as he was given by the Father for them, and his Obedience and Satisfaction accepted in their stead, and both freely, not for any thing in them, their Justification is only of free Grace, that both the exact Justice and rich Grace of God might be glorified in the Justification of Sinners.

IV. God did from all Eternity decree to justify all the Elect, and Christ did in the fulness of time dye for their Sins, and rise again, for their Justification: Nevertheless they are not justified personally, until the Holy Spirit doth in due time actually apply Christ unto them.

V. God doth continue to forgive the Sins of those that are justified, and altho' they can never fall from the State of Justification, yet they may by their Sins fall under God's Fatherly Displeasure: And, in that Condition, they have not usually the Light of his Countenance restored unto them, until they humble themselves, confess their Sins, beg Pardon, and renew their Faith and Repentance.

VI. The Justification of Believers under the *Old Testament* was in all these Respects, one and the same with the Justification of Believers under the *New Testament*.

C H A P. XII.

Of Adoption.

I. **A**LL those that are justified, God vouchsafeth in and for his only Son Jesus Christ to make Partakers of the Grace of Adoption, by which they are taken into the number and enjoy the Liberties and Priviledges of the Children of God, have his Name put upon them, receive the Spirit of Adoption, have Access to the Throne of Grace with Boldness, are enabled to cry *Abba Father*, are pitied, protected, provided for, and chastened by him, as by a Father yet never cast off, but sealed to the Day of Redemption, and inherit the Promises, as Heirs of Everlasting Salvation.

C H A P. XIII.

Of Sanctification.

THEY that are effectually called and regenerated being united to Christ, having a new Heart, and a new Spirit created in them, thro' the Virtue of Christ's Death and Resurrection, are also further Sanctified really and personally, through the same Virtue, by his Word and Spirit dwelling in them, the Dominion of the whole Body of Sin is destroy'd, and the several Lusts thereof are more and more weakned and mortified, and they more and more quickned and strengthened in all saving Graces, to the practice of all true Holiness, without which no Man shall see the Lord.

II. This Sanctification is throughout in the whole Man, yet imperfect in this Life; there abide still some Remnants of Corruption in every part, whence ariseth a continual and irreconcilable War, the Flesh lusting against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh.

III. In which War, altho' the remaining Corruption, for a time, may much prevail, yet thro' the continual supply of Strength from the sanctifying Spirit of Christ, the Regenerate part doth overcome, and so the Saints grow in Grace, perfecting Holiness in the fear of God.

C H A P. XIV.

Of Saving Faith.

THE Grace of Faith, whereby the Elect are enabled to believe to the saving of their Souls, is the Work of the Spirit of Christ in their Hearts, and is ordinatily wrought by the Ministry of the Word; by which also, and by the Administration of the Seals, Prayer and other Means, it is increased and strengthened.

II. By this Faith, a Christian believeth to be true, whatsoever is revealed in the Word; for the Authority of God himself speaketh therein, and acteth differently upon that which each particular Passage thereof containeth, yielding Obedience to the Commands, trembling at the Threatnings, and embracing the Promises of God for this Life, and that which is to come.

But the principal Acts of saving Faith are accepting, receiving, and resting upon Christ alone for Justification, Sanctification and eternal Life, by Virtue of the Covenant of Grace.

III. This Faith altho' it be different in Degrees, and may be weak or strong, yet it is in the least Degree of it, different in the Kind or Nature of it (as is all other saving Grace) from the Faith and common Grace of temporary Believers; and, therefore, tho' it may be many times assailed and weakned, yet it gets the Victory, growing up in many to the attainment of a full Assurance through Christ, who is both the Author and Finisher of our Faith.

C H A P. XV.

Of Repentance unto Life and Salvation.

SUCH of the Elect as are converted at riper Years, having sometime lived in the state of Nature, and therein served divers Lusts and Pleasures, God in their effectual Calling giveth them Repentance unto Life.

II. Whereas there is none that doth Good and sinneth not, and the best of Men may through the power and deceitfulness of their Corruptions dwelling in them, with the prevalency of Temptation, fall into great Sins and Provocations; God hath in the Covenant of Grace mercifully provided that Believers so sinning and falling be renewed, through Repentance unto Salvation.

III. This saving Repentance is an Evangelical Grace, whereby a Person being by the Holy Ghost made sensible of the manifold Evils of his Sin, doth by Faith in Christ humble himself for it with godly sorrow, detestation of it, and self-aborrancy, praying for Pardon and strength of Grace, with a purpose and endeavour by supplies of the Spirit, to walk before God unto all well-pleasing in all things.

IV. As Repentance is to be continued through the whole Course of our Lives, upon the account

of the Body of Death and the Motions thereof; so 'tis every Man's Duty to repent of his particular known Sins particularly.

V. Such is the Provision which God hath made, through Christ, in the Covenant of Grace, for the preservation of Believers unto Salvation, that altho' there is no sin so small, but it deserves Damnation; yet there is no sin so great, that it shall bring Damnation on them, who truly repent; which makes the constant preaching of Repentance necessary.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Good Works.

Good Works are only such as God hath commanded in his holy Word, and not such as, without the warrant thereof, are devised by Men out of blind Zeal, or upon any pretence of good Intentions.

II. These good Works done in Obedience to God's Commandments, are the Fruits and Evidences of a true and lively Faith; and by them Believers manifest their Thankfulness, strengthen their Assurance, edifie their Brethren, adorn the Profession of the Gospel, stop the Mouths of the Adversaries, and glorifie God, whose Workmanship they are created in Christ Jesus thereunto, that having their Fruit unto Holiness, they may have the End, eternal Life.

III. Their Ability to do good Works, is not at all of themselves, but wholly from the Spirit of Christ. And that they may be enabled thereunto, besides the Graces they have already received, there is required an actual Influence of the same Holy Spirit, to work in them to will and to do of his good Pleasure; yet are they not hereupon to grow negligent, as if they were not bound to perform any Duty, unless upon a special Motion of the Spirit, but they ought to be diligent in stirring up the Grace of God that is in them.

IV. They who in their Obedience attain to the greatest height which is possible in this Life, are to far from being able to supererogate, and to do more than God requires, as that they fall short of much which in Duty they are bound to do.

V. We cannot by our best Works merit Par-

don of Sin, or eternal Life at the Hand of God, by reason of the great disproportion that is between them and the Glory to come, and the infinite distance that is between us and God, whom by them we can neither profit, nor satisfy for the Debt of our former Sins; but when we have done all we can, we have done but our Duty, and are unprofitable Servants: And because, as they are good they proceed from his Spirit, and as they are wrought by us, they are defiled and mixed with so much Weakness and Imperfection, that they cannot endure the Severity of God's Judgment.

VI. Yet notwithstanding, the Persons of Believers being accepted through Christ, their good Works also are accepted in him, not as tho' they were in this Life wholly unblameable and unreprouable in God's sight, but that he looking upon them in his Son is pleased to accept and reward that which is sincere, although accompanied with many Weaknesses and Imperfections.

VII. Works done by unregenerate Men, although, for the Matter of them, they may be things, which God commands, and of good use both to themselves and to others: Yet because they proceed not from an Heart purified by Faith, nor are done in a right manner according to the Word, nor to a right End, the Glory of God; they are therefore sinful and cannot please God, nor make a Man meet to receive Grace from God; and yet their neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing to God.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Perseverance of the Saints.

They whom God hath accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of Grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the End, and be eternally saved.

II. This Perseverance of the Saints depends not upon their own free-will, but upon the immutability of the Decree of Election, from the free and unchangeable Love of God the Father

upon the Efficacy of the Merit and Intercession of Jesus Christ, and Union with him, the Oath of God, the abiding of his Spirit, and the Seed of God within them, and the Nature of the Covenant of Grace; from all which ariseth also the certainty and Infallibility thereof.

III. And although they may, through the temptation of Satan, and of the World, the prevalency of Corruption remaining in them, and the neglect of the means of their Preservation

vation fall into grievous Sins, and for a time continue therein, whereby they incur God's Displeasure, and grieve his Holy Spirit, come to have their Graces and Comforts impaired, have their Hearts hardened, and their Consciences woun-

ded, hurt and scandalize others, and bring temporal Judgments upon themselves; yet they are and shall be kept by the Power of God through Faith unto Salvation.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Assurance of Grace and Salvation.

I. Although Temporary Believers and other unregenerate Men may vainly deceive themselves with false Hopes, and carnal Presumptions of being in the Favour of God, and State of Salvation, which hope of theirs shall perish, yet such as truly believe in the Lord Jesus and love him in Sincerity, endeavouring to walk in good Conscience before him, may, in this Life, be certainly assured, that they are in the State of Grace, and may rejoyce in the Hope of the Glory of God, which Hope shall never make them ashamed.

II. This Certainty is not a bare conjectural and probable Perswasion, grounded upon a fallible Hope, but an infallible assurance of Faith, founded on the Blood and Righteousness of Christ, revealed in the Gospel; and also upon the inward Evidence of those Graces, unto which Promises are made, and on the immediate Witness of the Spirit, testifying our Adoption, and as a Fruit thereof, leaving the Heart more Humble and Holy.

III. This infallible Assurance doth not so belong to the Essence of Faith, but that a true Believer may wait long, and conflict with many Difficulties before he be Partaker of it; yet being enabled by the Spirit to know the

Things which are freely given him of God, he may without extraordinary Revelation, in the right use of ordinary Means attain thereunto: And therefore it is the Duty of every one to give all diligence to make his Calling and Election sure, that thereby his Heart may be enlarged in Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghost, in Love and Thankfulness to God, and in Strength and Cheerfulness in the Duties of Obedience, the proper Fruits of this Assurance; so far is it from inclining Men to Looseness.

IV. True Believers may have the Assurance of their Salvation diverse ways shaken, diminish'd, and intermitted, as by Negligence in preserving of it, by falling into some special Sin, which woundeth the Conscience and grieveth the Spirit, by some sudden or vehement Temptation, by God's withdrawing the Light of his Countenance, suffering even such as fear him to walk in Darkness, and to have no Light, yet are they neither utterly destitute of that Seed of God, and Life of Faith, that Love of Christ and the Brethren, that Sincerity of Heart, and Conscience of Duty, out of which by the Operation of the Spirit, this Assurance may, in due time, be revived, and by the which, in the mean time, they are supported from utter Despair.

C H A P. XIX.

Of the Law of God.

I. GOD gave to *Adam* a Law of Universal Obedience written in his Heart, and a particular Precept of not eating the Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil; as a Covenant of Works, by which he bound him, and all his Posterity to personal, entire, exact and perpetual Obedience, promised Life upon the fulfilling and threatened Death upon the Breach of it, and endued him with Power and Ability to keep it.

II. This Law, so written in the Heart, continued to be a perfect Rule of Righteousness after the Fall of Man, and was delivered by God on Mount *Sinai* in Ten Commandments, and written in two Tables; the four first Commandments containing our Duty towards God, and the other six our Duty to Man.

III. Besides this Law commonly called Moral, God was pleased to give to the People of *Israel*, as a Church under Age, Ceremonial Laws, containing several Typical Ordinances, partly of Worship, prefiguring Christ, his Graces, Actions

Sufferings and Benefits, and partly holding forth divers Instructions of Moral Duties: All which Ceremonial Laws being appointed only to the time of Reformation, are by Jesus Christ the true *Messiah*, and only Law-giver, who was furnished with Power from the Father for that end, abrogated and taken away.

IV. To them also he gave sundry Judicial Laws, which expired together with the State of that People, not obliging any now by Virtue of that Institution, their general Equity only being still of Moral use.

V. The Moral Law doth for ever bind all, as well justified Persons, as others, to the Obedience thereof, and that not only in regard of the Matter contained in it, but also in respect of the Authority of God the Creator, who gave it; neither doth Christ in the Gospel, any ways dissolve, but much strengthen this Obligation.

VI. Altho' true Believers be not under the Law as a Covenant of Works, to be thereby justified, or condemned; yet it is of great Use

to them as well as to others, in that, as a Rule of Life, informing them of the Will of God and their Duty, and directs and binds them to walk accordingly, discovering also the sinful Pollution of their Natures, Hearts and Lives, so as examining themselves thereby, they may come to further Conviction of, Humiliation for, and Hatred against Sin, together with a clearer sight of the need they have of Christ and the Perfection of his Obedience. It is likewise of use to the Regenerate, to restrain their Corruptions, in that it forbids Sin, and the threatnings of it serve to shew what even their Sins deserve, and what Afflictions in this Life they may expect for them, altho' freed from the Curse thereof threatned in the Law. The Promises of it in

like manner shews them God's Approbation of Obedience, and what Blessings they may expect upon performance thereof, altho' not as due to them by the Law as a Covenant of Works; so as a Man's doing Good, and refraining from Evil, because the Law encourageth to the one, and deterreth from the other, is no Evidence of his being under the Law, and not under Grace.

VII. Neither are the fore-mentioned Uses of the Law, contrary to the Graces of the Gospel, but do sweetly comply with it, the Spirit of Christ subduing and enabling the Will of Man to do that Freely and Cheerfully, which the Will of God revealed in the Law requireth to be done.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Gospel and of the Extent of the Grace thereof.

I. THE Covenant of Works, being broken by Sin, and made unprofitable unto Life, God was pleased to give unto the Elect the Promise of Christ the Seed of the Woman, as the means of calling them, and begetting in them Faith and Repentance: In this Promise, the Gospel, as to the Substance of it was revealed, and was therein effectual for the Conversion and Salvation of Sinners.

II. This Promise of Christ and Salvation by him, is revealed only in and by the Word of God; neither do the Works of Creation or Providence, with the Light of Nature, make discovery of Christ, or of Grace by him, so much as in a general or obscure way; much less, that Men destitute of the Revelation of him by the Promise or Gospel, should be enabled thereby to attain saving Faith or Repentance.

III. The Revelation of the Gospel unto Sinners, made in diverse Times, and by sundry Parts, with the Addition of Promises and Precepts, for the Obedience required therein, as to

the Nations and Persons to whom it is granted, is meerly of the Sovereign Will and Good Pleasure of God, not being annexed by Virtue of any Promise to the due improvement of Mens Natural Abilities, by Vertue of Common Light received without it, which none ever did make or can so do. And therefore, in all Ages, the preaching of the Gospel hath been granted unto Persons and Nations, as to the extent or straitning of it in great Variety according to the Council of the Will of God.

IV. Altho' the Gospel be the only outward Means of revealing Christ and saving Grace, and is, as such, abundantly sufficient thereunto; yet that Men, who are dead in Trespasses, may be born again, quickned or regenerated, there is, moreover necessary an effectual, irresistible work of the Holy Ghost upon the whole Soul for the producing in them a Spiritual Life, without which no other Means are sufficient for their Conversion unto God.

C H A P. XXI.

Of Christian Liberty, and Liberty of Conscience.

I. THE Liberty which Christ hath purchased for Believers under the Gospel, consists in their Freedom from the Guilt of Sin, the condemning Wrath of God, the Rigour and Curse of the Law, and in their being delivered from this present Evil World, Bondage to Satan, and Dominion of Sin, from the Evil of Afflictions, the Fear and Sting of Death, the Victory of the Grave, and everlasting Damnation, as also in their free Access to God, and their yielding Obedience unto him not out of slavish Fear, but a Child-like Love, and willing Mind: All which were common also to Believers under the Law, for the Substance of them, but under the *New Testament* the Liberty of Christians is further enlarged in their Freedom from the Yoke of

the Ceremonial Law, the whole legal Administration of the Covenant of Grace to which the Jewish Church was subjected, and in greater boldness of Access to the Throne of Grace, and in fuller Communications of the free Spirit of God, than Believers under the Law did ordinarily partake of.

II. God alone is Lord of the Conscience, and hath left it free from the Doctrines and Commandments of Men, which are, in any thing contrary unto his Word; or not contained in it; so that to believe such Doctrines, or to obey such Commands, out of Conscience, is to betray true Liberty of Conscience, and the requiring of an implicit Faith, and an absolute blind Obedience, is to destroy Liberty of Conscience and Reason also.

III. They

III. They who upon pretence of Christian Liberty do practise any Sin, or cherish any Lust, as they do thereby pervert the main design of the Grace of the Gospel to their own Destruction, so they wholly destroy the End of Chri-

stian Liberty, which is, that being delivered out of the hands of our Enemies, we might serve the Lord without fear in Holiness and Righteousness before him all the Days of our Life.

C H A P. XXII.

Of Religious Worship, and of the Sabbath-day.

I. **T**HE Light of Nature sheweth that there is a God, who hath Lordship and Sovereignty over all, is just, good and doth good unto all, and is therefore to be feared, loved, prais'd, call'd upon, trusted in, and served with all the Heart, and all the Soul, and with all the Might: But the acceptable way of worshipping the true God is instituted by himself, and so limited by his own revealed Will, that he may not be worshipped according to the Imaginations and Devices of Men, or the Suggestions of Satan, under any visible Representations, or any other way not prescribed in the Holy Scripture.

II. Religious Worship is to be given to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and to him alone, not to Angels, Saints or any other Creatures, and since the Fall not without a Mediator, nor in the Mediation of any other but of Christ alone.

III. Prayer with Thanksgiving being one special part of Natural Worship, is by God requir'd of all Men; but that it may be accepted, it is to be made in the name of the Son, by the help of his Spirit, according to his Will, with Understanding, Reverence, Humility, Fervency, Faith, Love and Perseverance: and when with others, in a known Tongue.

IV. Prayer is to be made for Things Lawful, and for all sorts of Men living, or that shall live hereafter, but not for the dead, nor for those, of whom, it may be known, that they have sinned the Sin unto Death.

V. The reading of the Scriptures, preaching and hearing of the Word of God, singing of Psalms, as also the Administration of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, are all parts of Religious Worship of God, to be performed in Obedience unto God with Understanding, Faith, Reverence and Godly Fear. Solemn Humiliations, with Fast-

ings and Thanksgiving upon special Occasions are, in their several Times and Seasons to be used in an Holy and Religious manner.

VI. Neither Prayer, nor any other part of Religious Worship, is now under the Gospel, either tyed unto, or made more acceptable by any Place, in which it is performed, or towards which it is directed: But God is to be worshipped every where in Spirit and in Truth, as in private Families daily, and in secret, each one by himself, so more solemnly in the publick Assemblies, which are not carelessly nor wilfully to be neglected, or forsaken, when God by his Word or Providence calleth thereunto.

VII. As it is of the Law of Nature, that in general a Proportion of time by God's Appointment be set apart for the Worship of God; so by his Word in a positive, moral, and perpetual Commandment, binding all Men in all Ages, he hath particularly appointed one Day in seven for a Sabbath to be kept holy unto him, which from the beginning of the World to the Resurrection of Christ, was the last Day of the Week, and from the Resurrection of Christ was changed into the first Day of the Week, which in Scripture is called the Lord's Day, and is to be continued unto the end of the World, as a Christian Sabbath, the observation of the last Day of the Week being abolished.

VIII. This Sabbath is then kept Holy unto the Lord, when Men after a due preparing of their Hearts, and ordering their common Affairs before-hand, do not only observe an holy Rest all the day from their own Works, Words, and Thoughts about their worldly Employments and Recreations, but also are taken up the whole time, in the publick and private Exercises of his Worship, and in the Duties of Necessity and Mercy.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of Lawful Oaths and Vows.

I. **A** Lawful Oath, is a part of Religious Worship, wherein the Person swearing in Truth, Righteousness and Judgment, solemnly calleth God to witness what he asserteth, or promiseth, and to judge him according to the Truth or Falseness of what he sweareth.

II. The name of God only is that by which Men ought to swear, and therein it is to be used with all Holy Fear and Reverence: There-

fore to swear vainly or rashly by that Glorious and Dreadful Name, or to swear at all, by any other thing, is sinful and to be abhorred: Yet, as in matters of Weight and Moment an Oath is warranted by the Word of God; under the *New Testament*, as well as under the *Old*; so a Lawful Oath being imposed by Lawful Authority in such Matters ought to be taken.

III. Whoso-

III. Whosoever taketh an Oath warranted by the Word of God, ought duly to consider the weightiness of so solemn an Act, and therein to avouch nothing, but what he is fully persuaded is the Truth; neither may any Man bind himself by Oath to any thing, but what is good and just, and what he believeth so to be, and what he is able and resolved to perform. Yet it is a sin to refuse an Oath touching any thing that is good and just, being lawfully imposed by Authority.

IV. An Oath is to be taken in the plain and common Sense of the Words, without Equivocation, or mental Reservation: It cannot oblige to sin; but in any thing, not sinful, being taken,

it binds to performance, although to a Man's own hurt; nor is it to be violated, although made to Hereticks or Infidels.

V. A Vow, which is not to be made to any Creature, but God alone, is of the like nature with a Promissory Oath, and ought to be made with the like Religious Care, and to be performed with the like Faithfulness.

VI. Popish Monastical Vows of perpetual single Life, professed Poverty, and regular Obedience, are so far from being Degrees of higher Perfection, that they are superstitious and sinful Snares, in which no Christian may intangle himself.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of the Civil Magistrate.

I. **G**OD the Supreme Lord and King of all the World, hath ordained Civil Magistrates to be under him, over the People for his own Glory and the publick Good: And to this End has armed them with the Power of the Sword for the Defence and Encouragement of them that do good, and for the Punishment of evil Doers.

II. It is lawful for Christians to accept, and execute the Office of a Magistrate, when called thereunto: In the management whereof, as they ought especially to maintain Piety, Justice and Peace, according to the wholsom Laws of each Common-wealth, so for that End, they may lawfully now under the *New Testament* wage War upon just and necessary Occasion.

III. They who upon pretence of Christian Liberty shall oppose any lawful Power, or the lawful Exercises of it, resist the Ordinance of God; and for their publishing of such Opinions, or maintaining of such Practices, as are contrary to the Light of Nature, or to the known Principles of Christianity, whether concerning Faith, Worship, or Conversation, or to the Power of Godliness, or such erroneous Opinions or Practices, as either in their own nature, or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external Peace and

Order which Christ hath established in the Church, they may lawfully be called to Account and proceeded against by the Censures of the Church, and by the Power of the Civil Magistrate; yet in such Differences about the Doctrines of the Gospel, or Ways of the Worship of God, as may befall Men, exercising a good Conscience, manifesting it in their Conversation, and holding the Foundation, and duly observing the Rules of Peace and Order, there is no Warrant for the Magistrate to abridge them of their Liberty.

IV. It is the Duty of People to pray for Magistrates, to honour their Persons, to pay them Tribute and other Dues, to obey their lawful Commands, and to be subject to their Authority for Conscience sake. Infidelity or Difference in Religion doth not make void the Magistrates just and legal Authority, nor free the People from their due Obedience to him: From which Ecclesiastical Persons are not exempted, much less has the Pope any Power or Jurisdiction over them in their Dominions, or over any of their People, and least of all to deprive them of their Dominions or Lives, if he shall judge them to be Hereticks, or upon any other Pretence whatsoever.

C H A P. XXV.

Of Marriage.

I. **M**arriage is to be between one Man and one Woman: Neither is it lawful for any Man to have more than one Wife, nor for any Woman to have more than one Husband at the same time.

II. Marriage was ordained for the mutual help of Husband and Wife, for the increase of Mankind with a legitimate Issue, and of the Church with an holy Seed, and for preventing of Uncleanness.

III. It is lawful for all sorts of People to marry, who are able with Judgment to give their Consent. Yet it is the Duty of Christians

to marry in the Lord; and, therefore, such as profess the true Reformed Religion should not marry with Infidels, Papists, or other Idolaters: Neither should such as are godly be unequally yoked, by marrying such as are wicked in their Life, or maintain damnable Heresie.

IV. Marriage ought not to be within the Degrees of Consanguinity or Affinity forbidden in the Word; nor can such incestuous Marriages ever be made lawful by any Law of Man or Consent of Parties, so, as those Persons may live together, as Man and Wife.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of the Church.

THE Catholick or Univerfal Church, which is invifible, confifts of the whole Number of the Elect, that have been, are or fhall be gathered into One under Chrift the Head thereof, and is the Spoufe, the Body, the Fulnefs of him that filleth All in All.

II. The whole Body of Men, throughout the World, profefling the Faith of the Gofpel, and Obedience unto God by Chrift, according unto it, not deftroying their own Profeflion, by any Errors everting the Foundation, or Unholinefs of Converfation, they and their Children with them are and may be called the Vifible Catholick Church of Chrift, although, as fuch, it is not intrufted with any Officers, to rule or govern over the whole Body.

III. The pureft Churches under Heaven, are fubject both to Mixture and Error, and fome have fo degenerated, as to become no Churches of Chrift, but Synagogues of Satan: Nevertheless, Chrift always hath had, and ever fhall have a vifible Kingdom in this World, to the

end thereof, of fuch as believe in him, and make Profeflion of his Name.

IV. There is no other Head of the Church but the Lord Jefus Chrift; nor can the Pope of *Rome* in any Senfe be Head thereof, but is that Antichrift, that Man of Sin, and Son of Perdition that exalteth himfelf in the Church againft Chrift, and all that is called God, whom the Lord fhall deftroy with the Brightnefs of his coming.

V. As the Lord, in his Care and Love towards his Church, hath in his infinite wife Providence exercifed it with great variety in all Ages, for the good of them that love him and his own Glory: So, according to his Promise, we expect that in the latter Days, Antichrift being deftroyed, the Jews called, and the Adverfaries of the Kingdom of his dear Son broken, the Churches of Chrift being enlarged, and edified through a free and plentiful Communication of Light and Grace, fhall enjoy in this World a more quiet, peaceable, and glorious Condition than they have enjoyed.

C H A P. XXVII.

Of the Communion of Saints.

ALL Saints that are united to Jefus Chrift, their Head by his Spirit and Faith, although they are not made thereby one Perfon with him, have Fellowfhip in his Graces, Sufferings, Death, Refurrection and Glory: And being united to one another in Love, they have Communion in each others Gifts and Graces, and are obliged to the performance of fuch Duties, publick and private, as do conduce to their mutual good both in the inward and outward Man.

II. All Saints are bound to mention an Holy

Fellowfhip and Communion in the Worfhip of God, and in performing fuch other Spiritual Services, as tend to their mutual Edification, as alfo in relieving each other in outward things according to their feveral Abilities and Necessities; which Communion, though efppecially to be exercifed by them in the Relations, wherein they ftand, whether in Families or Churches, yet as God offereth Opportunity, is to be extended unto all thofe, who, in every Place, call upon the Name of the Lord Jefus.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Of the Sacraments.

Sacraments are Holy Signs and Seals of the Covenant of Grace, immediately intituted by Chrift, to represent him and his Benefits, and to confirm our Intereft in him, and folemnly to engage us to the Service of God in Chrift, according to his Word.

II. There is in every Sacrament a Spiritual Relation, or Sacramental Union between the Sign and the Thing fignified; whence it comes to pafs that the Names and Effects of the one are attributed to the other.

III. The Grace which is exhibited in or by the Sacraments, rightly ufed, is not conferred by any Power in them, neither doth the Efficacy of

a Sacrament depend upon the Piety or Intention of him that doth adminifter it, but upon the Work of the Spirit and the Word of Intitution, which contains, together with a Precept authorizing the Ufe thereof, a Promise of Benefit to worthy Receivers.

IV. There be only two Sacraments ordained by Chrift our Lord in the Gofpel; that is to fay Baptifm and the Lord's Supper; neither of which may be difpenfed by any but by a Minifter of the Word lawfully called.

V. The Sacraments of the *Old Testament*, in regard of the Spiritual Things thereby fignified and exhibited, were for fubftance the fame with thofe of the *New*.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of Baptism.

I. **B**aptism is a Sacrament of the *New Testament*, ordained by Jesus Christ, to be unto the Party baptized a Sign and Seal of the Covenant of Grace, of his ingrafting into Christ, of Regeneration, of Remission of Sins, and of his giving up unto God thro' Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of Life; which Ordinance is by Christ's own Appointment to be continued in his Church until the end of the World.

II. The outward Element to be us'd in this Ordinance is Water, wherewith the Party is to be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by a Minister of the Gospel lawfully called thereunto.

III. Dipping of the Person into the Water is not necessary, but Baptism is rightly administered by pouring or sprinkling Water upon the Person.

IV. Not only those that do actually profess Faith in, and Obedience unto Christ, but also

the Infants of one or both believing Parents are to be baptized and those only.

V. Altho' it be a great Sin to contemn or neglect this Ordinance, yet Grace and Salvation are not so inseparably annexed to it, as that no Person can be regenerated or saved without it; or that all that are baptized, are undoubtedly regenerated.

VI. The Efficacy of Baptism is not tyed to that moment of Time, wherein it is administered; yet notwithstanding by the right use of this Ordinance, the Grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghost to such (whether of Age or Infants) as that Grace belongeth unto, according to the Counsel of God's own Will, in his appointed time.

VII. Baptism is but once to be administered to any Person.

C H A P. XXX.

Of the Lord's Supper.

I. **O**UR Lord Jesus in the Night when he was betray'd, instituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, call'd the *Lord's Supper*, to be observed in his Churches to the end of the World, for the perpetual Remembrance and shewing forth of the Sacrifice of himself in his Death, the sealing of all Benefits thereof unto true Believers, their Spiritual Nourishment, and Growth in him, their further Engagement in and to all Duties, which they owe unto him, and to be a Bond and Pledge of their Communion with him, and with each other.

II. In this Sacrament Christ is not offered up to his Father, nor any real Sacrifice made at all for Remission of Sin of the Quick or Dead, but only a Memorial of that one offering up of himself upon the Cross, once for all, and a Spiritual Oblation of all possible Praise unto God for the same; so that the Popish Sacrifice of the Mass (as they call it) is most abominably injurious to Christ's own only Sacrifice, the alone Propitiation for all the Sins of the Elect.

III. The Lord Jesus hath in this Ordinance appointed his Ministers to declare his Word of Institution to the People, to pray and bless the Elements of Bread and Wine, and thereby to set them apart from a Common, to an Holy Use, and to take and break the Bread, to take the Cup and (they communicating also themselves) to give both to the Communicants, but to none, who are not then present in the Congregation.

IV. Private Masses, or receiving the Sacrament by a Priest, or any other alone, as likewise the denial of the Cup to the People, worshipping the Elements, the lifting them up, or carrying

them about for Adoration, and the reserving them for any pretended Religious Use, are all contrary unto the Nature of this Sacrament and to the Institution of Christ.

V. The outward Elements in this Sacrament duly set apart to the Uses ordained by Christ, have such Relation to him crucified, as that truly yet Sacramentally only, they are sometimes call'd by the Name of the things they represent, to wit, The Body and Blood of Christ; albeit in Substance and Nature they still remain truly and only Bread and Wine, as they were before.

VI. The Doctrine which maintains a Change of the Substance of Bread and Wine into the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood (commonly called *Transubstantiation*) by Consecration of a Priest, or by any other way, is repugnant not to the Scripture alone, but even to common Sense and Reason, overthroweth the Nature of a Sacrament, and hath been, and is the Cause of manifold Superstitions, yea, of gross Idolatries.

VII. Worthy Receivers outwardly partaking of the visible Elements in this Sacrament, do, then, also, inwardly by Faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but spiritually receive and feed upon Christ crucified, and all Benefits of his Death; the Body and Blood of Christ being then not corporally or carnally in, with, or under the Bread and Wine, yet as really, but spiritually present to the Faith of Believers in that Ordinance, as the Elements themselves are to their outward Senses.

VIII. All ignorant and ungodly Persons, as they are unfit to enjoy Communion with Christ, so are they unworthy of the Lord's Table, and cannot

cannot without great Sin against him, whilst they remain such, partake of these Holy Mysteries, or be admitted thereunto; yea, whofoever shall receive unworthily, are guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord, eating and drinking Judgment unto themselves.

C H A P. XXXI.

Of the State of Man after Death, and of the Resurrection of the Dead.

THE Bodies of Men, after death, return to Dust, and see Corruption, but their Souls (which neither dye nor sleep) having an Immortal Subsistence, immediately return to God, who gave them; the Souls of the Righteous being then made perfect in Holiness, are received into the highest Heavens, where they behold the Face of God in Light and Glory, waiting for the full Redemption of their Bodies: And the Souls of the wicked are cast into Hell, where they remain in Torment and utter Darknes, reserved to the Judgment of the Great Day: Besides these two Places of Souls seperated from their Bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none.

II. At the last Day, such as are found alive shall not dye but be changed; and all the dead shall be raised up with the self-same Bodies, and none other, altho' with different Qualities, which shall be united again to their Souls for ever.

III. The Bodies of the unjust shall by the Power of Christ be raised to dishonour; the Bodies of the Just by his Spirit unto Honour, and be made conformable unto his own glorious Body.

C H A P. XXXII.

Of the Last Judgment.

GOD hath appointed a Day wherein he will judge the World in Righteousness by Jesus Christ; to whom all Power and Judgment is given of the Father; in which Day, not only the Apostate Angels shall be judged, but likewise all Persons that have lived upon Earth, shall appear before the Tribunal of Christ to give an Account of their Thoughts, Words and Deeds, and to receive according to what they have done in the Body, whether Good or Evil.

II. The end of God's appointing this Day, is for the manifestation of the Glory of his Mercy in the Eternal Salvation of the Elect, and of his Justice in the Damnation of the Reprobate, who are wicked and disobedient: For, then shall the Righteous go into everlasting Life, and receive that fulness of Joy and Glory, with everlasting Reward in the Presence of the Lord; but the wicked, who know not God, and obey not the Gospel of Jesus Christ, shall be cast into eternal Torments, and be punished with everlasting Destruction from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power.

III. As Christ would have us to be certainly perswaded, that there shall be a Judgment, both to deter all Men from Sin, and for the greater Consolation of the godly in their Adversity; so will he have that Day unknown to Men, that they may shake off all carnal Security, and be always watchful, because they know not at what hour the Lord will come, and may be ever prepared to say, *Come Lord Jesus, come quickly.* Amen.

The Second P A R T.

THE DISCIPLINE

Practised in the

Churches of New-England.

Nil sine, nihil contra, nihil præter, nihil ultra, divinam Scripturam, Admittendum.
P. Martyr.

§ I. **T**HE Churches of New-England enjoying so much Rest and Growth as they had now seen, for some *Sevens* of Years, it was, upon many Accounts, necessary for them to make such a Declaration of the Church-Order, wherein the good hand of God had moulded 'em, as might convey and secure the like Order unto the following Generations. Next unto the Bible, which was the professed, perpetual and only Directory of these Churches, they had no Platform of their Church-Government, more exact, than their famous John Cotton's well-known Book of, *The Keys*; which Book endeavours to lay out the just Lines and Bounds of all Church Power, and so defines the Matter; That as in the State there is a Dispersion of Powers into several Hands, which are to concur in all Acts of Common Concernment; from whence ariseth the healthy Constitution of a Common-wealth: In like sort, he assigns the Powers in the Church unto several Subjects, wherein the united Light of Scripture and of Nature have placed them, with a very Satisfactory Distribution. He asserts, That a *Presbyteratèd Society* of the Faithful, hath within its self a compleat Power of *Self-Reformation*, or, if you will, of *Self-Preservation*, and may within its self manage its own Choices of Officers, and Censures of Delinquents. Now a special Statute-Law of our Lord, having excepted Women and Children from enjoying any Part of this Power, he finds only Elders and Brethren to be the Constituent Members, who may act in such a Sacred Corporation; the Elders, he finds the first Subject entrusted with Government, the Brethren endowed with Priviledge, insomuch, that tho' the Elders only are to rule the Church, and without them, there can be no Elections, Admissions, or Excommunications; and they have a Negative upon the Acts of the Fraternity, as well as 'tis they only that have the Power of Authoritative Preaching and Administring the Sacraments; yet the Brethren have such a Liberty, that without their Consent nothing of common Concernment may be imposed upon them. Nevertheless because particular Churches of Elders and Brethren may abuse their Power with manifold Miscarriages, he Asserts the necessary Communion of Churches in Synods, who have Authority to determine, declare and injoin, such Things as may rectifie the Male-Administrations, or any Disorders, Dissentions and Confusions of the Congregations, which fall under their Cognizance: But still so, as to leave unto the Particular Churches themselves the Formal Acts, which are to be done pursuant unto the Advice of the Council; upon the scandalous and obstinate Refusal whereof, the Council may determine, to withdraw Communion from them, as from those who will not be coun-

counsell'd against a *notorious Mismanagement* of the Jurisdiction which the Lord Jesus Christ has given them. This was the *Design* of that judicious Treatise, wherein was contained the substance of our *Church-Discipline*; and whereof I have one remarkable thing to relate, as I go along. That great Person, who afterwards proved one of the greatest Scholars, Divines and Writers in this Age, then under the *prejudices of Conversation*, set himself to write a Confutation of this very Treatise, *Of the Keys*; but having made a considerable Progress in his Undertaking, such was the Strength of this *unanswerable Book*, that instead of his *confuting it*, it conquered him; and the Book of, *The Keys* was happily so blessed of God for the conveyance of *Congregational Principles* into the now opened Mind of this learned Man, that he not only wrote in Defence of Mr. Cotton against Mr. Cowdry, but also expos'd himself to more than a little Sorrow and Labour, all his Days, for the maintaining of those Principles. Upon which occasion, the words of the Doctor [Owen in his Review of the true Nature of *Schism*] are, *this way of impartial examining all Things by the Word, and laying aside all prejudicate Respects unto Persons or present Traditions, is a Course that I would admonish all to beware of, who would avoid the Danger of being made (what they call) Independents.* Having said thus much of that Book, all that I shall add concerning it is, That the famous Mr. Rutherford himself, in his Treatise intitled, *A Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist*, has these Words; MR. COTTON in his Treatise of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, is well sound in our way, if he had given some more power to Assemblies and in some lesser points. But it was convenient, the Churches of New-England should have a System of their Discipline, extracted from the Word of God, and exhibited unto them, with a more effectual, acknowledged and established Recommendation: And nothing but a Council was proper to compose the System, The Reader is now to expect, a Council at Cambridge: And in truth, another sort of Council, than that sham Council of Trent, whereof one that was present, wrote this Account unto the Emperor Maximilian II. *We daily saw hungry and needy Bishops come to Trent. Youths, for the most part, given to Luxury and Riot, hired only to give their Voice, as the People pleased. They were both unlearn'd and simple, yet fit for the purpose, in regard of their impudent Boldness. When these were added unto the Pope's old Flatterers, Iniquity triumph'd; it was impossible to determine any thing, but as they pleased. The Council seem'd not to consist of Bishops, but of disguised Masquers; not of Men, but of Images, such as Dædalus made, moved by Nerves none of their own. They were hiring Bishops which as Country Bag-pipes, could not speak, but as Breath was put into them.* The Difference between the Bishops now to assemble at Cambridge, and the Bishops which then made such a noise

by their Conventicle at Trent, was in truth not much less than that between *Angels* and *Devils*.

§ 2. Wherefore, a Bill was preferred unto the general Court in the Year 1646. for the calling of a Synod, wherby, a *Platform of Church Discipline*, according to the Direction of our Lord Jesus Christ in his blessed Word, might most advantagiously be composed and published. The *Magistrates* in the general Court, pass'd the Bill, but the *Deputies* had their little Scruples, how far the *Civil Authority* might interpose in matters of such Religious and Ecclesiastical Cognizance; and whether Scaffolds might not now be rais'd, by the means whereof the *Civil Authority* should pretend hereafter to impose an *Uniformity*, in such Instances which had better be left at *Liberty and Variety*. It was reply'd, that it belonged unto *Magistrates*, by all rational ways to encourage *Truth and Peace* among their People; and that the *Council* now called by the *Magistrates* was to proceed but by way of *Council*, with the best Light which could be fetch'd from the *Word of God*; but the *Court* would be after all free, as they saw cause to approve or to reject what should be offer'd.

After all, tho' the Objections of the *Deputies* were thus answer'd, yet in Compliance with such as were not yet satisfied, the Order for the calling of the intended *Assembly* was directed only in the form of a *Motion*, and not of a *Command*, unto the Churches. But certain Persons come lately from *England*, so inflamed the Zeal for *Liberty of Conscience* among the People, that all this Compliance of the Authority could not remove the Fear of some Churches, lest some Invasion of that *Liberty* were threatned, by a Clause in the order of the Court which intimated; *That what should be presented by the Synod, the Court would give such allowance, as would be meet, unto it.* The famous and leading Church of *Boston* particularly, was ensnared so much by this Fear, that upon the *Lord's Day*, when the Order of the Court was first communicated unto them, they could not come unto an immediate Resolution of sending any Delegates unto the *Synod*; but Mr. Norton, then of *Ipswich*, at *Boston* Lecture the *Thursday* following, preached an elaborate Sermon unto a vast Auditory, on *Moses and Aaron kissing each other in the Mount of God*: And in that Sermon, he so represented the Nature and Power of *Synods*, and the Respect owing from Churches to Rulers calling for *Synods*, that on the next *Lord's Day*, the Church voted the sending of *three Messengers*, with their *Elders* unto this Assembly. Indeed the happy Experience of *New-England* has taken away from its Churches, all occasion for any Complaint, like that of *Luther's*; *Mihi conciliorum nomen, perè tam suspectum & invisum, quàm nomen Liberi Arbitrii.*

§ 3. It being so near Winter before the *Synod* could convene, that few of the Ministers invited

invited from the other Colonies could be present at it, they now sat but fourteen Days; and then adjourned unto the eighth of *June*, in the Year ensuing. Nevertheless at their first Session, there was an occasion which they took to consider and examine an *important Case*; and it came to this Result.

A PROPOSITION about the Magistrate's Power in Matters of Religion.

THE *Civil Magistrate* in matters of Religion, or of the *first Table*, hath Power, civilly to command or forbid things respecting the *outward Man* which are clearly commanded or forbidden in the Word, and to inflict suitable Punishments, according to the Nature of the Transgressions against the same.

Several Arguments with Testimonies for the Confirmation of this Position, annexed thereunto were, afterwards printed at *London* in the Year 1654. accompanied with a Discourse of Mr. *Tho. Allen*, wherein this Doctrine was further explained, and I would hope so explained, that if so renowned a *Saint*, as the famous *Martin*, who, to the Death renounced Communion with the *Synods*, which had persuaded the Emperor

to employ the *Civil Sword* against the *Gnostick Priscillianists*, had been alive, even he would not have altogether disallowed the Desires of these good Men, to see the *Civil Magistrate* employing his Power to discountenance Profane and Wicked Heresies.

But the *Platform of Church-Discipline* to be commended unto the Churches, was the main Chance which the *Assembly* was to mind; in order whereunto they directed three eminent Persons, namely, Mr. *John Cotton*, Mr. *Richard Mather* and Mr. *Ralph Partridge*, each of them to draw up a *Scriptural Model of Church-Government*; unto the end, that out of those, there might be one elected, which the *Synod* might after the most sifting thoughts upon it, send abroad. When the *Synod* met, at the time to which they had adjourned, the Summer proved so sickly that a delay of one Year more was given to their Undertaking; but at last the desired *Platform of Church-Discipline* was agreed upon, and the *Synod* broke up, with singing the *Song of Moses and the Lamb*, in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Revelation*. Adding another sacred *Song* from the nineteenth Chapter of that Book, which is to be found metrically paraphrased in the *New-England Psalm-Book*: So it was presented unto the *General Court*, in the Month of *October* 1648.

And the Court most thankfully Accepted and Approved of it. It now follows.

A
P L A T F O R M
O F
Church - Discipline :

Gather'd out of the Word of G O D, and agreed upon by the E L D E R S and M E S S E N G E R S of the Churches assembled in the S Y N O D, at *Cambridge, in New-England.* To be presented to the Churches and General Court for their Consideration and Acceptance in the L O R D, the Eighth Month, *Anno 1649.*

C H A P. I.

Of the Form of Church-Government; and that it is One, Immutable and Prescribed in the Word.

Ecclesiastical Polity, or Church-Government or Discipline, is nothing else but that Form and Order that is to be observed in the Church of Christ upon Earth, both for the Constitution of it, and all the Administrations, that therein are to be performed.

2. Church-Government is considered in a double respect, either in regard of the Parts of Government themselves, or necessary Circumstances thereof. The Parts of Government are prescribed in the Word, because the Lord Jesus Christ, the King and Law-giver in his Church, is no less faithful in the House of God, than was *Moses*, who from the Lord delivered a Form and Pattern of Government to the Children of *Israel* in the *Old Testament*; and the Holy Scriptures are now also so perfect, as they are able to make the Man of God Perfect, and thoroughly furnished unto every good Work; and therefore doubtless to the well-ordering of the House of God.

Heb. 3. 5, 6.
Exo. 25. 40.
2 Tim. 3. 16

3. The Parts of Church-Government, are all of them exactly described in the Word of God, being parts or means of instituted Worship according to the second Commandment, and therefore to continue one and the same unto the Appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ, as a Kingdom that cannot be shaken, until he shall deliver it up unto God, even to the Father. So that it is not left in the Power of Men, Officers, Churches, or any State in the World to add, or diminish or alter any thing in the least measure therein.

4. The necessary Circumstances, as Time and Place, &c. belonging unto Order and Decency, are not so left unto Men, as that under pretence of them, they may thrust their own Inventions upon the Churches, being circumscribed in the Word with many general Limitations, where they are determined with respect of the Matter to be neither worship it self, nor Circumstances separable from worship. In respect

1 Tim. 3. 15
1 Chr. 15. 13
Exod. 2. 04.
1 Tim. 6. 13, 16.
Heb. 12. 27, 28.
1 Cor. 15. 24.
Den. 12. 32
Ezek. 43. 8.
1 Kin. 12. 31, 32, 33.

2 Kin. 12.
Exo. 20. 19.
Isa. 28. 13.
Col. 1. 22, 23.
Acts 15. 28.
Mat. 15. 9.
1 Cor. 11. 23. & 8. 34.

pect of their End, they must be done unto Edification; in respect of the Manner, decently and in order, according to the Nature of the Things themselves, and Civil and Church Custom. Doth not even Nature its self teach you? Yea, they are in some sort determined particularly, namely,

that they be done in such a manner as, all circumstances considered, is most expedient for Edification: So, as if there be no Error of Man concerning their Determination, the determining of them is to be accounted, as if it were Divine.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Nature of the Catholick Church in general, and in special of a particular visible Church.

1. **T**HE Catholick Church is the whole Company of those, that are elected, redeemed, and in time effectually called from the State of Sin and Death, unto a State of Grace and Salvation in Jesus Christ.

2. This Church is either Triumphant or Militant. Triumphant, the number of them, who are glorified in Heaven: Militant, the number of them, who are conflicting with their Enemies upon Earth.

3. This Militant Church is to be consider'd as invisible and visible. Invisible in respect of their Relation, wherein they stand to Christ, as a Body unto the Head, being united unto him by the Spirit of God, and Faith in their Hearts. Visible, in respect of the Profession of their Faith, in their Persons, and in particular Churches. And so, there may be acknowledged an universal visible Church.

4. The Members of the Militant visible Church, considered either, as not yet in Church-Order, or walking according to the Church Order of the Gospel.

In order, and so besides the Spiritual Union and Communion common to all Believers, they enjoy moreover an Union and Communion Ecclesiastical Political.

So we deny an Universal visible Church.

5. The State of the Members of the Militant visible Church, walking in order, was either before the Law, Oeconomical, that is, in Families; or under the Law, National; or since the coming of Christ, only Congregational. (The Term *Independent*, we approve not) therefore neither National, Provincial, nor Classial.

6. A Congregational-Church is by the Institution of Christ a part of the Militant visible Church, consisting of a company of Saints by calling, united into one Body by an Holy Covenant, for the Publique Worship of God, and the mutual Edification of one another in the Fellowship of the Lord Jesus.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Matter of the visible Church, both in respect of Quality and Quantity.

1. **T**HE Matter of the visible Church are Saints by calling.

2. By Saints, we understand, 1. Such as have not only attained the Knowledge of the Principles of Religion, and are free from gross and open Scandals, but also do, together with the Profession of their Faith and Repentance walk in blameless Obedience to the Word, so as that in charitable Discretion they may be accounted Saints by calling, (tho', perhaps, some or more of them be unsound and Hypocrites inwardly) because the Members of such particular Churches, are commonly by the Holy Ghost called *Saints and faithful Brethren in Christ*, and sundry Churches have been reproved

for receiving and suffering such Persons to continue in Fellowship among them, as have been offensive and scandalous; the name of God also, by this means, is blasphemed, and the Holy Things of God defiled and profaned, the Hearts of the Godly grieved, and the Wicked themselves hardened, & holpen forward to Damnation. The Example of such doth endanger the Sanctity of others, a little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump. 2. The Children of such who are also Holy.

3. The Members of Churches, tho' orderly constituted may in time degenerate and grow corrupt, and scandalous, which tho' they ought not to be tolerated in the Church, yet their

con-

continuanee therein, thro' the defect of the Execution of Discipline and just Censures, doth not immediately dissolve the Being of a Church, as appears in the Church of *Israel*, and the Churches of *Galatia* and *Corinth*, *Pergamus* and *Thyatira*.

4. The Matter of the Church, in respect of its *Quantity*, ought not to be of greater Number, than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place; nor ordinarily fewer than may conveniently carry on Church-work. Hence when the Holy Scripture makes mention of the Saints combined into a Church Estate in a Town or City, where was but one Congregation, it usually calleth those Saints [the Church] in the singular Number, as the Church of the *Theſſalonians*, the Church of *Smyrna*, *Philadelphia*, &c. but when it speaketh of the Saints in a Nation or Province, where-in there were sundry Congregations, it frequently and usually calleth them by the name of: [Churches] in the plural Number, as the Churches of *Asia*, *Galatia*, *Macedonia*, and the like: Which is further confirmed by what is writ-

ten of fundry of those Churches in particular, how they were assembled and met together the whole Church in one place, as the Church at *Jerusalem*, the Church at *Antioch*, the Church at *Corinth* and *Cenchrea*, tho' it were more near to *Corinth*, it being the Port thereof, and answerable to a Village, yet being a distinct Congregation from *Corinth*, it had a Church of its own as well as *Corinth* had.

5. Nor can it with Reason be thought but that every Church appointed and ordained by Christ, had a Ministry appointed and ordained for the same, and yet plain it is that there were no ordinary Officers appointed by Christ for any other than Congregational Churches; Elders being appointed to feed not all Flocks, but the particular Flock of God, over which the Holy Ghost had made them Overseers, and that Flock they must attend even the whole Flock: And one Congregation being as much as any ordinary Elders can attend, therefore there is no greater Church than a Congregation, which may ordinarily meet in one place.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Form of the visible Church, and of Church Covenant.

1. Saints by calling must have a visible Political Union among themselves, or else they are not yet a particular Church, as those Similitudes hold forth, which the Scripture makes use of to shew the Nature of particular Churches; as a *Body*, a *Building*, *House*, *Hands*, *Eyes*, *Feet* and other Members, must be united, or else (remaining separate) are not a Body. Stones, Timber, tho' squared, hewen and polished, are not an House, until they are compacted, and united: So Saints or Believers in Judgment of Charity, are not a Church, unless orderly knit together.

2. Particular Churches cannot be distinguished one from another, but by their Forms. *Ephesus* is not *Smyrna*, nor *Pergamus Thyatira*, but each one a distinct Society of it self, having Officers of their own, which had not the Charge of others: Virtues of their own, for which others are not praised: Corruptions of their own, for which others are not blamed.

3. This Form is the *visible Covenant*, Agreement or Consent, whereby they give up themselves unto the Lord, to the observing of the Ordinances of Christ together in the same Society,

which is usually call'd the *Church-Covenant*: For we see not otherwise how Members can have Church-Power over one another mutually. The comparing of each particular Church to a *City*, and unto a *Spouse*, seemeth to conclude not only a Form, but that that Form, is by way of Covenant. The Covenant, as it was that which made the Family of *Abraham* and Children of *Israel* to be a Church and People unto God, so is it that which now makes the several Societies of Gentile Believers to be Churches in these Days.

4. This voluntary Agreement, Consent or Covenant (for all these are here taken for the same) altho' the more express and plain it is, the more fully it puts us in mind of our mutual Duty; and stirreth us up to it, and leaveth less room for the questioning of the Truth of the Church-Estate of a Company of Professors, and the Truth of Membership of particular Persons; yet we conceive the Substance of it is kept, where there is a real Agreement and Consent of a Company of Faithful Persons to meet constantly together in one Congregation, for the Publick Worship of God, and their mutual

Edification: Which real Agreement and Consent they do express by their constant Practice in coming together for the publick Worship of God, and by their religious subjection unto the Ordinances of God there: The rather, if we do consider how Scripture-Covenants have been entred into, not only expressly by word of Mouth, but by Sacrifice, by Hand-writing and Seal; and also sometimes by silent Consent, without any Writing or Expression of Words at all.

Exod. 19. 5.
& 20. 8. &
24. 3, 17.
Josh. 24.
18, to 24.
Psa. 50. 5.
Neh. 9. 38.
& 10. 1.
Gen. 17.
Deut. 29.

5. This Form being by mutual Covenant, it followeth, it is not Faith in the Heart, nor the Profession of that Faith, nor Cohabitation, nor Baptism.

1. Not *Faith in the Heart*, because that is invisible. 2. Not *a bare Profession*, because that declareth them no more to be Members of one Church than another. 3. Not *Cohabitation*, Atheists or Infidels may dwell together with Believers. 4. Not *Baptism*, because it presupposeth a Church-estate, as Circumcision in the *Old Testament*, which gave no Being to the Church; the Church being before it, and in the Wilderness without it. Seals presuppose a Covenant already in being. One Person is a compleat Subject of Baptism, but one Person is incapable of being a Church.

6. All Believers ought, as God giveth them Opportunity thereunto, to endeavour to join themselves unto a particular Church, and that in respect of the Honour of Jesus Christ, in his Example and Institution, by the professed acknowledgment of, and subjection unto the Order and Ordinances of the Gospel: As also in respect of their good of Communion founded upon their visible Union, and contained in the Promises of Christ's special Presence in the Church; whence they have Fellowship with him, and in him, one with another: Also in the keeping of them in the way of God's Commandments, and recovering of them in case of wandering, (which all Christ's Sheep are subject to in this Life) being unable to return of themselves; together with the Benefit of their mutual Edification, and of their Posterity, that they may not be cut off from the Privilege of the Covenant. Otherwise, if a Believer offends, he remains destitute of the Remedy provided in that behalf. And should all Believers neglect this Duty of joining to all particular Congregations, it might follow thereupon, that Christ should have no Visible, Political Churches upon Earth.

Acts 2. 47.
& 9. 26.
Mat. 3. 13,
14, 15. &
28. 19, 20.
Psa. 133. 2,
3. & 87. 7.
Mat. 18. 20
1 John 1. 3.

Psa. 119.
176.
1 Pet. 2. 25.
Eph. 4. 16.
Job 22.
24, 25.
Mat. 18.
15, 16, 17.

CHAP. V.

Of the first Subject of Church-Power; or, to whom Church-Power doth first belong.

1. **T**he first Subject of Church-Power is either Supreme, or Subordinate and Ministerial. The Supreme (by way of gift from the Father) is the Lord Jesus Christ. The Ministerial is either extraordinary, as the Apostles, Prophets and Evangelists; or ordinary, as every particular Congregational Church.

Matth. 18. 18.
Rev. 3. 7.
Isa. 9. 6.
Joh. 20. 21, 23.
1 Cor. 14. 32.
Tit. 1. 5.
1 Cor. 5. 12.

2. Ordinary Church Power, is either Power of Office, that is, such as is proper to the Eldership; or Power

of Privilege, such as belongs to the Brotherhood. The latter is in the Bretheren formally and immediately from Christ, that is, so as it may be acted or exercised immediately by themselves: The former is not in them formally or immediately, and therefore cannot be acted or exercised immediately by them, but is said to be in them, in that they design the Persons unto Office, who only are to act or to exercise this Power.

Rom. 12. 4, 8.
Acts 1. 23,
& 6. 3, 4.
& 14. 23.
1 Cor. 10. 29, 30.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Officers of the Church, and especially of Pastors and Teachers.

1. **A** Church being a Company of People combined together by Covenant for the Worship of God, it appeareth thereby, that there may be the Essence and Being of a Church without any Officers, seeing there is both the Form and Matter of a Church; which is implied when it is said, *The*

Apostles Ordained Elders in every Church.

2. Nevertheless, tho' Officers be not absolutely necessary to the simple Being of Churches, when they be called; yet ordinarily to their Calling they are, and to their well-being: And therefore the Lord Jesus Christ, out of his

Act. 14. 23.
Rom. 10. 17.
Jer. 3. 15.
1 Cor. 12. 28.

Eph. 4. 11. his tender Compassion, hath appointed
 Pla. 68. 18. and ordained Officers, which he would
 Eph. 4. not have done, if they had not been
 8, 11. useful and needful for the Church;
 yea, being ascended up to Heaven, he
 received Gifts for Men, and gave Gifts
 to Men; whereof Officers for the
 Church are justly accounted no small
 Parts, they being to continue to the
 end of the World, and for the perfect-
 ing of all the Saints.

3. These Officers were either Extra-
 ordinary or Ordinary: Extraordinary,
 as Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists; Or-
 dinary, as Elders and Deacons. The
 Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists, as
 they were called extraordinarily by
 Christ, so their Office ended with
 themselves: Whence it is that *Paul* di-
 recting *Timothy*, how to carry along
 Church-Administration, giveth no Di-
 rection about the Choice or Course of
 Apostles, Prophets or Evangelists, but
 only of Elders and Deacons; and
 when *Paul* was to take his last leave
 of the Church of *Ephesus*, he com-
 mitted the Care of feeding the Church
 to no other, but unto the Elders of that
 Church. The like Charge does *Peter*
 commit to the Elders.

4. Of Elders (who are also in Scri-
 pture called *Bishops*) some attend
 chiefly to the Ministry of the Word,
 as the Pastors and Teachers; others

attend especially unto Rule, who are,
 therefore, called *Ruling-Elders*.

5. The Office of Pastor and Teacher,
 appears to be distinct. The Pastor's
 special Work is, to attend to *Exhorta-
 tion*, and therein to Administer a Word
 of *Wisdom*: The Teacher is to attend
 to *Doctrine*, and therein to Administer
 a Word of *Knowledge*: And either of
 them to Administer, the Seals of that
 Covenant, unto the Dispensation where-
 of they are alike called; as also to
 execute the Censures, being but a kind
 of Application of the Word: The
 preaching of which, together with the
 Application thereof, they are alike
 charged withall.

6. Forasmuch as both Pastors and
 Teachers are given by Christ, for the
 perfecting of the Saints, and edifying
 of his Body; which Saints and Body of
 Christ is his Church: And therefore
 we account Pastors and Teachers to be
 both of them Church-Officers, and not
 the Pastor for the Church, and the
 Teacher only for the Schools: Tho'
 this we gladly acknowledge, that
 Schools are both lawful, profitable,
 and necessary, for the training up of
 such in good Literature or Learning,
 as may afterwards be called forth un-
 to Office of Pastor or Teacher in the
 Church.

CH A P. VII.

Of Ruling Elders and Deacons.

THE Ruling Elders Office is di-
 stinct from the Office of Pastor
 and Teacher; the Ruling Elders are
 not so called to exclude the Pastors
 and Teachers from Ruling, because Ru-
 ling and Governing is common to these
 with the other; whereas attending to
 teach and preach the Word is peculiar
 unto the former.

2. The Ruling Elder's Work is to
 join with the Pastor and Teacher in
 those Acts of Spiritual Rule, which
 are distinct from the Ministry of the
 Word and Sacraments committed to
 them: Of which sort these be as fol-
 loweth. 1. To open and shut the
 Doors of God's House, by the admis-
 sion of Members approved by the
 Church; by Ordination of Officers
 chosen by the Church, and by Ex-
 communication of notorious and obsti-
 nate Offenders renounced by the
 Church, and by restoring, or Penitents
 forgiven by the Church. 2. To call
 the Church together when there is oc-
 casion, and seasonably to dismiss them

again. 3. To prepare Matters in pri-
 vate, that in publick they may be car-
 ried an end with less trouble, and more
 speedy dispatch. 4. To moderate the
 carriage of all Matters in the Church
 assembled, as to propound Matters to
 the Church. To order the season of
 Speech and Silence, and to pronounce
 Sentence according to the Mind of
 Christ, with the Consent of the Church.
 5. To be Guides and Leaders to the
 Church in all Matters whatsoever par-
 taining to Church-Administrations
 and Actions. 6. To see that none in
 the Church live inordinately, out of
 Rank and Place without a *Calling*, or
 idly in their *Calling*. 7. To prevent
 and heal such Offences in Life or in
 Doctrine, as might corrupt the Church.
 8. To feed the Flock of God with a
 Word of Admonition. 9. And as
 they shall be sent for, to visit and pray
 over their sick Bretheren. 10. And
 at other times, as opportunity shall
 serve thereunto.

Act. 6. 3, 6. 3. The Office of a Deacon is instituted in the Church by the Lord Jesus: Sometimes they are called *Helps*. The Scripture telleth us how they should be qualified. *Grave, not double-tongued, not given to much Wine, not given to filthy Lucre.* They must first be proved, and then use the Office of a Deacon, being found blameless. The Office and Work of a Deacon is to receive the Offerings of the Church, Gifts given to the Church, and to keep the Treasury of the Church, and therewith to serve the Tables, which the Church is to provide for; as the Lord's-Table, the Table of the Ministers, and of such as are in Necessity, to whom they are to distribute in simplicity.

1 Cor. 7. 17. 4. The Office, therefore, being limited unto the care of the temporal good things of the Church, it extends not to the Attendance upon, and Administration of the spiritual things thereof, as the Word, and Sacraments, and the like.

1 Cor. 16. 1, 2, 3. 5. The Ordinance of the Apostle, and Practice of the Church, commends

the Lord's-Day as a fit time for the Contributions of the Saints.

6. The instituting of all these Officers in the Church, is the Work of God himself, of the Lord Jesus Christ, of the Holy Ghost: And therefore such Officers, as he hath not appointed, are altogether unlawful either to be placed in the Church, or to be retained therein, and are to be looked at as humane Creatures, meer Inventions and Appointments of Man, to the great dishonour of Christ Jesus, the Lord of his, the King of his Church, whether Popes, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Arch-Bishops, Lord-Bishops, Arch-Deacons, Officials, Commissaries, and the like. These and the rest of that Hierarchy and Retinue, not being Plants of the Lord's planting, shall all be certainly rooted out and cast forth.

7. The Lord hath appointed ancient Widows (where they may be had) to minister in the Church, in giving Attendance to the Sick, and to give Succour unto them, and others in the like Necessities.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Election of Church-Officers.

HEB. 5. 4. NO Man may take the Honour of a Church-Officer unto himself, but he that was called of God, as was Aaron.

Gal. 1. 1. Act. 14. 23. & 6. 3. 2. Calling unto Office is either immediate, by Christ himself, such was the Call of the Apostles and Prophets; this manner of Calling ended with them, as hath been said, or mediate, by the Church.

1 Tim. 5. 22. & 7. 10. Act. 16. 2. & 6. 3. 3. It is meet, that before any be ordained, or chosen Officers, they should first be tried and proved, because Hands are not suddenly to be laid upon any, and both Elders and Deacons must be of both honest and good Report.

4. The things in respect of which they are to be tried, are those Gifts and Vertues, which the Scripture requireth, in Men that are to be elected unto such Places, viz. That Elders must be blameless, sober, apt to teach, and endued with such other Qualifications as are laid down, 1 Tim. 3. 2. Tit. 1. 6. to 9. Deacons to be fitted, as is directed, Act. 6. 3. 1 Tim. 3. 8, to 11.

Act. 14. 23. & 1. 23. & 6. 3, 4, 5. 5. Officers are to be called by such Churches, whereunto they are to minister. Of such moment is the preservation of this Power, that the Churches

exercised it in the Presence of the Apostles.

6. A Church being free, cannot become subject to any, but by a free Election; yet when such a People do chuse any to be over them in the Lord, then do they become subject, and most willingly submit to their Ministry in the Lord, whom they have so chosen.

7. And if the Church have Power to chuse their Officers and Ministers, then in case of manifest Unworthiness and Delinquency they have Power also to depose them: For to open and shut, to chuse and refuse, to constitute in Office, and to remove from Office, are Acts belonging to the same Power.

8. We judge it much conducing to the well-being, and Communion of the Churches, that where it may conveniently be done, neighbour Churches be advised withal, and their Help be made use of in trial of Church-Officers, in order to their choice.

9. The choice of such Church-Officers belongeth not to the civil Magistrate as such, or Diocesan Bishops, or Patrons: For of these, or any such like, the Scripture is wholly silent, as having any Power therein.

C H A P. IX.

Of Ordination and Imposition of Hands.

1. Church-Officers are not only to be chosen by the Church, but also to be ordained by imposition of Hands and Prayer, with which at the Ordination of Elders, fasting also is to be joined.

2. This Ordination, we account nothing else, but the solemn putting a Man into his Place and Office in the Church, whereunto he had Right before by Election: Being like the Installing of a Magistrate in the Commonwealth. Ordination therefore is not to go before, but to follow Election. The Essence and Substance of the outward calling of an ordinary Officer in the Church, does not consist in his Ordination, but in his voluntary and free Election by the Church, and his accepting of that Election: Whereupon is founded that Relation, between Pastor and Flock, between such a Minister and such a People. Ordination does not constitute an Officer, nor give him the Essentials of his Office. The Apostles were Elders, without imposition of Hands by Men: Paul and Barnabas were Officers before that Imposition of Hands, *Acts 13. 3.* The Posterity of Levi were Priests and Levites, before Hands were laid on them by the Children of Israel.

3. In such Churches where there are Elders, Imposition of Hands in Ordination, is to be performed by those Elders.

4. In such Churches where there are no Elders, Imposition of Hands may be performed by some of the Bretheren orderly chosen by the Church thereunto. For, if the People may elect Officers, which is the greater, and wherein the Substance of the Office doth consist, they may much more

(occasion and need so requiring) impose Hands in Ordination; which is less, and but the accomplishment of the other.

5. Nevertheless, in such Churches where there are no Elders, and the Church so desire, we see not why Imposition of Hands may not be performed by the Elders of other Churches. Ordinary Officers laid Hands upon the Officers of many Churches: The Presbytery at *Ephesus* laid Hands upon Timothy an Evangelist; the Presbytery at *Antioch* laid Hands upon Paul and Barnabas.

6. Church-Officers are Officers to one Church, even that Particular over which the Holy Ghost hath made them Overseers. Inasmuch as Elders are commanded to feed not all Flocks, but the Flock, which is committed to their Faith and Trust, and dependeth upon them. Nor can constant residence at one Congregation be necessary for a Minister, no nor yet lawful, if he be not a Minister to one Congregation only, but to the Church universal; because he may not attend one part only of the Church, to which he is a Minister, but he is called to attend unto all the Flock.

7. He that is clearly released from his Office-relation unto that Church, whereof he was a Minister, cannot be looked at, as an Officer, nor perform any act of Office in any other Church, unless he be again orderly called unto Office: Which, when it shall be, we know nothing to hinder; but Imposition of Hands also in his Ordination ought to be used towards him again: For so Paul the Apostle received Imposition of Hands twice at least from Ananias, *Acts 9. 17. & 13. 3.*

Acts 13. 3. & 14. 23.

1 Tim. 5. 22.

Numb. 8. 10.

Acts 6. 5, 6. & 13. 2, 3.

Acts 6. 5, 6. & 14. 23.

1 Tim. 4. 10.

Acts 13. 3. 1 Tim. 5. 22.

Numb. 3. 10.

1 Tim. 4. 14. Acts 13. 3.

1 Pet. 5. 2. Act. 20. 28.

Act. 20. 28.

C H A P. X.

Of the Power of the Church and its Presbytery.

Supreme and Lordly Power over all the Churches upon Earth doth only belong to Jesus Christ, who is King of the Church, and the Head thereof. He hath the Government upon his Shoulders, and hath all Power given to him both in Heaven and Earth.

2. A Company of professed Believers, Ecclesiastically confederate, as they are a Church before they have Officers, and without them; so even in

that Estate subordinate Church-Power under Christ delegated to them by him, doth belong to them in such a manner as is before expressed, *Chap. 5. Sect. 2.* and as flowing from the very Nature and Essence of a Church; it being natural unto all Bodies, and so unto a Church-Body, to be furnished with sufficient Power for its own Preservation and Subsistence.

Pf. 2. 6. Eph. 1. 21, 22. Isa. 9. 6. Mat. 28. 18.

Acts 1. 23. & 14. 23. & 6. 3, 4. Mat. 18. 17. 1 Cor. 5. 4, 5.

Rev. 3. 7. 3. This Government of the Church
 1 Cor. 5. 12. is a mixt Government (and so has been
 acknowledged, long before the Term
 of *Independency* was heard of) in re-
 spect of *Christ* the Head and King of
 the Church, and the Sovereign Power
 residing in him, and exercis'd by him,
 it is a *Monarchy*; in respect of the Body
 or *Brotherhood* of the Church, and
 Power from *Christ* granted unto them
 it resembles a *Democracy*; in respect
 of the *Presbytery* and Power commit-
 ted unto them, it is an *Aristocracy*.

4. The Sovereign Power, which is
 peculiar unto *Christ* is exercis'd, 1. In
 Gal. 1. 4. calling the Church out of the World
 Rev. 5. 8, 9. into an holy Fellowship with himself.
 Mat. 28. 20. 2. In instituting the Ordinances of his
 Eph. 4. 8, 11. Worship, and appointing his Ministers
 Jam. 4. 12. and Officers for the dispensing of them.
 If. 33. 22. 3. In giving Laws for the ordering of
 1 Tim. 3. 15 all our ways, and the ways of his House.
 2 Cor. 10. 4, 5. 4. In giving Power and Life to all his
 If. 32. 2. Institutions, and to his People by them.
 Luk. 1. 71. 5. In protecting and delivering his
 Church against and from all the Ene-
 mies of their Peace.

5. The Power granted by *Christ* unto
 the Body of the Church and *Brother-*
hood, is a *Prerogative* or *Priviledge*
 which the Church doth exercise. 1. In
 Acts 6. 3, 5. *choosing* their own Officers, whether
 & 14. 23. Elders or Deacons. 2. In *admission* of
 & 9. 26. these Members; and therefore there is
 Mat. 18. great Reason they should have power
 15, 16, 17. to remove any from their Fellowship
 again. Hence, in case of offence, any
 Brother hath power to convince and
 admonish an offending Brother: And,
 in case of not hearing him, to take one
 or two more to set on the Admonition:
 And in case of not hearing them, to
 proceed to tell the Church: And as his
 Offence may require, the whole Church
 Tit. 3. 10. has power to proceed to the censure of
 Col. 4. 17. him, whether by Admonition or Ex-
 Mat. 18. 17. communication: And upon his Repen-
 2 Cor. 2. 7, 8. tance to restore him again unto his for-
 mer Communion.

6. In case an Elder offend incor-
 rigibly, the Matter so requiring, as the
 Church had Power to call him to Office,
 so they have Power according to order
 (the Counsel of other Churches, where
 it may be had, directing thereto) to re-
 move him from his Office, and being
 Col. 4. 17. now but a Member, in case he add
 Ro. 16. 17. Contumacy to his Sin, the Church, that
 Mat. 18. 17. had Power to receive him into their
 Fellowship, hath also the same Power
 to cast him out, that they have con-
 cerning any other Member.

7. Church-Government or Rule is
 1 Tim. 5. 17 placed by *Christ* in the Officers of the
 Heb. 13. 17 Church, who are therefore, call'd *Rulers*,
 1 Thef. 5. while they rule with *God*: yet in case
 12.

of Male-Administation, they are sub-
 Rom. 12. 8. ject to the Power of the Church, as
 1 Tim. 5. 17 hath been said before. The Holy Ghost
 1 Cor. 12. frequently, yea, always, where it men-
 28, 29. tioneth Church-Rule, and Church Go-
 Heb. 13. 7. vernment, ascribeth it to Elders: where-
 as the work and duty of the People is
 expressed in the Phrase of *obeying their*
Elders, and *submitting themselves unto*
them in the Lord. So as it is manifest
 that an Organick or compleat Church,
 is a Body Politick, consisting of some
 that are Governours, and some that are
 govern'd in the Lord.

8. The Power which *Christ* hath
 committed to the Elders, is to feed and
 rule the Church of *God*, and accord-
 Acts 20. 28. ings to call the Church together upon
 & 6. 2. any weighty occasion; when the Mem-
 Numb. 16. bers so call'd without just cause, may
 12. not refuse to come, nor when they are
 Ezek. 46. come, depart before they are dismissed,
 10. nor speak in the Church, before they
 Acts 13. 15. have leave from the Elders, nor continue
 Hof. 4. 4. so doing when they require silence;
 nor may they oppose or contradict the
 Judgment or Sentence of the Elders,
 without sufficient and weighty Cause,
 because such Practices are manifestly
 contrary unto Order and Government,
 and Inlets of Disturbance and tend to
 Confusion.

9. It belongs also unto the Elders be-
 fore to examine any Officers or Members,
 Rev. 2. 2. before they be received of the Church,
 1 Tim. 5. 19 to receive the Accusations brought
 Acts 21. 18, 22, 23. to the Church, and to prepare them
 1 Cor. 5. 4, 5. for the Churches hearing. In handling
 of Offences and other Matters before
 the Church, they have Power to de-
 Numb. 6. 23 to 26.clare and publish the Will of *God*
 touching the same, and to pronounce
 Sentence with the consent of the *Church*.
 Lastly, They have Power, when they
 dismis the People, to bless them in the
 Name of the Lord.

10. This Power of Government in
 the Elders doth not any wise prejudice
 the Power of Priviledge in the *Brother-*
hood; as neither the Power of Privilege
 in the Brethren, doth prejudice the
 Acts 14. 15, 23. Power of Government in the Elders,
 and 6. 2. but they may sweetly agree together;
 1 Cor. 5. 4. as we may see in the Example of the
 2 Cor. 2. 6, 7. Apostles, furnish'd with the greatest
 Church-Power, who took in the *Con-*
urrence and *Consent* of the Brethren
 in *Church-Administations*. Also that
 Scripture, 2 Cor. 2. 9. & 10. 6. do
 declare that what the *Churches* were to
 do and to do in these Matters, they
 were to do in a way of Obedience, and
 that not only to the direction of the
 Heb. 13. 17 Apostles, but also of their ordinary
 Elders.

11. From the Promises, namely, that the ordinary Power of Government belonging only to the Elders, Power of Priviledge remaining with the Brotherhood (as the Power of Judgment in Matters of Censure, and Power, of Liberty in Matters of Liberty) it

followeth, That in an Organick Church and Right Administration, all Church-AcTs proceed after the manner of a mixt Administration, so as no Church-AcT can be consummated, or perfected without the consent of both.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Maintenance of Church-Officers.

1. THE Apostle concludes, that necessary and sufficient Maintenance is due unto the Ministers of the Word from the Law of Nature and Nations, from the Law of *Moses*, the Equity thereof, as also the Rule of common Reason. Moreover the Scripture doth not only call Elders *Labourers* and *Workmen*, but also speaking of them doth say that *the Labourer is worthy of his Hire*: And requires that he which is taught in the Word, should communicate to him in all good Things, and mention it, as an Ordinance of the Lord, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel, and forbiddeth the muzzling of the Mouth of the Ox, that treadeth out the Corn.

Gal. 6. 6.
1 Cor. 9. 9, 14.
1 Tim. 5. 18

Rom. 15. 27
1 Cor. 9. 21

2. The Scriptures alledged, requiring this Maintenance as a bounden Duty, and due Debt, and not as a matter of Alms and free Gift, therefore People are not at Liberty, to do or not to do, what and when they please in this Matter, no more than in any other commanded Duty, and Ordinance of the Lord; but ought of Duty to Minister of their *Carnal Things*, to them that labour among them in Word and Doctrine, as well as they ought to pay any other Workmen their Wages, and to discharge and satisfie their Debts, or to submit themselves to observe any other Ordinance of the Lord.

3. The Apostle (*Gal. 6. 6.*) enjoyn-

ing that he which is taught communicate to him that teacheth *in all good Things*, doth not leave it Arbitrary, what or how much a Man shall give, or in what proportion, but even the latter, as well as the former is prescribed and appointed by the Lord.

4. Not only Members of Churches but *all that are taught in the Word*, are to contribute unto him that teacheth in all good Things. In case that Congregations are defective in their Contributions, the Deacons are to call upon them to do their Duty: If their Call, sufficeth not, the Church by her Power is to require it of their Members; and where Church Power thro' the Corruption of Men doth not, or cannot attain the End, the Magistrate is to see that the Ministry be duly provided for, as appears from the commended Example of *Nehemiah*. The Magistrates are Nursing-Fathers and Nursing-Mothers, and stand charged with the Custody of both Tables; because it is better to prevent a Scandal, that it may not come, and easier also, than to remove it, when it is given. It's most suitable to rule, that by the Church's Care each Man should know his Proportion according to rule, what he should do before he do it, that so his Judgment and Heart may be satisfi- ed in what he doth, and just Offence prevented in what is done.

1 Cor. 16. 2.
Acts 6. 3, 4.
Neh. 13. 17.
II. 44. 23.
2 Cor. 8. 13, 14.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Admission of Members into the Church.

1. THE Doors of the Churches of Christ upon Earth, do not by God's Appointment stand so wide open, that all sorts of People Good and Bad, may freely enter therein at their Pleasure, but such as are admitted thereto, as Members, ought to be examin'd, and tryed first, whether they be fit and meet to be received into Church-Society or nor. The Eunuch of *Ethiopia* before his Admission, was examined by *Philip*, whether he did believe on Jesus

2 Chr. 29. 19.
Math. 13. 25. & 22. 12.

Acts 8. 37.

Christ with all his Heart. The Angel of the Church at *Ephesus*, is commended for trying such as said they were Apostles and were not. There is like reason for trying of them that profess themselves to be Believers. The Officers are charged with the keeping of the Doors of the Church, and therefore are in a special manner to make tryal of the fitness of such, who enter. Twelve Angels are set at the Gates of the Temple, lest such as

Rev. 2. 2.
Acts 9. 26.
Rev. 21. 12.
2 Chr. 23. 19.

were Ceremonially Unclean should enter thereto.

Acts 2. 38. The Things which are requisite to be found in all Church-Members, are *Repentance* from Sin, and *Faith* in Jesus Christ: And therefore these are the Things whereof Men are to be examined, at their Admission into the Church, and which then they must profess and hold forth in such sort, as may satisfy

Rational Charity that the Things are indeed. *John Baptist* admitted Men to Baptism confessing and bewailing their Sins: And of others it is said, that *they came and confessed, and shewed their Deeds.*

3. The weakest measure of Faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be admitted into the Church, if *Sincere*, have the Substance of that Faith, Repentance and Holiness, which is required in Church-Members; and such have most need of the Ordinances for their Confirmation and Growth in Grace. The Lord Jesus would not quench the smoking Flax, nor break the bruised Reed, but gather the tender Lambs in his Arms and carry them gently in his Bosom.

Such Charity and Tenderness is to be used, as the weakest Christian, if *Sincere*, may not be excluded nor discouraged. Severity of Examination is to be avoided.

4. In case any thro' excessive Fear, or other Infirmary, be unable to make their personal Relation of their Spiritual Estate in Publick, it is sufficient, that the Elders having received private Satisfaction, make Relation thereof in publick before the Church, they testifying their Assents thereunto: This being the way that tendeth most to Edification. But whereas Persons are of greater Abilities, there it is most expedient, that they make their Relations and Confessions personally with their own Mouth, as *David* professeth of himself.

5. A personal and publick Confession and Declaring of God's manner of working upon the Soul, is both Lawful, Expedient and Useful, in sundry Respects and upon sundry Grounds. Those three thousand, *Acts* 2. 37, 41. before they were admitted by the Apostles did manifest that they were pricked at the Heart by *Peter's* Sermon, together with earnest Desire to be delivered from their Sins, which now wounded their Consciences, and their ready receiving of the Word of Promise and Exhortation. We are to be ready to *render a Reason of the Hope*

that is in us, to every one that asketh us; therefore we must be able and rea-

dy upon any Occasion to declare and shew our *Repentance* for Sin, *Faith* unfeigned, and *effectual Calling*, because these are the *Reason* of a well grounded *Hope*. *I have not hid den thy Righteousness from the great Congregation.* Psalm 40. 10.

6. This Profession of Faith and Repentance, as it must be made by such at their Admission, that were never in Church Society before; so nothing hindereth but the same way also be performed by such as have formerly been Members of some other Church, and the Church to which they now join themselves as Members, may lawfully require the same. Those three thousand, *Acts* 2. which made their Confession were Members of the Church of the Jews before; so were those that were Baptised by *John*. Churches may Err in their Admission; and Persons regularly admitted, may fall into Offence. Otherwise, if Churches might obtrude their Members, or if Church Members might obtrude themselves upon other Churches without due trial, the matter so requiring, both the Liberty of Churches would thereby be infringed in that they might not examine those, concerning whose fitness for Communion they were unsatisfied: And besides the infringing of their Liberty the Churches themselves would unavoidably be corrupted, and the Ordinances defiled, whilst they might not refuse, but must receive the Unworthy: Which is contrary unto the Scripture, teaching that all Churches are Sisters, and therefore equal.

7. The like Trial is to be required from such Members of the Church as were born in the same, or received their Membership, or were baptized in their Infancy, or Minority by Virtue of the Covenant of their Parents; when being grown up into Years of Discretion, they shall desire to be made Partakers of the Lord's Supper: Unto which because Holy Things must not be given unto the Unworthy, therefore it is requisite, that these as well as others, should come to their Trial and Examination, and manifest their Faith and Repentance by an open Profession thereof, before they are received to the Lord's Supper, and otherwise not to be admitted thereunto. Yet these Church Members that were so born, or received in their Childhood, before they are capable of being made Partakers of full Communion, have many Priviledges which others, (not Church-Members) have not; they are in Covenant with God, have the Seal thereof upon them, *viz.* Baptism; and

Mat. 3. 5, 6.
Gal. 2. 4.
1 Tim. 5. 24

Cant. 8. 8.

Math. 7. 6.
1 Cor. 11. 27.

and so, if not Regenerated, yet are in a more hopeful way of attaining Regenerating Grace, and all the Spiritual Blessings both of the Covenant and Seal: They are also under Church-

Warch, and consequently subject to the Reprehensions, Admonitions, and Censures thereof, for their Healing and Amendment, as need shall require.

C H A P. XIII.

Of Church-Members, their removal from one Church to another, and of Recommendation and Dismission.

1. **C** Church-Members may not remove or depart from the Church, and so one from another as they please, nor without just and weighty cause, but ought to live and dwell together, forasmuch as they are commanded not to forsake the assembling of themselves together. Such Departure tends to the Dissolution and Ruine of the Body, as the pulling of Stones and pieces of Timber from the Building, and of Members from the Natural Body tend to the Destruction of the whole.

2. It is, therefore, the Duty of Church-Members, in such Times and Places, where Counsel may be had to consult with the Church whereof they are Members, about their removal, that, accordingly, they having their Approbation, may be encouraged, or otherwise desist. They who are join'd with Consent, should not depart without consent, except forced thereunto.

3. If a Member's departure be manifestly unsafe and sinful, the Church may not consent thereunto; for, in so doing, they should not act in Faith, and should partake with him in his sin. If the Case be doubtful and the Person not to be perswaded, it seemeth best to leave the Matter unto God, and not forcibly to detain him.

4. Just Reasons for a Member's Removal of himself from the Church, are,
1. If a Man cannot continue without partaking in Sin. 2. In case of Personal Persecution: So *Paul*, departed from the Disciples at *Damascus*, also in case of general Persecution, when all are scattered. 3. In case of Real, and not only pretended want of competent Subsistence, a Door, being opened for better supply in another place, together with the means of Spiritual Edification. In these, or like Cases, a Member may lawfully remove, and the Church cannot lawfully detain him.

5. To separate from a Church either out of Contempt of their Holy Fellowship, or out of Covetousness, or for greater Enlargements, with just Grief to the Church, or out of Schism, or want of Love, and out of

a Spirit of Contention in respect of some Unkindness, or some Evil only conceived or indeed in the Church, which might and should be tolerated and healed with a Spirit of Meekness, and of which Evil the Church is not yet convinced (tho' perhaps himself be) nor admonished: For these or the like Reasons to withdraw from publique Communion in Word or Seals, or Censures, is Unlawful and Sinful.

6. Such Members as have orderly removed their Habitation, ought to join themselves unto the Church in order, where they do inhabit, if it may be; otherwise they can neither perform the Duties, nor receive the Priviledges of Members. Such an Example tolerated in some, is apt to corrupt others, which if many should follow would threaten the Dissolution and Confusion of Churches contrary to the Scripture.

7. Order requires that a Member thus removing, have Letters Testimonial and of Dismission from the Church, whereof he yet is; unto the Church whereunto he desireth to be joined, lest the Church should be deluded; that the Church may receive him in Faith, and not be corrupted in receiving Deceivers, and false Brethren. Until the Person dismissed be received into another Church, he ceaseth not by his Letters of Dismission to be a Member of the Church whereof he was. The Church cannot make a Member, no Member, but by Excommunication.

8. If a Member be called to remove only for a time, where a Church is, Letters of Recommendation are requisite and sufficient for Communion with that Church, in the Ordinances, and in their Watch; as *Phæbe* a Servant of the Church at *Cenchrea*, had a Letter written for her to the Church at *Rome*, that she might be received as becometh Saints.

9. Such Letters of Recommendation and Dismission, were written for *Apollos*, for *Marcus* to the *Colossians*, for *Phæbe* to the *Romans*, for sundry other Churches. And the Apostle tells us that some Persons, not sufficiently known otherwise,

have special need of such Letters, tho' he, for his part, had no need thereof. The Use of them is to be a Benefit and Help to the Party for whom they are written, and for the furthering of his

receiving among the Saints, in the place whereto he goeth, and the due Satisfaction of them in their receiving of him.

C H A P. XIV.

Of Excommunication and other Censures.

1. **T**HE Censures of the Church are appointed by Christ for the Preventing, Removing and Healing of Offences in the Church; for the Reclaiming and Gaining of offending Brethren, for the deterring others from the like Offences, for purging out the Leaven, which may infect the whole Lump; for vindicating the Honour of Christ and of his Church, and the Holy Profession of the Gospel; and for preventing of the Wrath of God, that may justly fall upon the Church, if they should suffer his Covenant, and the Seals thereof to be profaned by notorious and obstinate Offenders.

2. If an Offence be private (one Brother offending another) the Offender is to go and acknowledge his Repentance for it unto his offended Brother, who is then to forgive him; but if the Offender neglect or refuse to do it, the Brother offended is to go, and convince and admonish him of it, between themselves privately: If therefore the Offender be brought to repent of his Offence, the Admonisher has won his Brother; but if the Offender hear not his Brother, the Brother offended is to take with him one or two more, that in the Mouth of two or three Witnesses every Word may be established, (whether the Word of Admonition, if the Offender receive it; or the Word of Complaint if he refuse it) for if he refuse it, the offended Brother is by the Mouth of the Elders to tell the Church, and if he hear the Church, and declare the same by penitent Confession, he is recovered and gained: And if the Church discern him to be willing to hear, yet not fully convinced of his Offence, as in case of Heresie, they are to dispence to him a publick Admonition; which declaring the Offender to lye under the publick Offence of the Church, doth thereby withhold or suspend him from the Holy Fellowship of the Lord's Supper, till his Offence be removed by penitent Confession. If he still continue obstinate, they are to cast him out by Excommunication.

3. But if the Offence be more publick at first, and of a more hainous

and criminal Nature, to wit, such as are condemned by the Light of Nature; then the Church without such gradual Proceeding, is to cast out the Offender from their Holy Communion, for the further mortifying of his Sin, and the healing of his Soul in the Day of the Lord Jesus.

4. In dealing with an Offender, great Care is to be taken, that we be neither over-strict or rigorous, nor too indulgent or remiss: Our Proceeding herein ought to be with a Spirit of Meekness, considering our selves, lest we also be tempted, and that the best of us have need of much Forgiveness from the Lord. Yet the winning and healing of the Offender's Soul being the end of these Endeavours; we must not daub with untempered Morter, nor heal the Wounds of our Bretheren slightly. On some have Compassion, others save with Fear.

5. While the Offender remains Excommunicate, the Church is to refrain from all Member-like Communion with him in Spiritual Things, and also from all familiar Communion with him in civil Things, farther than the necessity of Natural or Domestical or Civil Relations do require; and are therefore to forbear to eat and drink with him, that he may be ashamed.

6. Excommunication being a Spiritual Punishment, it doth not prejudice the Excommunicate in, or deprive him of his Civil Rights, and therefore toucheth not Princes or Magistrates in respect of their Civil Dignity or Authority; and the Excommunicate being but as a Publican, and a Heathen, Heathens being lawfully permitted to hear the Word in Church-Assemblies, we acknowledge therefore the like Liberty of hearing the Word, may be permitted to Persons excommunicate, that is permitted unto Heathen. And because we are not without hope of his Recovery, we are not to account him as an Enemy, but to admonish him as a Brother.

7. If the Lord sanctifie the Censure to the Offender, so as by the Grace of Christ he doth testifie his Repentance with humble Confession of his Sin, and judging of himself, giving Glory unto God,

1 Tim. 5. 20
Jude 19.
Deu. 13. 11.
1 Cor. 5. 6.
Rom. 2. 24.
Rev. 2. 14,
15, 16, 20.

Matth. 5.
23, 24.
Luke 17.
3, 4.

Mat. 18. 15

Verse 16.

Verse 17.

1 Cor. 5.
4, 8, 11.

Gal. 6. 1.
Matth. 18.
34, 35.
Ezek. 13.
10.

Mat. 18. 17
1 Cor. 5. 11.
2 Thes. 3.
6, 14.

1 Cor. 14.
24, 25.
2 Thes. 3.
14.

²Cor. 2. 7, 8 God, the Church is then to forgive him, and to comfort him, and to restore him to the wonted Brotherly Communion, which formerly he enjoyed with 'em.

8. The suffering of prophane or scandalous Livers, to continue in Fellowship, and partake in the Sacraments, is doubtless a great Sin in those that have power in their Hands to redress it, and do it not: Nevertheless, insomuch as Christ, and his Apostles in their times, and the Prophets and other *godly Men* in theirs, did lawfully partake of the Lord's commanded Ordinances in the Jewish Church, and neither taught nor practised separation from the same, tho' unworthy ones were permitted therein: and inasmuch as the Faithful in the Church of *Corinth*, wherein were many unworthy Persons and Practices, are never commanded to absent themselves from the Sacraments, because of the same; therefore the Godly, in like Cases, are not to separate.

9. As separation from such a Church wherein profane and scandalous Persons are tolerated, is not presently necessary; so for the Members thereof, otherwise unworthy, hereupon to ab-

stain from communicating with such a Church in the Participation of the Sacraments, is unlawful. For as it were unreasonable for an innocent Person to be punished for the Faults of others, wherein he hath no hand, and whereunto he gave no Consent: So is it more unreasonable, that a Godly Man should neglect Duty, and punish himself, in not coming for his Portion in the Blessing of the Seals, as he ought, because others are suffered to come that ought not; especially considering that himself doth neither consent to their sin, nor to their approaching to the Ordinance in their sin, nor to the neglect of others, who should put them away, and do not, but, on the contrary, doth heartily mourn for these things, modestly and seasonably stir up others to do their Duty. If the Church cannot be reformed, they may use their Liberty, as is specified, *Chap. 13. Sect. 4.* But this all the Godly are bound unto, even every one to his endeavour, according to his Power and Place, that the Unworthy may be duly proceeded against by the Church, to whom this Matter doth pertain.

Rev. 2. 14, 15, 20.

Mat. 23. 3. Act. 3. 1.

1 Cor. 6. & 15. 12.

Ezek. 9. 4.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Communion of Churches one with another.

Altho' Churches be distinct, and therefore may not be confounded one with another, and equal, and therefore have not *dominion* one over another: Yet all the Churches ought to preserve *Church-Communion* one with another, because they are all united unto *Christ*, not only as a Mystical, but as a Political Head: Whence is derived a Communion suitable thereunto.

2. The *Communion of Churches* is exercised several ways. 1. By of *mutual Care* in taking thought for one another's Welfare. 2. By way of *Consultation* one with another, when we have occasion to require the Judgment and Counsel of other Churches, touching any Person or Cause, wherewith they may be better acquainted than our selves. As the

Church of *Antioch* consulted with the Apostles and Elders of the Church at *Jerusalem*, about the Question of Circumcision of the *Gentiles*, and about the false Teachers that broached that Doctrine. In which Case when any Church wanteth Light or Peace among themselves, it is a way of Communion of Churches, according to the Word, to meet together by their Elders and other Messengers in a *Synod*, to consider and argue the point in Doubt or Difference:

Rev. 1. 4. Cant. 8. 8. Rom. 16. 16. 1 Cor. 16. 19. Act. 15. 23. Rev. 2. 1.

Cant. 8. 8.

Acts 15. 2.

Ver. 22. 23.

And having found out the way of Truth and Peace to commend the same by their Letters and Messengers to the Churches, whom the same may concern. But if a Church be rent with Divisions among themselves; or lye under any open Scandal, and yet refuse to consult with other Churches, for healing or removing of the same, it is matter of just Offence both to the Lord Jesus, and to other Churches, as bewraying too much want of Mercy and Faithfulness, not to seek to bind up the Breaches and Wounds of the Church and Bretheren: And therefore the State of such a Church calleth aloud upon other Churches, to exercise a fuller Act of Brotherly Communion, to wit, by way of Admonition. 3. A way, then, of Communion of Churches is by way of *Admonition*; to wit, in case any publick Offence be found in a Church, which they either discern not, or are slow in proceeding to use the Means for the removing and healing of. *Paul* had no Authority over *Peter*, yet when he saw *Peter* not walking with a right Foot, he publicly rebuked him before the Church.

Tho' Churches have no more Authority one over another, than one Apostle

Ezek. 34. 4.

Gal. 2. 11. to 14.

Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17. *by proportion.*

postle had over another, yet as one Apostle might admonish another, so may one Church admonish another, and yet without Usurpation. In which case, if the Church, that lieth under Offence, do not hearken to the Church that doth admonish her, the Church is to acquaint other neighbour Churches, with that Offence, which the offending Church still lieth under, together with the neglect of their Brotherly Admonition given unto them: Whereupon those other Churches are to join in seconding the Admonition formerly given; and if still the offending Church continue in Obstinacy and Impenitency, they may forbear Communion with them, and are to proceed to make use of the help of a Synod, or Counsel of neighbour Churches, walking orderly (if a greater cannot conveniently be had) for their Conviction. If they hear not the Synod, the Synod having declared them to be Obstinate, particular Churches accepting and approving of the Judgment of the Synod, are to declare the Sentence of *Non-Communion* respectively concerning them: And thereupon out of religious Care to keep their own Communion pure, they may justly withdraw themselves from participation with them at the Lord's-Table, and from such other Acts of Holy Communion, as the Communion of Churches doth otherwise allow and require. Nevertheless, if any Members of such a Church, as live under publick Offence do not consent to the Offence of the Church, but do in due sort bear Witness against it, they are still to be received to wonted Communion, for it is not equal that the Innocent should suffer with the Offensive. Yea, furthermore, if such innocent Members, after due waiting in the use of all due means for the healing of the Offence of their own Church, shall at last (with the Allowance of the Counsel of Neighbour-Churches) withdraw from the Fellowship of their own Church, and offer themselves to the Fellowship of another, we judge it lawful for the other Church to receive them (being otherwise fit) as if they had been orderly dismissed to them from their own Church.

4. A fourth way of *Communion with Churches* is by way of *participation*; the Members of one Church occasionally coming to another, we willingly admit them to partake with them at the Lord's-Table, it being the Seal of our Communion not only with Christ, nor only with the Members of

Gen. 18. 25.

1 Cor. 12. 23.

our own Church, but also of all the Churches of the Saints: In which regard we refuse not to Baptize their Children presented to us, if either their own Minister be absent, or such a fruit of holy Fellowship be desired with us. In like cases such Churches as are furnished with more Ministers than one, do willingly afford one of their own Ministers to supply the absence or place of a sick Minister of another Church for a needful season.

5. A fifth way of *Church Communion* is by *Recommendation*, when the Member of one Church hath occasion to reside in another Church, if but for a season, we commend him to their watchful Fellowship by Letters of Recommendation: But if he be called to settle his Abode there, we commit him according to his Desire to the Fellowship of their Covenant by Letters of Dismission.

6. A sixth way of *Church Communion*, is in case of *need* to minister Succour one unto another, either of able Members to furnish them with Officers, or of outward Support to the Necessities of poorer Churches, as did the Churches of the Gentiles contribute liberally to the poor Saints at Jerusalem.

Rom. 16. 2. Acts 18. 27. Acts 11. 2. Verse 29. Rom. 13. 26, 27.

3. When a Company of Believers purpose to gather into Church-Fellowship, it is requisite for their safer proceeding and the mentioning of the Communion of Churches, that they signify their Intent unto the Neighbour-Churches, walking according to the Order of the Gospel, and desire their Presence, and Help, and right-hand of Fellowship; which they ought readily to give unto them, when there is no just cause to except against their Proceedings.

Gal. 2. 1, 2. & 9. *by proportion.*

4. Besides these several ways of Communion, there is also a way of *Propagation of Churches*: When a Church shall grow too Numerous, it is a way, and fit season to propagate one Church out of another, by sending forth such of their Members, as are willing to remove, and to procure some Officers to them, as may enter with them into Church-Estate among themselves.

Isa. 40. 20. Cant. 8, 8, 9.

As Bees, when the Hive is too full, issue out by Swarms, and are gathered into other Hives, so the Churches of Christ may do the same upon the like Necessity; and therein hold forth to them the Right-hand of Fellowship, both in their Gathering into a Church and in the Ordination of their Officers.

C H A P. XVI.

Of Synods.

Acts 15, 2,
to 15.

Synods orderly assembled, and rightly proceeding according to the Pattern, *Acts 15.* we acknowledge as the Ordinance of Christ: And tho' not absolutely necessary to the Being, yet many times, thro' the Iniquity of Men, and Perverseness of Times, necessary to the well-being of Churches, for the establishment of Truth and Peace therein.

Acts 15.
2, 3.

Verse 6.

Ver. 7, to
23.

Verse 31.

Acts 16.
4, 15.

2. Synods being Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Assemblies, are therefore made up of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Causes. The next efficient cause of them under Christ, is the Power of the Churches sending forth their Elders and other Messengers, who being met together in the Name of Christ, are the Matter of a Synod; and they in arguing and debating and determining Matters of Religion, according to the Word and Publishing the same to the Churches it concerneth, do put forth the proper and formal Acts of a Synod, to the Conviction and Errors, and Heresies, and the Establishment of Truth and Peace in the Churches, which is the End of a Synod.

2 Chron.
29, 4, 5,
to 11.

Acts 15.

3. Magistrates have Power to call a Synod, by calling to the Churches to send forth their Elders and other Messengers to counsel and assist them in Matters of Religion; but yet the constituting of a Synod is a Church-Act, and may be transacted by the Churches, even when civil Magistrates may be Enemies to Churches and to Church-Assemblies.

Acts 15.
1, 2, 6, 7.
1 Chron.
15, 13.
2 Chron.
29, 6, 7.
Acts 15.
24, 28, 29.

4. It belongeth unto Synods and Councils to debate and determine Controversies of Faith, and Cases of Conscience; to clear from the Word holy Directions, for the holy Worship of God and good Government of the Church: To bear Witness against Mal-Administration and Corruption in Do-

ctrine or Manners, in any particular Church; and to give Directions for the Reformation thereof: Not to exercise Church-Censures in way of Discipline, nor any other Act of Church-Authority or Jurisdiction, which that Presidential Synod did forbear.

5. The Synods Directions and Determinations, so far as consonant to the Word of God, are to be received with Reverence and Submission; not only for their Agreement therewith (which is the principal ground thereof, and without which they bind not at all) but also secondarily, for the Power, whereby they are made, as being an Ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his Word.

6. Because it is difficult, if not impossible for many Churches to come together in one Place, in their Members universally; therefore they may assemble by their Delegates or Messengers, as the Church at Antioch went not all to Jerusalem, but some select Men for that purpose. Because none are, or should be more fit to know the state of the Churches, nor to advise of ways for the Good thereof, than Elders: Therefore it is fit, that in the choice of the Messengers for such Assemblies, they have special respect unto such: Yet, inasmuch, as not only Paul and Barnabas, but certain others also, were sent to Jerusalem from Antioch, *Acts 15.* and when they were come to Jerusalem, not only the Apostles and Elders, but other Bretheren, also do assemble and meet about the Matter: Therefore Synods are to consist both of Elders and other Church-Members, endued with Gifts, and sent by the Churches, not excluding the Presence of any Bretheren in the Churches.

Acts 15.

Acts 15, 2,

Acts 15, 2,
22, 23.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Civil Magistrates Power in Matters Ecclesiastical.

Acts 2, 41,
47, & 4.
1, 2, 3.

IT is lawful, profitable and necessary for Christians to gather themselves together into Church-Estate, and therein to exercise all the Ordinances of Christ, according unto the Word, altho' the consent of the Magistrate could not be had thereunto; because the Apostles and Christians in their time, did frequently thus practise,

when the Magistrates being all of them Jewish and Pagan, and most persecuting Enemies, would give no countenance or consent to such Matters.

2. Church-Government stands in no Opposition to Civil Government of Commonwealths, nor any way intrencheth upon the Authority of Civil Magistrates in their Jurisdictions; nor any

any whit weakneth their Hands in governing, but rather strengtheneth them, and furthereth the People in yielding more hearty and conscionable Obedience to them, whatsoever some ill-affected Persons to the ways of Christ have suggested, to alienate the Affections of Kings and Princes from the Ordinances of Christ; as if the Kingdom of Christ in his Church, could not rise and stand, without the falling and weakening of their Government, which is also of Christ: Whereas the contrary is most true, that they may both stand together and flourish, the one being helpful unto the other, in their distinct and due Administrations.

3. The Power and Authority of Magistrates is not for the restraining of Churches, or any other good Works, but for helping in and furthering thereof; and therefore the consent and countenance of Magistrates, when it may be had, is not to be slighted, or lightly esteemed: But, on the contrary, it is part of that Honour due to Christian Magistrates, to desire and crave their Consent and Approbation therein; which being obtained, the Churches may then proceed in their way, with much more Encouragement and Comfort.

4. It is not in the Power of Magistrates to compel their Subjects to become Church-Members, and to partake of the Lord's Supper; for the Priests are reprov'd, that brought unworthy Ones into the Sanctuary: Then it was unlawful for the Priests, so it is as unlawful to be done by Civil Magistrates, those whom the Church is to cast out, if they were in, the Magistrate ought not to thrust them into the Church, nor to hold them therein.

5. As it is unlawful for Church-Officers to meddle with the Sword of the Magistrate, so it is unlawful for the Magistrate to meddle with the Work proper to Church-Officers. The Acts of *Moses* and *David*, who were not only Princes but Prophets, were extraordinary, therefore not imitable. Against such Usurpation the Lord witnessed by smiting *Uzziab* with Leprosy, for presuming to offer Incense.

6. It is the Duty of the Magistrate to take care of Matters of Religion, and to improve his civil Authority for the observing of the Duties commanded in the first, as well as for observing of the Duties commanded in the second Table. They are called *Gods*.
The End of the Magistrates Office is not only the quiet and peaceable Life

of the Subject in Matters of Righteousness and Honesty, but also in Matters of Godliness, yea, of all Godliness. *Moses, Joshua, David, Solomon, Aza, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah*, are much commended by the Holy Ghost, for the putting forth their Authority in Matters of Religion: On the contrary, such Kings as have been failing this way, are frequently taxed and reprov'd by the Lord. And not only the Kings of *Juda*, but also *Job, Nebuchadnezzar, Darius, Artaxerxes, Nebuchadnezzar*, whom none looked at, as Types of Christ, (tho' were it so, there were no place for any just Objection) are commended in the Books of God, for exercising their Authority this way.

7. The Objects of the Power of the Magistrate are not things meerly inward, and so not subject to his cognizance and view, as Unbelief, hardness of Heart, erroneous Opinions not vented, but only such things as are acted by the outward Man: Neither their Power to be exercised in commanding such acts of the outward Man, and punishing the neglect thereof, as are but meer Inventions and Devices of Men, but about such acts as are commanded and forbidden in the Word: Yea, such as the Word doth clearly determine, tho' not always clearly to the Judgment of the Magistrate or others, yet clearly in its self. In these he, of Right, ought to put forth his Authority, tho' oft-times actually he doth it not.

8. Idolatry, Blasphemy, Heresie, venting corrupt and pernicious Opinions, that destroy the Foundation, open contempt of the Word preached, prophanation of the Lord's Day, disturbing the peaceable Administration and Exercise of the Worship and Holy Things of God, and the like, are to be restrained and punished by Civil Authority.

9. If any Church, one or more, shall grow Schismatical, rending it self, from the Communion of other Churches, or shall walk incorrigibly and obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the Rule of the Word; in such case the Magistrate, is to put forth his coercive Power, as the Matter shall require. The Tribes on this side *Jordan* intended to make War against the other Tribes, for building the Altar of Witnesses, whom they suspected to have turned away therein, from following of the Lord.

Historical Remarks

UPON THE

DISCIPLINE

Practised in the

Churches of New-England.

§ 1. **W**hen the *Platform of Church-Discipline* had been presented by the *Synod* unto the *General Court* which called it, several Persons from several *Churches* gave into the *Court* some *Objections* against sundry Passages and Paragraphs of this *Platform*. The Secretary did, by Order, lay these written *Objections*, before the *Chief*, and most of the *Ministers* in the *COLONY*, who appointed Mr. *Richard Mather* to draw up an Answer to them: The Answer by him composed, and by the Rest approved was given in, and the Result of all was, that the *Ecclesiastical Model* thus fortified, obtained a more abundant Recommendation unto and among this People of God. The Churches have cheerfully embraced it, practised it, and been prospered in it, unto this very Day. And some have imagined that there has been herein fulfilled the *Observation*, if not *Inspiration* of the Holy *Brightman* (in *Apoc. 17.3.*) *That some Faithful People in a wilderness should have the most clear Discoveries of the Abominations of the Man of Sin.*

§ 2. More than thirty Years after this, there was a *Synod* of all the Churches in the Colony, assembled at *Boston*, wherein a *Vote* was propounded, *Whether the Platform of Church-Discipline were approved by that Assembly?* Upon which both the *Elders* and *Brethren*, unanimously lifted up their Hands in the *Affirmative*, in the *Negative* not one appearing. The *Vote* was passed in these Words.

‘ A *Synod* of the Churches in the Colony of the *Massachusetts* being called by the honour’d *General-Court*, to convene at *Boston*, the 10th of *September*, 1679. having read and considered the *Platform of Church-Discipline*, agreed upon by the *Synod* assembled at *Cambridge*, Anno 1648. do unanimously approve of the said *Platform*, for the *Substance* of it; desiring that the Churches may continue steadfast, in

‘ the *Order of the Gospel*, according to what is therein declared from the Word of God.

Now in this *Vote* there is that Clause, [*For the Substance of it*] which must be explain’d by my Acknowledgment, That there are several *Circumstantial*s in the *Platform*, which are disputed by many judicious *Ministers* of the present Generation: who upon long Enquiry and Experience think that in those Points the *Platform* indeed is not *Substantial*. Reader, We will for a while entertain our selves with the Particulars.

§ 3: It is very true, that the *Platform* denies not, the *Power* of a *Pastor*, to administer the *Sacraments* unto other *Congregations* besides his own, upon their Desires to have their Necessities thus relieved; by the same Token that in the first Copy of the Answer to the *Objections* brought into the *General Court*, against the *Platform*, there were these Words inserted, *As we receive the Members of other Churches to Communion in our Churches, so we know no just Reason, why in the want or absence of the Minister of another Church, we may not at their request, administer an Act of our Office unto them, by virtue of Church-Communion*; yet the *Platform*, in a Complaisance unto the many *Brethren* which were otherwise perswaded, asserts not such a *Power*, so fully as has been by many wished. The fullest Words used by the *Synod* unto this purpose are those in the *Second Section* of the *fifteenth Chapter*; but they were not so full, as to have hitherto encouraged (that I can learn) any one *Pastor* in the Country to administer the *Supper* (tho’ some do the *Baptism*) of our Lord, in any other Assembly but his own, only Mr. *Philips* the *Pastor* of *Watertown*, did, as I have been inform’d, administer that, as well as the other *Sacrament* unto the Church of *Boston*, when Mr. *Wilson*, the *Pastor* of that Church was gone for *England*. However, as ’tis well known that in the primitive times of the *New-Testament*, the *Power* of a *Pastor* to dispence the

the *Seals* of the *New-Covenant*, as well as to *preach* and *blefs* Authoritatively, in *other Churches*, besides *his own*, calling for it, was not question'd; when some Difference in Opinion happened between *Anicetus*, the Pastor of the Church at *Rome*, and *Polycarpus*, the Pastor of the Church at *Smyrna*, the latter took a long Journey, even from *Smyrna* unto *Rome*, to visit the former, for the better comprehending and composing of the Difference: *Anicetus* there, to testify his Respect unto *Polycarpus*, requested him to administer the *Eucharist* unto that pure and great Church, with which he was now but sojourning as a Visitant, and the Thing was done by this excellent Man, of whom *Irenæus* testifies, *That he always taught the Churches to observe those things which he had learned of the Apostles*; and of whom other Interpreters judge, that, as he was the Scholar of *John*, so he was the unblameable Angel, addressed by the Second of the Seven Epistles in *John's Revelation*. Thus, in the primitive Times of our *New-England*, the most Eminent of our Divines, acknowledged this Power, defended it, and maintained it. There is now publish'd, A Letter of Mr. *Richard Maiber* unto Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, which demonstrates, that it is altogether as lawful for an Officer of a Church to administer the Sacraments to another Congregation, at their entreaty, as it would be to accept a Member of another Congregation, unto an occasional Communion in the Sacraments with his own; and that the Presence of his own Church is not at all more necessary unto such an Administration, than the Presence of the other Congregation would be to the Transient Communion of that particular Member. Mr. *Norton*, in his Answer to *Apollonius*, affirms, *A Pastor may charitably perform the Ministerial Acts of his Office in another Church*. Mr. *Shepard*, in the Defence of the *Nine Positions*, affirms, (tho' Mr. *Davenport*, in the *Positions* themselves, does deny it,) *That a Minister, occasionally called thereto, by the desire of the Church, may lawfully administer the Seals to another Congregation*. And I suppose there are now few Ministers in the Country, but what Consent unto the Words of Dr. *Owen*. *Altho' we have no Concernment in the Figure of an indelible Character, accompanying Sacred Orders, yet we do not think the Pastoral Office is such a thing, as a Man must leave behind him every time he goes from Home. For my own part, if I did not think my self bound to preach as a Minister authorized in all Places, and on all Occasions, when I am called thereunto, I think I should never preach more in this World*.

Nor are there many that would withhold their Consent from the Thoughts of Dr. *Goodwin*: *An Elder, one set apart for that Office in any Church, is truly a Minister, occasionally to exercise Ministerial Acts, as he is called thereunto. Every true Minister, actually such to his own Church, is Medium Applicabile: A Means and Instrument that may apply any Ministerial Act, out of his own Church in any other Church, if he be called thereunto*.

Wherefore, for the fuller Explanation of the *Platform*, in this Article, there was this *Vote* passed, in a Meeting of the Neighbouring Ministers at *Cambridge*.

¶ Inasmuch as the Pastors of any Evangelical Churches, are, tho' not having a *Pastoral Charge* of more than *One*, to be acknowledged in *All* of them, as *Ordained Ministers* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and are actually acknowledged, as *Preaching* in that Capacity, when they are occasionally put upon preaching of the *Gospel* abroad.

Inasmuch also as the *Communion of Churches*, which makes the *Members* of any capable of admission to the *Special Ordinances* of the Lord *Jesus Christ* in *All* of them, doth likewise render it reasonable, for the Pastors of any to be capable of administering those Ordinances in *All*.

It is therefore our Judgment, That the Pastor of a *Neighbouring Church*, may, upon the Request of a *desitute Church*, occasionally administer the *Sacraments* unto them.

And it is our further Judgment, That the *Second Article* in the *Fifteenth Chapter* of our *Platform of Church-Discipline*, is to be understood as approving of it.

Nor is it unknown, That Eminent *Congregational Churches*, have, by their *Practice*, manifested themselves to have been of this Judgment before us.

And it seems in the purest and earliest of the *Primitive Times* to have been allowed.

Nevertheless, we think it convenient, that as the *desitute Churches* do, by their *Vote*, call the Neighbouring Pastors to that *Occasional Service*, before they attend it, so that the *Consent* of the *Churches*, whereto those Pastors belong, be not left unconsidered in it.

We do moreover think, That nothing should be done in this Matter, that may, in any wise, obstruct the Welfare of any *bereaved Churches*, in their *speedy seeking* of a *settled Supply*, for all Ordinances among them; or otherwise interrupt and incommode Common Edification.

4. Another Point in the *Platform*, not universally received, is, *The distinct Office of Ruling Elders*, to join with the Pastors, in those Acts of *Church-Rule*, which are *distinct from the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments*, or to *watch over the Conversation of the Church-Members with Authority*. There are some who cannot see any such Officer as what we call a *Ruling Elder*, directed and appointed in the Word of God; and the Inconveniencies, whereunto many Churches have been plunged by *Elders*, not of such a Number, or not of such a *Wisdom*, as were desirable, have much increased a Prejudice against the Office it self; be sure, partly through a Prejudice against the Office, and partly, indeed chiefly, through a *penury* of Men well qualified for the Discharge of it, as it has been heretofore understood and applied, Our Churches are now generally *desitute of such Helps in Government*: On the other side; there are others, who, if they asked, *What Order for Lay-Elders in the Word*

Word of God? Answer, That properly, the only *Lay-Elders* known to be in any Church, are the *Chancellours* in the Church of England; Persons *Entrusted* with the *Rules* of the Church, and yet not *Ordained* unto any Office in it. But, that unless a Church have *Divers Elders*, the *Church-Government* must needs become either *Prelatic* or *Popular*; and that a Church's need- ing but *one Elder*, is an Opinion contrary not only to the Sense of the Faithful in all Ages, but also to the Law of the *Scriptures*, where there can be nothing plainer, than, *Elders, who Rule well, and are worthy of Double Honour*, though they *do not labour in Word and Doctrine*: whereas; if there were any *Teaching Elders*, who do not *Labour in Word and Doctrine*, they would be so far from *worthy of Double Honour*, that they would not be *Worthy of any Honour* at all. Towards the adjulling of the Difference, which has thus been in the Judgments of Judicious Men, some *Essays* have been made; and one particularly in such Terms as these; Let it be first Recognized, That all the other *Church-Officers* are the *Assistants* of the *Pastor*; who was himself (as you find, even about what the *Deacon* has now to do,) entrusted with the *Whole care* of all, until the further Pity and Kindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, joined other *Officers* unto him, for his Assistance in it. I suppose, none will be so absurd as to Deny *This* at least; That all the *Church-Officers* are to take the Advice of the *Pastor* with them. Upon which I subjoin, that a Man may be a *Distinct Officer* from his *Pastor*, and yet not have a *Distinct Office* from him; the *Pastor* may be the *Ruling Elder*, and yet he may have *Elders* to assist him in *Ruling*, and in the *actual Discharge* of some Things, which *They* are able and proper to be serviceable to him in. This Consideration being laid, I will persuade my self, Every *Pastor* among us will allow me, That there is much Work to be done for God, in preparing of what belongs to the *Admission* and *Exclusion* of *Church-Members*; in carefully *Inspecting* the *way* and *walk* of them all, and the first *Appearance* of *Evil* with them; in preventing the very beginnings of *Ill-Blood* among them, and instructing of all *from House to House* more *privately*, and warning of all Persons unto the Things more *peculiarly* incumbent on them; in *Visiting* all the *Afflicted*, and *Informing* of and *Consulting* with, the *Ministers*, for the welfare of the *whole Flock*. And they *must* allow me, That *this Work* is too heavy for any *one Man*; and that more than *one Man*, yea, *all our Churches*, do suffer beyond measure, because no more of *this Work* is thoroughly performed. Moreover, They will Acknowledge to me, that it is an usual Thing, with a Prudent and Faithful *Pastor*, himself to single out some of the more Grave, Solid, Aged Brethren in his Congregation, to *Assist* him in many parts of *this Work*, on many occasions in a Year; nor will such a *Pastor* ordinarily do any Important thing in his Government, without having first

heard the Counsel of such Bretheren. In short, There are few Discreet *Pastors*, but what make many Occasional *Ruling Elders*, every Year. I say then, Suppose the Church by a *Vote* Recommend some such *Bretheren*, the *Wittest* they have, and always more than *One*, unto the more *stated Assistance* of their *Pastor*, in the *Church-Rule*, wherein they may be *helps* unto him; I do not propose, that they should be *Biennial* or *Triennial* only; tho' I know, very famous Churches throughout *Europe* have them so! Yea, and what, if they should by solemn *Fasting* and *Prayer*, be commended unto the *Benediction* of God, in what service they have to do? What *Objection* can be made against the *Lawfulness*? I think none can be made against the *Usefulness* of such a thing. Truly, for my part, if the *Fifth Chapter* of the First Epistle to *Timothy*, would not bear me out when Conscience both of my *Duty* and my *weakness* made me desire such *Assistance*, I would see whether the *First Chapter* of *Deuteronomy* would not. Such things as these have been offered unto the Consideration of the *Diversly-Perswaded*; and accordingly in a Meeting of *Ministers*, that had been *Diversly-Perswaded* in this Matter, at *Cambridge*, an *Unanimous Vote* was passed for these Conclusions.

PROPOSITIONS

Concerning the Office of Ruling-Elders.

I. **T**Hough the *Pastors* of Churches are *Originally* Entrusted with the whole Care of what is to be done, in the *Feeding* and *Ruling* of the Societies, whereof the Holy Spirit hath made them *Overseers*, yet the Wisdom and Goodness of our Lord Jesus Christ, has made Provision for their *Assistance* in the Management of those *Church-Affairs*, which would otherwise too much Incumber them, in Devoting themselves unto the *Word* and *Prayer*.

II. *Ruling-Elders* are appointed for the Assistance of their *Pastors* in the *Government* of their Churches, and the *Inspection* of the Flocks. And although these Officers may not be furnished with all those *Attainments* which are necessary to a *Pastor*, yet if they are so accomplished, as that they may be *Helps* to their *Pastor* in the Management of their *Church-Rule*, they may be Chosen thereunto with much Benefit and Advantage to the People of God.

III. Whereas 'tis the Business of a *Ruling-Elder* to Assist his *Pastor*, in *Visiting* of the Distressed, *Instructing* of the Ignorant, *Reducing* of the Erroneous, *Comforting* of the Afflicted, *Advising* of the Defective, *Rebuking* of the Unruly, *Discovering* the State of the whole Flock, *Exercising* the *Discipline* of the Gospel upon Offenders, and Promoting the desirable *Growth* of the Church; 'tis necessary that he be a Person of a Wisdom, Courage, Leisure, and Exemplary Holiness and Gravity, agreeable to such Employments.

§ 5. One more Passage in the *Platform*, which hath been but rarely practised, and as little approved, is, That in Churches where there are no Elders, Imposition of Hands for the Ordination of Elders may be performed by some of the Brethren, orderly chosen by the Church thereunto; which is indeed mollified with a Concession, That in Churches where there are no Elders, and the Church so desire, the imposition of Hands, may be performed by the Elders of other Churches. It was the Opinion of these worthy Men, that the Call and Power whereof a Pastor becomes [indeed the First] Recipient Subject, is derived unto him from the Lord Jesus Christ, by the choice of a Church, inviting him to the Pastoral Care of their Souls. The Essence of his Vocation, they judged was in an Election by the Multitude of the Faithful, agreeing to submit themselves unto his Conduct in the Lord, and his Acceptance of, his Compliance with, that Election. Ordination they look'd upon, but as a Ceremony, whereby a called Minister, was declared by Imposition of Hands, to be solemnly set apart for his Ministry, and in the same Rite, the Assistances and Protections and manifold Blessings of the Holy Ghost, in the Exercises of his Ministry were solemnly implored for him.

Briefly, They reckoned not Ordination to be Essential unto the Vocation of a Minister, any more than Coronation to the Being of a King; but that it is only a consequent and convenient Adjunct of his Vocation; and a solemn Acknowledgment of it, with an useful and proper Benediction of him in it.

Now in as much as the *Æstivæ*, Lifting up of the Hands of the Fraternity, was that which performed the greater thing; even, to apply the Vocation of a Pastor; said they, why may not the *Æstivæ* Laying on of the Hands of the Fraternity also perform the lesser thing; the thing which, indeed, is but the Accomplishment of what they have already begun, even to publish, proclaim and pray over that Vocation? To countenance this Liberty of the Fraternity, they brought the Example of what was done in the Church of Israel, when certain Principal Members of the Congregation, which were certainly no Ecclesiastical Officers, did in the Name of the rest, impose Hands upon the Levites; and afterwards, when all the Congregation, in the like manner, anointed Zadok, to be the Priest: and they further considered, that there were several Cases, wherein an Ordination by the Hands of Elders, could not be obtained in any tollerable Circumstances; perhaps America had more than once afforded such; in which Cases they said, Why may not the People of the Land now take a Man of their Coasts, and, then, do all that is necessary to set him up for their Watchman? But whereas it was objected unto our New-English Divines, by such Writers as the sweet-spirited Herle, and warm-spirited Ruiberford, That the New-Testament affords no Example of Imposition of Hands by the People, it was answered, That the New-Testament instances not the Imposition of Hands on Ordinary

Pastors, by any Ordinary Pastors at all. In all the Examples, there, concerning this matter, either the Persons by whom, or the Persons on whom, Hands were imposed, were Extraordinary-Officers: and thus the Objectors will find as much Diffonancy from the Scriptural Example, in their own Practice as they could in ours: Besides, the Example in the Old Testament was of a Moral and of a Lasting Equity. And in fine, they supposed that they had on their side, a thousand Concessions, in the chief Defenders and Principles of the Reformation; particularly, the Words of the incomparable Whitaker (De Eccles. Quæst. 5. Cap. 6.) *If they grant the Calling of our Ministers to be Lawful, we care the less for Ordination, for they that have Authority to Call, have also Authority to Ordain, if Lawful Ordination cannot otherwise be gotten; For Ordination doth follow Calling; he that is called is, as it were, thereby put into Possession of his Office.* And it was the Learned Calderwood, who taught them to distinguish, between what was received by (*de*) and what was received only with (*sub*) the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery; the former notes a Causal Virtue in the Rite, which accordingly is not affirmed in the Text; the latter notes only the Concurring and Approving of them that used the Rite; and accordingly our good Men were desirous to have the Consent of a Neighbouring Presbytery unto their Elections testified, in their Ordinations, where it could be comfortably procured. On the other side; Because the Scripture so expressly mentions, the laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery, very Judicious Men, throughout the Country, were altogether averse to, *The laying on of the Hands of the Fraternity.* They reckoned, that in the Imposition of Hands, there was their Consecration to their Ministry, and by this Consecration they were to be owned, as admitted into the Order of Pastors, through the whole Church of God; but they could not allow the Rites of this Order to be Regularly and Conveniently performed by any but such as were themselves of the same Order; which Perswasion has been so general, that setting aside a few plebeian Ordinations, in the beginning of the World here among us, there have been rarely, any Ordinations managed in our Churches but by the Hands of Presbyters: yea, any Ordinations, but such, would be but matters of Discourse and Wonder. The Custom of New-England cannot be better described, than in the terms which describe the Modes of the African Churches [Synod. African. apud Cyprian. Epist. 68. §. 6. p. 202.] *Apud nos, & serè per Provincias universas tenetur, ut ad Ordinationes, ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui Præpositus Ordinatur, Episcopi Ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus deligatur, plebe præsentè, quæ singulorum vitam plenissimè novit, & unius cujusque, Actum de ejus Conversatione perspexit; Quod factum videmus in Sabini Ordinatione, ut de Universe Fraternitatis suffragio, & de Episcoporum Judicio, Episcopatus Ei Deferatur.*

And so much Respect have our Churches had unto the Interests of the *Presbytery* in this Point of *Ordination*, that altho' upon the translation of Pastors from one Church unto another among us, few of the Pastors thus translated, have scrupled being *re-ordained*, yet upon the arrival of some desirable Pastors formerly *ordained* in *England*, who scrupled at it, our destituted Churches have gladly *elected* them, and *embraced* them, and so solemnizing the Transaction with Fasting and Prayer, have enjoyed them to all Evangelical Intents and Purposes, without their being *re-ordained* at all.

§ 6. If I have reported *three* Difficulties in our *Platform of Church-Discipline*, I can add a *fourth*, which hath been as Difficult as any of the rest.

The Direction given by the *Synod* about the *Admission* of Members into the Church, amounts to thus much. 'Repentance towards God and Faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are the things whereof Men are to be examined at their admission into the Church, and which, then, they must profess and hold forth in such sort as may satisfy Rational Charity that the things are there indeed. The weakest measure of Faith is to be accepted in those that desire to be admitted into the Church: Such Charity and Tenderness is to be used, as the weakest Christian, if sincere, may not be excluded or discouraged. Severity of Examination is to be avoided; in case any thro' excessive Fear, or other Infirmary be unable to make their personal Relation of their Spiritual Estate in publick, it is sufficient, that the Elders having received private satisfaction, make Relation thereof in publick before the Church, they testifying their Assents thereunto: This being the way that tends most to Edification. But where Persons are of greater Abilities, there it is most expedient that they make their Relations and Confessions, personally with their own Mouth, as *David* professeth of himself. A personal and publick Confession, and declaring of God's manner of working upon the Soul, is both lawful, expedient and useful. And the *Platform* in *Chap. 12. § 5.* gives the Grounds of this Direction. The Jews tell us of כליא or a *Scare-Crow* upon the top of the *Temple*, which kept off the *Fowls* from defiling of it; and it has been the Opinion of many that this *Custom* of Relations, to be made by Candidates for *Admission* to the Church, of what Operations of the *Regenerating Spirit* have been upon their Souls, is as a *Scare-Crow* to keep Men out of the *Temple*; but, it may be, it has been the Opinion of as many, that none but the *Defilers* of the *Temple* would be kept out by such a *Scare-Crow*.

On the one side, The Churches demanding an Account of *Experiences*, from those which they receive to stated *Church-Fellowship*, has been by some decried as an *humane Invention*: And they tell us, that, indeed, according to the Report of *Cæsar*, there have been *Popish Monasteries* which have demanded such an Account from

those that entred thereinto; but that few *Protestant Societies* have, till of late, observed such an Usage. Yea, they say, that instead of having any Divine *Precept* for the bottom of this *Practice*, there is no bottom at all for it, but this, that it *has been a Practice*. The first Churches of *New-England* began only with a Profession of Assent and Consent unto the *Confession of Faith*, and the *Covenant* of Communion. Afterwards, they that sought for the Communion, were but privately examined about a Work of *Grace* in their Souls, by the *Elders*, and then publicly propounded unto the Congregation, only that so, if there were any scandal in their Lives, it might be objected and considered. But in the Year 1634, one of the Brethren having leave to hear the Examinations of the *Elders*, magnified so much the Advantage of being present at such an Exercise, that many others desired and obtained the like leave to be present at it; until, at length, to gratifie this *useful Curiosity*, the whole Church always expected the *Liberty* of being thus particularly acquainted with the *Religious Dispositions*, of those with whom they were afterwards to sit at the Table of the Lord; and that Church which began this way was quickly imitated by most of the rest, who, when all come to, have little else to plead for it, but that the good Men find themselves exceedingly edified, when they hear other good Men describing the *Means* which the Lord has devised, for the bringing back of their banished Souls.

On the other side, It has been argued by others, That nothing less than a probable and a credible profession of a saving Faith must be made by a Man, before the Supper of the Lord may be administered unto him. The Churches to whom the Apostles directed their Epistles, were still visibly *Saints*, and such as were made meet to be Partakers of the Inheritance of the *Saints* in *Light*: How many scores of Passages to this purpose have we concerning those Churches, about the understanding whereof we may use the words of *Calvin*, *Quod exponunt quidam de scilicet professione mihi frigidum videtur, & ab usu Scripture est alienum?* It is on all hands agreed, that the Lord's Supper is an Ordinance communicable unto none but Penitents: Now the Primitive Churches, if *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* may be credited, would not accept a Penitent, until having examined him, they discerned his *Conversion* and *Repentance* to be such as would be accepted by God. And the Council of *Nice* gave this for a general Rule; That the inward state of Penitents be observed in order to their admission to the Communion. Whereupon 'tis argued, If they that are impenitent for this or that particular Sin, may not come to the Table of the Lord, surely, they that may be thought impenitent for an whole course of Sin, are also to be kept out of doors; which is to be esteemed the Case of all them, whom we may not reasonably as well as charitably, judge renewed by the *Holy Ghost*. Accordingly *Origen* writes, 'That the Christians of the first Churches did

most exquisitely search the Souls of them that asked a full Communion with them; and says, When Men have made such a proficiency, that they appear sanctified by the Divine Word, then we call them up to our Mysteries. *Tertullian*, among others, doth advise us of the strict *Scrutiny* used in his Days, upon the Hearts of the Catechumens; *Whether they did, indeed, renounce all their former Vanities.*

It was the Order, *Fiant scrutinia, an verba Fidei radicatus Corde defixerint.* *Cyprian* reports, *Vix plebi persuadeo*: He could not easily persuade the Fraternity of his Flock to consent unto the receiving of such in whom Sincerity was questionable. *Austin* affirms, That according to the ancient Custom, grounded on the most evident Truth, none were admitted into the Church on Earth, who were visibly such as the Scripture excludes from the Kingdom of God in Heaven. And the Agreement of the Pastors in the Days of *Constance*, about the discerning of the sincere, is very memorable. If the Question be put, What it is, that we may safely judge, a probable and a credible Profession of a saving Faith? It has been answered, That Scripture must be followed and applied by Reason in this matter: If the Scripture assert such and such Marks to be in the Experiences of all the Regenerate, then Reason is in this Case to make an Humane Enquiry, Whether our Neighbours have those Marks in their Experiences? 'Tis not enough to restore a Man under Church-Censure, for the Man barely to say *I repent*; no, but for us to proceed rationally in observing, whether the likely Symptoms of *Repenting* do appear upon him, is to proceed Scripturally: Even so, 'tis not enough to qualify a Man under Church-Trial, for the Man to say *I believe*; while there may be discovered in him such an ignorant or insipid state of Soul, as may render it justly suspicious, that he is yet a stranger to the New Birth. Briefly the thing has been thus discoursed.

We must beware of *unscriptural Impositions* in this Affair; we must not impose any Modes of Profession, which we have no Warrant for. 'Tis a Tyranny to enjoyn upon every Man, *A relation about the precise time and way of their Conversion unto God.* Few that have been restrained by a religious Education, can give such an one. Nor is it any other than a Cruelty, to enjoyn upon every Man, *an Oral and a publick relation of their Experiences.* Every good Man has not such a Courage and Presence of Mind, as can speak pertinently before a Congregation of many hundreds. But still, as the *Probationers* for our Communion are to make a Profession of their Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as that Redeemer in whom all fulness dwells, and on whom they rely for Communications from that fulness to their own Souls: Thus we must look for some justifying Circumstance of that Profession. Our Charity towards all Men, of whom we know nothing amiss, is to hope all things, and believe the best: But when we come to

make a Judgment of them, that lay claim to Privileges with us, 'tis but reason that our Charity should require a more positive Evidence of the Qualification, on which the claim is made. In the Primitive Times they made such a Profession, at their being added unto the Church; and the Profession had this justifying Circumstance in it, that they made it, when they endangered their very Lives to make it. I make no doubt, but in such a time of Persecution, the like Profession ought to be esteemed sufficient. But in Places where the true Religion is in repute and fashion, then to look for some other justifying Circumstance of a Profession, is but a reasonable Conformity to the custom and manner of the Apostles. Now, Reason cannot readily dictate an easier, a fairer, a fitter Method for this, than that a Man of a blameless and fruitful Conversation, should either by Tongue or Pen express, what Impressions the Word of God has made upon him. The favour of such a Relation, will usually very much manifest the Spirit of him that makes it; and besides, nothing is more for the Honour of God, or for the Comfort of his People, than to hear good Christians, thus making that Invitation, *Come and hear all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my Soul.* It is true, that after all, we cannot be infallibly sure, that we do not admit an Hypocrite in Heart, into our Communion; nor indeed after the distinctest Profession of a Dogmatical and Historical Faith, can we be sure that the Person, whom we admit, is not an Heretick in Heart. Nevertheless, no Man scarce ever doubted, that Communicants must be examined about their Orthodoxy. But we should go, as far as we reasonably can to prevent the pollution of Holy Things by the Unregenerate.

Well, the result of these various Apprehensions has been this: That some *unscriptural Severities* urged in this matter by several of our Churches, in the beginning of the Plantation, are now generally laid aside; but still, for the most part, there is expected from those that would join unto 'em, a brief Address, in the Language of an *experimental Christian*, intimating something of what the eternal Spirit of God has done to conform their Hearts and Lives unto those Principles of Christianity, whereof they then make a Profession. 'Tis true, in some Churches, if the Elders declare their satisfaction about the Qualifications of those that offer themselves, the People are, without any further Inquiry, satisfied: But in most Churches, the People do desire the Elders to entertain them with a more particular Account of such things, as the Persons have to present for their own more thorough Recommendation unto the good Affection of those, with whom they are to eat Bread in the Kingdom of God. Nevertheless, there seems to have been thought needful on both sides a Concession to what has been sometimes propounded in such Terms as these.

' Our Churches do ordinarily expect from those, whom they admit unto constant and compleat

compleat Communion with them, some few
 ' favoury Expressions [*written, if not oral*] of
 ' what Regenerating Influences the Ordinances or
 ' the Providences of God, have had upon their
 ' Souls. There are some who demand this, as
 ' a thing required by the Word of God, when
 ' a Confession with the Mouth, and a Profession
 ' of Repentance as well as Faith, and a giving a
 ' Reason of the Hope that is in us is required:
 ' And they look upon this as a justifying Circum-
 ' stance, which a reasonable Charity is to seek,
 ' before it pronounce upon the Credibility of
 ' that Confession and Profession, whereupon Men
 ' lay claim to Privileges. Others can't see
 ' thro' this; they rather decry it, as an *humane*
 ' *Invention*, yet, rather than Church-Work
 ' should be at any *stay*, both sides may grant,
 ' that it is but a piece of *reasonable Civility*,
 ' for any that would be accepted as *Members* of
 ' any *Society* whatsoever, to address that *Socie-*
 ' *ty* for their acceptance; and that whoever
 ' doth address a Church of the Lord Jesus for
 ' their *Fellowship*, should endeavour to do it
 ' with such Language and Matter, as may be
 ' like that of one *returning unto God*. If there
 ' be any further Contest whether the Brethren,
 ' of *right*, are to have an Acquaintance with, or
 ' Interest in, the management of this Matter, I
 ' am confident, that as the Pastors, who are the
 ' Porters to the House of God, will generally
 ' examine what *Experiences* their Communi-
 ' cants have attained unto; so, the Pastors will
 ' as generally grant, that it is not *unlawful* for
 ' them to communicate unto the *Brethren* of
 ' the Church, the *taste* which they have had of
 ' the *Graces*, in such as they now propound un-
 ' to them, to be received as *Brethren*; yea, that
 ' it is many ways *comfortable* and *profitable*, if
 ' not altogether *necessary*. Behold then a *Tem-*
 ' *per*, wherein we *may*, as hitherto we *do* in this
 ' thing *unite*. I have been concerned with some
 ' godly People of the Scotch Nation, who have
 ' at first shewn much and hot *Antipathy* against
 ' *this way* of our Churches, and yet asked *ad-*
 ' *mittance* to the Table of the Lord. These
 ' have consented unto me, that I should put
 ' what *Questions* I pleased, in my *Trials* of
 ' them; that I should herewithal take in Wri-
 ' ting what *Minutes* I pleased of their *Answers*
 ' to me; that being my self now *satisfied* con-
 ' cerning them, I might, if I pleased, offer that
 ' *satisfaction* unto any or all of the Church, who
 ' looked for it, at our usual Opportunity.
 ' These Concessions immediately opened *their*
 ' way in *ours*, unto the Table of the Lord, with-
 ' out any Difficulty unto either of us.

§ 7. I think I have now reported the most
 ' contested Passages of our *Platform*; neverthe-
 ' less, to give a further Elucidation of some
 ' other Passages in that *Platform*, I will subjoin
 ' the Determination given by a late Assembly
 ' of our Ministers at *Cambridge*, upon these two
 ' Points; The Power of *Synods*, and the Power
 ' of *Elders*.

¶ PROPOSITIONS

*Concerning the Power of Synods, with respect
 unto particular Churches.*

I. **P**articular Churches, having the same Ori-
 ginal Ends and Interests, and being mu-
 tually concerned in the Good and Evil of each
 other, there is the Light of Nature as well as of
 Scripture, to direct the Meeting of Churches by
 their *Delegates*, to consult and conclude things
 of common Concernment unto them.

II. *Synods*, duly composed of Messengers cho-
 sen by them whom they are to represent, and
 proceeding with a due regard unto the Will of
 God in his Word, are to be revered, as *de-*
termining the Mind of the Holy Spirit concerning
 things necessary to be *received and practised*, in
 order to the Edification of the Churches therein
 represented.

III. All the Commands of God, which bid us
 to be *well-adviced*, and regard a *multitude of Coun-*
sellors, do particularly oblige us with Reverence
 to entertain the Advice of *Synods* assembling in
 the Name and Fear of the Lord Jesus Christ,
 for an enquiry after his Directions: And if one
 Church be to be heard, much more are many
 Churches to be so, in things that properly fall
 under the Cognisance thereof.

IV. *Synods* being of *Apostolical example*, re-
 commended as a necessary Ordinance, it is but
 reasonable, that their Judgment be acknow-
 ledged as *decisive*, in the Affairs for which they
 are ordained; and to deny them the Power
 of such a Judgment, is to render a necessary Or-
 dinance of *none effect*.

V. The Power of *Synods*, is not to *abate*, much
 less to *destroy* the Liberties of *particular Churches*,
 but to *strengthen* and to *direct* those Churches,
 in the *right use* of the Powers given by the Lord
 Jesus Christ unto them. And such *Assemblies*
 are therefore to be used as a Relief ordained by
 God for those Difficulties, for which the *Care* and
State of a *particular Church* affords not a suf-
 ficient Remedy.

The Rights allowed unto *Synods*, in the *Ireni-*
cum, of the excellent *Jeremiah Burroughs*, Chap. 7.
 we fully consent and subscribe unto.

¶ PROPOSITIONS

*Concerning the Power of Elders in the Go-
 vernment of the Church.*

I. **T**he Power of *Church Government* belongs
 only to the *Elders* of the Church.

The Names of the *Elders*, in the Scriptures
 are but insignificant, and unintelligible *Meta-*
phors, if the Rule of the Church be not only
 in the Hands of its *Elders*.

The Word of God hath ordered the People to
 obey the *Elders* of the Church, as having the
 rule over them, and a *watch* over their Souls.

An Ability to *Rule well* is a Qualification particularly required in the *Elders* of the Church, that they may be able to take a due *Care* of it.

Governments are enumerated among those things in the Church, which *all are not*, but which are compatible to *some only*: Now, who but the *Elders*?

Were the *Government* of the Church, as much in the *Brethren* as in the *Elders*, then the whole *Body* were *all Eye*; which it is *not*.

II. There are yet certain *Cases*, wherein the *Elders* in the management of their *Church Government* are to take the Concurrence of the *Fraternity*.

'Tis to be done in those *Acts*, to attain the *ends* whereof, there are to follow certain *Duties* of the *Fraternity*, namely *Elections*, and *Admissions* and *Censures*.

Hence, in such things, we find the *Injunctions* of the *Scripture* addressed unto the *whole Church*.

Hence, all *Antiquity* assures us, that such *Matters* were in the *Primitive Church*, done still *Consentiente plebe*.

And the *Brethren* of the Church might otherwise be obliged unto the doing of things, wherein they cannot *act in Faith*, or be *conscientiously satisfied* that such things are to be done.

III. Nevertheless, the *Pastor* of a Church may by himself *Authoritatively* suspend from the *Lord's Table*, a *Brother* accused or suspected of a *Scandal*, till the *Matter* may, and should be regularly examined.

Our *Lord* forbids the coming of such an *Offender* to his *Altar*, if even one of *less*, of *no Authority* in the Church, do signify a reasonable dissatisfaction.

The *Pastors* of the Church are the *Porters* of the *Temple*, empowered sufficiently to detain such, as they see with *moral uncleanness* upon them.

And its belonging unto the *Porters* of the Church to direct the *Brethren* in the Application of the *necessary Discipline*; it is not reasonable that they should be bound in the mean time, to declare *practically*, what shall be contrary to such *Direction*, by administering the *Lord's Supper* unto a *Person* against whom the *Discipline* is to be urged.

IV. But the *Elders* of the Church, have a *Negative* on the *Votes* of the *Brethren*; who, indeed, in the Exercise of their *Liberty* and *Privilege* are under the *Conduct* of the *Elders*.

To take away the *Negative* of the *Elders*, or the *Necessity* of their *Consent* unto such *Acts*, indeed is to take away all *Government* whatsoever, and it is to turn the whole *Regimen* of the Church into a pure *Democracy*.

And, if the *Positive* of the *Brethren* can supersede a *Negative* of the *Elders*, either the *Elders* may be driven to do things quite contrary unto the *Light* of their *Conscience*, or else the *Brethren* may presume to do things which belong not unto them.

§ 8. Because there are several *Church-Cases* of a very general Importance, which our *Platform* has not resolved so particularly, as hath been desired by them, that have been more immediately concerned in those *Cases*, an Assembly of *Ministers*, meeting at *Cambridge* hath taken Cognizance of them; from whose *Registers* I have taken leave to transcribe the following *Memorials*. Reader, allow the general Title of them to be *PILLULÆ SINE QUIBUS*.

¶ PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning the *Obligation* lying upon *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, to visit the *Sick*, in *Times* of *Epidemical* and *Contagious Distempers*.

I. **M**inisters of the *Gospel*, are to have a great concern for the *Sick*, under their *Pastoral Charge*, and endeavour the fulfilling of their *Ministry*, not only by firing the *Necessities* of their *Sick*, with their *Prayers*, but also by leaving them unacquainted with none of those *Counsels*, which may prepare them for their *End*.

II. Nevertheless, in times of *epidemical Contagion*, the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* may, by various *Methods*, attend what is necessary thus to be attended, without the *ordinary Visitations* of the infected *Chambers*.

III. A *Minister* solicitous about his *Duty* in visiting the *Sick* of his *Flock*, when *Pestilential Contagions* are prevailing, may receive much *Direction* from the *Courage* wherewith he may find the *God* of *Heaven* fortifying his *Heart* unto such an *Undertaking*.

IV. The bare *desires* of the *Sick*, to be visited by a *Minister*, have often so much of evident *unseasonableness*, *unreasonableness*, and perhaps of *worse Causes* in them, that it is no ways fitting a *Life* should be sacrificed meerly thereunto.

V. When a *Minister* is well assured, that the *Sick* of his own *Flock*, are labouring under such *Loads* upon their *Consciences*, as cannot fitly be unburdened unto any but himself, he has a *Call* from *Heaven* to venture himself unto the utmost, for the service of such a *Soul*, and may expect the *Protection* of *Heaven* accordingly to be a *Shield* unto him.

VI. A *Minister* in times of *general Mortalities* may do well, before he expose himself unto the evident *Hazards* of those *Mortalities*, to take the *Advice* and *Consent* of that *Church*, unto whose *Edification* the *Labours* of his *Life* are dedicated; whether they are willing, that he should sacrifice his *Life* unto the *private Service* of the *Sick*. And the *Opinion* of a *People* thus asked, will afford much satisfaction unto a *Minister*, as to what may be, in this case incumbent upon him.

VII. In times extraordinarily *Pestilential*, if the neighbouring *Ministers*, do by a *Lot* solemnly

lemly single out *One* of their Number, to devote himself, with the exemption of the *rest*, unto the help of the *Sick*, it were a Course not to be disapproved: But a Minister, so devoted, may cheerfully commend himself unto the acceptance of God, in the Service of the distressed.

¶ PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning the Cases, wherein a Minister may leave his People.

I. **A** Pastor settled in the Service of a *People*, is to be so sensible of his *Designation* by the Spirit and the Providence of the Lord Jesus Christ, for that Service, and of the *Account* that he must give unto God about his Behaviour in it, that his *removal* must not be rashly attempted, but with much Consideration, Consultation, Supplication and sincere Desire to follow the Conduct of Heaven in it. The *frowns* of God, use to follow *Removes*, that have not so been regulated.

II. That the *Will* of our Lord, about the *removal* of any Pastor from his *People* may be understood, it is requisite, that the Minister do not entirely *assume to himself* the Judgment of his own Call to remove, but a great Regard must be had unto the Direction of the Churches of our Lord in the Neighbourhood.

III. They unto whom the *Judgment* of a *Pastor's removal* from his *People* is to be referred, should exactly weigh both the present and future Circumstances of *both*; and endeavour a Provision, that neither Party may suffer in the *removal* of a Minister from his Flock.

IV. In case there be arisen those incurable Prejudices, Dissentions, Animosities, and implacable Offences between a *Pastor* and his *People*, that all *Reverence* for, and *Benefit* by, his Ministry is utterly to be despaired, he may be *removed*. The *want of success*, otherwise, is not a sufficient Cause of removal, but it is to be endured, with all humble Patience by the Minister, as a *great Affliction*; and, yet with this Encouragement, that God will reward him, *Secundum laborem, non secundum proventum*.

V. A *Pastor* may be removed from his *People*, in case his *Translation* be found necessary for the *Common-Good*. The welfare of the *Catholick Church* in the general Edification of a Community, should be of such weight, as to make any *particular Churches*, give way thereunto. But, yet, it becomes not any Minister, to *seek his own Translation*, by first offering himself unto it.

VI. There are some things, which dissolve the *Vinculum Pastorale* between a *Pastor* and his *People*; and in case those *Disasters* happen, he may be removed. Thus if a Minister have a *tolerable Subsistence*, wherewith he may, after a *Christian manner* provide for his own, deny'd him; or, if a Minister have no way to avoid a *Storm of Persecution*, purely *Personal*, but

by *fleeing from one City to another*; a *remove* may be justified. And the *Dissolution of a Church*, gives the like Liberty, to him, that had been the *Shepherd of the now scattered Flock*.

VII. Although a *Pastor* should be willing to encounter many *Difficulties* and *Infirmities* with his *People*; yet, in case that *Chronical Diseases*, which evidently threaten his *Life*, might hopefully be relieved by his removal, it should *then*, on all Hands, be allowed and advised. *Mercy* is here to be preferred before *Sacrifice*, and so we find it was in the *Primitive Churches* accordingly.

VIII. If much of *Scandal* will certainly ensue, upon the *removal* of a *Pastor* from his *People*, That should weigh down many Circumstances, that would rather invite such a *removal*.

QUESTION.

Whether it be lawful for a Man to Marry his Wife's Sister?

I. **A** Marriage between a Man and his *Wife's own Sister*, is positively prohibited in that Law of God, *Lev. 18. 16.* That a Man may not marry his *Brother's Wife*. By the plainest Consequence, a Woman may not marry her *Sisters Husband*. The *Degree* prohibited, is exactly the same.

II. The Law that has prohibited the Marriage of a Man to his *Wife's own Sister* has an Authority and an Obligation reaching even to the *Gentiles*, upon whom the *Ends of the World* are come. 'Tis evident, that the Violation of this Law, is declared one of those *Abominations*, for which the ancient *Canaanites* were *spued out of their Land*. And we find the *New Testament*, in divers places, insisting upon those Prohibitions, among which this Law, is one. The good Order which God has by this Law established in *humane Society*, is that which the *Light of Nature*, in Mankind, as now increased, does abundantly testify unto. The *Dispensation* which the *Sovereign Lawgiver* once gave, in one Instance, hereunto, was extraordinary. The Example of *Jacob*, in this Matter, is to be disapproved by all that would be esteemed his *Children*, as well as that of his *Polygamy*.

III. 'Tis the Law of our God, in *Lev. 18. 6.* None of you shall approach (in a Marriage) unto any that is near of kin to him. Now the Kindred betwixt a Man and his *Wife's own Sister*, is of the nearest sort: For, *Inter Virum & Mulierem non contrahitur affinitas, sed ipsi sunt affinitatis causa*: So then this *Affinity* is not less than in *Primo Genere*, and therefore *unlawful*. It is likewise the concurrent Sense of the *greatest Divines* (particularly asserted in the *Assemblies Confession of Faith*;) that of what degree any one is of *Consanguinity* to his *Wife*, in the same degree of *Affinity* is that Person to the *Husband*. And that an *Husband* is forbidden to marry with the *Consanguines* of his *Wife*, by the same Rule that *Consanguines* are forbidden to marry among themselves.

themselves. And this Assertion may be demonstrated from the *Rules* given, in the 18th Chapter of *Leviticus*. Wherefore as a Man may not marry his *own Sister*, so not the *Sister of his Wife*, which is *one Flesh* with him.

IV. The *Marriage* in the Question, has been so *scandalous* among the whole People of God, that whosoever is guilty of it, is therein worthy to be *cut off* from the Communion of the *Catholick Church*; yea, it hath been one of the *Imperial Laws*, *Duabus Sororibus Conjungendi, penitus Licentiam submovemus*. Much less may such an Iniquity be countenanced among the People of *our Profession*.

QUESTION.

Whether, and how far, the Discipline of our Lord in our Churches, is to be extended to the Children therein Baptized?

I. **W**WE judge, that the *Discipline* of our Lord Jesus Christ in our Churches ought to be extended unto the *Children baptised* in them: In as much as these Persons are certainly those, which the Scripture calls *within*, and not *without*; and the *Lambs* as well as others in the *Flocks* of our Lord are to be *fed*: And the *Practice* of the purest Churches has been agreeable to this Principle, as well the *Primitive* before, as the *Bohemian* and others since the *Reformation*: Reason also says, that where a *Privilege* is expected, a *Discipline* is to be acknowledged.

II. Although it is a Membership in the *Catholick Church*, that gives Right unto *Baptism*, yet *particular Churches*, as well as the *Pastors* of those Churches, owe a Duty to the *Catholick Church*, part of which Duty is the Application of *Discipline*, unto those *Baptised* Persons, whom the Providence of God shall cast under their Inspection.

III. The *Discipline*, which we count owing unto these Persons, is, an *Instruction* in the Laws of our Lord Jesus Christ, an *Admonition* upon a scandalous violation of those Laws, and upon *Incorrigibleness* in Evil, an open *rejection* from all *Ecclesiastical Privileges*: And although Persons are most clearly *liable* to this *Process*, when they have actually *renewed* their *Baptismal Covenant*, and *recognized* their subjection to the *Government* of our Lord, in his Church, and the *Children of the Church* are to be accordingly laboured withal, that they may be brought hereunto, yet we do not think, that any of the said Persons, *refusing*, or *neglecting* thus to do, are thereby *exempted* from such a *Care* of the Church, to bring them unto *Repentance*.

QUESTION.

In what Cases is a Divorce of the Married, justly to be pursued, and obtained?

I. **T**O judge, determine and accomplish a *Divorce*, of any *married* Persons, the *Civil Magistrate* is to be addressed or concerned.

II. In case any *married* Persons be found under *natural Incapacities*, and *Insufficiencies*, which utterly disappoint the confessed Ends of *Marriage*, the *Marriage* is to be declared a *Nullity*.

III. In case any *married* Person, be found already bound in a *Marriage* to another yet living, a *Divorce* is to be granted unto the aggrieved Party.

III. In case any *married* Person be convicted of such *Criminal Uncleanesses*, as render them one *Flesh*, with another Object than that unto which their *Marriage* has united them, the injured Party may sue and have their *Divorce* from the Offending; which is the plain Sense of the Sentence, passed by our Lord, *Matth.* 19. 9.

V. In case there be found *Incest* in a *Marriage*, a *Divorce* is to command the *separation* of the *married*.

VI. In case it be found, that a Person *married*, had by *Fornication* before *Marriage*, been made *One* with a Person, related unto the Person with whom they are *now married*, within the Degrees made *Incestuous* by the Law of God, it is a just Plea for a *Divorce*.

VII. In case of a *malicious Desertion* by a *married* Person, who is obliged and invited to return, a *Divorce* may be granted by lawful Authority unto the *forsaken*. For the Word of God is plain, *That a Christian is not bound in such Cases*, by the *Marriage* unto *One*, which has thus wilfully violated the *Covenant*; and tho' our Saviour forbids a *Man's putting away his Wife*, except it be for *Fornication*, yet he forbids not *Rulers* to rescue an innocent Person from the enthralling Disadvantages of another, that shall *sinfully go away*.

VIII. As for *married* Persons long absent from each other, and not heard of, by each other, the Government may state what *length of time* in this case, may give such a presumption of *Death* in the Person abroad, as may reckon a *Second Marriage* free from scandal.

IX. A *Divorce* being legally pursued, and obtained, the innocent Person that is *released* may proceed unto a *Second Marriage* in the *Lord*: Otherwise the state of *Believers* under the *New Testament*, would in some of these Cases, be worse than what the God of Heaven directed for his People under the *Old*.

¶ PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning Ordination.

I. A solemn *separation* to the Service of our Lord Jesus Christ in his Church, is Essential to the Call of a *Church-Officer*.

II. The *Election* of the Church, and a *Compliance* with, and an *Acceptance* of that Election, by a Person coming under a *separation*, is that wherein lies the *Essence* of his Call to minister unto that *particular Church*.

III. The *Imposition of Hands*, in the *Ordination* of a *Church-Officer*, is a *Rite*, not only *lawful* to be retained, but it seems by a *Divine Institution* directed and required; so that although the Call of a Person to *Church-Office* may not become null and void, where that *Rite* may have been omitted, as it is to the *Seniors* and *Deacons* in most of the *Reformed Churches*: Yet we cannot approve the omission of it. A *Ceremonial defect* may be blameworthy.

IV. When it is enjoined, *Lay Hands suddenly on no Man*; there seems a plain *Positive*, in that *Negative*; and it is implied, *that Hands are to be laid on some*. Now *when*, or *where*, but in *Ordination*?

V. The *whole Ordination* to a *Ministry*, seems intended in the Apostles Expression, of a *Gift given with the laying on of Hands*; yea, nothing less than the *whole Ministry*, under that *Ordination*, seems comprised in the Apostles Expression of the *Doctrine of laying on of Hands*: And such a *Synecdoche* intimates that this *Rite* is no inconsiderable *Part* of that, whereof 'tis put for the *Whole*.

VI. The Church of God, in all Ages, has used an *Imposition of Hands*, as a *Rite*, many ways agreeable to the Will of God; and besides the Use of this *Rite*, sometimes on *miraculous* Accounts, there has still been a more constant Use of it, on *Ecclesiastical* Accounts; not *conferring* but *confessing* of *Qualifications*, in the Subjects that received it; which one Reason has in it many and weighty Considerations.

VII. The *Imposition of Hands*, being a *Rite* used by the Primitive Churches in the *confirming* and *restoring* of *Church-Members*, and this not altogether without the countenance of *Scripture*, it seems very much to take away all Pretence for laying it aside in the *Ordination* of *Church-Officers*.

VIII. 'Tis well known, that the Jews even in their *Schools*, and in almost every *special Work* for God; whereto Men were set apart, used *Imposition of Hands*, as a *Rite* accompanying such a *Dedication*.

IX. The *Imposition of Hands*, having been a *Rite*, which the People of God under the *Old Testament* in his Name applied unto such purposes, as a *Benediction* of a *Person*, a *Designation* to a *Function*, an *Oblation* of what was to be presented unto God, and a *Devolution* of certain *Burdens*, on the *Heads* of such, as were

treated with it: The Lord has continued this *Rite* in the *Ordaining* of *Church-Officers*, with some to such *Intents* and *Purposes*.

X. Most unexceptionable is the *Imposition of Hands*, by a *Presbytery*; but more exceptionable by a *Fraternity*. The Word of God mentions the *former* expressly, but not the *latter*, in the *New Testament*. They were such *Hands* as *Titus's*, that were left to *ordain Elders*: What need of that, if the *Hands* of common Believers were sufficient? They were such *Hands* as *Timothy's* that were to *make over Church-Betrustments*, unto *faithful Men*, able to *teach others*. Who fitter to signify the needed *Approbation* of other Churches? And inasmuch as in *Ordination*, there is an acknowledgment of *Admission* into an *Order*, it is but reasonable, that some who are in some *Order* of *Church-Power* should give it.

¶ PROPOSITIONS.

Touching the Power of chusing a Pastor.

A *Society of Believers*, combined for the *Worship* of the Lord Jesus Christ in *all* his *Ordinances*, have the *Right* of chusing the *Pastor*, that is to administer unto them those *Ordinances*.

The *Scriptures* do still call for the *Suffrages* of the *Brethren*, in the *Churches*, for all *Elections* in those Churches, and particularly that of *Elders*.

In the oldest and purest of its Times, we still find the *Brethren* of the Church, possessed of a *Power* to *chuse for its self*; and the destruction of the *Power* was amongst none of the earliest *Encroachments* of *Antichrist*.

The *Jus Patronatus* in some Churches pretended unto, is an *Usurpation* upon the *Flock* of *God*, justly to be exploded.

The Pretences of the *Civil Magistrate* unto the like *Disposal*, for the same Causes, were for many Ages no less justly than sharply denied.

A *particular Church*, owing a great *Regard* unto the *Church Catholick*, in the using of its own *Right*, is bound in *Duty* to Consult the *Satisfaction* and *Edification* of *others*, in their *Election* of a *Pastor*.

Ministers and *Messengers*, of neighbouring Churches, have *Power* to except against any *Election* of a *Pastor*, who by *Errors* or *Scandals*, may be rendered unfit for the *common Service* of the *Gospel*.

Churches in the *Election* of a *Pastor* are to consider the *Benefit* of *all* that are to be his *Hearers*; and more particularly the *Concurrence* of such as are by the *Covenant* and *Appointment* of God, under the *Church-watch* among them.

The *Respect* that *Churches* do shew to others in the *Election* of a *Pastor*, ought so to be managed, as that they do not permit their own *just Privileges* to be extinguished, by *anticipating Impositions* upon them.

Churches may suffer their *Elections* to be *diverted*, yea, and be *diverted* by Considerations, which they owe to *others* in the *Vicinity*, without surrendering their *Liberties* to be smothered by any, that would unjustly impose thereupon.

QUESTION.

Whether there are any Cases, wherein a Minister of the Gospel, may lay down his Ministry?

NO Man can rightly, wisely, or safely become a Minister of the Gospel, without a Call of God, which Call is *mediate*, and manifested by Ministerial Gifts, with some *Inclination* and *Opportunity* to exercise those Gifts.

When a Minister of the Gospel does by the *compelling Providence* of God, become deprived of those *essential things*, whereby his Call was discovered, without any rational Prospect of *recovering* them, he may then *lay down* his Ministry.

But before one called unto the Ministry, do *relinquish* it, there should be such a Concurrence of *Incapacities*, that a Person's own *Arbitrary Inclinations*, acted by *Temptations*, may not be the things, that shall dismiss him. One consecrated unto the Ministry, is thus, *pro Termino vite*; nor may a Man setting his Hand unto this *Plough*, at his own Pleasure *look back*.

For one in the Sacred Ministry to leave it, for the sake of *Riches* or *Honours*, more likely to be acquired in another *way of living*, or for the sake of *discouragements*, arising from *Unsuccessfulness*, or *Persecution*, or other *Difficulties*, is no ways allowable.

A Person disabled by the *Infirmities* of old Age for the Labour of the Ministry, still retaining his Office, is to be still considered, in the dutiful Regards of the *Church*, as their Pastor notwithstanding.

A *Censure*, though an unjust one of a Civil Magistrate, silencing a particular Minister, may in some Cases be a sufficient Reason for his forbearing to do his Work, for *some time*, or in *this place*, though it release him not from the Obligation of his *Holy Calling*.

The *Disasters*, which have been observed, as frequently following those, who have deserted their *Spiritual Warfare*, without the leave of the Lord, are just Admonitions unto all Ministers of our Lord, against any undue *Desertion* of the Service wherein they have been lifted.

QUESTION.

Whether the Pastor of a Church, upon a common Fame of a Scandal, committed by any in his Church, be not bound in Duty to enquire into that Scandal, although there should not be brought any formal Complaint unto him of it?

I. According to the Apostolical Direction, an Enquiry into an Offence, was ordered

upon this Consideration, 1 Cor. 5. 1. It is reported commonly.

II. The Elders of *Israel* were to make Enquiry into an Offence after this manner, Deut. 13. 12, 14. If thou shalt hear say— Then shalt thou enquire and make search, and ask diligently.

III. The Commendation of a *Civil Ruler*, does by proportion and parity of Reason belong to an Ecclesiastical One, Job 26. 16. The cause which I knew not, I searched out.

IV. The same that may move others to complain of a *Scandal*, unto the Pastor, should move the Pastor to *enquire* after a reported *Scandal*; namely, the Glory of the Lord, the Defence of the Church, and the Welfare of the erring Person; every one of which will suffer, if such Enquiry be not made.

V. The Neighbours may be so far under the Power of *Temptation*, as to forbear making orderly Delations of *Scandals* committed; and it is therefore necessary, that such things fall under the Enquiry of the Pastor, thereto by *common Fame* alarmed.

VI. The Pastor of a Church, is by Office, to watch over the *Conversation* of the People, and a Noise of *Scandal* arisen in the *Conversation* of those under his *Watch*, is a sufficient *provocation* for his Enquiry after it.

VII. Finally, a rumour of a *Scandal* in a Church-Member, is that wherein the *Name* of the Lord Jesus Christ is concerned, and for the vindication of that *worthy Name*, an Enquiry being made into it, there may appear such powerful *Presumptions*, while there are not yet sufficient *Convictions* of Guilt in the Party concerned, that the Person shall be bound (except in a *Capital Case*) either to give a positive Denial, or to make a penitent Confession, of the Matter commonly famed of him.

QUESTION.

How far the Confessions of a guilty and a troubled Conscience, are to be kept secret by the Minister or Christian, to whom the Confessions have been made?

I. 'TIS very certain, that ordinarily the Confessions of a guilty and a troubled Conscience, are to be kept *secret* by those, to whom they are made. The *Ends* for which the Lord Jesus Christ has directed unto such Confessions, would be all frustrated, if they should not be most religiously concealed; and they are made, as unto the Lord.

II. Nevertheless, when *evident Mischief* will arise, general or personal, either in point of *Safety* or of *Justice*, by the concealment of a *secret Confession*, it is no longer to be kept *secret*. In such Cases the confessing Person himself can have no *ease* in his own Conscience (which is the Design of Confession) without publishing his own Crime; and therefore there can be no Obligation upon any other to assist him in covering of it.

III. When

III. When the endangered *Safety* or *Interests* of others, make it necessary for the Confession of a Secret Sin, to be exposed, it is fit for the Person, who has heard this *Confession*, to advise the Person *himself*, that within a Time limited and convenient, he do himself make it known unto the Persons concerned; which if he fail to do, Then is the Time for the *first Hearer* of the *Confession* to do his Duty.

IV. In the Great *Capitals*, if there be no other ways, a Divulcation thereof, He that hath had the Confession of such a Secret Sin, may come in as a *Second Witness*, to reveal the Secret, for the Conviction of the Malefactor under Judicial Process.

V. Where the Confession of a Secret Sin is to be further divulged, it is to be examined, Whether the Sin may not be told, without the Name of the Person, that has committed and confessed it.

VI. A Minister of the Gospel, receiving a Confession, often times has Cause to consider, whether the Person that makes it, may not make his Knowledge thereof, many ways *injurious* to himself; and if so, he may with his *best Prudence* provide against such Injuries.

VII. In those *Land defiling* Sins, where a Person is not bound by a Confession, to deliver himself up to the Hazard of the Law, no Minister is bound, from the meer Nature of the Crimes, to betray the Confession that has been made unto him.

QUESTION.

What is the Duty owing from the Church, to Persons who upon private Prejudices, withdraw from the Communion of it?

I. Persons that have taken up any private *Prejudices* against any in the Communion of the Church, whereto they do belong, are directed by the Commandment of the Lord Jesus Christ, and are engaged by the *Covenant*, of Watchfulness, to endeavour the Repentance of the Persons under supposed Offence by a *personal Application*.

II. They that upon *Offences* taken, do neglect this way of proceeding, are guilty of Sin against the Lord's Commandment, and their own *Covenant*; and by their withdrawing from the Table of the Lord, their Sin is aggravated.

III. The withdrawing of Persons thus irregularly from the Communion of the Church at the Lord's Table, does carry an hard and high Imputation upon the Church it self, which adds more of a Fault unto so sinful a *Schism*.

IV. If the Person that hath been offended, hath done his Duty, and either the Pastor do refuse to lay the Matter before the Church, for the Insignificancy of it, or the Church upon the Hearing of it, do pronounce it satisfied, the Person is obliged still to continue his *Communion* with the Church, untill a *Council of Churches* declare the contrary.

V. Such a sinful Separation from the Communion of the Church, being a Moral Evil, the Scandal is to be by the Discipline of the Church proceeded against, as other censurable Scandals. The Pastor upon Observation and Information of the Sin, is to send for the Person withdrawing, and instruct, and convince and admonish him; and upon Contumacious Obstinacy, the Church is to deal with him, as one unruly, and walking disorderly.

VI. Nevertheless, *Compassion* towards the Ignorant, or Injured, is very much to determine the more or less *Vigour*, wherewith such Offences are to be prosecuted.

QUESTION:

What Loan of Money, upon Usury, may be practised.

I. **U** *Usury*, being an *Advance* on any thing lent by *Contract*, it is not restrained unto *Money* only; *Viduals* or any other Thing (as the Oracles of the Sacred Scriptures declare unto us) are capable of being lent upon *Usury*. The main Difference of *Usury* from other ways of *Dealing*, is the Owners not running the Risk of the *Principal*.

II. That there is an *Usury* lawful to be taken, is from several Passages in the *Divine Law*, sufficiently signified unto us. For First, under the Old Testament, God allowed unto his People the Practice of *Usury*; he expressly said, *Deut. 23. 20. Unto a Stranger thou mayst lend upon Usury*. And the Allowance of *Usury* upon a *Stranger*, had never been given, if *Usury* had in it any intrisick Turpitude. Yea, in all the Places of the Old Testament, prohibiting unto the *Israelites* the Demand of *Usury* upon a *Brother*, there are Clauses in the Context, which seem to intimate, as if the *poor Brother* only were intended, in the Prohibition. However, the peculiar Constitution of the *Israelitish* Commonwealth, is enough to release us *Gentiles*, from the Obligation of the Edicts against *Usury*, given thereunto. And the Words of the *Psalmist* and *Prophet*, that seem to reproach *Usury*, must accordingly be expounded with a Limitation, to the *Usury*, which the Law had countermanded. Hence also in the New Testament, our Saviour has a Passage of such Importance, as to give Countenance, in *Matth. 25. 27. unto a Man's receiving his own with Usury*; and in the New Testament also, *John Baptist*, in *Luke 13. 3. forbid not unto the Publicans, that Usury* which their Condition of Life led them unto.

III. There is every sort of Law, except the Popish, to justify a Regulated *Usury*. 'Tis justified by the Law of Necessity and Utility; Humane Society, as now circumstanced, would sink, if all *Usury* were impracticable. 'Tis justified by the Law of Equity; it is very equal that a Man should partake in the Benefits which his Estate procures for another Man. Yea, it may be the Duty of another Man to give me a *Usury*,
namely,

namely when he gains by my possessions; it would be *Iniquity* in him to do otherwise: and certainly then it cannot be a *Sin*, for me to *take*, that which 'tis his *duty to give*. 'Tis justified by the Law of *Parity*; there is no manner of Reason, why the *Usury of Money*, should be more faulty, than that of any other thing; for Money is as really Improveable a thing, as any other Commodity whatsoever: nor can a Contract in this Case, be more blameable, than in any other. Nor is it contrary to the Law of Charity, that a Man should expect something, for the support and Comfort of his own Family, for the profitable use, which other Men make of those things whereof he is himself the Proprietor.

IV. Nevertheless the *Law of Charity*, is to Regulate our *Usury*, that it may not become unlawful, by the *Biting Extremity*, into which it may otherwise be carried. It is an Eternal and a Glorious Rule of *Charity*, that in Dealing with a Neighbour, a Man most propose his *Neighbour's Advantage*, as well as *his own*, and he should not propose to make his *own Advantage* by adding to his *Neighbours Misery*. Moreover, when the General Rules of *Charity* oblige a Man to *Relieve the Necessities* of a Neighbour, or to *remit* of what he might have *exacted* from a Neighbour, if it had not been for those *Necessities*, *Usury* must not supersede that *Charity*. Whence also, to Demand *Usury* from the *Poor*, when we Accommodate them for their mere *necessary* Sustainance and Subsistence, is a *Sin*. 'Tis a *Sin* likewise, to Refuse helping the *Poor* because we would Keep all that we have to serve the Designs of *Usury*. Nor can it be any other than a *Sin* to require as much for *Usury*, as for *Wage*, which are Carefully to be Distinguished. And an *Idle Usury*, which is, when Men so confine themselves to the way of Living upon *Usury*, as to render themselves otherwise *Unuseful* unto the Publick. This is justly become a thing of an *Evil Character*. But yet in all these things, the Application of the *Rules of Charity*, is to be left unto a Man's own *Conscience*, which is to be Advised from the *Word of God*, with the Best Helps of Understanding that *Word*.

All these things being thus Considered, the severe *Declamations* of the *Ancients* against *Usury*, must be of no further Account with us, than their Discourses against *Limning*, or *Swearing*, or *Fighting*, or *Sitting and Acting*, in a *Court of Civil Judicature*.

QUESTION.

Whether it be in the Power of Men to State any Days of Publick Worship?

I. **N**O Time is to be made *Holy* to the Lord, but what is made *Holy* by the Lord; and if there be no *Institution* of God, the Great *Lord of Time*, for a *stated time* to be made *Holy* to himself, 'tis a *Superstition* in any Man to make it so.

II. Very sensible is the Difference, between taking a *Time* to do a *Sacred Work*, and Doing a *Work* to keep a *stated Time*. The *Light of Nature* tells us there must be a *Time* for every *Work*; but it is only the *Fourth Commandment* of God, that separates *one time* from the rest, for the constant Performance of Religious *Work* upon it.

III. To esteem any *Good Work* the *Better*, for it's being done on such or such a *Return of Time*, which God hath not, in his *Word*, set apart for it, is to make the *Time* it self a *part* of the *Worship*; and it is an unwarrantable *Imposing* upon Heaven with our own *Inventions*.

IV. Solemn *Humiliations* and *Thanksgivings*, are *Moral Duties* to be observed *pro Causis & Temporibus*. And the Direction of *Divine Providence* in laying before us fresh *Occasions* of them, is to be Regarded; which cannot be done, if they be made perpetual.

V. The Church of *Israel*, kept no Days of Religious *Worship*, except what were of *Divine Institution*. The Days of *Purim*, are by a *Different Hebrew Word* for them plainly intimated to have been of no other Character than *Political Commemorations*; and besides, *Mordechai* who ordered them, was a *Prophet*. The Feast of *Dedication* among the *Jews*, can have nothing pleaded for it, from the presence of our Lord at it; nor were the former *Dedications* of the *Temple*, under any *Anniversary Commemorations*.

VI. 'Tis not a *Work*, but a *Word*, that must *Sanctify a Day*; and if an *Extraordinary Work* of God, were enough to prefer *one Day* before another for the Devotions of Christianity, the *Protestant Kalender* must soon be as full as the *Popish*.

VII. When the Apostle blamed the *Galatians*, for observing the Days, which *God* himself had Instituted, much more does he blame us, if we Celebrate such Days, as only *Men* have devised. And when the Apostle forbid the *Colossians*, to let any Man judge them in respect of an *Holy Day*, he suffers not us to Sacrifice our *Christian Liberty*, unto *Humane Impositions* of *stated Holy Days* upon us, nor a *private Person* to Impose it upon himself.

QUESTION.

Whether it be Lawful to Eat Blood, and Things Strangled?

I. **P**Lain are the Words of the Apostle, in Rom. 14. 14. *I know and am perswaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of it self.* In which Passage there may be respect unto those Words of our *Lord Jesus*, in Math. 15. 11. *Not that which goeth into the mouth, defileth the Man.*

II. The Scriptures of the *New Testament* give an Allowance for *Eating all sorts of Meat*, wherein *Blood* is included. The Apostle speaks of him as an *Orthodox Man*, in Rom. 14. 2. *who*

who believeth he may eat all things; intimating that it was from *weakness in Faith*, and Ignorance in the Doctrine of the Gospel, to doubt about it. The Scripture condemns the Superstition of those, in 1 Tim. 4. 3, 4. *Who abstain from Meats, which God had created to be received with Thanksgiving; for nothing is to be refused: If Nothing, then sure, not Blood.* The Scripture permits us that Liberty, in 1 Cor. 10. 25. *Whatsoever is sold in the Shambles, that Eat, asking no Question for Conscience sake.* Now it was usual to sell *Blood* in the *Shambles*.

III. The use of *Blood*, in *Medicine*, is not questioned: The *Spirit* and the *Powder of Blood*, is, by the Warrant of the *Sixth Commandment*, freely used, for our Health: Why then should the use of *Blood* in *Diet*, be any Question?

IV. If a thing strangled may be eaten, then *Blood* may be so too. Christians do not ordinarily scruple to Eat a thing strangled; and the Eating of a thing which Dies of it self (which is the same case) was never unlawful for the *Gentiles*.

V. The Reason of the Precept forbidding *Blood*, unto the *Jews* was merely Ceremonial: Namely, because *Blood* was Typical of that Great *Blood*, which makes Attonement for our Sins, and because, being the *Organ of Life*, it must be sacred unto God the *Author of Life*. Now since the *Blood* of our Lord *Jesus Christ* has been shed; every Precept, which is only Ceremonial, is Abrogated.

VI. The forbidding of *Blood* unto *Noah*, in *Gen. 9. 4* seems to have been *living Blood*, and for the prevention of that *Bloody, Ferocious, Inhumane Disposition*, which was then prevailing in the World. And all the *Commandments* given to *Noah*, were not *Moral*.

VII. The forbidding of *Blood* unto the Primitive Churches, in *Acts 15. 20*. was a Temporary Advice, for the avoiding of Scandal. It would not only have prejudiced the *Jews* against all Christianity, but also it would have confirmed the *Pagans*, in their *Idolatry*; For the Principal Entanglements of their *Idolatry*, lay in these four things, of *Idolubytes, Fornication, Blood* and *Strangulates*, which are elsewhere summed up in two, *The eating of things Sacrificed unto Idols*, and, *committing Fornication*. To forbear these Things, was to testify a *Renunciation of Heathenism*. To use any of these things among the *Heathens*, was to justify their *Devil-Worship*. Now the World is in other Circumstances, and, *Cessatio Cause efficit, ut cessaret Observatio*. *Fornication* yet remains upon other, and farther, and moral, and more general Accounts, a *Sin*.

QUESTION.

Whether Significant Ceremonies, in the Worship of God, not Instituted by him, are Lawful to be used?

I. THE Sign of Internal, are Parts of External Worship; in both whereof, the

Great God hath commanded us to glorify him: Even, with our *Spirits*, and with our *Bodies*, which are his.

II. There are *Natural Ceremonies*, with which the *Light of Nature* does direct Men to the worship of God: And these are to be used in the worship of God, as far as we have the *Word of God*, reinforcing and countenancing of them.

III. Some Ceremonies of Respect among Men, are used in Exercises of Religion, but as Expressions of *Civility* to the *People of God*, with whom we Assemble, for the *Worship of God*; and these are to be distinguished from those Actions, which we apply to the *Lord himself* immediately.

IV. There are *Ceremonies appointed*, for some signification of *Inward Graces* and *Moral Duties*, in the *Worship of God*; which, without that Appointment, would not signify what they do: And it is the *Prerogative of God* alone, to ordain all such Rights as these.

V. For Men to take upon them, to Declare, what *Ceremonies of Worship*, the *God of Heaven* shall Accept, and Reward, and Bless, otherwise than he hath himself, in his *Holy Laws* declared, is a very *Criminal Presumption*: And this *Pride of Man* has generally been Chastized, with a manifold *Curse of God*.

VI. The *Second Commandment*, forbids not all *Images* (or significant Ceremonies) in the *Worship of God*, but, *Thy making them for thy self*.

VII. The *Authority* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, as the glorious *King* and *Prophet*, of his Church, is profanely invaded, when the *Worship of God*, with the *Significant Ceremonies* of it, is taught by the *Inventions of Men*.

VIII. The *Sacred Scriptures* pronounce it, an Argument sufficient, for the *Rejecting* and *Condemning* of any thing, in the *Worship of God*, if *God himself* hath not prescribed it. Thus, *Jer. 7. 31. They did that which I commanded them not, neither came it into my Heart.* Thus, *Heb. 7. 14. Of that Moses spake nothing.* Thus, *Lev. 10. 1. They offered strange Fire, before the Lord, which he commanded them not.*

IX. 'Tis very certain, That under the *Old Testament*, there was not any one *significant Ceremony* allow'd, in the *Worship of God*, but what *God himself* had instituted. If the Churches of the *New Testament* will proceed in this matter, without a *Divine Institution*, let them then produce their *Charter*.

X. The *Apostolical Writings* to the *Galatians* and the *Colossians*, forbid us to practise any *significant Ceremony* in the *Worship of God* which *God himself* had once *Appointed*, but now *Abolished*. Much less may we now practise any which *God never appointed at all*.

QUESTION.

Whether the Games of Cards or Dice, be Lawful to be used, among the Professors of the Christian Religion?

I. **T**HERE is, at the least, a great *suspicion* brought on the *Lawfulness* of these Games, by the *Lottery*, which they turn upon.

Lots being mentioned in the sacred Oracles of the Scripture, as used only in *weighty Cases*, and as an Acknowledgment of *God sitting in Judgment*, with a desire of his Power and Providence to be manifested, and not without an *Invocation of God*, for the *end of Strife*, therein implied: They cannot be made the *Tools and Parts* of our *common Sports*, without, at least, such an *appearance of Evil*, as is forbidden in the word of God.

II. The *General Rules*, which in all *Recreations* are to be observed, are so generally transgressed in these *Games*, that *ordinarily* it can be no other than a *Sin* to use them.

These *Diversions Fascinate* the Minds of those that practise them, at such a rate, that if ever those Persons come to be converted unto God, they bitterly lament the *loss of time* in which that practice hath involved them. And the many other *Passions and Follies* almost inseparable from these *Diversions*, render the *Diversions* themselves to be, *Sins* against the *Commandments*, which prohibit the *Evils* thereby occasioned.

III. The *Scandal* of these *Games*, declares it a *Scandalous* thing for *Christians* to meddle with them.

The *fit Character* given to these usages, not only by *Christians* of all sorts and ranks, and in all *Ages*, whose, *just involvements* against them would fill *Volumes*, but by the *Sober and Moral Pagans* also, has brought them among the things of *Evil Report*, which by *Christians* are to be avoided. That *Man's Heart* is inordinately set upon *Play*, who had rather *do things* under such an *universal condemnation*, than forbear a little *Play*, that may certainly be forborn without any *Damage*.

IV. *Gains of Money or Estate*, by *Games*, be the *Games* what they will, are a *sinful Violation* of the *Law of Honesty and Industry*, which God has given us.

QUESTION.

What Respect is due to Places of Publick Worship?

HOLY Places were appointed under the Law of old, by the great Law-giver of *Israel*, partly to prevent *Idolatry* among the People, but chiefly to direct the Thoughts of the Faithful unto the *Messiah*, wherein God was resolved for to dwell for ever. Notwithstanding,

I. There is now no Place which renders the Worship of God, more acceptable for its being there performed: It's foretold concerning the Times of the Gospel, in *Zeph. 2. 11. Men shall worship him, everyone from his place.* 'Tis foretold in *Mal. 1. 11. In every place incense shall be offered to my Name, and a pure offering.*

'Tis foretold in *John 4. 24. That the Spiritual Worship* of God, shall now be accepted with him, in other Places as well as in *Jerusalem*.

We are commanded, in *1 Tim. 2. 8. That Men pray in every place.*

There is a Truth, in the famous *Dr. Usher's* Observation: 'In Times of Persecution, the Godly did often meet in Barns, and such obscure Places; which were indeed publick, because of the Church of God there; as wherever the Prince is, there is the Court, tho' it were in a poor Cottage.

There were Parts of Worship in the *Mosaick Pedagogy*, which could not be performed any where but at the *Holy Places*, appointed. There are no Parts of the Worship confined unto any Places under the *New Testament*.

They who expect the Divine regard for what they do in the Worship of God, because 'tis done in this or that Place, do not pray looking towards the Temple; our Lord Jesus Christ, the true Temple of God, is therein overlooked.

II. To prepare and repair Places for the Publick Worship of God, and keep those Places in such a Condition, that they be not unfit for the solemn Exercises of Religion: This is but an Act of Obedience to him, who, when he requires Worship from us, doth also suppose that there must be Places for it. But the setting of these Places off, with a *Theatrical Gaudiness*, does not favour of the Spirit of a true Christian Society.

III. While the Duties of Divine Worship, are performing in any Places, an agreeable Reverence is to be maintained in those Places; not so much out of Respect unto the Places, as unto the Duties therein performed, and the Persons concerned with us in the Duties. Nevertheless, the *Synagogues* also are to be considered, as *the Houses of God*.

IV. To offer Affronts to Places built for the Worship of God, with design therein to affront the Worship for which they are built, is a vile Impiety. Nor will the great God hold them guiltless, who so take his Name in vain.

V. Places intended for the Sacred Worship of God, may lawfully be put unto any civil Service, for which they may be accommodated, at the Times when the Sacred Worship is not there to be attended; so far as Contempt of God and his Ordinances doth not naturally and necessarily follow thereupon; even as Courts were kept in the *Synagogues* among the Jews.

QUESTION.

Whether, to drink Healths, be a thing fit to be practised, by the Professors of the Christian Religion?

Answered in the following Propositions.

I. IT is too notorious to be denied, That it was originally an Heathen Custom to drink those which were called, *The Cups of Health*, in token of Respect to the Object mentioned in their Cups. The great *Austin* truly says, *De paganorum observatione remansit*. It is a *Relique of Paganism*. And inasmuch as it is not a natural Action, but an Action of a religious Nature, and as themselves called it, a *Devotion*, it is now reached by those Oracles of God, which forbid our learning the Ways and the Works of the Heathen, and our walking as the Gentiles in the Vanity of their Minds, and our keeping the vain Conversation received by Tradition from our Fathers.

II. That which very much adds to the Obligations lying upon Christians to abandon this *Relique of Paganism*, is the Idolatrous and Diabolical Intentions that gave the first rise unto it. We are assured from all the Monuments of Antiquity, that the *Healths* drunk by the Pagans were first of all *Drink-Offerings* to their *Demons*, they were a *Cup of Devils*; and then sufficiently to Compliment their Princes and Patrons they carried on the Offerings to those Mortals also; and lastly, the Compliment proceeded so far as to take in any Friends, whom they saw cause to treat with such Flourishes of Affection. It becomes Christians to beware of having any *Fellowship with such unfruitful Works of Darkness*.

III. To drink a Cup, as a Part, or Sign, of our Invocation upon the blessed God, for the Health of any Person, is a *Superstition* directly forbidden by the *Second Commandment*: Nor is it ordinarily free from a violation of the *Third*. And that the drinking of an Health is thus designed, and so becomes no other than a *prophane Sacrament*, was the Judgment of *Ambrose*, when he wrote those words, *Quid memorem Sacramenta? Bibamus pro salute Imperatorum*. To drink an Health implies an Application to some Object for that Health: This way of it is unwarrantable.

IV. To begin or follow Healths, which bind Persons to drink off their Cups, is a manifold Offence against Charity, Justice and Reason. Such Healths being as the ancients truly called them, *The Devils Shooing-Horns to draw on Drunkenness*, are Scandals wherein much brutish Folly is committed, and more occasioned. The Primitive Christians therefore justly refused them, and condemned them: Great Emperors have made Edicts against them. Pagan Writers have satyrically lashed them. And even Popish Wri-

ters have reproached the Protestant Profession, for their being so much practised under it.

V. Not only the numberless, and prodigious Exorbitancies of *Health-drinking*, are to be avoided by every Christian, but the very proposing our Cups to the Prosperity of what is therein remembered. 'Tis a vain Plea, that we drink no more than a *civil Remembrance* of the Person, or Affairs mentioned in our Cups. Why is the Action of *drinking* singled out, rather than any other for the token of the Remembrance? And why is there such stress laid upon a Concurrence in the Action? It is but a continuation of the old Paganism, which had better be utterly abolished, than thus refined and preserved. Every thing that serves either to revive, or to maintain the old Pagan Follies, and harden Men in them, should be declined by them, that would adorn the Doctrine of God our Saviour.

QUESTION.

Whether Instrumental Musick may lawfully be introduced into the Worship of God, in the Churches of the New Testament?

Considered and answered in the following Conclusions.

I. THE Instrumental Musick used in the old Church of Israel, was an Institution of God: It was [*2 Chron. 29. 25.*] the Commandment of the Lord by the Prophets. And the Instruments are called *God's Instruments*, [*1 Chron. 16. 42.*] and *Instruments of the Lord*, [*2 Chron. 7. 6.*] Now there is not one word of Institution in the *New Testament*, for *Instrumental Musick* in the Worship of God. And because the Holy God rejects all he does not command in his Worship, he now therefore in effect says unto us, *I will not bear the Melody of thy Organs*. But, on the other side, the Rule given doth abundantly Intimate, that *no Voice* is now to be heard in the Church, but what is significant and edifying, by signification; which the Voice of *Instruments* is not.

II. Tho' Instrumental Musick were admitted and appointed in the Worship of God under the *Old Testament*, yet we do not find it practised in the *Synagogue* of the Jews, but only in the *Temple*. It thence appears to have been a part of the *Ceremonial Pedagogy*, which is now abolished; nor can any say it was a part of *Moral Worship*. And, whereas the common Usage now hath confined *Instrumental Musick* to *Cathedrals*, it seems therein too much to Judaize; which to do is a part of the *Anti-Christian Apostacy*, as well as to Paganize.

III. In our asserting, a Matter of the *Old Testament*, to have been *Typical*, 'tis not needful, that we be always able to particularize any *future Mysteries* of the *New Testament* therein referred unto; *Truths* which were then of a *present* Consideration, were sometimes represented

fented in the *Types* then used among the People of God, which helps to understand the Case of *Instrumental Musick*.

IV. *Instrumental Musick* in the Worship of God, is but a very late Invention and Corruption in the Church of the *New Testament*. The Writings that go under the name of *Justin Martyr* deny it and decry it. *Chrystom* speaks meanly of it. Even *Aquinas* himself, about 400 Years ago, determines against it, as *Jewish* and *Carnal*. *Bellarmino* himself confesses, that it was but late received in the Church.

V. If we admit *Instrumental Musick* in the Worship of God, how can we resist the Imposition of all the *Instruments* used among the ancient Jews? Yea, *Dancing* as well as *Playing*, and several other *Judaic Actions*? Or, how can we decline a whole *Rabble* of Church-Officers, necessary to be introduced for *Instrumental Musick*, whereof our Lord Jesus Christ hath left us, no manner of Direction?

QUESTION.

Whether Baptism is to be administered by any but the Ordained Ministers of our Lord Jesus Christ?

I. **WE** find no Commission or Permission from our Lord Jesus Christ, for any to be the Administrators of *Baptism*, except those whose *Work* it is by his *Commission* to preach the Gospel, *Matth.* 28. 9. And none have a *Commission*, to make the preaching of the Gospel their *Work*, but such as are, with the Call of the Faithful thereunto, *set apart* for that Work, *Rom.* 10. 15.

Baptism is a *Seal* of the *Covenant*; for any but an Officer to apply the *Seal*, in the Name of the Great King of Heaven, is a presumptuous Arrogance.

Baptism is one of the *Evangelical Mysteries*, and none but *Stewards* in the House of our Lord Jesus Christ, may pretend unto the Dispensation of those *Mysteries*.

The Apotroical Writings intimate, that some are *sent to Baptise*. Hence none are to *Baptise*, but those that are *sent*.

II. As both the *Primitive* and *Protestant* Churches, have signified their dislike of *Baptism* administered by common Hands: Thus the Disorder, and Confusion, and the Contempt of the Institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ, which would be thereby introduced, is a sufficient prejudice against it.

III. The Original of the Allowance and Countenance, given in some Churches, unto *undue Administrators* of *Baptism* has been from great Errors in the Minds of Men, about the Necessity and Operation of that Sacrament, whereof, *non Privatio sed Contemptus damnat*.

PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning the Marriage of Cousin-Germans.

I. **T**H O' in the first Propagation of Mankind from *one Head*, by the Great God resolved and required, it was necessary for *Brothers*, to Marry their *Sisters*, yet that so the Bonds of Amity in Humane Society might be the better increased, the Lord afterwards prohibited several *Marriages*, under the Title of Incest; and some were now too *near akin* to be united: there were degrees of *Consanguinity*, and so of *Affinity*, wherein Marriages might not be contracted.

II. Albeit the *Light of Nature* teaches Men to preserve a *Distance*, and *Honour*, for some that are very nearly related, and *Natural Conscience* retracts with Horror at some Conjunctions; like, what the Apostle calls, *a Fornication that is not so much as named among the Gentiles*, and those which the Poets themselves call, *Vetitos Hymeneos*, and Impieties; yet it is a *Moral Law* of God, positively given, or a *Law*, the general reason whereof, is in the Nature of the thing, but the particular Limitation of it is by Revelation from God, that is to determine the *Degrees*, wherein *Marriages* are to be judged *Unlawful* and *Incestuous*.

III. In the Eighteenth Chapter of *Leviticus*, there is a Law of Heaven, declaring the *Degrees*, wherein *Marriages* are forbidden; and there is no doubt, that all that come within those *Degrees*, are as much *forbidden*, tho' they be not expressly *mentioned*.

What is pronounced a *Sin*, by that *Law*, is to be esteemed a *Sin*, by the *Gentiles*, as well as *Jews*, (which the Conclusion of it, abundantly intimates :) But what falls not within the reach of that *Law*, is no *Sin*: and the *Canon-Law*, which for some Covetous and Enslaving ends, hath made vast additions to this *Law* of God, is to be rejected, as full of Superstitious Impositions.

IV. If we exactly consider the *Line* in the Eighteenth Chapter of *Leviticus*, we shall find, that the most remote Relations forbidden to Marry, (which are, the *Brother*, and the *Brothers Daughter*) stand one Degree nearer to the *root*, than *Cousin-Germans* do. An *Uncle* or an *Aunt* therefore; being the furthest, with whom a Marriage is interdicted, it seems plain, that the Marriage of *Cousin-Germans* is not *Incestuous*.

V. Altho' *Cousin-Germans*, that are *Married* unto each other, now may and should, with all Peace of Mind, live together in the fear of God, and not give way to distressing scruples; or question the Lawfulness of their *Marriage* any more than the Famous *Holoman* would have done, who has written to prove it, *pium & Christianum esse*. Nevertheless, there is much to be said for the dissuading of *Cousin-Germans*, from coming together in Marriage. *Inexpedience*

ence we know sometimes does produce *unlawfulness*. This Marriage may be very *Inexpedient*, it borders as near, as is possible, to what is unlawful. There is no need of coming so near, while we have such a *wide World* before us. One end of *Marriage*, namely to promote, and extend *alliances*, is damnified herein. Some Wife and Good Men have been so troubled in their Minds, concerning these *Marriages*, that it is an easier thing to abstain here from, than to extirpate such a trouble from the Minds of the Faithful.

Some of the most considerable among the *Ancients*, especially *Ambrose*, and *Austin*, besides Five several *Councils*, have severely censured them; and the Churches of the *Augustan Confession*, do to this Day prohibit them. So that upon the whole, the advice of the renowned *Ames* may seem not amiss, *Tutius est abstinere*.

QUESTION.

Whether, or how far the Discipline of our Churches upon offences in them, is to depend upon the Conviction of those Offences in the Courts of Civil Judicature?

I. **T**O bring the Discipline of the Church, into a dependance on the Direction of the Civil Magistrate, is to put it under undue, and unsafe disadvantages. The mutual dependance of those, on each other, as 'tis not founded in the Oracles of our Lord Jesus Christ, so it has been the occasion of no little Contusion in the World.

II. Some things may be censured in the Court, for Transgressions of the Laws, which may scarce deserve the Censures of the Church.

III. Some things may be censured in the Church for Offences, against which, the Court has no Censures by any Law provided.

IV. Persons may be so defective in their defence of themselves by *Legal formalities*, as to fall under the Censures of the Court; and yet the Church may see cause, and do well, to acquit them.

V. Persons may be acquitted in the Court of Crimes laid to their Charge, for want of *Conviction*, and yet the Evidence may be so Convictive, that a Church may Condemn them thereupon.

VI. When a Church passes a Censure on any Delinquent, it is convenient and advisable, that the Circumstances of it be so managed, as to expose as little as may be, the censured Person unto the Sentence of the Court.

VII. A Church may do well sometimes, to express its Faithfulness unto the Lord Jesus Christ, by removing some Evils, which a Court may faultily neglect to Animadvert upon.

VIII. Sometimes a Case may be so dark, that a Church may hope to be cured of *Labour*, and freed from *Error*, by a Court first sitting of it, and then *Christian Prudence* would make use of

that help, to come at the knowledge of the Truth.

IX. When a Session of a Court is very near, a Church may prudently forbear for a *little while*, a Process, which the necessity of a Soul fallen into Sin, and the Vindication of the Name of the Lord, makes not proper to be forborn for a *greater while*.

X. When things are not very *Apparent*, or, very *Important*, it is prudently done of a Church, to defer the early decision of a Matter, which will produce between it, and the Court, a Controversie of dangerous Consequence.

XI. As 'tis the Duty of a Church to see that the Witnesses of a Crime, to be judged by it, be obliged to speak, as in the special presence of the Great God, so if it be feared that the Witnesses will not be Faithful, unless they be upon Oath, it is Prudence to defer 'till the Civil Magistrate have examined them.

XII. Or, if Witnesses refuse to come at all unto the Church, which the Civil Magistrate may and will compel to give in their Testimonies, a Church can in Prudence do no other than defer, 'till those Witnesses can be brought to testify what is expected from them.

The Judgment of the Ministers, met at Boston, May, 11. 1699. upon a Case Addressed unto them, concerning LOTTERIES.

I. **G**REAT is the Difference, between, a Lottery set up, by Persons acting in a *private Capacity*; and a Lottery set up, by the Government, who have Power to lay a Tax upon the People, but choose to leave unto the more easie Determination of a Lottery, the Persons who shall pay the Summ which the Necessities of the Publick require. A *Parliamentary Lottery* takes only from the *Voluntary*, what the Government might have Demanded, with a more *general Imposition*; and only when the People are plunged into such distress, that a more *general Imposition* would be grievous to them; and it employs for the welfare of the Publick, all that is thus raised by the Lottery. Whereas a more *private Lottery*, is managed, by those that have no Antecedent claim unto any thing of their Neighbours, and it is designed merely for *private advantage*.

II. It is a Principle embraced among all well-informed Christians, That no calling is *Lawful*, but what is *useful* unto *Humane Society*, in some of it's Interests, except there be in a *Calling*, some *Tendency*, to make an addition unto the Enjoyments and Interests of *Humane Society*, no Christians may set it up. The Oracles of Heaven, tell us, Christians must *Learn to possess honest Trades for necessary uses*. To set up a Lottery is to set up a *Calling*. But tho' this or that particular Man may be a *Gainer*; yet it would puzzle any Man to tell, what necessary; or convenient *uses*, of *Humane Society*, where the Lottery is opened, are at all served. The *Minds*, the *Bodies*, the *Riches*, the *Defence*, or the

regular *Delights*, of Humane Society, have by this *Lottery*, no addition made unto them.

III. Not only the *Undertakers* of a *Lottery*, have a certain gain unto themselves, from Humane Society; but so likewise have they, who in the *Lottery*, draw the *Tickets of Benefit*: and every one that Ventures, doth it with a desire to fall upon those *Tickets* in the Drawing. 'Tis very certain, that for this *Benefit*, none of those can pretend, that they do any one thing *Beneficial* to Humane Society. They only Hire the *Undertakers*, to transfer the Estates of others unto them, without any service done by them, to the Interests of any others under Heaven. But we do not judge this pleasing unto God, that Mens Rights be ordinarily transferred from one to another, merely in a way of Reference to Divine Providence, without considering any service therein intended unto the Community, or any help to Mankind in its true Interests. Nor is ventring in a *Lottery* on Shore, of the same Nature with venturing in a *Mercebandise* at Sea.

IV. In a *Lottery* so contrived, that when all the *Prizes* be drawn, they do not make up, and fetch out, near the whole Summ that was deposited by the *Adventurers*, there is a plain *Cheat* upon the People. The *Undertakers* in such a *Lottery*, only resolve to Pillage the People of such a Considerable Summ; and invite a number to assist them in their Action, with *hopes* of going shares with them in the Advantage; and such is the Corruption of Mankind, that the mere *hopes* of getting the Riches of other Men, without the doing of any service to them for it, will engage Men to run the hazzard of being Losers.

Upon the whole; we cannot approve it, that any particular Persons do either undertake, or countenance any such *Lotteries*, as have been somerimes practised in other places, and the Danger which there is, lest the Lusts of Men, once engaged in these *Lotteries*, proceed unto a multitude of other Disorders, to the ruine of their Employments and their Families, does further move us, to withhold our approbation from them.

§ 9. Having so often produced the *Propositions* voted by an Assembly of Ministers at Cambridge, for the Explanation of our *Platform*, 'tis not, here, amiss, on this occasion to give some History of that *Assembly*.

Know then, that according to the Advice of Mr. *Hooker*, who about a Week before he fell sick of his last, let fall these words, *We must Agree upon constant Meetings of Ministers, and settle the Consociation of Churches, or else we are utterly undone!* It has been the care of the Ministers, in the several *Vicinages* throughout the most part of the Countrey, to establish such *constant Meetings*, whereat they have *informed* one another of their various Exercises, and *assisted* one another in the Work of our Lord: besides a general Appearance of all the Ministers in each Colony, once a Year, at the *Town*,

and the *Time* of the *General Court* for *Elections* of *Magistrates* in the Colonies. These Meetings have not all obliged themselves to one *Method* of Proceeding, in pursuing of mutual Edification; some do still *Fast* and *Pray* together, and speak in their turn to a *proposed Subject*, much after the manner of the *Great Grindal's Lectures*: Others do only after the publick Lectures, then, held in the Congregation of that *Pastor*, to whose House they Adjourn, *Confer* a while together upon matters of Concernment: but one of these Meetings is regulated by the following Orders.

It is agreed by us whose Names are underwritten, that we do Associate our selves for the promoting of the Gospel, and our mutual Assistance and Furtherance in that great Work:

In order thereunto,

I. 'THAT we meet constantly; at the College in Cambridge, on a Monday at Nine or Ten of the Clock in the Morning, once in six Weeks, or oftner, if need be.

II. 'That in such Meetings, one shall be chosen *Moderator pro Tempore*, for the better Order and Decency of our Proceedings, which *Moderator* is to be chosen, at the end of every Meeting.

III. 'That the *Moderator's* Work be,

1. 'To End the Meeting, wherein he is chosen, and to begin the next with Prayer.
2. 'To propose *Matters* to be Debated, and Receive the *Suffrages* of the Bretheren.
3. 'To Receive with the Consent of the Bretheren, the *Subscriptions* of such as shall join with us; and keep all Papers belonging to the *Association*.
4. 'To give and receive *Notices*, and appoint *Meetings*, upon Emergent Occasions.

IV. 'That we shall submit unto the Counsils, Reproofs and Censures of the Bretheren so Associated and Assembled, in all things in the Lord [Eph. 5. 21.]

V. 'That none of us shall relinquish this *Association*, nor forsake the appointed *Meetings*, without giving sufficient Reason for the same.

VI. 'That

VI. ' That our *Work*, in the said Meeting
' shall be;

1. ' To Debate any Matter referring to
' *our selves*.
2. ' To Hear and Consider any *Cases* that
' shall be propos'd unto us, from
' *Churches* or private Persons.
3. ' To Answer any *Letters* directed un-
' to us, from any other *Associations* or
' Persons.
4. ' To Discourse of any *Question* pro-
' pos'd at the former Meeting.

§ 10. *Such* and *so* hath been our *Platform*
of Church Discipline: If our Bretheren of the
Presbyterian Perswasion be still uneasie in any
Article of it, let these things be offer'd for a
Close.

First, The *Presbyterian* Ministers of this
Country do find it no Difficulty to *Practise*
the substance of it, in and with their severall
Congregations; and when it comes to the
practice they do not find so much of Difficulty,
as, at first, appear'd in the *Notion*.

Secondly, The Reverend Persons of the *Pres-*
byterian way, who wrote the *Jus Divinum*
Ministerii Evangelici, as long since as the Year
1654. declared,

' As we agree wholly in the same *Confession*
' of *Faith*, so we agree in many things of great

est Concernment, in the matters of *Church*
Discipline. And those things wherein we dif-
fer, are not of such Consequence as to cause a
Schism between us, either in *Worship*, or in
Love and *Affection*.

' Our Debates are (as it was said of the *Dis-*
putes of the Ancient Fathers, one with another
' about lesser differences) not *Contentiones* but
Collationes. We can truly say, as our Bre-
theren do in their Preface, *That it is far from*
us so to Attest the Discipline of Christ as to
Detest the Disciples of Christ; so to Contest
for the Seam-less Coat of Christ, as to Crucifie
the Living Members of Christ; so to divide
our selves about Church-Communion, as thro'
breaches to open a wide Gap, for a deluge of
Antichristian and profane Malignity, to swallow
up both Church and Civil State.

Thirdly, The Bretheren of the *Presbyterian*
way in *England*, are lately come unto such an
Happy *Union*, with those of the *Congregational*,
that all former Names of Distinction, are now
swallowed up in that Blessed one of *United*
Bretheren. And now partly because one of
New-England, namely Mr. *Increase Mather*,
then Resident at *London*, was very singularly
Instrumental in Effecting of that *Union*; but
more because that *Union*, hath been for many
Lustres, yea, many *Decads* of Years Exemplified
in the Churches of *New-England*, so far, that
I believe, 'tis not possible for me to give a truer
Description of our *Ecclesiastical Constitution*,
than by Transcribing thereof The Articles of
that *Union* shall here be Repeated.

Heads of Agreement,

Assented to by the

UNITED MINISTERS, formerly call'd *Presbyterian*
and *Congregational*.

I. Of Churches and Church-Members.

WE acknowledge our Lord *Jesus*
Christ to have One *Catholic*
Church, or *Kingdom*, com-
prehending all that are united
to him, whether in Heaven or Earth. And do
conceive the whole Multitude of Visible Believers,
and their Infant-Seed (commonly call'd the *Catho-*
lick Visible Church) to belong to *Christ's* Spi-
ritual Kingdom in this World. But for the
Notion of a *Catholic Visible Church* here, as
it signifies it's having been collected into any
formed Society, under a visible Humane Head
on Earth, whether One Person singly, or Many
Collectively, we, with the rest of Protestants,
unanimously disclaim it

2. We agree, that particular Societies of vi-
sible Saints, who, under *Christ* their Head, are
statedly joined together, for ordinary Commu-
nion with one Author in all the Ordinances of
Christ, are *particular Churches*, and are to be
owned by each other, as instituted Churches of
Christ, though differing in *Apprehensions* and
Practice in some lesser Things.

3. That none shall be admitted as Members,
in order to Communion in all the special Ordi-
nances of the Gospel, but such Persons as are
knowing, and sound in the *Fundamental Doct-*
rines of the Christian Religion, without scandal
in their Lives; and to a Judgment regulated by
the Word of God, are Persons of visible Holi-
ness and Honesty; credibly professing Cordial
Subjection to *Jesus Christ*. 5 H 2 4. A

4. A competent number of such *visible Saints*, (as before described) do become the capable Subjects of stated Communion in all the *special Ordinances of Christ* upon their mutual declared Consent and Agreement to *walk together therein according to Gospel Rule*. In which Declaration, different degrees of *Explicitness*, shall no ways hinder such Churches from owning each other, as instituted Churches.

5. Tho' *parochial Bounds*, be not of *Divine Right*, yet for common Edification, the Members of a *particular Church* ought (as much as conveniently may be) to live near one another.

6. That each *particular Church* hath right to use their own Officers; and being furnished with such as are *duly qualified and ordained* according to the Gospel Rule, hath Authority from Christ for exercising *Government*, and of enjoying all the *Ordinances of Worship* within it self.

7. In the Administration of *Church Power*, it belongs to the *Pastors* and other Elders of every particular Church, if such there be to *rule and govern*, and to the Brotherhood to *consent* according to the *Rule of the Gospel*.

8. That all Professors as before described, are bound in Duty, as they have opportunity to join themselves as *fixed Members* of some particular Church; their thus joining being part of their professed Subjection to the *Gospel of Christ*, and an instituted Means of their Establishment and Edification; whereby they are under the *Pastoral Care*, and in case of *scandalous or offensive Walking*, may be Authoritatively admonished or censured for their Recovery, and for Vindication of the *Truth* and the *Church* professing it.

9. That a *Visible Professor* thus joined to a *particular Church* ought to continue stedfast with the said Church; and not forsake the Ministry, and Ordinances there *dispensed*, without an orderly seeking a *Recommendation* unto another Church, which ought to be given, when the Case of the Person apparently requires it.

II. Of the Ministry.

1. **W**VE agree that the *Ministerial Office* is instituted by Jesus Christ for the gathering, guiding, edifying and governing of his Church; and to continue to the end of the World.

2. They who are called to this *Office* ought to be endued with *competent Learning* and *ministerial Gifts*, as also with the Grace of God, found in Judgment, not Novices in the Faith and Knowledge of the Gospel; without scandal, of Holy Conversation, and such as *devote* themselves to the Work and Service thereof.

3. That ordinarily none shall be ordained to the Work of this Ministry, but such as are *called and chosen* thereunto by a particular Church.

4. That in so great and weighty a Matter as the calling and chusing a *Pastor*, we judge it ordinarily requisite, that every such Church consult and advise with the *Pastors* of neighbouring Congregations.

5. That after such *Advice* the Person consulted about, being chosen by the Brotherhood

of that *particular Church* over which he is to be set, and he accepting, be duly ordained and *set apart* to his Office over them; wherein 'tis ordinarily requisite that the *Pastors of Neighbouring Congregations* concur with the *preaching Elder or Elders*, if such there be.

6. That whereas such *Ordination* is only intended for such as *never before had been* ordained to the *ministerial Office*; if any judge, that in the case also of the removal of one formerly ordained, to a new Station, or *pastoral Charge*, there ought to be a like, solemn recommending him and his *Labours to the Grace and Blessing of God*; no different Sentiments or Practice herein, shall be any occasion of *Contention* or *Breach of Communion* among us.

7. It is expedient, that they who enter on the *work of preaching the Gospel*, be not only qualified for *Communion of Saints*; but also, that except in *Cases extraordinary*, they give proof of their *Gifts and Fitness* for the said *Work*, unto the *Pastors of Churches*, of *known Abilities* to discern and judge of their *Qualifications*; that they may be sent forth with solemn *Approbation* and *Prayer*; which we judge needful, that no Doubt may remain concerning their being called unto the *Work*; and for preventing (as much as in us lyeth) ignorant and rash Intruders.

III. Of Censures.

1. **A**S it cannot be avoided, but that in the purest Churches on Earth, there will sometimes Offences and Scandals arise by reason of Hypocrisy and prevailing Corruption; so Christ hath made it the Duty of every Church, to reform it self by Spiritual Remedies appointed by him to be applied in all such Cases, *viz. Admonition* and *Excommunication*.

2. *Admonition*, being the rebuking of an Offending Member in order to Conviction, is in case of private Offences to be performed according to the Rule in *Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17.* and in case of publick Offences openly before the Church, as the Honour of the Gospel, and the nature of the Scandal shall require: And, if either of the *Admonitions* take place for the recovery of the *fallen Person*, all further Proceedings in a way of *Censure* are thereon to cease, and *satisfaction* to be declared accordingly.

3. When all *due Means* are used, according to the *Order of the Gospel* for the restoring an *offending and scandalous Brother*, and he, notwithstanding remains impenitent, the *Censure of Excommunication* is to be proceeded unto; wherein the *Pastor* and other *Elders* (if there be such) are to lead and go before the *Church*; and the Brotherhood to give their Consent in a way of Obedience unto Christ, and to the *Elders*, as over them in the Lord.

4. It may sometimes come to pass, that a *Church-Member*, not otherwise scandalous may *sinfully withdraw*, and divide himself from the *Communion of the Church* to which he belongeth: In which case, when all *due Means* for the reducing him, prove ineffectual, he having there-
by

by cut himself off from *that Churches Communion*; the Church may justly esteem and declare it self discharged of any further Inspection over him.

IV. Of Communion of Churches.

1. **WE** agree that particular Churches ought not to walk so distinct and separate from each other, as not to have Care and Tenderneſs towards one another. But their Paſtors ought to have frequent Meetings together, that by mutual Advice, Support, Encouragement, and Brotherly Intercourſe, they may ſtrengthen the Hearts and Hands of each other in the *Ways of the Lord*.

2. That none of our particular Churches ſhall be ſubordinate to one another, each being endued with equality of Power from Jeſus Chriſt. And that none of the ſaid particular Churches, their Officer or Officers, ſhall exerciſe any Power, or have any Superiority, over any other Church or their Officers.

3. That known Members of particular Churches conſtituted as aforeſaid, may have occaſional Communion with one another in the Ordinances of the Goſpel, *viz.* the *Word, Prayer, Sacraments, ſinging of Pſalms*, diſpenſed according to the mind of Chriſt: Unleſs that Church, with which they deſire Communion, hath any juſt Exception againſt them.

4. That we ought not admit any One to be a Member of our reſpective Congregations, that hath join'd himſelf to another, without Endeavours of mutual Satisfaction of the *Congregations concerned*.

5. That One Church ought not to blame the Proceedings of another, until it hath heard, what that Church charged, its Elders or Meſſengers, can ſay in vindication of themſelves from any charge of Irregular or injurious Proceedings.

6. That we are moſt willing and ready to give an Account of other Church-Proceedings to each other, when deſired; for preventing or removing any Offences, that may ariſe among us. Likewiſe we ſhall be ready to give the Right Hand of Fellowſhip, and walk together according to the Goſpel Rules of Communion of Churches.

V. Of Deacons and Ruling-Elders.

WE agree, the Office of a Deacon is of Divine Appointment, and that it belongs to their Office to receive, lay out, and diſtribute the Churches Stock to its proper Uſes, by the direction of the Paſtor, and, Bretheren, if need be. And whereas diverſe are of Opinion, That there is alſo the Office of Ruling-Elders, who labour not in Word and Doctrin; and others think otherwiſe; we agree that this Difference make no Breach among us.

VI. Of occaſional Meeting of Miniſters, &c.

1. **WE** agree that in order to Concord, and in other weighty and difficult Caſes, it is

needful and according to the mind of Chriſt, that the Miniſters of ſeveral Churches be conſulted and adviſed with about ſuch Matters.

2. That ſuch Meetings may conſiſt of ſmaller or greater Numbers, as the Matter ſhall require.

3. That particular Churches, their reſpective Elders and Members, ought to have a reverential Regard to their Judgment, ſo given, and not diſſent there from without apparent Grounds from the Word of God.

VII. Of our Demeanour towards the Civil Magiſtrate.

1. **WE** do reckon our ſelves obliged continually to pray for God's Protection, Guidance and Bleſſing upon the Rulers ſet over us.

2. That we ought to yield unto them not only Subjection in the Lord, but Support, according to our Station and Abilities.

3. That if at any time, it ſhall be their Pleaſure to call together any number of us, to require an Account of our Affairs, and the State of our Congregations, we ſhall moſt readily expreſs all dutiful Regard to them herein.

VIII. Of a Confession of Faith.

AS to what appertains to ſoundneſs of Judgment in Matters of Faith, we eſteem it ſufficient that a Church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the Word of God, the perfect and only rule of Faith and Praſtice, and own either the Doctrinal part of thoſe commonly called the *Articles* of the Church of *England*, or the Confession or Catechiſms, ſhorter or larger compiled by the Aſſembly at *Westminster*, or the Confession agreed on at the *Savoy*, to be agreeable to the ſaid Rule.

IX. Of our Duty and Deportment towards them that are not in Communion with us.

1. **WE** judge it our Duty to bear a Chriſtian Reſpect to all Chriſtians, according to their ſeveral Ranks and Stations, that are not of our Perſwaſion or Communion.

2. As for ſuch as may be ignorant of the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, or of *Vicious Converſation*, we ſhall in our reſpective Places, as they give Opportunity, endeavour to explain to them the Doctrin of Life and Salvation, and to our utmoſt perſwade them to be reconciled to God.

3. That ſuch who appear to have the Eſſential Requiſites to Church-Communion, we ſhall willingly receive them in the Lord, not troubling them with Diſputes about leſſer Matters.

As we aſſent to the fore-mentioned *Heads of Agreement*, ſo we unanimouſly reſolve as the Lord ſhall enable us to *Practiſe* according to them.

The Third P A R T.

THE
 PRINCIPLES owned,
 AND THE
 ENDEAVOURS used,
 BY THE
 Churches of New-England :
 Concerning the
 Church - State of Their Posterity.

*Si Ecclesia debet unquam Reflorescere, necesse est, at à puerorum
 Institutione Exordium fiat.* Luther.

1. **A**S the *English* Nation has been honoured above most of the Protestant and Reformed World, with clearer Discoveries of several most considerable Points in our Christian Religion; particularly the Points of a true Evangelical Church-Order; so the *New-English* part of this Nation hath had a singular share in receiving and imparting the Illuminations, which the Light shining in a dark Place hath given thereabout. Very true and just are the printed Words of the well known Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, on this Occasion.

Amongst all that have suffered for, and searched into these Truths, they of *New-England*, justly deserve and will have a Name and a Glory, as long as the Earth shall have any Remembrance of an English Nation. After Ages will honour them for that great and high Adventure of theirs, in transporting themselves, their Wives and little Ones, upon the rude Waves of the vast Ocean into a remote, desolate and howling Wilderness, and there encountering by Faith and Patience with a World of Temptations and Streights and pressing Wants and Difficulties, and this upon no other Inducements, but that they might meet with him whom their Souls loved, in the midst of his Golden Candlesticks, and see him, as they have there seen him in his Sanctuary. It might rationally be now expected, that our compassionate Lord Jesus Christ would graciously gratifie the Desires and Labours of such an Holy Generation with as full an Understanding of his revealed Will about his instituted Worship, as he has at any time granted unto any of his People; and that especially the Officers of instituted Churches humbly, prayerfully and carefully engaged in Studies for their Service, would lye under as direct an Influence of his Holy Spirit, as any Inquirers whatsoever. But there is one very important Article

Article of *Ecclesiastical Discipline* whereabouts the Churches of *New-England* have had a most peculiar Exercise and Concernment; and that is the *Ecclesiastical State of their Posterity*.

2. When our Churches were come to between twenty and thirty Years of Age, a numerous *Posterity* was advanced so far into the World, that the *First-Planters* began apace in their several Families, to be distinguished by the name of *Grand-Fathers*: But among the immediate Parents of the *Grand-Children*, there were multitudes of well disposed Persons, who partly through their own Doubts and Fears, and partly thro' other culpable Neglects, had not actually come up to the covenanting State of *Communicants* at the Table of the Lord. The good old Generation could not without many uncomfortable Apprehensions, behold their Off-spring excluded from the *Baptism* of Christianity, and from the Ecclesiastical Inspection which is to accompany that Baptism; indeed it was to leave their Off-spring under the Shepherdly Government of our Lord Jesus Christ in his Ordinances, that they had brought their Lambs into this Wilderness. When the Apostle bids Churches to *Look diligently, lest any Man fall of the Grace of God*, there is an Ecclesiastical Word used for that *looking diligently*; intimating that God will ordinarily bless a regular Church-watch, to maintain the Interests of *Grace* among his People: And it was therefore the Study of those prudent Men, who might be call'd our *Seers*, that the Children of the Faithful may be kept as far as may be, under a Church-watch, in expectation that they might be in the fairer way to receive the *Grace* of God; thus they were *looking diligently*, that the prosperous and prevailing Condition of Religion in our Churches, might not be *Res unius atatis*, a matter of one Age alone. Moreover, among the next Sons or Daughters descending from that Generation, there was a numerous Appearance of sober Persons, who profess'd themselves desirous to renew their *Baptismal-Covenant*, and submit unto the *Church-Discipline*, and so have their Houses also marked for the Lord's; but yet they could not come up to that experimental Account of their own Regeneration, which would sufficiently embolden their Access to the other Sacrament. Wherefore, for our Churches now to make no Ecclesiastical Difference between these hopeful Candidates and Competents for those our further Mysteries; and Pagans, who might happen to hear the Word of God in our Assemblies; was judg'd a most unwarrantable Strictness, which would quickly abandon the biggest part of our Country unto Heathenism. And on the other side, it was feared, that if all such, as had not yet expos'd themselves by censurable Scandals found upon them, should be admitted unto all the Priviledges in our Churches, a wordly part of Mankind might, before we are aware, carry all Things into such a course of Proceeding, as would be very disagreeable unto the Kingdom of Heaven.

§ 3. The *Questions* rais'd about these Mat-

ters, came to some Figure first, in the Colony of *Connecticut*; where the pious *Magistrates* observing the begun Dangers of *Paroxysms*, which might affect the *State* as well as the *Church*, on this Occasion, procur'd a Draught of the agitated *Questions*, and sent them to the *Magistrates* of the *Massachusetts*'s Colony, with a Request, that several of the ablest Ministers, in both Colonies might upon mature Deliberation; give in their Answers thereunto. Accordingly, the Letters of the Government, procur'd an Assembly of our principal Ministers at *Boston* on *June 4. 1657.* who by the 19th of that Month prepared and presented an elaborate Answer to twenty one *Questions*; which was afterwards printed in *London*, under the Title of, *A Disputation concerning Church-Members and their Children*. Besides other Cases referring to the *Church State* of Children born in the Bosom of the Church, it is in this Disputation asserted and maintained, 'That it is the Duty of Infants, who confederate in their Parents, when grown up unto Years of *Discretion*, tho' not yet fit, for the *Lord's Supper*, to own the *Covenant*, they made with their Parents, by entering thereinto, in their own Persons: And it is the Duty of the *Church*, to call upon them for the performance thereof; and, if being called upon, they shall refuse the Performance of this great Duty, or otherwise to continue Scandalous, they are liable to be censured for the same, by the Church. And in case they understand the *Grounds of Religion*, and are not Scandalous, and solemnly own the *Covenant* in their own Persons, wherein they give up both themselves and their Children unto the Lord, and desire *Baptism* for them, we see not sufficient cause to deny *Baptism* unto their Children.

§ 4. The *Practice of Church Care*, about the Children of our Churches thus directed and commended, was but gradually introduced; yea, it met with such Opposition as could not be encountered with any thing less than a *Synod* of *Elders* and *Messengers*, from all the Churches in the *Massachusetts* Colony. Accordingly, the *general Court*, having the necessity of the Matter laid before them, at their second Session in the Year 1661. issued out their *Desire and Order* for the convening of such a *Synod* at *Boston* in the Spring of the Year ensuing. And for the Deliberations of that *Synod*, besides the grand Question, about the *Subject of Baptism*, there was another Question propounded about the *Consociation of Churches*, which was of no small Consequence to the Interests of Christianity in the Country. As the Divines of *New-England* were Sollicitous that the *Propagation* of our Churches might hold pace with that of our Off-spring, so they were industrious for the *Combination* of our Churches into such a Bundle of *Arrows*, as might not easily be broken. However, they had by their Adversaries been termed *Independents*, nevertheless they solemnly, on this Occasion, repeated and subscribed, that Profession of their famous Bretheren in the English

English Nation; ' That it is the most to be abhorred Maxim, that any Religion hath made Profession of, and therefore of all other the most contradictory, and dishonourable unto that of Christianity, that a single and particular Society of Men, professing the name of Christ, and pretending to be endowed with a Power from Christ, to judge them that are of the same Body and Society with themselves, should further arrogate unto themselves an Exemption from giving Account, or being censurable by any other, either Christian Ma-

gistrate above them, or Neighbour Churches about them: Under the Influence of these Concernments, the *Elders* and *Messengers* of the Churches assembled at *Boston*, in the Year 1662. who under the Conduct of several successive *Moderators*, at length agreed upon certain *Propositions*; which being tendered unto the *general Court*, there was an *Order* there passed on Oct. 8. 1662. for the Publication and Commendation thereof unto all the Churches in the Jurisdiction. They were as followeth.

THE ANSWER

OF THE

ELDERS and other MESSENGERS of the Churches,
assembled at *Boston*, in the Year 1662.

TO THE

QUESTIONS propounded to them, by Order of
the Honoured General Court.

QUESTION I.

Who are the Subjects of Baptism?

ANSWER.

THE Answer may be given in the following *Propositions*, briefly confirmed from the Scriptures.

1. ' They that, according to Scripture, are Members of the Visible Church, are the Subjects of Baptism.
2. ' The Members of the Visible Church, according to Scripture, are Confederate Visible Believers, in particular Churches, and their Infant-Seed, *i. e.* Children in Minority, whose next Parents, one or both, are in Covenant.
3. ' The Infant-Seed of Confederate Visible Believers, are Members of the same Church with their Parents, and when grown up are personally under the Watch, Discipline and Government of that Church.
4. ' These adult Persons, are not therefore to be admitted to full Communion, merely because they are, and continue Members, without such further Qualifications as the Word of God requireth thereunto.
5. ' Church Members who were admitted in Minority, understanding the Doctrine of Faith,

' and publickly professing their Assent thereto, not scandalous in Life, and solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and their Children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, their Children are to be baptised.

6. ' Such Church-Members, who either by Death, or some other extraordinary Providence, have been inevitably hindered from publick Acting as aforesaid, yet have given the Church cause in Judgment of Charity, to look at them as so qualified, and such as had they been called thereunto, would have so acted, their Children are to be baptised.

7. ' The Members of Othodox Churches, being found in the Faith and not scandalous in Life, and presenting due Testimony thereof; these occasionally coming from one Church to another may have their Children baptised in the Church, whither they come, by virtue of Communion of Churches: But if they remove their Habitation, they ought orderly to Covenant and Subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, where they settle their abode, and to their Children to be baptised. It being the Church's Duty to receive such into Communion, so far, as they are regularly fit for the same.

The Confirmation of these Propositions from the Scripture, followeth.

PROPOSITION I.

They, that according to Scripture, are Members of the Visible Church, are the Subjects of Baptism.

The Truth hereof may appear by the following Evidences from the Word of God.

1. **W**HEN Christ saith, *Go ye therefore and teach, or (as the Greek is) disciple all Nations, Baptising them,* Matth. 28. 19. He expresseth the Adequate Subject of Baptism, to be *Disciples* or *discipled Ones*. But *Disciples* there, is the same with *Members of the Visible Church*. For the Visible Church is Christ's School, wherein all the Members stand related and subjected to him, as their Master and Teacher, and so are his *Scholars* or *Disciples*, and under his teaching, as *ver. 20.* And it is that visible Spiritual Kingdom of Christ, which he, there, from his kingly Power, *v. 18.* sendeth them to set up and administer, in *v. 19.* The Subjects whereof are under his Laws and Government; *v. 20.* Which Subjects (or Members of that Kingdom, *i. e.* of the Visible Church) are termed *Disciples*, *v. 19.* Also in the *Acts of the Apostles*, (the Story of their Accomplishment of that Commission) *Disciples* are usually put for Members of the Visible Church, *Acts 1. 15.* In the midst of the *Disciples*, who, with others added to them, are called the Church, *Act. 2. 47.* The Members whereof are again called *Disciples*, *Acts 6. 1, 2. Acts 9. 1.* Against the *Disciples of the Lord; i. e.* against the Church of God, *1 Cor. 15. 9. Galat. 1. 13. Acts 9. 26.* He assayed to join himself to the *Disciples*. The *Disciples of Lystra, Iconium and Antioch, Acts 14. 21, 22.* are call'd the Church in each of those Places, *v. 23.* so the Church, *v. 27.* the *Disciples*, *v. 28.* *Acts 18. 22.* The Church at *Casarea*; *Acts 21. 16.* The *Disciples of Casarea*: So *Acts 18. 23.* with *Chap. 15. 41. & Gal. 1. 2. Acts 18. 27. & Chap. 20. 1.* From all which it appeareth, that *Disciples* in *Matth. 28. 19.* and *Members of the Visible Church*, are Terms equivalent; and *Disciples* being, there, by Christ himself made the Subjects of Baptism, it followeth that the Members of the Visible Church are the Subjects of Baptism.

2. Baptism is the Seal of the first Entrance or Admission into the Visible Church; as appeareth from those Texts, *1 Cor. 12. 13.* *Baptised into one Body, i. e.* our Entrance into the Body or Church of Christ, is sealed by Baptism: And *Rom. 6. 3, 5. Gal. 3. 27.* where 'tis shewed that Baptism is the Sacrament of Union, or of ingrafting into Christ the Head, and consequently into the Church his Body, and from the Apostle's constant practice of baptising Persons upon their first coming in, or first giving up themselves to the Lord and them. *Acts 8. 12. and 16. 15. 33. and 18. 8. and Acts 2. 41. 42.* they were baptised at their first Adding to the Church, or Ad-

mission into the *Apostle's Fellowship*, wherein they, afterward, continued. And from its answering unto Circumcision, which was a Seal of Initiation or Admission into the Church; hence it belongs to all, and only those that are entred into, that are within or that are Members of the Visible Church.

3. They that according to Scripture are Members of the Visible Church, are in Covenant. For it is the Covenant, that constituteth the Church, *Deut. 29. 12, 13.* They must enter into Covenant, that they might be established the People or Church of God. Now the initiatory Seal is affixed to the Covenant, and appointed to run parallel therewith, *Gen. 17. 7, 9, 10, 11.* so Circumcision was, and hence called the Covenant, *Gen. 17. 13. Acts 7. 8.* And so Baptism is being in like manner annexed to the Promise or Covenant, *Acts 2. 38, 39.* and being the Seal that answereth to Circumcision, *Col. 2. 11, 12.*

4. Christ doth sanctifie and cleanse the Church by the washing of Water, *i. e.* by Baptism, *Eph. 5. 25, 26.* Therefore the whole Church, and so all the Members thereof (who are also said in Scripture to be sanctified in Christ Jesus, *1 Cor. 1. 2.*) are the Subjects of Baptism. And altho' it is the Invisible Church, unto the Spiritual and Eternal Good whereof, this and all other Ordinances lastly, have respect, and which the place mentioned in *Eph. 5.* may in a special manner look unto, yet it is the Visible Church that is the next and immediate Subject of the Administration thereof. For the Subject of visible external Ordinances to be administered by Men, must needs be visible. And so the Apostle baptized fundry Persons, who were of the visible, but not of the invisible Church, as *Simon Magus, Ananias and Saphira*, and others. And there are visibly purchased and sanctified by the Blood of Christ, the Blood of the Covenant, *Acts 20. 28. Heb. 10. 29.* Therefore the Visible Seal of the Covenant and of cleansing by Christ's Blood belongs to them.

5. The Circumcision is often put for the whole Jewish Church, or for the Members of the Visible Church under the Old Testament. Those within are expressed by [the circumcised] and those without by [the Uncircumcised] *Rom. 15. 8. and 3. 30. Eph. 2. 11. Judges 14. 3. and 15. 18. 1 Sam. 14. 6. and 17. 26, 36. Jer. 9. 25, 26.* Hence by proportion Baptism (which is our Gospel Circumcision, *Col. 2. 11. 12.*) belongs to the whole Visible Church under the New Testament. Actual and personal Circumcision, was indeed proper to the Males of old, Females being but inclusively and virtually circumcised and so counted of the Circumcision: But the Lord has taken away that Difference now, and appointed Baptism to be personally applied to both Sexes. *Acts 8. 12. and 16. 15. Gal. 3. 28.* So that every particular Member of the Visible Church is now a Subject of Baptism. We conclude, therefore, that Baptism pertains to the whole Visible Church, and to all and every one therein, and to no other.

PROPOSITION II.

The Members of the Visible Church according to Scripture, are confederate Visible Believers, in particular Churches, and their Infant-seed, i. e. Children in Minority, whose next Parents, one or both are in Covenant.

Sundry Particulars are comprised in this Proposition, which we may consider and confirm distinctly.

Partic. 1. **A** *Dult Persons, who are Members of the Visible Church, are by Rule confederate Visible Believers, Acts 5. 14. Believers were added to the Lord. The Believing Corinthians were Members of the Church there, Acts 18. 8. with 1 Cor. 1. 2. and 12. 27. The Inscription of the Epistles written to Churches, and calling the Members thereof Saints and Faithful, shew the same thing, Eph. 1. 1. Phil. 1. 1. Col. 1. 2. And that consideration, i. e. Covenanting explicite or implicite (the latter preserveth the Essence of Confederation, the former is Duty and most desirable) is necessary to make one a Member of the Visible Church, appears, 1. Because the Church is constituted by Covenant; for there is between Christ and the Church, the mutual Engagement and Relation of King and Subjects, Husband and Spouse; this cannot be, but by Covenant (internal if you speak of the Invisible Church, external of the Visible) a Church is a Company that can say, God is our God and we are his People, this is from the Covenant between God and them. Deut. 29. 12, 13. Ezek. 16. 8. 2. The Church of the Old Testament was the Church of God by Covenant, Gen. 17. Deut. 29. and was reformed still by the renewing of the Covenant, 2 Chron. 15. 16. and 23. 12. and 34. 31. 32. Neh. 9. 38. Now the Churches of the Gentiles under the New Testament stand upon the same Basis or Root, with the Church of the Old Testament, and therefore are constituted by Covenant, as that was, Rom. 11. 17, 18. Eph. 2. 11, 12, 19. and 3. 6. Heb. 8. 10. 3. Baptism enters us into the Church Sacramentally, i. e. by sealing the Covenant. The Covenant, therefore, is that which constitutes the Church, and infers Membership, and is the Vow in Baptism commonly spoken of.*

Partic. 2. *The Members of the Visible Church are such as are confederate in particular Churches. It may be minded that we are here speaking of Members, so stated in the Visible Church, as that they are Subjects, to whom Church Ordinances may regularly be administered, and that according to ordinary Dispensation. For were it granted, that the Apostles and Evangelists did sometimes baptise such, as were not Members of any particular Church, yet their extraordinary Office large Power and Commission renders them not imitable therein by ordinary Officers. For then they might baptise in private, without the Presence of a Christian assembly, as Philip did the*

Eunuch. But that in ordinary Dispensation the Members of the Visible Church, according to the Scripture, are, such as are Members of some particular Church, appears, 1. Because the Visible Believer that professedly Covenants with God doth therein give up himself to wait on God in all his Ordinances, Deut. 26. 17, 18. Matt. 28. 19, 20. But all the Ordinances of God are to be enjoyed only in a particular Church. For how often do we find in the Scripture that they came together into one place, (or met as a Congregational particular Church) for the Observation and Enjoyment of the Ordinances, Acts 2. 1, 44, 46. and 4. 31. and 11. 26. and 20. 7. 1 Cor. 5. 4. and 11. 18. and 20. 33. and 14. 23. 2. The Apostle in his Epistles writing to Saints or Believers, writes to them as in particular Churches, 1 Cor. 1. 2. Eph. 1. 1. Phil. 1. 1. Col. 1. 2. And when the Story of the Acts speaks of Disciples, other places shew that those are understood to be Members of particular Churches, Acts 18. 23. with Gal. 1. 2. Acts 21. 16. with 18. 22. and 11. 26. and 14. 22, 23, 27, 28. All which shews that the Scripture acknowledgeth no settled orderly Estate of Visible Believers in Covenant, with God, but only in particular Churches. 3. The Members of the Visible Church are Disciples, as was above cleared, now Disciples are under Discipline, and liable to Church Censures: For they are stated Subjects of Christ's Laws and Government, Matt. 28. 19, 20. but Church-Government and Censures are extant now in ordinary Dispensation only in a particular Church, Matt. 18. 17. 1 Cor. 5. 4.

Partic. 3. *The Infant-seed of confederate Visible Believers are also Members of the Visible Church. The truth of this is evident from the Scriptures and Reasons following.*

Argum. 1. *The Covenant of Abraham, as to the Substance thereof, viz. That whereby God declares himself to be the God of the Faithful and their Seed, Gen. 17. 7. continues under the Gospel, as appears. 1. Because the Believing in-churched Gentiles under the New Testament, do stand upon the same Root of covenanting Abraham; which the Jews were broken off from. Rom. 11. 16, 17, 18. 2. Because Abraham in regard of that Covenant was made a Father of many Nations, Gen. 17. 4, 5. even of Gentiles as well as Jews, under New Testament as well as Old. Rom. 4. 16, 17. Gal. 3. 29. i. e. in Abraham as a Pattern and Root, God not only sheweth how he justifies the Believer, Gal. 3. 6. 9. Rom. 4. but also conveyed that Covenant to the Faith, and their Seed in all Nations, Luke 19. 9. If a Son of Abraham, then Salvation, i. e. the Covenant-Dispensation of Salvation is come to his House. 3. As that Covenant was communicated to proselyte Gentiles under the New Testament, so its Communication to the in-churched Gentiles under the New Testament is clearly held forth in diverse Places, Gal. 3. 14. The Blessing of Abraham compriseth both the internal Benefits of Justification by Faith, &c. which the Apostle is there treating of; and the external*

nal Dispensation of Grace in the visible Church to the Faithful and their Seed, *Gen.* 28. 4. but the whole Blessing of *Abraham* (and so the whole Covenant) is come upon the Gentiles thro' *Jesus Christ*, *Eph.* 2. 12, 19. They had been Strangers, but now were no more Strangers from the Covenants of Promise, *i. e.* from the Covenant of Grace, which had often been renewed, especially with *Abraham*, and the House of *Israel*, and had been in the External Dispensation of it, their peculiar Portion, so that the *Ephesians*, who were afar off, being now called and made nigh, *v.* 13, 17. they have the Promise or the Covenant of Promise to them and to their Children, according to *Acts* 2. 39. and so are Partakers of that Covenant of *Abraham*, that we are speaking of, *Eph.* 3. 6. The Inchurched Gentiles are put into the same Inheritance for Substance (both as to invisible and visible Benefits, according to their respective Conditions) are of the same Body, and Partakers of the same Promise with the Jews, the Children of *Abraham* of old. The same may be gathered from *Gen.* 9. 27. *Mat.* 8. 11. & 21. 43. 4. Sundry Scriptures which extend to Gospel-times do confirm the same Interest to the Seed of the Faithful which is held forth in the Covenant of *Abraham*, and consequently do confirm the Continuance of that Covenant, as *Exod.* 20. 6. there in the Sanction of a Moral and Perpetual Commandment, and that respecting Ordinances, the Portion of the Church, God declareth himself to be a God of Mercy to them that love him, and to their Seed after them in their Generations, consonant to *Gen.* 17. 7. compare herewith, *Psalms* 105. 8, 9. and *Deut.* 7. 9. *Deut.* 30. 6. The Grace signified by Circumcision is there promised to Parents and Children, importing the Covenant to both, which Circumcision sealed, *Gen.* 17. and that is a Gospel Promise, as the Apostles citing part of that Context, as the Voice of the Gospel shews *Rom.* 10. 6, 8. with *Deut.* 20. 11, 14. and it reacheth to the Jews in the latter Days, *v.* 1, 5. *Isa.* 65. 23. In the most glorious Gospel-State of the Church, *v.* 17, 19. The Blessing of the Lord is the promised Portion of the Offspring or Children as well as of the Faithful Parents, so *Isa.* 44. 3, 4. *Isa.* 59. 20, 21. *Ezek.* 37. 25, 26. at the future calling of the Jews, which those Texts have Reference to (*Rom.* 11. 26. *Ezek.* 37. 19, 22, 23, 24.) their Children shall be under the Promise or Covenant of special Grace to be conveyed to them in the Ordinances, *Isa.* 59. 21. and be Subjects of *David*, *i. e.* Christ their King, *Ezek.* 37. 25. and have a Portion in his Sanctuary, *v.* 26. and this according to the Tenor of the Ancient Covenant of *Abraham*, whereby God will be their God (*viz.* both of Parents and Children) and they shall be his People, *v.* 26, 27. Now altho' more abundant Fruits of the Covenant may be seen in those times, and the Jews then may have more abundant Grace given to the Body of them to continue in the Covenant, yet the Tenor and Frame of the Covenant it self is one and the same both to Jews and Gentiles under the New Testament,

Gal. 3. 28. *Col.* 3. 11. *Heb.* 8. 10. The House of *Israel*, *i. e.* the Church of God both among Jews and Gentiles under the New-Testament have that Covenant made with them, the Summ whereof is, *I will be their God, and they shall be my People*, which is a renewing of that Covenant of *Abraham* in *Gen.* 17. (as the same is very often over in those Terms renewed in Scripture, and is distinguished from the Law, *Gal.* 3. 16, 17. *Heb.* 8. 9.) wherein is implied God's being a God to the Seed, as well as Parents, and taking both to be his People, tho' it be not expressed: even as it is often plainly implied in that Expression of the Covenant in other places of the Covenant in other places of Scripture, *Deut.* 29. 13. *Jer.* 31. 1. and 32. 38, 39. and 30. 22; 20. *Ezek.* 37. 27, 25. Also the writing of the Law in the Heart in *Heb.* 8. 10. is that Heart Circumcision, which *Deut.* 30. 6. extends both to Parents and Seed. And the term *House of Israel* doth according to Scripture Use fitly express and take in (especially as to the eternal Administration of the Covenant) both Parents and Children: Among both which are found that Elect and saved Number; that make up the invisible *Israel*, compare *Jer.* 13. 11. and 9. 26. *Isaiah* 5. 7. *Hos.* 1. 6. *Ezek.* 39. 25. Neither may we exclude the least in Age from the Good of that Promise, *Heb.* 8. 11. (they being sometimes pointed to by that Phrase, *from the least to the greatest*, *Jer.* 44. 12. with *v.* 7.) no more than the least in other Respects, compare *Isaiah* 54. 13. In *Acts* 2. 39. At the passing of those Jews into New-Testament Church-State, the Lord is so far from repealing the Covenant Interest, that was granted unto Children in the former Testament, or from making the Children there losers by their Parents Faith, that he doth expressly renew the old Grant, and tells them, that the Promise or Covenant (for the Promise and the Covenant are Terms that do mutually infer each other, compare *Acts* 3. 25. *Gal.* 3. 16, 17, 18, 29. *Rom.* 4. 16. *Heb.* 6. 17.) is to them and their Children, the same is asserted to be the appointed Portion of the far off Gentiles, when they should be called. By all which it appears that the Covenant of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 17. 7. whereby God is the God of the Faithful and their Seed, continues under the Gospel.

Now if the Seed of the Faithful be still in the Covenant of *Abraham*, then they are Members of the Visible Church. 1. Because that Covenant of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 17. 7. was properly Church Covenant, or the Covenant which God makes with his Visible Church, *i. e.* The Covenant of Grace considered in the external Dispensation of it, and in the Promises and Privileges that belong to that Dispensation. For many were taken into that Covenant, that were never of the Invisible Church, and by that Covenant the Family of *Abraham*, as also by the renewing thereof the House of *Israel* afterwards were established the Visible Church of God, *Gen.* 17. and *Deut.* 29. 12, 13. and from

that Covenant Men might be broken off, *Gen.* 17. 14. *Rom.* 11. 17, 19. and to that Covenant, *Circumcision*, the Badg of Church-Membership, was annexed. Therefore the Covenantees therein, were and are Church-Members. 2. Because in that Covenant the *Seed* are spoken of in Terms describing or inferring Church-Membership, as well as their Parents: For they *have God for their God* and are *his People* as well as the Parents, *Gen.* 17. 7, 8. with *Deut.* 29. 11, 13. They have the Covenant made with them, *Deut.* 29. 14, 15. and the Covenant is said to be *between God and them*, (*between me and thee and between thy Seed after thee*: So the Hebrew runs) *Gen.* 17. 7. They are also in that Covenant appointed to be the Subjects of the *Initiatory Seal* of the Covenant, the Seal of Membership, *Gen.* 17. 9, 10, 11. Therefore the Seed are according to that Covenant, Members of the Visible Church as well as their Parents.

Argum. 2. *Such Seed or Children are federally Holy*, *1 Cor.* 7. 14. the Word [*Holy*] as applied to any sort of Persons, is never in Scripture used in a lower Sense, than for *federal* or *Covenant Holiness* (the Covenant Holiness of the Visible Church) but very often in that Sense, *Ezr.* 9. 2. *Deut.* 7. 6. and 14. 2, 21. and 26. 19. and 28. 9. *Exod.* 19. 6. *Dan.* 8. 24. and 12. 7. *Rom.* 11. 16. So that to say, they are Holy in this Sense, *viz.* by Covenant Relation and Separation to God in his Church, is as much as to say, *They are in the Covenant of the Visible Church, or Members of it.*

Argum. 3. From *Mark* 10. 14, 15, 16. *Matt.* 19. 14. Children's Membership in the Visible Church, is either the next and immediate Sense of those Words of Christ, *Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven*; and so *the Kingdom of Heaven, or of God*, is, not rarely, used in other Scriptures to express the Visible Church, or Church Estate, *Matth.* 25. 1. and 21. 43. and 8. 11, 12. or it evidently follows from any other Sense, that can rationally be given of the Words. For those may not be denied a place or portion in the Visible Church, whom Christ affirms to have a Portion in the Kingdom either of Invisible Grace or of eternal Glory: Nor do any in ordinary Course pass into the Kingdom of Glory hereafter, but thro' the Kingdom of Grace in the Visible Church here. And also, that Christ, there, graciously invites and calls little Children to him, is greatly displeas'd with those that would hinder them, asserts them, notwithstanding their Infancy, to be exemplary in their receiving the Kingdom of God, embraceth them in his Arms and blesseth them: All which shews Christ's dear Affection to, and owning of the Children of the Church, as a part of his Kingdom; whom we, therefore, may not disown, lest we incur his Displeasure, as the Disciples did.

Argum. 4. Such Seed or Children are Disciples, according to *Matth.* 28. 19. as appears. 1. Because Subjects of Christ's Kingdom are equivalent with Disciples there, as the frame of that Text shews, *v.* 18. 19, 20. but such Children are Subjects of Christ's Kingdom, or

of the Kingdom of Heaven, *Matth.* 9. 14. In the discipling of all Nations intended in *Matth.* 28. 19. *the Kingdom of God*, which had been the Portion of the Jews, was communicated to the *Gentiles* according to *Matth.* 21. 43. But in the Kingdom of God these Children have an Interest or Portion, *Mark* 10. 14. 2. The Apostles in accomplishing that Commission, *Matth.* 28. 19. did Disciple some Children, *viz.* the Children of discipled Parents, *Acts* 2. 39. and 15. 10. They are there called and accounted Disciples, whom the false Teachers would have brought under the Yoke of Circumcision after the manner of *Moses*, *v.* 1. 5. But many of those were Children; *Exod.* 12. 48. *Acts* 21. 21. *Lydia* and her Household; the Jaylor and all his were discipled and baptised, *Acts* 16. 15, 31, 33. *Paul* at *Corinth* took in the Children into the Holy School of Christ, *1 Cor.* 7. 14. 3. Such Children belong unto Christ; for he calls them unto him, as his, to receive his Blessing, *Mark* 10. 13, 16. They are to be received in his Name, *Mark* 9. 37. *Luke* 9. 48. They have a part in the Lord, *Josh.* 22. 24, 25. therefore they are his Disciples: For to belong to Christ, is to be a Disciple of Christ, *Mark* 9. 41. with *Matth.* 10. 42. Now if they be Disciples, then they are Members of the Visible Church, as from the equivalency of those Terms was before shewed.

Argum. 5. *The whole Current and Harmony of Scripture shews, that ever since there was a Visible Church on Earth, the Children thereof have by the Lord's Appointment been a part of it.* So it was in the *Old*, and it is and shall be so in the *New Testament*. *Eve*, the Mother of all Living hath a Promise made, *Gen.* 3. 15. not only of Christ the Head-Seed, but thro' him also of a Church-Seed, to proceed from her in a continued lineal Succession, which should continually be at visible Enmity with, and stand at a distance, or be separated from the Seed of the Serpent. Under that Promise made to *Eve* and her Seed the Children of *Adam* are born, and are a part of the Church in *Adam's* Family: Even *Cain* was so, *Gen.* 4. 1, 3. till cast out of the Presence of God therein, *v.* 14. being now manifestly one of the Seed of the Serpent, *1 John* 3. 12. and so becoming the Father of a wicked unchurched Race. But, then God appointed unto *Eve*, another, *viz.* *Seth*, in whom to continue the Line of her Church-Seed, *Gen.* 4. 25. How it did continue in his Seed in their Generations, *Gen.* 5. sheweth. Hence the Children of the Church are called *Sons of God*, (which is as much as Members of the Visible Church) in contradistinction to the Daughters of Men, *Gen.* 6. 2. If righteous *Noah* be taken into the Ark (then the only preserving place of the Church) his Children are taken in with him, *Gen.* 7. 1. tho' one of them, *viz.* *Ham*, after proved degenerate and wicked; but till he so appears, he is continued in the Church with his Bretheren: So *Gen.* 9. 25, 26, 27. as the Race of *Ham* or his Son *Canaan* (Parents and Children) are cursed; so *Shem* (Parent and Children) is blessed, and continued in the place of Blessing, the Church

Church, as *Japhet* also, or *Japhet's* Posterity (still Parent and Children) shall in time be brought in. The Holy Line mentioned in *Gen. 11. 10, 26.* shews how the Church continued in *the Seed of Shem*, from him unto *Abraham*: When that Race grew degenerate, *Jesh. 24. 2.* Then God called *Abraham* out of his Country, and from his Kindred, and *established his Covenant with him*, which still took in Parents and Children, *Gen. 17. 7, 9.* so it did after in the House of *Israel*, *Deut. 29. 11, 12, 13.* and when any Eminent Restoration or Establishment, is promised to the Church, the Children thereof are still taken in as sharers in the same, *Psal. 102. 16, 28.* and *69. 35, 36. Jer. 32. 38, 39. Isa. 65. 18, 19, 23.* Now when Christ comes to set up the Gospel Administration of his Church in the New Testament, under the term of the *King of Heaven*, *Mat. 3. 2.* and *11. 11.* He is so far from taking away Children's Portion and Membership therein, that himself asserts it; *Mat. 19. 14.* The Children of the *Gentile*, but now *Believing Corinthians*, are *Holy*, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* The Apostle writing to the Church of *Ephesus* and *Colosse*, speaks to *Children*, as a part thereof, *Eph. 6. 1. Col. 3. 20.* The *Inchurched Romans* and other *Gentiles* stand on the *Root of Covenanting Abraham*, and in the *Olive* or *Visible Church*, they and their Children, till broken off (as the *Jews* were) by positive Unbelief, or Rejection of Christ, his Truth or Government, *Rom. 11. 13, 16, 17. 22.* The Children of the *Jews* when they shall be called, shall be as aforetime in Church-Estate, *Jer. 30. 20.* with *31. 1. Ezek. 37. 25. 28.* from all which it appears, that the Series, or whole Frame and Current of Scripture Expressions doth hold forth *the continuance of Children's Membership in the Visible Church*, from the Beginning to the End of the World.

Partic. 4. *The Seed or Children, who become Members together with their Parents (i. e. by means of their Parents Covenanting) are Children in Minority.* This appears, 1. Because such Children are *Holy* by their Parents Covenanting, who would *else be unclean*, *1 Cor. 7. 14:* but they would not *else necessarily be unclean*, if they were Adult; for then they might Act for themselves, and so be *Holy* by their personal Covenanting; neither, on the other Hand would they necessarily be *Holy*, if Adult, (as he Asserts the Children there to be, for they might continue Pagans. Therefore the Apostle intends only Infants, or Children in Minority. 2. It is a Principle, that carries Evidence of Light and Reason with it, as to all Transactions Civil and Ecclesiastical, that *if a Man be of Age, he should answer for himself*, *Joh. 9. 21.* They that are come to Years of Discretion, so as to *have Knowledge and Understanding* fit to act in a matter of that nature, are to Covenant by their own Personal Act. *Neb. 10. 28, 29. Isa. 44. 5.* 3. They that are regularly taken in with their Parents, are reputed to be visible *Entertainers of the Covenant, and Avouchers of God to be their God*, *Deut. 26. 7, 18.* with *Deut. 29. 11, 12.* But if

Adult Children should without regard to their own personal Act, be taken in with their Parents then some might be reputed *Entertainers*, that are manifest *Rejectors* of the Covenant; for so an Adult Son or Daughter of a Godly Parent may be.

Partic. 5. *It is requisite unto the Membership of Children, that the next Parents, one or both, be in Covenant.* For altho' After-Generations have no small Benefit by their Pious Ancestors, who derive federal Holiness to their succeeding Generations in case they keep their standing in the Covenant, and be not Apostates from it; yet the *Piety* of Ancestors sufficeth not, unless the next Parent *continue* in Covenant, *Rom. 11. 22.*

1. Because if the next Parent be cut or broken off, the following Seed are broken off also, *Exod. 20. 5. Rom. 11. 17, 19, 20.* as the *Gentile* believing Parents and Children were taken in; so the *Jews*, Parents and Children, were then broken off.

2. One of the Parents must be a Believer, or *else the Children are unclean*, *1 Cor. 7. 14.*

3. If Children may be accounted Members and Baptised, though the next Parents be not in Covenant, then the Church should be bound to Baptise those, whom she can have *no power over nor hope concerning*, to see them brought up in the true Christian-Religion, and under the Ordinances: For the next Parents being wicked, and not in Covenant, may carry away and bring up their Children *to serve other Gods.*

4. If we stop not at the next Parent, but grant that Ancestors may, notwithstanding the Apostacy of the next Parents convey Membership unto Children, then we should want a ground where to stop, and then all the Children on Earth should have right to Membership and Baptism.

PROPOSITION. III.

The Infant-Seed of Confederate visible Believers, are Members of the same Church with their Parents, and when grown up are personally under the Watch, Discipline, and Government of that Church.

1. **T**HAT they are Members of the same Church with their Parents, appears; 1. Because, so were *Isaac* and *Ishmael* of *Abraham's* Family-Church, and the Children of *Jews*, and *Proselytes* of *Israel's* National Church: and there is the same Reason, for Children now to be of the same *Congregational-Church* with their Parents; Christ's Care for Children and the scope of the Covenant, as to Obligation unto Order and Government is as great now, as then. 2. Either they are Members of the same Church with their Parents, or of some other Church, or Non-Members: But neither of the latter; therefore the former. That they are not Non-Members was before proved in *Propos. 2. Particul. 3.* and if not Members of the same Church

Church with their Parents, then of *no other*. For if there be not Reason sufficient to state them Members of that Church, where their Parents have covenanted for them, and where ordinarily they are Baptised and do Inhabit, then much less is there Reason to make them Members of any other: and so they will be Members of no particular Church at all, and it was before shewed that there is no Ordinary, and Orderly standing estate of Church Members, but in some particular Church. 3. *The same Covenant Act is accounted the Act of Parent and Child*; but the Parents covenanting rendered himself a Member of this particular Church; therefore so it renders the Child also. How can Children come in, with and by their Parents, and yet come into a Church wherein and whereof their Parents are not, so that as they should be of one Church, and their Parents of another. 4. Children are in *an orderly and regular state*: for they are in that state, wherein the Order of God's Covenant, and his Institution therein hath placed them; they being Members by virtue of the Covenant of God. To say their standing is disorderly, would be to impute disorder to the Order of God's Covenant, or Irregularity to the Rule. Now all will grant it to be most orderly and regular, that every Christian be a Member in some particular Church, (and in that particular Church) where his regular Habitation is, which to Children usually is, where their Parents are. If the Rule call them to remove, then their Membership ought orderly to be translated to the Church, whither they remove. Again, Order requires, that *the Child*, and the *power of Government over the Child*, should go together. It would *bring shame* and Confusion, for the Child to be from under Government, *Prov. 29. 15.* and Parental and Ecclesiastical Government concurring do mutually help and strengthen each other. Hence the Parent and the Child must be Members of the same Church, unless the Child be by some special Providence so removed, as that some other Person hath the power over him.

2. *That when these Children are grown up, they are personally under the Watch, Discipline and Government of that Church*, is manifest; for 1. Children were under *Patriarchal* and *Mosaical* Discipline of old, *Gen. 18. 19.* and *21. 9, 10, 12. Gal. 5. 3.* and, therefore, under *Congregational* Discipline now. 2. They are within the Church, or Members thereof, (as hath been, and after will be further proved) and therefore subject to Church Judicature, *1 Cor. 5. 12.* 3. They are Disciples, and, therefore, under Discipline in Christ's School, *Mat. 28. 19, 20.* 4. They are in *Church-Covenant*, and, therefore, subject to *Church Power*, *Gen. 17. 7.* with *Chap. 18. 19.* 5. They are *subjects of the Kingdom of Christ*, and therefore under the Laws and Government of his Kingdom, *Ezek. 37. 25, 26.* 6. *Baptism* leaves the Baptised (of which number these Children are) in a state of subjection to the *Authoritative Teaching* of Christ's Ministers, and to the *observation*

of all his Commandments, *Mat. 28. 19, 20.* and therefore in a state of subjection unto Discipline. 7. Elders are charged to *take heed unto, and to feed*, (that is, both to Teach and Rule, compare *Ezek. 34. 3, 4.*) *all the Flock*, or Church, *over which the Holy Ghost hath made them Overseers*, *Acts 20. 28.* That Children are a part of the Flock, was before proved: and so *Paul* accounts them, writing to the same Flock or Church of *Ephesus*, *Eph. 6. 1. 8.* otherwise Irreligion and Apostacy would Inevitably break into Churches and no Church-way left by Christ to prevent or heal the same: which would also bring many Church Members under that dreadful Judgment of being let alone in their wickedness, *Hos. 4. 16. 17.*

PROPOSITION IV.

These Adult Persons are not therefore to be admitted to full Communion, merely because they are and continue Members, without such further Qualifications as the Word of God requireth thereunto.

The Truth hereof is plain.

1. FROM *1 Cor. 11. 28, 29.* where it is required that such as come to the Lord's Supper, be able to *examine themselves, and to discern the Lord's Body*; else they will *Eat and Drink unworthily, and Eat and Drink Damnation*, or Judgment, to themselves, when they partake of this Ordinance, but mere Membership is separable from such Ability to examine One's self, and discern the Lord's Body: as in the Children of the Covenant that grow up to Years is too often seen. 2. In the Old Testament, though Men did continue Members of the Church, yet for Ceremonial Uncleaness they were to be kept from full Communion in the Holy Things, *Levit. 7. 20, 21. Numb. 9. 6, 7.* and *19. 13, 20.* yea and the Priests and Porters in the Old Testament, had special charge committed to them, that Men *should not partake in all the Holy things*, unless duly qualified for the same, notwithstanding their Membership, *2 Chr. 23. 19. Ezek. 22. 26.* and *44. 7, 8, 9, 23.* and therefore much more in these times, where Moral fitness and spiritual Qualifications are wanting, *Membership alone*, is not sufficient for *full Communion*. More was required to Adult Persons *Eating the Passover*, than mere Membership, therefore so there is now to the Lord's Supper.

For they were to *Eat to the Lord*, *Ex. 12. 14.* which is expounded in *2 Chro. 30.* where *keeping the Passover to the Lord*, *Ver. 5.* imports, and requires exercising Repentance, *ver. 6, 7.* their actual giving up themselves to the Lord, *ver. 8.* *Heart preparation* for it, *ver. 19.* and Holy rejoicing before the Lord, *ver. 21, 25.* See the like in *Ezra 6. 21, 22.* 3. Tho' all Members of the Church are subjects of Baptism, they and their Children, yet all Members may not partake of the Lord's Supper, as is further manifest

manifest from the different Nature of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism firstly and properly seals *Covenant-Holiness*; as Circumcision did, *Gen. 17. Church-Membership, Rom. 15. 8. Planting into Christ, Rom. 6.* and so Members, as *such*, are the subjects of Baptism, *Mat. 28. 19.* But the Lord's Supper is the Sacrament of *growth in Christ*, and of *special Communion* with him, *1 Cor. 10. 16.* which supposeth a *special Renewing and Exercise* of Faith and Repentance, in those that partake of that Ordinance. Now if Persons even when Adult may be and continue Members, and yet be debarred from the Lord's Supper, until meet Qualifications for the same do appear in them; then may they also (until like Qualifications) be debarred from that Power of *Voting* in the Church, which pertains to *Males* in full Communion. It seems not Rational, that those, who are not themselves fit for all Ordinances, should have such an Influence referring to all Ordinances, as *Voting* in Election of Officers, Admission and Censures of Members doth import. For how can they, that are not able to Examine and Judge themselves, be thought able and fit to Discern and Judge in the weighty Affairs of the House of God, *1 Cor. 11. 28, 31.* with *1 Cor. 5. 12.*

PROPOSITION V.

Church-Members who were admitted in Minority, understanding the Doctrine of Faith, and publicly professing their Assent thereto; not scandalous in Life, and solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and Children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, their Children are to be Baptised.

This is Evident from the Arguments following.

Arg. 1. **T**Hese Children are partakers of that which is the main ground of Baptising any Children whatsoever, and neither the Parents nor the Children do put in any Bar to hinder it.

1. That they partake of that, which is the main ground of Baptising any, is clear; Because Interest in the Covenant is the main ground of Title to Baptism, and this these Children have. 1. Interest in the Covenant is the main ground of Title to Baptism; for so in the Old Testament, this was the ground of Title to Circumcision, *Gen. 17. 7, 9, 10, 11.* to which Baptism now answers, *Col. 2. 11, 12.* and *Acts 2. 38, 39.* they are on this ground exhorted to be Baptised, because the promise or Covenant was to them, and to their Children. That a Member, or one in Covenant, as *such*, is the subject of Baptism, was further cleared before, *Propos. 1.* 2. That these Children have Interest in the Covenant appears; Because if the Parent be in Covenant, the Child is also: for the Covenant is to Parents and their Seed in their Generations, *Gen. 17. 7, 9.*

The promise is to you, and to your Children, *Acts 2. 39.* If the Parent stands in the Church, so doth the Child among the Gentiles now, as well as among the Jews of old, *Rom. 11. 16, 20, 21, 22.* It is unheard of in Scripture that the Progress of the Covenant stops at the Infant-Child. But the Parents in question are in Covenant as appears. 1. Because they were once in Covenant, and never since Discovenanted. If they had not once been in Covenant, they had not warrantably been Baptised; and they are so still, except in some way of God they have been Discovenanted, cast out, or cut off from their Covenant Relation, which these have not been: neither are Persons once in Covenant, broken off from it, according to Scripture, save for notorious Sin and Incurribleness therein, *Rom. 11. 20.* which is not the case of these Parents. 2. Because the Tenor of the Covenant is to the Faithful, and their Seed after them, in their Generations, *Gen. 17. 7.* even to a Thousand Generations, i. e. conditionally, provided that the Parents successively do continue to be keepers of the Covenant, *Exod. 20. 6. Deut. 7. 9, 11. Psal. 105. 8.* which the Parents in question are, because they are not (in Scripture Account in this Case) forsakers or rejecters of the God and Covenant of their Fathers: See *Deut. 29. 25, 26. 2 Kings 17. 15, 20. 2 Chro. 7. 22. Deut. 7. 10.*

2. That these Parents, in question, do not put any Bar to hinder their Children from Baptism, is plain from the Words of the Proposition, wherein they are described to be such as understand the Doctrine of Faith, and publicly profess their Assent thereto: Therefore, they put not in any Bar of gross Ignorance, Atheism Herefie or Infidelity: Also they are not scandalous in Life, but solemnly own the Covenant, before the Church, therefore they put not in any Bar of Prophaness, or Wickedness, or Apostacy from the Covenant, whereinto they entred in Minority: That the Infant Children, in question do themselves put any Bar, none will imagine.

Arg. 2. The Children of the Parents in question, are either Children of the Covenant, or Strangers from the Covenant, *Eph. 2. 12.* either Holy or Unclean, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* either within the Church or without, *1 Cor. 5. 12.* either such as have God for their God, or without God in the World, *Eph. 2. 12.* But he that considers the Proposition, will not affirm the latter concerning these Children: and the former being granted, infers their Right to Baptism.

Arg. 3. To deny the Proposition would be, 1. To straiten the Grace of Christ in the Gospel-Dispensation, and to make the Church in New-Testament times in a worse Case, relating to their Children successively, than were the Jews of old. 2. To render the Children of the Jews, when they shall be called, in a worse Condition, than under the Legal Administration; contrary to *Jer. 30. 20. Ezek. 37. 25, 26.* 3. To deny the Application of the Initiatory-Seal to such as regularly stand in the Church and Covenant, to whom

whom the *Mosaical* Dispensation, nay, the first Institution in the Covenant of *Abraham*, appointed it to be applied, *Gen. 17. 9, 10. Job. 7. 22, 23.* 4. To break God's Covenant by denying the initiatory Seal to those that are in Covenant, *Gen. 17. 9, 10, 14.*

Arg. 4. Confederate visible Believers, tho' but in the lowest degree such, are to have their Children baptized; witness the Practice of *John Baptist* and the Apostles, who baptized Persons upon the first beginning of their Christianity. But the Parents in Question are confederate visible Believers, at least in some degree. For, 1. Charity may observe in them sundry positive Arguments for it; witness the Terms of the Proposition, and nothing evident against it. 2. Children of the godly qualified but as the Persons in the Proposition, are said to be faithful, *Tit. 1. 6.* 3. Children of the Covenant (as the Parents in question are) have frequently the beginning of Grace wrought in them in younger years, as Scripture and Experience shews. Instance *Joseph, Samuel, David, Solomon, Abijah, Josiah, Daniel, John Baptist* and *Timothy*. Hence this sort of Persons shewing nothing to the contrary, are in Charity, or to Ecclesiastical Reputation Visible Believers. 4. They that are regularly in the Church (as the Parents in question be) are Visible Saints in the Account of Scripture (which is the Account of Truth) for the Church is, in Scripture-Account, A Company of Saints, *1 Cor. 14. 33. & 1. 2.* 5. Being in Covenant and Baptized, they have Faith and Repentance indefinitely given to them in the Promise, and sealed up in Baptism, *Deut. 30. 6.* which continues valid, and so a valid Testimony for them while they do not reject it. Yet it does not necessarily follow, that these Persons are immediately fit for the Lord's Supper, because, tho' they are in a Latitude of Expression, to be accounted Visible Believers, or in *Numero Fidelium*, as even Infants in Covenant are, yet they may want that Ability to examine themselves, and that special Exercise of Faith, which is requisite to that Ordinance; as was said upon *Propos. 4.*

Arg. 5. The denial of Baptism to the Children in Question, hath a dangerous Tendency to Irreligion and Apostacy; because it denies them, and so the Children of the Church successively, to have any part in the Lord; which is the way to make them cease from fearing the Lord, *Jos. 22. 24, 25, 27.* For if they have a Part in the Lord, i. e. a Portion in *Israel*, and so in the Lord the God of *Israel*, then they are in the Church, or Members of it, and so to be baptized, according to *Propos. 1.* The owning of the Children of those that successively continue in Covenant to be a part of the Church, is so far from being destructive to the purity & prosperity of the Church & of Religion therein (as some conceive) that this Imputation belongs to the contrary Tenet. To seek to be more pure than the Rule, will ever end in Impurity in the Issue. God hath so framed his Covenant, and consequently the Constitution of his Church thereby, as to design a Continuation and Propagation of his Kingdom therein, from one Gene-

ration to another. Hence the Covenant runs, *To us, and to our Seed after us in their Generations.* To keep in the Line, and under the Influence and Efficacy of this Covenant of God, is the true way to the Church's Glory: To cut it off and disavow it, cuts off the Posterity of *Zion*, and hinders it from being (as in the most glorious Times it shall be) an eternal Excellency and the Joy of many Generations. This Progress of the Covenant establisheth the Church, *Deut. 29. 13. Jer. 30. 20.* The contrary therefore doth disestablish it. This obligeth and advantageth to the Conveyance of Religion down to after Generations; the care whereof is strictly commanded, and highly approved by the Lord, *Psalms 78. 4, 5, 6, 7. Gen. 18. 19.* This continues a Nursery still in Christ's Orchard or Vineyard, *Isa. 5. 1, 7.* the contrary neglects That, and so lets the whole run to ruine. Surely God was an Holy God, and loved the Purity and Glory of the Church in the Old Testament; but when he went in this way of a successive Progress of the Covenant to that End, *Jer. 13. 11.* If some did then, or do now, decline to Unbelief and Apostacy, that doth not make the Faith of God in his Covenant of none effect, or the Advantage of Interest therein, inconsiderable; yea, the more Holy, Reforming and Glorious that the Times are, or shall be, the more eminently is a successive Continuation and Propagation of the Church therein designed, promised and intended, *Isa. 60. 15. & 59. 21. Ezek. 37. 25, 28. Psalm 102. 16, 28. Jer. 32. 39.*

Arg. 6. The Parents, in Question, are personal, immediate, and yet continuing Members of the Church.

1. That they are personal Members, or Members in their own Persons, appears, 1. Because they are personally Holy, *1 Cor. 7. 14.* not Parents only, but [your Children] are Holy. 2. They are personally baptized, or have had Baptism, the Seal of Membership applied to their own Persons; which being regularly done, is a Divine Testimony, that they are in their own Persons Members of the Church. 3. They are personally under Discipline, and liable to Church-Censures in their own Persons; vide *Propos. 3.* 4. They are personally (by means of the Covenant) in a visible State of Salvation. To say they are not Members in their own Persons, but in their own Parents, would be as if one should say, They are saved in their Parents, and not in their Persons. 5. When they commit Iniquity, they personally break the Covenant, therefore are personally in it, *Jerem. 11. 2, 10. Ezek. 16.*

2. By the like Reasons, it appears, that Children are immediate Members, as to the Essence of Membership (i. e. that they themselves in their own Persons, are the immediate Subjects of this adjunct of Church-Membership) though they come to it by Means of their Parents covenanting. For as touching that Distinction of Mediate and Immediate, as applied to Membership (which some urge) we are to distinguish. 1. Between the Efficient and Essence of Membership. 2. Between the Instrumental Efficient, or Means

Means thereof, which is the *Parents Profession* and *Covenanting*; and the *Principal Efficient*, which is *Divine Institution*. They may be said to be *mediate* (or rather *mediately*) Members, as they become Members *by means* of their Parents *Covenanting*, as an *Instrumental cause* thereof: but that doth nothing vary or diminish *the Essence* of their Membership. For *Divine Institution* giveth or granteth a real and personal Membership unto them, as well as unto their Parents, and maketh the Parent a publick Person, and so his Act theirs to that end.

Hence the *Essence* of Membership, that is, *Covenant-Interest*, or a *place and portion within the Visible Church* is really, properly, personally and immediately the *Portion* of the Child, by *Divine Gift* and *Grant*, *Jos. 22. 25, 27.* their Children have a part in the Lord as well as themselves. A part in the Lord, there, and *Church-Membership* (or *Membership in Israel*) are terms equivalent. Now the Children there, and a part in the Lord, are *subject and adjunct*, which nothing comes between, so as to sever the *Adjunct* from the *Subject*; therefore they are *immediate Subjects* of that *Adjunct* of *immediate Members*. Again, their visible *Ingrafting* into *Christ the Head*, and so into the *Church his Body*, is sealed in their *Baptism*: but in *Ingrafting* nothing comes betwixt the *Graft* and the *Stock*: Their *Union* is *immediate*; hence they are immediately inserted into the *Visible Church*, or *immediate Members* thereof. The *Little Children* in *Deut. 29. 11.* were personally and immediately a part of the *People of God*, or *Members of the Church of Israel*, as well as their Parents. To be in *Covenant*, or to be a *Covenantee* is the *formalis Ratio* of a *Church-Member*. If one come to be in *Covenant* one way, and another in another, but both are in *Covenant* or *Covenantees* (i. e. parties with whom the *Covenant* is made, and whom *God* takes into *Covenant*) as *Children* here are, *Gen. 17. 7, 8.* then both are in their own Persons the *immediate Subjects* of the *formalis Ratio* of *Membership*, and so *immediate Members*. To *Act* in *covenanting* is but the *Instrumental means* of *Membership*, and yet *Children* are not without this neither. For the *Act* of the *Parent* (their publick person) is accounted theirs, and they are said to *enter into Covenant*, *Deut. 29. 11, 12.* So that what is it that *Children* want unto an *Actual, Compleat, Proper, Absolute and Immediate Membership*? (so far as these terms may with any propriety or pertinency be applied to the matter in hand) Is it *Covenant-Interest* which is the *formalis Ratio* of *Membership*? No, they are in *Covenant*. Is it *Divine Grant and Institution*, which is the *Principal Efficient*? No, he hath clearly declared himself, that he grants unto the *Children* of his *People* a portion in his *Church*, and appoints them to be *Members* thereof. Is it an *Act of Covenanting*, which is the *Instrumental means*? No, they have this also reputatively by *Divine Appointment*, making the *Parent* a *publick Person*, and accounting them to *Covenant* in his *Covenanting*. A dif-

ferent manner and means of conveying the *Covenant* to us, or of making us *Members*, doth not make a different sort of the *Membership*. We now are as truly personally and immediate *Members* of the *Body* of fallen *Mankind*, and, by *Nature* Heirs of the *Condemnation* pertaining thereto as *Adam* was, though he came to be so by his own personal *Act*, and we by the *Act* of our publick *Person*. If a *Prince* give such *Lands* to a *Man* and his Heirs successively, while they continue *Loyal*; the following *Heir* is a true and immediate *Owner* of that *Land*, and may be personally disinherited if *Disloyal*, as well as his *Father* before him. A *Member* is one, that is according to *Rule*, (or according to *Divine Institution*) within the *Visible Church*.

Thus the *Child* is properly and personally, or immediately. *Paul* casts all *Men* into two sorts, those *within*, and those *without*. i. e. *Members* and *Non-Members*, *1 Cor. 5. 12.* It seems he knew of no such distinction of *mediate* and *immediate* as puts a *medium* between these two. *Object*. If *Children* be compleat and immediate *Members* as their *Parents* are, then they shall immediately have all *Church Privileges*, as their *Parents* have, without any further *Act* or *Qualification*, *Answ.* It follows not. All *Privileges* that belong to *Members*, as such, do belong to the *Children* as well as the *Parents*: But all *Church Privileges* do not so. A *Member* as such (or all *Members*) may not partake of all *Privileges*; but they are to make progress both in *Memberly duties* and *privileges*, as their *Age, Capacity* and *Qualifications* do fit them for the same.

3. That their *Membership* still continues in *Adult Age*, and ceaseth not with their *Infancy*, appears; 1. Because in *Scripture* Persons are broken off only for notorious *Sin*, or incorrigible *Impenitency* and *Unbelief*, not for growing up to *Adult Age*, *Rom. 11. 20.* 2. The *Few Children Circumcised* did not cease to be *Members* by growing up, but continued in the *Church*, and were by virtue of their *Membership*, received in *Infancy*, bound unto various *duties*, and in special unto those solemn personal professions that pertained to *Adult Members*, not, as then, entering into a *new Membership*, but as making a progress in *Memberly Duties*, *Deut. 26. 2, 10.* and *16. 16, 17.* with *Gal. 5. 3.* 3. Those *Relations of Born-Servants* and *Subjects*, which the *Scripture* makes use of to set forth the state of *Children* in the *Church* by *Lev. 25. 41, 42. Ezek. 37. 25.* do not (as all *Men* know) cease with *Infancy*, but continue in *Adult Age*. Whence also it follows, that one special end of *Membership* received in *Infancy*, is to leave Persons under *Engagement* to *Service* and *Subjection* to *Christ* in his *Church*, when grown up, when they are fittest for it, and have most need of it. 4. There is no ordinary way of *Cessation* of *Membership*, but by *Death*, *Dismission*, *Excommunication*, or *Dissolution* of the *Society*: None of which is the *Case* of the *Persons* in question. 5. Either they are, when *Adult*, *Members* or *Non-Members*: if *Non-Members*,

then a Person admitted a Member, and sealed by Baptism, not cast out, nor deserving so to be, may (the Church whereof he was still remaining) become a Non-Member and out of the Church, and of the Unclean World; which the Scripture acknowledgeth not. Now if the Parent stand Member of the Church, the Child is a Member also: For now the Root is Holy, therefore so are the Branches, *Rom. 11. 16. 1 Cor. 7. 14.* The Parent is in Covenant, therefore so is the Child, *Gen. 17. 7.* and if the Child be a Member of the Visible Church, then he is a Subject of Baptism, according to *Propos. 1.*

PROPOSITION VI.

Such Church-Members, who either by Death, or some other extraordinary Providence, have been inevitably hindred from publick acting as aforesaid, yet have given the Church cause, in judgment of Charity, to look at them, as so qualified, and such, as had they been called thereunto would have so acted, their Children are to be Baptised.

This manifest.

1. **B**ECAUSE the main Foundation of the right of the Child to privilege remains, *viz.* God's Institution, and the Force of his Covenant carrying it to the Generations of such as continue keepers of the Covenant, *i. e.* not visibly breakers of it. By virtue of which *Institution and Covenant* the Children in question, are Members, and their Membership being distinct from the Parents Membership, ceaseth not, but continues, notwithstanding the Parent's Decease or necessary Absence: and, if Members, then Subjects of Baptism. 2. Because the Parent's not doing what is required in the Fifth Proposition, is through want of opportunity; which is not to be imputed as their guilt, so as to be a bar to the Child's Privilege. 3. God reckoneth that as done in his Service, to which there was a manifest Desire and Endeavour, albeit the acting of it, were hindred; as in *David* to Build the Temple, *1 King. 8. 18. 19.* In *Abraham* to Sacrifice his Son, *Heb. 11. 17.* according to that in *2 Cor. 8. 12.* *Where there is a willing mind, it is accepted according to what a Man hath, and not according to what he hath not:* which is true of this Church-Duty, as well as of that of Alms. It is a usual Phrase with the Ancients to stile such and such Martyrs *in Voto*, and Baptised *in Voto*, because there was no want of desire that way, though their desire was not actually accomplished. 4. The terms of the Proposition import that in Charity, that is here done *interoperatively*, which is mentioned to be done in the Fifth Proposition *expressly*.

PROPOSITION VII.

The Members of Orthodox Churches, being sound in the Faith, and not scandalous in Life, and presenting due Testimony thereof; these occasionally coming from one Church to another, may have their Children Baptized in the Church, whither they come by virtue of Communion of Churches: but if they remove their Habitation, they ought orderly to Covenant and Subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, where they settle their abode, and so their Children to be Baptised. It being the Churches duty to receive such unto Communion, so far, as they are Regularly fit for the same.

1. **S**UCH Members of other Churches, as are here described, occasionally coming from one Church to another, their Children are to be Baptised in the Church whither they come, by virtue of Communion of Churches.

1. Because he that is regularly a Member of a true particular Church, is a subject of Baptism according to *Propos. first* and second. But the Children of the Parents here described are such, according to *Propos. fifth* and sixth; Therefore they are meet and Lawful Subjects of Baptism, or have right to be Baptised. And *Communion of Churches*, infers such Acts as this is, *viz.* To Baptize a fit Subject of Baptism, tho' a Member of another Church, when the same is orderly desired. (see *Platform of Discipline*, Chap. 15. Sect. 4.) For look as every Church, hath a double Consideration, *viz.* 1. Of it's own Constitution and Communion within it self: 2. Of that Communion which it holds, and ought to maintain with other Churches. So the Officer (*the Pastor or Teacher*) thereof, is there set. (1.) To Administer to this Church *constantly*; (2.) To do Acts of Communion *occasionally*, *viz.* Such as belong to his Office as *Baptising* doth, respecting the Members of other Churches, with whom this Church holds, or ought to hold Communion.

2. To refuse Communion with a true Church in *Lawful and Pious Actions*, is unlawful, and justly accounted Schismatical. For, if the Church be true Christ holdeth some Communion with it; and therefore so must we: but if we will not have Communion with it in those Acts that are Good and Pious, then in none at all. *Total separation* from a true Church is unlawful: But to deny a Communion in good Actions is to make a Total separation. Now to Baptize a fit subject, as is the Child in question, is a *Lawful and a Pious Action*, and therefore by *virtue of Communion of Churches*, in the Case mentioned to be attended.

And if Baptism Lawfully Administred, may and ought to be received by us, for our Children, in another true Church, where Providence

fo casts us, as that we cannot have it in our own, (as doubtless it may and ought to be) then also we may and ought in like case to dispense Baptism, when desired to a meet and Lawful Subject, being a Member of another Church. To deny or refuse either of these, would be an unjustifiable refusing of Communion of Churches, and tending to sinful separation.

2. *Such as remove their Habitation, ought orderly to Covenant and subject themselves to the Government of Christ in the Church, where they settle their Abode, and so their Children to be Baptised.* 1. Because the Regularly Baptised are Disciples, and under the Discipline and Government of Christ: but they that are absolutely removed from the Church, whereof they were, so as to be incapable of being under Discipline there, shall be under it, no where, if not in the Church where they inhabit. They that would have *Church-privileges* ought to be under *Church-power*: but these will be under no Church-power, but as Lambs in a large place, if not under it there, where their settled abode is. 2. Every Christian ought to Covenant for himself and for his Children, or professedly to give up himself, and his to the Lord, and that in the way of his Ordinances, *Deut. 26. 17* and *12. 5.* and Explicite Covenanting is a Duty, especially where we are called to it, and have opportunity for it: nor can they well be said to Covenant Implicitly, that do Explicitly refuse a professed Covenanting, when called thereunto. And especially this Covenanting is a Duty, when we would partake of such Church-privilege, as Baptism for our Children is. But the Parents, in question, will now be professed Covenanters no where, if not in the Church, where their fixed Habitation is. Therefore they ought orderly to Covenant, there, and so their Children to be baptised. 3. To refuse Covenanting and subjection to Christ's Government in the Church where they live, being so removed as to be utterly incapable of it elsewhere, would be a walking disorderly, and would too much favour of Profaneness and Separation; and hence to Administer Baptism to the Children of such as stand in that way, would be to Administer Christ's Ordinances to such as are in a way of Sin and Disorder; which ought not to be, *2 Thes. 3. 6.* *1 Chron. 15. 13.* and would be contrary to that Rule, *1 Cor. 14. 40.* Let all things be done decently and in order.

QUESTION II.

Whether according to the Word of God there ought to be a Consociation of Churches, and what should be the manner of it?

ANSWER.

THE Answer may be briefly given in the Propositions following.

1. Every Church or particular Congregation of visible Saints in Gospel-Order, being furnished with a Presbytery, at least with a Teaching Elder, and walking together in Truth and Peace, hath received from the Lord Jesus full Power and Authority Ecclesiastical within it self, regularly to Administer all the Ordinances of Christ, and is not under any other Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction whatsoever. For to such a Church Christ hath given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, that what they bind or loose on Earth, shall be bound or loosed in Heaven, *Mat. 16. 19.* and *18. 17, 18.* Elders are ordained in every Church, *Acts 14. 23.* *Tit. 1. 5.* and are therein Authorized Officially to Administer in the Word, Prayer, Sacraments and Censures, *Mat. 28. 19; 20.* *Acts 6. 4.* *1 Cor. 4. 1.* and *5. 4, 12.* *Acts 20. 28.* *1 Tim. 5. 17.* and *3. 5.* The reproving of the Church of Corinth, and of the Asian Churches severally, imports they had Power each of them within themselves to Reform the Abuses that were amongst them, *1 Cor. 5. Rev. 2. 14, 20.* Hence it follows, that Consociation of Churches is not to hinder the Exercise of this Power; but by Counsel from the Word of God to direct, and strengthen the same upon all just occasions.

2. The Churches of Christ do stand in a Sisterly Relation each to other, *Cant. 8. 8.* being united in the same Faith and Order, *Eph. 4. 5.* *Col. 2. 5.* To walk by the same Rule, *Phil. 3. 16.* In the Exercise of the same Ordinances for the same end, *Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13.* *1 Cor. 16. 1.* under one and the same political Head, the Lord Jesus Christ, *Eph. 1. 22, 23.* and *4. 5.* *Rev. 2. 1.* which Union infers a Communion suitable thereunto.

3. Communion of Churches is the Faithful Improvement of the Gifts of Christ bestowed upon them, for his Service and Glory, and their mutual Good and Edification, according to Capacity and Opportunity, *1 Pet. 4. 10, 11.* *1 Cor. 12. 4, 7.* and *10. 24.* *1 Cor. 3. 21, 22.* *Cant. 8. 9.* *Rom. 1. 15.* *Gal. 6. 10.*

4. Acts of Communion of Churches are such as these.

1. Hearty Care and Prayer one for another, *2 Cor. 11. 28.* *Cant. 8. 8.* *Rom. 1. 9.* *Col. 1. 9.* *Eph. 6. 18.*
2. To afford Relief by Communication of their Gifts in Temporal or Spiritual Necessities, *Rom. 15. 26, 27.* *Acts 11. 22, 29.* *2 Cor. 8. 1, 4, 14.*
3. To maintain Unity and Peace, by giving account one to another of their publick Actions, when it is orderly desired, *Acts 11. 2, 3, 4.* *18.* *Josh. 22. 13, 21, 30.* *1 Cor. 10. 32.* and to strengthen one another in their Regular Administrations; as in special by a Concurrent Testimony against Persons justly Censured, *Acts 5. 41.* and *16. 4, 5.* *2 Tim. 4. 15.* *2 Thes. 3. 14.*

4. ' To seek and accept help from, and
' give help unto each other.
1. ' In case of Divisions and Contentions
' whereby the Peace of any Church
' is disturbed, *Acts* 15. 2.
2. ' In matters of more than ordinary
' Importance, [*Prov.* 24. 6. and 15.
' 22.] as Ordination, Translation and
' Deposition of Elders and such like,
' *1 Tim.* 5. 22.
3. ' In Doubtful and Difficult Questions
' and Controversies, Doctrinal or
' Practical that may arise, *Acts* 15.
' 2, 6.
4. ' For the rectifying of Male-Admini-
' strations, and healing of Errors and
' Scandals, that are unhealed among
' themselves, *3 Joh.* v. 9, 10. *2 Cor.* 2.
' 6, 11. *1 Cor.* 15. *Rev.* 2. 14, 15, 16.
' *2 Cor.* 12. 20, 21. and 13. 2. Churches
now have need of help in like cases,
as well as Churches then; Christ's
care is still for whole Churches, as
well as for particular Persons; And
Apostles being now ceased, there re-
mains the Duty of Brotherly Love,
and mutual Care, and Helpfulness
incumbent upon Churches, especially
Elders for that end.
5. ' In Love and Faithfulness to take
' notice of the Troubles and Difficulties,
' Errors and Scandals of another Church,
' and to Administer help, (when the case
' necessarily calls for it) tho' they should
' so neglect their own Good and Duty,
' as not to seek it, *Exod.* 23. 4, 5. *Prov.*
' 24. 11, 12.
6. ' To Admonish one another, when there
' is need and cause for it, and after due
' means with Patience used, to withdraw
' from a Church, or peccant party therein,
' obstinately persisting in Error or Scan-
' dal; as in the Platform of Discipline
' (*Cap.* 15. *Secl.* 2. *Partic.* 3.) is more
' at large declared, *Gal.* 2. 11, 14.
' *2 Thes.* 3. 6. *Rom.* 16. 17.
5. Confociation of Churches is their Mutual
' and solemn Agreement to exercise Communion
' in such Acts, as aforesaid, amongst themselves,
' with special reference to those Churches, which
' by Providence are planted in a convenient vi-
' cinity, though with Liberty reserved without
' Offence, to make use of others, as the Na-

ture of the Case, or the Advantage of Oppor-
' tunity may lead thereunto.

6. ' The Churches of Christ in this Country
' having so good opportunity for it, it is meet
' to be commended to them, as their Duty thus
' to Confociate. For 1. Communion of Churches
being commanded, and Confociation being but
an Agreement to practise it, this must needs be
a Duty also, *Psal.* 119. 106. *Neb.* 28. 29.
2. *Paul* an Apostle fought with much Labour
the Conference, Concurrence, and Right Hand
of Fellowship of other Apostles: and Ordinary
Elders and Churches have not less need each of
other, to prevent their Running in Vain, *Gal.* 2.
2, 6, 9. 3. Those General Scripture Rules,
touching the need and use of Counsel, and help
in weighty Cases, concern all Societies and
Politics, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, *Prov.* 11.
14. and 15. 22. and 20. 18. and 24. 6. *Ecclief.*
4. 9, 10, 14. 4. The Pattern in *Acts* 15. holds
forth a Warrant for Councils, which may be
greater or lesser, as the matter shall require;
5. Concurrence and Communion of Churches
in Gospel times, is not obscurely held forth
in *Isa.* 19. 23, 24, 25. *Zeph.* 3. 9. *1 Cor.* 11.
16. and 14. 32, 36. 6. There has constantly
been in these Churches a possession of Com-
munion, in giving the Right Hand of Fellow-
ship in the gathering of Churches, and Ordina-
tion of Elders; which importeth a Confociation,
and obligeth to the practise thereof. Without
which we should also want an expedient, and
sufficient Cure for Emergent Church Difficulties
and Differences: with the want whereof our
way is charged, but unjustly, if this part of
the Doctrine thereof were duly practised.

7. ' The manner of the Church's Agreement
' herein, or entering into this Confociation, may
' be by each Church's open consenting unto
' the Things, here, declared in Answer to the
' second Question, as also to what is said there-
' about, in *Chap.* 15. and 16. of the Platform
' of Discipline, with reference to other Churches
' in this Colony and Countrey, as in *Propos.* 5.
' is before expressed.

8. ' The manner of Exercising and Practising
' that Communion, which this Consent or
' Agreement specially tendeth unto, may be,
' by making use occasionally of Elders or able
' Bretheren of other Churches; or by the more
' solemn Meetings of both Elders and Messen-
' gers in Lesser or Greater Councils. as the mat-
' ter shall require.

R E M A R K S

U P O N T H E

Synodical Propositions.

§ 1. **T**HE Propositions thus voted by the Major Part, more than Seven to One, in the Synod, were clog'd by the Dissent of several Reverend and Judicious Persons, in that Venerable Assembly; who were jealous lest the Sacred Ordinance of *Baptism*, should come to be applied unto such unmeet Subjects, as would in a while put an End unto *New-England's* Primitive and Peculiar Glory of *undefiled Administrations*. Tho' we cannot say, that in this our Synod, the Observation of *Thuanus* was verified, *Colloquia, quæ ut Theologicis controversiis Finis imponatur, instituantur, majorum excitandarum sæpe initium existunt*; yet the Reciprocations of Argument, which ensued on this Difference, quickly became sensible to Mankind, as by some other Common Effects of *Controversie*, so especially by the Disquisitions which were, on this Occasion, published unto the World. Here, not concerning our selves with the *Antisynodalia Americana*, compos'd by Mr. *Charles Chauncey*, the President of the College, and answer'd by Mr. *John Allen*, Pastor of *Dedham*, we shall only take Notice of the two *Twin-Discourses*, which made most Figure in the Management of *This* Disputation. First, Mr. *John Davenport* in Opposition to the Synod, emitted a Treatise, under the Title of, *Another Essay for Investigation of the Truth*: whereto there was by another Hand prefixed, *that* which the Elders of the Synod judged the distinctest and exactest Thing, that has been written on that side, under the Title of, *An Apologetical Preface* for the Defence of the Synod. Mr. *Rich. Mather*, being thereunto appointed, wrote a full Answer to the *Essay*; and Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel* wrote a fuller Answer to the *Preface*; both of which quickly saw the Light.

§ 2. The true State of the Difference cannot be better given than by Epitomizing the *Positions* and *Arguments* in the close of the *Apologetical Preface* on the one part, and the *Answers* to those *Positions* and *Arguments*, on the other. And I am the more willing to give it, because the Ecclesiastical Affairs of this Country have so much turned upon it.

On the one side, thus reasoned the Learned Apologist.

I. The Synod did acknowledge, *that there ought to be true saving Faith in the Parent, according to the Judgment of rational Charity, or else the Child ought not to be baptized.* We entreated and urged again and again, that *this*, which they themselves acknowledged was a *Principle of Truth*, might be set down for a *Conclusion*, and then we should all agree. But those reverend Persons would not consent to *this*.

On the other side, thus replied the Excellent Answerer.

We are to distinguish between *Faith* in the hopeful *beginning* of it, the charitable Judgment whereof runs upon a great Latitude; and *Faith* in the special *exercise* of it, unto the visible Discovery whereof, more experienced Operations are to be enquired after. The Words of Dr. *Aimes* are, *Children are not to be admitted to partake of all Church Priviledges, till first increase of Faith do appear; but from those which belong to the beginning of Faith, and entrance into the Church, they are not to be excluded.*

The Apostles constantly *baptized* Persons upon the first *beginning* of their Christianity, but the *Lord's Supper* followed after, as annexed unto some *Progress* in Christianity. The same strictness as to *outward Signs*, is not necessary unto a charitable Judgment of that *Initial Faith*, which entitles unto *Baptism*, as there is unto the like Judgment of that *exercised Faith*, which is requisite unto the *Supper* of the Lord. We all own, that only *Visible Believers*, are to have their Children *baptized*; and it is expressed so in the Synod's Result; but the Question is, *Who are Visible Believers?* Our Brethren strove so to scrue up the Expressions for *Baptism*, that all that have their Children *baptized* must unavoidably be brought unto the *Lord's Table*, and unto a Power of *voting* in the Churches. This we say, will prove a *Church-corrupting Principle*.

A P O L O G Y.

II. We have no warrant in all the Scripture to apply the Seal of *Baptism* unto those Children, whose Parents are in a state of Unfitness for the Lord's Supper. Those *Acts* 2. 41. who were baptized, continued breaking Bread also, unless the Father were in a state of fitness for the Passover, his Child might not be circumcised. Neither do we read that in the primitive Times, Baptism was of a greater Latitude, as to the Subject thereof, than the Lord's Supper. *Catechumeni ad Baptisterium nunquam admittendi sunt. Concil Ara, Chap. 19.* In the Dawnings of Reformation in England, our *Juel* could plead against *Harding*, *That Baptism was as much to be revered, as the Body and Blood of Christ.* Nay, a grievous Error has therefore, been committed in former Ages, and other Churches, *to administer the Lord's Supper unto Infants.*

A N S W E R.

By a state of Unfitness, must be meant either, Non-Membership: But the Parents, in the Question, are Members of the Church; and so to them do belong all Church Priviledges, according as they shall be capable thereof, and appear duly qualified for the same: They have a *Jus ad rem*, tho' not *Jus in re*; as a Child has a right unto his Fathers Estate, however he have not the actual Fruition of it, until he be qualified with such and such Abilities. Or else is meant, *a want of actual Qualifications fitting*, whereby a Person is either in himself short of actual Fitness for the Lord's Table, or wanteth a Church-Approbation of his Fitness. Now we conceive there is a Warrant in Scripture for the applying of Baptism to Children, whose Parents do want actual Qualifications, fitting them for the Lord's Supper. The Parent might want actual Fitness for the Passover by manifold ceremonial Uncleannesses, and yet that hindered not the Circumcision of the Child. He must be judged clean by the Priest of the Church whereof he was a Member, and so, free to partake of the Holy Things. Thus the Parents in the Question must have their Fitness for the Lord's Table judged by those, to whom the Judgment belongs. But what Fitness for the Lord's Supper, had those that were baptized by *John Baptist*, and by Christ's Disciples at his Appointment, in the beginning of his publick Ministry? What Fitness had the *Jaylor*, when himself and all his were baptized after an hours Instruction, wherein probably he had not so much as heard any thing of the Lord's Supper? The teaching of which, followed after discipling and baptizing, as is hinted by that Order in *Matth.* 28. 19, 20. and by the antient Practice of not teaching the *Catechumeni* any thing about the Lord's Supper, till after they were baptized, as is affirmed by *Hanmer* and *Baxter*, out of *Albaspineus*. We constantly read in the *Acts*, that Persons were baptized, immediately upon their first entrance into Membership; but

we never do read, that they did immediately upon their first Membership, receive the Lord's Supper. Yea, so far is Baptism from being inseparable from immediate Admission to the Lord's Supper, that we read of no one, (no, not of the Adult) in all the *New Testament*, that was admitted to the Lord's Supper, immediately upon his Baptism.

The only place that sounds, as if it were quickly after, *viz. Acts* 2. 41, 42. is alledged by our Brethren. But it is here said, they (after their being added and baptized) continued in (or gave sedulous attendance to) the Apostles Doctrine [First] and then breaking of Bread. There was a time of gaining further acquaintance with Christ, and with his Ways and Ordinances, by the Apostle's Instruction, between their baptizing and their Participation of the Lord's Supper. And the Churches of Christ in all, especially in the best Ages, and the choicest Lights therein, both Antient and Modern, have concurred in this Principle, *That Baptism is of larger Extent, than the Lord's Supper, and that many that are within the Visible Church, may have Baptism for themselves, at least for their Children, who yet at present want actual Fitness for the Lord's Supper.* The Authors, that write of *Confirmation* do abundantly prove this Assertion. Here is not room to insert the Evidences, that in the first Ages of the Church, there were many within the Church, who were debarred from the Lord's Supper, and yet had their Children Baptized. And since the Reformation, the reforming Divines have in their Doctrine unanimously taught, and in their Practice many of them endeavoured, a strict Selection of those that should be admitted unto the Lord's Supper; when yet they have been more large in Point of Baptism. Plentiful Testimonies are cited, first from *Calvin*, from *Crotius*, from *Bucan*, from *Beza*, from *Polanus*, from *Ursin* and *Paræus*, and from the *Harmony of Confessions*; and then from *Ames*, from *Hooker*, and from *Hildersham*, to this purpose.

A P O L O G Y.

III. The Parents of the Children in Question, are not Members of any instituted Church, according to Gospel-Rules; because they were never under any explicit and personal Covenant. If this second Generation do retain their Membership by Virtue of their Parents Covenant, made for them in Minority; then in case all the Pro-Parents were dead, this second Generation would be a true Church of Christ; without any further Act of Covenanting. But this they are not. For, then, they would have the Power to manage all Church-Affairs, as every true Church hath; which the Synod will not grant unto them.

A N S W E R.

We doubt not to affirm with *Dr. Ames*, that Children are Members of an instituted Church, according to Gospel-Rules; and that they are under personal Covenant, or, personally taken into Covenant by God, according to his Gospel-Rules, tho' they have not performed the Act of Cove-

Covenanting in their own Persons; yea, under the Explicit Covenant also, if the Parent's Covenanting was Explicit. Though we take it for a Principle granted by Congregational Men, with one Consent, That an Implicit Covenant, preserves the Being of a true Church, and so of true Church-Membership. We also say, The second Generation, continuing in a visible Profession of the Covenant, Faith and Religion of their Fathers, are a true Church of Christ, though they have not yet made any Explicit personal Expression of their Engagement, as their Fathers did. Even, as the *Israelites*, that were Numbred in the Plains of *Moab*, were a true Church, and under the Covenant of God, made with them in *Horeb*, though their Parents, with whom it was first made, in *Horeb*, were all Dead; and that before the solemn Renewal of the Covenant with them in the Plains of *Moab*. Our denial of Liberty unto these to Vote in Church-Affairs, till they be Qualified for, and Admitted to the Lord's Supper, is no prejudice to our Grant of their being a true Church. For the case of a true Church may be such, as that they may be, at present, unfit to Exercise a Power of acting in Church-Affairs, which yet may be Radically in them; even, till, by the use of needful means, They, or a select Number among them, be brought up unto a better Capacity for it. We might also ask whether it would prove *Women* to be no Members of an Instituted Church, because if all the *Men* were Dead, they could not then be a Church? We may add; if Discipline, and other Ordinances be kept up, we may hope God will so bless his Ordinances, that a considerable number shall, from time to time, have such Grace given them, as to be fit for full Communion, and carry on the things of his House with competent Strength, Beauty and Edification.

A P O L O G Y:

IV. It is not mere Membership, but qualified Membership that gives Right unto Baptism. *John's* Baptism, which was Christian, might not be applied to some, who were Members of the Visible Church, because they were not qualified with Repentance, *Luke* 3. 8. and 7. 30. This seems to cut the Sinews of the strongest Argument brought by the *Synod*, for the *Enlargement of Baptism*; which is the *Membership of the Children* in Controversie.

A N S W E R.

Some Privileges in the Church belong to Persons, merely because they are Members of it: so doth Baptism and Church-watch. But other Privileges belong to them as cloathed with such and such Qualifications: thus the Lord's Supper now, as the Passover of Old. If Children in their Minority are Members, as our Brethren acknowledge them to be, then there are Members that are not yet fit for Full-Communion. And for the Adult, when a Man is by Admonition debarred from the Lord's Table, and yet not Excommunicated; he continues a

Member, yea, a Personal Member, in our Brethren's Account, and yet is not in Full-Communion; It is clear then that Membership and Full Communion, are separable things. Besides, 'tis a Membership *de jure*, and not only *de facto*, whereof we speak, when we speak of mere Membership. Now such a Membership implies a Qualification, that a Person being a Church Member, is not under such Gross and Incurable Ignorance, Heresie, Scandal or Apostacy, as renders him an immediate subject of Excommunication. Hence mere Membership is not so to be opposed unto qualified Membership, as if it were destitute of all Qualifications. Understand *mere Membership*, for [*merely this, that a Man is regularly a Member, or, that the Church acting regularly, may own him as accepted by Rule into Covenant*] and then the Assertion, *That it is not sufficient to give a Person a Right unto Baptism, that he be regularly a Member of the Visible Church, but he must have some further Qualification than so, or else he hath not a Right thereunto*: This is indeed an *Antisynodalian Assertion*, and we doubt not to affirm, that it is *Antiscriptural*.

The *Synod* builds upon *Covenant-Interest*, or *Federal-Holiness*, or *Visible Church-Membership*, as that which gives Right unto Baptism: and accordingly in their *fifth* Proposition, they have comprised, both the *Right to Baptism*, and the *manner of Administration*; which *manner* is not therefore to be neglected, because *Membership* alone gives *Right*; for God hath made it *One* Commandment of *Four*, to provide for the *manner* of his Worship, that it be attended in a Solemn, Humble, Reverent and Profitable *manner*. Hence all *Reformed Churches* do in their *Directories* require *Professions* and *Promises*, from those who present the *Child* unto *Baptism*; tho' they unanimously grant the *Child's* Right unto *Baptism*, by its being *Born within the visible Church*. Besides, what have *Infants* more than *mere Membership*, to give them Right unto *Baptism*? We know no stronger Argument for *Infant-Baptism*, than this, that *Church-Members, or Fœderati* are to be *Baptised*. At the Transition from *Old* to *New Testament* Church Membership, something more might well be required, than a *mere Membership* in the *Jewish* Church, which was then also under an extream Degeneracy: It was necessary that the *Reformed Administration* should penitently be embraced. And much of what was required by *John*, may be referred unto the *manner of Administration*, which the general Scandals then fallen into called for. Nor will he that Reads the Scriptures, think that the Persons *Baptised* by *John*, did excel those, who are described in the *Synods* Propositions. While the *Parent* that was Born in the Church, *regularly* continues in it without *Scandal*, he is *Ecclesiastically* accounted to have the *Being of Repentance*; and so to have the *thing* that *John* required. But if any stand Guilty of *open Scandals*, we know not why they should not make a *particular Confession* of their Sin therein.

A P O L O G Y.

V. That which will not make a Man capable of receiving Baptism himself, in case he were Unbaptised, doth not make him capable of Transmitting Right of Baptism unto his Child. But a Man may be an Unbeliever, and yet come up to all that the Synod hath said in their fifth Proposition. *Bucer* is accounted by *Parker*, justly to mention, *That none ought to be confirmed Members of the Church, besides those who do hold forth not only Verbal Profession of Faith, but apparent signs of Regeneration.*

A N S W E R.

'Tis true, that which doth not put a Man into a State of Right of Baptism for himself, (that is, into a State of *Church Membership*) will not enable him to give Baptism Right unto his Child. But it is possible for an Adult Person in such a State nevertheless to have something fall in, which may hinder the Actual Application of Baptism to himself, or his Actual Fitness for Baptism, in case he were Unbaptised. And yet the same thing may not hinder a Person already Baptised, and standing in a Covenant State, from Conveying Baptism right unto his Child. Besides, the Synods Proposition speaks of Church Members. Yea, and he will have an hard task of it, who shall undertake to prove, *That Adult Persons, understanding, believing and professing publickly, the Doctrine of Faith, not scandalous in Life, and now solemnly entering into that Covenant, wherein they give up themselves and theirs, to the Lord in his Church, and subject themselves to the Government of the Lord therein, may be denied Baptism upon their desire thereof.* 'Tis not easie to Believe, that Multitudes Baptised, in the Scriptures had more to render them Visible Believers, than the Persons described by the Synod. It is argued, a Man [*may be*] an Unbeliever, and yet come up to all this? *Simon Magus* and *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, not only *might be*, but *were* Unbelievers, and yet *Regularly Baptised*. But if it be said, that a Man may come up to all that the Synod hath said, and yet be *Ecclesiastically Judged an Unbeliever*, shew us any ground for such a Judgment! As for *Bucer* and *Parker*, they plainly speak of such a *Confirmation*, or owning Men for *confirmed Members*, as imports their *Admission to the Lord's Table*. But if the Judgment of *Bucer* and *Parker* may be taken in this Controversie, it will soon be at an end, for it is evident enough [by Quotations too many for this place] that *Bucer* and *Parker* fully concur with the Synod, in the extent of *Baptism*.

A P O L O G Y.

VI. The Application of the Seal of Baptism unto those, who are not true Believers (we mean, visibly, for *De Occultis non Judicat Ecclesia*) is a *Profanation* thereof, and as Dreadful a Sin, as if a Man should Administer the *Lord's Supper* unto *Unworthy Receivers*; which is (as *Calvin* saith) as *Sacrilegious Impiety*, as if a Man

should take the *Blood* or *Body* of Christ, and prostitute it unto *Dogs*. We marvel that any should think, that the *Blood* of Christ, is not as much profaned and vilified by undue Administration of Baptism, as by undue Administration of the *Lords's Supper*. Yea, that saying of *Austin's* is solemn and serious; *Qui Indignè accipit Baptisma, Judicium accipit, non salutem*; and the same *Austin* in his Book, *De Fide & Operibus*, pleads for strictness in the Administration of Baptism, and so did *Tertullian* before him.

A N S W E R.

We readily grant, that Baptism is not to be applied to any but Visible Believers. We marvel, that any should speak, as if any of us did think that the Blood of Christ, is not profaned by the undue Administration of Baptism, as well as by undue Observation of the Lord's Supper: though we suppose the Degree of sinful Profanation of the Lord's Name in any Ordinance, will be intended by the Degree of special *Communion* that we have with the Lord in that Ordinance; and by the Danger that such Profanation inters unto the whole Church, and unto the particular partaker. But where is there any thing to shew that the Administration of Baptism extended by the Synod, is undue? The Rule concerning the two Sacraments, appoints Baptism to all Disciples; but the Lord's Supper only for self examining Disciples: hence the one may be extended further than the other, without undue Administration. Neither did *Calvin* conceive it a Profanation to extend Baptism further than the Lord's Supper. Nor did ever *Austin* or *Tertullian* plead for greater strictness in Baptism than the Synod; except where *Tertullian* Erroneously plead for the delay of Baptism: whereas *Austin* requires not more of Adult Converts from Heathenism, than is in the Parents, who are described by the Synod.

A P O L O G Y.

VII. It hath in it a Natural Tendency, to the hardning of *Unregenerates* in their sinful Condition, when Life is not only promised but sealed unto them, by the precious Blood of Jesus Christ. Baptism is a Seal of the whole Covenant of Grace, as well as the Lord's Supper; and therefore those that are not Interested in this Covenant by Faith, ought not to have the Seal thereof applied unto them. We might add unto all this, that there is danger of great Corruption, and Pollution, creeping into the Churches by the Enlargement of the subject of Baptism.

A N S W E R.

The Lord's Truth and Grace, however it may be abused, by the Corruption of Man's perverse and sinful Nature, hath not in its self any natural Tendency to harden any, but the contrary. And how can our Doctrine have any such natural Tendency, when as Men are told over and over, that only outward

outward Advantages are more absolutely sealed unto them in Baptism; but the saving Benefits of the Covenant, conditionally; so that if they fail of the Condition, which is effectual and unfeigned Faith, they miss of Salvation, notwithstanding their Baptism? The outward Privileges must not be rested in, but improved as Encouragements to the obtaining of internal and special Grace. On the other side, the Scriptures tell us, that Mens denying the Children of the Church to have *any part in the Lord*, hath a strong Tendency in it to make them *cease from fearing the Lord, and burden their Hearts from his Fear*. But the awful Obligations of Covenant-Interest, have a great Tendency to soften the Heart, and break it, and draw it home to God. Hence when the Lord would powerfully win Men to Obedience, he often begins with this, that *he is their God*. The natural Tendencies of Man's corrupt Heart, are no Argument against any Ordinance of God. 'Tis true, Baptism is a Seal of the whole Covenant of Grace; but it is by way of Initiation. Hence it belongs to All that are within the Covenant, or have but a first entrance thereinto. And is there no danger of Corruption by *overstraining the Subject of Baptism*? Certainly, it is a Corruption to take from the Rule, as well as add to it. *Moses* found danger in not applying the initiating Seal, to such for whom it was appointed. Is there no Danger of putting these out of the Visible Church, whom our Lord would have kept in? Our Lord's own Disciples may be in Danger of his Displeasure by keeping poor little Ones away from him. To pluck up all the Tares, was a zealous Motion; but there was Danger in it. Besides if the enlargment be beyond the Bounds of the Rule, it will bring in Corruption; else not. Our Work is therefore to keep close unto the Rule, as the only true way unto the Churches Purity and Glory. The way of the *Anabaptists* to admit none unto Membership and Baptism, but adult Professors, is the straitest way; one would think it should be a way of great Purity; but Experience hath shew'd, that it has been an inlet unto great Corruption, and a troublesome, dangerous underminer of Reformation. If we do not keep in the way of a converting, Grace-giving Covenant, and keep Persons under those Church-Dispensations, wherein Grace is given, the Church will die of a Lingering, though not violent, Death. The Lord hath not set up Churches only, that a few old Christians, may keep one another warm while they live, and then carry away the Church into the cold Grave with them, when they die; no, but that they might with all care, and with all the Obligations and Advantages to that Care, that may be, nurse up still successively another Generation of Subjects to our Lord, that may stand up in his Kingdom, when they are gone. *In Church Reformation, 'tis an observable Truth, (saith Pareus) that those that are for too much strictness, do more hurt than profit the Church.* Finally, there is apparently a greater Danger of Corruption to the Churches, by enlarging the

Subjects of full Communion, and admitting unqualified, or meanly qualified Persons, to the Lord's Table, and voting in the Church; whereby the Interest of the Power of Godliness, will soon be prejudiced, and Elections, Admissions, Censures, so carried, as will be hazardous thereunto. Now 'tis evident, that this will be the Temptation, even, *to overlarge full Communion*, if Baptism be limited unto the Children of such as are admitted thereunto.

§ 3. These were the *Summa Capita* of the Disputation between those two reverend Persons; but the remarkable Event and Effect of this Disputation is now to be related. Know then, that Mr. *Michael* partly by the Light of Truth fairly offered, and partly by the force of Prayer for the good Success of the Offer, was too hard for the most learned *Apologist*; who after he had written so exactly on the *Antisynodalian* side, that,

————— *Si pergam Dextrâ*
Defendi poterant, etiam hæc defensa fuissent :

finding that Scripture, and Reason lay most on the other side, not only surrendred himself a glad Captive thereunto, but also obliged the Church of God, by publishing unto the World a couple of most nervous Treatises, in defence of the *Synodical Propositions*. The former of these Treatises, was entituled, *The first Principles of New-England concerning the Subject of Baptism, and Communion of Churches*: Wherein, because the *Antisynodists* commonly reproached the Doctrine of the Synod, as being no less new, than the Practice of it, he answers this popular Imputation of Innovation and Apostacy, by demonstrating from the unquestionable Writings of the chief and first Fathers in our Churches, that the Doctrine of the Synod was then generally believed by them; albeit the Practice thereof had been buried in the Circumstances of the *New-Plantation*. Together with this Essay, he shews his inexpressible Value, for his excellent Opponent and Conqueror, not only by professing a deep respect for that blessed Man, and using about him the Words of *Beza* about *Calvin*, *Now he is dead, Life is less sweet, and Death will be less bitter to me*; but also by inserting an elaborate Letter, which that worthy Man had written to him, wherein among other Passages there are these Words; *Please to consider, which of these three Propositions you would deny.* 1. *The whole Visible Church under the New Testament is to be baptized.* 2. *If a Man be once in the Church, nothing less than censurable Evil can put him out.* 3. *If the Parent be in the Visible Church, his Infant Child is so too.* And he adds, *Whether they should be baptized, as in a Catholick, or in a particular Church, is another Question, and I confess my self not altogether so peremptory in this latter, as I am in the thing its self, that they ought to be baptized.* Yet still I think, that when all Stones are turned, it will come to this that all the baptized are,

and ought to be under Discipline in particular Churches.

The other of these Treatises was intituled, *A Discourse concerning the Subject of Baptism*; wherein having elaborately proved, That the Qualifications expressed in the fifth Proposition of the Synod give right to Baptism; and that Persons, thus qualified are Church-Members, and Visible Believers, and of old had a right unto Circumcision, and have Church-Discipline belonging to them; and that the Apostles did baptize Persons, who were no further qualified: He then distinguishes between a particular Church, as it is more strictly taken for a particular Company of Covenanting Believers entrusted by our Lord with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and as it is more largely taken for that special part of our Lord's Visible Church, which doth subsist in this or that particular Place: And he shews that a Membership of the Catholick Church, discovered by a relation to a particular Church, not in the former but in the latter Sense, is the formal Reason of Baptism: Concluding with a full Answer to all Objections. Indeed the learned Author of the Book, was not the least Argument in the Book. This alone might have passed as no inconsiderable Argument, for the Synodical Propositions, that besides diverse others who did the like, so considerate a Person as the Apologist after he had so openly and so solidly appeared against them, should at last as publickly declare it, *That Study and Prayer and much Affliction had brought him to be of another Belief.* It was a notable observation of Mr. Cotton, once in his Letter to Mr. Williams, *That one might suspect the way of the Rigid Separation to be not of God, because those, who in tenderness of Conscience had been drawn into the Error of that way, yet when they have grown in Grace, they have also grown to discern the Error of the Separation.* Thus it was observed, that several very excellent Men, who did according to their present light conscientiously dissent from the Synod, yet, as they grew in the manifold Grace of God, and in ripeness for Heaven, they came to see that the Rigidity of their former Principles, had been a failing in them. And if the Apologist were one, who so signalized, a modest Sense of second Thoughts unto the World, it can be reckoned no disparagement unto him; until the Humility of Austin in his Retractions, or the ingenuity of Bellarmine in his Recognitions come to be accounted their Blemishes; or until Bucer's, yea, and Luther's, change of their Opinions about Consubstantiation, and the recovery of Zinglius from Inclinations to Antipædobaptism, shall be esteemed the Disgrace of those renowned Men; or, until Mr. Robinson shall be blamed for composing his weighty Arguments, against the Rigid Separation which once he had zealously defended. I shall to this Occasion, but apply the Words of Dr. Owen unto Mr. Cawdry, to take off the charge of Inconstancy laid upon him, for his appearing on behalf of the Congregational Church-Discipline, *He that can glory that in fourteen*

Years, he hath not altered nor improved his Conceptions of some Things, of no greater Importance than that mentioned, shall not have me for his Rival.

§ 4. Very gradual was the Procedure of the Churches to exercise that Church-Care of their Children, which the Synodical Propositions had recommended: For, though the Pastors were generally principled for it, yet in very many of the Churches, a number of Bretheren were so stiffly and fiercely set the other way, that the Pastors did forbear to extend their Practice, unto the length of their Judgment, thro' the fear of uncomfortable Schisms, which might thereupon ensue. And there fell out one singular Temptation which had a great Influence upon this Matter! that famous and faithful Society of Christians, the first Church in Boston, had, after much agitation, so far begun to attend the Discipline directed in the Doctrine of the Synod, that they proceeded ecclesiastically to Censure the adult Children of several Communicants for Scandals, whereinto they had fallen. But that Church, for a Supply of their Vacancy upon the Death of their former more Synodical Ministers, applying themselves unto Mr. John Davenport, the greatest of the Antisyndicists, all the Interests of the Synod came to be laid aside, therein, on that Occasion. Hereupon, thirty Bretheren of that eminent Church, offered several Reasons of their Dissent, from their call of that worthy Person; whereof one was in these Terms, 'We should walk contrary to Rev. 3. 3. not holding fast what we have received; nor should we, as we have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him. [The Doctrine of the Synod] it having been a received and a professed Truth, by the Body of the Church, who have voted it in the affirmative, and that after much Patience with, and Candor towards those that were otherwise minded; diverse Days having been spent about this great Generation-Truth, which since hath been confirmed by the Synod. Full Liberty hath also been granted, unto those who scrupled, to propose their Questions; and they were answered, with such publick satisfaction, that those Few, who remained unsatisfied, promised to sit down and leave the Body to act, excepting one or two. Accordingly there was an entrance upon the Work; but the Lord lay it not to the Charge of those that hindered Progress therein, which with great Blessing and Success has been, and is practised in Neighbour Churches. But the Difference produced so much Division, that the Major part of the Church, by far, proceeding to their Election of that great Man, this lesser part nevertheless carefully and exactly following the Advice of Councils, fetched from other Churches in the Neighbourhood, set up another Church in the Town of Boston, which hath since been one of the most considerable in the Country. Very uncomfortable were the Paroxisms, which were the Consequents of this Ferment;

— *Longa est Injuria, Longa
Ambages* —

and the whole People of God throughout the Colony, were too much distinguished into such as favoured the Old Church, and such as favoured the New Church; whereof, the former, were against the Synod, and the latter were for it. Indeed, for a considerable while, tho' the good Men on both sides really Loved, Respected and Honoured one another, yet thro' some unhappy misunderstandings in certain particular Persons, the Communicants of these two particular Churches in *Boston*, like the two distinguish'd Rivers, not mixing, tho' running between the same Banks, held not Communion with one another at the Table of the Lord: but in two sevens of Years, that Breach was healed, and unto the general Joy of the Christians in the Neighbourhood, both the Churches kept a solemn Day together, wherein, Lamenting the Infirmities that had attended their former Contentions, they gave Thanks to the Great Peace-Maker for effecting this Joyful Reconciliation. The Schism was not so long-lived, as that which happened at *Antioch*, about the Ordination of a Minister; whereof, *Theodoret* says, Πέντε καὶ ὀσπίκοντα δέκατον ἔτη, it endured Fourscore and Five Years. However, the two Churches continued still their various Dispositions to the Propositions of the Synod; and it is well known, that the Example of *Boston*, has from the beginning, as the Prophets once intimated of *Jerusalem*, had no small Efficacy upon all the Land.

§ 5. But it is, at last, come to this; that tho' some of our Churches yet Baptise the Children of none but their Communicants, and extend their Church-watch to none but the Persons of their Communicants, and tho' some of the Churches go a step further, and extend their Church watch to the Children of their Communicants, but yet most unaccountably will not Baptise the Offspring of these, till these Parents become themselves Communicants; nevertheless, the most of the Ministers in the Countrey, have obtained of their Churches, not only to forbear all expressions of Dissatisfaction at the Baptism of such as the Synod has declar'd the Subjects of it, but to concur with them, when their votes are upon occasion demanded for such a Discipline, as the Synod has from the Eighteenth of *Matthew*, directed for the Baptised.

Very various, have been the Methods of the Pastors, to bring their Churches into the desired Order; many the Meetings, the Debates, the Prayers and the Fasts, with which this matter has been accomplished: and much more many the Difficulties, where the matter had been so long delayed, that the Retrieval was well nigh to be despaired. Yea, it was as late, as the Year 1692, that the last Church, which after a long Omission thereof, did effectually set upon the Church-Care of the Disciples formerly neg-

lected, came to their Duty: and they did it with such a further Explanation of their Principles, as diverse great Opposers of the Synod, professed themselves, at last, able to comply withal. Now because the particular *History* of the Proceedings used, when things had run on thus far into an *inveterate neglect*, may be very subservient unto one main Design of our *Church-History*, which is to give an *experimental Direction*, for more arduous *Church-Cases*, I shall, here, give it unto my Reader.

Know then, that the *Pastor* of the Church, after solemn Supplications for the Direction of Heaven about it, having previously *preached* and *printed*, the *State of the Truth*, which he was now reducing into practice, and having privately with *personal Conferences*, endeavoured the satisfaction of such *Dissenters* as he counted more significant, he then, avoiding all publick *Meetings* or *Debates*, drew up the following *Instrument*, which by the Hands of two or three chosen Persons, he sent about unto the *Brethren*.

Persuasions and Proposals, laid before the Church, in ---

I. IT is my Persuasion, that our Lord Jesus Christ hath in the World, a Catholic Church, which is his Mystical Body, and hath all his Elect-called People belonging thereunto.

II. It is my Persuasion, that the Catholick Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, becomes, in various Degrees, visible unto us; and according to the Degrees of its Visibility, it becomes capable of a visible Communion, with its glorious Head.

III. It is my Persuasion, that when Men profess the Faith of the Gospel, with Obedience unto the Lord Jesus Christ, according to that Gospel, and overthrow not that Profession by a scandalous Conversation, they are to be looked upon as Members of the Visible Catholick Church of our Lord; they are to be treated as Christians; to call them, or count them Heathen, is to do them a grievous Injury.

IV. It is my Persuasion, that when such Professors, regularly combine into a Society, for the Evangelical Worship and Service of our Lord Jesus Christ, and furnish themselves with *Officers* of his Appointment, they then become a part of the *Catholick Church*, so visible, as to be a Body Politick, entrusted with the Administration of those *Ordinances*, which are the *Priviledges* in that *Kingdom of Heaven*.

V. It is my *Persuasion*, that a *particular Church* thus entrusted with the *Ordinances* of our Lord Jesus Christ, is to be concerned for the applying some of those *Ordinances*, unto Subjects, that have not yet arrived so far in visible Christianity, as to be constituent parts of that Holy Society.

VI. It is my Persuasion, That *Baptism* is an Ordinance to be administered unto them, that are in the visible Catholick Church, while those Christians have not yet joined themselves unto a particular Church, but are only in a State of

Initiation and Preparation for it. In the Scripture we do not read of any that were baptized *after* their joining to full Communion in a particular Church of the New-Testament, but of many that were so *before*.

Under the Influence of these *Perswasions*, there are now these *Proposals*, which I would make unto that *particular Church* of God, whereof I am an unworthy Overseer in the Lord.

I. It is my *Proposal*, that if any Person instructed and Orthodox in our Christian Religion, do bring Testimonials of a sober and blameless Conversation, and publickly submit themselves unto the Bonds of such a Sacred Covenant, as now followeth :

‘ You now from your Heart professing a serious Belief of the Christian Religion, as it has been generally declared and embraced by the Faithful in this Place, do here give up your self to God in Christ ; promising with his Help to endeavour a Walk, according to the Rules of that Holy Religion, all your Days ; Choosing of God as your best Good, and your last End, and Christ as the Prophet, and Priest, and King of your Soul for ever. You do therefore submit unto the Laws of his Kingdom, as they are administered in this Church of his ; and you will also carefully and sincerely labour after those more positive and increased Evidences of Regeneration, which may further encourage you to seek an Admission unto the Table of the Lord.

I say, I propound, That I may without Offence *baptize* this Person and his House, and that such Persons may be watched over, if not as Brethren, yet as Disciples, in the Porch of the Lord’s Temple ; of whom we have Cause to hope, that they will shortly express their Desires after the Lord’s Supper, with such Tokens of Growth in Grace upon them, as that we may cheerfully receive them thereunto.

II. It is my *Proposal*, that as for the Children thus baptized in their Minority, the Elders of the Church may be inquisitive and industrious about their being brought up in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord. But that when they come to be adult, the Elders of the Church may, to confirm them in their Church-state, put them upon the open Renewal of their Baptismal Covenant, with a Subjection of themselves, unto the Watch of the Church ; and if any of them do upon Examination appear to have more sensible and plenary Symptoms of Conversion unto God, they may be exhorted immediately to make regular Approaches unto the Table of the Lord ; and that if any of them contumaciously despise

and refuse their Duty of Renewing their Covenant, and owning the Government of the Lord over them, they may after proper Admonitions be debarred from that standing among the People of God, which otherwise they might lay claim unto.

I, therefore, propound, that the Church may seasonably look after a full supply of *Officers*, whereby this work may be fully profecuted. In the mean time, I am willing to attend as much of this Work, as God shall enable me unto : Asking of you, That *none* of you would object about my giving of Meat in due Season, to any part of my Blessed Master’s Family, which he hath made me a Steward of ; but that all of you would help me with your daily Prayers, and whatever other Assistances may be useful unto,

Your *solicitous Pastor and Servant*.

This Instrument was within a few Days brought back unto the Pastor, with such a Return at the Close of it.

‘ We, the Brethren of the — Church in — considering how fully those Reverend Persons that have the Rule over us, and watch for our Souls, have declared what they judge to be the Mind of God, about the Subject of Baptism, and apprehending, that we may have lain too long, in an Omission of Duty thereabouts ; do now signify, that we are not unwilling to have the *Perswasions* and *Proposals*, which our Pastor hath here laid before us, carefully put into Practice ; and that we would have no Obstruction given to any Holy Endeavours, which may be used this Way, to advance the Interest of Religion in the midst of us.

Hereunto the Generality of the Brethren, perhaps twenty to one, had subscribed their Names. And those Few that were not yet so wholly rescued from their *Antisynodalian Scruples*, yet verbally signified their Christian and Peaceable Assurances, that it should give no Uneasiness unto their Minds, to see the Desires of their Pastor accomplished ; which was done accordingly.

But thus much concerning the Proceedings in a Synod of *New-England Churches*, for the *Church-Care of their Posterity*. We’ll conclude all, with an agreeable Speech of the Great *Ramus* (in *Comment. de Relig. l. 4. c. 6.*) *Liberi Fidelium Baptizantur, ut participes sint, & Heredes Divinorum Beneficiorum Ecclesie Promissorum, utq; atate provecti parentum Religionem & pietatem, profiteantur.*

The Fourth PART.

THE
Reforming Synod
OF
NEW-ENGLAND,
WITH
Subsequent ESSAYS of Reformation in the
CHURCHES.

O vera pœnitentia, quid de te Novi referam ! Omnia ligata tu solvis, omnia clausa tu reseras, omnia adversa tu mitigas, omnia contrita tu sanas, omnia confusa tu lucidas, omnia desperata tu animas.
Cyprian.

§ 1. **T**HE settlement of the *New-English* Churches, with a long series of preserving and prosperous Smiles from Heaven upon them, is doubtless to be reckoned amongst the more wonderful Works of God, in this Age; the true Glories of the young Plantation had not upon the Face of God's Earth a Parallel, *our Adversaries themselves being Judges.* But when People began more notoriously to forget the *Errand into the Wilderness*, and when the Enchantments of *this World* caused the rising Generation more sensibly to neglect the Primitive Designs and Interests of Religion propounded by their Fathers; a change in the Tenour of the Divine Dispensations towards this Country, was quickly the matter of every Body's Observation. By *Land*, some of the principal Grains, especially our *Wheat* and our *Pease*, fell under an unaccountable *Blast*, from which we are not, even unto this Day delivered; and besides that constant Frown of Heaven upon our *Husbandry*, recurring every Year,

few Years have passed, wherein either *Worms* or *Droughts*, or some consuming Disasters have not befallen the *Labour of the Husbandman*. By *Sea*, we were visited with multiplied *Shipwrecks*, Enemies prey'd on our *Vessels* and our *Sailors*, and the Affairs of the *Merchant* were clogged with *Losses* abroad; or *Fires*, breaking forth in the chief Seats of Trade at home, wasted their Substance with yet more costly Desolations. Nor did the *Land* and the *Sea*, more proclaim the *Controversie* of our God against us, than that other Element of the *Air*, by the contagious Vapours whereof several *Pestilential* Sickneses did sometimes become *epidemicall* among us. Yea, the Judgments of God having done first the part of the *Moth* upon us, proceeded then to do the part of a *Lion*, in lamentable *Wars*, wherein the barbarous *Indians* cruelly butchered many hundreds of our Inhabitants, and scattered whole Towns with miserable Ruins. When dismal Calamities beset the Primitive *Christians*, as acknowledged by the great *Cyprian*,

prian, That the cause thereof was, because they were *Patrimonio & Lucro studentes*, too much minding to get Estates and Riches; *Superbiam Sectantes*, too Proud; *amulationi & dissentioni vacantes*, given to Contention; *simplicitatis Fidei negligentes*, negligent of the plain Faith of the Gospel; *Seculo verbis solis, & non factis, renunciantes*, worldly; *unusquisque sibi placentes & omnibus displicentes*, pleasing themselves and vexing others. These were the Sins, which, he said, brought them into *Sufferings*; for these, he said, *Vapulamur itaque ut merentur*. Truly, if *New-England* had not abounded with the like *Offences*, it may be supposed, such Calamities had not befallen it. It intimated a more than ordinary Displeasure of God for some *Offences*, when he proceeded so far, as to put over his poor People into the Hands of tawny and bloody *Salvages*: And the whole Army had cause to enquire into their own *Rebellions*, when they saw the *Lord of Hosts*, with a dreadful *Decimation*, taking off so many of our Brethren by the worst of Executioners. The Cry of the last of the *British Kings*, then was the Cry of the *New-English Christians*, *Væ nobis peccatoribus ob immania scelera nostra!*

§ 2. The serious People throughout the Country, were awakened by these Intimations of Divine Displeasure, to enquire into the Causes and Matters of the *Controversie*. And besides the *Self-reforming* Effects of these Calamities on the Hearts and Lives of many particular *Christians*, who were hereby brought unto an exacter Walk with God, particular Churches exerted their Power of *Self-reformation*, especially in the time of the *Indian War*; wherein with much solemn *Fasting* and *Prayer*, they renewed their *Covenants* with God and one another. Moreover, the *General Courts* enacted what Laws were judged proper for the extinction of those *provoking Evils*, which might expose the Land unto the Anger of Heaven: and the Ministers in their several Congregations, by their Ministry, set themselves to testify against those *Evils*. Nor is it a thing unworthy of a great Remark, That great *Successes* against the Enemy accompanied some notable Transactions both in *Church* and in *Court*, for the Reformation of our *provoking Evils*. Indeed, the People of God in this Land were not gone so far in *Degeneracy*, but that there were further degrees of Disorder and Corruption to be found, I must freely speak it, in other, yea, in all other Places, where the *Protestant Religion* is professed: And the most impartial Observers must have acknowledged, that there was proportionably still more of *true Religion*, and a larger Number of the *strictest Saints* in this Country, than in any other on the Face of the Earth. But it was to be confessed, that the *degeneracy of New-England*, in any measure, into the Spirit of the *World*, was a thing extremely aggravated, by the greatness of our *Obligations* to the contrary, and even sinful *Omissions* in this, were no less Criminal, than the most odious *Commissions*, in some other Countries.

§ 3. After *Peace* was restored unto the Country, the evil Spirit of *Apostacy* from the *Power of Godliness*, and the various Discoveries and Consequences of such an *Apostasy*, became still more sensible to them, that feared God. Wherefore, that there might be made a more exact scrutiny into the Causes of the Divine Displeasure against the Land, and into the *Methods* of removing and preventing the Matter of Lamentation, and that the *Essays* of *Reformation*, might be as well more *extensive* as more *effectual*, than they had been hitherto, the *General Court* of the *Massachusetts Colony* were prevailed withal, to call upon the Churches, that they would send their *Elders* and other *Messengers*, to meet in a *Synod*, for the solemn Discussion of those two Questions, *What are the provoking Evils of New-England?* and, *What is to be done, that so those Evils may be reformed?* It is very certain, That the *Controversie* which the God of Heaven had, (and still hath!) with *New-England*, was a Matter, about which, many did not enquire wisely. As of old, several of our Ancients complained, That the *Pagans* looked upon the *Christians* (in their way of Worship) as the Causes of all the *Plagues* on the *Roman Empire*: Whatever *Mischief* came, forthwith, *Christianos ad Leones*: Thus, among the People of *New-England*, many assigned the *Plagues* upon the Country, unto very strange Causes, as their several Interests and Affections led them. A *Synod* was convened therefore, to enquire more wisely of that Matter: It would astonish one, to be told, That an Assembly of *Lutherans* coming together to enquire after the cause of the *Judgments*, which God had brought upon their Churches, most unhappily determined, *That their not paying Respect enough unto Images in their Churches, was one Cause of the Lord's Controversie with them*. Unhappy Enquirers! Instead of their Dream, that they had not sinned enough against the *Second Commandment*, they should have thought, whether they had not sinned too much against the *Fourth*. But we hear not a word of their bewailing their universal Prophanations of the *Lord's-Day* to this Day. Our *New-English* Assembly did enquire to better purpose. The Churches, having first kept a general *Fast*, that the gracious Presence and Spirit of God might be obtained, for the Direction of the approaching *Synod*, the *Synod* convened at *Boston*, *Sept. 10. 1679.* chusing Mr. *John Shermon*, and Mr. *Urian Oakes*, for Joint Moderators, during the biggest part of the Session. There was at first, some Agitation in this Reverend Assembly, about the *Matter of a regular Synod*, raised upon this Occasion, that some of the Churches, notwithstanding the Desires of their *Elders* to be accompanied with other *Messengers*, would send no *Messengers*, but their *Elders* to the Assembly. Upon the Debate, it was resolved, That not only *Elders*, but other *Messengers* also, were to be delegated by Churches, and have their Suffrage in a *Synod*, representing those Churches; the Primitive Pattern of a *Synod* in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Acts*, and the Primitive Practice

of the Churches in the Ages next following the Apostles; and the Arguments of such eminent Writers as *Jael, Whitaker, Parker,* and others, against those, who mention that *Laicks* are no fit Matter for such Assemblies; being judiciously considered, as countenancing of this Assertion. The Assembly kept a Day of Prayer with *Fasting* before the Lord, and spent several Days in discoursing upon the two *Grand Questions* laid before them, with utmost Liberty granted unto every Person, to express his Thoughts thereupon. A Committee was appointed, then to draw up the Mind of the Assembly; which being done, it was read over once and again, and each *Paragraph* distinctly weighed, and then upon a mature Deliberation, the whole was *unanimously voted*, as to the *Substance, End and Scope* thereof. So, 'twas presented unto the *General Court*, who by an Act of *October 15. 1679.* "Commended it unto the serious Consideration of all the Churches and People in the Jurisdiction, enjoining and requiring all Persons in their respective Capacities to a careful and diligent Reformation, of all those provoking Evils mentioned therein, according to the true Intent thereof, that so the Anger and Displeasure of God many ways manifested, might be averred, and his Favour and Blessing obtained.

§. 4. When the punishment of *scourging* was used upon a Criminal in *Israel*, it was the Order and Usage, that while the Executioner was laying on his Blows, with an Instrument, every stroke whereof, gave *three Lashes* to the Delinquent, there were still present *three Judges*; whereof, while one did *number the Blows*, and another kept crying out, *Smite him*; a *Third* read *three Scriptures*, during the Time of the *Scourging*, and the *Scourging* ended with the reading of them. The first Scripture was that in *Deut. 28. 58.* *If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this Law, then the Lord will make thy Plagues wonderful.* The second Scripture was that in *Deut. 29. 9.* *Keep therefore the words of this Covenant, that ye may prosper in all that ye do.* The third Scripture was that in *Psaln 78. 38.* *But he, being full of compassion,*

forgave their Iniquity and destroyed them not. This was done partly for the Admonition, partly for the Consolation, of the Criminal. Truly, when the Scourges of Heaven were imploy'd upon the Churches of *New-England* for their Miscarriages, and they were forely lashed with one Blow after another, not only particular Ministers, but a whole Synod of them, took upon themselves the Office of Reading to the whole Country, those Words of God which were judged agreeable to the Condition of such a scourged People.

Nothing shall detain my Reader from the Admonitions of this *Reforming Synod*, when I have recited the solemn Words in the *Preface* to those Admonitions. "The Things insisted on (*say they*) "have, at least many of them, been often mentioned and inculcated by those, whom the Lord hath set as Watchmen to the House of *Israel*; tho' alas! not with that Success, which their Souls have desired. It is not a small Matter, nor ought it to seem little in our Eyes, that the Churches have in this way confessed and declared the Truth, which coming from a *SYNOD*, as their Joint Concurring Testimony will carry more Authority with it, than if one Man only, or many in their single Capacities should speak the same things. And undoubtedly the Issue of this Undertaking, will be most Signal, either as to Mercy or Misery. If *New-England* remember whence she is fallen, and do the First-works, there's Reason to hope, that it shall be better with us than at our Beginnings. But if this, after all other Means in and by which the Lord hath been striving to reclaim us, shall be despised, or become ineffectual, we may dread what is like to follow. 'Tis a solemn Thought that the Jewish Church had, as the Churches in *New-England* have this Day, an opportunity to reform, if they would in *Josiah's* Time; but because they had no Heart unto it, the Lord quickly removed them out of his sight. What God can say; but according to his wonted Dispensations, we are a perishing People, if now we reform not.

And now therefore hear the *SYNOD*.

THE Necessity of Reformation,

WITH
The Expedients subservient thereunto, asserted, in
Answer to Two Questions.

QUESTION I.

What are the Evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his Judgments on New-England?

ANSWER.

That sometimes God hath had; and pleaded a Controversie with his People, is clear from the Scripture, *Hof. 4. 1. & 12. 2. Mich. 6. 1, 2.* Where God doth plainly, and fully propose, state and plead his Controversie in all the Parts and Causes of it, wherein he doth justifie himself by the Declaration of his own infinite Mercy, Grace, Goodness, Justice, Righteousness, Truth and Faithfulness in all his Proceedings with them; and judge his People, charging them with all those provoking Evils, which had been the Causes of that Controversie, and that with the most high and heavy Aggravation of their Sins, and exaggeration of the Guilt and Punishment, whence he should have been most just, in pleading out his Controversie with them unto the utmost Extremity of Justice and Judgment.

That God hath a Controversie with his *New-England* People is undeniable, the Lord having written his Displeasure in dismal Characters against us. Though personal Afflictions, do oftentimes come only or chiefly for Probation, yet as to publick Judgments, it is not wont to be so; especially when by a continued Series of Providence, the Lord doth appear and plead against his People, *2 Sam. 21. 1.* As with us it hath been from Year to Year. Would the Lord have wherted his glittering Sword, and his Hand have taken hold on Judgment? Would he have sent such a mortal Contagion, like a Besom of destruction in the midst of us? Would he have said, Sword! Go through the Land, and cut off Man and Beast. Or would he have kindled such devouring Fires, and made such fearful Desolations in the Earth, if he had not been angry? It is not for nothing that the Merciful God, who doth not willingly afflict nor grieve the Children of Men, hath done all those Things unto us; yea, and sometimes with a Cloud hath covered

himself, that our Prayer should not pass thorough, And although 'tis possible that the Lord may contend with us partly on the Account of secret unobserved Sins, *Josh. 7. 11, 12. 2 Kings 17. 9. Psalm 90. 8.* In which respect, a deep and most serious enquiry into the Causes of his Controversie ought to be attended: Nevertheless it is sadly evident, that there are visible, manifest Evils, which without doubt the Lord is provoked by. For,

I. There is a great and visible decay of the Power of Godliness amongst many Professors in these Churches. It may be feared that there is in too many Spiritual, and Heart Apostacy from God, whence Communion with him in the ways of his Worship, especially in secret is much neglected, and whereby Men cease to know and fear, and love, and trust in him; but take up their Contentment and Satisfaction in something else: This was the ground and bottom of the Lord's Controversie with his People of Old, *Psalm 78. 8. 37. & 81. 11. Jer. 2. 5, 11, 13.* and with his People under the *New-Testament* also, *Rev. 2. 4, 5.*

II. The Pride that doth abound in *New-England* testifies against us, *Hof. 5. 5. Ezek. 7. 10.* both spiritual Pride, *Zeph. 3. 11.* Whence two great Evils and Provocations have proceeded, and prevailed among us.

1. A refusing to be subject to Order, according to Divine Appointment, *Numb. 16. 3. 1 Pet. 5. 5.*

2. Contention, *Prov. 13. 10.* An Evil that is, most eminently against the solemn Charge of the Lord Jesus Christ, *Josh. 13. 34, 35.* And that for which God hath by severe Judgments punished his People, both in former and latter Ages. This Malady hath been very general in the Country; we have, therefore, cause to fear, that the Wolves, which God in his holy Providence hath let loose upon us, have been sent to chastise his Sheep for Dividings and Strayings one from another; and that the Wars and Fightings, which have proceeded from the lust of Pride in special, have been punished with the Sword, *Jam. 4. 1. Job 19. 29.*

Yea, and Pride in respect of Apparel hath greatly abounded; Servants and the poorer sort of People are notoriously guilty in this matter, who

who (too generally) go above their Estates and Degrees, thereby transgressing the Laws both of God and Man, *Matth.* 11. 8. Yea, it is a Sin that even the Light of Nature and Laws of Civil Nations have condemned, *1 Cor.* 11. 14. Also, many, not of the meaner sort have offended God by strange Apparel, not becoming serious Christians, especially in these Days of Affliction and Misery, wherein the Lord calls upon Men to put off their Ornaments, *Exod.* 33. 5. *Jer.* 4. 30. A Sin which brings Wrath upon the greatest that shall be found guilty of it, *Zeph.* 1. 8. with *Jer.* 52. 13. Particularly the Lord hath threatened to visit with Sword and Sickness, and with loathsome Diseases for this very Sin, *Isa.* 3. 16.

III. Inasmuch as it was in a more peculiar manner with respect to the second Commandment, that our Fathers did follow the Lord into this Wilderness, whilst it was a Land not sown, we may fear that the Breaches of that Commandment are some part of the Lord's Controversie with *New-England*. Church-Fellowship and other Divine Institutions are greatly neglected. Many of the rising Generation are not mindful of that, which their Baptism doth engage them unto, *viz.* to use utmost Endeavours that they may be fit for, and so partake in all the Holy Ordinances of the Lord Jesus, *Matth.* 28. 20. There are too many that with profane *Esau* slight spiritual Priviledges. Nor is there so much of Discipline extended towards the Children of the Covenant, as we are generally agreed ought to be done. On the other hand humane Inventions, and will-worship have been set up even in *Jerusalem*. Men have set up their Thresholds by God's Threshold, and their Posts by his Post. *Quakers* are false Worshipers; and such *Anabaptists* as have risen up among us, in opposition to the Churches of the Lord Jesus, receiving into their Society those, that have been for Scandal delivered unto Satan; yea, and improving those as Administrators of Holy Things, who have been (as doth appear) justly, under Church-Censures, do no better than set up an Altar against the Lord's Altar. Wherefore it must needs be provoking to God if these Things be not duly and fully testified against, by every one in their several Capacities respectively, *Jos.* 22. 19. 2. *Ki.* 23. 13. *Eze.* 43. 8. *Pf.* 99. 8. *Hof.* 11. 6.

IV. The holy and glorious name of God hath been polluted and profaned amongst us, more especially.

1. By Oaths and Imprecations in ordinary Discourse; yea, and it is too common a thing for Men in a more solemn way to swear unnecessary Oaths; when as it is a Breach of the third Commandment, so to use the blessed Name of God. And many (if not the most) of those that swear, consider not the Rule of an Oath, *Jer.* 4. 2. So that we may justly fear that because of swearing the Land mourns, *Jer.* 23. 10. 2. There is great Prophaneness in respect of irreverent Behaviour in the solemn Worship of God. It is a frequent thing for Men (though not necessitated thereunto by any Infirmary) to sit

in Prayer time, and some with their Heads almost covered, and to give way to their own Sloth and Sleepiness, when they should be serving God with Attention and Intention, under the solemn Dispensation of his Ordinances. We read but of one Man in Scripture, that slept at a Sermon, and that Sin had like to have cost him his Life, *Acts* 20. 9.

V. There is much Sabbath breaking; since there are Multitudes that do profanely absent themselves or theirs from the publick Worship of God, on his Holy Day, especially in the most populous Places of the Land; and many under pretence of differing Apprehensions about the beginning of the Sabbath, do not keep a seventh part of time holy unto the Lord, as the fourth Commandment requireth, walking abroad, and travelling (not meerly on the Account of worshipping God in the solemn Assemblies of his People, or to attend Works of Necessity or Mercy) being a common practice on the Sabbath Day, which is contrary unto that Rest enjoined by the Commandment. Yea, some that attend their particular servile Callings and Employments after the Sabbath is begun, or before it is ended. Wordly, unsuitable Discourses are very common upon the Lord's Day, contrary to the Scripture, which requireth that Men should not on holy Times find their own Pleasure, nor speak their own Words, *Isa.* 58. 13. Many that do not take care so to dispatch their wordly Business, that they may be free and fit for the Duties of the Sabbath, and that do (if not wholly neglect) after a careless, heartless manner, perform the Duties that concern the Sanctification of the Sabbath. This brings Wrath, Fires and other Judgments upon a professing People, *Neb.* 3. 17, 18. *Jer.* 17. 27.

VI. As to what concerns Families and Government thereof, there is much amiss. There are many Families that do not pray to God constantly Morning and Evening, and many more, wherein the Scriptures are not daily read, that so the Word of Christ might dwell richly with them. Some, and too many Houses, that are full of Ignorance and Profaneness, and these not duly inspected, for which cause Wrath may come upon others round about them, as well as upon themselves, *Jos.* 22. 20. *Jerem.* 5. 7. & 10. 25. And many Householders who profess Religion, do not cause all that are within their Gates to become Subjects unto good Order as ought to be, *Exod.* 20. 10. Nay, Children and Servants, that are not kept in due Subjection, their Masters and Parents especially being sinfully indulgent towards them. This is a Sin which brings great Judgments, as we see in *Eli's*, and *David's* Family. In this respect Christians in this Land, have become too like unto the *Indians*, and then we need not wonder, if the Lord hath afflicted us by them. Sometimes a Sin is discerned by the Instrument that Providence doth punish with. Most of the Evils that abound amongst us, proceed from Defects as to Family-Government.

VII. Inordinate Passions. Sinful Heats and Hatreds, and that among Church-Members themselves, who abound with evil Surmifings, uncharitable and unrighteous Centures, Back-bitings, hearing and telling Tales, few that remember and duly observe the Rule, with an angry Countenance to drive away the Tale-Bearer: Reproachful and Reviling Expressions, sometimes to or of one another. Hence Law Sutes are frequent, Brother going to Law with Brother, and provoking and abusing one another in publick Courts of Judicature, to the scandal of their holy Profession, *Isa. 58. 4. 1. Cor. 6. 6, 7.* And in managing the Discipline of Christ, some (and too many) are acted by their Passions, and Prejudices, more than by a Spirit of Love and Faithfulness towards their Brother's Soul which things are, as against the Law of Christ, so dreadful Violations of the Church-Covenant, made in the presence of God.

VIII. There is much Intemperance. That Heathenish and Idolatrous practice of Health-drinking is too frequent. That shameful Iniquity of sinful Drinking is become too general a Provocation. Days of Fasting, and other publick Solemnities, have been abused in this respect: And not only English, but *Indians* have been debauched by those that call themselves Christians, who have put their Bottles to them and made them drunk also. This is a crying Sin, and the more aggravated in that the first Planters of this Colony did (as is in the Patent expressed) come into this Land with a Design to convert the Heathen unto Christ, but instead of that they be taught Wickedness, which before they were never guilty of, the Lord may well punish us by them. Moreover the Sword, Sicknes, Poverty, and almost all the Judgments which have been upon *New-England* are mentioned in the Scripture, as the woful Fruit of *that Sin*, *Jer. 5. 11, 12. & 28. 1, 2. & 56. 9, 12. Prov. 23. 21, 29, 30, & 21. 17. Hof. 7. 5. & 28, 9.* There are more Temptations and Occasions unto *that Sin*, publickly allowed of, than any Necessity doth require; the proper end of Taverns, &c. being for the Entertainment of Strangers, which if they were improved to that end only, a far less number would suffice: But it is a common practice for Town-Dwellers, yea, and Church Members to frequent publick Houses, and there to mispend precious Time, unto the dishonour of the Gospel, and the scandalizing of others, who are by such Examples induced to sin against God. In which respect for Church-Members to be unnecessarily in such Houses, is sinful, scandalous and provoking to God, *1 Cor. 8. 9, 10. Rom. 14. 21. Matth. 17. 27. & 18. 7.*

And there are other hainous Breaches of the seventh Comniandment. Temptations thereunto are become too common, *viz.* such as immodest Apparel, *Prov. 7. 10.* laying out of Hair, Borders, naked Necks, and Arms, or which is more abominable naked Breasts, and mixed Dancings, light Behaviour, and Expressions, sinful Company-keeping with light and vain Persons, unlawful Gaming, an abundance of Idleness,

which brought ruining Judgment upon *Sodom*, and much more upon *Jerusalem*. *Ezek. 16. 49,* and doth sorely threaten *New-England*, unless effectual Remedies be thoroughly and timely applied.

IX. There is much want of Truth amongst Men. Promise-breaking is a common Sin, for which *New-England* doth hear Ill abroad in the World. And the Lord hath threatned for that Transgression to give his People into the Hands of their Enemies, and that their Dead Bodies should be for Meat unto the Fowls of Heaven, and to the Beasts of the Earth, which Judgments have been verified upon us, *Jer. 34. 18, 20.* And false Reports have been too common, yea, walking with Reproaches and Slanders, and that sometimes against the most Faithful and Eminent Servants of God. The Lord is not wont to suffer such Iniquity to pass unpunished, *Jer. 9. 4, 5. Numb. 16. 41.*

X. Inordinate Affection unto the World. Idolatry is a God-provoking, Judgment-procuring Sin. And Covetousness is Idolatry, *Eph. 5. 5.* There hath been in many Professors an Insatiable desire after Land, and Worldly Accommodations; yea, so as to forsake Churches and Ordinances, and to live like Heathen, only that so they might have Elbow-room enough in the World. Farms and Merchandisings have been preferred before the things of God. In this respect the Interest of *New-England* seemeth to be changed. We differ from other out-goings of our Nation, in that it was not any Worldly Considerations that brought our Fathers into this Wilderness, but Religion, even that so they might build a Sanctuary unto the Lord's Name; whereas now Religion is made subservient unto Worldly Interests. Such Iniquity causeth War to be in the Gates, and Cities to be burnt up, *Judg. 8. 5. Mat. 22. 5, 7.* Wherefore, we cannot but solemnly bear witness against that Practice of settling Plantations without any Ministry amongst them, which is to prefer the World before the Gospel: When *Lot* did forsake the Land of *Canaan*, and the Church, which was in *Abraham's* Family, that so he might have better Worldly Accommodations in *Sodom*, God fired him out of all, and he was constrained to leave his goodly Pastures, which his Heart (though otherwise a good Man) was too much set upon. Moreover that many are under the prevailing Power of the Sin of Worldliness is evident.

1. From that oppression which the Land groaneth under. There are some Traders, who sell their Goods at excessive Rates, Day-Labourers and Mechanicks are unreasonable in their Demands; yea, there have been those that have dealt Deceitfully and oppressively towards the Heathen, among whom we live, whereby they have been scandalized and prejudiced against the Name of Christ. The Scripture doth frequently threaten Judgments for the Sin of Oppression, and in special the Oppressing Sword cometh as a punishment of that Evil, *Ezek. 7. 11, and 22. 15. Prov. 28. 8. Is. 5. 7.*

2. It is also evident, that Men are under the prevailing Power of a Worldly Spirit, by their Strait-handedness, as to Publick Concernments. God by a continued Series of Providence, for many Years, one after another, hath been blighting the Fruits of the Earth in a great measure; and this Year more abundantly: Now, if we search the Scriptures, we shall find that when the Lord hath been provoked to destroy the Fruits of the Earth, either by noxious Creatures, or by his own immediate Hand in Blaftings, or Droughts, or Excessive Rains (all which Judgments we have Experience of) it hath been mostly for this Sin of Strait-handedness with Reference unto publick and Pious Concerns, *Hag. 1. 9. Mal. 3. 8, 9, 11.* As when Peoples Hearts and Hands are enlarged upon these Accounts, God hath promised (and is wont in his Faithful Providence to do accordingly) to Bless with outward Plenty and Prosperity, *Prov. 3. 9, 10. Mal. 3. 10. 1 Cor. 9. 6, 8, 10. 2 Chron. 31. 10.* so on the other Hand, when Men withhold more than is meet, the Lord sends impoverishing Judgments upon them, *Prov. 11. 24.*

XI. There hath been opposition to the work of Reformation. Although the Lord hath been calling upon us, not only by the Voice of his Servants, but by awful Judgments, that we should return unto him, who hath been smiting of us, and notwithstanding all the good Laws, that are established for the suppression of growing Evils, yet Men will not return every one from his Evil way. There hath been great In-corrigibleness under lesser Judgments; Sin and Sinners have many Advocates. They that have been Zealous in bearing witness against the Sins of the Times, have been reproached, and other ways Discouraged; which argueth an Heart unwilling to Reform. Hence the Lord's Controversie is not yet done, but his Hand is stretched out still, *Lev. 26. 23, 24. Isa. 12. 13.*

XII. A publick Spirit is greatly wanting in the most of Men. Few that are of *Nehemiah's* Spirit, *Neh. 5. 15.* all seek their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's; serving themselves upon Christ and his Holy Ordinances. Matters appertaining to the Kingdom of God, are either not at all regarded, or not in the first place. Hence Schools of Learning and other publick concerns are in a languishing state. Hence also are unreasonable Complains and Murmurings because of publick Charges, which is a great Sin; and a private self seeking Spirit, is one of those Evils that renders the last times perilous, *2 Tim. 3. 1.*

XIII. There are Sins against the Gospel, whereby the Lord has been provoked. Christ is not prized and embraced in all his Offices and Ordinances as ought to be. Manna hath been loathed, the pleatant Land despised, *Psal. 106. 24.* Though the Gospel and Covenant of Grace call upon Men to Repent, yet there are Multitudes that refuse to Repent, when the Lord doth vouchsafe them time and means. No Sins provoke the Lord more than Impenitency and Unbelief, *Fer. 8. 6. Zech. 7. 11, 12, 13. Heb.*

3. 17, 18. Rev. 2. 21, 22. There is great Unfruitfulness under the means of Grace, and that brings the most desolating Judgments, *Isac. 5. 4, 5. Mat. 3. 10. and 21. 43.*

Finally; there are several Considerations, which seem to Evidence, that the Evils mentioned are the matters of the Lord's Controversie.

1. In that (though not as to all) as to most of them, they are Sins which many are guilty of.

2. Sins which have been acknowledged before the Lord on Days of Humiliation appointed by Authority, and yet not reformed.

3. Many of them not punished (and some of them not punishable) by Men, therefore the Lord himself doth punish for them.

QUESTION II.

What is to be done, that so these Evils may be reformed?

ANSWER.

I. **I**T would tend much to promote the Interest of Reformation, if all that are, in place, above others, do as to themselves and Families, become every way Exemplary. *Moses* being to Reform others, began with what concerned himself and his. People are apt to follow the Example of those, that are above them, *2 Chron. 12. 1. Gal. 2. 14.* If then, there be a divided Heart, or any other of the Sins of the Times, found in any Degree among those (or any of them) that are Leaders, either as to Civil or Ecclesiastical Order, Reformation there would have a great and happy Influence upon many.

II. In as much as the present standing Generation (both as to Leaders and People) is for the greater part another Generation, than what was in *New-England* Forty Years ago, for us to declare our adherence to the Faith and Order of the Gospel, according to what is in the Scripture expressed in the Platform of Discipline, may be likewise a good means both to recover those that have erred from the Truth, and to prevent Apostacy for the future.

III. It is requisite that Persons be not admitted unto Communion in the Lord's Supper without making a personal and publick Profession of their Faith and Repentance, either Orally, or in some other way, so as shall be to the just satisfaction of the Church; and that therefore both Elders and Churches be duly watchful and circumspect in this matter, *1 Cor. 11. 28, 29. Acts 2. 41, 42. Ezek. 44. 7, 8, 9.*

IV. In order to Reformation, it is necessary that the Discipline of Christ in the Power of it should be upheld in the Churches. It is evident from Christ's Epistles to the Churches in the lesser *Asia*, that the Evils and Degeneracies then prevailing among Christians, proceeded chiefly

from the neglect of Discipline. It is a known and true Observation, that Remissness in the Exercise of Discipline, was attended with Corruption of Manners, and that did provoke the Lord to give Men up to strong Delusions in matters of Faith. Discipline is Christ's Ordinance, both for the prevention of Apostacy in Churches, and to recover them, when collapsed. And these *New-English* Churches are under peculiar Engagements to be Faithful unto Christ, and unto his Truth in this matter, by virtue of the Church Covenant, as also that the management of Discipline according to the Scripture, was the special Design of our Fathers in coming in to this Wilderness. The Degeneracy of the Rising Generation (so much complained of) is in a great measure to be attributed unto neglects of this nature. If all Church Discipline, in these respects, were Faithfully and Diligently attended, not only towards Parents, but also towards the Children of the Church, according to the Rules of Christ, we may hope that the sunk and dying Interest of Religion will be revived, and a world of Sin prevented for the future; and that Disputes respecting the Subjects of Baptism, would be comfortably issued.

V. It is requisite that utmost endeavours should be used, in order unto a full supply of Officers in the Churches, according to Christ's Institution. The defect of these Churches, on this account, is very lamentable, there being in most of the Churches only one teaching Officer, for the Burden of the whole Congregation to lye upon. The Lord Christ would not have instituted Pastors, Teachers, Ruling-Elders (nor the Apostles have ordained Elders in every Church, *Acts* 14. 23. *Titus* 1. 5.) if he had not seen there was need of them for the good of his People; and therefore for Men to think, they can do well enough without them, is both to break the second Commandment, and to reflect upon the Wisdom of Christ, as if he did appoint unnecessary Officers in his Church. Experience hath evinced, that personal Instruction and Discipline, hath been an happy means to reform degenerated Congregations; yea, and owned by the Lord for the Conversion of many Souls: but where there are great Congregations, it is impossible for one Man, besides his Labours in publick fully to attend these other things of great Importance, and necessary to be done in order to an effectual Reformation of Families and Congregations.

VI. It is incumbent on the Magistrate to take care that these Officers have due encouragement and maintenance afforded to them. It is high Injustice and Oppression, yea a Sin, that cries in the Lord's Ears for Judgment, when Wages are withheld from Faithful and Diligent Labours, *Jam.* 5. 4. And if it be so to those that labour about carnal things, much more as to those who labour Day and Night, about the spiritual, and eternal welfare of Souls, *1 Cor.* 9. 11, 13, 14. And the Scripture is express, that not only the Members of Churches, but all that are

taught in the Word are bound to Communicate to him that Teacheth in all good things, *Gal.* 6. 6. *Luke* 10. 7. *1 Tim.* 5. 17, 18. If therefore People be unwilling, to do what Justice and Reason calls for, the Magistrate is to see them do their Duty in this matter. Wherefore, Magistrates, and that in Scriptures referring to the Days of the New-Testament, are said to be the Churches Nursing Fathers, *1 J.* 49. 23. For that it concerns them to take care, that the Churches be fed with the Bread and Water of Life. The Magistrate is to be a keeper of both Tables, which as a Magistrate he cannot be, if he do not promote the Interest of Religion, by all those means, which are of the Lord's appointment. And we find in Scripture, that when the Lord's Ministers have been forced to neglect the House of God, and go every one into the Field (as too much of that hath been amongst us) because the People did not allow them that maintenance, which was necessary, the Magistrate did look upon himself as concerned to effect a Reformation, *Leh.* 13. 10.

VII. Due Care and Faithfulness with respect unto the Establishment and Execution of wholesome Laws, would very much promote the Interest of Reformation. If there be no Laws established in the Common-wealth, but what there is Scripture warrant for, and those Laws so worded, as that they may not become a Snare unto any that are bound to animadvert upon the violaters of them, and that then they be impartially executed; Profanities, herefie Schism, Disorders in Families, Towns, Churches would be happily prevented and reformed. In special it is necessary that those Laws for Reformation of provoking Evils enacted and emitted by the general Court, in the Day of our Calamity should be duly considered, lest we become guilty of dissembling and dallying with the Almighty, and thereby Sin and Wrath be augmented upon us: In particular those Laws, which respect the Regulation of Houses for publick Entertainment, that the number of such Houses do not exceed what is necessary, nor any so entrusted but Persons of known approved Piety and Fidelity, and that Inhabitants be prohibited Drinking in such Houses, and those that shall without License from Authority sell any sort of Strong Drink, be exemplarily punished. And if withal Inferior Officers, Constables and Tithing Men, be chosen constantly of the Ablest and most Prudent in the place, Authorized and Sworn to a faithful Discharge of their Respective Trusts, and duly encouraged in their just Informations against any, that shall Transgress the Laws so established, we may hope that much of that Profaneness which doth threaten the Ruine of the uprising Generation will be prevented.

VIII. Solemn and explicit Renewal of Covenant is a Scripture expedient for Reformation. We seldom read of any solemn Reformation, but it was accomplished in this way, as the Scripture doth abundantly Declare and Testifie. And as the Judgments which besel the Lord's People of Old are Recorded for our Admonition, *1 Cor.* 10. 11.

So the Course, which they did (according to God) observe, in order to Reformation, and averting those Judgments, is Recorded for our Imitation, and was an Explicit Renovation of Covenant. And that the Lord doth call us to this Work, these Considerations seem to Evince. 1. If Implicit Renewal of Covenant be an Expedient for Reformation, and to divert Impending Wrath and Judgment, then much more an explicit Renewal is so; but the first of these is indubitable. In Prayer, and more especially, on Days of solemn Humiliation before the Lord, there is an Implicit Renewal of Covenant, and yet the very dictates of Natural Conscience put Men upon such Duties, when they are apprehensive of a Day of Wrath Approaching. If we may not renew our Covenants with God, for fear lest Men should not be True and Faithful in Doing what they Promise, then we must not observe Days of Fasting and Prayer; which none will say. 2. When the Church was over run with Idolatry and Superstition, those whom the Lord raised up as Reformers, put them upon solemn Renewal of Covenant. So *Asa*, *Jehefaphat*, *Iezekiab*, *Josiah*. By a Parity of Reason, when Churches are over-grown with Worldliness, (which is Spiritual Idolatry) and other Corruptions, the same Course may and should be observed in order to Reformation, Nay, 3. We find in Scripture, that when Corruption in Manners (though not in Worship) hath prevailed in the Church, Renovation of Covenant hath been the Expedient, whereby Reformation hath been attempted, and in some measure attained.

The *Jews* have dreaded the Sin of Idolatry, ever since the *Babylonian* Captivity, *John* 8. 41. But in *Ezra's* and *Nehemiah's* Time, too much Sensuality and Sabbath-breaking, Oppression, Strait-handedness respecting the publick Worship of God (the very same Sins that are found with us) were common prevailing Iniquities. Therefore did those Reformers put them upon renewing their Covenant, and solemnly to promise God that they would endeavour not to offend by those Evils, as formerly, *Ezra* 10. 3. *Neh.* 5. 12, 13. and 10. *per totum*, and 13. 15. 4. The things which are mentioned in the Scripture, as grounds of renewing Covenant, are applicable unto us, *e. g.* The averting of Divine Wrath is expressed, as a sufficient Reason for attendance unto this Duty, *2 Chron.* 29. 10. *Ezra* 10. 14. Again being circumstanced with Difficulties and Distresses is mentioned as the Ground of Explicit Renovation of Covenant, *Neh.* 9. 38. Hence the Lord's Servants, when so circumstanced have been wont to make solemn Vows (and that is an express Covenanting) *Gen.* 28. 20, 21. *Judg.* 11. 30. *Numb.* 21. 1, 2. Now that Clouds of Wrath are hanging over these Churches every one seeth; and that we are circumstanced with some distressing difficulties is sufficiently known. This consideration alone might be enough to put us upon more solemn Engagements unto the Lord our God. 5. Men are hereby brought under a stronger Ob-

ligation unto better Obedience. There is an awe of God upon the Consciences of Men, when so obliged. As it is in respect of Oaths, they that have any Conscience in them, when under such Bonds are afraid to violate them. Some that are but Legalists and Hypocrites, yet solemn Covenants with God have such an awe upon Conscience, as to enforce them unto an outward Reformation, and that doth divert temporal Judgments. And they that are sincere, will thereby be engaged unto a more close and Holy walking before the Lord, and so become more eminently Blessings unto the Societies, and places, whereto they do belong. 6. This way is to prevent (and therefore also to recover out of) Apostacy. In this respect, although there were no visible Degeneracy amongst us, yet this Renovation of Covenant might be of singular Advantage. There was no publick Idolatry (or other Transgression) allowed of in the Days of *Joshua*, *Judg.* 2. 7. *Josh.* 23. 8. yet did *Joshua* persuade the Children of *Israel* to renew their Covenant; doubtless that so he might thereby restrain them from future Idolatry and Apostacy, *Josh.* 24. 25.

Lastly, The Churches, which have lately and solemnly attended this Scripture Expedient for Reformation, have experienced the Presence of God with them, signally owning them therein; how much more might a Blessing be expected, should there be a general Concurrence in this matter?

IX. In Renewing of Covenant, it is needful that the Sins of the Times should be engaged against, and Reformation thereof (in the Name and by the help of Christ) promised before the Lord, *Ezra* 10. 3. *Neh.* 5. 12, 13. and *Chap.* 10.

X. It seems to be most Conducive unto Edification and Reformation, that in Renewing Covenant such things as are clear and indisputable be expressed, that so all the Churches may agree in Covenanting to promote the Interest of Holiness, and close walking with God.

XI. As an Expedient for Reformation, it is good, that effectual care should be taken, respecting Schools of Learning. The Interest of Religion and good Literature have been wont to Rite and Fall together. We read in Scripture of Masters and Scholars, and of Schools and Colleges, *1 Chron.* 25. 8. *Mal.* 2. 12. *Acts* 15. 9. and 22. 3. And the most Eminent Reformers amongst the Lord's People of old, thought it their concern to erect and uphold them. Was not *Samuel* (that great Reformer) President of the College, at *Nayoth*, *1 Sam.* 19. 18, 19. and is thought to be one of the First Founders of Colleges. Did not *Elijah* and *Elisba*, restore the Schools Erected in the Land of *Israel*? And *Josiah* (another great Reformer) shewed respect to the College at *Jerusalem*, *2 Kings* 22. 14. Ecclesiastical Story informs that great care was taken by the Apostles, and their immediate Successors, for the settling of Schools in all places, where the Gospel had been preached, that so the Interest of Religion might be preserved, and the

Truth propagated to succeeding Generations. It is mentioned as one of the greatest Mercies, that ever God bestowed upon his People *Israel*, that he raised up their Sons for Prophets, *Amos* 2. 11. which hath respect to their Education in Schools of Learning. And we have all cause to Bless God, that put it into the Hearts of our Fathers to take care concerning this matter. For these Churches had been in a state most deplorable, if the Lord had not blessed the College, so as from thence to supply most of the Churches, as at this Day. When *New-England* was poor, and we were but few in Number Comparatively, there was a Spirit to encourage Learning, and the College was full of Students, whom God hath made Blessings, not only in this, but in other Lands; but it is deeply to be lamented that now when we are become many, and more

able than at our Beginnings, that Society, and other Inferior Schools are in such a Low and Languishing state. Wherefore, as we desire that Reformation and Religion should flourish, it concerns us to endeavour that both the College, and all other Schools of Learning in every place, be duly inspected and encouraged.

XII. In as much as a thorough and hearty Reformation is necessary, in order to obtaining Peace with God, *Jer.* 3. 10. and all outward means will be ineffectual unto that end, except the Lord pour down his Spirit from on High; it doth, therefore, concern us to cry mightily unto God, both in ordinary and extraordinary manner, that he would be pleased to Rain down Righteousness upon us, *Isa.* 32. 15. *Hos.* 10. 12. *Ezek.* 39. 29. *Luke* 11. 13. Amen!

R E M A R K S

UPON THE

Reforming Synod.

§ 1. **T**hat a *Reforming Synod* could not accomplish an *Universal Reformation* of *Provoking Evils* in the County, has been acknowledged as a Matter of most sensible Observation; and the increased Frowns of Heaven upon the Country, since that Synod, have been but agreeable to such an increase of Provocation. Alas! how many Instances have we seen, upon which our God might say unto us, *When I would have healed New-England, then it's Iniquities were but the more discovered!* Nevertheless, it must be mentioned unto the Glory of God, that the Admonitions of the Synod, were not without very desirable Effects, upon many of his People. Faithful Ministers were thereby strengthened in Lifting up their Voices like Trumpets to shew us *our Transgressions and our Sins*, and private Christians were awakned unto an exacter Walk with God. But of all the Effects that followed upon the Synod, there was none more comprehensive and significant than the *Renewal of Covenant*, which was attended by many of our Churches, in pursuance of the largest Article of the *Reforming Expedients*, which had been recommended. In this *Renewal of Covenant*, there were some Churches, who, from I know not what Objections, of *there being no express warrant for it in the New-Testament*, and, *their doing it, implicitly in every act of Divine Worship*, and, *the imaginary danger of Innovations*, would not comply with the Advice of the Synod: But all the *Virgins* were not so sleepy, and very remarkable was the Blessing of God upon the Churches, which did not so sleep, not only by a great *Advancement of Holiness* in the People, who in their lesser *Societies* for the Exercises of Religion, as well as in their *Privacies* and *Retirements* often perused the Copies of their *Covenants*; but also by a great *Addition of Converts*, unto their *holy Fellowship*. In short, many of the Churches, under the Conduct of their holy Pastors, having on previous Days of *fasting and Prayer* set apart for that purpose, considered the expectations of God concerning them, they were willing anew, to declare their most *explicit Consent* unto the *Covenant of Grace*, and most explicitly to engage a growing *watchfulness* in such Duties of the Covenant, as were more peculiarly accommodated unto their present Circumstances. When their preparatory Church-Meetings, had produced a Concurrence in this

Resolution, they publickly devoted another Day to Fasting and Prayer, whereat a vast Confluence of other Neighbours were usually present; and on this Day the Minister of the Place having in the Forenoon pray'd and preach'd suitably to the Occasion, he proceeded then to read the Covenant; whereunto the Assent of the Churches was then expressed, by the Brethren lifting up their Hands, and by the Women only standing up; and tho' in some Churches none but the *Communicants*, yet in others those also, which we call *the Children of the Church*, were actively concerned in these Transactions. But ordinarily in the Afternoon, some other Minister prayed and preached and inculcated the *Covenant Obligations*: And many thousands of Spectators will testify, that they never saw the *special Presence* of the *Great God our Saviour*, more notably discovered, than in the *Solemnities* of these Opportunities.

§ 2. The Forms used by the several Churches in the *Renewal of Covenant*, were not in all Points the same, nor did our Churches at all find that this *Vari-formity* was an Inconvenience; but that it gave them a *Liberty and Advantage* to consult their own Edification, by adapting their *Forms* unto their own special Circumstances. However the *Form* which, with little Variation, was most used shall be now recited.

‘ We, who thro’ the exceeding Riches of the Grace and Patience of God, do continue to be a Church of Christ, being now assembled in the holy Presence of God, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, after humble Confession of our manifold Breaches of the Covenant, before the Lord our God, and earnest Supplication of Pardoning Mercy thro’ the Blood of Christ, and deep acknowledgement of our great Unworthiness to be own’d to be the Lord’s Covenant-People; also acknowledging our own Inability to keep Covenant with God or to perform any spiritual Duty unless the Lord Jesus do enable us thereto by his Spirit dwelling in us; And being awfully sensible, that it is a dreadful Thing for sinful Dust and Ashes personally to transact with the infinitely glorious Majesty of Heaven and Earth; We do in humble Confidence of his gracious Assistance and Acceptance thro’ Christ, each one of us, for our selves, and jointly as a Church of the living God, and one with another, in manner following, i. e.

‘ We

‘ We do give up our selves to that *God*, whose Name alone is *Jehovah*, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the One only True and Living God, and to our Blessed Lord Jesus Christ, as our only Blessed Saviour, Prophet, Priest and King, over our Souls, and only Mediator of the Covenant of Grace, promising (by the help of his Spirit and Grace) to cleave unto God, as our chief Good, and to the Lord Jesus Christ, by Faith, and Gospel-Obedience, as becometh his Covenant-People for ever. We do also give up our *Offspring* unto God in Jesus Christ, avouching the Lord to be *our God*, and the *God of our Children*, and our selves with our Children to be *his People*; humbly Adoring the Grace of God, that we and our Offspring with us may be looked upon to be *the Lords*.

‘ We do, also, give up our selves *one to another* in the Lord, and according to the Will of God; freely Covenanting and Binding our selves to walk together as a right ordered *Congregation* and *Church* of Christ, in all the ways of his Worship, according to the Holy Rules of the Word of God; promising in *Brotherly Love* to Watch over one anothers Souls Faithfully, and to submit our selves unto the *Discipline* and *Government* of Christ in his Church, and duly to attend all those Ordinances, which Christ hath Instituted in his Church, and commanded to be attended by his People, according to the Order of the Gospel, and Degrees of Communion, unto which we have attained; not resting in measures attained, but pressing after all. And whereas the *Messengers* of these Churches, who have met together in the Name of Christ, to enquire into the Reason of God’s *Controversie* with his People, have taken notice of many *provoking Evils*, as the procuring Causes of the Judgments of God upon *New-England*; so far as we or any of us have been Guilty of *Provoking* God by any Sin therein discovered to us, We desire from our Hearts to bewail it before the Lord, and humbly to entreat for pardoning Mercy, for the sake of the *Blood of the Everlasting Covenant*. And as an *Expedient* to the Reformation of those Evils, or whatsoever else, have provoked the Eyes of God’s Glory amongst us, We do freely Engage and Promise, as in the Presence of God;

‘ First, That we will (Christ helping) endeavour every one of us to *Reform* our Heart and Life, by seeking to mortifie all our Sins, and labouring to walk more closely with God, than ever yet we have done; and will continue to worship God in Publick, Private, Secret; and this without Formality or Hypocrisie: and more fully and faithfully than heretofore, to discharge all Covenant Duties, one to another in *Church Communion*.

‘ Secondly, To walk before God *in our Houses*, with a *perfect Heart*, and that we will uphold the Worship of God therein continually, according as he in his Word doth require; both in respect of *Prayer* and *Reading* the Scriptures, that so the Word of God may dwell richly in us: And we will do what in us lies, to bring

‘ up our *Children* for Christ, that they may be such as have the Lord’s Name put upon them by a solemn Dedication to God in Christ, ought to be. And will therefore (as need shall be) *Catechise*, Exhort, and Charge them to the Fear of the Lord; and endeavour to set an Holy *Example* before them, and be much in Prayer for their Conversion and Salvation.

‘ Thirdly, To endeavour to be pure from the *Sins of the Times*, especially those Sins, which have been by the late *Synod* solemnly Declared and Evidenced to be the Evils, that have brought the Judgments of God upon *New-England*; and in our places to endeavour the suppression thereof, and be careful so to walk, as that we may not give occasion to others to Sin, or speak Evil of our Holy Profession.

‘ Now that we may observe and keep this sacred Covenant and all the Branches of it inviolable for ever, We desire to deny our selves and to depend wholly upon the *Power* of the *Eternal Spirit of Grace*, and on the free Mercy of God, and Merit of Christ Jesus: And where we shall fail, there to wait upon the Lord Jesus for Pardon, Acceptance, and Healing for his Name’s sake.

§ 3. The *Massachusetts* Colony was not alone, in such Effays of *Reformation*: but the Colonies of *Plymouth* and *Conneticut* shewed themselves in like manner concerned; that they might avert the *Tokens* of the Divine Displeasure, *whereat they who dwell in these uttermost parts were afraid*. The Rulers, both in *Church* and *State*, had their serious Deliberations with one another, and they together *enquired of the Lord*, at the Oracle of his Written Word, what might be the grounds of the Divine Controversie. The *Ministers* drew up the Results of their Deliberations, which the *Magistrates* recommended unto the Consideration of the Inhabitants in the several Jurisdictions. The *Pastors* of the Churches, hence took occasion, in their lively *Sermons*, to prosecute the ends of these *Admonitions*; and some of them, reduced their Instructions into a *Catechetical Method*, that so the Young People in their Congregations, might *Echo* back, upon fit Questions, those things which were needful to be *known*, and to be *done*, relating to the *Reformation* of the Land. Thus particularly, did that most worthy Man, Mr. *James Fitch*, at *Norwich*; who has obliged more than his whole Colony, by suffering to be published (as well as another Elaborate *Catechism*, containing, a *Body of Divinity*) in form of a *Catechism*, an *Explanation of the solemn Advice*, recommended by the *Council of the Colony to the Inhabitants*, respecting the *Reformation of those Evils*, which have been the procuring cause of the late Judgments upon *New-England*.

§ 4. Our manifold Indispositions to recover the dying *Power of Godliness*, were punished with successive Calamities; under all of which our *Apostacies* from that Godliness have rather proceeded than abated. Although there hath been

been a Glorious *profession* of Religion made by the Body of this People unto this Day; yea, and although there be Thousands which by *keeping their Hearts with all diligence*, and by *ordering their Conversations aright*, justify their Profession, yet the Number of them that so strictly *walk with God*, has been wofully decaying. The *Old Spirit of New-England* hath been sensibly going out of the World, as the *old Saints* in whom it was, have gone; and instead thereof the *Spirit of the World* with a lamentable neglect of *strict Piety*, has crept in upon the rising Generation. At last, the Country by some *Changes* passing over it, was thrown into a Condition, in which not only the *Pastors*, without whom no *Reformation* is to be hoped, were miserably crippled as to the doing of any *notable thing* in *Reforming*, but also the *Churches* were many ways uncapable of doing any *general thing* to retrieve our growing *Defections*. However, when the compassion of God by strange Providences, fetched the Country out of that Condition, the *General Court*, returning to the Exercise of their former Authority, were willing to shew their Sense of the present Circumstances, by publishing the following Instrument.

By the Governour and General Court of the Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay in NEW-ENGLAND.

IT having been a thing too sensible and obvious, to escape the observation of all, who are not wholly strangers in our *Israel*; that this poor Land hath laboured under a long *Series* of Afflictions, and Calamities, whereby we have suffered successively in all our *precious and pleasant things*, and have seen the Anger of the Righteous God against us, expressed in Characters, which ought to be as *terrible*, as they must needs be *visible* unto us; it having also both by the *Testimonies* of those that after the most humble and exact enquiries into the Mind of God, have discovered the same unto us, and by their own general and repeated Confessions, become undeniable; that a *Corruption of Manners*, attended with inexcusable *Degeneracies* and *Apostacies*, found in too many of this People, is the cause of that *Controversie*, which the God of our Fathers has, for many Years been maintaining with us: It being likewise at this Day, such a *Probation-time* with all *New-England* as this Country has never before seen from the first foundation of it, and the Judgments of that Holy God, who hath beheld, how Incurrigible we have hitherto been, under all his Dispensations, now arriving to such an Extremity, that the *Ax is laid to the Root of the Trees*, and we are in eminent Danger of perishing, if a speedy *Reformation* of our *Provoking Evils* prevent it not: This *Court* have therefore thought it needful to Pretace their other Endeavours for the publick welfare, with a very solemn *Admonition* unto this whole People, that they every where give Demonstrations of a thorough *Repentance*,

without which we have little Reason to hope for any Good success in our Affairs.

Wherefore, it is ordered that the *Laws* of this Colony against *Vice*, and all sorts of *Debauchery* and *Profaneness* (which *Laws* have too much lost their Edge by the late Interruption of the Government) be now Faithfully and vigorously put in Execution; particularly the *Laws* against *Blasphemy*, *Cursing*, *Prophane-Swearing*, *Lying*, *Unlawful-Gaming*, *Sabbath-breaking*, *Idleness*, *Drunkenness*, *Uncleanness*, and all the Enticements and Nurseries of such *Impieties*: Together with all other the wholesome *Laws* and *Orders* agreeable to the present Circumstances of the Country; by the Execution whereof we may approve our selves, a *peculiar People*, *zealous of good Works*.

And as all Persons are hereby warned to avoid those *Vices*, which these *Laws* are designed for the Prevention and Chastisement of, (the *Lovers* of and *Pleaders* for such Iniquities, being among the Principal *Troublers* of their Country:) so all Inferiour *Officers* are enjoined to perform their Duty in finding and bringing out Offenders against the aforesaid *Laws*, and withal to give notice to such Offenders, that they must expect the Justice of an *Exemplary Punishment*.

And that no attempt towards *Reformation* may want that Assistance which all good Men will be willing to give thereunto, 'tis hoped that the Ministers of God will, to the *publick Reading* of this *Proclamation*, adjoin their own fervent Labours, not only for the rebuking and suppressing of those *provoking Evils*, which are marked for *Common hatred*: but also to Witness against more *Spiritual Sins*, which fall not so much under the Cognizance of Humane *Laws*, namely, such as *Unbelief*, *Worldliness*, *Heresie*, *Pride*, *Wrath*, *Strife*, *Envy*, and neglect of Communion with God in both Natural and Instituted *Worship*, and the *Contempt* of the *Everlasting Gospel*, with a shameful want of due *Family-Instruction*, which are the *Roots of Bitterness* in the midst of us.

Moreover, after the Example of *Pious Rulers* commended in sacred Writ, the *Churches* are every where hereby advited to give utmost Encouragement unto the Faithful, and Watchful *Pastors* of their Souls; to seek (where they lack) a full settlement and enjoyment of such *Officers*, as the Lord Jesus Christ hath appointed for their edification; to reflect seriously and frequently on their *Covenants*; to sharpen their *Discipline* against those that *walk Disorderly*; and immediately to compose their *Differences* and *Contentions* (if such there be) whereby any of them may be dittempered and enfeebled, that so they may become *Terrible as an Army with Banners*.

Furthermore, it is expected that the several *Towns* within this Jurisdiction, do speedily furnish themselves with the means for the good *Education of Youth*, and take special care to avoid *Factions* and *Quarrels* in their other *Town-affairs*; and all Plantations are strictly forbidden to continue without the Advantages of having

the *Word* of God constantly preached unto them, or without a sincere and active Industry, to obtain the Presence of the Lord Jesus Christ in all his Blessed *Ordinances*.

And Finally, this whole People are hereby advertised, that if these *Essays* for an Universal Reformation shall be obstructed (as those in the Days of the Reforming *Jehoiab* were) by Mens being settled on their *Lees*, and hating to be reformed; they can reasonably look for no other Issue than this, That the Jealous God will punish them yet seven times more for their Iniquities: But if the God of Heaven shall grant unto them the Grace to Remember whence they are fallen, and Repent, and do the first Works, it will give a greater Prospect of Prosperity, than can arise from the best Counsels and biggest Armies.

The Work of Reformation, thus endeavoured, is now recommended unto the Blessing of the Almighty, with whom alone it is to recover a backsliding People; persuading our selves, that the event thereof would be *Salvation nigh unto us, and Glory dwelling in our Lord*.

March 13.
1682.

Isaac Addington, Secr.

§ 5. The lamentable Disasters, wherewith our God presently after punished us for our not being Reformed by all these things, rendred this Instrument worthy to be called a Prophecie, rather than a Proclamation. A War made against the Country by both Pagan and Popish Adversaries in the East; and an almost universal Miscarriage of our Affairs both by Sea and Land, and especially of the most important Expedition ever made by this People, even that against Canada; together with Epidemical Diseases which swept away near a Thousand Persons within a few Months, in one Town; these Testimonies from Heaven against the Land, kept alive the solicitous enquires of good Men, how all that was amiss might be amended? Many things this way were propounded and attended by good Men in all Orders; but among other things, there was especially one voted by an Assembly of Ministers, met at Cambridge, in such Terms as these.

Whereas the most heavy and wasting Judgments of Heaven upon our distressed Land, loudly call upon us, no longer to delay the taking of some hitherto-untaken steps towards the Reformation of our provoking Evils, and the Recovery of Practical Religion in our Hearts, and Lives;

Among other Expedients in order hereunto, We cannot but recommend it, as very adviseable, that the several Churches, having in an Instrument proper for that purpose, made a Catalogue of such things, as can Indisputably be found amiss among them, do with all seriousness and solemnity pass their Votes, that they count such things to be very Offensive Evils, and that renouncing all dependance upon their own strength, to avoid such Evils, they humbly ask the help of the Divine Grace to assist them, in watching against the said Evils both in themselves, and in one another. And that the Communicants do often reflect upon those their Acknowledgments and Protestations, as perpetual Monitors unto them, to prevent the Miscarriages, wherewith too many Professors, are so easily overtaken.

Copies of this Vote; were communicated unto many parts of the Country; in pursuance whereof, there were several Churches which did in the Year 1692, solemnly make the recommended Recognitions of Duty: Hoping, that God would accept such Acknowledgments of Duty, their Declarations for him, whereupon he would also declare for them; and thinking that such humble Acknowledgments were the New-Covenant-way for the obtaining of help from Heaven, for the doing of Duty. Particular, to avoid the length of tedious varieties; There was one Church, amongst the rest, that voted, That they did accept of the following Instrument, as containing the serious Acknowledgments and Protestations of their Souls; whereupon they would often Reflect, for the discovering of what may be amiss in their Hearts and Lives; as also, for the directing of the Prayers, and strengthening of the Cares, which they would use in their more watchful walk with God. And a Printed Copy thereof, was accordingly put into the Hands of the Communicants.

Acknow-

Acknowledgments and Protestations voted, as explaining the Obligations laid upon us by our most Holy Covenant.

WH, that through the Goodness of God have been combined, and are still continued, a *Church* of his; having heretofore consented unto the *Covenant* of *Grace*, according to the gracious Terms whereof, we have made choice of the Lord *Jehovah*, Father, Son and Spirit, as our *God*, and of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, as the glorious *Mediator*, upon whose *Fulness* of Merit and Power we rely, as well to be *strengthened* for the *Duties*, as to be *invested* with the *Blessings*, of that *well-ordered Covenant*; and have, therefore, according to his Will, incorporated our selves into that *Evangelical Church-State*, wherein our *Desires* after the *sure Mercies* of that *Covenant*, are to be expressed, maintained and answered: Being herewithal sensible, that our *Justification*, only by *Faith* in the *Righteousness* of him, who is a *Saviour* and a *Surety* for us, does very strongly oblige us to close with all the *Commandments* of God, as *Holy*, and *Just*, and *Good*; and as those *Rules*, in Conformity to which alone our *Peace* can be lengthened out: And, being also awakened by the most heavy *Judgments* of Heaven, under which the *Country* hath been weltring and waiting for many later Years, to suspect, lest in the *Hearts*, and *Lives* of Us in particular, there may be found some of those *accursed Things*, which have brought upon the Land; such a long Variety of sore Calamity.

Do therefore acknowledge, That we are under peculiar Bonds to walk *circumspectly*, not only by avoiding the *grosser Miscarriages* of Ungodliness, but also by guarding against, whatever *Corruptions* do sometimes more easily obtain among the professing People of God; behaving our selves, *not as Fools but as Wise*, and *redeeming the time, because the days are evil*.

And in special manner, to revive the Sense of the *Tyes*, which are laid upon us by the *Covenant* of God, that has not only been *accepted*, but also *renewed* amongst us.

I. We acknowledge, It would be a great Evil in us, if our Love to the *World* should make us omit our *Communion* with God, and abate of that *Zeal* and *Watch*, which we should always keep alive in our Souls; or hinder us from the most affectionate reading of his *Word*, and seeking of his *Face*, every Day in our *Houses*, or from the daily use of *Meditation* and *Supplication* in our *Closets*.

II. It would be a great Evil in us, If, while on the one hand we *protest* against any thing in *Divine Worship*, for which we have not a *Divine Warrant*, and against the Usage of all *Papal* and *Pagan Superstitions*: On the other side, we should not, according to the best of our Capa-

cities, *attend* and *support* the *Institutions* of God, in the midst of us, with Endeavours that there may be nothing wanting thereunto.

III. It would be a great Evil in us, If when we draw near to God in his *Ordinances*, we should allow our selves to be *Formal*, *Carnal*, or *Sleepy* in what we do; especially, if we should ordinarily come to the *Table* of the Lord, without serious *Examinations* and *Humiliations* preparatory thereunto; or, if in managing of *Church-Discipline*, we should vent our own *Passions*, and serve our own *Humours*, instead of acting entirely for the Lord.

IV. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should abuse the *good Creatures* of God by Sensualities in *Eating*, *Drinking* and *Recreation*; or, by Extravagancies in our *Apparel*: And, if whenever we use the *Titles*, and the *Scriptures* of our God, it should not be with much *Reverence* in our Souls.

V. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should not keep a strict Guard both on our own *Thoughts* as well as *Words* and *Works* on the *Lord's-Day*, and also on all that are under our Influence, to restrain them from the violations of that *Sacred Rest*.

VI. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should not make it our careful study to have our *Families* well instructed, and well governed, and in such a Condition as is agreeable to the *Fear* of God.

VII. It would be a great Evil in us, If by the prevalency of a *private Spirit*, we should be backward unto any *publick Service*, wherein God shall call us, with our *Persons* or *Estates* to *serve our Generation*; or, if we should with unjust *Neglect* and *Censure*, ill requite such as have been serviceable; more especially such as in *Government* are the *Ministers of God unto us for our Good*.

VIII. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should put off a *Patient*, *Peaceable*, *Forgiving Temper* towards our Neighbours; or, not with *Meekeness of Wisdom* decline and smother all *Causes of Contention*.

IX. It would be a great Evil in us; If we should spend our Days in *Idleness*, and not be Diligent in such *Employments*, as may *adorn the Doctrine of God*, by rendering us useful unto those that are round about us.

X. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should in any of our *Carriage*, or so much as in our *Discourse*, admit any thing that may favour of a *Lascivious* or a *Licentious* Disposition in our Souls.

XI. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should use any *Dishonesty* in our Dealings, and either

by *Fraud* or *Force*, exact unreasonably upon those with whom we are concerned.

XII. It would be a great Evil in us, maliciously to *make*, or injuriously to *spread* any false *Reports*, or too easily to *receive Slanders* against the Innocent, or to Countenance the Broachers of them.

XIII. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should not conscientiously observe and fulfil what *Promises* we have lawfully given one unto another.

XIV. It would be a great Evil in us, To be discontented either at the *Prosperity* which God would have others enjoy, or at the *Adversity* wherein the Providence of God has at any time confined our selves.

XV. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should not be ready Charitably and Liberally to relieve the Necessities of the *Poor* that call for our Bounties.

XVI. It would be a great Evil in us, If we should not with a most Brotherly Affection either *give* or *take Reproofs*, when there is a cause for them; or, if we should with-hold any due *Testimony* against whatever may fall out among us, displeasing unto God.

Wherefore by a solemn *Vote*, we *Declare* against all these Evils, as *abominable Things*; and, utterly *despairing* of any *strength* in our selves to keep clear thereof, we do most humbly ask the All-sufficient *Grace* of God in Christ, that neither these, nor any such Iniquities may have *Dominion over us*; but that we *watch* against them all, both in *our selves*, and in *one another*.

§ 6. Many and various are the *Deliberations* continued by good Men, unto this Day, concerning the Methods of preventing our *Apostasies*. But I shall supersede the mention of them all, with a Copy of certain *Expedients*, and *Proposals* about *Reformation* lately agreed by an Assembly of Ministers at *Cambridge*.

I. There is a large number of People in this Country, which not lying within the reach of our *Ecclesiastical Discipline*, do from thence encourage themselves in the Liberty, which they take to do the things, for which the Wrath of God comes upon the Land. It would very much promote the Design of *Reformation* among us, if all due means were used, for the bringing of more than there are, and as many as may be, to submit unto the *Church-watch*; 'twere highly desirable that the Body of this professing People

should thus be brought into the way of *Reformation*. It hath been by an happy Experience found, that God has given a singular Success unto the *Admonitions* of our *Churches*, applied unto such as have by their Miscarriages thereto exposed themselves; many have been thereby savingly brought home to God.

II. The *Expedients* for the *Reformation* of our Land, offered by the *Synod* in the Year 1679, ought not to be forgotten; but the Remembrance and Consideration thereof should be revived.

III. The Concurrence of such as do sustain Place in the *Civil Government*, is of great importance in the Prosecution of our desired *Reformation*: And that we may enjoy this, it must be endeavoured, that there should be no misunderstanding between any in the *Government* and the *Ministry*. This being observed, a *general Consultation* upon the Methods of *Reformation* is to be asked for.

IV. For the *Pastors* of our Churches in *visiting* of their Flocks, to inform themselves, about the *Morals* of their People in every Quarter, and thereupon both publicly and privately, set themselves to Cure what shall be found amiss, would signify very much in a Glorious *Reformation*.

V. *Particular Churches* have a *Power of Self-Reformation*; and they would contribute more than a little to an *universal one*, if they would be *Exemplary* unto one another in *Deliberations* upon their own Circumstances, and in renewing, explaining and enforcing of their *Covenants*.

VI. It would be well, if the *Ministers* in this (as well as any other) Association, would single out the more *observable Iniquities* in the Country, and successively at fit Seasons publish brief, but full, *Testimonies* against those Iniquities. A manifold Advantage might accrue to the Attempts of *Reformation* by those *Testimonies*.

VII. Solemn *Days of Prayer* with *Fasting* celebrated in our Churches, to implore the *Grace* of God for the rising Generation, would probably be of blessed Consequence, for the turning of our young People unto the God of our Fathers. The more there is this way ascribed unto *Grace*, the more is the *Grace* of God like to be communicated; and there is in this way a *natural* and *plentiful* Tendency to *awaken* our unconverted Youth unto a Sense of their everlasting Interests. Which, were it generally accomplished, a marvellous *Reformation* were therein effected.

THAUMATURGUS:

V E L

סֵפֶר הַזְכוּרִיָּה i. e. *Liber Memorabilium.*

The SIXTH Book
OF THE
NEW-ENGLISH History;
WHEREIN
Very many Illustrious
DISCOVERIES and, DEMONSTRATIONS
OF THE
Divine PROVIDENCE
IN
REMARKABLE
MERCIES and JUDGMENTS
ON
Many Particular Persons among the People
OF
NEW-ENGLAND,
ARE
OBSERV'D, COLLECTED and RELATED:

By COTTON MATHER.

PSAL. 107. 43.

Whofo is wise.-- will observe these Things.

L O N D O N, Printed in the Year 1702.

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The SIXTH BOOK.

REMARKABLES

OF THE

Divine Providence

Among the

People of NEW-ENGLAND.

§. 1. **T**O Regard the illustrious Displays of that PROVIDENCE, where-with our Lord CHRIST governs the World, is a Work, than which there is none more *Needful*, or *Useful*, for a *Christian*: To Record them is a Work, than which, none more proper for a *Minister*: And perhaps the Great Governour of the World will ordinarily do the most *Notable* Things for those who are most ready to take a wise Notice of what He does. Unaccountable therefore and inexcusable, is the *Sleepiness*, even upon the most of Good Men throughout the World, which indisposes them to *observe*, and much more to *preserve* the *Remarkable Dispensations* of *Divine Providence*, towards themselves or others. Nevertheless there have been raised up now and then those Persons who have rendered themselves worthy of *Everlasting Remembrance*, by their *Wakeful Zeal* to have the *Memorable Providences* of God remembered through all Generations. Among those Worthy Men, a most *Embalmed Memory* is particularly due unto the Reverend MATTHEW POOL, who about the Year 1658, set a-foot a *Glorious Design* among some Divines of no little Figure throughout *England* and *Ireland*, for the faithful Registering of *Remarkable Providences*. But alas, it came to nothing that was *Remarkable*. The like *Holy Design* was, by the Reverend INCREASE MATHER, proposed among the Divines of *New-England*, in the Year 1681, at a General Meeting of them; who thereupon desired him to begin, and publish an *Essay*; which he did in a little while; but therewithal declared, *That he did it only as a Specimen of a larger Volume, in hopes that this Work being so set on foot, Posterity would go on with it.*

§. 2. But as the National Synods in *France* could not, by their frequent Admonitions unto the Churches to procure a good Register of *Remarkable Providences*, effectually rouse their Good

Men out of their Stupidity: So the Pastors in the Churches of *New-England* have mostly been too much under the Power of a like Indisposition, to Regard the Works of the Lord, and the Operation of his Hands. That this Indisposition might, if it were possible, be shaken off, there were Proposals again made and sent thro' the Country: Whereof I will here annex the Copy; and yet I must complain of it, that unto this Hour there have not half *Ten* Considerable *Histories* been transmitted unto us in answer unto these Proposals.

Certain Proposals made by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, to the Reverend Ministers of the Gospel in the several Churches of New-England.

I.

TO Observe and Record the more Illustrious Discoveries of the *Divine Providence*, in the Government of the World, is a Design so Holy, so Useful, so Justly approved, that the too general Neglect of it in the Churches of God, is as Justly to be lamented.

II.

'For the Redress of that Neglect, although all *Christians* have a Duty incumbent on them, yet it is in a peculiar manner to be recommended unto the *Ministers* of the *Gospel*, to improve the special Advantages which are in their Hands, to Obtain and Preserve the Knowledge of such notable Occurrents, as are sought out by all that have Pleasure in the Great Works of the Lord.

III.

'The Things to be esteemed *Memorable*, are especially all *Unusual Accidents*, in the Heaven
A a a a a 2 'or

‘or Earth, or Water: All wonderful Deliverances of the Distressed: Mercies to the Godly: Judgments on the Wicked; and more Glorious Fulfillments of either the Promises or the Threatnings, in the Scriptures of Truth; with Apparitions, Possessions, Incantments, and all Extraordinary Things wherein the Existence and Agency of the Invisible World, is more sensibly demonstrated.

IV.

‘It is therefore proposed, That the Ministers throughout this Land would manifest their Pious Regards unto the Works of the Lord, and the Operation of his Hands, by reviving their Cares to take Written Accounts of such Remarkables; but still well attested with Credible and Sufficient Witnesses.

V.

‘It is desired, that the Accounts thus taken of these Remarkables, may be sent in, unto the PRESIDENT, or the FELLOWS of the College; by whom they shall be carefully reserved for such an Use to be made of them, as may by some fit Assembly of Ministers, be judged most conducing to the Glory of GOD, and the Service of his People.

VI.

‘Tho’ we doubt not, that, Love to the Name of GOD, will be motive enough unto all Good Men, to contribute what Assistance they can, unto this Undertaking; yet for further Encouragement, some Singular Marks of Respect, shall be studied for such Good Men as will actually assist it by taking Pains to communicate any important Passages proper to be inserted in this Collection.

- | | |
|------------------|-------------|
| Increase Mather, | } President |
| James Allen | |
| Charles Morton | } Fellows. |
| Samuel Willard | |
| Cotton Mather | |
| John Leverett | |
| William Brattle | |
| Nehem. Walter | |

Cambridge
March 5,
1693.

§. 3. Tho’ we have been too slack in doing what hath been desired and directed in these Proposals; yet our Church History is become able to entertain the World with a Collection of Remarkable Providences that have occur’d among the Inhabitants of New-England. Besides a considerable Number of Memorables, which lie scatter’d here and there in every part of our Church-History, there is a Number of them enough to make an intire Book by themselves; whereof having received sufficient Attestations, I shall now invite the Reader to consider them.

A certain Critick so admired those Verses of the Poet Claudian,

*Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia Mentem,
Curarent superi terras, an ullus incesset
Rector, an incerto fluerent mortalia cursu,*

that he said, whoever would be a Poet, must perfectly settle them in his Memory. This Critick might perhaps be something of a Deist. But, Reader, if any Doubts like these of Claudian’s, about the Existence and Providence of God begin to poison thy Soul, there are six or seven Chapters of History now before thee, that may be thy Antidote.

It is observ’d that the Name *τυχη*, (or Fortune) is not once used in all the Works of Homer. We will now write a Book of rare Occurrences, wherein a blind Fortune shall not be once acknowledged. Austin in his Retractions complains of himself, that he had used the Word Fortune too much; but the Use of it shall be confuted as well as avoided, in the Book now before us, wherein all the Rare Occurrences will be the evident Operations of the Almighty God, whose Kingdom ruleth over all.

C H A P. I.

Christus super Aquas: Relating wonderful Sea-Deliverances.

Vela damus, vastumque cavâ trabe currimus æquor.

They that go down to the Sea in Ships, these do see the Works of the Lord, and his Wonders in the Deep. And what if our Collection of Remarkable Providences do begin with a Relation of the Wonderful Works which have been done for them that go down to the Sea in Ships, by that Great Lord whose is the Sea, for he made it? I will carry my Reader abroad upon the huge Atlantic, and without so much as the Danger of being made Sea-sick, he shall see Wonders in the Deep.

I. A Pious Anchorite.

Let Mandelsloe tell of his poor Fleming, who lived an Insular Anchorite upon a desolate Island many Months together; I have a Story that shall in most things Equal it, and in some Exceed it.

On Aug. 25. 1676. Mr. Ephraim How with his two Sons, did set Sail from New-Haven for Boston, in a small Ketch of about seventeen Tun; and returning from Boston for New-Haven, Sept. 10. contrary Winds detain'd him for some time, and then Illness and Sickness till a Month expired. He then renewed his Voyage as far as Cape-Cod; but suddenly the Weather became so tempestuous, that it forced them off to Sea, where the outrageous Winds and Seas did often almost overwhelm them; and here in about eleven Days his Elder Son died, and in a few Days more his Younger. It is noted in 1 Chron. 7. 22. that when the Sons of Ephraim were dead, Ephraim their Father mourned many days, and his Brethren came to comfort him. This our mourning Ephraim could not have any Comfort from his Friends on shoar, when his Two Sons were thus dead; but they died after so Holy and Hopeful a manner, that their Father was not without his Consolations. However, their Straits and Fears were now increased, as their Hands were diminished; and another of the Company soon after died like the former. Half the Company was now gone; and Mr. How, tho' in a very weak State of Health, now stands at the Helm twenty four Hours, and thirty six Hours at a time, with the Rude Waves flying over the Vessel at such a rate, that if he had not been lash'd fast, he must have been wash'd over-board. In this Extremity he was at a loss whether he should persist in striving for the New England Shore, or bear away to the Southern Islands; and proposing the Matter to one Mr. Augur (who, with a Boy, was all that were left for his Help,) they first sought unto God by earnest Prayer in this difficult Case, and then determin'd the Difficulty by casting a Lot. The Lot fell for New England, and ere a Month was expired, they lost the Rudder of their

Vessel, with which they lost all Hope of being saved. In this deplorable Condition they continued a Fortnight: And thus for six Weeks together, Mr. Howe, tho' labouring under much Infirmitie, was hardly ever dry: Nor had they in all this while the Benefit of warm Food, more than thrice, or thereabouts. When the seventh Week dawned upon them, the Vessel was driven on the Tailings of a Ledge of Rocks, where the Sea broke with no little Violence; and looking out, they spied a dismal doleful Rocky Island unto the Lee ward; upon which, if the Providence of God had not by the Breakers given 'em timely Notice, they had been dash'd in pieces. This Extremity was Heavens Opportunity! They immediately let go an Anchor, and got out the Boat, and God made that Storm a Calm; so that the Waves were still. Being under the Astonishments of the Circumstances now upon them, they took little out of the Vessel; but when they came a shoar, they found themselves on a desolate Island (near Cape Sables) which had not either Man or Beast upon it; and a Prospect of being therefore starved quickly to death, now stared upon them. While they were under this deadly Prospect, a Storm arose that staved their Vessel to pieces, from whence a Cask of Powder was brought a-shoar, a Barrel of Wine, and half a Barrel of Mollossa's, together with several other Things which assisted them in making a sort of a Tent, for their Preservation from the terrible Cold. However, new and sore Distresses now attended them: for tho' they had Powder, with other Necessaries for Fowling, there were seldom any Fowls to be seen upon this forlorn Island, except a few Gulls, Crows and Ravens; and these were so few, that there could be rarely more than One shot at a time. Oftentimes half a one of these Fowls, with the Liquor, made a Meal for Three: Once they lived five Days without any Sustenance at all; during all which Space, they did not feel themselves pinch'd with Hunger as at other times, which they esteemed a special Favour of Heaven unto them. When they had been twelve Weeks in this lonesome Condition, Mr. Howe's dear Friend Mr. Augur, died; and the Lad also died in the April following: So that his Lonesomeness was now become as much as any Hermit could have wished for. For a long and a sad Quarter of a Year together now, he saw Fishing Vessels ever now and then sailing by; but tho' he used all possible Means to acquaint them with his Distresses, either they saw him not, or they feared lest some of the Indians then in Hostility against the English, might be quartered there.

The good Man, while thus deserted, kept many Days in Prayer, with Fasting, wherein he confessed and bewailed the many Sins which had rendered him worthy of these Calamities, and cried unto God for his Deliverance. But at last it came into

into his Mind, that he ought very solemnly to give Thanks unto God for the marvellous Preservations which he had hitherto experienc'd; and accordingly he set a-part a Day for solemn Thanksgiving unto God his gracious Preserver, for the Divine Favours which had been intermixed with all his Troubles. IMMEDIATELY after this, a Vessel belonging to Salem, did pass by that Island; and seeing this poor Servant of God there, they took him in. So he arriv'd at Salem July 18. 1677. and returned unto his Family at Newbaven.

II. A Man strangely preserv'd on the Keel of a Boat at Sea.

A Ship's Long-boat having Five Men in her, was by a violent Gust of Wind over-set. The Men all got upon the Keel, upon which being driven to Sea, they were four Days floating there. In this time three of them drop'd off, and perished in the Deep: On the Fifth Day the Fourth Man being sorely pain'd with Hunger, and sadly bruised with the boisterous and furious Waves, wilfully fell off into the Sea, and was drown'd after the rest of his Companions. Quickly after this the Wind coming up at South East, carried the Boat with the Fifth Man into Long-Island, where being scarce able to creep a shoar, the Indians found him, cherish'd him, and preserv'd him. With Fasting, and Watching and Cold, he must, according to Reason in this time have perished; but he constantly affirmed, That he saw certain Persons come and put Meat into his Mouth when he was ready to perish for want of Sustenance.

III. The Wonderful Story of Major Gibbons.

Among Remarkable Sea-Deliverances, no less than three several Writers have publish'd that, wherein Major Edward Gibbons of Boston in New-England, was concern'd. A Vessel bound from Boston to some other Parts of America, was thro' the Continuance of contrary Winds, kept so long at Sea, that the People aboard, were in extrem Straits for want of Provision; and seeing that nothing here below could afford them any Relief, they look'd upwards unto Heaven in humble and fervent Supplications. The Winds continuing still as they were, one of the Company made a sorrowful Motion, that they should by a Lot single out One to die, and by Death to satisfy the Ravenous Hunger of the rest. After many a doleful and fearful Debate upon this Motion, they come to a Result, that it must be done! The Lot is cast; one of the Company is taken; but where is the Executioner that shall do the terrible Office upon a poor Innocent? It is a Death now to think who shall act this bloody Part in the Tragedy: But before they fall upon this involuntary and unnatural Execution, they once more went unto their zealous Prayers; and behold, while they were calling upon God, he answer'd them: For there leap'd a mighty Fish into their Boat, which, to their double Joy, not only quieted their Outragious Hunger, but also gave them some Token

of a further Deliverance. However, the Fish is quickly eaten; the horrible Famine returns, the horrible Distress is renew'd; a black Despair again seizes their Spirits: For another Morfel they come to a second Lot, which fell upon another Person; but still they cannot find an Executioner: They once again fall to their importunate Prayers; and behold, a second Answer from above! A great Bird lights and fixes it self upon the Mast: One of the Men spies it; and there it stands until he took it by the Wing with his Hand. This was a second Life from the Dead. This Fowl with the Omen of a further Deliverance in it, was a sweet Feast unto them. Still their Disappointments follow them; they can see no Land, they know not where they are: Irresistible Hunger once more pinches them; they have no Hope to be saved, but by a Third Miracle: they return to another Lot; but before they go to the Heart-breaking Task of slaying the Person under Designation, they repeat their Addresses unto the God of Heaven, their former Friend in Adversity. And now they look, and look again, but there is nothing: Their Devotions are concluded, and nothing appears: Yet they hoped, yet they stay'd, yet they lingred. At last one of 'em spies a Ship, which put a new Hope and Life into 'em all. They bear up with their Ship, they Man their Long-Boat, they beg to board the Vessel, and are admitted. It proves a French Pirate. Major Gibbons petitions for a little Bread, and offers all for it; but the Commander was one who had formerly receiv'd considerable Kindnesses of Major Gibbons at Boston, and now replied cheerfully, Major Gibbons, Not an Hair of You or your Company shall perish, if it lies in my Power to preserve you. Accordingly he supplied their Necessities, and they made a comfortable End of their Voyage.

IV. Twelve Men living Five Weeks for Five hundred Leagues in a little Boat.

A small Vessel, whose Master's Name was Philip Hungare, coming upon the Coast of New-England, suddenly sprang a Leak and founder'd. Eighteen Persons were in the Vessel, whereof Twelve got into the Long-Boat, into which they threw some little matter of Provision; but of that necessary thing Fire, they were wholly unprovided. These twelve Men went five hundred Leagues in this poor Long-Boat, and were therein miraculously preserved five Weeks together; for the God of Heaven sent them a strange Relief, by causing some flying Fish to fly and fall among them, which being eaten raw, were a pleasant Food unto them: and once, when they must otherwise have perish'd for Thirst, they caught a Shark, whose Blood being suck'd by them, was as Cool Waters to their thirsty Souls; but that which was more so, was their safe Arrival then at the West Indies.

V. Some Shipwrack'd Folks happily rescued.

Mr. John Grafton being bound from *New-England* for the *West-Indies* in a Ketch call'd the *Providence*, the Vessel suddenly struck upon a Rock, in a dark, rainy, stormy Night; and the Force of the Wind and the Sea broke the Vessel immediately to Pieces. Six of the Ten Men, whereof the Company did consist, were drown'd; but the Master and the Mate were left upon the Rock, where the Sea came up unto their Waste, and there they embrac'd each other, looking for Death every Moment; which, if the Sea had risen higher, must have been unavoidable. By the Rock was one of the Seamen grievously wounded, and groaning: But in the Morning they saw an Island about half a mile from them. The Rocks were so cragg'd, that these Persons, who were bare-footed, were not able to tread thereupon; but they found a Piece of Tarpoling which they wrapp'd and fastned about their Feet with *Rope-Yarns*; and so getting each of them a Stick, they sometimes *walk'd*, and some times they *crept*, until at last they came unto the Island, where they found another of their Crew, carried a-shore by a piece of the Vessel. Eight Days they continu'd on the Island, and Four of them without any Fire. Salt-Fish was their Food, and Rain-Water found in the Holes of the Rocks their Drink. They then found a piece of Touchwood which had been in the Mate's Chest; and a Flint, with a Knife, being in like manner brought 'em, they struck Fire; and a Barrel of their Flower being also cast ashore, they made Cakes thereof. But there must be no long Stay made upon this desolate Island. Wherefore finding a piece of the *Main-Sail*, and some Hoops of a *Cask*, and a Fragment of a *Board*, with some Nails, and a Box wherein was a *Bolt-rope Needle* and a *Tarr-Barrel*, with which they Tarr'd their *Canvas*. Out of these wretched Materials they patch'd up a pitiful, unlikely, dangerous Tool, which they call'd a *Boat*; and meeting with some thin Boards which came out of the Cabin, of these they made their *Paddles*. In this odd *Vehicle* they made a Voyage of ten Leagues, even until they came to *Anguilla*, where the People entertain'd them with *Courtesie* and *Wonderment*.

VI. Sore Calamities at Sea survived.

A small Vessel set sail from *Bristol* to *New-England*, Sept. 22. 1681. with the *Master*, whose Name was *William Dutton*; there were seven Men a board, having Provisions for three Months; but by contrary Winds, they were twenty Weeks before they could make any Land; and by other Disasters and Distresses, it was rendred very unlikely that ever they should make any Land at all. The fierce Winds upon the Coasts of *New-England*, made them conclude on Dec. 12. that they would bear away for *Barbadoes*; but before this they lost One Barrel of their *Beer*, by the Head being broken out; and having but fe-

ven Barrels of *Water*, three of them leak'd away: When their *Victuals* fail'd them, the merciful God whose is the Sea, for he made it, sent them a Supply, by causing *Dolphins* ever now and then to come so near their Vessel as to be catch'd; yet it was observable, that they could never catch any, but in an extream Necessity; nor any more than would serve their present Necessity. But their Misery, thro' the Want of *Water*, was very sore upon them: For tho' they tried much to take the *Rain Water*, when any fell, the Winds were usually so furious, that they could save little, if any of it. However, when they came near the Latitude of *Bermudax*, they did, unto their great Joy, save two Barrels of *Rain Water*; but then, the *Rats* unexpectedly eating Holes in the Barrels, all that *Water* was lost again. Once when a Shower of *Rain* fell, they sav'd a Pint; which, tho' it were made very bitter by the *Tar*, yet it was a sweet *Water* unto their Thirsty Souls; and they divided it among seven, drinking a Thimble-full at a time, which went five times about. On Jan. 27. a good Shower of *Rain* fell; and that they might preserve it, they laid their Linnens open to the *Rain*; and wringing them dry, they obtain'd seven Gallons of *Water*, which being Bottl'd up, was a great and a long Refreshment unto them. New Straits then came upon them. They catch'd, with much ado, three or four of the *Rats*, that had cheated them of their Drink, and made of 'em a *Meat*, which to their famish'd Souls did seem very delicate. But the Torment of their *Drought* grew insupportable; for sometimes they had not a Drop of any fresh *Water* for a whole Week together. When they killed a *Dolphin*, they would suck his Blood for the Relief of their Thirst, yea, their Thirst caused them to drink large Quantities of *Salt Water*, which yet they found allay'd it not. They would go over board with a Rope fastned about them, that by drenching themselves a while in the Sea, they might ease the internal Heat which parched them; and when they stood any of them to steer the Vessel, they would have their Feet in a Pail of *Sea Water* to refrigerate 'em. In this Calamity some of the Seamen penitently confessed, how just it was with God thus to punish them, who had intemperately abused themselves with Drink, so often in their former Conversation. But at length on Febr. 7. they met with a *Guinea Man*, who supplied 'em with Necessaries, and so they got safe in unto *Barbados*, from whence they afterwards made their Voyage to *New-England*.

VII. Seasonable Succours.

A Ship of *Dublin*, whereof *Andrew Bennet* was Master, being bound from thence unto *Virginia*, and got as far as the Latitude of 39, about an hundred and fifty Leagues from *Cape Cod* in *New-England* (on April 18. 1681.) in a very stormy time, suddenly there sprang a Plank in the fore-part of the Ship. Whereupon the Sea broke in so fast, that they could not by all their Endeavours keep the Ship from sinking above half an Hour. Wherefore, when the Ship was just sink-

ing, some of the Company resolv'd that they would launch out the *Boat*, which was a very small one; and in this Action the *Master*, the *Mate*, the *Boatswain*, the *Cook*, two *Fore mast Men* and a *Boy*, kept such hold of it, when a *Cast* of the *Sea* suddenly help'd them off with it, that they got into it. The *Heaving* of the *Sea* now suddenly thrust them from the *Ship*, in which there were left *Nineteen* Persons, namely, *Sixteen Men* and *Three Women*, who all perish'd in the *Deep*, while they were trying to make *Rafters*, by cutting down the *Masts* for the *Preservation* of their *Lives* as long as they could. The *Seven* in the *Boat* apprehended themselves to be in a *Condition* little better than that of them in the *Ship*; for they had neither *Sails*, nor *Oars*, nor *Bread*, nor *Water*, nor any sort of *Instrument*, except a *Knife* and a *Piece* of a *Deal-Board*, with which they made *Sticks*, and set them up in the *Sides* of the *Boat*, covering them with some of their own *Garments* to keep off the *Spray* of the *Sea*. In this *Condition* they drove with an *hard Wind* and an *high Sea* all this *Day*, with the *Night* following; but the next *Morning* their dismal *Distress* met with an *happy Relief*; when they saw a *Ketch* (whereof *Edmund Henfield* of *Salem* in *New-England*, was *Master*) under *Sail*; which *Ketch* coming right with them, took 'em up, and brought 'em safe to *New-England*. Now none of the least remarkable *Circumstances* in this matter, was, that when the *Ship* founder'd, the *Ketch* was many *Leagues* to the *Westward* of her; but a *contrary Wind* caused her to stand back again unto the *Eastward*, where these poor *Men* were met and saved.

VIII. *Distress'd People at Sea, happily meeting, and helping one another.*

A *Ship* whereof *William Laiten* was *Master*, bound from *Piscataqua* in *New-England*, to *Barbadoes*, being two hundred and fifty *Leagues* off the *Coast*, sprang a *Leak*; which, notwithstanding their constant *plying* of the *Pump* for fourteen *Hours* together, so fill'd the *Vessel* with *Water*, that all the *Eight* Persons aboard betook themselves to their *Boat*, with a good *Supply* of *Bread* for them there to live upon. The *Master* would utter a *strange Perswasion*, that they should meet with a *Ship* at *Sea*, whereby they should be *reliev'd*: But before they did so, they had so far spent their small *Supply* of *Water*, that they were come to the *Allowance* of each *Man* a *Spoonful* a *Day*. In this *Boat* they continu'd upon the *Atlantick Ocean* for *Nineteen Days* together; after *Twelve* of which they met with a *Storm* which did much endanger their *Lives*; but *God* preserv'd them. At the *End* of *Eighteen Days* a *Flying Fish* fell into their *Boat*; and having with them an *Hook* and *Line*, they made use of that *Fish* for *Bait*, whereby they caught a couple of *Dolphins*. A *Ship* then at *Sea*, whereof *Mr. Samuel Scarlet* was *Commander*, apprehending a *Storm* to be near, they suffer'd their *Vessel* to drive before the *Wind*, while they were sitting of the *Rigging* to entertain that approaching

Storm; and by this means they met with a *Boat* full of their *distress'd Brethren*. *Captain Scarlet's Vessel* was then destitute of *Provisions*; only they had *Water* enough, and to spare: For which cause the *Mariners* desir'd him that he would not go to take the *Men* in, lest they should all die by *Famine*. But the *Captain* was a *Man* of too generous a *Charity* to follow the *Selfish Proposals*, thus made unto him. He reply'd, *It may be, these distress'd Creatures are our own Country-men: Or, however, they are distress'd Creatures. I am resolv'd I will take them in; and I'll trust in God, who is able to deliver us all.* Nor was he a *Loser* by this *Charitable Resolution*; for *Captain Scarlet* had the *Water* which *Laiton* wanted, and *Mr. Laiton* had the *Bread* and *Fish* that *Scarlet* wanted: So they refresh'd one another, and in a few *Days* arriv'd safe to *New-England*. But it was remark'd, That the chief of the *Mariners* who urg'd *Captain Scarlet* against his taking in these *distress'd People*, did afterwards in his *Distress* at *Sea*, perish without any to take him in. In another *Voyage* he perish'd at *Sea*, and was never heard of.

IX. *Wonderful Distresses, and more wonderful Deliverances.*

A *Number* of *Mariners*, in a small *Pink*, belonging to *Boston* (call'd *The Blessing*) were taken by an *Half-Galley* of *Cruel Spaniards*, on *April* 1. 1683, who put them all immediately into their *Hold*, except the *Master* and *Mate*, the latter of which they tormented by twisting a *Piece* of *Sea-Net* about his *Head*, until his *Eyes* were ready to start out: And then hanging him up by the two *Thumbs* to make him confess what *Money* they had aboard; but when they saw he would confess nothing, they made fast a *Rope* about his *Neck*, and ask'd their *Commander* whether they should hoise him up or not: They consulted also whether they should not hang all the *Men*; but not agreeing on that *Point*, they concluded on somewhat no less truculent and barbarous. They kept one of the *Men* on board, on whom they afterwards exercis'd bloody *Cruelties*; and the other *Six* belonging to the *Vessel*, they thus dispos'd of. They carry'd the poor *Men* among the *Mangrove Trees*, that grew upon an adjacent *Island*; and stripping them stark-naked, they caus'd each of 'em to turn their *Backs* unto the *Branch* of a *Tree*, and spread their *Arms* abroad; in which *Posture* they bound the *Arms* of each *Man* to the *Branches* two by two, about a *quarter* of a *Miles* distance between the several *Couples*, thus leaving them to perish without any *Pity*. They stood up to the *mid-Leg* in *Water*, their *Feet* contiguous, and their *Faces* turn'd so, that they might behold each others *Miseries*. But about three *Hours* after, one of these *Men* esp'y'd a *Stick* with a *Crook* at one *End*, not far from him; whereupon he said unto his *Companion*, *If it please God that we might get that Stick into our Hands, it might be a Means to work our Deliverance*, and thereupon trying to bring the *Stick* towards them with their *Feet*, in a little time

time they happily effected it, and so bore it up with their Feet, that at last the *Man* got hold of it with his Hand; and herewith by degrees they loos'd the Knot that was upon the Bowing of their Arms; and shifting it into their Fingers, did by little and little get so far in loosing it, that they quite undid it, setting themselves at liberty. Now returning their Thanks to the God of Heaven for helping them thus far, they hastned unto the Help of their despairing Friends. But their next Care was how to keep themselves out of the Sight of those barbarous Wretches, from whom they had receiv'd this Usage: Yet they had not gone above a *Mile*, before they spy'd some of 'em got upon an high Tree to discover Ships that pass'd that way. Upon this they were so affrighted, that they ran among the Thickets and lost one another, and met not again till the Third Night after; in all which time they found no Water, but lick'd the Dew from the Leaves of the Plants thereabout: At which Business, while they were employ'd, an *Alligator* suddenly got the Arm of the *Master* into his *Mouth*; but he with the rest, crying out, the *Alligator* let go his Hold, therewithal tearing away a great piece of the Flesh. After this, they got upon an High Tree, and sate there till it was Day; but within a Day or two they kill'd a wild *Coney*, which they slay'd with the Help of a sharp Stone; and applying the Inside of it unto the *Master's* Arm, they eat the Flesh raw with no little Satisfaction. The Night following they got upon an *High Rock*, thinking there to be secure from the *Alligators*; yet even there, one of those terrible Creatures came upon 'em, and hall'd one of the *Men* off the Rock; at which they all crying out, the *Monster* let go his Hold, and the *Man* was recover'd. However, this made 'em retire into the Trees for Safety. Their Drink all this while was the Rain Water, found in Holes among the Rocks. At length also they rais'd a little Wall Two Yards high, to keep off the numerous *Alligators*: And *Whilks* and *Crabs* were their best Food, whilst they had much ado to preserve *Themselves* from being Food to those Devourers. But anon they found a Well with a Barrel in it, where they resolv'd they would wait for Help or Death. On *Apr. 13.* the *Mate* (namely *Charles Cretchet*) with two more (namely *Robert Pierce* and *Peter Clement*) of these distress'd People, made a Raft with such Wood as they found on the Island, and put to Sea. The *Master* (whose Name was *David East*) with two more (whose Names were *John Bath* and *Peter Rowland*) being left behind, were extremly hungry and feeble, and had not the least Garment to cover them from the Sun, while they were at the same time so grievously infested with *Moscheto's*, that they could not go to the Rocks for *Whilks*, but must content themselves with gnawing such dry Bones of *Turtles* as had been half a Year lying there. In this Extremity Heaven sent them some Supply; for they found a dead *Eel*, which they suppos'd had been dropt by an *Hern*: This they took, they skinn'd, they divided, and it seem'd an incomparable Feast unto them. On *Apr. 19.*

the *Master* and the Two left with him, follow'd the Example of the *Mate*, and his Two, in making a Raft for a Voyage to Sea: But as they were going to put off, they espy'd a couple of Sails; upon which they betook themselves unto the Water, that they might get unto these Vessels, which at length took them up. These two Vessels were a couple of *Canoo's*, having three Men apiece, who kept 'em thirty two Days, and then carry'd 'em into *Havana*; where the Governour, notwithstanding they fairly related un him their Circumstances, kept 'em in Prison Eighteen Days, without allowing 'em any Food. So that if they had not receiv'd some Sustainance from a few poor *English* Prisoners who had been there before 'em, they had been perfectly starv'd. At last they understood that their Ship was in that Harbour, and the Persons who took her: Whereupon they petition'd the Governour that they might have their Ship again; inasmuch as they could make no legal Prize of her; for she had no *Spanish* Goods aboard. Their Petition was granted; and their Ship (tho' empty'd of every thing but her Ballast) was restor'd unto 'em: Nor could they by a new *Petition* obtain any thing but her Sails, and some small part of her Lading that had not been dispos'd of.

On *June 10.* the Hunters having taken up *Robert Pierce* and *Peter Clement*, and brought 'em into *Havana*, the Governour examin'd 'em what was become of their Mates; and they told him, That they were five Days at Sea upon the Raft, and had only two *Crabs* all this while to subsist upon; and then by the Wind they were driven upon the same Island which they had left, where they wander'd up and down for a Month together; and in their Travels lost their *Mate*, who was, thro' Weakness unable to travel. Hereupon the Governour sent 'em aboard also; and the Night before they sail'd, the Hunters inform'd the Governour, That they had likewise taken up the *Mate* alive. But the Governour hurry'd 'em away in such haste, that they could not know the *Certainty* thereof; and so they prosecuted their Voyage for *Boston*, whither they came, well nigh starv'd with Cold, not having any more Clothes than a Canvas Frock for each Man, which the *Turtlers* had bestow'd upon them.

X. A Notable Story of one sav'd from the Hands of the Turks.

A Decad of Remarkable Sea Deliverances may be sufficient for the present Entertainment.

One of my honest Neighbours, whose Name is *Christopher Monk*, brought me this Account of what had befallen himself.

' In a Ship of *Bermudas*, call'd *The John's Adventure*, whereof I was *Master*, *July 28. 1681.*
' we departed from *Torbay* in the West of *Eng-*
' *land.* Eight Days after this we saw a Ship a-
' bout 8^h. *A.M.* that gave us Chase: And tho'
' we made what Sail we could to run from it, by
' 2^h. *P.M.* it came up with us. It prov'd to be
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the *Half Moon* of *Algier*, who sent their Lanch on board of us; and carry'd us all on board the *Turks* Ship, except One, whom they left, to help 'em in sailing of ours. The Captain having examin'd us of divers things, and robb'd us of what Silver or Gold we had about us, sent us forward among the other *Christians*, that were there before us, who entertain'd us with sorrowful Lamentations.

I have since reflected on it, that tho' formerly I us'd Morning and Evening Prayers with my Company; yet in the time of our Chase, my Fears and Cares made me have no Heart for the Duty. But our Application of our selves unto *Outward Reliefs* and *Second Causes*, prov'd all in vain.

However now, being in *Turkish* and cruel Hands, I thought it fit to pray with them that were formerly of my Family, that is to say, my Company; and I was enabl'd to do it in the Presence of my *Enemies*, without receiving Disturbance from 'em. *I encourag'd my self in the Lord my God, when I heard 'em rejoicing with Shouts at the Prey taken by them.*

One of the *Moors* took away my Bible, which I thought was a fore Judgment on me, because of my neglecting to read it while I had it. But, thro' the Mercy of God, I had soon after an old Bible, which the *Turks* reckon'd of little value, given to me. This was my sweetest Companion and my greatest Consolation in my Distress. I also met with Two other Books, one entitul'd *The Godly Man's Ark*, the other *The History of the Sufferings of Jesus Christ*; which were very beneficial to me. From the Sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, I was encourag'd to submit my Will unto the Will of God in all things; knowing that Jesus Christ had suffer'd more than I was able to undergo, and had sweeten'd all to those who are His. I was likewise made willing to undergo Slavery from those Considerations in *Lam. 3. 22, 39. It is of the Lord's Mercies that we are not consum'd: Wherefore doth a Living Man complain, a Man for the Punishment of his Sin?* being convinc'd that my Sins had deserv'd far more than could be inflicted upon me in this Life. I thought with my self, that if I met with a good Master, my Life would be the more comfortable; but that, if I met with a Bad Master, the Time which I had here to live, was but short, compar'd with *Eternity*: And if I could but secure my *Eternal* Happiness, it would make amends for all; and why could not I endure Slavery as well as the *Negroes* in my own Nation? I usually read those Places, which at my opening of the Bible first offer'd themselves unto me; and often they would happen to be exceedingly pertinent unto my present Condition; especially many Passages in the 37th *Psalms* very much affected me. Once coming upon the Deck in the Morning, and finding most of all the *Turks* and *Moors* asleep, I thought, that if I had been Owner of a sharp Knife, I could have cut the *Throats* of a great many, without making any Noise, and wihal, communicated the Notion to some

of the *English* aboard, how easily we might conquer our Adversaries, and master the Ship. Some consented, and prescrib'd a Way; but one more fearful than the rest, bid me have a care what I said; for some among us, he affirmed, would willingly betray our Design, unto the loss of our own Lives. Hereupon I spoke no more of it, but went down between Decks to advise with my Bible; and this was the Scripture which then occur'd unto me: *Cease from Anger, and forsake Wrath; fret not thy self in any wise to do Evil; for Evil-doers shall be cut off; but they that wait on the Lord, shall inherit the Earth; for yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be.* Upon this I wholly desisted from my evil Intent; and resolving to take the Advice of the *Psalms*, I also apply'd unto my self that Scripture in *Lam. 3. 26. It is good that a Man should both hope and quietly wait for the Salvation of the Lord.* And that in *Isa. 49. 24, 25.* and that in *Isa. 53. 3, 4.*

One Morning as I slept upon some old Sails between Decks, I dream'd, That I was upon an Hill, where was a little sort of a Log-house, like some Houses that I have seen in *Virginia*; That some who were with me had young *Eagles* in their Hands, bruising and squeezing 'em in their Hands till they made 'em cry; That there appear'd at length Two great White *Eagles* upon the Top of another Hill coming towards us, at the Cry of the *Young Ones*, to release 'em: That for fear, lest the *Old Eagles* might kill us, I with several others, were put into the little House to secure us: And, that hereupon the *Young Ones* were set at liberty; and somebody said unto me, *For the Crying of the Poor, for the Sighing of the Nedy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; and I will set him at liberty from him that puffeth at him.* I thought also that I heard somebody cry out, *A Sail, a Sail!* And I thought my self upon the Upper Deck: imagining that there I saw a Ship or Two. With this, I awoke, and went upon the Deck; but seeing no other Ship, I consider'd a little upon my Dream, telling it unto my *Mate*, and adding *That I expected a speedy Redemption.*

I continu'd thus with the *Turks* until the 9th of *September*; all which time they never offer'd me any Abuse, tho' they did beat other *Christians* very much. On that Day, about 8 in the Morning, a *Christian* at the Fore top-mast Head, saw Three Ships; one of which was a *Frenchman*, which had been in our Company the Night before; and now told the other two Ships that they had seen a *Turk* the preceding Evening. The two Ships were two small *English* Frigats, the *James-Galley*, and the *Seaface*. The *Seaface* having a Man at the Top mast-head, espy'd us, and made Sail towards us, and so did the *James-Galley*. We lay still until I saw their Sails above the Water, like my two White *Eagles*, as white as Snow, thro' the Sun shining on them. The *Turks* made Sail to run from 'em; yet at Night the *James Galley* came up with us; whereupon I, with the rest of the *Christians*, was chain'd down in the Hold.

After

After a little Discourse, they fired on our *Turks* a Volley of Small Shot, and a Broad-side. The *Sea Face* seeing that, boarded us: but in less than an Hours time she lost her Fore-mast, and Bolt-sprit, and Head, and about five and twenty Men, and fell a-stern. Yet the other, which was less than she, shot all her Mast away by 2 in the Morning; and when it was Day, the *Turks* yielded their Ship. Then they that were leading us Captive, were them selves carry'd into Captivity, Sept. 10. 1681.

Christopher Monk.

MANTISSA.

Over and above the Number of *Sea Deliverances* intended for this Chapter, we will add One more, which is a late and a fresh Instance, and attested beyond all Contradiction.

On the 16th of October, in this present Year 1697. there arriv'd at *New-Haven* a Sloop of about 50 Tuns, whereof Mr. *William Trowbridge* was Master: The Vessel belong'd unto *New-Haven*, the Persons on board were Seven; and

17 long Weeks had they now spent, since they came from their Port, which was *Fayal*. By to unusually tedious a Passage a Terrible Famine unavoidably came upon them; and for the five last Weeks of their Voyage they were so destitute of all Food, that thro' Fainness they would have chosen Death rather than Life. But they were a praying and a pious Company: And when these poor Men cry'd unto the Lord, he heard and sav'd them. God sent His Dolphins to attend 'em; and of these they caught still One every Day, which was enough to serve 'em: only on Saturdays they still catch'd a Couple; and on the Lord's Days they could catch none at all. With all possible Skill and Care they could not supply themselves with the Fish in any other Number or Order; And indeed with an Holy Blush at last they left off trying to do any thing on the Lord's Days, when they were so well supply'd on the Saturdays. Thus the Lord kept feeding a Company that put their Trust in Him, as He did His *Israel* with his *Manna*: And this they continu'd until the Dolphins came to that Change of Water, where they us'd to leave the Vessels. Then they so strangely surrendred themselves, that the Company took Twenty seven of 'em; which not only suffic'd them until they came ashore, but also some of 'em were brought ashore dry'd, as a Monument of the Divine Benignity.

CHAP. II. *Hosaa.*

Relating Remarkable Salvations experienced by others besides the Sea-faring.

Pars mihi semper erit, servari velle salutis Maxima—

THE Good People of *New-England* may tune their Praises to a Consort, with those of the good Psalmist, *He that is our God, is the God of Salvation, and unto God the Lord belong the Issues from Death.* How many Extraordinary Salvations, have been granted unto particular Persons, among that good People, a small Volume could not enumerate.

Remarkable Answers of Prayer have been receiv'd by the most of those who have experimentally known the Meaning of Wrestlings in Prayer among us. How many Thousands have upon very notable Experiments been able to say, *This Poor Man cried, and the Lord heard and sav'd him!* One very surprizing Instance hath been seen several times in this Land, when infinite Swarms of Caterpillars have devour'd our Fields, and carry'd whole Fields before them: Some very pious and praying Husbandmen in the extream Exigency, when the Devourers have just been entering on their Fields, have poured out their fervent Prayers unto the God of Heaven for their Deliverance; immediately hereupon Flocks of Birds have arriv'd that have devoured the Devourers, and preserv'd those particular Fields,

when others have been horribly wasted. Moreover, when any Neighbours have labour'd under desperate Maladies; or been tempted, or distracted, or possess'd, it hath been a common thing for a Knot of Godly People to meet, and fast, and pray, and see the Afflicted gloriously deliver'd. Furthermore, when any Droughts, or Floods have threatned the Ruins of our Harvests, these and those Congregations mostly concern'd, have pray'd with Fasting on those Occasions; and God hath wondrously deliver'd them, with a Distinction from others that have not so call'd upon him. The very Pagans in this Wilderness have been sometimes amazed at what they have seen of this nature among us, and cried out, *That the Englishman's God was a Great and a Good God!* It may be added, Some of our Churches have once in a considerable while kept a Day of Prayer for the Success of the Word of CHRIST, upon the Souls of their Children in rising Generation among them: And the Success hath been such, that all the Churches in the Land have took notice of it.

Again, Remarkable Rescues from *Death* have been receiv'd by so many Thousands among us, that there hath been scarce one *Devout Family* which hath not been able to bring in something unto the *Heap* of these Experiences. *Fallen Persons* that have had *Carts and Ploughs* just running over them, the *Beasts* which drew them have suddenly stop'd, unto the Surprize of the Spectators. Persons on the very Point of mortal *Bruising* or *Drowning*, have been snatch'd out of the *Jaws of Destruction* in Ways that are not accountable: Even *Ejaculatory Prayers* have had Astonishing Answers. For Instance,

An honest Carpenter being at work upon an House, when Eight Children were sitting in a Ring at some childish Play on the Floor below; he let fall accidentally from an upper Story, a bulky Piece of Timber just over these little Children. The Good Man, with inexpressible Agony, cry'd out, *O Lord direct it*, and the Lord did so direct it, that it fell on End in the Midst of the little Children, and then canted along on the Floor between two of the Children, without ever touching one of them all. But the Instances of such Things would be numberless. And if I should with a most Religious Veracity, relate what *Wounds* many Persons have surviv'd, I should puzzle *Philosophy* and make her have some Recourse unto *Divinity*.

One *Abigail Eliot* had an Iron struck into her Head, which drew out part of her Brains with it: A Silver Plate she afterwards wore on her Skull where the Orifice remain'd as big as an *Half Crown*. The Brains left in the Child's Head would swell and swage, according to the *Tides*; Her Intellectuals were not hurt, by this *Disaster*, and she liv'd to be a Mother of several Children.

One *John Symonds* about the Age of Ten Years, had some affrighted Oxen with a Plough, running over him; the Share took hold of his Ribs a little below the left Pap, and rent an Hole in his Breast, so large, that a Man might have put in his four Fingers: His very Heart became visible; his Lungs would fly out sundry Inches, as often as the Place was dress'd. In seven or eight Weeks she recover'd and became an healthy Man. But an *History* of Rare Cures in this Countrey would fill more Pages than may here be allow'd. Yet let me take the Leave to enquire what shall be thought of the Case of one *Sarab Wilkinson*, who dy'd of a *Dropsie*. For a long while before her *Death* she had no Evacuation except only by a frequent and forc'd Vomit of Water in huge Quantities, with which her *Dissolv'd Bowels* came up in successive Potions of them. When she was open'd, there were no Bowel to be found in her, except her Heart, which was exceeding small, and as it were perboil'd; and her *Milt*, or *Spleen*, one End whereof stuck to her Back, and the other to her Ribs; as also a small part of her *Liver* or *Lungs*, corrupted so much, that they knew not which of the Two it was, and this no bigger than the Palm of ones Hand. Other *Bowels*, none could be found: Yet in this Condition she liv'd a long while, and retain'd her Senses to the last.

But we will content our selves with annexing

to these things, a Narrative of a Woman celebrating the wonderful *Dispensations* of Heaven.

A NARRATIVE of Hannah Swarton, containing Wonderful Passages, relating to her Captivity and her Deliverance.

I Was taken by the *Indians* when *Casco Fort* was taken (*May 1690.*) My Husband being slain, and four Children taken with me. The Eldest of my Sons they kill'd, about two Months after I was taken, and the rest scatter'd from me. I was now left a Widow, and as bereav'd of my Children; though, I had them alive, yet it was very seldom that I could see 'em, and I had not Liberty to discourse with 'em without danger either of my own Life, or theirs; for our condoling each others Condition, and shewing Natural Affection, was so displeasing to our *Indian Rulers*, unto whose share we fell, that they would threaten to kill us, if we cry'd each to other, or discoursed much together. So that my Condition was like what the Lord threatned the *Jews* in *Ezek. 24. 22, 23.* We durst not *Mourn* or *Weep* in the Sight of our Enemies, lest we lost our own Lives. For the first times, while the Enemy feasted on our English Provisions, I might have had some with them; but then I was so fill'd with Sorrow and Tears, that I had little Stomach to eat; and when my Stomach was come, our English Food was spent, the *Indians* wanted themselves, and we more: so that then I was pin'd with Want. We had no Corn or Bread; but sometimes *Groundnuts*, *Acorns*, *Purslain*, *Hogweed*, *Weeds*, *Roots*, and sometimes *Dogs Flesh*, but not sufficient to satisfy Hunger with these; having but little at a time. We had no Success at hunting; save that one Bear was killed, which I had part of; and a very small part of a Turtle I had another time, and once an *Indian* gave me piece of a *Moose's Liver*, which was a sweet Morfel to me; and *Fish* if we could catch it. Thus I continued with them, hurry'd up and down the Wilderness, from *May 20.* till the middle of *February*; carrying continually a great Burden in our Travels; and I must go their Pace, or else be killed presently; and yet was pinch'd with Cold for want of Cloathing, being put by them into an *Indian Dress*, with a sleight Blanket, no Stockins, and but one pair of *Indian Shooes*, and of their Leather Stockins for the Winter: My Feet were pricked with sharp Stones and prickly Bushes sometimes, and other times pinch'd with Snow, Cold, and Ice, that I travell'd upon, ready to be frozen, and faint for want of Food; so that many times I thought I could go no further, but must lie down, and if they would kill me, let 'em kill me. Yet then the Lord did so renew my Strength, that I went on still further as my Master would have me, and held out with them. Though many English were taken, and I was brought to some of 'em at times, while we were about *Casco Bay* and *Kennebeck River*, yet at

Norridgeweck we were separated, and no *English* were in our Company, but one *John York* and my self, who were both almost starv'd for Want; and yet told, that if we could not hold up to travel with them, they would kill us. And accordingly *John York* growing weak by his Wants, they killed him, and threatned me with the like. One time my *Indian* Mistress and I, were left alone, while the rest went to look for *Eels*; and they left us no Food from *Sabbath-day* Morning till the next *Saturday*; save that we had a *Bladder* (of *Meese* I think) which was well fill'd with Maggots, and we boild it, and drank the Broth; but the *Bladder* was so tough we could not eat it. On the *Saturday* I was sent by my Mistress to that part of the Island most likely to see some *Canoo*, and there to make Fire and Smoke, to invite some *Indians* if I could spie any, to come to relieve us; and I espy'd a *Canoo*, and by Signs invited 'em to come to shore. It prov'd to be some *Squaws*; who understanding our Wants, one of 'em gave me a roasted *Eel*; which I eat, and it seem'd unto me the most savory Food I ever tasted before. Sometimes we liv'd on *Wortle berries*, sometimes on a kind of *Wild Cherry*, which grew on Bushes, which I was sent to gather once in so bitter a cold Season, that I was not able to bring my Fingers together to hold them fast: Yet under all these Hardships the Lord kept me from any Sicknes, or such Weaknes as to disenable me from Travelling when they put us upon it.

My *Indian* Mistress was one that had been bred by the *English* at *Black-Point*, and now married to a *Canada Indian*, and turned *Papist*; and she would say, *That had the English been as careful to instruct her in our Religion as the French were, to instruct her in theirs, she might have been of our Religion*: and she would say, *That God delivered us into their Hands to punish us for our Sins*; And this I knew was true as to my self. And as I desired to consider of all my Sins, for which the Lord did punish me, so this lay very heavy upon my Spirit many a time, that I had left the Publick Worship and Ordinances of God, where I formerly lived (*viz.* at *Beverley*) to remove to the North Part of *Casco Bay*, where there was no Church or *Minister* of the Gospel; and this we did for large Accommodations in the World, thereby exposing our Children, to be bred Ignorantly like *Indians*, and our selves to forget what we had been formerly instructed in; and so we turned our Backs upon God's Ordinances to get this World's Goods. But now, God hath stript me of these things also; so that I must justify the Lord in all that has befallen me, and acknowledged that he hath punish'd me less than my Iniquities deserved. I was now bereav'd of Husband, Children, Friends, Neighbours, House, Estate, Bread, Cloaths, or Lodging suitable; and my very Life did hang daily in doubt, being continually in danger of being kill'd by the *Indians*, or pined to Death with Famine, or tired to Death with hard Travelling, or pinch'd with Cold till I died, in the Winter Season. I was so amazed with many Troubles, and hurry'd in my Spirit from one Exercise to another, how

to preserve my self in Danger, and supply my self in the Want that was present; that I had not time or Leisure so composedly to consider of the great Concernments of my Soul, as I should have done; neither had I any *Bible* or *Good Book* to look into, or *Christian Friend* to be my Counsellour in these Distresses: But I may say, *The Words of God*, which I had formerly heard or read, many of them came oft into my Mind, and kept me from perishing in my Afflictions. As when they threatned to kill me many times, I often thought of the Words of our Saviour to *Pilate*, *Joh. 19. 11. Thou couldest have no Power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.* I knew they had no Power to kill me but what the Lord gave them; and I had many times Hope, that the Lord would not suffer them to slay me, but deliver me out of their Hands; and in his time I hoped, return me to my Countrey again. When they told me that my *Eldest Son* was kill'd by the *Indians*, I thought of that in *Jer. 33. 8. I will cleanse them from all their Iniquities whereby they have sinned against me, and I will pardon all their Iniquities.* I hoped, tho' the Enemy had barbarously killed his Body, yet that the Lord had pardoned his Sins, and that his Soul was safe. When I thought upon my many Troubles, I thought of *Job's* Complaint, *Chap. 14. 16, 17. Thou numbrest my Steps, and watchest over my Sin; my Transgression is sealed up into a Bag; and thou sewest up mine Iniquity.* This was for my Humiliation, and put me upon Prayer to God, for his *Pardoning Mercy* in *Christ*; and I thought upon *David's* Complaint, *Psalms 13. 1, 2.* and used it in my Prayers to the Lord; *How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord, for ever! How long wilt thou hide thy Face from me? How long shall I take Counsel in my Soul, having Sorrow in my Heart! How long shall my Enemy be exalted over me?* I sometimes bemoaned my self, as *Job*, *Chap. 19. 9, 10. He hath stripped me of my Glory, and taken my Crown from my Head; he hath destroyed me on every side, and I am gone, and my hope hath been removed like a Tree.* Yet sometimes encourag'd from *Job 22. 27. Thou shalt make thy Prayer to him, and he shall hear thee, and thou shalt pay thy Vows.* I made my Vows to the Lord that I would give up my self to him, if he would accept me in *Jesus Christ*, and pardon my Sins; and I desired and endeavour'd to pay my Vows unto the Lord. I pray'd to him, *Remember not against me the Sins of my Youth*; and I besought him, *Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an Ungodly Nation; deliver me from the deceitful and unjust Man. Why go I mourning because of the Oppression of the Enemy?* And by many other Scriptures that were brought to my Remembrance, was I instructed, directed and comforted.

I travell'd over steep and hideous Mountains one while, and another while over *Swamps* and Thickets of fallen Trees lying one, two, three Foot from the Ground, which I have stepp'd on from one to another, nigh a thousand in a Day, carrying a great Borden on my Back. Yet I dreaded going to *Canada*, for fear lest I should be overcome by them to yield to their Religion; which

which I had vowed unto God, *That I would not do.* But the Extremity of my Sufferings were such, that at length I was willing to go to preserve my Life. And after many weary Journies thro' Frost and Snow, we came to *Canada* about the middle of *February* 1690. and travelling over the River, my Master pirc'd his *Wigwam* in sight of some *French* Houses Westward of us, and then sent me to those Houses to beg Victuals for them; which I did, and found the *French* very kind to me, giving me Beef, and Pork, and Bread, which I had been without near Nine Months before; so that now I found a great Change as to Diet. But the Snow being Knee-deep, and my Legs and Hams very sore, I found it very tedious to travel; and my Sores bled; so that as I travell'd, I might be track'd by my Blood that I left behind me on the Snow. I asked leave to stay all Night with the *French* when I went to beg again, which my Master consented unto, and sent me Eastward, to Houses, which were toward *Quebeck* (though then I knew it not :) So, having begg'd Provisions at a *French* Houie, and it being near Night, after I was refresh'd my self, and had Food to carry to the *Indians*, I signified as well as I could, to make the *French* Woman understand, that I desir'd to stay by her Fire that Night. Whereupon she laid a good Bed on the Floor, and good Coverings for me, and there I lodg'd comfortably; and the next Morning, when I had breakfasted with the Family, and the Men-kind were gone abroad, as I was about to go to my *Indian* Master, the *French* Woman stepped out, and left me alone in her House; and I then staid her Return, to give her Thanks for her Kindness; and while I waited, came in two Men, and one of 'em spake to me in *English* *I am glad to see you, Countrey Woman!* This was exceedingly reviving to hear the Voice of an *English* man, and upon Inquiry I found he was taken at the *North-West Passage*; and the other was a *French* Ordinary Keeper. After some Discourse, he ask'd me to go with him to *Quebeck*, which he told me, was about four Miles off: I answer'd, my *Indian* Master might kill me for it, when I went back. Then, after some Discourse in *French* with his Fellow-Traveller, he said, This *French* Man engag'd, that if I would go with them, he would keep me from returning to the *Indians*, and I should be ransom'd: And my *French* Hostels being now return'd in-a-doors, perswaded me to go with 'em to *Quebeck*; which I did, and was convey'd unto the House of the Lord-Intendant, *Monsieur le Tonant*, who was Chief Judge, and the Second to the Governour; and I was kindly entertain'd by the Lady; and had *French* Cloaths given me, with good Diet and Lodging, and was carry'd thence unto the Hospital, where I was Physick'd and Blooded, and very courteously provided for. And some time after my *Indian* Master and Mistress coming for me, the Lady Intendant paid a Ransom for me, and I became her Servant. And I must speak it to the Honour of the *French*, they were exceeding kind to me at first; even as kind as I could expect to find the *English*: so that I wanted nothing for my bodily Comfort which they could help me unto.

Here was a great and comfortable Change as to my *Outward Man*, in my Freedom from my former Hardships, and Hard-hearted Oppressours. But here began a greater Snare and Trouble to my Soul, and Danger to my *Inward Man*. For the Lady my Mistress, the Nuns, the Priests, the Friars, and the rest, set upon me with all the Strength of *Argument* they could from Scripture, as they interpreted it, to perswade me to turn *Papist*; which they press'd with very much Zeal, Love, Intreaties and Promises, if I would turn to 'em; and with many Threatnings, and sometimes hard Usages, because I did not turn to their Religion. Yea, sometimes the *Papists*, because I would not turn to them, threaten'd to send me to *France*, and there I should be burn'd, because I would not turn to them. Then was I comforted from that in 2 *Cor.* 1. 8, 9, 10. *We were prest out of measure above Strength, insomuch that we despair'd even of Life; but we had the sentence of Death in our selves, that we should not trust in our selves, but in God, who raises the Dead, who deliver'd us from so great a Death, and doth deliver; in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us.* I knew God was able to deliver me, as he did *Paul*, and as he did the Three Children out of the Fiery Furnace; And I believ'd he would either deliver me from them, or fit me for what he call'd me to suffer, for his Sake and Name. For their praying to *Angels*, they brought the History of the Angel that was sent to the *Virgin Mary*, in the first of *Luke*. I answer'd them from *Rev.* 19. 10. and 22. 9. They brought *Exod.* 17. 11. of *Israel's* prevailing while *Moses* held up his Hands. I told them, we must come to God only by *Christ*, *Joh.* 6. 37, 44. For *Purgatory*, they brought *Mat.* 5. 25. I told them, to agree with God while here on Earth, was, to Agree with our our Adversary in the way; and if we did not, we should be cast into Hell, and should not come out until we paid the utmost *Farting*, which could never be paid. But it's bootlets for me a poor Woman, to acquaint the World, with what Arguments I used, if I could now remember them; and many of them are slipt out of my Memory.

I shall proceed to relate what Trials I met with in these things. I was put upon it, either to stand to the Religion I was brought up in, and believ'd in my Conscience to be true; or to turn to another, which I believ'd was not right. And I was kept from turning, by that Scripture, *Mat.* 10. 32, 33. *Whosoever shall confess me before Men, him will I confess before my Father which is in Heaven; and whosoever denies me before Men, him also will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven.* I thought, that if I should deny the Truth, and own their Religion, I should deny *Christ*. Yet, upon their Perswasions, I went to see and be present at their Worship sometimes; but never to receive their Sacrament. And once when I was at their Worship, that Scripture 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. to the End, came into my Mind: *What Communion hath Light with Darkness! what Concord hath Christ with Belial! what part hath he that believeth with an Infidel! and what Agreement hath*

hath the Temple of God with Idols? Wherefore; come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my Sons and Daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. This Scripture was so strong upon my Spirit, that I thought I was out of my way to be present at the Idolatrous Worship, and I resolv'd never to come unto it again. But when the time drew nigh, that I was to go again, I was so restless that Night, that I could not sleep; thinking what I should say to 'em when they urg'd me to go again, and what I should do. And so it was in the Morning, that a French Woman of my Acquaintance, told me, if I would not be of their Religion, I did but mock at it, to go to their Worship, and bid me, that if I would not be of their Religion, I should go no more. I answer'd her, *That I would not be of their Religion, and I would go no more to their Worship*: And accordingly I never went more, and they did not force me to it.

I have had many Conflicts in my own Spirit, fearing that I was not truly converted unto God in Christ, and that I had no saving Interest in Christ. I could not be of a False Religion, to please Men; for it was against my Conscience: And I was not fit to suffer for the True Religion, and for Christ: For I then fear'd I had no Interest in him. I was neither fit to live, nor fit to die; and brought once to the very Pit of Despair about what would become of my Soul. In this time I had gotten an English Bible, and other good Books by the help of my Fellow Captives. I looked over the Scripture, and setled on the Prayer of *Jonah*, and those Words, *I said I am cast out of thy sight, yet will I look again towards thy Holy Temple*. I resolv'd, I would do as *Jonah* did: And in the Meditation upon this Scripture the Lord was pleas'd by his Spirit to come into my Soul, and so fill me with ravishing Comfort, that I cannot express it. Then came to mind the History of the Transfiguring of Christ, and Peter's Saying, *Matth. 17. 4. Lord, it is good for us to be here!* I thought it was good for me to be here; and I was to full of Comfort and Joy, I even wish'd I could be so always, and never sleep; or else die in that Rapture of Joy, and never live to sin any more against the Lord. Now I thought God was my God, and my Sins were pardon'd in Christ; and now I could suffer for Christ, yea, die for Christ, or do any thing for him. My Sins had been a Burden to me: I desired to see all my Sins, and to repent of them all with all my Heart, and of that Sin which had been especially a Burden to me, namely, *That I Left the Publick Worship and Ordinances of God, to go to live in a remote Place, without the Publick Ministry; depriving our selves and our Children of so great a Benefit for our Souls; and all this for Worldly Advantages*. I found an Heart to repent of them all; and to lay hold of the Blood of Christ, to cleanse me from them all.

I found much Comfort, while I was among the French, by the Opportunities I had sometimes to read the Scriptures and other good Books, and pray to the Lord in secret; and the Conference that some of us Captives had together about

things of God and Prayer together sometimes; especially with one that was in the same House with me, *Margaret Stilson*. Then was the Word of God precious to us, and they that feared the Lord, spake one to another of it, as we had Opportunity. And Col. *Tyng* and Mr. *Alden*, as they were permitted, did speak to us to confirm and strengthen us in the ways of the Lord. At length the French debar'd our coming together for Religious Conference, or other Duties: And Word was sent us by Mr. *Alden*, *That this was one kind of Persecution that we must suffer for Christ*.

These are some of the Scriptures which have been my Support and Comfort in the Affliction of my Captivity among the Papists. That in *Ezek. 16. 6, -- 8*. I apply'd unto my self, and I desir'd to Enter into Covenant with God, and to be His; and I pray'd to the Lord, and hoped the Lord would return me to my Countrey again; That I might Enter into Covenant with Him, among his People, and enjoy Communion with Him in his Churches and publick Ordinances. Which Prayers the Lord hath now Heard, and graciously answer'd; praised be his Name! The Lord enable me to live suitably to his Mercy, and to those publick and precious Privileges which I now enjoy. So, that in *Ezek. 11. 16, 17*. was a great Comfort unto me in my Captivity; *Although I have cast them far off among the Hea ven, yet will I be a little Sanctuary to them:—I will gather you from the People,—where you have been scattered*. I found that God was a Little Sanctuary to me there, and hoped, that the Lord would bring me unto the Countrey from whence I had been scattered. And the Lord hath heard the Prayer of the Destitute, and not despis'd my Prayer, but granted me the Desire of my Soul, in bringing me to his House, and my Relations again. I often thought on the History of the Man born blind; of whom Christ, when his Disciples asked, *Whether this Man had sinned, or his Parents?* answered, *Neither this Man nor his Parents; but this was, that the Works of God might be made manifest in him*. So, tho' I had deserved all this, yet I knew not but one Reason of God's bringing all these Afflictions and Miseries upon me, and then enabling me to bear them, was, *That the Works of God might be made manifest*. And in my great Distress I was revived by that in *Psal. 118. 17, 18*. *I shall not die but live, and declare the Works of the Lord: The Lord hath chastened me sore, but he hath not given me over to Death*. I had very often a secret Perswasion, That I should Live to declare the Works of the Lord. And 2 *Chron. 6. 36, 37, 38, 39*. was a precious Scripture to me in the Day of Evil. We have read over, and prayed over this Scripture together, and talk'd together of this Scripture, *Margaret* and I; how the Lord had promis'd, Though they were scattered for their Sins, yet there should be a Return, if they did bethink themselves, and turn, and pray. So we did bethink our selves in the Land where we were carried Captive, did turn, did pray, and endeavour to Return to God with all our Hearts. And, as they were to pray towards the

Temple, I took it that I should pray towards Christ; and accordingly did so, and hoped the Lord would hear, and he hath heard from Heaven his Dwelling-place, my Prayer and Supplication, and maintained my Cause, and not rejected me, but returned me. And Oh! how affectionate was my reading of the 84th Psalm in this Condition.

The means of my Deliverance, were by reason of Letters that had passed between the Governments of *New-England* and of *Canada*. Mr. *Cary* was sent with a Vessel, to fetch Captives from *Quebeck*; and when he came, I among others, with my youngest Son, had our Liberty to

come away: And by God's Blessing upon us, we arrived in Safety, at *Boston* in *November 1695*. our desired Haven. And I desire to praise the Lord for his Goodness, and for his wonderful Works to me. Yet still I have left behind Two Children; a Daughter of *Twenty* Years old at *Mont Royal*, whom I had not seen in Two Years before I came away; and a Son of *Nineteen* Years old, whom I never saw since we parted, the next Morning after we were taken. I earnestly request the Prayers of my Christian Friends that the Lord will deliver them.

What shall I render to the Lord for all his Benefits?

C H A P. III. *Ceraunius.*

Relating Remarkables done by THUNDER.

THE Remarkable Effects of THUNDER, have been memorable Subjects, upon which the Pens of Historians in all Ages have been employed. And indeed, tho' the Natural Causes of the THUNDER are known unto us; yet there are those Notable Voices of the Almighty God, often sensible in the directing thereof, which it becomes Good Men to observe with devout Resentments.

'Tis very likely, that the *Evil Angels* may have a particular Energy and Employment, oftentimes in the Mischiefs done by the *Thunder*. When we read concerning the *Fire of God* falling on some of *Job's* Possessions, our *Caryl* says upon it, *The Fire of God here is conceived to have been some terrible Flash of Lightning; and it is the more probable, because it is said, To fall from Heaven; that is, out of the Air. There Satan can do mighty things, command much of the Magazine of Heaven, where that dreadful Artillery, which makes Men tremble, those Fiery Meteors, Thunder and Lightning, are stor'd and lodg'd. Satan, let loose by God, can do wonders in the Air: He can raise Storms, he can discharge the Great Ordnance of Heaven, Thunder and Lightning; and by his Art can make them more Terrible and Dreadful than they are in their own nature.* 'Tis no Heresie or Blasphemy to think that the *Prince of the Power of the Air* hath as good Skill in *Chymistry* as goes to the making of *Aurum Fulminans*. But this Concession does the more powerfully bespeak our Acknowledgment of the Great GOD, the High THUNDERER, who limits those Destroyers from all Mis-applications of his Thunder-bolts, and who hath Good Angels as well as *Evil* ones to be the Executioners of his Judgments in his Thunders, and who will have none but his own Designs accomplished by the *Thunders*, wherein the *Clouds* do proclaim his *Immortal* Strength.

New-England hath been a Countrey signaliz'd with Mischiefs done by *Thunders*, as much as perhaps most in the World. If Things that are smitten by *Lightning* were to be esteemed Sacred, this were a Sacred Countrey. Rarely a Summer passes without some Strokes from the *Thunders*, on the Persons, or Houses, or Cattel of our People.

To enumerate the Instances of Damages done by *Thunders* in this Land, Houses fired, Cattel slain, Trees pull'd a-pieces, Rocks pulverized, Bricks vitrify'd, and Ships mortify'd, would be to fill a Volume.

Several Persons have been kill'd by the *Thunders*; the *Lightnings* have strangely lick'd up their Animal Spirits, and left them dead upon the spot. The Punishment of *Burning* used sometimes among the *Jews* of old, some think was inflicted by pouring Hot Lead into the Mouths of the Criminals. This Punishment was call'd *Combustio Anima*, and used in imitation of God's destroying Men with *Lightning*, whereby the *Inward* Parts are Burnt, while the *Outward* are not hurt. A *Combustio Anima* by the *Lightning* hath killed many of our People. Some of these have had the just Reputation of *Godly* Persons, who yet have died the same Way that the Learned *Zuinger* supposes the *Sodomites*, and *Corab's* Conspirators to have perish'd, as well as *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and the *Semicerurions* that affronted the Prophet *Elias*.

In Confutation of an Opinion mentioned by *Plutarch*, That Men asleep are never stricken with *Lightning*; some among us have been killed by the *Thunder* when fast asleep, and had that *Epitaph*,

Triste jaces luces Evitandumq; Bidental.

All that I shall add, is this; It hath been seen That *Thunders* oftner fall upon Houses of God, than upon any other Houses; *New-England* can say so. Our Meeting-Houses, and our Ministers Houses have had a singular share in the Strokes of *Thunders*.

Now because there was in it somewhat Remarkable and Entertaining, I shall supersede all further Accounts of our *Thunders*, by annexing some Notes of a Sermon preached by one among us, at the very Instant when the *Thunders* were falling upon his own House, with some singular Circumstances.

Brontologia Sacra: The Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder, Explained and Applied, in a Sermon, uttered by a Minister of the Gospel, in a Lecture unto an Assembly of Christians abroad, at the very same time when the Thunder was, by the Permission and Providence of God, falling upon his own House. A Discourse useful for all Men at all times; but especially intended for an Entertainment in the Hours of *Thunder*.

— Cui non Conrepunt membra pavore
Fulminis Horribili cum plagâ torrida tellus
Contremittit, & magnum percurrunt murmura Cælum !

Lucret. l. 5.

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THE Author of the ensuing Meditations, is willing to have nothing further known either of him or of them, save this, That being at Prayer before a Sermon in an Assembly of Christians, the sudden Rise of a Thunder-Storm was the Occasion of his feeling a strong Impression upon his Mind unto this purpose; Lay aside what you had prepar'd for this Auditory: Speak to them in the Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder; you shall not want Assistances. He could not withstand this Impression, but ventured upon an extemporaneous Contemplation of the Thunder. Now, the Thing which made this Digression remarkable, was, that at the very same Instant when he was thus driven to this Theme, the Thunder was directed by the God of Heaven to fall with very tearing, tho' no killing Effects upon his own House. The Hearers, I suppose, found a sensible Edge given to these Meditations, by the wondrous timing of them; and although no doubt, the Author would have digested them with more Exactness, had they not been altogether like the Accidents that produced them, sudden; yet these Notes taken of them, are perhaps not so utterly undigested as to be wholly useless unto a well-dispos'd Reader.

The Thunder being a Thing that often entertains us, it was thought that it would be no Dis-service unto the Church of God, if a few such Reflections were offer'd unto the Publick for the Entertainment of the Serious, When

Ipse pater mediâ Nimborum in nocte coruscâ,
Fulmina molitur dextrâ, quo maxima motu
Terra tremit, fugere feræ, & mortalia corda
Per gentes humilis stravit pavor.—

Meditations upon Thunder. Uttered
September 12. 1694.

Observing that by the *Thunder-Storm* just now begun, you are many of you thrown into a Consternation, which perhaps may indispose you to mind any thing but the *Thunder*, I shall altogether lay aside the Meditations wherewith I came hither purposing to entertain you; and I shall with the Leave and Help of Our God, who is now speaking, treat you with some sudden Meditations upon the *Thunder* it self.

Christians, You shall now go along with me unto the 29th Psalm, in the Third Verse, whereof you shall find these Words:

*The Voice of the Lord is upon the Waters,
the God of Glory Thundereth.*

And now, let not your Attention to the *Thunder* at this Instant abroad, interrupt your further Attention to the Greater and Louder *Thunder* here within.

The *Voice of God* in this Book, is far beyond that *Voice* which is now making its rapid Peals in the Skie. This *Voice* is more articulate than that; yea, by this *Voice* that becomes articulate, give unto both your earnest Heed.

I remember that when *Elihu* was, as I now am, speaking at a Meeting of some Godly Men, at that very time, as at this, 'tis by some Interpreters conceived, it Thundered; and at the same time that *Man of God* fell into a Discourse upon the *Voice of God* in the *Thunder*. Then 'twas that he said, in *Job* 37. *beg.* At this my Heart trembleth, and is mov'd out of his place. Hear attentively the noise of his *Voice*, and the Sound that goeth out of his Mouth. He directeth it under the whole Heaven, and his *Lightning* unto the Ends of the Earth: after it a *Voice* roareth; He thundereth with the *Voice of his Excellency*; and he will not stay them when his *Voice* is heard; God

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thundereth marvellously with his Voice ; great things doth he which we cannot comprehend.

You then will not count it improper, and I hope our common Lord will make it not unuseful, if I so far imitate the Example, as to offer you in this Juncture, an *Essay* at explaining the Voice of God in that very Thunder, which is just now beginning to alarm our Thoughts; and this the rather, because the Text which we have now read, seems to be fetch'd from those very Words of *Elibu*.

We have before us a *Psalms* composed by a Great Servant and Singer of the Lord, probably at a time tempestuous by *Thunders*, and composed that it might be employed among the People of God at such a time. You see how conveniently it may at this time give a Text unto us.

I call to mind, that when the Priest went into the Sanctuary, his Habit was among other Circumstances, to be attended with (*Exod. 28. 34.*) Golden Bells and Pomegranates; and *Josephus* thinks the Clatter of *Thunder* and Colour of *Lightning* was designed therein to be represented. It seems *Thunder* and *Lightning* is a thing, whereof God would have Notice to be taken in the Sanctuary. In the Oracles of the Sanctuary, He doth Himself take notice of it.

The Sons of such Eminent Patriarchs as *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, are here call'd upon to give Glory unto the God of Heaven; and this both for his Works of Nature in the World, and for his Works of Grace in the Church; And among his works of Nature, some done in the Lower Heaven, namely the *Thunders*, are singled out as the special Occasions for our praising Him. But if *Angels* may be meant by the *Sons of the Mighty*, thus addressed, their own frequent Concerment and Improvement in the producing of *Thunders*, gives yet a further Emphasis unto this Invitation.

About the *Thunder*, we have two Remarks in the Words now read unto us.

First, We have the Place of it. It is among the Waters: that is, in the *Rainy Clouds*. The Aqueous Particles, daily fetch'd up from the Earth and the Sea, into the Regions of the Air, are a Vast Advantage to our Quarters of the Creation. The Emptying, the Refreshing, the Proportioning of many Parts in the Creation, by their perpetual Diffillation, is justly to be reckon'd among Infallible Demonstrations, to prove as well the *Providence* as the *Existence* of the Great God, who formed all things. For this Cause, this thing is well worthy of the Figure which it makes in the History of the *Creation*; tho' it had not been there introduced, as probably it is, as Figurative of that Age wherein God separated from the rest of the World, a Number of People in the Patriarchal Families, whom he called up into a *Church-State*; but so small a Number, that in comparison to the rest, they were no more than the *Clouds* are unto the *Seas*. This now is the *Secret Place of Thunder*.

Next we have the Cause of it.

This is *The Lord, the God of Glory*; Or the Lord, who is the Glorious God.

It is the Duty of a *Minister* to watch for Seasons, wherein and whereby the Word of God, which he is to preach, may be advantag'd with a singular Energy, for the *Saving of Himself and them that bear him*.

'Twill be but a piece of *Ministerial Watchfulness*, for me to bring you certain Words of God this Afternoon, unto which the Terrible *Thunder* now happening may be subservient with a more than ordinary Penetrancy.

Sirs, Be not now *Deaf to Thunder*, but with me make this Observation.

In the **THUNDER** there is the Voice of the Glorious GOD.

There is, — [The Author being arriv'd hereabouts in his Discourse, a Messenger interrupted him, with Tidings that a Thunder-Clap had just now fallen upon his own House; and that tho' no Person had been hurt, yet the House had been much torn, and filled with the Lightnings. But, without breaking off, as had been desired, he thus proceeded.]

Brethren, I am just now inform'd, That the Voice of the Glorious God in the *Thunder* has been very immediately directed unto my self by a Fall of *Thunder-belts* upon my own House, at that very Instant, 'as far as I can judge, that I felt the powerful Impressions of Heaven upon my own Soul; inclining and engaging of me to frame a peculiar Meditation upon the Voice of the glorious God in the *Thunder*, among you.

The *Psalmist* here mentioning the Great Effects of the *Thunder*, adds, In his Temple doth every one speak of his Glory. As I remember, there is in *Aben Ezra* this observable Passage of *R. Moseh*, quoted for a Gloss upon it, *The Levites there praise God for keeping them from Hurt by the Thunder*. What an Occasion have I to do to this Day? Instead of being hereby diverted from the Work which I have now undertaken, I would practically teach you, That with a Mind unconcer'd about the things of this Life, we should never be unfurnish'd with devout and proper Thoughts on the Mind of God in all our Trials; and I would hope that this unhappy Accident will be made happy, at least by procuring more of Edge to that Attention which the Voice of God is to have with you: To day if ye will hear his Voice.

There is in this an Enquiry which I did but now design to make, and which I am now concerned more than I was before to make, on this Occasion.

What is the Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder?

First, It is to be premised as herein implied and confessed, that the *Thunder* is the Work of the Glorious God. It is true, that the *Thunder* is a Natural Production, and by the Common Laws of

of Matter and Motion it is produced; there is in it a Concourse of divers weighty *Clouds*, clashing and breaking one against another, from whence arises a mighty *Sound*, which grows yet more mighty by its Resonancies. The Subtil and Sulphurous Vapours among these *Clouds* take Fire in this Combustion, and *Lightnings* are thence darted forth; which, when they are somewhat grosser, are fulminated with an irresistible Violence upon our Territories.

This is the *Cartesian* Account; tho' that which I rather choose is, that with the Vegetable Matter protruded by the Subterraneous Fire, and exhaled also by the Force of the Sun, in the Vapour that makes our Shower a Mineral Matter of Niter and Sulphur, does also ascend into the Atmosphere, and there it goes off with fierce Explosions.

But still, who is the Author of those Laws, according whereunto things are thus moved into *Thunder*? yea, who is the *First Mover* of them? *Christians*, 'tis our Glorious God. There is an Intimation somewhere, ('tis in *Psal. 104. 7.*) That there was a most early and wondrous Use of the *Thunder* in the first Creation of the World; but still the *Thunder* it self, and the *Tonitruous* Disposition and Generation with which the Air is impregnated, was a part of that Creation. Well; and whose Workmanship is it all? *Ab! Lord, thou hast created all these things; and for thy Pleasure they are and were created.* It is also true, that *Angels* may be reckoned among the Causes of *Thunders*; and for this Cause, in the Sentence of the *Psalms*, where they called *Flames of Fire*, one would have been at a Loss whether *Angels* or *Lightnings* were intended, if the Apostolical Accommodation had not cleared it. But what tho' *Angels* may have their peculiar Influence upon *Thunders*? It is but the Influence of an Instrument; they are but Instruments directed, ordered, limited by him, who is the *God of Thunders* and the *Lord of Angels*. Hence the *Thunder* is ascribed unto our God all the Bible over; in the Scripture of Truth, 'tis called the *Thunder of God*, oftener than I can presently quote unto you. And hence we find the *Thunder* ever now and then executing the Purpose of God; whose can it be but the *Thunder of God*, when the Pleasure of God has been continually thereby accomplished?

But I pray, why then should we be slavishly afraid of the *Thunder*? We are in Covenant with that God who makes the *Thunder*, and it is a *Covenant of Grace*, wherein he is *Our God*. Well, and shall we not now make that Joyful Conclusion, *He is our own God, and he will bless us!* Whence then our amazing *Terrors*, when we hear him *Thundering* terribly in the Heavens over us? As long as the *Almighty Thunderer* is our own God, we need not fear that he will do us any Hurt by any of his Works: No, He will make *All things work together for our Good*. A Saint may say, *My God will never hurt me!* Suppose we should be slain by *Thunder*, we shall but in that *Thunder of Heaven*, have a great Voice from Heaven saying to us, *Come up hither!* and letting a-

side the *Unusualness* of the *Stroke*, which makes it seem horrid and uncouth, it were the easiest Way of going up that ever was gone. I say then, Be not afraid: *Ejus est timere qui nolit au- Cbristum ire.*

Mr. *Ambrose* in his Treatise of *Angels*, as I remember, does relate this Passage;

'A pofane Persecutor discovered much Affrightment at the *Thunder* which hapned while he was on a Journey, his pious and holy Wife then with him, asked him the Reason of his being so affrighted; *Why*, said he, *are not you afraid?* She replied, *No, not all; for I know 'tis the Voice of my Heavenly Father; and shall a Child be afraid of a kind Father's Voice?* The Man then by surpriz'd, made this Conclusion, *Sure these Puritans have a Divine Principle in them, which the World seeth not; Else they could not have such a Serenity in their Souls, when the rest of the World are fill'd with dismal Horrors!* Hereupon he went to Mr. *Bolton*, bewailing the Opposition which he had given unto the *Ministry* of that Reverent Man, and became a Godly Man ever after.

You know what use to make of the Story, and so I may proceed.

Secondly, it is now to be more distinctly asserted, That *Thunder* is the Voice of the Glorious God. There is a Voice of his in this Work of his. If the *Thunder* were *quod dicitur*, The Voice of Jupiter, in the Account of the poor *Pagans*, I am sure it should be accounted The Voice of *Jehovah* by us *Christians*. One of the Ways whereby God revealed himself to his ancient People, was a *Beth Kol*, as they called it, there was a Voice of *Thunder* in it. Sirs, we have what is equivalent unto a *Beth Kol* this Afternoon, in the Significancy which we shall now hear the Scripture give unto the *Thunder*.

I. One Voice of the Glorious God in the *Thunder*, is, that he is a Glorious God, who makes the *Thunder*. There is the Marvellous Glory of God seen in it, when he *Thunders* Marvellously. Thus do these Inferiour and Meteorous Heavens declare the Glory of God.

The Power of God is the Glory of God: Now his *Thunder* does proclaim his Power. It is said, *The Thunder of his Power who can understand?* that is, his Powerful *Thunder*; the *Thunder* gives us to understand, that our God is a most Powerful One. There is nothing able to stand before those *Lightnings*, which are stiled, *The Arrows of God*: Castles fall, Metals melt; all flies, when *Hot Thunder-bolts* are scattered upon them. The very Mountains are torn to pieces, when

—————*Feriant summos*
Fulmina montes.—————

Yea, to speak in the Language of the Prophets, fulfilled in the *Thunder-storm* that routed the *Affyrian* Armies, *The Mountains quake, the Hills melt, the Earth is burnt; who can stand before his Indignation? and who can abide in the Fierceness of his*

his Anger? His Fury is poured out like Fire, and the Rocks are thrown down by him. Suetonius, I think 'tis, who tells us, That the haughty and profane Emperour Caligula would yet shrink, and shake, and cover his Head at the least Thunder, and run to hide himself under a Bed. This truly is the Voice of the Thunder: Let the proudest Sinners tremble to rebel any more against a God, who can thus discomfit them with shooting out his Lightnings upon them: Sinners, where can you shew your Heads, if the Highest give forth his Voice with Hailstones and Coals of Fire. Methinks there is that Song of Hannah in the Thunder, 1 Sam. 2. 10. Talk no more so exceeding proudly; Let not arrogancy come out of your Mouth. For the Adversaries of the Lord shall be broken to pieces; out of Heaven shall be Thunder upon them. The Omnipotent God in the Thunder speaks to those hardy Typhons, that are found fighting against him; and says, *Oh, do not harden your selves against such a God; You are not stronger than He!* Yea, the Great God is proposed as an Object for our Faith, as well as for our Fear in his Thunder.

If Nothing be too hard for the Thunder, we may think surely Nothing is too hard for the Lord! The Arm that can wield Thunder-bolts, is a very mighty Arm.

From hence pass on, and admire the other Glorious Attributes of God which he doth in his Thunder display most Gloriously: When it Thunders, let us adore the Wisdom of that God, who thereby many Ways does consult the Welfare of the Universe: Let us adore the Justice of that God, who thereby many times has cut off his Adversaries; and let us adore the Goodness of that God who therein preserves us from imminent and impending Desolations, and is not so severe as he would be.

Si quoties peccant homines sua fulmina mittat.

II. A second Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder, is, Remember the Law of the Glorious God that was given in Thunder. The People of God were once gathered about a Mountain, on which, From his Right Hand issued a Fiery Law for them; or a Law given with Lightning. At the Promulgation of the Ten Commandments, we are told in Ex. 20. 18. *All People saw the Thunderings, and the Lightnings, and the Mountain smoaking.* Yea, they were such, that the Apostle tells us, tho' Moses himself says nothing of it, they made Moses himself *Exceedingly to fear and quake.* Well, when it Thunders, let us call to mind the Commandments, which were once thus Thundered unto the World; and bear in mind, that with a Voice of Thunder, the Lord still says unto us, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and all thy Soul, and all thy Strength; and thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* But when the Thunder causes us to reflect upon the Commandments of our God, let there be a Self-Examination in that Reflection.

Let us now examine our selves, what is requir'd and whether we have not omitted it? what is

Forbidden, and whether we had not committed it? And what Provocation we have given unto the God of Glory, to speak unto us in his Wrath, and vex us in his Displeasure. Blessed the Thunder, that shall Thunder-strike us into the Acknowledgments of a Convinced and a Repenting Soul!

III. A Third Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder, is, Think on the future Coming of the Glorious God in the Thunder, and in great Glory. When the Day of Judgment shall arrive unto us, then Our God shall come, and shall not keep silence; a Fire shall devour before him, and it shall be very tempestuous round about him. The Second Coming of our Lord will be, as we are advised in 2 Thes. 1. 7, 8. *with his mighty Angels in Flaming Fire; the Clouds will be his Chariot, but there will be prodigious Thunders breaking forth from those Clouds.*

The Redemption of the Church, for which the Lord hath long been cried unto, will then be accomplished; but at what Rate? The Lord will come in the thick Clouds of the Skies: at the Brightness that shall be before him thick Clouds will pass, Hail-Stones and Coals of Fire; the Lord also will thunder in the Heavens.

I say then, does it thunder? Let us now realize unto our selves that Great and Notable Day of the Lord, which will be indeed a Great and Thundering Day! But how far should we now realize it? Realize it so, as to be ready for it. Oh, count your selves not safe till you get into such a Condition of Soul, that your Hearts would even Leap and Spring within you, were you sure that in the very next Thunders our precious Lord would make his Descent unto us. What if the Hour were now turned, wherein the Judge of the whole World were going to break in upon us with fierce Thunders, and make the Mountains to smook by his coming down upon them, and Reign before his ancient People Gloriously? Could you gladly say, *Lo this is the God of my Salvation, and I have waited for him!* I say, let the Thunders drive you on to this Attainment.

IV. A Fourth Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder, is, Make your Peace with God immediately, lest by the Stroke of his Thunder he take you away in his Wrath. Why is it that Persons are usually in such a Consternation at the Thunder? Indeed there is a Complectional and Constitutional Weakness in many this way; they have such a Disadvantage in a Frightful Temper, that no Considerations can wholly overcome it. But most usually the Frights of People at the Thunder, arise from the Terms wherein they may suspect their own Souls to stand before an angry God. Their Consciences tell 'em that their Sins are yet unpardoned, that their Hearts are yet unrenewed, that their Title to Blessedness is yet unsettled, and that if the next Thunder-Clap should strike them dead, it had been good for them that they had never been born.

*Illi sunt qui trepidant, & ad omnia Fulgura pal-
lent;*

*Cum tonat, Exarimes primo quoque murmure
Cæli.*

Here then is the Voice of God in the *Thunder*: *Art thou ready? Soul, art thou ready? make ready presently, lest I call for thee before thou art aware.* There is in *Thunder* a vehement Call unto that Regeneration, unto that Repenting of Sin, that Believing on Christ, and that Consenting unto the Demands of the New Covenant, without which no Man in his Wits can comfortably hold up his Face before the *Thunder*. I have now in my House a Mariners Compass, whereupon a *Thunder-Clap* had this odd Effect, that the North Point was thereby turned clear about unto the South; and so it will veer and stand ever since unto this Day, tho' the thing happened above thirteen Years ago.

I would to God that the next *Thunder-Claps* would give as effectual a Turn unto all the Unconverted Souls among us! May the *Thunder* awaken you to turn from every Vanity to God in Christ without any Delay, lest by the *Thunder* it self it come quickly to be too late. It is a vulgar Error, that the *Thunder* never kills any who are asleep: Man, what if the *Thunder* should kill thee in the dead Sleep of thy Unregeneracy?

5. A fifth Voice of the Glorious God in the *Thunder*, is, *Let this Thunder convict you of what you may justly reckon your own Iniquity.* Every Man has his own peculiar Sin, a Sin whereby the Soul of the Man is more expos'd and endanger'd than by any other Sin; his *Darling-sin*, his *Master sin*, or that which bids fairest so to be. *David* being deliver'd from Damage by the *Thunder*, ascribes it unto the Favour of God, (2 Sam. 22. 24.) Rewarding him for keeping himself from his own Iniquity. This I say, the *Thunder* may do us the favour of informing us, what is our own Iniquity, and that would be a Favour indeed! There are some sort of *Writings*, which you can't read until you hold them against the Fire: Would you read the worst Guiltiness and Wickedness of your own Hearts? Then say I, *Hold them up against the Lightning.* My meaning is this: when it *Thunders*, do you observe about what Miscarriage your Hearts do first and most of all then mis-give you; observe which of all your Faults then does first of all, and most of all stare you in the face with formidable Criminations. You may now take it for granted, this is *Your own Iniquity*. And the Voice of the *Thunder* is, *Do you keep a special Watch against that Iniquity, and against all the Beginnings, all the Occasions, all the Incentives of that Iniquity.*

6. A sixth Voice of the Glorious God in the *Thunder*, is, *Take heed now, take heed ever, of those grosser Sins which have sometimes been revenged by Thunder.* There have been the Ireful and the Direful *Thunders* of God, sometimes used for the Executions of his Vengeance upon such and such Enormities. The perpetual Admonitions of the *Thunders* are, *take heed of such Thunder-struck A-*

ominations. As now, the Cities now buried, (tho' they say of late by the sinking of the Water growing visible again) in the Lake of *Sodom*. *Tacitus* the Roman Historian, truly tells us, they perish'd *Fulminum jactu*, by *Thunder-bolts*; God sent an extraordinary *Thunder-storm* upon them for the Lusts of *Uncleanness*, wherein they burned.

What says the Poet?

*Tu parùm castis inimica mittes
— Fulmina Lucis.*

Wherefore, when it *Thunders*, the Voice of God in it is, *Put out the unclean Fires of Lust in your Souls, lest I set you on fire, by my dreadful Thunders!* Again, there was *Nadab* and *Abihu*, who offered strange Fire to God, and God punished them with a killing Fire from Heaven, in a hideous *Thunder-storm*; so then, when it *Thunders*, the Voice of God in it is, *Look well to all your Sacrifices, lest my Fire make you a Sacrifice: See that you duly attend my Worship, lest my Thunder fall upon you!* Once more, there was *Uzzab*, who fell into an Error in his Management about the *Ark* of God; and it seems as if a *Thunder-Storm* suddenly coming up, kill'd him for it: Hence then, when it *Thunders*, the Voice of God in it is, *Look to it, that my Ark and my Word find no contempt with you, lest my Thunder chastise you for your Contempt.* What shall I say more? *Corah* was destroyed by *Thunder* for his Rebellion against God and *Moses*; Wherefore the Voice of the *Thunder* is, *Take heed of all Rebellion against God and Jesus.* The *Egyptians*, the *Philistines*, the *Affyrians*, were confounded with Defolating *Thunders*, because they invaded and injured the People of God. It is then the Voice of the *Thunder*, *See that you do no wrong unto an holy People, that have this Artillery of Heaven to defend them.* They that are such Witnesses for God and Reformation as *Elijah* was, have, as he had, the Fires of Lightnings to devour those that hurt them.

VII. A seventh Voice of the Glorious God in the *Thunder*, is, *Hear the Voice of my Word, lest I make you fear the Voice of my Thunder.* When the Inhabitants of *Egypt* persisted in their Disobedience to the Word of God, it came to that at last, in *Ex. 9. 23.* *The Lord sent Thunder, and the Fire ran along upon the Ground.* Thus the Eternal God commands Men to let go their Sins, and go themselves to serve him; if they are disobedient, they lay themselves open to fiery *Thunders*. This, you may be sure, is the Voice of God in the *Thunder*, *Hear my still Voice in my Ordinances, lest you put me upon speaking to you with more angry Thunder-bolts.* I have known it sometimes remark'd, that very Notorious and Resolved Sleepers at Sermons, often have some remarkable Suddenness in the Circumstances of their Death. Truly, if you are scandalously given to sleep under the Word of God, and much more, if to scoff under it, it may be, your Deaths will be rendred sudden by the other *Thunders* of Heaven lighting on you.

When

When it Thunders, God saith to all the Hearers of his Word ordinarily preached, *Consider this, and forget not God, lest he tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver you.*

Finally, And is there not this Voice of the Glorious God in Thunder after all? *O be thankful to the gracious God, that the Thunder does no more mischief to you all.*

Whatever the Witch-Advocates may make of it, it is a Scriptural and a Rational Assertion, That in the Thunder there is oftentimes by the Permission of God, the Agency of the Devil. The Devil is the Prince of the Air, and when God gives him leave, he has a vast Power in the Air, and Armies that can make Thunders in the Air. We are certain that Satan had his Efficiency in it, when the Fire of God or the Lightning, fell upon part of Job's Estate; how glad would he have been, if the good Man himself had been in the way, to have been torn in pieces? And perhaps it was the Hellish Policy of the Wicked One, thus to make the good Man suspicious that God was become his Enemy. Popes that have been Conjurers, have made Fire thus come from Heaven, by their Confederacies with Evil Spirits; and we have in our own Land known Evil Spi-

rits, plainly discovering their Concurrence in Disasters thus occasioned. A great Man has therefore noted it, that Thunders break oftener on Churches than any other Houses, because the Demons have a peculiar spite at Houses that are set a-part for the peculiar Service of God.

I say then, Live we thus in the midst of Thunders and Devils too; and yet live we? Oh! let us be thankful to God for our Lives. Are we not smitten by the great Ordnance of Heaven, discharging ever now and then on every side of us? Let us be thankful to the great Lord of Heaven, who makes even the Wrath of Hell to praise him, and the Remainder of that Wrath does he restrain.

Such a serious Thankfulness manifested in an answerable Fruitfulness, will be still continually a better Shelter to us from the Mischiefs of the Thunder, than the Crowns of Laurels, or the Tents of Seal-Leather, whereby some Old Emperours counted themselves protected; or than all the Amulets of Superstition.

To the Custody of Israel's Great Keeper I now commend you all.

CHAP. IV. The Returning Prodigal.

Relating Remarkable CONVERSIONS.

Suis perditam nunquam reverteretur, nisi pii Pastoris misericordiam consequeretur. Aug.

THE Substance of the Church, that Mystical Body of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, was from all Eternity under the Eye of God, as proposed in the Decree of Election. The Members of that Body were from all Eternity written in the Book of Life: And, in pursuance of the Divine Decree concerning it, the Holy Spirit in the Continuance of Time, thro' several Generations, does fashion it into the Shape designed for it. But how? We are told in *Psal. 139. 14.* *'Tis fearfully and wondrously made; marvellous are the Works of God about it.* The Marvellous Works of God in converting and uniting of Elect Sinners unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST, will make an History for Heaven. But something of that History has thousands of times been given to particular Flocks of the Faithful throughout New-England, in the Relations which Devout People have made unto them, at their first Admission into their Communion.

These marvellous Works of God were very proper Materials for a Church-History: But Ours has not a Room for them; Nor will I recite in this Place more than Two or Three Remarkables.

I. It was a Problem among the ancient Philosophers, *Whether a Child may not confer more Bene-*

fits on his Father than he has receiv'd from him? This hath been sometimes bravely determined in the Affirmative among us, when Fathers have by the Means of their own Children, been born again.

One of my Neighbours had a Son which died when he was about five or six Years old. The Man's Religion extended no further, than to Prayer with his Family on the Lord's Days. All the rest of the Week his Worldly Heart was by the Cares of this World indisposed for Devotions. The Mother of the Child therefore pray'd with her Children every Day; and she saw the good Effects of it upon them. This Child lay sick for divers Weeks; in which time he often called on his Mother to pray for him, never on his Father. And when the Lord's-Day arrived, the Child would with observable Joy, utter that Expression, *This is the Day on which my Father uses to go to prayer.* The Words of the Dying Son so stuck in the Mind of his Father, that with many Tears he not only bewailed and reformed this his Neglect of his Family-Prayer; but also became, as far as could be judged, a sincerely Godly Man, dying afterwards in the Fear of God.

II. Some

II. Some have observ'd that for the Generality of them who are effectually brought home unto God under the constant Preaching of the Gospel, between *Fifteen* and *Thirty*, is the Age wherein most of the *Elect* become call'd. Nevertheless *New-England* hath afforded many Examples of *Children*, which have in their early *Infancy* been marvellously filled with the Spirit of Christ; and some of these Examples have been afterwards publish'd unto the World. Moreover, That the Grace of God, may be display'd, as truly Sovereign, some among us that have liv'd unto Old Age, poor, graceless, Godless, Wretchless, have then passed under changing Operations and Renovations, from the *Word of the Grace of God* upon their Souls. In the primitive Times, there was one *Victorius*, a very Old Man, turned unto Christianity; the Church would not for some while receive him: For, thought they, *Old Sinners do not use thus to turn and live*; but he evinced the Reality of his Turn at such a rate, that they sang Hymns about it in the Christian Assemblies; and it was much proclaim'd, *Victorius is become a Christian! Victorius is become a Christian!*

Among other Instances of such a matter, in the Churches of *New-England*, One was a Man of *Launcester*, who arriv'd in Age to so many Years above an hundred, that he had liv'd in Wedlock with his Wife *Sixty three* Years, and yet she was *Thirty five* Years younger than himself; and he was able to follow his Toils at Husbandry, very lively about a Month before his Death. This Man had been all his Days a poor, ignorant, ungodly Man, and after he had heard so many Thousands of Sermons, unacquainted with the very Principles of his Catechism. Nevertheless when he was about *an hundred years old*, God blessed the Ministry of his Word, unto this Man's awakening; the Man became a diligent Enquirer after the Things of the Life to come, and a serious Attender on all that was Religious. He arriv'd unto such Measures of a well informed Piety, that the Church, which was very strict in the Terms of their Communion, yet received him into their Communion some Years before he died; wherein he continu'd under a good Character so long as he continu'd in the World.

III. When a *Great Sinner* cried out, *My Sin is greater than can be forgiven*, it was by *Austin* well replied, *Cain, thou liest!* A Malefactor once going to his Execution, in a Transporting Sense of *Great Mercy* to a *Great Sinner*, kept crying out, *God is a great Forgiver! God is a great Forgiver!* So thought one who died at our *Salem-Village* in *December 1688*. This Man, (whose Name was *Wilkins*) had signalized himself by a bad Life, until he had spent fifty Years, on the lewd and rude Courses of Notorious Ungodliness. Tho' he had enjoy'd the Benefits of a *Pious Education*, yet he shook off all the Yokes which that Education had laid upon him. He became a soul-mouth'd Scoffer at all good Men and good

Things, and a base Mocker of *Church-Members* in particular. The Vices of *Drunkenness*, and *Lying*, and *Swearing*, made the Characters of his Conversation. *Sabbath-breaking* made him infamous among *Sober*, and *Promise-breaking* among *Honest* People; and his *Disobedience* to his Parents was not unequal to the rest of his Disorders. *Original Sin* in the furthest Efforts of it, filled his whole Walk for half an hundred Years; at which Age he left the World; and had fate under, and sinn'd against the *Means of Grace* all this while.

But yet, Reader, prepare thy Admirations! This Enormous Liver was wonderfully regenerated before he died. The Great God so blessed and owned the *Ministry of his Word*, that the Efficacy thereof upon him, did become conspicuous to Astonishment. He became an Heart-broken Penitent, and so devout, so pensive, so humble, that every one saw a *New Creature* in him. He mourned for all his former Faults, and his mournful Complaints reached unto the *Plague of his Heart*, as the Root of all. He reformed what was amiss in him, and applied himself with an exceeding Vigour unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST our only Saviour, for his *Great Salvation*. While the Lord was thus beginning his heavenly Impressions upon him, he fell mortally sick; and it was not long before he passed out of this World with a wonderful Assurance of his Interest in a *Better*.

It were endless to reckon up the *Extraordinary Passages* which occurred in the *Sick and Last Weeks* of his Life: but some of them were such as these:

'Oh! what a *Wonder of Mercy* is it (said he) unto my Soul, that God hath not cast me immediately into Hell, and given me no Time to repent; or to beg for an Heart to repent! But *great Mercy* hath spared a *great Sinner*.

'—The stoutest Man (said he) that ever lived, should he but seriously think on ETERNITY, and have no CHRIST to fly unto, it would so sink the Heart of him, that he could never bear it; but the Lord will shew Mercy to my distressed Soul.

He gave himself wholly to *Prayer*, and would excuse *Watchers* from sitting with him, that he might be at leisure for Communion with God above. Sometimes he would give a Start as he lay; and being asked the Reason of it, he said, *Oh! I have a great Work to do, and but a little Time to do it.*

The Conflicts which he endured in his Mind, were intolerable; under which, he Day and Night kept *wrestling with God* for his Mercy.

One Morning his Brother enquiring of him how he did, he replied, 'Oh! I have had as doleful a Night as ever Man had. I have had *Three great Enemies* this Night encountering with me; the *Flesh*, the *World* and the *Devil*. I have been this Night both in *Hell* and in *Heaven*;

and I can truly say with *David*, All this Night
 long I have watered my Couch with my Tears.
 But, as the Day broke, my Saviour came and
 vanquished the Devil, and told him, *That he had*
no Right in me; for he had redeem'd me with his
own Blood.

Unto his Aged Father he said, 'Sir, I have
 felt a great Work on my distressed Soul: *This your*
Son was lost, and is found; was dead, and is alive.
 Doleful Nights have I seen: The Thoughts of
 my Sins did sorely oppress me. When I would
 be crying to my dear Saviour for his Mercy, he
 would seem not to pity me, but say, *Thou hast*
been a Servant of the Devil, and of thy Lust, and
dost thou now come to me? I have been calling to
thee, and thou hast been hardening thy Heart at my
Calls, and dost thou expect Mercy after all? And
 then the Devil would put in, saying, *Thou*
hast been my Vassal so long, thy Cries for Mercy are
now all too late. I have also seen the Face of an
 Angry God, and that is the Terriblest Thing
 that was ever seen. I then found no Stay for
 my distressed Soul; but *Free Mercy! Free Mercy!*
 The Lord now put under me his Everlasting
 Arms, and gave me an Heart still to pray, and
 say, Lord Jesus, Mercy for thy Names sake,
 Mercy for thy Names sake! My Redeemer
 would say, *Thou art a Great Sinner and an Old*
Sinner! The Answer of my Soul was, Truth,
Lord; but even such Sinners have already found
Mercy at thy Hands. I come to Thee; for with
Thee the Fatherless find Mercy.

He would speak forth into very high Expres-
 sions. His great Comfort he fetched from *Mat.*
11. 28. Come to me, and I will give you Rest. He
 would now cry out, 'O the Riches of Free-
 Grace! There are thousands of thousands, and
 ten thousand times ten thousand in the Third
 Heaven rejoicing over a Great and an Old Sin-
 ner coming to Glory! O glorify FREE-
 GRACE for ever!

He would say, 'O blessed Sickness, blessed
 Sickness! What a Friend hast thou been to me!
 and now welcome Death, or Welcome Life;
 what my Redeemer please. O, that I could
 declare unto my Relations and Neighbours;
 yea, that I could declare unto Kings and Worlds
 What the Lord hath done for my Soul!

He would reflect on the Humiliation of the
 Lord Jesus Christ, with an amazed and a trans-
 ported Soul: He would break forth into a great
 Adoration of it, and say, 'Oh! this wonderful
 Mercy to undone Sinners! He would also make
 that one of his Admirations, 'O, the glorious
 Work of Faith, which rolls itself on Christ a-
 lone!

He talked in Strains that were surprisngly
 Prophetical, concerning the Changes which quick-
 ly after came on our Government; and of the
 Success which God would give unto the (then)
 Prince of Orange, in the Descent which we then
 had newly heard, that he was intending upon
 England.

His Counsel to every one was, To make their

Calling and Election sure. And he would of-
 ten say, 'Oh! I am an Old Sinner, and but a
 Young Convert! I am fifty Years old, and have
 lived but seven Weeks all this while.

To his Brethren he said, 'You are careful a-
 bout a Garment for me, under my Weakness
 this Winter: But, Brothers, I have a better
 Garment than you can provide for me; the
 long white Robe of the Righteousness of Je-
 sus Christ, will cover me all over.

He kept praying, and praising, and singing of
 Psalms till his End came; and then being taken
 Speechless and Senseless, his Friends apprehend-
 ed him just come in a manner to his last Gasp.
 Thus he lay for divers Hours drawing on; but
 at length he strangely revived so far, that he
 sprang up in his Bed, spreading his Arms abroad,
 as tho' going to leap into the Arms of a Redeemer,
 and shouting, 'O my Friends, Heaven rings all
 over at this; a Great and an Old Sinner coming
 to Heaven! Behold in my Father's House
 are many Mansions: If it had not been so, my
 Saviour would not have said it. But he is gone
 to prepare a place for me. O, the Riches of
 Grace! O glorify Free-Grace for evermore. —
 And so he lay down, he expired, he went away,
 to the Rest of God.

IV. Reader, pass thy Judgment on a thing that
 has newly hapned. The Story is published a-
 mong us, and no body doth, or can doubt the
 Truth of it.

In *Barwick* of our *New-England* there dwelt
 one *Ephraim Joy*, as infamous a Drunkard as per-
 haps any in the World. By his Drunkenness he
 not only wasted his Estate, but ruined his Body
 too. At last, being both poor and sick, and
 therewithal hurried by sore Temptations, a Gen-
 tleman of *Portsmouth*, out of pure Charity and
 Compassion took him into his House. While he
 lay ill there, the approaches of Death and Hell,
 under his Convictions of his debauch'd Life ex-
 ceedingly terrified him. Amidst these Terroures,
 he dreamt that he made his appearance before
 the Tribunal of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Judge of
 the World, by whom he was condemned; where-
 upon he had a Sight of the Horrors in the State
 of Damnation, which was now arresting of him.
 He cried with an Anguish of Importunity unto
 the Judge for a Pardon; but his Eternal Judge
 answered him, that he would not yet give him
 an Absolute Pardon, but allow him 14 Days to re-
 pent; in which time, if he did repent, he should
 have a Pardon. He dreamt that accordingly he
 repented and was pardon'd, and at the 14 Days
 End received into Heaven. The poor Man de-
 clared his Dream to the People of the House, and
 sent for the Help of Ministers and other Chri-
 stians; and expressed the Humiliations of a very
 deep Repentance. As he drew near his End, he
 grew daily more lively in the Exercises of his
 Faith on the Lord Jesus Christ, relying on him
 for Salvation; until he confidently said, that his
 Peace was made with God. But behold at the
 Expiration of the 14 Days precisely and exactly

according to his Dream, he died. Yea, and he died full of that great Joy which gave no little, to the Spectators.

Nunquam est sera Conversio : Latro de cruce transit ad Paradisum. Hier.

C H A P. V. *Historia Nemefios.*

Relating Remarkable JUDGMENTS of God.

THE Reader is doubtless waiting for an History of *REMARKABLE JUDGMENTS*, inflicted by the evident and undoubted Hand of Heaven on several sorts of Sinners in this Land. Now, an History of those things having been interwoven into two Brief *SERMONS* lately prea-

ched among us, Reader, take it under the Advantage which was thereby given unto it. Read it with the Salutation used by *Maximilian* when he passed by the Place of Execution, *Salve Justitia.*

Terribilia D E I.

Remarkable Judgments of God, on several Sorts of Offenders, in several Scores of Instances ; among the People of New-England. Observed, Collected, Related, and Improved ; In Two Sermons, at Boston-Lecture in the Month of July 1697.

By *COTTON MATHER.*

Raro antecedentem Scelestum deseruit pede pœna Claudio. Horat.
Supplicia Imprudentium prudentibus conferunt Sanitatem. Cypr. de Zelo.

The First *SERMON.*

Pfal. CXIX. 120. My Flesh trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy JUDGMENTS.

IT cannot be said of any Man as it is said of the *Leviathan*, *He is made without Fear* ; but *Fear* is one of those *Natural Passions*, which the Maker of Man hath infused into him to move him in the Matters of his Happiness. And indeed if the Spirit of Man were destitute of all Fear, it would want a Sinew, needful to manage him in many of his Motions. But this Affection of our Fear, by which we have such Apprehensions of *Evils* as to fly from them, as 'tis useful to us in all our concerns, thus 'tis of most eminent Use to us in the Concerns of Religion. Without the Exercise of some Fear, no real Religion can be exercised : If we would serve the Lord, it must be with *Fear* ; If we would keep the Commandments of God, it is our *Fear* of Him that will be *Custos utriusque Tabulae.*

In the Sacred Oracle now before us, behold such a Fear exemplified ! *Solomon the Wise* once wrote that Maxim of *Wisdom*, *Happy is the Man*

that feareth always. And he had the Example of his Blessed Father, to inform him of, and confirm him in such a Maxim. *David* was as great an Instance of undaunted Valour and Courage, as perhaps any that ever lived : His Fortitude was Heroical. Yet we find him fearing always : And well might he fear, when he had such a formidable Object for his Fear, as that which is proposed in the Text now before us.

The Psalmist in our Context is making his Observations upon the Dispensations of the God of Heaven towards ungodly Men on Earth. Ungodly Men had been very high in their worldly Advancements and Advantages ; but, saith he, *Lord, I see thee treading of them down !* Ungodly Men had cleaved unto the People of God, as if they had been of one Metal with them, and their Fate and Lot had been one ; but, saith he, *Lord, I see thee putting*

ing them away like Dross. Now, there is a twofold use which the Psalmist makes of these Observations.

One is Love. Therefore I love thy Testimonies.

Another is Fear. My Flesh trembleth for fear of Thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgments.

The Degree of the Fear thus expressed, is remarkable. One of the Ancients who understood Hebrew, as few of them did, renders it, *Horripilavit Caro mea: (q. d.) My Hair even stands on End with Fear.* And the Septuagint renders it, *My Flesh is pierc'd with Fear as with Nails.* But there is no need of evaporating our Discourse in Criticisms on the Language of our Text. The plain Language, and the Doctrine of it is,

That a very Trembling Fear of God in his Judgments, is what all Men should, and what Good Men will, have their Souls exceedingly Awed withal.

If you will hear the Sum of the matter, there is this

C A S E,

To be distinctly with all due Brevity spoken unto.

What is the trembling Fear of God in his Judgments which is to be entertain'd in our Souls? And so, What are those Judgments of God, whereof it becomes us with a trembling Fear to be Afraid?

Behold the Steps, by which we shall arrive to a full Answer of the Important Case thus before us.

I. The *Fear of God* comprehends the whole of that Religion, whereto the Will of God obligeth us. Indeed in a *Natural Fear*, we are carried from what we Fear. But a *Gracious Fear* will carry us to the God, who is therein our Fear; To fear God, is to choose him, to love him, to trust him, to seek him, and to draw near unto him. In this *Fear of God* there is presupposed a *Sense of God*. We must be none of those *Fools*, who say, *There is no God.* Our *Fear of God* must not be as of an Imaginary Being, or of the frightful *Non-Entities* which the feeble Spirits of Children are scared with all. We are to be well satisfied, and we have all possible Demonstrations, to satisfy us, *That there is a God, whose Kingdom ruleth over all.*

But then,

First, There is in the *Fear of God* a Reverent Respect and Regard, unto all that has the Name of God upon it. We must have such a *Fear of God* in us, that our God may speak of us, in that Style in *Mal. 4. 2.* *You fear my Name.* We should have none but Fit, that is to say, Holy and Humble Resentments of all those Things where-

by the Great God makes himself known unto us. His *Titles* we must mention with Honour; His *Attributes* we must adore, with all Affection; His *Appointments* we must approach, with all Attention. We should be solicitous that God may be glorified, not only by our selves, but also by all the World about us. *Hallow'd be thy Name,* is to be the first Petition of our Souls.

Secondly, There is in the *Fear of God*, a studious Concern and Caution, to avoid all that sinful Evil by which the *Law of God is transgress'd.* We must have that *Fear of God*, whereto we are advised in *Prov. 16. 6.* *By the Fear of the Lord Men depart from Evil.* We should fly from every known Sin, as from a deadly Serpent, or Poison, because of the Offence thereby given to that God who hath no pleasure in Wickedness. When we see others do any thing that is forbidden and condemn'd in the Edicts of God, we should be able to say as *Nehemiah* of old, *But so do not I, because I have the Fear of God!* When others urge us to do any thing amiss, we should reply like *Joseph*, *I dare not commit such things, for I fear God!* And therefore the Anger of God should be the Terror of our Souls: We should rather incur any Miseries, than procure that Anger which the strongest Mountains cannot stand before; and count it a Fearful thing to fall into the Hands of the Living God.

Thirdly, In the *Fear of God* there is a Filial Care, to yield him that Service and Worship, which may be pleasing unto him. In the *Fear of God* we must obey him with our Service. The Angels of Heaven, who move the Wheels in the great Changes on Earth, when they stood in their Service before the Throne of God which had the appearance of Fire round about him, they let down their Wings, at his Voice, in the Vision of *Ezekiel*: In allusion hereunto, the Apostle, speaking unto Believers, that are to be as the Angels in the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, which cannot be moved, says in *Heb. 12. 28, 29.* *Serve God with Reverence and with Godly Fear: For our God is a Consuming Fire.* In the *Fear of God* we must renounce the Service of all our Idols; We must no more Honour the Flesh, no more Follow the World, no more Gratifie the Devil. And we must now so devote our selves unto the Service of God, that we may be able to say, *Lord I am thy Servant, Devoted unto thy Fear!* He is to be our Master, and we should leave no room for that Expostulation, *Where is my Fear?* And, in the *Fear of God*, we must address him with our Worship. The Profelytes which came in to embrace the true Worship of God, have this Distinction in *Psal. 115. 11.* *Ye that fear the Lord.* In the *Fear of God* we must worship Him who is worthy to be feared: and both the Natural and the Instituted Worship of God, is to be continually perform'd with us; We ought to be, as he once was, Devout Persons, who fear God, and pray always unto him.

All this is comprised in the Fear of God. And yet you have no right Notion of it, if a CHRIST be left out of the Notion. There is a Faith implied in this Fear. The Fear of God, is, after all, to be thus describ'd, and never fully, till thus described, unto us: 'Tis even *such a Dread of the Divine Displeasure at Sin, as drives us to our Lord Jesus Christ for Salvation from Sin, and from the Displeasure of God against us for it.* There never was any true Fear of God in the Days of the *Old Testament*, but such as thought of and ran to a *Messiah*, as the Deliverer from the Wrath of God, and all the Fear of God in the Days of the *New Testament* acknowledges our Blessed Jesus as that *Messiah*. This is that Fear of God which is the *Beginning of Wisdom*: This that Fear of God wherein all Men should be all the Day long. This is that Fear of God, wherein we should continue all the Days that we live upon the Earth. If thou dost not walk in this Fear of God, O Man, let thy Flesh tremble for Fear, and be afraid of the Judgments whereto thou dost make thy self obnoxious. But this leads us to a further Consideration.

II. Unto the Fear of God, we are by the Consideration of his Judgments to be awakened; and we should therefore be struck with a very trembling Fear of those Judgments. Now the Judgments of God are capable of a Distribution, into *Judicia Judicantia*, and *Judicia Judicata*; Judgments *Denounced*, and Judgments *Inflicted*: Judgments in the *Commination*, and Judgments in the *Accomplishment*: the Declaration of Divine Judgments, and the Execution of Divine Judgments. With an Eye to this Distribution, there are these Counsels, which from the Great God of Judgment are to be given you.

The First Counsel.

Let us with a very trembling Fear be afraid of the Judgments that are pronounced against the Ungodly, in the Book of God. There are used in our longest and sweetest Psalm, no less than Twelve several Words, to signify the Revelation which God had made of his purpose, to save Men by that *Son of a Virgin*, who was to *break the old Serpent's Head*; And one of those words is, **JUDGMENTS**. This, then is the Influence, which the Judgments of God, or the Discoveries which He has made of Himself in this Book of His, must have upon us: we should be able to say, as in *Pf. 119. 161.* *Lord, my heart stands in awe of thy word.* Are there any Precepts in this Book? We should fear the *Commandment*: Fear, and Cry, *Lord, I am afraid of breaking thy Holy Laws, that are so Holy, and Just, and Good!* Are there any Promises in this Book? We should fear, lest we fall short of them. Are there any Threatnings in this Book? We should fear, lest they take hold of us. Before every thing in the Book of God, we should have the same Disposition that *Josiah* had when the Book of *Deuteronomy* was read unto him; [The Jews have a Tradition, that by the special Disposál of Divine

Providence the first Place which the Reader lic upon, was *Deut. 28. 36.*] That it may be said unto us, *Thy Heart was tender, and thou didst Humble thy self before God, when thou didst Hear his Words.* We should be apprehensive of the Almighty God, speaking in every Line of this Book; and then be afraid, lest all the Plagues written in this Book, overtake us if we sin against such a God. It was the Character of our Lord Jesus Christ in *Isa. 66. 2.* *He that is of a poor and a contrite Spirit, and who trembleth at my Word.* When we see what Judgments the Word of God has threatned against the Children of Disobedience, we should even fall a trembling at them. And especially they that are consciois to a course of Disobedience against God, should be afraid of these Judgments. When *Belshazzar* saw upon the Wall an Hand-writing, which he could not read (because perhaps the Letters were so insolded one among another, that except a Man had the Key of the Cypher, the Sentence was not easie to be *Uncyphered*;) he was wonderfully terrified at what he saw. Unbelievers may read that Hand-writing in this Book, *If any Man believe not the Son, the Wrath of God abideth on him*: and will you not be afraid of that Wrath? Impenitents may read that Hand-writing in this Book. *The Lord will wound such an one as goeth on still in his Trespases*: and will you not be afraid of that Wound? The Prayerless may in this Book read that Hand-writing, *The Wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all they that forget God*; and will they not be afraid of that Hell, or fear him, *who is able to cast Body and Soul into Hell?* I say unto you, *Fear him*; and Oh, be afraid of these Judgments.

The Second Counsel.

Let us with a very Trembling Fear be afraid of Judgments that shall be pronounced upon the Ungodly in the Day of God. It is a Truth whereof we are very sure, The God of Truth has given us assurance of it, That he hath appointed a Day in which he will judge the World in Righteousness by our Lord Jesus Christ. Now, in the Remembrance of this Day, when the Kingdom that was promised unto the Seed of *David*, shall be erected, it is said in *Eccl. 12. 13, 14.* *Fear God; for God will bring every Work into Judgment.* We must expect the Approach of a Day, wherein the Quickening and Wondrous Voice of our Lord Jesus Christ will raise us out of our Graves; a Day, wherein a Doom of Everlasting Punishment, or of *Life Eternal* will be passed upon us, a Day, wherein, as the Apostle speaks, *We must all appear before the Judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive such things in, the Body, according to what he hath done*: [for thus I choose to render it.] Now, let us fear the Judgments, which on this Terrible Day of Judgment our Lord Jesus Christ will dispense unto the World. Of these Judgments it is, that a Great Minister of our Lord could say, in *2 Cor. 5. 11.* *Knowing the Terror of the Lord, we persuade Men.* There is a Terror in those Judgments; Oh!

Let this *Terror* now persuade us to pursue after an Interest in him that is to be our Judge: and let it persuade us to repent of the Sins which our Judge will else damn us to Endless Confusion for. When a Pagan *Felix*, was told of the Judgments which the *Notable Day of God* will produce upon Mankind, it is said, *He trembled*. What; Shall we be worse than that Unhappy Pagan? When God was only publishing his Judgments on the *Burning Mountain*, we are told, So terrible was the Sight, that *Moses* said, *I exceedingly Fear and Quake*. And shall not we *exceedingly Fear and Quake*, when we think on the Day when our Lord Jesus Christ will descend from Heaven in Flaming Fire, to pour out his Judgments; and *Behold the Lord comes with Myriads of his Saints to execute Judgment upon all!* Certain I am, all this Lower World, will be surprized with an Horrible Fright, at that Great Revolution: An *Horrible Tempest* will then be Rain'd from Heaven upon this World: *The Earth will shake and tremble, the Foundations of the Hills also will move and be shaken, when our Lord shall Bow the Heavens and come down, with a Devouring Fire about him*. So then, Let us now *Shake and Tremble* at the Contemplation thereof. Be afraid, lest we be found among the Ungodly, that shall not stand in the Judgment. Be afraid, lest our Judgment then be, that of the Devil and his Angels. 'Tis a thing which I have given me in Charge, *Some Save with Fear, pulling them out of the Fire*. Wherefore I say unto you, Souls, Be Afraid, Lest we be adjudged unto the Vengeance of Eternal Fire, even to the Fire of the Vengeance of God throughout Eternal Ages.

The Third Counsel.

There are astonishing Judgments, dispensed by the Hand of God, upon others in this World; and with a very Trembling Fear, we should be afraid of those Judgments. The Dispensations of God unto a sinful World, are such as give us that Invitation in *Psal. 66. 5. Come and see the Works of God, for he is Terrible in his Doing towards the Children of Men*. 'Tis our Duty now, to be Afraid of those Judgments, under which we see the Children of Men suffering, by the Terrible Dispensations of God. I do not mean, that we should live in a *Slavish Fear*, of all Fearful Accidents, but that we should be awakened unto the Fear of God, by what we see. Our Duty is described unto us, in *Isa. 26. 9. When thy Judgments are in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the World will learn Righteousness*. And now, let us proceed by these Rules, in this our Duty.

The First Rule.

There is one thing in the Judgments of God, whereof we should always be afraid; that is, Lest we do make an Injudicious Interpretation of them. It is a Caution given to us, in *Psal. 36. 6. Thy Judgments are a great Deep, O Lord, And we should be very cautious, lest we drown our selves in such a Deep, when we go to Fathom it*. The Judgments of God are those things, whereof 'tis said, *Whoso is wise will observe those things*; but then we must be careful to proceed wisely in our observing of them. 'Tis a dangerous thing for us to indulge our own Fancy, and

much more for us to indulge our own Passion, in making of Glosses upon the Judgments of God: God will not hold the Man guiltless, who shall so take his Name in vain. Very sad things may befall the People God, which if we should call 'em the Judgments of God, upon them, for some Crime or other, this would be as great a Crime in us, as to adulterate the Coin of the Nation. The Sovereign God has made a Cross, to be necessary for all the Disciples of Him, who dy'd upon the Cross; and he will in his Infinite Sovereignty, make choice of their Cross for them, to exercise their Virtue, and prepare them and ripen them, for his Heavenly Kingdom. If we should be so wicked, as to suppose a Curse of God upon all that we see under the Cross, *Behold, we should wickedly offend against the Generation of the Children of God*. When the Sons of that Excellent Minister of God, *Aaron*, the Priest of the Lord, came to an untimely End, it had been a vile Impiety in the Congregation of *Israel* to have persecuted their Worthy and Aged Father, with any Censorious Imputations. The Judgments of God are like to arrest none sooner than the Rash Expositors of his Judgments on other Men. The jealous God will soon draw near in Judgment unto those who Persecute them whom he hath smitten, and who talk to the Grief of those whom he hath wounded. Our Lord has given us a most wholesome Admonition, to be generally made use of when fore Disasters happen unto any of our Neighbours, in *Luk. 13. 4, 5. Think ye that these were Sinners above all others? I tell you Nay*. But what shall we then do to determine a Judgment of God upon a Sinner for his doing so? I answer, First, the Sin of the Sinner must be evident from the Scripture of God, before we may dare to apply a Judgment of God, unto him. 'Tis very preposterous for us, first of all to take it for granted, This or that Calamity is a Judgment of God for some Iniquity; and then upon this Presumption to search out that Iniquity. And, Secondly, a Judgment of God for Sin, must be clothed with some convincing Circumstance and Character upon itself, reasonably to speak its being so, before we may venture to call it so. There must be something in the Time of it, or in the Place of it, or in its Resemblance to the Fault for which it comes, or in the Confession of the Person chastised, that shall make the Conscience to say, There are the plain Signatures of a Judgment for some Sin in the Stroke now given by God! Having first laid in this Antidote against Rash Judgments of our own, about the Great Judgments of God, we may safely go on, to say;

The Second Rule.

The Judgments of God in Former Ages, they should make us afraid of the Sins which procured those Judgments. There came the Judgments of God upon the Murmurous *Israelites*; 'tis laid in *1 Cor. 10. 11. All these things happened unto them for Examples, and they are written for our Admonition*: Behold those Judgments then, and be Afraid of all Murmuring, be Afraid of all Impatience, be Afraid of all Discontent under

der the Difficulties of a Wilderness, lest we be *destroy'd of the Destroyer*. There came the Judgments of God upon the debauch'd Sodomites; 'Tis said in 2 Pet. 2. 6. *God made them an Example unto those that after should live Ungodly*. Behold those Judgments then, and be *Afraid of all Debauchery, be Afraid of all Uncleanneſs, be Afraid of all Intemperance*, lest God condemn us with a Fiery and an Early Overthrow. Sirs, the History which the Bible hath given us of the Judgments which have come from God upon them that sinned against him, 'tis not only a Chronicle of what is past, but also a Calendar of what is to come. We have the History: there we may consider the *Days of Old, the Years of Ancient times*. But when we do so, Let us be *Afraid*, lest by repeating of *Old Sins*, we bring a Repetition of *Old Plagues* upon our selves. When Thunder and Lightning from Heaven suddenly calcin'd a poor Woman into a Lump of Salt for her Covetousness near three thousand and eight hundred Years ago, that Salt was to season us with a Fear, lest near the *Time of the End*, we perish like her, by setting our Hearts upon the World. Our Lord therefore said, on that Occasion, in Luk. 17. 32. *Remember Lot's Wife*. Thus I may say, *Remember Judas*, and be *Afraid*, lest we perish as he did in betraying the Interests of the Lord Jesus Christ, for some Worldly Benefit. Remember *Herod*, and be *Afraid*, lest we perish as he did, in proud Affectations of what belongs not unto us. Remember all the rest.

The Third Rule.

The *Judgments of God* on other Places, they should make us *Afraid*, lest we fall within the Circuit of those Judgments. When the *Judgments of God* have begun their Walk, we have Cause to be *Afraid*, lest we fall into their Walk; because *with us, even with us also, there are Sins against the Lord our God*. It was prophesied in Jer. 25. 32. *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Behold, Evil shall go forth from Nation to Nation*. Do we behold other Nations, grievously sharing in Distress of Nations, and great Perplexity, we should be *Afraid*, lest we also have our share in the Distressing Judgments of God. Have the *Judgments of God*, sent War, and Poverty, and Scarcity, upon other Nations? We have Cause to be *Afraid* lest the Evil of those Judgments reach unto our selves; and lest we drink of that Cup of Trembling, which God seems to be putting into the Hands of all the Nations. A Fire on one House alarms all the Town. The Judgments of God have set all *Europe* on Fire; yea, the Sparks are flown over into *America*; Lamentable Desolations have been made both Northward and Southward of us: Be *Afraid*, then, O poor people of God, lest thou also become Desolate. When the *Judgments of God* were in their course, He said unto his people in Zeph. 3. 6, 7. *I have cut off the Nations, their Towers are desolate, their Cities are destroyed. I said, Surely, thou wilt fear me*. Thus, do we see Destructions come upon other Countries. Our God says thereupon, *Surely this*

Country too shall be Afraid, lest I bring the like upon them.

The Fourth Rule.

The *Judgments of God* seizing upon a few Persons only, before our Eyes, they should make us *Afraid*, lest we be the next, that those Judgments do seize upon. When one Malefactor died, it was said, All the People shall hear and fear. Thus, if the *Judgments of God* single out one Malefactor, to punish him, his Voice is, Let all be *Afraid*! It is noted of a miserable Minister, who falling into a Scandal, was presently overwhelm'd by the *Judgment of God*, in Acts 5. 5. *Great Fear came upon all them that heard these things*. When the *Judgments of God* had signalized themselves upon any scandalous Wretches, we should all be struck with a great Fear, lest our Sins expose us also to the signal Rebukes of Heaven. As, if one Drunkard in a Town be drowned, it is a Loud Sermon to all the Bruits about the Town, to be *Afraid*, of being so cut off in their Bruitish Follies. Thus in all the Special Judgments of God upon any Offenders whatsoever, there is that Voice from Heaven to all such Offenders. *Tremble and Repent, lest all of you likewise perish*: Yea, the Judgments of God upon a few, often should be seriously pondered by the whole Body of the People, whom they belong unto, as a Decimation made by that God, who gives none Account of his Matters. God hath a Controversie with the whole Body of the People; he might have pitch'd upon *me or thee*, to have been the Subjects on which he does manage this Controversie, as well as any other of our Neighbours. Oh! what cause have we now to be afraid, of what we also have to meet withal! When the Judgments of God follow'd one Man aboard the Vessel, bound for *Tartessus*, 'tis said in Job. 1. 16. All the other Men feared the Lord exceedingly; Truly, if any one Man aboard the Vessel of the Publick, be followed with a Storm of *Judgments from God*, it becomes us all to Fear exceedingly.

The Fifth Rule.

When things that look like *Judgments of God* befall the dear People of God, it highly concerns other People to be afraid of the greater Judgments which they may reasonably look for. 'Tis an Inference whereto we are directed in 1 Pet. 4. 17. *Judgment must begin at the House of GOD, — And if the Righteous scarcely be sav'd, where shall the Ungodly and the Sinner appear?* Which is but the Translation of what we have in Prov. 11. 31. *Behold the Righteous shall be recompenced in the Earth, much more the Wicked and the Sinner*. Sometimes the most eminent Christians in a Land, yea, and whole Churches of such Christians, meet with troublesome Difficulties in their way to Salvation; yea, they meet with Troubles upon Earth, that seem to be Recompences from Heaven upon them for their Miscarriages. Come, let all Ungodly Sinners now be *Afraid*: I, that never

never was reconciled unto God by the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ; what, what will become of me throughout the Days of Eternity! Our Saviour has taught us to argue thus upon the Afflictions of good Men; *If these things be done to the green Tree, what shall be done to the Dry?* Those Men that bring forth much of that Fruit, whereby God is glorified, are cast into a Fire of many Afflictions. Yea, but you then that bring forth No Fruit, or Ill Fruit, and never were united unto the Lord Jesus Christ, what a Formidable, Intolerable, Interminable Fire, is reserved for you! Oh, be *Afraid* of that Fire! That blessed Prophet of God, even *Ezekiel*, must have the best Thing in his Family snatch'd out of it, by the Stroke of Death: *Behold, I take away from thee the Desire of thine Eyes with a Stroke; yet shall not thy Tears run down, saith the Lord.* And what? was this a Judgment on the Prophet? It seem'd so; but it was indeed a Warning to the People; of whom the Lord then said in *Ezek. 24. 24.* *Ezekiel is a Sign unto you: According to all that he hath done, shall ye do.*

Sirs, Those things that appear like *Judgments of God* upon his own Faithful Servants, they are awful Warnings unto those that serve him not: God therein says unto Prophane, Christless and Graceless Creatures: *If I do these things to those, whom yet I pity as a Father does his Children that serve him, what shall I do unto you that are my Enemies, and that serve none but my greatest Enemy? What shall I do unto you? Wretches, what shall I do unto you?* If God has such Rods for his Dutiful Children, what Scourges, what Scorpions hath he for his Adversaries?

The Sixth Rule.

Among all the Judgments of God, I know none more Tremendous, than His leaving here and there some Famous Professors and Pretenders of Religion, to some Horribly Irreligious Actions. When we see those Judgments, Then, then, above all, should our Flesh tremble for fear of God, and we should be *Afraid* of his Judgments. 'Tis a Thing, that sometimes does happen among us. Persons that have been exemplary for Piety and Charity all their Days, yet have at last grown melancholy, and God hath so left them to the possession of some Devil, that they have laid violent Hands upon themselves; they have starv'd themselves, hang'd themselves, drown'd themselves; yea, and had a preternatural Assistance in their doing of it. Who can behold these unaccountable Tragedies without that Out-cry, *Lord, I am afraid of thy Judgments!* What use can we make of these *Tragical Things*, but that in *1 Pet. 1. 17.* *To pass the Time of our sojourning here in Fear?* What, but that in *Phil. 2. 12.* *To work out our own Salvation with Fear and Trembling?* And, alas, what shall we say, of those prodigious Falls into Sin, which the Lives of some that were counted First-rate Christians, have been reproach'd withal? What shall we say! O, our God, what shall we say of the monstrous Crimes which we have seen some that have seem'd Pillars of Christianity among us, to fall into? This I will say, that the burning Wrath of

a Righteous and a Terrible God, has never been so much discovered in all our Losses by Sea and Land, and in all the bloody Depredations of our Adversaries as in this *One Thing*; that ever now and then some one or other, that has been much noted for Zeal in the Ways of God, has been found in some damnable *Act of Wickedness*. There is the very Venom and Spirit of Hell, in these Judgments of God upon a Land; God would never have permitted these Judgments, if there were not a Generation of his Wrath, to be precipitated down into the fiery bottom of Hell by his *Wrath*, so *Darkning of the Land*. Infinitely better had it been for those *Woful Men*, to have dy'd with Millstones about their Necks, many Years ago, than thus to have offended and poison'd the Souls of Multitudes; And, Oh! *Wo, Wo*, unto Multitudes of Souls, that have hence taken an incurable and an *Everlasting Offence* against the blessed Ways of our Lord Jesus Christ. Sirs, When a provok'd God, shall permit the *Dragon* to sweep Stars down from Heaven with his Tail, and permit the Devil to enter, and possess, and befool, and befor, and confound such as have made a Shew of a more *Heavenly Frame* than other Men, how can we forbear crying out, *Lord, I am afraid of thy Judgments!* What says the Apostle in *Rom. 11. 20.* *Thou standest by Faith: Be not high-minded, but fear?* Oh! Be *Afraid*, Be *Afraid*, lest by some Secret Sin, we grieve the Holy Spirit of God. If He withdraw, Ah, Lord! who shall stand?

The Seventh Rule.

There is a peculiar Concernment lying upon the young People among us to be *Afraid* of those Judgments, in which they see the great God consuming of our young People, with his fiery Indignation. It may be said about the young Men of *N. England*, as it was of old said about the young Men of *Israel* in *Psal. 78. 63.* *The Fire consumed their young Men.* And as when the Earth swallowed up some young People in the Wilderness of old, it is said, *The rest fled at the cry of them, saying, Lest the Earth swallow us up also.* Behold, O our young Folks, the Earth, and the Sea, and the Pic, have been terribly swallowing up your Brethren. Fly then, with affrighted Souls, Fly to the Lord Jesus Christ, and say, *Lord, I am afraid, lest thy Judgments do swallow me up also.* Young People, O that you would suitably lay to heart the dreadful Judgments of God, which are consuming of your Generation among us. Behold, Vain Youths, Behold, how the wasting Judgments of God have been upon you, till we cry out, *The Curse has devour'd our Land, and few young Men are left.*

Know you not, that when our young Men have been press'd into the Wars, they have been but *Number'd for the Slaughter*, and brought forth for the Murderer? Know you not that our young Men hoping to mend their Condition at Sea, have but fail'd the sooner to their long Home, in running abroad? Know you not, that the Angels of Death have struck our young Folks with the Ar-

Arrows of Death in *Epidemical Sickneses*? Know you not, that one strange Casualty after another, brings many of our most *Hopeful* young Folk to an untimely End? And Oh! how *doleful, doleful* Things have our young People seen, when they have been Captives in the Hands of barbarous *Infidels*? The *Cannibals* of the East have hideously tormented them; and as far off as the Scorching Tents of *Africa*, they have been fainting under the bitter Servitude of *Mahometans*.

Come then, Be *Afraid*, O our young People; *Job* could say, *Destruction from God was a Terror to me!* Be Terrified, young People, with a Fear, lest a *Destruction from God* come upon you, in and

for your Sins. Be *Afraid* of continuing estrang'd from the sheltering Wings of your *Lord Redeemer*, lest you lie open to the Storms of the Judgments of God. Be *Afraid* of neglecting the Great Salvation, which the Lord *Jesus Christ* hath so often offer'd you, lest the Judgments of God bring a great Destruction upon you. Be *Afraid* of all Filthiness and all Prophaneness, and all Disobedience, and all bad Company, and all the Courses of Dishonesty, lest by the Judgments of God, you die before your time, for your being wicked over-much. Oh! Fear and Flee *Youthful Lusts*; And now Remember your Creator in the Days of your Youth, lest the Judgments of God; bring Evil Days upon you.

The Second Sermon.

BUT I intend all this Discourse, as only an Introduction unto a more Entertaining Recapitulation of the Divine Judgments, which we have seen executed upon several Sorts of Sinners, among our selves. It cannot but be much for the Glory of our Lord **JESUS CHRIST**, who from his *Glorious High Throne* dispensed these Judgments: It cannot but be a Satisfaction unto the Good Angels of the Lord, who are oftentimes the Executioners of these Judgments: It is an Holy Undertaking, and it cannot but serve the Interests of Holiness, to make our modest Observations upon the Judgments of God, which have been executed among us. As far as it may be convenient in this *Discourse*, I will now address my self unto this Undertaking.

Sirs, Give me your Attention.

When that great Man the Emperour *Mauritius* beheld his Family overwhelmed in terrible Calamities, and five hopeful Branches of his Family slain before his Eyes, he humbly recited those Words of the Psalmist in *Psal. 119. 137. Righteous art thou, O Lord, and right are thy judgments.* My Neighbours, we have ever now and then those calamitous Things before our Eyes in our Neighbourhood, which, if we are not blind, we must pronounce *The Right Judgments of a Righteous God.* And I must now ask you to take some notice of those Judgments.

I do most readily grant, that *Lubricus hic locus ac difficilis*, 'tis no easie matter to observe the Judgments of God: We shall easily fall into the Extreams of being either too *Censorious* and *Fanciful*, or else too *Negligent* in our Observation of the divine Judgments.

And I am not altogether ignorant of the Jewish Maxim, *Non est curiosè querendum post Opera Dei; omnia enim sapienter fecit, tamesi abscondita sunt ab Oculis sapientum.*

But yet the Judgments of God, sometimes are so circumstanced, that he who runs may read them; and our *Duty* thereupon is described, in

Psal. 64. 9. All Men shall fear, and they shall declare the Work of God, for they shall wisely consider of his Doing. Learned Men have complained of it, as a *Defect* in the Historical Part of Learning, that there is not extant an impartial and a well attested *Historia Nemescos*, or, Account of Remarkable Judgments on scandalous and notorious Offenders. Yea the *God of Heaven himself* complains of it, when Men do not regard his Works even the Operation of his Hands.

I will now therefore, with all *Faithfulness*, lay before you some of those Remaks which I have made upon the *Judgments of God* which have been Executed in this Land. Sirs, the Lord has been known by his executing of these Judgments: Accompany them with your Meditations! You shall hear nothing but what has had sufficient Evidence: And certainly, I should be *Afraid* of speaking wickedly for God, or talking deceitfully for Him!

The First Remark.

Take a due and a deep Notice, I beseech you, of the notable Judgments with which we have seen the Contempt of the glorious *Gospel* reveng'd by the *God of Glory.* We have seen the *Gospel*, or the Tidings of Salvation by the Lord *Jesus Christ*, for miserable Sinners graciously offered: We have seen the Offer of this *Gospel* most *ungratefully refus'd*: But of this *Refusal* what Event have we seen? Truly, a very terrible Event. I remember a Passage of Scripture, which is thus in our Translation, *Isa. 2. 22. Cease ye from Man, whose Breath is in his Nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?* But, if you please, you may thus understand it. The Prophet is denouncing the Judgments of God upon the Jews, for their despising of the *Messiah*; and the *Denunciation* is thus concluded: *Now forbear as to that Man [or cease from Offending and Provoking of Him,] who is now very angry [which the Hebrews express by Breathe in the Nostrils,] For none is able to de-*

declare how high an Account is to be made of Him. Sirs, We have seen the *God of Heaven* very Angry; He has breath'd the Hot Lightnings of Death out of his *Nostrils*; when People have made no account of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of his Gospel. We have seen these Four or Five *Remarkables* amongst the rest.

For a First Instance.

The Nation of the *Narragansetts*, was one of the most populous and powerful among all the *Indians*, that once filled this mighty Wilderness. Unto that woful Nation, the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, was freely tendered; but they with much Affront and Contempt, rejected it. An Holy Man, then Famous throughout our Churches, hereupon utter'd a Speech to this purpose: *I speak altogether without the Spirit of God, if this Nation be not quickly and strangely destroyed.* It was not long before this Nation, much against the Advice of the more aged Men among them engaged in Acts of Hostility against our people. Whereupon, ours, with a Force much inferior unto theirs, but with a marvellous Valour and Success, in the depth of Winter, made a Descent upon 'em. The Glorious Lord Jesus Christ, whom they had slighted, was with our *Army*, and the Day was wonderfully carried against the tawny Infidels. Their City was laid in Ashes. Above Twenty of their chief Captains were killed: a proportionable Desolation cut off the Inferiour Salvages: Mortal Sicknes, and Horrid Famine pursu'd the Remainders of 'em, So that we can hardly tell where any of 'em are left alive upon the Face of the Earth. Such was thy speedy Vengeance, O *Blessed JESUS*, on the Heathen that would not know thee, nor call upon thy Name.

For a Second Instance.

That Renowned Evangelist of our *Indians*, the Reverend *ELIOT*, preached the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto *Philip*, the Prince of the *Wompanoags*; but that Monster pulling off a Button on the good Man's Coat, said, *He did not value what he preached, any more than that*: and he hindered his abject Subjects from embracing the Christian Religion, that they might not become the Subjects of our Lord Jesus Christ. But what is become of 'em all? They rashly precipitated themselves into a rebellious War against the *English*; and at last *Philip* fell into all the Distresses that could be imagined. One of his own Vassals then ran away from him, and informed the *English* where he was. They came upon him in his Thicket just as he was telling his Counsellors his *Dream*, that he was fallen into our Hands. While he endeavoured an Escape, an *Indian* shot him thro' the Heart, whereof he died immediately: Nor is any Number of his People now left in the World. So do the Rejecters of thy Grace, perish, O Lord!

For a Third Instance.

But the *Indian Salvages* are not the only Instances of the divine Revenges, which have ensued on Mens Undervaluing the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, among us. Travel with me, Sirs, to the Eastern Parts of this Province; O come, and behold the Works of the Lord, the Desolations he has made in those Parts of the Earth! Twice has that brave Country been occupied with hopeful Settlements. *Hopeful!* No, no; call them not *Hopeful*, inasmuch as the Ordinances of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, were not settled among them. Hence, *Twice* has that Country now been made an *Aceldama*; and the Settlements have all been broken up for many score Miles together. The Jealousie of the neglected Lord Jesus Christ, has broke forth like an Unquenchable Fire against those Plantations; the Fiery Wrath of Heaven has brought a *Swift Destruction* upon them. A barbarous Enemy has once and again broke in upon those Towns, like an irresistible Torrent, carrying all before it, until they come to those Towns, where the Ordinances of the Gospel are more upheld; and behold, there they find a *Barriere*, which they cannot yet get over; *There the Spirit of the Lord lifts up a Standard against them.* In one of those Plantations there had newly been very prodigious Discoveries of Enmity against the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, which had been sometimes among them: And a bloody *Adversary* soon surpris'd them, and captiv'd, and slaughter'd most of them, and laid their Habitations in Ashes, and horribly roasted alive some of the Inhabitants. Tremble, O ye People of the South, when ye are told of this!

For a Fourth Instance.

And there is another Contempt of the Gospel, which we have often seen another way chastis'd among us. Our Lord Jesus Christ hath said concerning the Faithful Ministers of his Gospel, in Luk. 10. 16. *He that Despiseth you, despiseth me.* When the Ministers of the Gospel, are Holy, Prayerful, Painful, Watchful, and Fruitful Servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, and Men filled and acted with his Holy Spirit: We have seen the Judgments of God many a time, arresting those that have abused these *Ambassadors* from the King of Heaven. Thus there have been angry Men among us, who have sat over their Cups, railing at such or such a Minister of God, and hoping e're long, to see the Death of him. In a little while they themselves have died miserably, and on their Death-Beds they have cried out for that very Minister to help them in their Anguish. Yea, you may sometimes mark it in our Churches: A Church has long enjoy'd an excellent Minister; but they grow at length full of unaccountable Prejudices against him: The Son of God seeing this their Forward Folly, sends for that Minister away to Heaven presently; and let 'em supply themselves with such another when they

they can find him. And, shall I venture to say one thing more? I will say it. Let the *Lewties* of the Lord keep close to their Instructions, and *God will smite thro' the Loins of those that rise up against them.*

I will report unto you a Thing which many Hundreds among us know to be true.

The Godly Minister of a certain Town in *Conneticut*, when he had occasion to be absent on a *Lord's Day* from his Flock, employ'd an honest Neighbour of some small Talents for a *Mechanick*, to read a *Sermon* out of some good Book unto 'em. This *Honest*, whom they ever counted also a *Pious Man*, had so much conceit of his Talents, that, instead of *Reading a Sermon* appointed, he to the surprize of the People, fell to *preaching one of his own*. For his Text he took these Words, *Despise not Prophecings*; and in his *Preachment* he betook himself to bewail the *Envy of the Clergy* in the Land, in that they did not wish *all the Lord's People to be Prophets*, and call forth *Private Brethren* publickly to *prophefe*. While he was thus in the midst of his Exercise, God smote him with horrible *Madness*; he was taken ravingly distracted: The People were forc'd with violent Hands to carry him home. And tho' in a few Weeks the Physician brought him to so much *Composure*, that he could jog on after some sort in an obscure *Privacy* the rest of his Days; yet if any one began a *Discourse* of any thing in *Religion* with him, he would ever fly out into a *Fit of Madness*, which would continue till the *Discourse were laid aside*.

I will not mention his Name: He was reputed a *Pious Man*.

If unto these things I should add, That the *Impoverishing Judgments* of God upon our Land, have been very much for that *Abominable Sacrilege*, wherein the *Ministers of Christ* almost all the Land over, have been as much defrauded of their *Dues*, as if you should with-hold the *Wages of your Servants*, [which is a Sin that cries to God for *Vengeance*!] I could quote Scripture enough to give Authority unto that *Affertion*. *Scripture*! yea, and *Experience* too.

A Town in this Countrey, enrich'd with Two very *Eminent Ministers*, did one Year pass a *Town Vote*, That they could not allow their *Ministers* above *Thirty Pounds* a-piece that Year, for their *Salaries*; and behold, the God, who will not be *mocked*, immediately caused the Town to lose *Three Hundred Pounds*, in that *Specie* of their *Cattle* by one *Disaster*. But I forbear it; for though the *Judgments* of God go on to break *People in a Mortar* for it, this *Foolishness*, I know will never depart from them.

I pass to

The Second Remark.

Men had need beware of *Rash Speeches*, especially of *Rash Wishes*; For we have seen *Sore Judgments* fall out most agreeably thereunto. It was wholsome *Advice* once given by the *Town-Clerk of Ephesus*, *Ye ought to Do nothing Rashly.*

Truly, Nor should we Speak any thing *Rashly*, much less wish any thing *Rashly*. Sirs, The *Angels of Death* over-hear what we say, and God often gives 'em Commission to smite a Man, *Ex ore suo*. How often have we seen it, That a *Fool's Mouth is his Destruction*, and his *Lips are the Snare of his Soul*! There was once a very Godly Man, of whom 'tis reported in *Pfal. 106. 32*. *It went ill with him, because they provoked his Spirit, so that he spoke unadvisedly with his Lips*. I'll tell you what I have met withal. I have heard a *Vexed Father* say, *He cared not whether he ever saw such a Child again*. That Child has gone out of his *Presence*, and through the *Dispatches of Death*, he has never seen that Child again.

I have known a weary *Mother* say, *She hopes this is the last Child she shall ever have*; and multiplied, and unhappy *Miscarriages*, ever after, have given 'em cause to remind what they said, with *Bitterness of Soul*.

Again, There was a *Sailor* in a *Boat* bound hither from the Northward, who being dissuaded from taking a *Pipe of Tobacco*, because they had a *Barrel of Powder* aboard, reply'd, *I will take it, though the Devil carry me away alive*! The *Fire* some how came at the *Powder*, which tore the *Boat* in pieces, and lost all the *Goods* that were in it. All the *Men*, were to admiration preserved; except that one *Sailor*, whom they long after found in the *Woods*, with his *Body* torn to pieces. Who carried him away, think you?

Once more; A *Lewd Young Man*, being dissatisfied, with the *Service* wherein he lived, at the *House* of an honest *Man*, in a *Neighbouring Town*, when they told him, That his bad *Courses* would bring him to *Hell* at the last, he wickedly said, *He had rather be in Hell than in his Masters House*. Immediately after this, he was in a very strange manner drowned off a *Little Bank* in the *River*. Take one *Example* more.

There was an *Old Professor* in one of our *Churches*, who being under the *Admonition* of the *Church* for some *Offences*, was by his *Friends* call'd upon, to *Repent*, and *Reform*, and *Humble* himself. But he flew into this outrageous *Answer*, *No, I will Burn, before I will Turn*. And Behold the *Issue*! This *Man* some time after fell into the *Fire*, and was *Burnt* to death. Take yet one more *Example*. 'Tis well known to all the *Neighbours*.

A *Man* in our *Narragansett-Country* having set his *Dog* to *Mischief* his *Neighbours Cattel*, deny'd the *Fact* with *Imprecations* *That he might never stir from the Place, if he had so done*. The *Neighbour*, to whom he deny'd it, expressing himself troubled at his *Impudent Lying*, this *Atheist* hereupon us'd the *Name* of the *Great God* in his *Imprecations*, *That God would never let him stir out of that place, if he did the Thing*. The *Words* were scarce out of his *Mouth*, but he sunk down dead in the *Place*, and never stirr'd any more.

Credible Persons in this Place have been able to testify unto the Truth of another such Passage.

A Fellow aboard a Vessel commanded by one *Wollery*, being charged with some Deceit, horribly with'd *That the Devil might put out his Eyes, if he had done as had been suspected concerning him.* That very Night a Rheum fell into his Eyes, with which in a few Days, to the Astonishment of his Company, he became stark-blind, even as if he had forsworn himself, with washing his Eyes in the Fountains of *Sardinia*. And the Physicians hearing how he fell into his Blindness durst not undertake the Cure of it.

And, as they who curse themselves, often smart for it, [consider of this, ye hardy Wretches, who call upon the Almighty to damn you, which the Devils themselves are not so hardy, as to do!] So they who Curse others, do horribly wound themselves in the Recoil. You shall hear an Example.

A debauch'd Fellow had curs'd that Excellent Man, Governour *Prince*. The Governour laid before the Transgressor, the great Sin he had committed; and with a Grave, Holy, Awful Admonition, besought him to consider of that Scripture in *Psal. 109. 17, 18.* *As he lov'd Cursing, so let it come unto him, as he delighted not in Blessing, so let it be far from him. As he clothed himself with Cursing, like as with his Garment, so let it come into his Bowels, and like Oyl into his Bones.* Quickly after this, a direful Cancer smote this Man; the Cancer appear'd first in his Lip, and so it eat away his Flesh, and his Jaw down to his Throat, where, with inexpressible Torments it kill'd him.

Behold, O Man, *If thou desirest Life, keep thy Tongue from Evil!*

The Third Remark.

There is a lying Proverb, *A Drunken Man gets no harm.* We have seen the Judgments of God upon *Drunkards* most wofully confuting that Lye. I am sure 'tis not a Proverb of *Solomon's*; for he says in *Prov. 23. 29.* *Who bath Who? They who tarry long at the Wine.* Is it no harm for a Man to bring *Sickness* on his Body? We have seen *Drunkards* often perishing in *Diseases* contracted by their *Debauches*. Is it no harm, for a Man to bring *Disgrace* on his Esteem? We have often seen *Drunkards* become very *Abjects*, tho' they once were *Folks* of some *Fashion* and *Figure* in the *World*. Is it no harm for a Man to bring *Poverty* on his Estate? We have often seen the Judgments of God fulfilling that Word, *The Drunkard shall come to Poverty.* Surely, 'tis no little Harm for Men to debase and confound their own Souls, and lay themselves open unto the worst of all the *Temptations* of the *Devil*, the worst of all *Impieties*. But *Sirs*, how often have we seen woful *Drunkards* doing so? We have seen them turn *Beasts*, yea, turn *Devils*! But more particularly,

A *Drunken Man* is in *Old English* as much as to say, a *Drowned Man*. To see then, a *Drunken Man* become a *Drowned Man*, is to see but a most *Retaliating Hand* of *God*. Why, we have seen this very Thing more than *Threescore* times in our *Land*. And I remember the drowning of one *Drunkard*, so oddly circumstanced; It was in the *Hold* of a *Vessel*, that lay full of *Water* near the *Shore*. We have seen it so often, that I am amazed at you, *O ye Drunkards of New-England*, I am amazed, that you can *barren your Hearts* in your *Sin*, without expecting to be *destroyed suddenly, and without Remedy*. Yea, and we have seen the *Devil* that has possess'd the *Drunkard*, throwing him into the *Fire* as well as into the *Water*. They have tumbled into the *Fire*, and then kept shrieking, *Fire! Fire!* till they have gone down to the *Fire* that never shall be quenched. Yea, more than one or two *Drunken Women* in this very *Town*, have, while in their *Drink*, fallen into the *Fire*, and so they have *Tragically* gone roaring out of one *Fire* into another. *O ye Daughters of Belial, Hear, and Fear, and do wickedly no more.*

The Fourth Remark.

It was a Thing once charged upon *Sabbath-breakers*, in *Neh. 13. 18.* *Ye bring Wrath upon Israel by profaning the Sabbath.* And have not we seen the *Wrath* of *God* correcting *Profanations* of the *Christian Sabbath*, with *Rebukes* of *Thunder* and *Lightning*? And indeed some intelligent Persons have noted it, That the dreadful *Storms* of *Thunder* and *Lightning*, which have kill'd many among us from *Year* to *Year*, as *God* overthrew *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*; they have mostly happened on or near the *Lord's-Day*; as an intimation, that *Breaches* of the *Lord's-Day* have procured the *Firing* of the great *Artillery* of *Heaven* upon us. However, our *Land* sees little *Rest* through the *Judgments* of *God* upon us for the *Violations* of the *Sacred Rest* which he has appointed for us. And the many *Disasters* which happen on the *Lord's-day* among us, may be so many *Judgments* upon us for our not *Sanctifying* the *Day* unto the *Lord*. But all the more special *Examples* of *Judgments* coming for *Sins* against the *Sabbath*, I will wrap up in this one piece of *History*.

I have been desired by many *Malefactors*, to be with them at their *Execution*; and then, in those last and sad *Minutes* of their *Lives*, they have sometimes cried out, *This, this, is a Judgment of God upon my Sabbath-breaking; I may thank my Sabbath-breaking for all this; 'Twas for my mis-spending of the Sabbath with vain Persons, and in vain Actions, that God has left me to that Wickedness which has brought upon me all of this horrible Misery!* Think of this, you that still say of the *Lord's-Day*, *What a Weariness is it?*

The Fifth Remark.

Disobedient Children! My Heart akes for you; for I have seen the Judgments of God, making such as you the most astonishing Monuments of his Indignation. It was a Custom in *Israel*, that once a Year this Proclamation was made, from the Top of Mount *Ebal*, in Deut. 27. 16. *Cursed be he that sets Light by his Father, or his Mother. And all the People shall say Amen.* As from the Top of that Mount, I do this Day proclaim it, That I have seen the Curse of God making a Quick Work with such as have not honoured their Parents; while I have also seen those Children, who have honoured, and supported, and comforted their Parents, wonderfully prospering under the manifold Blessings of God. And I pray all the People to mind it.

Very few have died on the Gallows in this place, but what have wrung their Hands upon the Ladder, with this Out-cry, 'This is a Judgment of God upon me for my Undutifulness unto my Parents. My Disobedience to my Parents has brought me hither.

But this Article of *Discourse* may not be dismissed until we have singled out one particular Example of the strange Punishments which Undutiful Children bring upon themselves, from the Judgments of God.

A Reverend Minister of Christ, that often served him, in that very Pulpit, where these Words are uttered, once observed a Son, to behave himself undutifully towards his Father, in the Ferry-boat, which was carrying them over the River. Whereupon that *Man of God* said unto the Young Man, 'Young Man, I am sorry to see you so little Regard your Father; I would seriously perswade you to repent of your Undutifulness, or I will solemnly assure you, that I expect, the killing Judgments of God will overtake you, before a Year come to an End. And behold, before that Year was out, this young Man was miserably murdered.

Hearken, my young Folks; and let not your Eye mock your Fathers, or despise to obey your Mothers, lest the Ravens of the Valley do pick it out, and the young Eagles do eat it!

The Sixth Remark.

Unto the Contentious we have seen God recompence Indignation and Wrath, Tribulation and Anguish. Said the *Apostle* once in Rom. 16. 17. *I beseech you Brethren, Mark them which cause Divisions.* And I now say, *I beseech you Brethren, Mark the Places and the Persons, which by Divisions have made themselves Notorious: Mark, what Judgments of God have Signalized them.* Something of what I have marked, I will freely tell you.

I have marked it, That those Places which have kept up *Divisions* and *Strifes*, and *Schisms*, have been direfully smitten with *Spiritual Plagues*, the *Plagues* which are of all the direfullest. The most Lively Saints in those Places, have been soon

snatch'd away by Death, one after another: The Power of *Godliness* hath been lamentably lost among the Survivors, and a *Leanness* hath been sent into their Souls: The Work of Conversion hath been at a deadly stand, and the Rising Generation hath *pined away in their iniquities.* Yea, there was one Church among us, wherein an uncomfortable Rupture happen'd; and a young Man in the Town was left unto an horrid Self-Murder; he drown'd himself: But he left behind him a Writing directed unto his *Father*, wherein there was this among other Passages; *Father, my Ruin was the Stubborness and Unfaithfulness of my tender Years; and evil Counsel and evil Company; and the Differences in the Church; by reason whereof I grew proud, and did not carry it in my Place, as I ought, which is the wide way to Ruine.* God make this young Man our *Warner*: His Name was *Warner*.

Again, I have marked it, That those Persons who have been the Grand Incendiaries in Divisions, have been often branded with some Symptoms of the Displeasure of God. Those Persons have been very industrious to blot the Names of other Men; and at last they themselves have died with a Blot. This indeed is a Point wherein we must be sparing; yet I may not forget, that a Counsel sitting at a Town, for the Composing some Ecclesiastical Differences, our Venerable Old Mr. *Wilson* saw one Man to be extremely perverse above the rest, and most unreasonably to disturb the Peace of the Church. Whereupon, that zealous Man told the Counsel, he was confident, That the Jealousie of God would set a Mark upon that Man, and that the ordinary Death of Men should not befall him. It happened a little while after this, that the *Man* was barbarously murder'd by the Salvages.

Again, There was a quarrelsome Woman in a Church not far off; who having accus'd a *Man* in the Church of a Fault that she could not prove, she yet remain'd so irreconcilable, that she would never come to the *Lord's Table* as long as that *Man* liv'd. He dying, she brag'd unto her Friends, That now she would go to the *Sacrament* at the *Lord's Table*. One of them solemnly told her, That she might yet fear a Testimony of the *Displeasure of God* against her for her unchristian absenting her self so long from that Ordinance. And, lo, she died suddenly, just before the next *Sacrament* was to be administred: [tho' she had the Repute of a Godly Woman.] Don't then, don't sow Discord any of you, lest you be an *Abomination to the Lord*. Be not unpeaceable, or unplaceable: God is not pleased with the Froward.

The Seventh Remark.

We are assured in 2 Pet. 2. 9, 10. *At the Day of Judgment shall be punished, chiefly they that walk after the Flesh in the Lust of Uncleanness.* And it is no rare thing among us, to see Judgment in this World also overtaking them. Father *Lattimer* once presented unto a Great Man, a New Testament, with this Inscription embossed on

the Cover of it, *Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge.* And indeed, how surprisingly, how amazingly may we see God judging that sort of Sinners!

A Famous *Bolognian* Physician in Publish'd Bills profess'd a Sovereign *Antidote* against an horrible *Distemper* which *Men* bring upon themselves by their *Uncleanness*. But when Multitudes flock'd unto him for his *Antidote*, he only gave 'em the Picture of a *Gallant* with his Nose eaten off. He bid 'em, that when they were going to debauch themselves, they would look upon that Picture; and if that would not preserve 'em, nothing would.

Not much unlike to *That*, is the Course which I am now taking, to preserve you from *Uncleanness*.

We have seen *many, many, many*, to die in their *Youth*; because their Life has been among the unclean. We have seen 'em to mourn at the last, when their Flesh and their Body has been consumed. We have seen 'em getting a Wound, and a Dishonour, and a Reproach that is never wip'd away. It may be, the Just God says upon the Unclean, *Write this Person Childless*. Or, it may be, the Lord says, *I will kill their Children with Death*. Or, 'tis possible, some very miserable *Disasters* have attended their Offspring; *Peccatum seminis puniatur in femine*. Why? Because that some old Acts of *Uncleanness* have not been enough repented of.

'Tis said of *Uncleanness*, *By means thereof a Man is brought unto a Piece of Bread*. Some forlorn People have cried out unto me, of their desperate Poverty; and anon, they have confessed, That they believ'd the Judgments of God made 'em, and kept 'em so poor, to revenge the secret, cursed, horrid Adulteries which they had wallowed in.

Yea, how many have Ripen'd themselves for the most Capital Strokes of the Sword of Justice, by this Wickedness! I have known several who under a Sentence of *Death*, for other Crimes, wherein they thought themselves hardly dealt withal, have cried out, *Oh! 'tis for my secret Adulteries, that the Holy God has brought all this upon me!* And how many *Young Women* have been executed among us for murdering of their *Bastard-Infants!* But, at their Execution, this has been their Exclamation; *Oh, that all young people would beware of the Snares of Uncleanness: By continuing in those woful Snares, without any speedy Repentance, we have been ruined!* One of the first in this Land that came to such an End [her Name was *Martin*,] had yielded unto a wicked *Man* soliciting her Chastity; but with such Reluctances of Soul, that in her Prayers to God for Help, she said, *If ever she were overtaken again, she would leave her self unto his Justice to be made an Example.* She remembered not her Vows, but was again overtaken. She Conceived, she Trailed, she privately Destroyed her Child, using Two several Attempts before she could wholly dispatch it. Afterwards, upon a Removal of the Family, the *Murder* strangely came to light: God made the Infant bleed afresh before her,

for her Confusion; She own'd the whole Truth, and she dy'd for it: But she was Twice turn'd off before her Expiration. Say then, say my Friends, to all the Temptations of Uncleanness, *How shall I do this Wickedness, and sin against God?*

The Eighth Remark.

Let us a little Summ up the Gains of those who have used irregular *Methods* of Oppression, or of Dishonesty, to gain the World. I have done it; and I'll tell you what I have seen the Sum Total to be. The Judgments of God have brought it unto that in Jer. 17. 11. *He gets Riches, and not by right; at his End he shall be a Fool.* Father *Latimer* would speak of a grievous *Cough* which would come upon them that swallow'd Unrighteous Gains. Truly, *Losses* have usually follow'd upon such *Gains*, like so many *Coughs*, and *Men* have cough'd and cough'd, until they vomited up all that they had got. It is the Charge of our Lord Jesus Christ upon us, That no *Man* go beyond, or oppress his Brother in a *Matter*; because that the Lord is the Avenger of all such. We are told, *If thou seest the Oppression of the Poor, He that is higher than the highest, regards it.* We are told, *God considers all the Oppressions that are done under the Sun.* There was much notice taken of this in the Infancy of our *Plimouth* Colony, when the poor Planters had their dependance on certain *Adventurers* in *England*. The *Adventurers* taking their advantages of the extream Straits which those poor Planters were in, sent over Supplies unto them at the most extream Rates imaginable. The poor Planters made Return in *Peltry*, but the Vessel was taken by a *Turks* Man of War, and carried into *Salley*, where they sold the *Peltry* for Groats a-piece; as much too low, as the Goods for which they had been return'd, were too high, and the *Men* were made Prisoners into the Bargain, to the great Loss of the *Adventurers*. But it would spend many Hours to relate the Notice which might have been since taken of many more such evident Judgments of God on the Ways of the Oppressor. Oh! do not learn his Ways; God gives unto all sorts of *Devourers*, Letters of Reprisal to take away his unjust Gains from him; very commonly it so falls out.

There are some that have us'd the grossest sort of Stealing and Robbing. But, have they enrich'd themselves? I intreat you Sirs, to make our *New-English* Pirates the Subjects of your *Meditations*. That *Man* is blind unto Sun-shine, and blind before Lightning, who sees not the Tremendous Judgments of God pursuing of those wicked *Men*. Let no *Man* after this, run greedily after the Error of those Children of Perdition. But if any of you have knowingly been Sharers with them in their Gains; for God's sake repent of what you have done: You have carry'd Burning Coals into your Feather'd Nests; don't put a Farthing of that *Money*, among the rest of your Possessions; it will consume all the rest.

Others have had their finer Ways of cheating; but, what has come of them? The Estates gotten by cheating, have been but so many *Treasures of Snow*; the Rains of the Wrath of God have wonderfully melted them;—at least, *Vix gaudet Tertius Hares*.

There are Persons that have broken by their own *Extravagancies*; not meerly by sad *Providences*, but their own *Extravagancies*: These have used more *Fraudulence* than *Fair-dealing*, in their *Compositions* with their Creditors: But have we not seen afterwards, that after This (as we say) *No Butter would ever stick upon their Bread*.

Widows, When the Estates of the Deceas'd Husbands have been Insolvent, have not always given in true Accounts; They have held back a part, that they should not have with-held: God has been offended at 'em; they have gone under the Scourges of God all their Days for that Offence.

Desperate Gamesters, What hand have they made of it? I can tell what one of 'em did. He had play'd away about *Forty Pounds* in lewd Company, and then he fell into Horror of Conscience, wherein he often cried out, *I am all on Fire under the Wrath of God! I am all on Fire under the Wrath of God!* And so he went and hang-ed himself,

Make all the Restitution you can, ye Cheats; or expect the Judgments of God upon you.—*Discite Justitiam Moriti*.

The Ninth Remark.

Mathinks the Publick Judgments, under which we have labour'd, have sometimes very convi-ctively intimated the Sins and Faults for which those Judgments have been laid upon us. I will use a plain Dealing in this matter. When have the Judgments of God ever depriv'd us of any Good Thing, but we first of all have despised that Good?

We have been Sensual, Excessive, Unthankful, in our Enjoyment of the Fruits of our Harvest. The Judgments of God have blasted them.

We have made Idols of our Lands, and for the sake thereof neglected almost all that is Holy, and Just and Good. There was a time, when thro' the Judgments of God, our Titles to them all were contested.

Litigious Law-Suits were scandalously multiply'd among us. The Judgments of God brought us into a time, when the Extortions of the Law made a Cry among us.

Drinking-Houses have been a most undoing Stumbling-block of Iniquity, in the midst of us. The Judgments of God brought us into a Time, when Unsufferable Villanies were perpetrated every where under the pretence of the Excise.

Those Times are now over indeed. But our *Indian Wars* are not over yet: We have too far degenerated into *Indian Vices*. The Vices of the *Indians* are these; They are very lying

Wretches, and they are very lazy Wretches; and they are out of measure indulgent unto their Children; there is no Family-Government among them. We have shamefully Indianized in all those Abominable Things. Now, the Judgments of God have imploy'd *Indian Hatchets* to wound us, no doubt, for these our *Indian Vices*.

A Thousand more such things, may occur to a serious Observation. Sirs, Consider the wondrous Works of God.

The Tenth Remark.

Many People have sinned horribly, upon a presumption that they sinned secretly: but the Judgments of God, have been wondrously and prodigiously, and stupendously display'd in the discovering of secret Sinners among us. *David* no doubt, promised himself an everlasting Secresie of his Transgression. *Thou didst it secretly*, said the Prophet: And the Psalmist, calling to mind that Word, own'd in *Psal. 51. 4. Against Thee, Thee only have I sinned: and the Evil I have done in Thy sight*. None was privy to the Crime, except one Man, who was a Partner in it. Yea, but says the Lord, *I'll make all Israel bear of it*: The Sin-Confounding Judgments of God, made all the Sin to come out. Sirs, Those Judgments of God have been so exemplified among our selves, That I cannot imagine how some guilty Wretches, whose Crimes are hitherto Secret, are able to walk about, having the Terrors of the Shadow of Death upon their Souls.

How many secret Murders have strangely been discover'd among us! And, I believe, there are yet more to be discover'd.

There have been *Devilish Filthinesses* committed among us: But, Oh, how strangely have the Sins of Men found them out!

At the Southward there was a Beast, which brought forth a Creature, which might pretend unto something of an Humane Shape. Now, the People minded that the *Monster* had a Blemish in one Eye, much like what a profligate Fellow in the Town was known to have. This Fellow was hereupon examin'd; and upon his Examination, confess'd his infandous Bestialties; for which he was deservedly Executed.

But, I'll never confess, thinks many an hard-hearted Sinner. No! So thought another *Man*, whose Name I could mention. He was one, who had formerly and frequently derided other Persons, as Fools, for confessing against themselves. This *Man* liv'd in Adultery, especially with one *Vile Woman*, until God struck him with a *Dead Palsie*, and a Quick Conscience. Then he that had laugh'd at others for not concealing their Sins, could not conceal his own. He reveal'd his Villanies with that Woman and others, and he acknowledg'd the Justice of God, in compelling him to reveal them. The Woman also made an Acknowledgment of her Enormities: and they both dy'd for their Iniquities.

What shall I say? There have been Church-Members among us; who have made no mean Profession of Religion. These have gone on from year to year, in a Trade of Secret Filthiness. Even, *I know, and am a witness of it*, says the Lord. Some of these have died in very sad Circumstances, and the World has never heard any thing of the Lord's Controversie with them. Yea, but many of them have been strangely detected, before they have dy'd. They have been left unto some foolish and sottish Action at last, which has occasion'd the Publishing of their Vileness unto all the World. The Holy Eyes of the Lord Jesus Christ, which are like a Flame of Fire, have seen their damnable Hypocrisie and Impiety; and, he hath made all the Churches to know, that he searches the Reins and Hearts of Men: he hath made their Wickednesses to be declared before the whole Congregation; he hath brought the Publick Censures of his Faithful People upon them. He hath done much in these awful Judgments; and I fear, I fear, he hath yet more to do upon some, in the midst of thee, O Boston, except they repent!

The Eleventh Remark.

The Judgments of God among us, have not been more conspicuous upon any Sinners, than upon those that have made others to sin. There are some whom the Scriptures call the Chief of Sinners: Those who are Chief in drawing others on to be Sinners. Truly, the Judgments of God have often made these as Exemplary in their Plagues, as they have been in their Sins.

I have known some wretched Young Men in several Societies, who have been the Chief Debauchers of the Societies which they belong'd unto. But, Oh! What sad things could I tell you, of the deadly Judgments that God hath sent down from Heaven upon the Heads of those iniquitous Youth! God has made 'em the Sons of El with his Deadly Judgments.

Under this Head of the Divine Judgments, why should I not mention the Condition of One whom I knew in this Place? The Man deny'd the Immortality of the Soul; and would go to debauch other Men with his Vile Opinion, That we have no immortal Soul in us. This poor Man came to lie on his Death-bed, and then the Terrors of God so Thunder-struck his Conscience, that his dying Out-cries were, *Oh! what shall I do for my immortal Soul: What will become of my immortal Soul for ever!*

And, when, alas, when will our Indian Traders apply themselves to that Commination in Heb. 2. 15. *Wo to him that gives his Neighbour drink; that putteth thy Bottle [thy Rhum-Bottle] to him, and maketh him drunken also.* While there has been a most Observable Blessing of God upon the Preachers of Truth to the Indians, all the World may Observe a Judgment of God upon the Sellers of Drink to the Indians. I pray, what have the Estates of such Men generally come to? Do; Trade on, ye Merchants of Souls, or more truly, ye Butchers of Souls; Trade on, till

the Judgments of God have caused you to trade your selves into Beggary at the last! But know, that the Blood of Souls will be found on your Skirts. It is not very long ago, that an unusual Accident in a Part of this Province did affright the Neighbours into some serious Thoughts of this Matter. Several Indians were made horribly Drunk by the Drink which the English had sold unto them. Returning home over a Little Ferry, eight of them were Drown'd; and three Months after they were Drown'd [from December to March] one of their Dead Bodies came ashore, very near the Place, where they had been supplied with their Drink; and lying on the Shore, it bled so plentifully, as to discolour the Water and Sand about it. Upon which the Considerate Spectators, thought of that Scripture, *The Stone shall cry out of the Wall*, against him that gives his Neighbour Drink. They thought there was a loud Cry of Blood! Blood! against some wicked English in this Matter.

The Twelfth Remark.

Finally, We have seen, we have seen, That by omitting their Prayers to God, Men bespeak for themselves the Judgments of God.

How many, that have liv'd Prayerless, have we seen to die Prayerless, or to die Hopeless?

We often miscarry in our Enterprizes; now, if we would Search and try our Ways, it may be, we should find, that we did not sufficiently Pray over our Enterprizes before we resolv'd upon them. How often, how often, have I seen this verif'd in the Judgments of God!

Yea, by a Prayerless Life we have seen Men pulling down the most Consummate Judgments of God, upon their own Woful Heads.

There was a patheticall Passage in the last Prayer of a poor Murderer that was executed in this Place not long ago.

(said he) *If I had gone to Prayer that Morning when I committed the Sin for which I am now to die, O Lord God! I believe thou wouldst have kept back my Hands from that Sin!*

The Day, wherein Men have gone abroad without Prayer before they went, how often have the Judgments of God made it a Day of thick Darkeness to the Prayerless People?

How remarkably has that Observation been confirmed in the Experience of Thousands among us, *Negligentiam in orando semper aliqua notabili Transgressio sequitur.* Indeed the Instance of Origen's Apostacy has been sometimes brought with this Observation: But I do from the Universal Silence of the more ancient Writers, both before and after that scandalous Reporter Epiphanius, believe that whole Story of Origen to be a Sham, in After-ages invented by the Adversaries of that excellent Man; and as false, as that Origen wrote the Discourse, Entitul'd Origen's Lamentation.

Yea,

Yea, There was an aged Professor, belonging to a Church in this Town, who after many years of good repute, with good People, became a *Drunken Sot*, for which he was Excommunicated. After his Excommunication, he fell into bitter Anguish of Soul, and at length dy'd in astonishing Circumstances. But some of his Dying Words were; *I often pray'd unto God for a Mercy, which he still deny'd me. At length I grew angry at God: Whereupon I grew slack in my Acquaintance*

with the Lord: Ever since which, He hath dreadfully forsaken me, and I know, that now he hath no Mercy for me. Think of these things; and Oh! do not so reject Fear, as to restrain Prayer before the Lord.

These are the most peculiar Judgments of God, unto which I have accounted it not amiss to point you; That so you may Tremble for fear of him, and be afraid of his Judgments.

A N

A P P E N D I X,

Containing an History of some CRIMINALS Executed in New-England for Capital Crimes; with some of their Dying Speeches.

W E find in *Zuinger*, the mention of a City besieg'd by a potent Enemy; where the Inhabitants took the *dead Bodies* of the starv'd People, and set them in Armour on the Walls; at the Sight whereof the amazed Enemy fled.

One of the *New-English Ministers*, beholding *Vice* besieging his Countrey as an Enemy, singl'd out a Company of *dead Wretches* to set upon the Walls, in hopes that the horrible Sight would cause that worst Enemy to fly before it. He publish'd unto the Countrey *An History of Criminals*; which may be here over-again. Publish'd as a fit Appendix to *An History of Remarkable Judgments*: For indeed in these Remarkable Judgments of God were Exemplify'd.

have been the Cries of our Miserables, when passing into another World. Behold, an History of Criminals, whom the Terrible Judgments of God have *Thunder-strook* into *Pillars of Salt*.

(I .)

A BOUT the Year 1646. here was one *Mary Martin*, whose Father going from hence to *England*, left her in the Houle of a marry'd Man, who yet became so Enamour'd on her, that he attempted her Chastity.

Suzy was her Weakness and Folly, that she yielded unto the Temptations of that miserable Man, but yet with such horrible Regret of Mind, that she was oblig'd to begging of God, for Deliverance from the Temptations, her Plea was, *That if ever she were overtaken again, she would leave her self to his Justice, to be made a publick Ex-*

Pillars of SALT

I T hath been thought, that the *dying Speeches* of such as have been Executed among us, might be of singular Use to correct and reform the Crimes, wherein too many do live: And it has been wish'd, that at least some Fragments of those *dying Speeches*, might be preserv'd and publish'd. Upon this Advice from some good Persons, I have stollen an Hour or two, wherein I have collected some Accounts of several Ill Persons, which have been cut off by the Sword of *Civil Justice* in this Land; and this Collection I suffer to go abroad, in hopes, that among many other Essays to suppress *growing Vice*, it may signify something with the Blessing of Heaven thereupon, to let the Vicious understand, what

Heaven will convince the sinful Children of Men, that the Vows which they make, relying on the Stability and Resolution of their own Hearts, are of no Significancy. A Chain of Hell was upon her, and the forfeited Grace of Heaven was with-held from her; She fell *Third time*, into the Sin, against which her Vows had been utter'd.

Afterwards going to Service in *Boston*, she found her self to have conceiv'd: But she lived with a Favourable Mistress, who would admit and allow no Suspicion of her Dishonesty.

A Question like that Convincing One, of our Saviour's, unto the Woman of *Samaria*, was once odly put unto her; *Mary, Where is thy Husband?* And one said also, *Did I not think thou*

thou wert an honest and sincere Creature, I should verily think thou wert with Child! These Passages, which were Warnings from God unto her guilty Soul, did serve only to strike her with Amazement, not with any true Repentance.

She conceal'd her Crime, till the time of her Delivery; and then being deliver'd alone by her self in a dark Room, she murder'd the harmless and helpless Infant; hiding it in a Chest from the Eyes of all, but the Jealous GOD.

The Blood of the Child cried, when the Cry of the Child it self was thus cruelly stifled. Some Circumstance quickly occur'd, which oblig'd her Friends to charge her with an Unlawful Birth. She deny'd it impudently. A further Search confuted her Denial. She then said, The Child was dead born, and she had burn'd it to Ashes. With an Hypocritical Tear, she added, *Oh, that it were true, that the poor Babe were any where to be seen!* At last, it was found in her Chest; and when she touch'd the Face of it before the Jury, the Blood came fresh into it. So she confess'd the whole Truth concerning it.

Great Endeavours were us'd that she might be brought unto a true Faith in the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ for the Pardon of her Blood-guiltiness; and it may be, none endeavour'd it more than that Reverend Man, Old Mr. Wilson, who wrote several Sheets of pathetic Instructions to her while she was in Prison. That Renown'd Man, Old Mr. Cotton also, did his part in endeavouring that she might be Renew'd by Repentance; and preach'd a Sermon, on Ezek. 16. 20, 21. *Is this of thy Whoredoms a small matter, that thou hast slain my Children?* Whereof great Notice was taken. It was hop'd, that these Endeavours were not lost: Her Carriage in her Imprisonment, and at her Execution, was very Penitent. But there was this Remarkable at her Execution: She acknowledged her *Twice* essaying to kill her Child, but she could make an End of it: And through the Unskilfulness of the Executioner, she was turned off the Ladder Twice before she died.

(II.)

There was a miserable Man at Weymouth; who fell into very ungodly Practices; but would particularly signalize his Ungodliness, by flouting at those Fools (as he call'd 'em) who would ever confess any Sins, laid unto their Charge.

This Man liv'd in abominable Adulteries; but God at length smote him with a Palsie. His Dead Palsie was accompany'd with a Quick Conscience, which compell'd him to confess his Crimes: But, he confess'd them so indiscreetly, that by their Divulgateion, they reach'd the Ears of the Authority: And in this Confession, there was involv'd and concern'd, the Wretched Woman, who chiefly had been concern'd with him in the Transgression.

By the Law of this Countrey, Adultery was then a Capital Transgression, as it hath been in many other Countries: And this poor *Adulterer* could not escape the Punishment which the Law provided.

(III.)

ON June 6. 1662. at New-haven there was a most Unparalleld Wretch, one Potter, by Name, about sixty years of age, Executed for damnable Bestialities; although this Wretch had been for now Twenty Years a Member of the Church in that place, and kept up among the Holy People of God there, a Reputation, for serious Christianity. It seems that the Unclean Devil, which had the possession of this Monster, had carry'd all his Lusts with so much Fury into this one Channel of Wickedness, that there was no notice taken of his being wicked in any other. Hence 'twas, that he was Devout in Worship, Gifted in Prayer, Forward in Edifying Discourse among the Religious, and Zealous in Reproving the Sins of the other People; Every one counted him a *Saint*: And he Enjoy'd such a Peace in his own Mind, that in several Fits of Sicknes, wherein he seem'd *Nigh unto Death*, he seem'd *Willing to die*; Yea, *Death* (he said) *Smiled on him*. Nevertheless, this Diabolical Creature, had liv'd in most infandous Buggeries for no less than Fifty Years together; and now at the Gallows there were kill'd before his Eyes a Cow, two Heifers, three Sheep, and two Sows, with all of which he had committed his Brutalities. His Wife had seen him confounding himself with a *Bitch* Ten Years before; and he then excus'd his Filthiness as well as he could unto her, but conjur'd her to keep it secret: but he afterwards hang'd that *Bitch* himself, and then return'd unto his former Villanies, until at last his Son saw him hideously conversing with a *Sow*: By these means the burning Jealousie of the Lord Jesus Christ, at length made the *Arch* to know, that he had all this while been cover'd Filthiness of this Hellish Hypocrite, and expos'd him also to the just Judgment of Death, from the Civil Court of Judicature. Very remarkable had been the Warnings which this Hell-hound had receiv'd from Heaven, to repent of his Impieties: Many Years before this he had a Daughter who dreamt a *Dream*, which caus'd her in her Sleep, to cry out most bitterly; and her Father then with much ado, obtaining of her to tell her *Dream*, she told him, she dreamt, that she was among a Great Multitude of People to see an Execution, and it prov'd her own Father that was to be hang'd, at whose Turning over, she thus cry'd out.

This happen'd before the time that any of his Curs'd Practices were known unto her.

At another time, when there was a *Malefactor* adjudg'd in those Parts to die, for the very same Transgressions which this Rotten Fellow was guilty of, the Governour, with some of the *Magistrates*, most unaccountably, without any manner of Reason for their so doing, turn'd about

unto this Fellow, and said, *What think you? is not this Man worthy to die?* He now confessed, That these Warnings did so awaken his Conscience, as to make him for a time leave off his Infernal Debauches; and so he said, *He thought all was pardon'd, all was well with him.* Nevertheless he return'd unto his Vomit, and his Quagmire, until the Sentence of Death at last fell upon him; and then he acknowledg'd, That he had liv'd in the Sin of *Bestiality*, ever since he was Ten Years old, but had sometimes intermitted the Perpetration of it for some Years together. During his Imprisonment, he continu'd in a Sottish and Stupid Frame of Spirit, and marvellously secure about his *Everlasting Pardon and Welfare*; but the Church whereto he belonged, kept a Solemn Day of *Humiliation* on this Occasion, wherein *Mr. Davenport* preach'd on *Josh. 22. 20. Did not Achan commit a Trespass in the Accursed Thing, and Wrath fell on the Congregation of Israel?* And in the Close of the Fast, that *Faithful People of God* Excommunicated this *Accursed Achan* from their own Society. But, as I have seen *Bewitch'd Self-Poisoners* under a singular Energy of some *Devil*, obstinately refuse all offer'd *Relief*, until the Poisons had prevail'd so far, that all *Relief* was too late, and then with *Roaring Agonies* they would have given Ten Worlds for it; So this *Bewitched Beast*, that had not been afraid of *Dying* till he came to the *Place of Execution*, when he came there, he was *awaken'd* into a most *Unutterable* and *Intolerable* Anguish of Soul, and made most lamentably desperate *Out-cries*; among which *Out-cries*, he warn'd *Men* particularly to *Take heed of neglecting Secret Prayer*; which, he said *had been his Bane*. He said, he never us'd *Secret Prayer* in his Life, and that he *frequently omitted Family Prayer* too; Yet, he said, he had *Pray'd* and *Sinn'd*, and *Sinn'd* and *Pray'd*; namely, by *Ejaculations*, with which he contented himself, throwing *Set Prayer* aside. But so he perish'd!

(IV.)

AN English Ship (in the year 1673,) Sailing from somewhere about the *Mouth of the Streights*, was mann'd with some *Cruel Miscreants*, who quarrelling with the *Master* and some of the *Officers*, turn'd them all into the *Long Boat*, with a small *Quantity of Provisions*, about an *Hundred Leagues* to the *Westward of the Spanish Coast*.

These *Fellows*, in the mean time set *Sail* for *New-England*; where, by a *Surprizing Providence of God*, the *Master*, with his *Afflicted Company* in the *Long Boat*, also arriv'd; all, except *One*, who died of the *Barbarous Usage*.

The *Countenance of the Master* was now come *Terrible* to the *Rebellious Men*, who, though they had *Escap'd the Sea*, yet *Vengeance would not suffer to live a-shore*. At his *Instance and Complaint*, they were *Apprehended*, and the *Ringleaders of this murderous Piracy* had a *Sentence of Death* Executed on them in *Boston*.

Under that *Sentence*, there was heard among them a *grievous Lamentation* for this: *Their Education had been under the Means of Grace, and the faithful Preaching of the Gospel in England; but they had sinned against that Education.*

And one of them sadly cry'd out, *Oh! 'tis my Drunkenness, 'tis my Drunkenness, that hath brought me to this lamentable End!*

The *Horrors* which attended the *Chief of these Malefactors* (one *Forrest*) in the last *Hours of his Life*, were such as exceedingly astonish'd the *Beholders*. Though he were a very *stout Man*; yet now his *Trembling Agonies and Anguishes* were *inexpressible*.

One *Speech* let fall by him, was, *I have been among drawn Swords, flying Bullets, roaring Cannons amidst all which, I knew not what Fear meant; but now I have dreadful Apprehensions of the dreadful Wrath of God in the other World, which I am going into, my Soul within me is amazed at it.*

(V.)

ON *March 18. 1674.* two *Men*, whose Names were *Nicholas Fearour* and *Robert Driver*, were *Executed at Boston*.

The *Crime* for which they were *Executed*, was the *Murder of their Master*; whom, upon the *Provocation of some Chastisement*, which he had given them, they *knock'd on the Head* with an *Ax*, in their *bloody Rage*.

After they were *condemn'd*, they bestowed their *Lamentations* not only on the *Particular Crime*, which had now brought them to their *untimely End*, but also on some others, for which their *Consciences* told them, that the *Righteous God* had left 'em unto *This*.

One of 'em said, *His Pride had been his Bane*; For, he thought much of it, that such a one as he, should be a *Servant*; and he would sometimes utter such *Words* as these, *I am Flesh and Blood as well as my Master; and therefore I know no reason, why my Master should not obey me, as well as I obey him.* And now, said he, *See what my Pride has brought me to!*

One of them also said, That his *Idleness* had ruin'd him: He would not *Industriously follow his Calling*, but live an *Idle, Slothful Vagrant Life*. This, he said, had *ruin'd* him.

And one of them said, That his *Disobedience to his Parents*, had brought this *Misery* upon him: His *Father*, he said, gave him good *Instructions* when he was a *Child*: But he regard'd them not: He would not go to a *School*, when his *Father* would have sent him to it: He would not go to a *Trade*, when his *Father* would have put him to one: After his *Father* was *dead*, he would not be *Subject* unto them that had the *Charge of him*: He ran away from them; and after that he ran away from several *Masters*. Thus he ran into the *Jaws of Death*.

These things are particulariz'd in the *Sermon* preach'd just before their *Execution*; and afterwards printed under the *Title of, The Wicked Man's Portion.* Fiffit VI.

(VI.)

ON Sept. 22. 1681. One W. C. was Executed at Boston for a Rape committed by him, on a Girl that liv'd with him; though he had then a Wife with Child by him, of a Nineteenth or Twentieth Child.

This Man had been *Wicked overmuch*. His Parents, were godly Persons; but he was a *Child of Belial*. He began early to shake off his Obedience unto them; and early had Fornication laid unto his charge: After which, he fled unto a dissolute Corner of the Land, a Place where-of it might be said, *Surely the Fear of God is not in this Place*: He being a Youth under the Inspection of the Church at Roxbury, they, to win him, invited him to return unto his Friends, with such Expressions of Lenity towards him, that the Reverend Old Man their Pastor, in a Sermon on the Day when this Man was Executed, with Tears bewail'd it.

After this, he liv'd very Dissolutely in the Town of Dorchester; where, in a Fit of Sickness, he Vow'd, That if God would spare his Life, he would live as a new Man: but he horribly forgot his Vows. The Instances of his Impiety grew so Numerous and Prodigious, that the Wrath of God could bear no longer with him; he was ripen'd for the Gallows.

After his Condemnation, he Vehemently protested his *Innocency* of the Fact, for which he was condemn'd; but he confess'd, *That God was Righteous, thus to bring Destruction upon him, for secret Adulteries*.

A *Reprieve* would have been obtain'd for him, if his foolish and froward Refusing to hear a Sermon on the Day appointed for his Execution had not hardned the Hearts of the Judges against him. He, who had been a great *Scoffer* at the Ordinances of God, now expos'd himself, by being left unto such a Sottish Action!

He had horribly slighted all Calls to *Repentance*, and now, through some Wretches overperswading of him that he should not die according to the Sentence and Order of the Court, he hardened himself, still in his unrepentant Frame of Mind.

When he came to the Gallows, and saw Death (and a Picture of Hell too in a Negro then burnt to Death at the Stake, for burning her Master's House, with some that were in it,) before his Face, never was a Cry for *Time! Time! A World for a little Time! The Inexpressible worth of Time!* utter'd with a more unutterable Anguish.

He then declar'd, *That the Greatest Burden then lying upon his miserable Soul, was his having liv'd so unprofitably under the Preaching of the Gospel*.

(VII.)

ON March 11. 1686. was Executed at Boston, one James Morgan, for an Horrible Murther. A Man, finding it necessary to come into his House, he swore he would run a Spit into his Bowels; and he was as bad as his Word.

He was a passionate Fellow; and now, after his Condemnation, he much bewail'd his having been given to Cursing in his Passions.

The Reverend Person, who preach'd unto a great Assembly, on the Day of this poor Man's Execution, did in the midst of his Sermon, take occasion to read a Paper which he had receiv'd from the Malefactor then present in the Assembly. It was as followeth.

I James Morgan, being condemn'd to die, must needs own, to the Glory of God, that He is Righteous, and that I have by my Sins provok'd him to destroy me before my time. I have been a great Sinner, guilty of Sabbath-breaking, of Lying, and of Uncleannels; but there are especially two Sins whereby I have offended the Great God; one is that Sin of Drunkenness, which has caused me to commit many other Sins; for when in Drink, I have been often guilty of Cursing and Swearing, and Quarrelling, and striking others. But the Sin, which lies most heavy upon my Conscience, is That I have despised the Word of God, and many a time refused to hear it preach'd. For these things, I believe God has left me to that, which has brought me to a shameful and miserable Death. I do therefore beseech and warn all Persons, young Men especially, to take heed of these Sins, lest they provoke the Lord to do to them as he has justly done by me. And, for the further Peace of my own Conscience, I think my self oblig'd to add this unto my foregoing Confession, *That I own the Sentence which the Honour'd Court has pass'd upon me, to be Exceeding Just: inasmuch as (though I had no former Grudge and Malice against the man whom I have kill'd, yet) my Passion at the time of the Fact, was so outrageous, as that it hurried me on to the doing of that which makes me now justly proceeded against as a Murderer.*

After the Sermon, a Minister, at his Desire, went unto the Place of Execution with him. And of what pass'd by the way, there was a Copy taken, which here ensueth.

The Discourse of the Minister with James Morgan, on the way to his Execution.

Mm. I'm come hither to answer your Desires, which just now you express'd to me in the Publick, that I would give you my Company at your Execution.

Mor

Mor. Dear Sir, how much am I beholden to you! You have already done a great deal for me. O, who am I, that I have been such a vile Wretch, that any Servants of God should take notice of me!

Min. I beseech you to make this use of it; I believe there is not one Christian this day be holding you, who would not willingly be at the greatest pains they could devise to save your precious Soul: how merciful then is that *Min.*, who is God as well as *Min.*! how unspeakably ready is the Lord Christ to save the Souls of Sinners that affectionately look unto him! The Goodness and Pityfulness of the most tender-hearted Man in the World is but a Shadow of what is in Him. The Compassions of any Man compar'd with the Bowels of a merciful JESUS are but as the painted Sun, or the painted Fire, in comparison of the real.

Mor. Ob that I could now look unto him as I ought to do! Lord, help me.

Min. Well; you are now a dying Man; the last Hour or two of your Life is now running. You know your self now to stand just on the Brink of Eternity; You shall presently be in a State of wonderful Happiness or of horrible Misery which must endure forever: Which of those Estates do you now count your self stepping into?

Mor. Ob Sir, I am afraid, but I am not without hope that God may have mercy on me.

Min. What's your ground for that Hope? O see that your Confidences be not such as God will by and by reject.

Mor. I don't know well what to say, but this I hope is a good Sign, I have lived in many grievous Sins, in Lying, Drinking, Sabbath-breaking and evil Company-keeping; God has made now these so bitter to my Soul, that I would not commit them again, might I have my Life this Afternoon by doing it.

Min. That's a great Word; God grant it may not be a Word only, the good Word of a good Pang, without such a thorough Change of Heart as you must have if you would not perish everlastingly. You are not like to have any longer time in this World to try the Sincerity of your Profession.

Mor. I know it, and I beseech you Sir to help me what you can: I hope the Means used with me since my Condemnation has not been lost.

Min. I would not have the sense of the Pain and Shame which your Body is about to undergo any ways hinder your mind from being taken up about the Soul-matters which I shall endeavour to set before you.

Mor. Sir, as for the Pain that my Body must presently feel, I matter it not: I know what Pain is; but what shall I do for my poor Soul? I'm terrified with the Wrath of God: This, this terrifies me, Hell terrifies me: I should not mind my Death, if it were not for that.

Min. Now, the Lord help me to deal faithfully with you, and the Lord help you to receive what he shall enable me to offer unto you. Mark what I say: You were born among the Enemies of God; you were born with a Soul as

full of Enmity against God, as a Load is full of Poison. You have liv'd now, how many Years?

Morg. I think about thirty.

Min. And all these Thirty Years have you been sinning against the Holy God. Ever since you knew how to do any thing, you have every day been guilty of innumerable Sins; You deserve the dreadful Wrath and Curse of the infinite God. But God has brought you here, to a place where you have enjoy'd the means of Grace. And here you have added unto your old Sins most fearful Iniquities: You have been such a matchless, prodigious Transgressor, that you are now to die by the Stroke of Civil Justice; to die before your time, for being wicked overmuch. There is hardly any sort of Wickedness which you have not wallow'd in. That Sin particularly which you are now to die for, is a most monstrous Crime. I can't possibly describe or declare the Sins whereby you have made your self an astonishing Example of Impiety and Punishment.

Mor. O Sir, I have been a most hellish Sinner. I am sorry for what I have been.

Min. Sorry, you say: well, tell me which of all your Sins you are now most sorry for, which lies most heavy.

Mor. I hope I am sorry for all my Sins, but I must especially bewail my Neglect of the means of Grace. On Sabbath-days I us'd to lie at home, or be ill employ'd elsewhere when I should have been at Church. This has undone me!

Min. And let me seriously tell you, your despising of Christ is a most dreadful Sin indeed: You have for whole Years together had the Call of Jesus Christ to seek an Interest in him; and you would now give all the World for that Interest, but you would take no notice of him. The Jews of old put him to a worse Death than yours will be this Afternoon, and by your Contempt of Christ, you have said, the Jews did well to do so. How justly might he now laugh at your Calamity? And for these Sins of yours, besides the direful Woes and Plagues that have already come upon you, you are now expos'd unto the Vengeance of Eternal Fire. You are in danger of being now quickly cast into those exquisite amazing Torments; in comparison of which, the Anguishes which your Body ever did feel, or shall feel before Night, or can ever feel, are just nothing at all: And these dolorous Torments are such as never have an End. As many Sands as could lie between this Earth and the Stars in Heaven, would not be near so many as the Ages, the endless Ages of these Torments.

Morg. But is there not Mercy for me in Christ?

Min. Yes; and it is a wonderful Thing, that I have now further to tell you. Mind, I entreat you. The Son of God is become the Son of Man; the Lord Jesus Christ is both God and Man in one Person; and he is both sufficiently able and willing also, to be your Saviour. He lived a most Righteous Life; and this was, that such as you and I might be able to say before God, Lord,

accept of me, as if I had lived righteously. He died at length a most cursed Death; and this was, that we might be able to say unto God, *Lord, let me not die for Sin, since thy Son has died in my room.* This glorious Redeemer is now in the highest Heaven, pleading with God for the Salvation of His chosen Ones.—And he pours out his Spirit continually upon them that do believe on him: might you then be enabled by his Grace to carry your poor, guilty, condemn'd, enslav'd, ignorant Soul unto Jesus Christ, and humbly put your trust in him for Deliverance from the whole bad State which you are brought into. O then his Voice is to you the same that was to the penitent Thief, *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.*

Mor. Oh! that I might be so! Sir, I would bear more of these things: I think I cant better fit my self for my Death, than by hearkening to these things.

Min. Attend then: The never dying Spirit that lodges within you, must now within a few minutes appear before the Tribunal of the Great GOD; in what, or in whose Righteousness will you then appear? Will you have this to be your Plea, Lord, I experienc'd many good Motions and Desires in my Soul, and many sorrows for my Sin before I dy'd: or, will you expect to have no other Plea but this, Lord, I am vile, but thy Son is a Surety for the worst of Sinners that believe on Him; For his sake alone, have MERCY on me.

Mor. I thank God for what he has wrought in my Soul.—

Min. But be very careful about this Matter: If you build on your own good Affections instead of Jesus Christ the only Rock, if you think they shall recommend you to God, He that made you, will not have mercy on you.

Mor. I would be clothed with the Righteousness of JESUS CHRIST.

Min. But you can't sincerely desire that Christ should justify you, if you don't also desire that He should sanctify you: Those Two always go together. Is every Lust that has hitherto had possession of your Heart become so loathsome to you, that it would fill your Soul with Joy to hear Jesus Christ say, I will subdue those Iniquities of thine; I will make a holy, an heavenly, a spiritually minded Person of thee.

Mor. I would not Sin against God any more.

Min. But I must deal plainly with you: You have made it sadly suspicious that your Repentance is not yet as it ought to be. When Men truly and thoroughly repent of Sin, they use to be in a special manner watchful against that Sin which has been their chief Sin; One of your principal Sins, which has indeed brought you to the Death of a Murderer, is Passion, unmortify'd and outrageous Passionateness: Now, I have been this Day inform'd, that no longer since than the last Night, upon some Dissatisfaction about the Place which the Authority hath order'd you by and by to be bury'd in, you did express your self with a most unruly Passionateness.

Mor. Sir, I confess it, and I was quickly sorry for it, though for the present I was too much disturb'd: 'Twas my Folly to be so careful about the Place where my Body should be laid, when my precious Soul was in such a Condition.—

Min. Truly, you have cause to mourn for it. Secure the Welfare of your Soul, and this (now) pinion'd, hang'd, vile Body of yours will shortly be rais'd unto Glory, Glory for evermore. And let me put you in mind of one thing more; I doubt you have not yet laid aside your unjust Grudges against the Persons concern'd in your Conviction and Condemnation: You have no Cause to complain of them: And you are not fit to pray, much less are you fit to die, till you heartily wish them as well as your own Soul: If you die malicious, you die miserable.

Mor. I heartily wish them all well; I bear Ill-will to none. What a lamentable thing is this? Ab this is that which has brought me hither!

Min. What do you mean?

Mor. I over-heard a Man mocking and Scoffing at me when I stumbled just now, he does very ill. I have done so my self. I have mock'd and scoff'd like that Man, and see what it hath brought me to: He may come to the like.

Min. The Lord forgive that foolish hard-hearted Creature. But be not too much disturb'd.

Mor. Yonder! I am now come in sight of the Place where I must immediately end my Days. Oh, what a huge Multitude of People is come together on this occasion. O Lord, O Lord, I pray thee to make my Death profitable to all this Multitude of People that they may not sin against thee as I have done.

Min. Amen, Amen, ten thousand times; the Lord God Almighty say Amen to this Prayer of yours! It would indeed be an Excellent Thing, if you would now come to receive your Death, with some Satisfaction of Soul in this Thought, that much Glory is like to come to God by it: I am verily perswaded God intends to do Good to many Souls by means of your Execution. This is a greater Honour than you are worthy of.

[After the Discourse had been intermitted about a Minute or Two by reason of the mirey Way.]

Mor. I beseech you, Sir, speak to me. Do me all the Good you can: My time grows very short: Your Discourse fits me for my Death more than any thing.

Min. I am sorry so small a thing as a plashy Street should make me lose One minute of this more than ordinary precious time; a few paces more bring you to the Place which you have now in your Eye, from whence you shall not come back alive. Do you find your self afraid to die there?

Mor. Sir, if it were not for the Condition that my Soul must by and by be in, I should not fear my death at all; but I have a little Comfort from some of God's Promises about that.

Min. And what shall I now say? These are among the last Words that I can have liberty to leave with you. Poor man, thou art now going to knock at the Door of Heaven, and to beg and cry, *Lord, Lord, open to me!* The only way for thee to speed, is to open the Door of thy own Soul now unto the Lord Jesus Christ. Do this, and thou shalt undoubtedly be admitted into the Glories of his Heavenly Kingdom: You shall fare as well as *Manasseh* did before you; Leave this undone, and there is nothing remains for you, but the *Worm which dieth not, and the Fire which shall not be quenched.*

Mor. Sir, shew me then again, what I have to do.

Min. The Voice, the sweet Voice of the Lord Jesus Christ (who was once hang'd on a Tree, to take away the Sting and Curse of even such a Death as yours) unto all that close with him, His heavenly Voice now is, O that I and my saving Work might be entertained, kindly entreated, in that poor perishing Soul of thine! Art you willing?

Mor. I hope I am.

Min. His Voice further is, If I am lodg'd in thy Soul, I'll sprinkle my Blood upon it; and on my account thou shalt find favour with God. Do you consent to this?

Mor. This I want.

Min. But this is not all that he saith; his Voice further is, If I come into thy Soul, I will change it, I will make all Sin bitter to it: I will make it an holy heavenly Soul. Do you value this above the Proffers of all the World?

Mor. I think I do,—and now Sir, I must go no further. Look here—--- what a solemn sight is this! Here lies the Coffin which this Body of mine must presently be laid in. I thank you, dear Sir, for what you have already done for me.

Min. When you are gone up this Ladder, my last Service with you before you are gone off, will be to pray with you: But I would here take my leave of you. Oh, that I might meet you at the Right Hand of the Lord Jesus in the last Day. Farewel, poor Heart, Fare thee well. The Everlasting Arms receive thee! The Lord Jesus, the merciful Saviour of Souls take possession of thy Spirit for himself. The Great God, who is a great Forgiver, grant thee Repentance unto Life; and glorifie himself in the Salvation of such a wounded Soul as thine for ever. With Him, and with his Free, Rich, Marvellous, Infinite Grace, I leave you.

Farewel.

Being arrived unto the Place of Execution, his Last Speech upon the Ladder, then taken in Short-Hand, was that which is here inserted.

I Pray God that I may be a Warning to you all, and that I may be the last that ever shall suffer after this manner. In the fear of God I warn you to have a care of taking the Lord's Name in vain. Mind, and have a care of that Sin of Drunkenness: For that Sin leads to all manner

of Sins and Wickedness: (mind, and have a care of breaking the sixth Commandment, where it is said, *Thou shalt do no Murther*) for when a Man is in Drink, he is ready to commit all manner of Sin, till he fill up the Cup of the Wrath of God, as I have done by committing that Sin of Murder.

'I beg of God, as I am a dying Man, and to appear before the Lord within a few Minutes, that you may take notice of what I say to you. Have a care of Drunkenness, and ill Company, and mind all good Instruction; and don't turn your Back upon the Word of God, as I have done. When I have been at Meeting, I have gone out of the Meeting-house to commit Sin, and to please the Lust of my Flesh. Don't make a mock at any poor Object of Pity; but bless God that he has not left you as he has justly done me, to commit that horrid Sin of Murder.

'Another thing that I have to say to you, is, to have a care of that House where that Wickedness was committed, and where I have been partly ruin'd by. But here I am, and know not what will become of my poor Soul, which is within a few moments of Eternity. I have murder'd a poor Man, who had but little time to repent, and I know not what is become of his poor Soul. O that I may make use of this Opportunity that I have! O, that I may make Improvement of this little, little time, before I go hence and be no more. O, let all mind what I am a saying now I am going out of this World. O, take Warning by me, and beg of God to keep you from this Sin, which has been my Ruine.

[His last Words were,] *O Lord receive my Spirit: I come unto thee, O Lord; I come unto thee, O Lord, I come, I come, I come.*

(VIII)

ONE *Hugh Stone*, upon a Quarrel, between himself and his Wife, about selling a Piece of Land, having some Words, as they were walking together on a certain Evening, very barbarously reach'd a stroke at her Throat, with a sharp knife; and by that one Stroke fetch'd away the Soul of her, who had made him a Father of several Children, and would have brought yet another to him if she had liv'd a few Weeks longer in the World.

The Wretched Man was too soon surpriz'd by his Neighbours, to be capable of denying the Fact: And so he pleaded Guilty, upon his Tryal.

There was a Minister that walk'd with him to his Execution; and I shall insert the principal Passages of the Discourse between 'em; in which which the Reader may find or make something Useful to himself, what ever it were to the Poor Man, who was more immediately concerned in it.

Minister. I am come to give you what Assistance I can in your taking of the Steps, which your Eternal *Weal* or *Wo*, now depends upon the well or ill taking of.

Hugh Stone. Sir, I thank you, and I beg you to do what you can for me.

Min. Within a very few Minutes your Immortal Soul must appear before God, the Judge of all. I am heartily sorry you have lost so much time since your first Imprisonment: You had need use a Wonderful Husbandry of the little piece of an Inch which now remains. Are you now prepar'd to stand before the Tribunal of God?

H. S. I hope I am.

Min. And what Reason for that Hope?

H. S. I find all my Sins made so bitter to me, that if I were to have my Life given me this Afternoon, to live such a Life as I have liv'd heretofore, I would not accept of it. I had rather die.

Min. That is well, if it be True. But suffer me a little to search into the Condition of your Soul. Are you sensible, That you were born a Sinner? That the Guilt of the First Sin committed by *Adam*, is justly charged upon you? And; that you have hereupon a Wicked Nature in you, full of Enmity against all that is Holy, and Just, and Good? For which you deserved to be destroy'd as soon as you first came into this World?

H. S. I am sensible of this.

Min. Are you further sensible, that you have liv'd a very ungodly Life? That you are guilty of thousands of Actual Sins, every one of which deserves the Wrath and Curse of God, both in this Life, and that which is to come?

H. S. I am sensible of this also.

Min. But, are you sensible that you have broken all the Laws of God? You know the Commandments. Are you sensible that you have broken every one of them?

H. S. I cannot well answer to that. My Answer may be liable to some Exceptions. — This I own, I have broken every Commandment on the account mention'd by the Apostle *James*; That he who breaks one, is guilty of all; but not otherwise.

Min. Alas, That you know your self no better than so! I do affirm to you, that you have particularly broken every one of the Commandments; and you must be sensible of it.

H. S. I cannot see it.

Min. But you must remember, That the Commandment is exceeding broad; It reaches to the Heart as well as the Life: it includes Omissions as well as Commissions; and it at once both requires and forbids. But I pray, make an Experiment upon any one Commandment, in which you count your self most innocent: and see whether you do not presently confess your self guilty thereabout. I may not leave this Point slightly pass'd over with you.

H. S. That Commandment, Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image; How have I broken it?

Min. Thus: You have had undue Images of God in your Mind a thousand times. But more than so; that Commandment not only forbids our using the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God, but it also requires our using all the Institutions of God. Now have not you many and many a time turn'd your Back upon some of those glorious Institutions?

H. S. Indeed, Sir, I confess it: I see my Sinfulness greater than I thought it was.

Min. You ought to see it. God help you to see it! There is a boundless Ocean of it. And then for that SIN, which has now brought a shameful Death upon you, 'tis impossible to declare the Aggravations of it; hardly an Age will shew the like. You have professed your self sorry for it!

H. S. I am heartily so.

Min. But your Sorrows must be after a Godly sort. Not meerly because of the Miseries which it has brought on your Outward Man, but chiefly for the Wrongs and Wounds therein given to your own Soul, and not only for the Miseries you have brought on your self, but chiefly for the Injuries which you have done to the Blessed God.

H. S. I hope my Sorrow lies there.

Min. But do you mourn without Hope?

H. S. I thank God I do not.

Min. Where do you see a Door of Hope?

H. S. In the Lord Jesus Christ, who has died to save Sinners.

Min. Truly, There is no other Name by which we may be saved? The Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, is that alone, in which you may safely anon appear before the Judgment-seat of God. And that Righteousness is by the marvellous and infinite Grace of GOD, offered unto you. But do you find, that as you have no Righteousness, so you have no Strength? that you cannot of your self move or stir, towards the Lord Jesus Christ; though you justly perish if you do not run unto Him? That it is the Grace of GOD alone which must enable you to accept of Salvation from the Great Saviour?

H. S. Sir, my Case, in short, is This; I have laid my self at the Feet of the Lord Jesus Christ for my Salvation; And, had it not been for his meer Grace and Help, I had never been able to do That. But there I have laid and left my self; I have nothing to plead, why He should accept of me. If He will do it, I am happy; but if He will not, I am undone for ever: it had been good for me that I had never been born.

Min. And you must justify Him, if he should reject you. You surprize me with at once giving me so much of the Discourse, which all this while I have been labouring for. I can add but this: The good Lord make you sincere in what you say! — Your Crime lay in Blood; and your Help also, That lies in Blood. I am to offer you the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, as that in which you may now have the Pardon of all your Sins. Now you may try the sincerity of your Faith in the Blood of the Lord Jesus for a Pardon, by this.

H. S.

H. S. *Do Sir.*

Min. The *Blood* of the Lord Jesus is not only Sin-pardoning *Blood*, but also Soul-purifying and Heart-softening *Blood*. It embitters all Sin unto the Soul, that it is applied unto, and mortifies every Lust in such a Soul: Are you desirous of this?

H. S. *With all my Heart.*

Min. The Lord make you so. The Lord seal your Pardon, in that *Blood*, which is worth Ten Thousand Worlds! But what will you do for that GOD, who has given you these Hopes of a Pardon? You must with a Holy Ingenuity now do something for the Honour of that GOD whom you have sinned so much against.

H. S. *What shall I do?*

Min. Why; Confess and bewail the Sins that have undone you, and publickly advise, and exhort, and charge all that you can, to take heed of such evil Ways,

H. S. *I will endeavour to do it, as GOD shall help me.*

Min. I pray, tell me plainly what special Sin, do you think it was, that laid the first Foundation of your Destruction? Where did you begin to leave GOD, and ruine your self?

H. S. *It was Contention in my Family. I had been used unto something of Religion: And I was once careful about the Worship of God, not only with my Family, but in secret also. But upon Contention between me and my Wife, I left off the Ways of GOD, and you see what I am come to.*

Min. I would pray you to vomit up all Sin, with a very hearty Detestation. You are going (if I may so speak) to disgorge your SOUL; if you do not first cast up your Sin, if your SOUL and your Sin come away together, you cannot but know something of the dismal Condition which it must pass into. O what Cause have you to fall out with Sin for ever? It has been your only Enemy. Here is the only Revenge which you may allow in your self. You must not now bear any Malice against any one Man in the World, but forgive even those that have done you the greatest Injuries. Only upon Sin, be as revengeful as you can; I would have you like *Sampson*, so to die, taking of a Just Revenge.

H. S. *I hope I shall.*

Min. Well, we are now but a very few Paces from the Place where you must breathe your last. You are just going to take a most Awful Step, which has this most Remarkable in it. *That it cannot be twice taken.* If you go wrong now, it cannot be recalled throughout the Days of Eternity. I can but commit you into the Arms of a Merciful Redeemer, that he may keep you from a Miscarriage which cannot be recalled and redressed throughout Eternal Ages. The Lord shew unto you the Path of Life: Attend unto these as the last Words that I may speak before the Prayer, with which I am immediately to take a long Farewel of you. You are now just going to be confirmed for ever. If the great God presently find you under the Power of Prejudice against any of his Truths and Ways, or

of Enmity against what has his blessed Name upon it, you shall be fix'd, and settl'd, and confirm'd in it, until the very Heavens be no more. But they are very terrible *Plagues* and *Pains*, which you may be sure will accompany this everlasting Disposition of your Soul. On the other side, If GOD now find your Soul under the Power of Inclination to *Love Him*, *Fear Him*, *Serve Him*; and to esteem the Lord Jesus Christ above a thousand Worlds; You shall then be confirmed in the perfection of such a Temper, and of all the *Joy*, that must accompany it. Which of these is the Condition that I now leave you in?

H. S. *Sir, I hope the latter of them.*

Min. The Good GOD make it so; and grant that I may find you at the Right hand of the Lord Jesus, in the Day of his Appearing. May this Ladder prove as a *Jacob's Ladder* for you, and may you find the Angels of the Lord Jesus ready here to convey your departing Soul into the Presence of the Lord.

After this Discourse, ascending the Ladder, he made the following Speech.

Young Men and Maids,

Observe the Rule of Obedience to your Parents; and Servants to your Masters, according to the Will of GOD, and to do the Will of your Masters: If you take up wicked Ways, you set open a Gate to your Sins, to lead in bigger afterwards: Thou canst not do any thing but God will see thee, although thou thinkest thou shalt not be catch'd, thou thinkest to hide thy self in secret, when as GOD in Heaven can see thee, though thou hast hid it from Man. And when thou goest to Thievery, thy Wickedness is discover'd, and thou art found Guilty. O *Young Woman*, that is married, and *Young Man*, look on me here: Be sure in that solemn Engagement you are obliged to one another; Marriage is an Ordinance of God, have a care of breaking that Bond of Marriage-Union: If the Husband provoke his Wife, and cause a Difference, he sins against GOD: and so does she, in such Carriage; for she is bound to be an Obedient Wife. O you Parents that give your Children in Marriage, remember what I have to say, you must take notice when you give them in Marriage, you give them freely to the Lord; and free them from that Service and Command you ought to have; yet you ought to have a tender Regard to them.

O thou that takest no care to lead thy Life civilly and honestly, and then committest that Abominable Sin of Murder; here is this Murderer, look upon him; and see how many are come, with their Eyes to behold this Man, that abhors himself before GOD; that is the Sin that I abhor my self for; and desire you, take Example by me. There are here a great many *Young People*, and O Lord, that they may be thy Servants!

'Have a care; don't sin; I will tell you, that I wish I never had had the Opportunity to do such a Murder. If you say, when a Person has provok'd you, I will kill him; 'tis a thousand to one but the next time you will do it.

'Now I commit my self into the Hands of Almighty GOD.

His Prayer.

O LORD our good GOD, thou art a merciful GOD, and a gracious and loving Father; Alas, that thou shouldst nourish up Children that have rebell'd against Thee! O Lord, I must confess, thou gavest me Opportunity to read thy Written Word; Thou art also my Creator and Preserver: But, Lord I have not done according to the Offers of thy Grace; Thou hast not bid from me the Opportunities of the Good Things and Liberty of thy House and Ordinances, but I have waxed wanton under the Enjoyment of them. I have given thee just Cause to provoke thee to Anger, and thou hast left me to Shame, not only on my self, but on my Relations. O Lord God, I do confess, that I have sinned against Thee, and done all these Iniquities against Thee, and before thine Eyes. Lord, I have sinned especially against Thee; pardon my Sins of Youth; Lord, pardon this Bloody Sin I stand here guilty of. O Lord, hide not thy Face from me, I humbly beg it of Thee: For there is no Man can redeem his Brother's Soul, but only the Blood of Jesus Christ must do it. Let it be sufficient to satisfy for my poor Soul. I have not done any thing that Thou should'st be pleased to shew me thy LOVE; or that I should have any thing from thee, but only Everlasting Misery. I am unworthy to come to Thee; yet Lord, for thy Mercy's sake have pity on me. Now I am coming to Judgment, Lord, let the Arms of thy Mercy receive my Soul, and let my Sin be remitted: Good LORD, let not my Sins which condemn me here in this World, rise up to condemn me in the World to come; though they have condemned me in this World, shew mercy, Lord, when I come before thy Judgment Seat. If my Soul be not humbled, Lord humble it: Let my Petition be acceptable in Heaven, thy Holy Mountain. I am unworthy to come into thy Presence; yet, O let me come into thy Kingdom; and deliver my Soul from Blood-guiltiness, in the Blood of Jesus Christ. O let my wounded Soul mourn for my Sin that hath brought me here. Sin brings Ruin to the poor Soul; Wo is unto me for mine Iniquity. If I had gone to prayer in the morning when I committed this Sin, Lord God, thou wouldst have kept back my hands from shedding innocent Blood. O gracious God, remember thou me in Mercy; let me be an Object of thy Pity, and not of thy Wrath: the Lord hear me, and pardon my Sins. Take care of my poor Children. I have scattered them like stragling Sheep flying before the Wolf: Pity the poor Children, that go like so many Lambs

that have lost their Keeper; that they may not come to such a Death as I do! Lord, for the sake of Jesus Christ, and the Righteousness of thy Son, accept my Soul, and receive me into the Arms of thy mercy, that I may enjoy Everlasting Rest. Pardon all my Sins; and let the Prayers of all those that put up their Petitions for me, be accepted, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Now I am coming, now I am coming; Thou mayest say, I called to thee, and thou wouldst not come. I must say, my Sin brought me here; O the World, and the corrupt Nature of Man, that has proved my Ruine! O LORD, good LORD, let me enjoy Rest for my Soul. The Desire of my Soul, is to be with thee in thy Kingdom; let me have a Share in that Kingdom. Now is the Time, Lord Jesus; the Grave is opening its mouth. I am now living, tho' dead in Sin; let my Prayers be heard in Heaven, thy Holy Place: Thy Hands have made me, and I know thou canst save me: Hide not thy Face from me; and affect the Hearts of thy People with this sad Object, that they may labour to serve thee betimes, and may not give themselves up to Prophaneness and Wickedness, especially that Sin of Drunkenness, which is an In-let of all Abominations.

[When thou hast thy Head full of Drink, the Remembrance of GOD is out of thy Heart; and thou art unprepared to commit thy self and Family unto GOD; thou art unfit to come into GOD's Presence. I have Cause to cry out, and be ashamed of it, that I am guilty of it, because I gave way to that Sin more than any other, and then God did leave me to practise Wickedness, and to murder that dear Woman, whom I should have taken a great deal of Contentment in; which if I had done, I had not been here to suffer this Death.]

Thou art Holy, Just, and Good, and therefore, O Lord, have mercy on me, for the sake of thy Son pity me, now, LORD, I am coming. O that I could do thee better Service.

[Many of you that behold me, I know, wish you never had seen me here.]

Lord, receive my Soul into a better Place if it be thy Blessed Will: 'Tis a Day of great Trouble with me; my Soul is greatly troubled: give me one Glimpse of Comfort in thy Kingdom: By and by let me have one Dram of thy Grace. Accept of me now at this time: 'Tis the last time: Good Lord, deny me not: Give me, as the Woman of Samaria, a Taste of that Living Water, that my Soul may Thirst no more. I beg it for the sake of Jesus Christ Amen.

After this, he was by the Prayers of a Minister then present, recommended unto the Divine Mercy. Which being done, the poor man poured

red out a few broken Ejaculations in the midst of which he was turned over, into that Eternity, which we must leave him in.

The Speech of Hugh Stone in the Prison, the Morning before his Execution.

WHEN Young People are marry'd, they make use of Prayer in their Families, and when they pray, they do believe there is Sincerity and Affection in their Prayer: But when Difference between a Man and his Wife doth arise, then that doth occasion Hindrance of Prayer in their Family: And when Prayer is wholly omitted, it lets in all Confusion, and every evil Work. He said ' That he used to pray ' in his Family; but when he did pray, it was in ' a formal manner; but now, from the Consideration of Eternity that he was going into, he ' was made the more considerate in his Prayers ' that he made, and did hope, that now he had ' the Spirit of Prayer in his Praying.

(IX.)

ON June 8. 1693. Two Young Women, (the one English, the other Negro) were Executed at Boston for murdering their Bastard-Children.

The English Young Woman gave to the Minister who preach'd that Afternoon, the following Paper of Confessions; which he took occasion in his Sermon, to publish unto the Congregation, where she also was then present before the Lord.

I Am a miserable Sinner; and I have justly provok'd the Holy GOD to leave me unto that Folly of my own Heart, for which I am now condemned to die. I cannot but see much of the Anger of GOD against me, in the Circumstances of my woful Death. He hath fulfilled upon me, that Word of his, *Evil pursueth Sinners*. I therefore desire humbly to confess my many Sins before GOD and the World; but most particularly my *Blood guiltiness*.

Before the Birth of my Twin-Infants, I too much parlied with the Temptations of the Devil, to smother my Wickedness by murdering of them. At length, when they were born, I was not unfeeling, that at least, One of them was alive; but, such a Wretch was I, as to use a murderous Carriage towards them, in the Place where I lay, on purpose to dispatch them out of the World. I acknowledge that I have been more hard hearted than the Sea-Monsters: And yet for the pardon of these my Sins, I would fly to the Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is the Only Fountain set open for Sin and Uncleaness. I know not how better to glorify GOD, for giving me such an Opportunity as I have had, to make sure of his Mercy, than by advising and entreating the Rising Generation here to take warning

by my Example; and I will therefore tell the Sins that have brought me to my shameful End. I do warn all People, and especially Young Peoples, against the Sin of *Uncleaness* in particular: 'Tis that Sin that hath been my Ruine. Well had it been for me, if I had answered all Temptations to that Sin, as Joseph did, *How shall I do this Wickedness, and sin against God?* But, I see, Bad Company is that which leads to that, and all other Sins: And I therefore beg all that love their Souls to be familiar with none but such as fear GOD. I believe the chief thing that hath brought me into my present Condition, is my *Disobedience to my Parents*: I despised all their Godly Counsels and Reproofs; and I was always of an haughty stubborn Spirit. So that now I am become a dreadful Instance of the Curse of GOD belonging to *Disobedient Children*. I must bewail this also, that although I was baptized, yet when I grew up, I forgot the Bonds that were laid upon me to be the Lord's. Had I given my self to GOD, as soon as I was capable to consider that I had been in Baptism set a-part for him, How happy had I been! It was my Delay to repent of my Former Sins, that provoked God to leave me unto the Crimes for which I am now to die. Had I seriously repented of my *Uncleaness* the first time I fell into it, I do suppose I had not been left unto what followed. Let all take it from me: they little think what they do, when they put off turning from Sin to God, and resist the Strivings of the Holy Spirit. I fear 'tis for this, that I have been given up to such *Hardness of Heart*, not only since my long Imprisonment, but also since my just Condemnation. I now know not what will become of my distressed perishing Soul. But I would humbly Commit it unto the Mercy of GOD in Jesus Christ. Amen.

(X.)

IN the Year 1694. a miserable Indian, called *Zachary*, was Executed for Murder.

He understood so very little English, that it put the English Minister, who after his Condemnation, visited him, unto an inexpressible deal of Trouble to convey unto him the Principles and the Directions of our Holy Religion. But the Lord so succeeded the Endeavours used upon the wretched Salvage, that within a little while, he could give a sensible, tho' a shattered Account, of the Fundamentals in Christianity. And such an Impression had the *Doctrines of Grace* upon him, that he professed himself desirous rather to die, than to live at his own sinful rate. He seem'd even to long for his Execution, that so he might be delivered from all disposition to Sin against God. But all his Hopes of Everlasting Salvation he seem'd very suitably to place on the Obedience which the Lord Jesus Christ, had yielded unto God in the room of Sinners.

Of this poor Creature, nothing had been here mentioned, if it had not been to introduce the mention of this one Passage

He said, that the Thing which undid him was this: He had begun to come and hear the Preaching of the *Gospel* among the *Indians*: but he minded the *Indian* Preacher, how he liv'd; and he saw plainly that the Preacher minded his Bottle, more than his Bible: He lov'd *Rhum* too well; and when his *Rhum* was in him, he would quarrel with other People, and with himself particularly. This (he said) prejudic'd him against the *Gospel*. So he liv'd as a Pagan still, and would be drunk too; and his Drunkenness had brought all this Misery upon him.

(XI.)

IN the Year 1698. Was Executed at *Springfield*, one *Sarah Smith*.

Her despising the continual Counsels and Warnings of her godly Father-in law laid the Foundation of her Destruction. When she was married, she added unto the Crime of *Adultery*, that of *Stealing*; which latter Crime occasioned her to fly unto *New Jersey*. Afterwards coming to reside in *Deerfield*, her (second) Husband, was carry'd Captive unto *Canada*: But the Woman, in grievous Horror of mind for the Breaches of the seventh and Eighth Commandment, received many most suitable Counsels from Mr. *Williams*, the worthy Minister of that Place. In Conformity to his Counsels and Warning, for a while, she led a reformed Life, and seem'd much affected with the *Word of God*, in the publick Dispensations of it. But, ere it was long, she lost her *Seriousness*, her *Tenderness*, her *Convictions*; and relaps'd into that Sin of *Adultery*. Her first Relaps'e into that Sin, was attended with a *Conception*, which, tho' she endeavour'd to render it an *Abortive*, the *Holy Providence of GOD* would not suffer it to be so.

She did with much Obstinacy deny and conceal her being with Child: And when the Child was born, she smother'd it: But the Neighbours found it out immediately. She then owned the matter, but made the usual Pretence, *That the Child was dead born*: and remain'd as poor Sinners undone by the Sins of *Unchastity* use to be, under extream Hardness of Heart. Mr. *Williams* rarely visited her, but found her guilty of *New Lies*; tho' sometimes violent Pangs of *Horror* would come upon her, wherein she detected her own Lying, and seem'd greatly to bewail it. The Honourable Judges desired Mr. *Williams* to go down unto *Springfield* (which was the Place,) at the time of her Execution; who then found her under an astonishing Stupidity of Soul; and yet not pretending to Hopes of Happiness in another World. He found her guilty of *more Lies*; which afterward she confessed so to be: She slept both at the *Prayer* and the *Sermon*, in the publick Assembly on the Day of her Execution: And seem'd the most unconcern'd of any in the Assembly; professing therewithal, *That she could not but wonder at her own Unconcernedness*. At her Execution she said but little, only, *That she desir'd to give Glory unto GOD, and to take Shame unto her self, and that she would warn all others to be-*

ware of the Sins that had brought her unto this miserable End; especially *Stealing*, *Uncleanness*, *Lying*, *Neglecting to read the Scriptures*, and *Neglecting to pray unto GOD*. She had absent-ed her self much from the *Word of GOD* on *Lords Days* and *Lecture Days*; and staid at home, till she had fallen into this capital Transgression: Then she would come unto the Meetings, with some seeming *Devotion*. She had sinned away great Convictions and Awakenings; and Satan with seven more unclean Spirits, entred into her; and GOD seem'd then to with-hold from her, the Efficacy of the means of Grace and Good, which his Faithful Servants in the Neighbourhood, used with her.

(XII.)

ON November 17. 1698. there was Executed in *Boston*, a miserable Young Woman, whose Extraordinary Circumstances rung throughout all *New England*. On this day of her Execution, was preached a Sermon: And because the last Passages of that Sermon gave a summary Narrative, of what it is fit the Publick should know concerning that Criminal, I have Transferr'd 'em into this Place. The Sermon concluded in these Words:

' Be astonish'd, O Congregation of GOD; Stand astonished at the horrible Spectacle that is now before You. This House, and perhaps this Land, never had in it a more Astonishing Spectacle.

' Behold a Young Woman, but an Old Sinner, going this Day to die before her time, for being wicked over-much! Behold, One just Nineteen years old, and yet found ripe for the Vengeance of a Capital Execution. Ah, miserable Soul, with what a swift Progress of Sin and Folly, hast thou made haste unto the Congregation of the Dead! Behold a Person, whose unchaste Conversation appear'd by One base born Child many Months ago! God then gave her a Space to repent, and she repented not: She repeated her Whoredoms, and by an Inflation from God upon her, She so managed the matter of her next base born, that she is found Guilty of its Murder. Thus the GOD, whose Eyes are like a Flame of Fire, is now casting her into a Bed of burning Tribulation: And, ah, Lord, where wilt thou cast those that have committed Adultery with her, except they repent! Since her Imprisonment, she had declared, that she believes, God hath left her unto this undoing Wickedness, partly for her staying so prophanely at home, sometimes on *Lords Days*, when she should have been hearing the *Word of Christ*, and much more for her not minding that *Word*, when she heard it.

' And she has confessed, That she was much given to Rash Wishes, in her mad Passions, particularly using often that ill Form of speaking, *I'll be hang'd*, if a thing be not thus or so; and, *I'll be hang'd*, if I do not this or that: Which Evil now, to see it, coming upon her, it amazes her!

her ! But this *Chief Sin* of which this *Chief of Sinners* now cries out, is, her undutiful Carriage towards her Parents. Her Language and her Carriage towards her Parents, was indeed such that they hardly durst speak to her ; but when they durst, they often told her, *It would come to this*. They indeed, with bleeding Hearts, have now forgiven thy Rebellions. Ah, *Sarab*, mayest thou cry unto the *God of Heaven* to forgive thee ! But under all the doleful Circumstances of her *Imprisonment*, and her *Impiety*, she has been given over, to be a *Prodigy* of still more Impenitent Impiety.

A little before her *Condemnation*, she renewed the Crimes of her *Unchastity* ; she gave her self up to the filthy Debauches of a Villain, that was her Fellow-Pisoner : And after her *Condemnation*, her *Falshoods* and her *Furies* have been such, as to proclaim, That under *Condemnation* she has not feared God. Was there ever seen such an Height of Wickedness ! God seems to have hang'd her up in Chains, for all the *Young People* in the Country to see what *Prodigies* of Sin and Wrath it may render them, if once they sell themselves thereunto.

Behold, O *Young People*, what it is to vex the *Holy Spirit of God*, by rebelling against Him. This, this 'tis to be given over of God ! And yet, after all this Hard-hearted Wickedness, is it not possible for the Grace of Heaven to be triumphantly Victorious in converting and pardoning so unparallel'd a Criminal ? Be astonish'd, miserable *Sarab*, and let it now break that Stony Heart of thine, to hear it : *It is possible ! it is possible !* But Oh, thou *Almighty Spirit of Grace*, do thou graciously Touch, and melt this obstinate Soul ; and once at last, mould her Heart into the Form of thy Glorious Gospel. The Glorious Gospel of GOD, now utters unto thee, Undone *Sarab*, that Invitation, *Tho' thou hast horribly gone a whoring ; yet Return unto me, saith the Lord, and I will not cause my Anger to fall upon thee*. The Lessons of this Gospel have been both privately and publickly set before thee, with a vast Variety of Inculcation. If all the extraordinary Pains that have been taken for the softening of thy Stony Heart, be lost, God will dispense the more terrible Rebukes unto thee, when he anon breaks thee between the Millstones of his Wrath.

O, give now a great Attention to some of the last Words that can be spoken to thee, before thy passing into an astonishing Eternity.

The Blessed Lord Jesus Christ hath been made a Curse for us : There has been a most acceptable Offering and Sacrifice, presented by the Lord Jesus Christ unto God, for all his chosen :

There is a Fountain set open for Sin and for Uncleaness : And thou, O bloody Sinner, art invited unto that *Open Fountain*. Such is the infinite Grace of God, that thou mayest come as freely to the *Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the Forgiveness of thy Sins, as they that have never sinned with a thousandth Part of so much Aggravation ; Come and Welcome (says the Lord) who receiveth Sinners. It God enable thee now to lay hold on the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ ; tho' thy Faults are infinite, thou wilt yet before Sun-set, stand without Fault before the Throne of GOD. Thy Soul is just sinking down into the fiery Ocean of the Wrath of GOD ; but the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, is cast forth unto thee once more for thee to lay hold upon. O, lay hold upon it and live ! If God help thee to do so, then (as it was said) The *Mary* whose Sins are many, has them forgiven her ; So it shall be said, The *Sarab* whose Sins are many, has them forgiven her ! Then (as it was said) *Rahab*, the Harlot perished not ; so it shall be said, *Sarab* the Harlot perished not ! Tho' the *Blood* of thy murdered Infant, with all thy other Bloody Crimes, horribly cry to God against thee ; yet a louder and better Cry from the *Blood of thy Saviour*, shall drown that Formidable Cry. Yea, then there will be Joy in Heaven this Afternoon among the *Angels of God* ; the *Angels of Heaven* will stand amazed and say, O the Infinite Grace that can bring such a Sinner unto Glory ! But if ever the *Blood* of the Lord Jesus Christ be applied unto thy Heart, it will immediately dissolve that Heart of thine ; it will cause thee to mourn for every Sin, to turn from every Sin, to give thy self entirely unto God. It will be impossible for thee to go on in any *Known Sin*, or to die with a Lyé in thy Mouth : No, thou wilt rather die than commit any *Known Sin* in the World. If this Disposition be not produced in thee before three or four short Hours more are expir'd, thy immortal Spirit will anon pass into Eternal Torment. Thou wilt before to-morrow morning be a Companion of the Devils and the Damned. The Everlasting Chains of Darkness will hold thee for the Worm that never dies, and the Fire that never shall be quenched : Thou shalt fall into the Hands of the Living God ; and become as a glowing Iron possessed by his Burning Vengeance throughout Eternal Ages ; the God that made thee will not have mercy on thee ; and he that Form'd thee will shew thee no Favour. But for his Mercy and Favour, while there is yet Hope, we will yet cry unto him.

A

Brief Narrative

OF THE

Success which the Gospel hath had among

THE

INDIANS

OF

MARtha's VINEYARD, and the Places Adjacent, in *New-England*: With some Remarkable Curiosities, concerning the Numbers, the Customs, and the present Circumstances of the *Indians* on that Island: Further Explaining and confirming the Account given of those Matters by Mr. Cotton Mather in the Life of the Renowned Mr. John Eliot. Written by an Inhabitant of *Martha's-Vineyard*.

Whereto is Added

An Account concerning the *Present State of Christianity* among the *Indians* in the other Parts of *New-England*; expressed in the Letters of several Worthy Persons best acquainted therewithal.

CHAP. VI. SECT. I.

The Triumphs of GRACE.

TO speak more of the Original of this People, than that they are descended from the Loins of their great Grandfather *Adam*, however divers worthy Men have their Sentiments, I shall not pretend; but that *Language*. they are originally of one *Language* is most evident: Nor is the admired Knowledge of those Ancients so admirable, for their ready speaking more than *Twenty Languages* which may rationally be supposed to have been but *One* originally; though suffering some Change, by occasional Accidents: We know the diverse pronouncing of the same Words, without difference in Dialect, may render the Speaker hardly intelligible to him that writes alike with him: Nor do I think the Speech of these *Americans* so divers, but that an *Indian*, who is well acquainted with *His own*, may by conversing with those, suppos'd of a *different* and other *Speech*, promptly express himself in very few Years, so as to be well understood by Forty of these Nations; who by reason of Wars, the want of *Traffick* and the Advantage other *Nations* have had by

Literature; have severally suffered much Alteration of that Language, at first indifferently spoken by all, which yet is not more differing than the present Language of the *English*, from their Speech not many hundred years since; which altho' it would not readily be understood, by a present *Londoner*, if he should speak with his great Grandfather, who then lived, yet hath not so altered, but no long Converse might render them mutually intelligible. Of Words not unlike in the *Indian* Tongue hardly intelligible without customary Discourse of Nation with Nation, I might instance in above an hundred; such as *Nupaw, Dupaw, Ruppaw*, the Sun; *Attik, Abtorque, &c.* a Deer; *Winnit, Wirrit*, Good; and the like; *Pum, Pum-me, Pim*, Oil or Fat: These and the like, were doubtless, the same Words little altered. Beside which, the alone Difference in pronouncing the same Word, might seem a great Difference in the Speech or Language. For Example; *Wirrit* pronounced short, sounds *Writ*, and might be not less readily understood, by differently accenting the

same Word; To which I might add Words, as such, Expressing the Mind of the Speaker, being compounded of other Words, suitable for such Composition, yet as such might be called new, or distinct from a Speech in former Use: Of which Words, near the one Half of this Peoples Language is.

I have been the larger concerning their Language, that such English whose Hearts may incline to so good and Great a Work, may be encouraged to go among those who yet have hardly heard the Name of the LORD named among them.

Their Government was purely *Monarchical*; and as for those, whose *Dominions* extended further than would well admit the Princes personal Guidance, it was committed into the

Government. Hands of *Lieutenants*, who governed with no less Absoluteness than the Prince himself. Notwithstanding in Matters of Difficulty, the Prince consulted with his Nobles, and such whom he esteemed for *Wisdom*; in which it was admirable to see the Majestick Deportment of the Prince, his Speech to his Council, with the most deliberate Discussion of any matter proposed for their Advice: After which what was by him resolved, without the least Hesitation, was applauded, and with at least a seeming Alacrity, attended.

The *Crown* (if I may so term it) always descended to the *Eldest Son* (though Subject to usurpation) not to the Female, unless in defect of

Succession. *Male of the Blood*; the *Blood Royal* being in such Veneration among this People, that if a Prince had Issue by divers Wives, such succeeded as Heir who was Royally descended, by the Mother, although the youngest esteeming his Issue by a *Venter* of less Quality than a Princess, not otherwise than *Sachims* or *Noblemen*.

Their *Nobles* were either such who descended from the *Blood Royal*, or such on whom the Prince bestowed Part of his *Dominions* with the *Royalties*, or such whose Descent was from Ancestors, who had time out of mind been esteemed such.

Their *Yeomen* were such, who having no stamp of Gentility, were yet esteemed as having a natural Right of living within their Princes *Dominion*, and a Common Use of the Land, and were distinguished by two Names or Titles, the one signifying *Subjection*, the other, *Tiller of the Land*.

Although this People retain'd nothing of *Record*, nor Use of Letters, yet there lived *Villains.* among them many Families, who altho' the time of their Fore-Fathers first inhabiting among them, was beyond the Memory of Man, yet were known to be *Strangers* or *Foreigners*, who were not priviledged with common Right, but in some measure subject to the *Yeomanry*, nor were dignified, in attending the Prince in Hunting or like Exercise; unless called by particular Favour.

The Princes, as they had not other *Revenue*, than the *Presents* of their Subjects (which yet was counted *Due Debt*) *Wrecks* of the Sea, with the *Skins* of Beasts killed in their *Dominion*, and many like things, as *First-fruits*, &c. *Revenue.* so they wanted none: For in Case of War, both People and Estate was wholly at their Disposal; therefore none demanded nor expected Pay. If we respect their Court, it was doubtless maintained in great Magnificence, in distinction from the *Subject*, which is the utmost can be obtained by the greatest Monarch; their Families and Attendants being well cloathed, with *Skins* of *Moos*, *Bear*, *Deer*, *Beaver*, and the like: The Provisions for their Tables, as *Flesh*, *Fish*, *Roots*, *Fruits*, *Berries*, *Corn*, *Beans*, in great abundance and Variety, was always brought by their Neighbouring Subjects; of all which they were as void of Care, as the most potent Princes in the Universe.

As the Prince was acknowledg'd, *Absolute Lord* on the *Land*, so he had no less Sovereignty at Sea: for as all belonged to him which was stranded on the Shore *Dominion on Seas.* of his Sea-Coast, so whatever *Whales* or other Wreck of Value, floating on the Sea, taken up, on the Seas washing his Shores, or brought and Landed from any Part of the Sea, was no less his own.

I shall conclude this brief Account of the *Indians* in general with what long since passed between the late much Honour'd, Mr. *Thomas Mayhew*, and an *Indian Prince*, who ruled a large part of the Main land.

This Prince coming to *Martha's Vineyard* with his usual Attendants, being about Eighty Persons well Armed, came to Mr. *Mayhew's* *Grandure.* House; and being admitted, sat down: Mr. *Mayhew* enter'd the Room, but being acquainted with their Customs, took no notice of the Prince's being there (it being with 'em in point of Honour incumbent on the Inferiour to salute the Superior:) A considerable time being past the Prince broke Silence, and said *Sachem* (a Word importing in their Language not more than Noble or Worshipful) *Mr. Mayhew are you well?* to which having a friendly Reply, And treating of several things, and of the Island *Martha's Vineyard*, being peopled with English; the Prince desiring something wherein the English were concern'd, Mr. *Mayhew* promising to effect what he desired; immediately subjoin'd, That he must *first speak with the Inhabitants*. The Prince demanded why he recalled his Promise; For, said he, *What I promise or speak, is always true; but you English Governours cannot be true; for you can't make your Words nor Intentions true; but mine are always true, for I make them true:* greatly disdain'ing the *Popular Government* of the English in this Country.

Having promised an Account of the Conversion of many *Indians* inhabiting these Parts of *America*, it may be well expected I should say something of their Religion while Heathen.

They generally acknowledg'd and worship'd many *Gods*; therefore greatly esteem'd and reverenc'd their *Priests*, *Powaws*, or *Wizards*, who were esteem'd as having immediate Converse with the *Gods*: To them therefore they address'd themselves in all difficult Cases; yet could not all that desire that Dignity (as they esteem'd it) obtain Familiarity with the infernal Spirits; Nor were all *Powaws* alike successful in their Addresses; but they become such, either by immediate Revelation, or in the Use of certain Rites and Ceremonies, Tradition had left as means conducing to that end: Inſomuch that Parents often out of Zeal, dedicated their Children to the *Gods*, and educated them accordingly, observing certain Diet, debarring Sleep, &c. yet of the many thus design'd, but few obtain'd their Desire.

Supposing that where the Practice of *Witchcraft* has been highly esteem'd, there may be given the plainest Demonstration of Mortals having Familiarity with infernal Spirits. I am willing to let my Reader know that not many years since died here one of the *Powaws*, who never pretended to *Astrological Knowledge*, yet could precisely inform such who desire his Assistance, from whence *Goods stolen* from them were taken, and whither carried; with many things of the like nature: nor was he ever known to endeavour the concealing his Knowledge, to be immediately from a *god subservient to him, that the English worshipped*. This *Powaw* being by an English man worthy of Credit (who lately inform'd me of the same) desired to advise him who had stolen certain Goods which he had lost, having formerly been an Eye witness of his Ability: The *Powaw*, after a little pausing, demanded why he requested that from him, since himself served another God, that therefore he could not help him; but added, *If you can believe that my god will help you, I will try what I can do*; which diverted the Man from further Inquiry. I must a little digress, and tell my Reader that this *Powaw's* Wife was accounted a Godly Woman, and liv'd in the Practice and Profession of the *Christian Religion*, not only by the Approbation, but Encouragement of her Husband: She constantly prayed in the Family, and attended the *Publick Worship* on the *Lord's-Days*: He declared that he could not blame her, for that she served a God that was above his: But that as to himself, his God's continu'd Kindness oblig'd him not to forsake his Service.

That the *Powaws*, by the infernal Spirits, often killed Persons; caused Lameness and Impotency, as well as shew'd their Art in performing things, beyond Humane, by Diabolick Skill; such who have conversed much among them have had no reason to quest. on.

Their Practice was, either by desiring the Spirit to them appearing to perform, what mischief they intended; or to form a piece of Leather like an *Arrow-head*, tying an Hair thereto; or using some *Bone*, as of Fish (that it might be known *Witchcraft*, to the bewitch'd) over which they perform'd certain *Ceremonies*; and dismissed 'em to effect their Desire.

Such enchanted things have most certainly, either entered the Bodies of the intended to be by them wounded: Or the Devil hath formed the like within their Flesh, without any outward Breach of the Skin; which we have good reason to believe; the *Powaws* acknowledging that Practice; and such things having been taken out of the *Flesh*, of the supposed to be bewitch'd. Or, by their seizing something of the Spirit (as the Devil made them think) of such they intended to torment or kill, while it wandered in their Sleep: This they kept, being in form of a Fly, closely imprison'd; and accordingly as they dealt with this, so it fare'd with the *Body* it belong'd to.

Of the Cures performed by them on the Bewitch'd I could give many Instances. I shall briefly hint at Two.

The one, of an *Indian* on *Martha's Vineyard*, called after-ward *George*; who having been sometime greatly Tormented, and now wholly Impotent; his Friends advise him to the *Powaws*, concluding him to be *Bewitched*: They being met, and dancing round a great Fire, the Sick lying by; some of the Neighbours entred the House, being perswaded that a great *Powaw*, now call'd to cure, had bewitch'd the Sick: They threaten him, that as he had bewitched, unless he would cure the Sick Man, they would burn him in that Fire. After many Excuses, too long here to relate, they took him up, resolving at least to a little singe him; who no sooner felt the Heat of the Fire near him, but the Sick immediately recovered.

This was a Thing publickly known to the *English*, as well as *Indians*, in the Neighbourhood: There can be no doubt of it.

The other I shall instance in, was a Relation from Capt. *Thomas Dagget*, Esq; now deceased, and *Richard Sarson*, Esq. Justices of the Peace; who being on an Island, where a *Bewitch'd Woman* lay in great Extremity, and wholly impotent; the *Powaws* there having without Success endeavour'd the Cure: The Related sent to *Martha's Vineyard* for more famous'd *Powaws*; the said Gentlemen were admitted to be present, on certain Conditions: The *Powaws* go to dancing, who with the Spectators, used certain Ceremonies usual in such Cases. One of the *Powaws* praying to his god, with such ardent Desires and Fervency, that Capt. *Dagget* told me, had it been to the True God, it had been a Prayer exceeding most that he had heard: The issue was, they in a *Deer Skin* caught the Spirit (as they said) which entred the Woman. This, they said, was

the Spirit of an *English-man* drown'd in the adjacent Sound: Yet it was then suppos'd the *Powaw* was by, which bewitch'd her. The Issue was, she immediately recover'd: The *Powaw*

told her, *Unless she remov'd to Martha's Vineyard, she would again be sick; for being an English Spirit, he could not long confine it.*

S E C T. II.

Of the Conversion of the Indians inhabiting certain Islands near adjoining to the Continent of New-England; and the Propagation of the Gospel by some sent to the Main Land from thence.

THE Worshipful *Thomas Mayber* in the year 1641. having obtain'd a Grant of *Martha's Vineyard, Nantuket* and *Elizabeth Isles*, to make a Settlement; his Son *Mr. Thomas Mayber* in the year 1642, settl'd at *Martha's Vineyard*, with a few other Inhabitants, where his Reputation for Piety, his Natural Gifts beside the acquir'd by his Education (having attain'd no small Knowledge in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues; and being not wholly a Stranger to the *Hebrew*) soon occasion'd his Call to the Ministry among that handfull.

Not long after, *viz.* in the year 1643, God who had ordain'd him an Evangelist for the Conversion of these Gentiles, stirr'd him up with an holy Zeal and Resolution, to assay what Success he might find in that Work; he takes opportunity to insinuate the Love and Good Will he bore to that People; and soon finds occasion to let them know their *deplorable Condition*, under Satan, who as he had kept them in Ignorance of those *Bodily* and *Earthly Things*, which might render their Lives in *this World* more happy; so of those that related to their *Future Happiness* in that to come, And whereas he could not be in hopes of being heard in a more publick, he treats them in a more private Way; sometimes going to some particular Houses, of Persons whom he esteem'd most Rational and well qualified, other while discoursing with particular Men.

The first *Indian* imbracing the Motion of forsaking their gods, and praying to the true God, was called *I a coomes*; Esteemed by the *Indians* as a contemptible Person among themselves: Unto this Man, God who ordereth all things for his own Glory, gave so great a Measure of *Faith* and *Confidence* in his Power, that he is soon beyond the Fear of concealing his Contempt of *their Gods*: The *Sachems* and *Powaws* being much enraged, threaten his Life; the *Powaws* or *Wizards* told him (a thing publicly known) that he could not be ignorant, that they could kill such as displeas'd them, *viz.* by Witchcraft.

He answers for himself before the *Sachems, Witches*, and a great Assembly; acknowledges the god they worshipp'd had *great Powers*, but limited, and was subservient to the God he now had chosen: Therefore although by their means many had suffer'd much, and some were killed,

he despis'd their Power, as being himself a Servant of *Him*, whose Power over ruled all Powers, and ordered all things: The Expecting Multitude wait the Event, which while they concluded to be *Sickness* or *Death*; the good Man remains wholly found to their Astonishment.

Mr. Mayber makes use of this Advantage, is incessant in his Labour, and Promises, now while they stumbled in doubt of their own, to set them in the right Path: He spares not his Body by Night nor Day; lodges in their Houses, proposes such things to their Consideration he thinks firstly requisite, solves all their Scruples and Objections, and tells them they might plainly see, it was in good Will for their Good, from whom he expected no Reward; that he sustained no much loss of time, and endur'd Wet and Cold.

It pleas'd God to give such Success to these Endeavours, that it was not long before he obtain'd *Publick Audience* among them, when generally he spent more time *after Sermon* in reasoning with them than *in Sermon*; whereby I must tell my Reader, it came to pass that their Religion was as well in *Head* as *Heart*.

This worthy Servant of the Lord continued his painful Labours among them until the Year 1657. in which time God was pleas'd to give such Success to his faithful and unweari'd Labour that many hundred Men and Women were added to the Church; such who might truly be said to be *Holy in Conversation*, and for Knowledge such *who needed not to be taught the first Principles of Religion*; beside the many Hundred of looser Professors of which, that such worthy Christians whose godly Zeal for propagating the Gospel, to such who sat in *Darkness*, and saw no *Light*, provok'd an holy Emulation to compass Sea and Land, by their liberal Contributions for *Proselyting* the Heathen to the Service and Worship of the Lord Jesus (who yet survive) might rejoice, since that God gave a Blessing to, and caused a plentiful Harvest to succeed their sowing in these Waters: And that the Successors and Children of those ever to be honoured deceas'd Christians might rejoice that their Predecessors Religious Intent, in giving freely of their Worldly Goods, to advance the Work for Salvation of Souls, was so far from diminishing their Estates, that they thereby left an Inheritance to their Childrens Children.

I shall give a true Relation of the Progress and present State of the Undertaking, and God's Blessing following the Endeavours of those he called, for converting the *Indians*, on *Martha's Vineyard* and adjacent Islands: by letting the World know, who, and how qualified these were, who were esteem'd Christians.

When such a Number professed the Christian Religion, as gave occasion to the *Indians* in general to Esteem them a Sect differing from themselves, and by the Denomination of *Praying Men*, to signalize that Difference; and that their Number was such as to Meet publicly to worship God: Such who forsook their Heathenish Worship and Idolatry, professing to become *Christians*, in the publick Assembly declar'd the Grounds and Reasons moving them to embrace the one, and forsake the other Way, with their Resolution to pray, to serve, and endeavour to obey the true God in Jesus Christ; how this Resolution was wrought in them; what Temptations had obstructed, what Reason, Scripture and Strength from God had encourag'd them, and enabl'd 'em to retain such Resolution; how, they had often pray'd to God, and yet been overcome by Discouragements, and Temptations, &c. Closing all with professing a Resolution, by God's Assistance to pray to, and serve Him, and Him only; begging the Prayers of the Congregation to God in their Behalf: Which said, many of the Congregation took them by the hand, in token of Love and good Will.

If after such publick Profession, any was observed not to perform the usual Worshipping of God, in praying with their Families, desiring a Blessing on their Food, or the like (who yet in their publick Meeting constantly attended) they were publickly examin'd of the same: Of which let me give a remarkable Instance.

One, who after his Admission (if I may so term it) into the Number and Society of the *Praying Indians*, being present at a great Assembly after the Exercise, was by him that preach'd, inform'd that it was reported he had ceased to pray, desir'd him to let the Congregation know what Grounds and Motives occasion'd such Neglect: The Man answer'd, *It was true, he had not lately used publickly to pray, yet did sometimes pray privately: That he did not in his Judgment disapprove the Service of God, but acknowledged it to be good: But found himself weak, not able to live up to the Rules of that Religion: But when God should give him more Strength, he hoped he should be again a praying Man.*

Thus Mr. *Maybew* continu'd his almost inexpressible Labour and vigilant Care for the Good of the *Indians*, whom he justly esteemed his Joy and Crown: And having seen so great a Blessing on his Faithful Endeavours in the making known the Name of his Lord among these Gentiles, with indefatigable Pains, expecting no Reward but alone from him, who said, *Go teach all Nations: Lo, I am with you:* God moved the

Hearts of some godly Christians in *England* to advance a considerable Sum for encouraging the propagating, and preaching the Gospel to the *Indians in New England*; and seeing the Spirit given to sundry of the *Indians*, with the Gift of Prophecy; according to the Promise given by him, who *Ascended and gave Gifts unto Men*; an Able Godly Englishman, nam'd *Peter Foulger*, who was imploy'd in teaching the Youth in Reading, Writing, and the Principles of Religion, by Catechising; and being well learn'd in the Scripture, able to assist them in what might be needful, his honour'd Father the Governour, well skilled in their Language, and highly honouring the Work for their Conversion; whereby, if in his Absence any difficult Matter might happen, they might find suitable Assistance. In the year 1647. he intended a short Voyage for *England*; but alas, the Ship wherein he took passage was never heard of.

Thus came to an immature Death Mr. *Maybew*, who was so affectionately esteem'd of by the *Indians*, that many years after he was seldom named without Tears.

Mr. *Thomas Maybew*, after the loss of his Son, as aforesaid; seeing no such Salary, probably to be obtain'd, that might invite a Minister to Embrace the Work among the *Indians*; and little hopes of finding any of the Spirit of his Son, or Mr. *Eliot*, to bear the Burden, attending, and in that day of Necessity to be undergone; without a prospect of more than could well be expected for encouraging so (in it self troublesome) Employ; and that his only Son, had spent his Strength, and yet rejoic'd in the midst of those many Aches, Pains and Distempers contracted by his often lodging in their cold Houses, and enduring Wet and Cold, in faith of God's accepting of, and prospering him in that, whereunto he could see nothing could rationally move him, concludes that it was *Of God and not of Man*; he therefore resolves to Visit and Encourage them often: He goes once every Week to some of their Plantations; and with the Assistance of Godly *Indians*, who taught and instructed their Neighbours on the *Lord's Days*, perswaded the *Indians* of the *Gayhead*, who many years were obstinately resolv'd not to admit the Glad Tidings of the Gospel among them (being animated by the *Sachims* of the Continent) now to imbrace it: So that now the *Indians* on the Islands of *Martha's Vineyard* and *Nantuket*, might justly bear the Denomination of Christian; the Number of Adult Persons on both Islands being about *Three Thousand*; of which I have taken the more particular Care to make an Exact Computation, that I might vindicate Mr. *Cotton Mather* from the Imputation of over-reckoning, when in the Life of Mr. *ELIOT* he reckons the Number suppos'd on *Martha's Vineyard* professing the Christian Religion, to be *Sixteen Hundred*.

The *Indians* being thus brought over to the Acknowledgment and Profession of the Christian Religion; and many of them desiring to joyn in such

such *Communion*, whereby they might enjoy the *Presence* of God in all his *Ordinances*: Mr. *Mayhew* and Mr. *John Cotton*, now Pastor of the Church of *New-Plimouth*, who having been sometime *Preacher* to the English, had attain'd some Knowledge of the *Indian Tongue*, and preach'd unto them Two Years; being well satisfy'd with their suitable Qualifications, after mature *Consideration* and *Advice*, concluded to give their Help and Assistance thereto: which was happily accomplish'd to the good Satisfaction of the English Church, and Godly Professors of the Island; who by Advantage of many Years Acquaintance with them, had great Experience of their Qualifications. An *Indian Church* Confederated at *Martba's Vineyard*, August 22. 1670.

Mr. *Mayhew* by Mr. *Cotton's* Removing from the Island, it was left alone as to any English Assistance: But Mr. *John Mayhew* his Grandson, being call'd to preach to a small People, by the urgent and ardent Desires of the *Indians*: and being well skill'd in their Language, comply'd with them; and once every Week preach'd at some of their *Plantations*. His Diligence was now to be doubl'd, especially after Mr. *Mayhew* his Grandfather's Death in the year 1681. by reason of certain *Heterodox Opinions*, likely to take root among them; and being a Man of great Natural Parts, he us'd to desire such who had imbib'd any of those Principles, to produce their Reasons; as likewise any that desir'd to be resolv'd in any Matter, to give him Advantage to resolve them in Publick; that others might receive Satisfaction and Instruction; whereby I believe and know, that they receiv'd more *Conviction*, *Instruction* and *Satisfaction* than in the ordinary Way of *Preaching*; which always notwithstanding preceded that: Inasmuch that none of those *Erroneous Opinions* spread to the Disturbance or Unsettling of the Church nor Generality of Professors among them: But having finish'd what God in his All-wise Providence saw good to improve him in: He deceas'd in the year 1688, leaving the *Indians* (if I might now so term them) in an orderly way of Religiously *Congregating* in their Assemblies on the *Lord's Day*, and hearing their several Teachers, who usually began with *Prayer*, sang part of a *Psalms*; then from some Portion of Scripture spake for the *Conversion* and *Edification* of his Hearers: As also a Church which then or soon after, consisted of at least *One hundred Communicants*, being according to the most strict Order of the *Congregational Way*: Which leads me to say something of the *Discipline* us'd among them.

The Church then are a *Selected Company* of *Professing Believers*, in Covenant according to the *Congregational Practice*, having Officers accordingly; and keeping up the Exercise of a *severe Discipline* by publick Admonition in case of the disorderly Walking of any Member of their Society: And if after the *Reproof* and Admo-

dition of the Church, any proceed in their Evil Courses, such are proceeded with by *Excommunication*.

I would then willingly know of those *Detractors* who either publickly or more privately, have endeavour'd to scandalize so great a Work; what kind of People they expect to see a Church consist of: Or, when it will come to pass that some shall not be retain'd in Churches (who yet may be deem'd an *Holy People*) whose Conversation may be grievous to the Church, tho' the Church can find no *Expedient* for their *Excommunication*? I know that many who are in no measure qualified for *Church Fellowship*; think it no small Disparagement to themselves that *Indians* should be accounted worthy of what themselves, cannot be admitted to: How it is in other Places I know not: But here some whose *Religious Pretences* have gain'd Credit abroad, and have not scrupl'd to *Stigmatize* the *Indians* with greatest *Opprobry*, in particular Cases of their *Complaint* the *Indians* have been found wholly *innocent*, and themselves fordidly *Villainous*: But when shall it be, that the *Seed of the Serpent* shall cease to hiss at, and open their Mouths against the *Seed of the Woman*? Which yet I could demonstrate, hath in several Cases which have occur'd here against the *Indians* broken the *Serpent's Head* in his Children, and if it were possible fill'd them with Shame and Confusion, — however the Sober *Religious People* here have done and do esteem 'em as *Christians* indeed. And although the Building be not all of *Living Stones*, yet as it is an House, is so far esteem'd an House of God: Inasmuch that I have heard some Godly English, their Neighbours, Members of Churches, profess they were troubl'd, that their Unacquaintedness in their Language was such, that they could not well (but otherwise would gladly) partake with them, in the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper.

I must acknowledge, that as the Number of the *Indians* are greatly deceas'd, so especially of the *Godly* and *Religious*; it being a thing so obvious, that in the year 1695. of the *Indians* of *Martba's Vineyard* alone; of the Number of more than One hundred adult Persons that died, not less than *Three Fourths* were of the sober *Religious Professors*: That it was by the English Inhabitants vulgarly taken notice of: The which notwithstanding in the year 1692. of the beforemention'd Church, were remaining more than *One Hundred*; without mentioning those many *Confessors* before mention'd, whose publick Declarations of their several *Convictions*, *Temptations* and *Resolutions* to Endeavour to *Serve* the True God, would have drawn Tears from the Eyes of any who had but in the Serious Retirements of Consideration acknowledg'd a *Deity*.

I must not conclude before I tell the Reader, that as in the *Apostolick Times* the Church sent forth from among themselves, for the Conversion of the Nations, so these *Indians* on *Martba's Vine-*

Yard did; not only to the Island of Nantuket, being about 1500 Adult Persons; but likewise to the Main Land.

Of those of Nantuket I shall subjoin a Letter, from Mr. John Gardner, who is well acquainted with them, having divers years assisted them in their Government, by instructing them in the Laws of England, and deciding difficult Cases among them.

The LETTER.

Worshipful Sir,

I Have receiv'd Yours of April the 8th. 94. with your Desire to be informed of the present State of our Indians, as to their Number, Worship and Government; an Answer to your Desires, take briefly.

Their Decay is Great, chiefly in Number, there being now but about Five hundred Grown Persons: As to their Worship, there are Three Societies or Churches: Two Congregational, One of the Baptists, but their Number is small; but there are Five Constant Assemblies or Meetings; Two amongst them that went by the Name of the Antepeatames or Powatoms; and that I may now say, there is not known a Powaw amongst them; and although it is true, there is a great Decay in Religion among the First Societies, many of their best Men, and I may say Good Men, are Dead: Yet amongst the now Praying Indians, there is an Increase; God raising up some even of Themselves, Preachers and serious Men too some of them; which is Cause of Thankfulness: But that there is a Decay with many, is to be lamented; the Cause I take to be their not preserving the Truth in the Love of it; their Love to Drink: Their being more mindful of Form than Substance, which puts me upon Endeavour to make them sensible, That it is neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision is any thing, but the Keeping the Commandments of God; Faith that Works by Love, the New Creature, and things of that Nature.

As to their Government, they are wholly under their Majesty's, or the English Government;

The Method is, they have Three Distinct or Town-Courts, with Power to hear and determine to Forty Shillings; The Magistrates they chuse themselves Yearly; and when Chosen and Approved of, they have Commissions with Liberty of Appeal to the English, which they make much use of: Greater Matters come to the English. This in short is the Truth of their Present State.

I am

Your Real Friend and Servant,

Nantuket
May 17.
1694.

JOHN GARDNER.

Here we must take notice of God's giving Success to the Ministry of the Indians; and acknowledge, That although there have been some Decay, yet on that Island there is not only a Form, but in some measure the Power of Godliness.

So likewise on the Main-land; by the alone Ministry of the Martha's Vineyard Indians, was the Civilizing and Conversion of the Indians on the Main-land, at a Place call'd Succonet, and Parts adjacent; who, as they were Converted by the Ministry, sent from the Church of Martha's Vineyard, so the Officers were by them, (as likewise were those of Nantuket) Ordain'd by laying on the Hands of their Presbytery; Of these, although I have been no Eyewitness, yet I have receiv'd Account from even such who bare no great Respect to Religion, that they are as beyond Comparison, Exceeding the other Indians in Moral Vertue; So likewise from other Judicious Persons, their Neighbours, of whom I shall name Mr. William Vobes, a Person now Representing the Freeholders of those Parts, in the Great and General Assembly of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England: Nor have these People as yet Dependance on, nor Expectation from any other, than their Mother, the Church of Martha's Vineyard.

S E C T. III.

Of the Indians Government when Christians

I Have already told my Reader, That the Government of this People was the best (of all Governments) Monarchy; And it has been judg'd, not without Reason, that a main Obstruction in the Progress of the Gospel in the *American Plantations*, was, if not yet is, the Jealousie the Princes conceiv'd of the Invasion of their Government through the Pretences of Religion, and the Eclipsing their *Monarchical Dignity*.

Mr. Thomas Mayhew therefore finding that the Princes on these Islands, who although they maintain'd their Absolute Power and Jurisdiction as Kings; were yet bound to do certain Homage to a Potent Prince on the Continent; and although they were no great People, yet had been wasted by *Indian Wars*, wherein the Great Princes on the Continent (not unlike European Princes for like Reasons of State) were not assisting, whereby they were necessitated to make these Princes the Balance to decide their Controversies, and several Jurisdictions, by Presents Annually sent, whereby obliging the Princes to give their several Assistance as Occasion requir'd: And seeing his Son as aforesaid, in a Zealous Endeavour for their Conversion, he judg'd it meet that Moses and Aaron joyn Hands: He therefore prudently lets them know, that by Order from his Master the King of England, he was to govern the English which should inhabit these Islands: That his Master was in Power far above any of the *Indian Monarchs*; but that, as he was Powerful, so was he a great Lover of Justice: That therefore he would in no measure invade their Jurisdictions but on the contrary, assist them as Need requir'd: That Religion and Government were distinct Things. Thus in no long time they conceiv'd no ill Opinion of the *Christian Religion*.

When afterwards the Number of the *Christian Indians* were increas'd among them, he perswaded them to admit of the Counsels of the Judicious Christians among themselves; and in cases of more than ordinary Consequence, of a Jury for Trial; when likewise he promis'd his Assistance and Direction with the Prince; when notwithstanding the Prince's Assent was to be obtain'd, tho' he were no *Christian*.

Thus within a few Years there was a Happy Government set'd among them, and Records kept of all Actions and Acts passed in their several Courts, by such who having learn'd to write fairly, were appointed thereto. The Princes with their *Sachims* (or Nobles) made publick Acknowledgment of their Subjection to the King of England, being notwithstanding mindful to be understood as Subordinate Princes, to Govern

according to the Laws of God and the King. Here I shall take leave to insert Two Remar-kables.

During the late unhappy War between the English and the Indians in New England, about Nineteen Years since; an Evil Spirit possess'd too many of our English, whereby they suffer'd Themselves to be unreasonably Exasperated against all Indians: Of such, there were some on these Islands who could hardly be so moderated by Mr. Mayhew, and others in Government with him, as to be restrain'd from rising to assay the Disarming of the Indians; for whose Satisfaction Captain Richard Sarson, Esq; was order'd with a small Party (the Indians being on these Islands Twenty to one, having Arms) to Treat the Indians on the West End of *Martha's Vineyard*, who were mostly to be doubted. He returns with the *Ensuing Answer*; That the delivering their Arms, would Expose them to the Will of the Indians engag'd in the present War, who were not less theirs than the Enemies of the English: That they had never given occasion of the Distrust intimated: If in any thing not hazarding their Safety, they could give any Satisfaction for the Proof of their Fidelity, they would willingly attend what should reasonably be demanded of them: But they were unwilling to deliver their Arms, unless the English would propose some Mean for their Safety and Livelihood. With this Return, they drew a Writing in their own Language, which I have often read, and would have *Verbatim* inserted, but can't at present find it. The Substance was, That as they had submitted to the Crown of England, so they resolv'd to Assist the English on these Islands against their Enemies, which they Esteem'd in the same respect equally their own, as Subjects to the same King: which was subscrib'd by the Persons of the greatest Note among them.

Having this Answer, the Government resolv'd, and accordingly improv'd them as a Guard, furnishing them with suitable Ammunition, and found them so faithful, that even some nearly related, in observance of General Instructions given them, so soon as they landed from the Continent, were immediately brought before the Governour to attend his Pleasure: Insomuch that the English (although the War, with respect to the Multitude of Indians, inhabiting the Continent, and their Advantage by the Nearness to the French had no good Aspect) took no care, but left the whole to the Indians: Nothing doubting to be advertis'd by them of any Danger from the Enemy, This was the Effect of the bringing the Gospel of Peace among them, viz. a Peace bringing Gospel:

The other *Observable* I shall add to shew as their *Loyalty*, so their *Observance* of the *Laws* of *England*.

In the time of the late *Revolution*, when many in hopes there was no *King* in *Israel*, Expected to have done what they saw good in their own eyes. Several of our *English* threatening to fetch certain *Sheep* in possession of the *Indians* inhabiting a small *Island* adjacent to *Martha's Vineyard*: Which *Sheep* they asserted were stolen from 'em, who met with *Repulse*: The *Sachim*, lest there should happen any *Misunderstanding* of that matter, immediately makes his *Report* to me in these *Words*, viz.

Several of Your *English* have been on my *Island*, and would have forcibly taken *Sheep* from thence: and we are much threatened therewith: I am doubtful if they persist in that *Resolution*, it may occasion *Bloodshed*: You know that while your *Grandfather* and my *Father* liv'd, there never hapned any *Difference* in such things, nor hope will be occasion given by me. I desire the same *Amity* may be continued: Nor can the *English* say that we have not manifested our *Allegiance* to the *King* by a continued *Subjection*.

And altho' 'tis true, we have desir'd your *Order* should come to us rather than your *Officer*, which hath generally been observ'd; yet we are willing in case the *English* pretend any thing, ours have injur'd them in, let an *Officer* by *Writ* from *Authority* do his duty, then we shall know how in an orderly way to be reliev'd: Yet shall the least *Boy* bringing your *Order*, as in your *Grandfather's* time, command any thing: And if you see *Cause* on any *Complaint* about our *Sheep*, you may command all of them; hoping to find as hitherto, a *Decision* by the *Rules* of *Justice*: We hope we shall not see (as is too much practis'd in other *Places*) an *Englishman* pretending an *Indian* to be in his debt, to come to our *Houses* and pay himself:

Or, in other *Cases*, beat our *People*; But as hitherto we may have equal *Justice*, being the *King's* *Subjects*: and *Violence*, and *Riot* committed on our *People* by the *English* may be esteem'd of the same nature and quality as ours against them; of which, with the *Justices*, we pray you would consider, and take speedy *Care*.

I shall, as to their *Government*, only add, that in their several *Plantations* or *Town Ships*, they Elect *Three* or more to joyn with the *Sachims* (or *Lords* of the *Place*) who hold *Courts* for issuing such *Controversies* as happen among them, the *Sachim* presiding in such *Courts*; or in case he decline that *Office*, another is *Elected* in his *Place*. If either *Party* dislike the *Judgment* given, he *Appeals* to a *Superiour Court*, which consists of some of the most Esteem'd of each *Place*, being some of their *Magistrates*, where some *Principal Sachim* is *Elected* to preside for one *Year*: And from this *Court* an *Appeal* lies to the *English Court*.

In giving *Judgment*, they observe such *Rules* and *Orders* made and recorded among themselves, and the *English Law*, the *Knowledge* whereof they much aspire unto. They have likewise some among them, whom the less able to declare or defend their own *Cases*, improve as *Attornies*; some of which are, to admiration, *Critical* in their *Pleadings*.

I shall close the *Whole*, when I have told the *Reader*, that their *Children* are generally taught to *Read*, and many to *Write*.

In one of their *Towns* the last *Winter*, viz. 1693. *Thirty* *Children* were at *School*, *Twenty* more of the same *Place*, at the same time, accidentally, being not supplied with *Books*, could not attend it. Such who are too far distant from any *School*, are often taught by some of their *Neighbours*; in divers places are lesser *Schools*.

THE
P O S T - S C R I P T .

HAVING among many things, worthy of Notice in the Precedent Discourse, omitted some Remarkables of the Indian Converse with *Infernal Spirits*; I thought meet to briefly touch some things therein Remarkable, and to insert a Narrative of the *Decease* of a Prince, memorable for his forsaking his People for the sake of Christ, and his Return with happy Success in Profelyting his Subjects to the Worship of God in Christ.

This I find written on the Out-side of a Book, in the Library of Mr. *John Mayhew* deceased: Which please to take as followeth.

'Mitark, *Sachim* (rather Prince) of the *Gay* bead,
'on *Martha's Vineyard*, Deceased January
'1683.

THIS Prince's Subjects being resolv'd to continue in Heathenism, notwithstanding his Embracing the Gospel, grew so disaffected to him, that he for a time remov'd to the East End of *Martha's Vineyard*; whither after Three Years abode at the said Place, he again return'd, having perswaded his People into a Willingness, that such who would, might attend the Glad Tidings he pretended to bring; whereupon he himself open'd to them the Mysteries of the Gospel, dispensing the Word to such as came to hear him; insomuch that at this Day that People are all Christians by Profession.

'The Day before his Death, I being with him, inquired of him concerning his Hope, who after he had Treated some time of the Mutability of an Earthly Life, said, *I have hope in God, that when my Soul departeth out of this Body, GOD will send his Messengers, who shall conduct it to Himself, to be with Jesus Christ.*

'And then with great Earnestness pronounced these Words: *where that Everlasting Glory is! As for my Reasons* (said he) *I my self have had many Wrongs of Enemies, of whom I*

have sought no Revenge, nor retain'd Evil in Thought, Word nor Deed; and I also expect the same from God.

'But (said he) *I proceed no further: for God is very Merciful.* Then I ask'd him of his Willingness to die. He reply'd, *It is now Seven Nights since I was taken sick, and I have not yet ask'd of God to live longer in the World.*

'*In this World are some Benefits to be enjoy'd; also many Troubles to be endur'd; but with respect to the Hope I have in God, I am willing to die: Here I am in pain, there I shall be freed from all Pain, and enjoy that Rest that never endeth.*

'Then pointing to his Daughters, said, *There be Three of my Daughters* (relating how they were dispos'd of) *And you, my Daughters, if you lose your Father, Mourn not for me, but Mourn for your selves, and for your Sins: Mourn not for me; for though you are unwilling to spare me, and I might be helpful to you if I should live longer in this World, yet to die, is better for me.*

Of *Powaws* or Persons improving the *Infernal Spirits* to effect their intended Malicious Harms; I can inform of a Converted *Sachim*, who in his publick Protestation, said as followeth, *viz.*

'That he having often employ'd his god, which appear'd to him in form of a Snake, to Kill, Wound, and Lame such whom he intend'd Mischief to, he employ'd the said Snake to Kill; and that failing, to Wound or Lame *Hiacooms*, the first Convert on *Martha's Vineyard*; all which prov'd ineffectual: And having seriously consider'd the said *Hiacooms's* Assertion, That none of the *Powaws* could hurt him, since his God whom he now serv'd, was the Great God, to whom theirs was subservient: he resolv'd to worship the True God: From which time, during Seven Years, the said Snake gave him great Disturbance: But that he never after his praying to God in Christ, employ'd that said Snake in any thing, which about that time ceas'd to appear to him.

A Further Account concerning the present State of *Christianity* among the *INDIANS* in other Parts of *NEW-ENGLAND*:

Concerning the further Progress of the Gospel among the *Indians in America*, the Reader may take this following Account, which is extracted out of several Letters sent to the Reverend *Increase Matber*, President of the Collège at *Cambridge in New-England*.

Mr. *Samuel Treat*, Pastor of the Church in *Eastham*, in a Letter bearing Date *August 23. 1693.* writeth as followeth.

Reverend and Worthy Sir,

I Being advertised, that it would not be unreasonable or unserviceable at this Juncture, to give your self a true and impartial Account both of the Number, as also of the present State of our *Indians*, and Acceptation and Entertainment of the Gospel among them, and their profess'd Subjection thereunto. *Sir*, You may be assur'd as followeth,

That there are Five hundred and five Adult Persons of *Indians* within the Limits of our Township, unto whom these many years past, I have from time to time imparted the Gospel of our *Lord Jesus* in their own Language (and I truly hope not without Succés) and yet I continue in the same Service, earnestly imploring, and not without Hopes, expecting and waiting for a more plentiful down-pouring of the Spirit from on high among them: And I verily do not know of, nor can I learn that there is so much as one of these Five Hundred *Indians* that does obstinately absent from, but do jointly frequent and attend on the Preaching of the Word, and countenance the same, not only frequenting and attending Seasons of Worship of a Divine Sanction, but also all other Occasional Opportunities, when the Gospel is dispens'd to them; and when our Congregations solemnize publick Days of Prayer with *Fasting*, or of *Praises* (I usually giving them Advertisement thereof) they readily comply therewith, in their respective Assemblies.

They have Four distinct Assemblies in four Villages belonging to our Township, in which Four Assemblies they have Four Teachers of their own Choice, of the more *Sober, Well-affected* and *Understanding* Persons among them, who do duly preach to them, when I am not with them: These *Indian* Teachers repair to my House once a Week, to be further instructed (*pro Modulo meo*) in the Concernments proper for their Service and Station.

There are in the Four abovesaid Villages, four *Schoolmasters* (of the best accomplish'd for that Service) who teach their Youth to *Read* and *Write* their own Language.

There are also Six *Justices* of the Peace (or Magistrates) in the Four abovesaid Villages, who regulate their Civil Affairs, and punish Criminals and Transgressors of the *Civil Law*; they have their stated *Courts* and other inferiour Officers in a Subserviency to their *Civil Good Order*.

There are among them many of a *Serious, Sober, Civilized Conversation* and *Department*, who are making *Essays* towards a further progressive Step of *Obedience* and *Conformity* to the Rules of the Gospel, *viz.* an *Ecclesiastical Combination*, having a great Desire to be *Baptiz'd*.

They are very *Serviceable* by their Labour to the *English Vicinity*, and have all along since our Wars with their Nation, been very *Friendly* to the *English*, and forward to serve them in that Quarrel. Their *Department*, and *Converse*, and *Garb*, being more *Manly* and *Laudable* than any other *Indians*, that I have observ'd in the *Province*.

But, *Sir*, I would not be *Tedious*, only craving your *Interest* at the Throne of Grace for us, that we may be *Serviceable* to the Name and Kingdom of our *LORD JESUS*. So I subscribe,

S I R,

Eastham, Aug.
23. 1693.

Yours willingly,

Samuel Treat.

Mr. *James Noyce* Pastor of the Church in *Stonington*, in a Letter dated the *Fifteenth* of *March* last, writeth thus.

Reverend Sir,

Yours I receiv'd, and rejoice that God hath stirr'd up any that doth take care and contribute towards the advancing *Christ's Kingdom* amongst the poor Heathen; and do and did formerly believe, that where God sends Light, He intends Love; and where God gives little, He expects less; and therefore the Labours of the Reverend Mr. *Eliot*, Mr. *Mayhew*, &c. have not been lost, they have not Run in vain, but that many are gone to Heaven of their *deceas'd Hearers*. And I should count it my Joy and Crown to win one Soul of them to *Christ*. And am in hope

hope that some one or two of the *Pequots*, that were my Friends, and liv'd on my Land, upon my Endeavour have obtain'd Mercy now dead, who dy'd praying, renounc'd wholly the way of the Heathen Worship, &c.

Also some of our Captive Servants professing the Faith, with many Tears, are baptiz'd, and give good Testimony in their Knowledge, Converse and Conversation of a real gracious Work upon them.

I have in my House a witty hopeful *Sachem's* Son, one of the chiefest Quality in these Parts, bound fast to me to be instructed to Read and Write, and in the way of Life, which hitherto gives great hopes and no Discouragement; he is about *Thirteen* years of age. And once I had the Advantage to astonish many of the Heathen; and of the chief of them, by God's answering Prayers in the presence of many *Heathen*, by raising a very sick *Indian Lad* (*English* also present) after the Lad was given over by *Indians* and *English*, and was Speechless; and several *Powaws* had *Powawed*, and given that Sentence, that the Lad would die; but he is alive to this day: The Story is too large to write, but I believe God did glorifie Himself in the sight of the Heathen, according to humble and earnest Petitions, made in the Presence of about *Thirty Heathen*: All seem'd to be much confounded and awaken'd. One very Witty and Wise *Sachem* there present, told me, he would be a Christian, but he was afraid his Heart would not be right, without which, Profession would be in vain, and he was afraid *Wine* and *Women* would be his Ruine, he should not forbear; but he own'd and almost all present, when I pray'd, our God was the Great and True God, but they were poor *Indians*, and they did not know him. Of these things, and much more many *English* Witnesses are alive, but some are dead.

I have heard also the Reverend Mr. *Fitch* did at the Request of the *Mobegs*, keep a Fast for *Rain*, in the time of a great Drought, at the Request of the *Heathen*, when their *Powaws* had long cried for Rain; and God answer'd by sending Rain the same Day, to the great Astonishment of the Heathen.

Yours to serve,

Stonington,
Mar. 15, 93.

JAMES NOYCE.

Mr. Rowland Cotton, Minister at Sandwich, in a Letter of June 27. 1693. writeth thus:

Reverend Sir,

I Have Endeavour'd to take an Exact Account of those *Indians*, Adult Persons, who do constantly attend upon the Dispensation of the Gospel, in the Place that at present I am concern'd for. And we do find, that in *Mashipau*, *Sanctuit*, and *Cotuit* Villages bordering on each other, and all belonging to the same Assembly, there are no less than Two hun-

dred and Fourteen, besides several Straglers that have no settled Place; do repair thither. To carry on the Work of the Lord's Day, there is appointed one *Simon Papmonit*: And at other times I shall diligently intend their Good according to my Capacity.

Reverend Sir,

Sandwich, June
27. 1693.

I desire your Blessing on

Your Setvant,

ROWL. COTTON

Mr. *Thomas Tupper* also has given an Account of *One hundred and eighty Indians*, unto whom he does dispense the Word, concerning whom he has Charitable Hopes that they do (and that with Zeal and Sincerity) Embrace the Gospel. There are moreover in *Plimouth* Colony about *Five hundred Indians*, amongst whom Mr. *John Cotton* (Pastor of the Church in *Plimouth*, and Son to the Famous *Cotton* of *Boston*) hath and doth preach the Gospel.

Likewise Mr. *Peter Thatcher*, Pastor of the Church in *Milton*, is a Faithful Labourer among the *Indians* at *Punkepaog*. So is Mr. *Grindal Rawson*, Pastor of the Church in *Mendham*, among the *Indians* in those Parts; and Mr. *Bondet*, who is Minister to the *French* Congregation at *Oxford*, in the *Nipmug* Country.

The *Indian* Church at *Natick* (which was the first *Indian* Church in *America*) is since blessed *Eliot's* Death, much diminish'd and dwindle'd away. But Mr. *Daniel Gookin*, hath bestow'd his pious Cares upon it.

Besides the Labours of the *English* in *New-England*, Mr. *Dellius* (a *Dutch* Minister) at *Albany* has learn'd the Language of the *Indians* in those Parts; God has graciously smil'd on his Endeavours, so as that considerable Numbers of them are converted to the Faith of Christ, and there is Reason to hope that what is done, is, but the First Fruits of a Great Harvest to follow.

Take the Account which himself giveth in a Letter bearing date the 16th of *January* last. His Words are these,

Reverend Sir,

I Have this to add to my former, that a *Jesuit* call'd *Milet*, whom the *Oneydes* took Prisoner about Four years ago, and who is now in that Castle a Great Man among them, uses all his Subtily to frustrate my Labours, by making false Impressions upon the *Indians* concerning our Religion; yet Almighty God is pleas'd to strengthen my Profelytes in that way I teach them, more and more. Sometimes there happens Difference and Disputes between my Profelytes and his concerning the Points of Religion; but ours alledge they confute the others. This I must say for them, that they take a great deal

'deal of pains, and are very zealous to learn,
'and very devout in their Practice. I am, under
'favour, of opinion, that the *Jesuit Catechism*,
'with the Cases of Conscience added thereto,
'writ by their own Hands, which they learn the
'Indians, which is either in your or your *Reve-*
'*rend Son, Mr. Cotton Mather's* possession, may be
'serviceable to convince our *Profelytes* and o-
'thers, *French* that come here, of their pernicious
'Principles; and wish the same might be sent
'me.

'I had put *Six* or *Seven Psalms* in their native
'Language upon our Notes, but were not perfe-
'cted; now they are finish'd, and the *Ten Com-*
'mandments also.

'The new Infant Church among the Heathen
'increases, there being *Seventeen* last Communi-
'on day, the *Thirti first* of *December* last, who

'took the Sacrament with us, and *Four* others
'baptiz'd the same Day. Thus God is sought of
'them that asked not for him, and is found of them
'that sought him not. I think that God has a
'great People of them yet: The Lord send a
'a Blessing to those means that are us'd for the
'Enlargement of his Kingdom among them;
'and bless you, and all that labour in his Vine-
'yard; which shall ever be the Prayers of him,
'who is,

Reverend Sir,

Your most Faithful and Obedient

Servant in our Lord Jesus,

Albany, Jan.
16. 1693. 4.

GODEFR. DELLIUS.

A N

A P P E N D I X,

Relating Things greatly Remarkable, fetch'd from one little Island
of Christianized INDIANS.

IT is not among the *English* only, but among
the *Indians* also, that our Glorious Lord *Je-*
sus Christ hath been glorify'd in doing
of Wonders. And altho' some of those Wonders
have been mention'd elsewhere, but more of 'em
have been faultily bury'd in such Oblivion that
they are never like to have any mention at all
in this World, yet I am able to furnish one con-
siderable part of a Chapter in our Church History,
with a Collection of Remarkables, fetch'd from
no more than one little Party of Christianiz'd
Indians; even those upon the one little Island of
Martba's Vineyard. It is possible that some of
the *Americans* may be the Posterity of those *Ca-*
naanites, who after the Wars of *Canaan*, set up their
Pillars in *Africa*, with that Inscription,

*We are of those that fled from the Face of Joshua
the Robber.*

But behold, how *Jesus the Saviour* has follow'd
them, and conquer'd them with his Glorious
Grace!

Reader, Stand still, and consider the Wondrous
Works of God!

(I.) The UNKNOWN GOD wonderfully
making himself known to a poor Pagan.

How far our Sovereign and Gracious God may
in an Extraordinary Manner discover of himself
unto some among the poor Pagans that have not
enjoy'd the preaching of the Gospel, who can
particularly determine? Wonderful is the Story

which we have in *Aquinas*, of a Corpse taken up
out of a Sepulchre in the Days of *Constantine* and
Irene, which had on it a Plate of Gold, whereon
these Words were Engrav'd:

*Christus nascetur ex Virgine, Ego credo in illum:
O Sol, sub Irenes & Constantini Temporibus
iterum me videbis.*

A Story so wonderful will not engage me to
write *pro Salute Aristotelis*; or to defend a *Prob-*
lem advanc'd even by some of our own great Re-
formers, *De Animabus Paganorum*; lest I incur the
Censure pass'd by one of the Ancients, on those
who endeavour to prove *Plato* a Christian, till
they prove themselves little better than Heathen.
It is indeed a Principle in the *Alcoran* of *Mahomet*,
That Let a Man's Religion be what it will, he shall
be sav'd, if he conscientiously live up to the Rules
of it. And it is fitter for *Mahometans* than
for *Christians* to maintain a Principle so derogato-
ry unto the Vertue of the Gospel, which, if it
be Hid, it is Hid unto them that be lost. None more
sincerely than we Non Conformists, do subscribe
unto that Article of the Church of England,
They are to be held Accursed, who presume to say,
That every Man shall be sav'd by the Law or Sect
which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his
Life according to that Law and Light of Nature:
For Holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name
of *Jesus Christ*, whereby Men must be sav'd.

But

But I will wholly leave my Reader to his own Judgment on another Story somewhat wonderful.

Pammebanuit an Indian of prime Quality, on *Martha's Vineyard*, and his Wife having buried their five first Children successively, every one of them within ten Days of their Birth, notwithstanding all their Use of *Powaws* and of *Medicines*, to preserve them, they had a sixth Child (a Son) born about the Year 1638, which was a few Years before the English first settled on that Vineyard. The Mother was greatly perplexed with Fear that she should lose this Child, like the Former: And utterly despairing of any Help from such means as had been formerly tried with so little success, as soon as she was able, (which among the *Indians* is quickly and *within less than Ten Days*) with a sorrowful Heart, she took up her Child, and went out into the Field, that she might there weep out her Sorrows. While she was here musing on the Insufficiency of all Humane Help, she felt it powerfully suggested unto her Mind, That *there is one Almighty God who is to be pray'd unto: That this God hath created all the Things that we see: and That the God who had given Being to her self, and all other People, and given her Child unto her, was easily able to continue the Life of her Child.*

Hereupon this poor blind Pagan resolv'd, That she would seek unto This GOD for that Mercy, and she did accordingly. The Issue was, that her Child liv'd; and her Faith (such as it was) in Him, who thus answer'd her Prayer, was wonderfully strengthen'd: The Consideration whereof caus'd her to *Dedicate* this Child unto the Service of that God, who had preserv'd his Life; and Educate him as far as might be, to become the Servant of God.

Not long after this, the *English* came to settle on *Martha's Vineyard*; and the *Indians*, who had been present at some of the English Devotions, reported, That they assembled frequently together; and that the Man who spoke among 'em, often look'd upwards. This Woman, from this Report, presently concluded, That their Assemblies were for Prayers; and that their Prayers were unto that very God, whom she had address'd for the *Life of her Child*. She was confirm'd in this, when the Gospel was not long after preached by *Mr. Mayhew* to the *Indians* there; which Gospel she readily, and cheerfully, and heartily embrac'd. And in the Confession that she made publicly at her Admission into the Church, she gave a Relation of the preparation for the *Knowledge of Christ*, wherewith God in this wonderful Way had favour'd her. But that which adds to this Wonder, is, that this very Child has prov'd an Eminent Preacher of Christ unto the other *Indians*. He is living at this time [1696] a very Religious Christian, and a Laborious Minister, and one, who not only is Pastor to an Indian Church on *Martha's Vineyard*, consisting of some Scores of Regenerate Souls, but also has taken pains to carry the Gospel unto other *Indians* on the Main Land with a Notable Effect thereof.

His Name is *Japhet*.

(II.) *A Miracle.*

A Christian Indian living at *Martha's Vineyard*, had his Arm so wither'd, that he could make no use of it. Upon which occasion he went unto divers of his Relations, desiring them to join with him in Prayer for the Recovery of his Arm. He could find no Faith in any of 'em about the matter, except some little in his Wife; with whom therefore he set apart a time solemnly to seek after Christ, in the Case which thus distress'd him: And behold, he was quickly after this perfectly restor'd, unto the Astonishment of all his Neighbours.

It is a remarkable Passage which *Mr. Danick Rogers* hath (in his *Naaman*) about our New-English Plantations, *Who can or dare deny but that the Calling of those Americans to the Knowledge of the Truth, may seem a weighty Occasion to expect from God the Gift of Miracles?* Behold, Reader, the Expectation remarkably accommodated!

(III.) *Wondrous Answers of Devout Prayers among the Christian Indians.*

Our Christian Indians are distinguish'd by the Name of *Praying Indians*: And when they have become Christian, they have been favour'd by Heaven, with notable Successes of their Praying.

There liv'd at *Martha's Vineyard* a Godly Indian, call'd *William Lay*, who was both a *Magistrate* and a *Minister* among his Countrymen. This Man was in the year 1690. visit'd with a fore Fit of Sickness, which prevail'd upon him so far, that he lay speechless, in the last Conflict with Death, as his Friends apprehended, for several Days together. At length his Wife supposing his End very near, desired *Japhet* the Pastor of the Indian Church to pray with him, who coming to the House, could scarce perceive any Life now left in him. However, *Japhet* would not pray at this time without first singing a *Psalms*: and particularly, the Eleven first Verses of the eighty eighth *Psalms*.

Now they had hardly sang two Verses before the dying Man began to revive, and stir up his Eyes, and move his Lips, and lift his Hands; and then he began to sing with them, and quickly his Voice was as high, if not higher, than any of theirs. Thus he continu'd singing, with his Hands lifted up until they concluded: And then laying down his Hands, he seem'd again fallen into his dying posture. *Japhet* then goes to prayer, and soon after Prayer was begun, the sick Man began once more to revive: And lifting up his Hand, he got *Japhet* by the Hand, and held him till Prayer was ended; and then he immediately open'd his mouth in the praises of God, who, he said, *had heard Prayer on his behalf, and graciously restor'd him from the Mouth of the Grave, that he might see his Goodness in the World; and he believ'd would bestow Life Eternal upon him in the World to come.*

The Man recover'd, and walk'd abroad : But about half a Year after this, he fell into another Sickneſs, whereof he dy'd.

Another very notable Answer of Prayer, did *Abel Aſſowwe*, an Elder of the *Indian Church* at *Martha's Vineyard*, count himſelf oblig'd unto Heaven for. In the Month of *January* 1685, he with his Wife, undertook to paſs over *Monument Bay*, about five Leagues, in a little *Canoo* ; but when they were got a little more than half way, the Ice came ſo upon them, as to encloſe them on every ſide, and cover the Water as far as ever they could ſee.

They were now in extream Diſtreſs, and cry'd unto God with Earneſt Prayers for Deliverance ; but eſpecially for the Salvation of their Souls, which they thought was all they had now to hope for.

In this Diſtreſs they continu'd for ſeveral Hours ; but at length, immediately after one of their Prayers, the Ice open'd juſt at the Head of their *Canoo*, and went on opening to them ; ſo that they had a Free, tho' a ſtreight Paſſage to the Shore, for divers Miles together ; the Ice cloſing ſtill together again juſt as the *Canoo* had paſſed it. Their Friends on the Shore beholding ſome of their Diſtreſs, but unable to help them in it, beheld alſo with Aſtoniſhment the Relief thus granted them, and gave them a joyful Welcome.

(IV.) *A notable Converſion of an Obſtinate Infidel.*

Reader, Behold *one ſaved as by Fire !*

No longer ago than the Year 1695, about the beginning of *October*, the Spirit of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* mov'd the Heart of *Japhet* for to carry his Goſpel unto the *Indians* in a *Plantation*, which hitherto were without the Knowledge of the *Great Salvation*. Theſe *Indians* were, by the Bleſſing of Heaven, on the Preaching of *Japhet*, brought generally to ſubject themſelves unto the Goſpel. Yet there was *One Man* among them, at firſt very obſtinate ; who nevertheleſs after much Obſtinacy, promis'd at length to forſake his *Heatheniſm*, and embrace the Religion of *Chriſt*. But when *Japhet* was gone off, this Man goes to his Brother, and expreſſes his Diſlike of the *Chriſtian Religion*, and ſignifies that he would return to his old *Heatheniſh* Cuſtoms. His Brother diſſwad'd him from this *Apoſtacy*, and reminded him of his Promiſes ; but withal told him, *That if he did forſake the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he might expect ſome dreadful Judgment from that Glorious Lord upon him.*

He took not his Brother's Council ; and within a few Days the awful Judgment of God overtook him. His Houſe was conſum'd by Fire ; and his Three Children, which were all he had, conſum'd in it ; but by what means the Fire was kindled, it could never be known.

The Man was gone from home ; and at his Return, ſeeing ſo horrid a Spectacle, as his Family in Aſhes, he fell horribly diſtracted, conti-

ning in his Diſtraction a whole Day together. But then he came to himſelf, and immediately acknowledged, *That what had befallen him, was a juſt Hand of God upon him for his Unbelief.* He profeſſed his unfeigned Sorrow for his Impiety, and renewed his Promiſes to yield Obedience unto the Goſpel ; and hath ever ſince conformed his Life according to thoſe Promiſes.

(V.) *An horrid MURDER ſtrangely detected and repented.*

The moſt barbarous People in the World cannot forbear obſerving, That a *Murderer*, *Vengeance ſuffereth not to live.* Thoſe Children of *Cain* often promiſe to themſelves a Concealment of their Villany : But a *Beſſus* will find the very Swallows to chirrup out his *Murder* of his Father. A *Barbarous* People become *Chriſtian*, ſhall bring in one to increaſe the Number of the Examples which verifie that Obſervation.

About the Year 1668, an *Indian Squaw* was found murdered at *Martha's Vineyard*, and the Neighbourhood ſuſpected an *Indian Man*, whoſe Name was *Pamabtuk*, to be the Author of the Murder. Nevertheleſs, upon his Examination, he deny'd that Fact ; and becauſe the Fact could not be proved againſt him, he was left at liberty.

More than twenty years after this there was another *Indian Squaw* found murdered, and this *Pamabtuk*, with ſome others, were thereupon queſtioned, who all denied the *Murder* ; nor was there any Evidence to convict them of it.

Hereupon an *Indian* preſent, mov'd that *Pamabtuk* might be again interrogated concerning the *Murder* committed ſo many Years ago ; and beheld the poor Creature immediately confeſſed himſelf Guilty of that *Old Murder* ; and after a fair Trial, was executed for it.

He confeſſed that he killed the *Squaw*, to hide her being with child by him [A *Crime* ſeverely puniſhed among the *Chriſtian Indians*.] But now, inſtead of his hiding his Sin, he ſaid, *his Sin had found him out.* He ſeemed very penitent ; and when he came to the place of Execution, he declared, *That as he juſtly deſerved, ſo he was freely willing to die ; and that he had enjoyed more Peace of Conſcience in a few days, now ſince he confeſſed his Crime, than he had for many years before.* Several of the *Indian* Preachers, and others, did ſeriously apply themſelves to him with ſuch Advice, as they judg'd ſuitable for him ; and particularly one of them told him, *That though he had been ſtanding idle till the Eleventh Hour ; yet if he would now at laſt believe on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he ſhould certainly be accepted.*

Whereupon he earneſtly deſired the Spectators to take ſpecial notice of his End, and be warn'd thereby to take heed of the Sins which had brought him thereunto ; beſeeching their Prayers for him, and profeſſing their Hopes of *Mercy* from God through our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*.

In fine, being asked concerning the latter Murder, he answer'd, That he was, as to that, wholly *Innocent*; adding, That he was now going to die, and he knew no Reason, why he should not confess *That*, as well as the other, if he had been guilty of it.

(VI.) *Sadducismus Triumphatus.*

Come hither, ye prophane *Sadducees*, that will not believe the Being of a Devil, for fear lest you must thence infer the Being of a God. We will relate some things well known to prudent and honest Witnesses: And when you have read this Relation, Mock on!

The *Indians* of *Marib's Vineyard*, who are now serious Christians, will upon their own too certain Knowledge, abundance of them acknowledge the Witchcrafts wherein they had actual Conversations, and explicit Confederacies with Devils, while they were yet Pagans. They know, That many Persons among them have been by the Zeal of their Parents, dedicated unto their Infernal Gods, and educated for the special Service of those Gods; but that the *Demons* accept only some here and there, to make dangerous *Powaws* or Wizzards of them. They know that these *Powaws* often employ their *Demons* to smite their Neighbours with Blindness and Lameness, and other Mischiefs; and sometimes to kill them, and sometimes to cure their Maladies.

They know that their manner is, to form a piece of Leather like an Arrow-head, and then tie an Hair unto it; or take a Bone of some dead Creature: Over these things they use magical Ceremonies, whereupon a *Demon* presently snatches them away, and conveys them into the Bodies of the Persons to be afflicted: Or, sometimes the *Demon* pretends unto them, that he brings a Portion of the Spirit of the Person closely imprison'd in a Fly; and as they deal with the Fly, so it fares with the Body of the Person intended.

It would fill a Volume to recite the incontestable Instances which that Island hath had of these Witchcrafts; but before the Gospel, and Power, and Spirit of CHRIST, they have been happily extinguish'd.

One well-known *Powaw*, whose Faculty chiefly lay in discovering and recovering of *Stolen Goods*, by the Help of a *God* (*subservient* (he said) unto him whom the English worshipp'd, had a Wife who was a Godly Christian; and this not only with the Approbation, but by the Encouragement of her Husband. She constantly pray'd in her Husband's Family, and attended the publick Worship on the Lord's Days: He declaring, *That he could not blame her, for she serv'd a God that was above his: But as for himself, he could not forsake the Service of his own lesser God, being so much oblig'd by his Kindnesses.*

Another well known *Powaw* designing to kill an Indian who accidentally lodg'd in the House with him and his Brother, went forth to enchant an Hair. While he was abroad, his Brother alter'd his Place about the Fire, where they slept, and the strange *Indian* came into his Place. The Conjuror coming in with his Devilish Implement, gave it a Direction to the Back of his Enemy, which by his Mistake, prov'd his Brother; and the Devil therewith immediately kill'd him.

Afterwards he would on all Occasions grievously lament unto the English the Disaster of this Mis-application.

There was a Prince on this Island, who upon his Conversion to God, made this Confession unto the Church whereto he join'd himself; That being a *Powaw*, he had often employ'd his God, who appear'd unto him still in the Form of a Snake, to kill, wound, and lame, such as he design'd Mischiefs unto But, that employing the said Snake to hurt the first *Indian* that became a Christian on this Island, all prov'd ineffectual, according to the Assertion of that memorable *Indian*, *That none of the Powaws could hurt him; for his God was greater than any of theirs.*

Hereupon he resolv'd himself to become a Christian, and worship the True God: From which time for Seven Years together, that Snake often annoy'd him with sore Disturbances.

CHAP. VII. *Thaumatographia Pneumatica.*

Relating the Wonders of the invisible World in Preternatural Occurrences.

Miranda cano, sed sunt credenda.—

WHEN Two Goats were offered unto the Lord (and only unto the Lord) on the Day of Expiation, among the Ancient Israelites, we read that one of them was to fall by Lot unto *Azazel*. *Azazel* cannot without some Hardship on the Sense, be taken for the Name of the Scape-Goat it self; But it is no other than the Name of the Devil himself, as might easily be proved from the Monuments of the greatest both Jewish and Christian Antiquities.

In the Signification of the Word *Azazel* there is indeed a notable Declaration of those Two Properties that have signaliz'd the Devil; his being first a powerful, and then an Apostate Spirit. [W] Fortis, & [זאזל] Abiens, Fugiens. The Scape-Goat, presented as a Sacrifice unto the Holy God, was order'd by him to be delivered up unto *Azazel* upon these two Intentions. One Design hereof might be to intimate unto the People what would be the miserable Condition of them, who did not by Faith in the Messiah get the Guilt of their Sins removed. They that have their Sins lying upon them, and are led forth with the Workers of Iniquity, must become a prey to *Azazel*, even to Satan, unto whose Temptation they did in their Sinning yield Obedience. And indeed our Lord has expressly told us (perhaps not without some Allusion to this Levitical Goat) that he will send the Goats which have their Sins upon them, to be with the Devil and his Angels.

But another and a greater Design of it, might be to represent a main Article in the dreadful Sufferings which were to befall our Lord Messiah when he should come to suffer for our Sins. When our Lord Jesus Christ underwent his Humiliation for us, this point was very considerable in it; he was carried into the Wilderness, and there he was expos'd unto the Buffetings and Outrages of *Azazel*. The Assaults that Satan then and afterwards made on our Lord Jesus Christ, producing a most horrible Anguish in his Mind, made such a Figure in his Conflicts for us, that they were well worthy of a most particular *Prefiguration*. And one thing in the *Prefiguration* must be, That the Goat for *Azazel* must be sent into the Desert. In the days of *Moses* it seems Deserts were counted very much an Habitation of Devils: Yea, they really were what they were counted: And for that cause the Names of *Sbedim* and *Zijim*, were put upon them; and when the Scriptures foretel Desolations to such and such places, they still make the Devils to be their Inhabitants.

Who can tell whether the Envy of the Devils at the Favour of God unto Men, may not provoke them to affect Retirement from the sight of

populous and prosperous Regions, except so far as they reckon their Work of Tempting Mankind necessary to be carry'd on? Or, perhaps, it is not every Countrey, before which the Devils prefer the Desarts. Regions in which the Devils are much serv'd by those Usages, either in Worship or Manners, which are pleasing to them, are by those doleful Creatures enough resorted unto: Yea, if Sin much abound any where, some Devils entreat that they may not be sent from thence into the Wilderness. But Regions, like the Land of Israel, where the true God is continually pray'd unto, and where the Word of God is continually sounding, are filled with such things as are very uneasie unto the Devils: The Devils often recede much from thence into the Wilderness, as the Devil of *Mascon* would say to Mr. *Perreaud* the Minister that liv'd in the haunted House, *While you go to prayer, I'll go take a turn in the Street.*

Thus to omit what *Alexander Hales* reports of one retiring *ad loca destituta omni Habitatore*, where Spirits taught him the things which he wrote in his Book *de Magicis*; we know that in *Lucian* the famous Magician *Mithrobarzanes*, with his Companions betook themselves *ἐς τὴν ἄρσιον ἔρημον, καὶ ὄλιαν, καὶ ἀνίλιον*, into a Desert, woody, shady Region for a Conversation with Spirits.

Whatever becomes of the Observation which we have hitherto been making, there has been too much cause to observe, that the Christians who were driven into the American Desert, which is now called *New England*, have to their sorrow seen *Azazel* dwelling and raging there in very Tragical Instances. The Devils have doubtless felt a more than ordinary Vexation from the Arrival of those Christians with their sacred Exercises of Christianity in this Wilderness: But the Sovereignty of Heaven has permitted them still to remain in the Wilderness, for our Vexation as well as their own.

Molestations from Evil Spirits, in more sensible and surprising Operations than those *Finer Methods* wherein they commonly work upon the Minds of all Men, but especially of *Ill Men*, have so abounded in this Countrey, that I question whether any one Town has been free from *sad Examples* of them. The Neighbours have not been careful enough to Record and Attest the prodigious Occurrences of this Importance, which have been among us. Many True and Strange Occurrences from the invisible World, in these parts of the World, are faultily buried in Oblivion. But some of those very stupendous Things, have had in *Alamery* preserved in the written *Annals* of the *Students*, and

Faithful Men; whose Veracity in the Relations cannot without great Injury be question'd.

Of these I will now offer the Publick some Remarkable Histories; for every one of which we have had such a sufficient Evidence, that no *Reasonable Man* in this whole Countrey ever did question them; and it will be unreasonable to do it in any other. For my own part, I would be as exceedingly afraid of writing a *False Thing*, as of doing an *Ill Thing*: But have my Pen always move in the *Fear of God*.

The First Example.

Ann Cole, a Person of serious Piety, living in the Houle of her Godly Father at *Hertford*, in the year 1662, was taken with very strange Fits wherein her Tongue was improv'd by a *Demon*, to express things unknown to her self. The general Purpose of the Discourse, which held sometimes for a considerable while, was, that such and such Persons named in the Discourse, were consulting how they might carry on mischievous Designs against her and several others, by afflicting their Bodies or destroying their good Names; upon all which, the general Answer heard among these Invisible Speakers, was, *Ab! she runs to the Rock!* After such an Entertainment had held for some Hours, the *Demons* were heard saying, *Let us confound her Language, that she may tell no more Tales*. Whereupon the Conference became unintelligible to the Standers by; and then it pass'd in a *Dutch Tone*, giving therein an Account of Mischiefs that had befallen divers Persons, and amongst the rest, what had befallen to a Woman that liv'd next Neighbour to a *Dutch Family* then in the Town, which Woman had been preternaturally indispos'd. Several eminent Ministers wrote the Speeches of the Spirits, thus heard in the mouth of this *Ann Cole*; and one of the Persons therein mention'd, as active in the matter then spoken of (whose Name was *Greensmith*) being then in Prison on suspicion of *Witchcraft*, was brought before the Magistrates. The Ministers now reading to her what they had written, she with Astonishment, confess'd that the Things were so, and that she with other Persons, nam'd in the Papers, had Familiarity with a Devil. She said that she had not yet made a *Formal Covenant* with her Devil, but only promis'd, That she would go with him, when he call'd her, which she had sundry times done accordingly: And, that he told her, that at *Christmas* they would have a *merry Meeting*, and then the Agreement between them should be subscribed. She acknowledg'd the Day following, That when the *Ministers* began to read what they did, she was in such a Rage, that she could have torn them to pieces; and she was resolv'd upon the Denial of her Guilt: But after they had read a while, she was as if her Flesh were pull'd from her Bones, and she could no longer deny what they charged upon her.

She declar'd that her Devil appear'd unto her first in the Shape of *Deer*, skipping about her,

and at last proceeded so far as in that Shape to talk with her: And that the Devil had frequently carnal Knowledge of her.

Upon this Confession, with other concurrent Evidence, the Woman was Executed, and other Persons accused, made their Escape: Whereupon *Ann Cole* was happily deliver'd from the extraordinary Troubles wherewith she had been exercis'd.

The Second Example.

In the Town of *Groton*, one *Elizabeth Knap* (*October 1671*,) was taken after a very strange manner; sometimes weeping, sometimes laughing, sometimes roaring, with violent Agitations, crying out *Money! Money!* Her Tongue would be for many Hours together drawn like a *Semicircle*, up to the Roof of her mouth; so that no Fingers apply'd unto it, could remove it. Six *Men* were scarce able to hold her in some of her Fits; but she would skip about the House yelling and howling, and looking hideously.

On *Dec. 17*. her Tongue being drawn out of her mouth to an extraordinary Length, a *Demon* began manifestly to speak in her; so many Words were distinctly utter'd, wherein are the *Labial Letters*, without any motion of her Lips at all: Words also were utter'd from her Throat sometimes when her mouth was wholly shut; and sometimes Words were utter'd when her mouth was wide open; but no Organs of Speech us'd therein. The chief things that the *Demon* spoke, were horrid Railings against the Godly *Minister* of the Town; but sometimes he likewise belch'd out most nefarious Blasphemies against the God of Heaven. And one thing about this young Woman was yet more particularly remarkable: She cry'd out in her Fits, that a certain Woman in the Neighbourhood appear'd unto her, and was the only Cause of her Affliction.

The Woman thus cry'd out upon, was doubtless an Holy, a Devout, a Vertuous Person; and she, by the advice of her Friends, visited the Afflicted. The possess'd Creature, tho' she was in one of her Fits, and had her Eyes wholly shut, yet when this innocent Woman was coming, she discover'd her self wonderfully sensible of it, and was in grievous Agonies at her Approaches.

But this *Innocent Woman* thus accus'd and abus'd by a malicious Devil, pray'd earnestly *with* as well as *for* this possess'd Creature: Whereupon coming to her self, she confess'd, That she had been deluded by Satan, and compell'd by him unreasonably to think and speak Evil of a good Neighbour without a Cause. After this, there was no further Complaint of such an ones Apparition; but she said, some Devil in the Shape of divers, did very diversly and cruelly torment her, and then told her, it was not *He* but *They*, that were her Tormentors.

The Third Example.

In the year 1679. the House of *William Merse* at *Newberry*, was infested with *Demons* after a most horrid manner, not altogether unlike the *Demons* of *Tedworth*. It would fill many Pages to relate all the Infestations; but the chief of 'em were such as these:

Bricks, and *Sticks*, and *Stones*, were often by some invisible Hand, thrown at the House, and so were many Pieces of Wood: A *Cat* was thrown at the Woman of the House, and a *long Staff* danc'd up and down in the Chimney; and afterwards the same long Staff was hang'd by a Line, and swung to and fro; and when two Persons laid it on the Fire to burn it, it was as much as they were able to do with their joint Strength to hold it there. An *Iron Crook* was violently by an invisible Hand; hurl'd about; and a *Chair* flew about the Room until at last it latt upon the Table, where the Meat stood ready to be eaten, and had spoil'd all, if the people had not with much ado saved a little. A *Chest* was by an invisible Hand carry'd from one place to another, and the Doors barricado'd, and the Keys of the Family taken, some of them from the Bunch where they were ty'd, and the rest flying about with a loud Noise of their knocking against one another. For one while the Folks of the House could not sup quietly, but Ashes would be thrown into their Suppers, and on their Heads, and their Cloaths; and the *Sbooes* of the Man being left below, one of them was fill'd with Ashes and Coals, and thrown up after him. When they were a-bed, a Stone weighing above three pounds, was divers times thrown upon them. A Box and a Board was likewise thrown upon them; and a Bag of Hops being taken out of a Chest, they were by the *Invisible Hand* beaten therewith, till some of the Hops were scatter'd on the Floor, where the Bag was then laid and left. The Man was often struck by that Hand with several Instruments; and the same Hand cast their good things into the Fire: Yea, while the Man was at prayer with his Household, a *Beefom* gave him a Blow on his Head behind, and fell down before his Face. When they were winnowing their Barley, Dirt was thrown at them; and assaying to fill their Half Bushel with Corn, the *Foul Corn* would be thrown in with the *Clean*, so irresistibly, that they were forc'd thereby to give over what they were about.

While the Man was writing, his *Inkborn* was by the *Invisible Hand* snatch'd from him; and being able no where to find it, he saw it at length drop out of the Air down by the Fire. A *Sbooe* was laid upon his Shoulders; but when he would have catch'd it, it was rapt from him; it was then clapt upon his Head, and there he held it so fast, that the *unseen Fury* pull'd him with it backward on the Floor. He had his Cap torn off his Head, and in the Night he was pull'd by the Hair, and pinch'd, and scratch'd; and the *Invisible Hand* prick'd him with some of his *Awls*, and

with *Needles*, and *Bodkins*; and *Blows*, that fetch'd Blood, were sometimes given him. Frozen Clods of *Cow dung* were often thrown at the Man; and his Wife going to milk the Cows, they could by no means preserve the Vessels of Milk from the like Anoyances, which made it fit only for the *Hogs*.

She going down into the Cellar, the *Trap-door* was immediately by an *Invisible Hand* shut upon her, and a Table brought, and laid upon the Door, which kept her there till the Man remov'd it. When he was writing another time, a Dish went and leapt into a Pail, and cast Water on the Man, and on all the Concerns before him, so as to defeat what he was then upon. His Cap jump'd off his Head, and on again; and the Pot lid went off the *Pot* into the *Kettle*, then over the Fire together.

A little Boy belonging to the Family, was a principal *Sufferer* in these *Molestatons*; for he was stung about at such a rate, that they fear'd his Brains would have been *beaten out*: Nor did they find it possible to hold him. His Bed cloathes would be pull'd from him, his Bed shaken, and his Bed-staff leap forward and backward. The Man took him to keep him in a Chair; but the Chair fell a dancing, and both of them were very near being thrown into the Fire.

These, and a thousand such Vexations befalling the Boy at home, they carry'd him to live abroad at a Doctor's. There he was quiet; but returning home he suddenly cry'd out, *He was prick'd on the Back*; where they found strangely sticking, a *Three-tin'd Fork*, which belong'd unto the Doctor, and had been seen at his House after the Boy's *Departure*. Afterwards his Troublers found him out at the Doctor's also; where crying out again *He was prick'd on the Back*, they found an *Iron Spindle* stuck into him; and on the like Out cry again, they found Pins in a Paper, stuck into him; and once more, a long Iron, a Bowl of a Spoon, and a piece of a Pan-shred, in like sort stuck upon him.

He was taken out of his Bed, and thrown under it; and all the Knives belonging to the House were one after another stuck into his Back, which the Spectators pull'd out: Only one of them seem'd unto the Spectators to come out of his mouth. The poor Boy was divers times thrown into the Fire, and preserv'd from scorching there with much ado. For a long while he bark'd like a Dog, and then he *clacqu'd* like an Hen; and could not speak rationally. His Tongue would be pull'd out of his mouth; but when he could recover it so far as to speak, he complain'd that a Man call'd *P——l*, appear'd unto him as the Cause of all.

Once in the Day-time he was transported where none could find him, till at last they found him creeping on one side, and sadly dumb and lame. When he was able to express himself, he said, *That P——l had carried him over the Top of the House, and hurted him against a Cart-wheel in the Barn*; and accordingly they found some Remainders of the Thresh'd Barley which was on the Barn floor, hanging about his Garments.

The *Spectre* would Make all his meat, when he was going to eat, fly out of his mouth; and instead thereof, make him fall to eating of Ashes, and Sticks, and Yarn. The Man and his Wife taking the Boy to Bed with them, a Chamber-pot with its Contents, was thrown upon them: They were severely pinch'd, and pull'd out of the Bed; and many other Fruits of *Devilish Spite* were they dogg'd withal, until it pleas'd God mercifully to shorten the *Chain of the Devil*. But before the *Devil* was chain'd up, the *Invisible Hand* which did all these things, began to put on an astonishing *Visibility*.

They often thought they felt the Hand that scratch'd them, while yet they saw it not; but when they thought they had hold of it, it would give them the Slip.

Once the *Fist* beating the Man, was discernible, but they could not catch hold of it. At length an Apparition of a *Blackamoor Child* shew'd it self plainly to them. And another time a Drumming on the Boards was heard, which was follow'd with a Voice that sang, *Revenge! Revenge! sweet is Revenge!* At this the People being terrify'd, call'd upon God: Whereupon there follow'd a mournful Note, several times uttering these Expressions, *Alas! Alas! we knock no more, we knock no more!* And there was an End of all.

The Fourth Example.

In the year 1683. the House of *Nicholas Desborough* at *Hartford*, was very strangely molested by Stones, by pieces of Earth, by Cobs of *Indian-Corn*, and other such things, from an *Invisible Hand*, thrown at him, sometimes thro' the Door, sometimes thro' the Window, sometimes down the Chimney, and sometimes from the Floor of the Room (tho' very close) over his Head; and sometimes he met with them in the Shop, the Yard, the Barn, and in the Field.

There was no Violence in the Motion of the Things thus thrown by the *Invisible Hand*; and tho' others besides the Man, happen'd sometimes to be hit, they were never hurt with them; only the *Man* himself once had Pain given to his Arm, and once Blood fetch'd from his Leg, by these *Annoyances*; and a Fire in an unknown way kindled, *consum'd* no little part of his Estate.

This Trouble began upon a Controversie between *Desborough* and another Person about a Chest of Cloaths which the *Man* apprehended to be unrighteously detain'd by *Desborough*; and it endur'd for divers months: but upon the restoring of the Cloaths thus detain'd, the Trouble ceased.

At *Brighthelm* in *Suffex*, in *England*, there hapned a Tragedy not unlike to this, in the year 1659. 'Tis recorded by *Clark* in the second Volume of his *Examples*.

The Fifth Example.

On June 11, 1682. Showers of Stones were thrown by an *Invisible Hand* upon the House of *George Walton* at *Portsmouth*. Whereupon the the People going out, found the Gate wrung off the Hinges, and Stones flying and falling thick about them, and striking of them seemingly with a *great Force*; but really affecting 'em no more than if a *Soft Touch* were given them. The *Glass Windows* were broken to pieces by Stones that came not from *without*, but from *within*; and other Instruments were in like manner hurl'd about. Nine of the Stones they took up, whereof some were as hot as if they came out of the Fire; and marking them, they laid them on the Table; but in a little while they found some of them again flying about. The Spit was carry'd up the Chimney; and coming down with the Point forward, stuck in the Back-log; from whence one of the Company removing it, it was by an *Invisible Hand* thrown out at the Window. This Disturbance continu'd from Day to Day; and sometimes a dismal hollow *Whistling* would be heard, and sometimes the *Trotting* and *Snorting* of an *Horse*, but nothing to be seen. The Man went up the great Bay in a Boat unto a Farm he had there: But there the *Stones* found him out; and carrying from the *House* to the *Boat* a *Stirrup-Iron*, the *Iron* came jingling after him through the Woods as far as his House; and at last went away, and was heard of no more. The *Anchor* leap'd over-board several Times and stop'd the Boat. A *Cheese* was taken out of the Press, and crumbl'd all over the Floor: A piece of *Iron* stuck into the Wall, and a *Kettle* hung thereupon. Several Cocks of Hay mow'd near the House, were taken up, and hung upon Trees, and others made into small Whips, and scattered about the House. The Man was much hurt by some of the Stones: He was a *Quaker*, and suspected that a Woman, who charg'd him with Injustice in detaining some Land from her, did by *Witchcraft* occasion these preternatural Occurrences. However, at last, they came unto an End.

The Sixth Example.

In June 1682. *Mary* the Wife of *Antonio Horrado*, dwelling near the *Salmon-Falls*, heard a Voice at the Door of her House, calling *What do you here?* And about an Hour after had a Blow on her Eye, that almost spoil'd her. Two or three Days after a great Stone was thrown along the House; which the People going to take up, was unaccountably gone. A *Frying Pan* then in the Chimney rang so loud, that the People at an hundred Rods distance heard it; and the said *Mary* with her Husband, going over the River in a *Canoo*, they saw the Head of a *Man*, and about three Foot off, the Tail of a *Cat*, swimming before the *Canoo*, but no body to join them; and the same Apparition again follow'd the *Canoo* when they return'd: But at their Landing it first disappear'd. A Stone thrown by an *Invisible Hand*

Hand after this, caus'd a Swelling and a Soreness in her Head; and she was bitten on both Arms black and blue, and her Breast scratch'd; the Impression of the Teeth, which were like a Man's Teeth, being seen by many.

They deserted their House on these occasions, and tho' at a Neighbour's House, they were at first haunted with Apparitions, the Satanical Molestations quickly ceas'd. When Antonio return'd unto his own House, at his Entrance there, he heard one walking in his Chamber, and saw the Boards buckle under the Feet of the Walker; and yet there was no body there. For this cause he went back to dwell on the other side of the River; but thinking he might plant his Ground, tho' he left his House, he had five Rods of good Log-Fence thrown down at once, and the Footing of Neat Cattle plainly to be seen almost between every Row of Corn in the Field; yet no Cattle seen there, nor any damage done to his Corn, or so much as a Leaf of it cropt.

The Seventh Example.

Mr. Philip Smith, aged about fifty Years, a Son of eminently Vertuous Parents, a Deacon of the Church in Hadley, a Member of the General Court, a Justice in the Countrey Court, a select Man for the Affairs of the Town, a Lieutenant of the Troop, and which crowns all, a Man for Devotion, Sanctity, Gravity, and all that was honest, exceeding Exemplary. Such a Man was in the Winter of the Year 1684, murder'd with an hideous Witchcraft, that fill'd all those Parts of New-England with Astonishment. He was, by his Office concern'd about relieving the Indigences of a wretched Woman in the Town; who being dissatisfy'd at some of his just Cares about her, express'd her self unto him in such a manner, that he declar'd himself thenceforward apprehensive of receiving Mischiefe at her hands.

About the Beginning of January he began to be very Valetudinarian, labouring under Pains that seem'd Ischiatick. The Standers by could now see in him, one ripening apace for another World, and fill'd with Grace and Joy to an high Degree. He shew'd such Weanedness from and Weariness of the World, that he knew not (he said) whether he might pray for his Continuance here: And such assurance he had of the Divine Love unto him, that in Raptures he would cry out, *Lord, stay thy hand; it is enough, it is more than thy frail Servant can bear.* But in the midst of these things he still utter'd an hard Suspicion that the ill Woman who had threaten'd him, had made Impressions with Incantments upon him. While he remain'd yet of a sound Mind, he very sedately, but very solemnly charg'd his Brother, to look well after him. Tho', he said, he now understood himself, yet he knew not how he might be. *But be sure, (said he) to have a care of me; for you shall see strange things. There shall be a Wonder in Hadley! I shall not be dead, when 'tis thought I am!* He press'd this Charge over and over; and afterwards became Delirious; upon which he had a Speech incessant and voluble, and (as was

judg'd) in various Languages. He cry'd out, not only of Pains, but also of Pins, tormenting him in several parts of his Body; and the Attendants found one of them.

In his Distresses he exclaim'd much upon the Woman aforesaid, and others, as being seen by him in the Room; and there was divers times both in that Room, and over the whole House, a strong Smell of something like Musk, which once particularly so scented an Apple roasting at the Fire, that it forc'd them to throw it away. Some of the young Men in the Town being out of their Wits at the strange Calamities thus upon one of their most belov'd Neighbours, went three or four times to give Disturbance unto the Woman thus complain'd of: And all the while they were disturbing of her, he was at ease, and slept as a weary Man: Yea, these were the only times that they perceiv'd him to take any Sleep in all his Illness. Gally-pots of Medicines provided for the sick Man, were unaccountably empty'd: Audible Scratchings were made about the Bed, when his Hands and Feet lay wholly still, and were held by others. They beheld Fire sometimes on the Bed; and when the Beholders began to discourse of it, it vanish'd away. Divers People actually felt something often stir in the Bed, at a considerable distance from the Man: It seem'd as big as a Cat, but they could never grasp it. Several trying to lean on the Bed's head, tho' the sick Man lay wholly still, the Bed would shake so, as to knock their Heads uncomfortably. A very strong Man could not lift the sick Man to make him lie more easily, tho' he apply'd his utmost Strength unto it; and yet he could go presently and lift a Bed-sted and a Bed, and a Man lying on it, without any Strain to himself at all. Mr. Smith dies: The Jury that view'd his Corpse, found a Swelling on one Breast, his Privities wounded or burn'd, his Back full of Bruises, and several Holes that seem'd made with Awls. After the Opinion of all had pronounc'd him dead, his Countenance continued as Lively as if he had been Alive; his Eyes closed as in a Slumber, and his Nether Jaw not falling down.

Thus he remain'd from Saturday Morning about Sun rise, till Sabbath-day in the Afternoon; when those who took him out of the Bed, found him still warm, tho' the Season was as cold as had almost been known in any Age: And a New-English Winter does not want for Cold. On the Night following his Countenance was yet fresh as before; but on Monday morning they found the Face extremely tumify'd and discolour'd. It was black and blue, and fresh Blood seem'd running down his Cheek upon the Hairs. Divers Noises were also heard in the Room where the Corpse lay; as the Clattering of Chairs and Stools, whereof no account could be given.

This was the End of so good a Man.

And I could with unquestionable Evidence relate the Tragical Deaths of several Good Men in this Land, attended with such praternatural Circumstances, which have loudly call'd upon us all to work out our own Salvation with Fear and Trembling.

Eighth Example.

There was one *Mary Johnson* try'd at *Hertford* in this Countrey, upon an Indictment of *Familiarity with the Devil*, and was found guilty thereof, chiefly upon her own Confession. Her Confession was attended with such convictive Circumstances, that it could not be slighted. Very many material Passages relating to this matter, are now lost: But so much as is well known, and can still be prov'd, shall be inserted.

She said, her first Familiarity with the Devil, came through *Discontent*, and wishing the Devil to take this and that, and the Devil to do that and 'other thing: Whereupon a Devil appear'd unto her, *tending* her what *Services* might best content her. A Devil accordingly did for her many Services. Her *Master* blam'd her for not carrying out the *Ashes*, and a Devil afterwards would clear the *Hearth* of *Ashes* for her. Her *Master* sending her to drive out the *Hogs*, that sometimes broke into their Field, a Devil would scowre the *Hogs* away, and make her laugh to see how he feaz'd them. She confess'd, that she had murder'd a Child, and committed *Unclean-ness* both with *Men* and with *Devils*. In the time of her *Imprisonment*, the famous *Mr. Stone* was at great pains to promote her Conversion from the Devil to God; and she was by the best Observers judg'd very penitent, both before her Execution and at it; and she went out of the World with comfortable Hopes of *Mercy* from God through the merit of our Saviour. Being asked what she built her Hopes upon, she answer'd, Upon these Words; *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you Rest*: And these; *There is a Fountain set open for Sin and Unclean-ness*. And she dy'd in a Frame extremly to the Satisfaction of them that were Spectators of it.

The Ninth Example.

— *Hec ipse miserrima vidi.*

Four Children of *John Goodwin* in *Boston*, which had enjoy'd a Religious Education, and answer'd it with a towardsly Ingenuity: *Children* indeed of an exemplary Temper and Carriage, and an Example to all about them for Piety, Honesty, and Industry. These were in the year 1688. arrested by a very stupendous *Witchcraft*. The Eldest of the *Children*, a Daughter of about Thirteen years old, saw cause to examine their Landress, the Daughter of a scandalous *Irish* Woman in the Neighbourhood, about some *Linen* that was missing; and the *Woman* bestowing very bad Language on the Child, in her Daughter's Defence, the Child was immediately taken with odd Fits, that carried in them something *Diabolical*. It was not long before one of her Sisters, with two of her Brothers, were horribly taken with the like Fits, which the most *Experienced Physicians* pronounced Extraordinary and preternatural: and one thing that the more confirmed them in this Opinion was, that all the Children were tormented still just the same part

of their Bodies, at the same time, though their Pains flew like swift Lightning from one part unto another, and they were kept so far asunder, that they neither saw nor heard one anothers Complaints. At 9 or 10 a-clock at Night, they still had a Release from their miseries, and slept all Night pretty comfortably. But when the Day came, they were most miserably handled. Sometimes they were *Deaf*, sometimes *Dumb*, sometimes *Blind*, and often all this at once. Their *Tongues* would be drawn down their *Throats*, and then pull'd out upon their *Chins*, to a prodigious Length. Their *Mouths* were forc'd open to such a Wideness, that their *Jaws* went out of Joint; and anon clap together again, with a Force like that of a *Spring Lock*; and the like would happen to their *Shoulder-blades* and their *Elbows*, and *Hand wrists*, and several of their Joints. They would lie in a *benumm'd* Condition, and be drawn together like those that are ty'd Neck and Heels; and presently be stretch'd out, yea, drawn back Enormously.

They made piteous Out cries, that they were cut with *Knives*, and struck with *Blows*; and the plain Prints of the *Wounds* were seen upon them.

Their Necks would be broken, so that their *Neck-Bone* would seem dissolv'd unto them that felt after it; and yet on the sudden it would become again so stiff, that there was no stirring of their Heads: Yea, their Heads would be twisted almost round: And if the main Force of their Friends at any time obstructed a dangerous Motion which they seem'd upon, they would roar exceedingly: And when *Devotions* were performed with them, their *Hearing* was utterly taken from them. The *Ministers* of *Boston* and *Charleston*, keeping a Day of Prayer with *Fasting*, on this occasion, at the troubl'd House, the youngest of the *Four Children* was immediately, happily, finally deliver'd from all its Trouble. But the Magistrates being awakened by the Noise of these Grievous and Horrid Occurrences, examined the Person who was under the suspicion of having employ'd these Trouble-some *Demons*; and she gave such a Wretched Account of her self, that she was committed unto the Gaoler's Custody.

It was not long before this Woman (whose Name was *Glover*) was brought upon her Trial; But then the Court could have no Answers from her, but in the *Irish*, which was her Native Language, although she understood *English* very well, and had accusom'd her whole Family to none but *English* in her former Conversation. When she pleaded to her *Indictment*, it was with owning and *Bragging*, rather than *Denial* of her Guilt. And the Interpreters, by whom the Communication between the Bench and the Barr was managed, were made sensible that a *Spell* had been laid by another *Witch* on *This*, to prevent her telling Tales, by confining her to a Language which 'twas hoped, no body would understand. The Woman's House being searched, several *Images*, or *Poppets*, or *Babies*, made of Raggs, and stuffed with *Goats Hair*, were thence produced and the vile Woman confessed, that her Way to

Torment the Objects of her Malice, was by wetting of her *Finger* with her Spittle, and stroaking of those little *Images*. The abus'd *Children* were then present in the Court, and the Woman kept still stooping and shinking, as one that was almost prest unto death with a mighty Weight upon her. But one of the *Images* being brought unto her, she odly and swiftly started up, and snatch'd it into her Hand: But she had no sooner snatch'd it, than one of the *Children* fell into sad Fits before the whole Assembly. The Judges had their just Apprehensions at this, and carefully causing a Repetition of the Experiment, they still found the same Event of it, tho' the *Children* saw not when the Hand of the Witch was laid upon the *Images*. They ask'd her *whether she had any to stand by her?* She reply'd, *She had*: And looking very pertly into the Air, she added, *No, he's gone!* and she then acknowledg'd that she had *One*, who was her *Prince*; with whom she mention'd I know not what *Communion*. For which cause the Night after, she was heard expostulating with a *Devil* for his thus deserting her, telling him, that *because he had served her so basely and falsely, she had confessed all.*

However, to make all clear, the Court appointed five or six Physicians to examine her very strictly, whether she were no way craz'd in her Intellectuals. Divers Hours did they spend with her; and in all that while no Discourse came from her, but what was agreeable; particularly When they ask'd her, what she thought would become of her Soul, she reply'd, *You ask me a very solemn Question, and I cannot tell what to say to it.* She profest her self a *Roman Catholick*, and could recite her *Pater-noster* in Latin very readily; but there was one Clause or two always too hard for her, whereof she said, *she could not repeat it, if she might have all the World.*

In the Uphot, the Doctors return'd her *Compos mentis*, and Sentence of Death was pass'd upon her. Divers Days past between her being Arraign'd and Condemn'd: and in this time one *Hughes* testily'd, That her Neighbour (call'd *Howen*) who was cruelly bewitch'd unto death about six Years before, laid her Death to the charge of this Woman, and bid her (the said *Hughes*) to remember this; for within six Years there would be occasion to mention it. One of *Hughes's* Children was presently taken ill in the same woful manner that *Goodwin's*; and particularly the Boy, in the Night cry'd out, that a *Black Person*, with a *Blue Cap* in the Room torur'd him, and that they try'd with their Hand in the Bed, for to pull out his Bowels. The Mother of the Boy went unto *Glover* the day following, and asked her, *Why she tortured her poor Lad at such a rate?* *Glover* answered, *Because of the Wrong she had receiv'd from her*; and boasted, that she had come at him as a *Black Person with a blue Cap*; and with her Hand in the Bed, would have pulled his Bowels out, but could not. *Hughes* denied that she had wronged her; and *Glover* then desiring to see the Boy, wished him well; upon which he had no more of his Indispositions. At-

ter the Condemnation of the Woman, I did my self give divers Visits unto her; wherein she told me, that she did use to be at Meetings, where her Prince with Four more were present. She told me who the Four were, and plainly said, *That her Prince was the Devil.* When I told her *That and How* her Prince had cheated her, she reply'd, *If it be so, I am sorry for that!* And when she declin'd answering some things that I ask'd her, she told me, *she would fain give me a full Answer, but her Spirits would not give her leave*; nor could she consent, she said, without their Leave, that I should pray for her. At her Execution, she said, the afflicted *Children* should not be reliev'd by her Death, for others besides she, had a hand in their Affliction. Accordingly the *Three Children* continu'd in their Furnace as before; and it grew rather seven times hotter than it was. In their Fits they cry'd out of [*They*] and [*Them*] as the Authors of all their Miseries; but who that [*They*] and [*Them*] were, they were not able to declare: Yet, at last one of the *Children* was able to discern their Shapes, and utter their Names. A Blow at the Place where they saw the Spectre, was always felt by the Boy himself, in that part of his Body that answer'd what might be stricken at: And this, tho' his Back were turn'd, and the thing so done, that there could be no Collusion in it. But as a Blow at the Spectre always hurt him, so it always help'd him too: For after the Agonies to which a Push or Stab at that had put him, were over (as in a Minute or two they would be) he would have a Respite from his Ails a considerable while, and the Spectre would be gone: Yea, 'twas very credibly affirmed, that a dangerous Woman or two in the Town receiv'd Wounds by the Blows thus given to their Spectres. The Calamities of the *Children* went on till they barked at one another like *Dogs*, and then purred like to many *Cats*. They would complain that they were in a *Red-Hot Oven*, and sweat and pant as much as if they had been really so. Anon they would say that Cold Water was thrown on them, at which they would shiver very much.

They would complain of *Blows* with great Cudgels laid upon them, and we that stood by, though we could see no Cudgels, yet could see the Marks of the *Blows* in red Streaks upon their Flesh.

They would complain of being roasted on an *Invisible Spit*; and lie and roll and groan as if it had been most sensibly so; and by and by shriek that *Knives* were cutting of them. They would complain that their Heads were nailed unto the Floor, and it was beyond an ordinary Strength to pull them from thence. They would be so limber sometimes, that it was judg'd every *Bene* they had might be bent; and anon so stiff, that not a Joint of them could be stirr'd.

One of them dreamt that something was growing within his Skin, cross one of his Ribs. An Expert Chirurgeon searcht the Place, and found there a Brass Pin, which could not possibly come to lie there as it did, without a prestigious and mysterious Conveyance. Sometimes they

they would be very mad; and then they would climb over high *Fences*; yea, they would fly like *Geese*, and be carry'd with an incredible *Swiftness* through the Air, having but just their *Toes* now and then upon the Ground (sometimes 10. once in *Twenty Foot*) and their *Arms* wou'd like the *Wings* of a Bird. They were often very near *Drowning* or *Burning* of themselves; and they often *strangled* themselves with their *Neck clothes*; but the Providence of God will order'd the seasonable Succours of them that look'd after them. If there hapned any *Mitchief* to be done where they were, as the dirtying of a *Garment*, or spilling of a *Cup*, or breaking of a *Glass*, they would laugh *excessively*.

But upon the least *Reproof* of their Parents, they werethrown into *inexpressible Anguish*, and roar as *excessively*. It usually took up abundance of time to *dress* them or *undress* them, thro' the strange *Postures* into which they would be *twisted*, on purpose to hinder it; and yet the *Demons* did not know our *Thoughts*: for if we us'd a *Jargon*, and said, *untie his Neckcloth*, but the Party bidden understood our meaning to be *untie his Shooe*; the *Neckcloth*, and not the *Shooe*, has been by *written Postures*, rendred *strangely inaccessible*. In their *Beds* they would be sometimes *treated* so, that no *Cloaths* could for an *Hour* or two be laid upon them. If they were bidden to do a *needleless* thing (as to rub a *clean Table*) they were able to do it unmolested; but if to do any *useful* thing (as to rub a *dirty Table*) they would *presently*, with many *Torments* be made *unable*.

They were sometimes hindered from eating their *Meals*, by having their *Teeth* set, when any thing was carrying unto their *Mouths*. If there were any *Discourse* of *God*, or *Christ*, or any of the *Things* which are not seen, and are *Eternal*, they would be cast into *intolerable Anguish*. All praying to *God*, and reading of his *Word*, would occasion 'em a very *terrible Vexation*. Their *own Ears* would then be stop't with their *own Hands*, and they would roar, and howl, and shriek, and hollow, to *drown* the *Voice* of the *Devotions*; yea, if any one in the *Room* took up a *Bible*, to look into it, tho' the *Children* could see nothing of it, as being in a *Crowd* of *Spectators*, or having their *Faces* another way, yet would they be in *wonderful Torments* till the *Bible* was laid aside. Briefly, *No good thing* might then be endur'd near those *Children*, which while they were *themselves* lov'd every good thing, in a measure that proclaim'd in them the *Fear* of *God*. If I said unto them, *Child, cry to the Lord Jesus Christ!* their *Teeth* were instantly set. If I said, *Yet, Child, look unto him!* their *Eyes* were instantly pull'd so far into their *Heads*, that we fear'd they could never have us'd them any more.

It was the *Eldest* of these *Children* that fell chiefly under my own *Observation*: For I took her home to my own *Family*, partly out of *compassion* to her Parents, but chiefly, that I might be a *critical Eye-Witness* of things that would enable me to confute the *Sadducism* of this *Debauch'd Age*. Here she continu'd well for some

Days; applying *her self* to *Actions* of *Industry* and *Piety*: But *Nov. 20. 1688.* she cry'd out, *Ah, they have found me out!* and immediately she fell into her *Fits*; wherein we often observ'd, that she would cough up a *Ball* as big as a *small Egg*, into the side of her *Wind pipe*, that would near choak her, till by *Stroaking* and by *Drinking* it was again carry'd *down*.

When I pray'd in the *Room*, first her *Hands* were with a *strong*, tho' not *even* Force, clapt upon her *Ears*: And when her *Hands* were by our Force pull'd away, she cry'd out, *They make such a Noise, I cannot bear a Word!* She complain'd that *Glover's Chain* was upon her *Leg*; and assaying to go, her *Gate* was exactly such as the *chain'd Witch* had before the *dy'd*. When her *Tortures* pass'd over, still *Frolicks* would succeed, wherein she would continue *Hours*, yea, *Days* together, talking perhaps never *wickedly*, but always *wittily* beyond her self: And at certain *Provocations* her *Torments* would *renew* upon her, till we had left off to Give them; yet she frequently told us in these *Frolicks*, *That if she might but steal or be drunk, she should be well immediately.* She told us, *that she must go down to the bottom of our Well,* (and we had much ado to hinder it) *for they said there was Plate there, and they would bring her up safely again.*

We wonder'd at this: For she had never heard of any *Plate* there; and we our selves, who had newly bought the *House*, were ignorant of it: but the *former Owner* of the *House* just then coming in, told us *There had been Plate for many Years lost at the Bottom of the Well.* Moreover, one singular *Passion* that frequently attended her, was this:

An *invisible Chain* would be clapt about her, and she in much pain and *Fear*, cry out when [They] began to put it on. Sometimes we could with our *Hands* knock it off, as it began to be fasten'd: But ordinarily, when it was on, she would be pull'd out of her *Seat*, with such *Violence*, towards the *Fire*, that it was as much as one or two of us could do to keep her out. Her *Eyes* were not brought to be perpendicular to her *Feet*, when she rose out of her *Seat*, as the *Mechanism* of an humane *Body* requires in them that rise; but she was dragg'd *wholly* by other *Hands*. And if we stamp'd on the *Hearth*, just between her and the *Fire*, she scream'd out, *That by jarring the Cham, we hurt her.*

I may add, that [They] put an *unseen Rope*, with a *cruel Noose*, about her *Neck*, whereby she was choak'd until she was black in the *Face*: And tho' it was got off before it had kill'd her; yet there were the *Red Marks* of it, and of a *Finger* and a *Thumb* near it, remaining to be seen for some while afterwards. Furthermore, not only upon her own looking into the *Bible*, but if any one else in the *Room* did it, *wholly unknown* to her, she would fall into *unlufferable Torments*.

A *Quaker's Book* being brought her, she could quietly read whole *Pages* of it; only the *Name* of *GOD* and *CHRIST*, she still skipp'd over, being unable to pronounce it, except sometimes,

hammering a Minute or two, or more upon it: And when we urg'd her to tell what the Word was that she mis'd, she would say, *I must not speak it: They say I must not. You know what it is: 'Tis G, and O, and D.* But a Book against *Quakerism* [They] would not allow her to meddle with. Such Books, as it might have been profitable and edifying for her to read, and especially her Catechisms, if she did but offer to read a Line in them, she would be cast into hideous Convulsions, and be tost about the House like a Foot ball: But Books of Jest's being shewn her, she could read them well enough, and have cunning Descants upon them. *Popish Books* [They] would not hinder her from reading; but [They] would from reading Books against Popery. A Book which pretends to prove *That there are no Witches*, was easily read by her; only the Name *Devils* and *Witches* might not be utter'd. A Book which proves *That there are Witches*, being exhibited unto her, she might not read it: And that Expression in the Story of *Ann Cole*, about running to the Rock, always threw her into sore Confusions.

Divers of these Trials were made by many Witnesses: But I considering that there might be a Snare in it, put a seasonable Stop to this fanciful Business. Only I could not but be amaz'd at one thing: A certain Prayer-Book being brought her, she not only could read it very well, but also did read a large Part of it over, calling it her *Bible*, and putting a more than ordinary Respect upon it. If she were going into her Tortures, at the Tender of this Book, she would recover her self to read it: Only when she came to the Lord's Prayer now and then occurring in that Book, she would have her Eyes put out; so that she must turn over a new Leaf, and then she could read again. Whereas also there are *Scriptures* in that Book, she could read them there: but if any shew'd her the very same *Scriptures* in the *Bible* it self, she should sooner die than read them: And she was likewise made unable to read the *Psalms* in an ancient Metre, which this Prayer-Book had in the same Volume with it.

Besides these, there was another inexplicable Thing in her Condition. Ever now and then, an Invisible Horse would be brought unto her by those whom she only call'd [Them,] and [Her Company,] upon the Approach of which, her Eyes wou'd be still clos'd up: For (said she) *They say I am a Tell-tale, and therefore they will not let me see them.* Hereupon she would give a Spring as one mounting an Horse, and setting her self in a riding Posture, she would in her Chair be agitated, as one sometimes Ambling, sometimes Trotting, and sometimes Galloping very furiously. In these Morions we could not perceive that she was mov'd by the Strefs of her Feet upon the Ground, for often she touch'd it not. When she had rode a Minute or two, she would seem to be at a *Rendezvous* with [Them] that were [Her Company,] and there she would maintain a Discourse with them, asking them many Questions concerning her self [we gave

her none of ours] and have Answers from them which indeed none but her self perceiv'd. Then would she return and inform us, *How* [They] *did intend to handle her for a Day or two afterwards*, and some other things that she inquir'd. Her Horse would sometimes throw her with much *Violence*; especially if any one stabb'd or cut the Air under her. But she would briskly mount again, and perform her Fantastick Journeys, mostly in her Chair; but *sometimes* also she would be carry'd from her Chair, out of one Room into another, very odly, in the Postures of a riding Woman. At length, she pretended, that her Horse could ride up the Stairs; and unto admiration she rode, (that is, was tost'd as one that rode) up the Stairs. There then stood open the Study of one belonging to the Family: Into which entering, she flood immediately on her Feet, and cry'd out, *They are gone! They are gone! They say that they cannot, — God won't let 'em come here!* Adding a Reason for it, which the Owner of the Study thought more *Kind* than True. And she presently and perfectly came to her self; so that her whole Discourse and Carriage was alter'd unto the greatest measure of Sobriety; and the late reading of the Bible and other good Books, for a good part of the Afternoon. Her Affairs calling her anon to go down again, the Demons were in a quarter of a Minute as bad upon her as before; and her Horse was waiting for her. Some then to see whether there had not been a Fallacy in what had newly hapned, resolv'd for to have her up unto the Study, where she had been at ease before; but she was then so strangely distorted, that it was an *extream Difficulty* to drag her up stairs. The Demons would pull her out of the Peoples Hands, and make her *heavier* than perhaps *Three* of her self. With incredible Toil. (tho' she kept screaming, *They say I must not go in.*) She was pull'd in; where she was no sooner got, but she could stand on her Feet, and with an alter'd Note, say, *Now I am well.*

She would be faint at first, and say, *She felt something to go out of her!* (the Noises whereof we sometimes heard, like those of a Mouse) but in a Minute or two she could apply her self to *Devotion*, and express her self with *Discretion*, as well as ever in her Life.

To satisfy some Strangers, the Experiment was divers times with the same Success, repeated; until my Lothness to have any thing done like making a Charm of a Room, caus'd me to forbid the Repetition of it. But enough of this. The Ministers of Boston and Charlestown, kept another Day of Prayer with Fasting, for Goodwin's afflicted Family: After which, the Children had a *Sensible*, but a *Gradual abatement* of their Sorrows, until *Perfect Ease* was at length restor'd unto them. The young Woman dwelt at my House the rest of the Winter; having by a *vertuous Conversation* made her self enough welcome to the Family. But e're long, I thought it convenient for me to entertain my Congregation with a Sermon on the memorable Providences wherein these Children had been concern'd, [afterwards publish'd.] When I had begun to study my Sermon, her Tormentors

again seiz'd upon her, and manag'd her with a special Design, as was plain, to disturb me in what I was then about.

In the worst of her Extravagancies formerly, she was more dutiful to my self than I had reason to expect: But now her whole Carriage to me was with a Sawciness, which I was not us'd any where to be treated withal. She would knock at my Study door, affirming *That some below would be glad to see me*; tho' there was none that ask'd for me: And when I chid her for telling *what was false*, her Answer was *Mrs Mather is always glad to see you!* She would call to me with numberless Impertinencies: And when I came down, she would throw things at me, tho' none of them could ever hurt me: And she would Hector me at a strange rate for something I was doing above, and threaten me with *Mischief and Reproach* that should revenge it. Few Tortures now attended her, but such as were provok'd. Her Frolicks were numberless; if we may call them hers. I was in Latin telling some young Gentlemen, That if I should bid her look to God, her Eyes would be put out: Upon which her Eyes were presently serv'd so. Perceiving that her Troublers understood Latin, some Trials were thereupon made whether they understood Greek and Hebrew, which it seems, they also did; but the Indian Languages they did seem not so well to understand.

When we went unto prayer, the Demons would throw her on the Floor at the Feet of him that pray'd, where she would whistle, and sing, and yell, to drown the Voice of the Prayer, and she would fetch Blows with her Fist, and Kicks with her Foot, at the Man that pray'd: But still her Fist and Foot would always recoil, when they came within an Inch or two of him, as if rebounding against a Wall: and then she would beg hard of other People to strike him, which (you may be sure) not being done, she cry'd out, *He has wounded me in the Head.* But before the Prayer was over, she would be laid for dead, wholly senseless, and (unto appearance) breathless, with her Belly swell'd like a Drum; And sometimes with croaking Noises in her. Thus would she lie, most exactly with the Stiffness and Posture of one that had been two Days laid out for dead. Once lying thus, as he that was praying, was alluding to the Words of the *Canaanites*, and saying, *Lord, have mercy on a Daughter vex'd with a Devil*, there came a big, but low Voice from her, in which the Spectators did not see her Mouth to move, *There's two or three of us.* When Prayer was ended, she would revive in a Minute or two, and continue as frolicksome as before.

She thus continu'd until Saturday towards the Evening; when she assay'd with as nimble, and various, and pleasant an Application, as could easily be us'd, for to divert the young Folks in the Family from such Exercises, as it was proper to meet the Sabbath withal: But they refusing to be diverted, she fell fast asleep, and in two or three Hours wak'd perfectly her self, weeping bitterly to remember what had befallen her. When Christmas arriv'd, both she at my House, and her Sitter at home, were by the Demons made very

drunk, tho' we are fully satisfied they had no Strong Drink to make them so; nor would they willingly have been so, to have gain'd the World. When she began to feel her self Drunk, she complain'd, *Oh! they say they will have me to keep Christmas with them. They will disgrace me, when they can do nothing else.* And immediately the ridiculous Behaviours of one drunk, were with a wondrous Exactness represented in her Speaking, and Reeling and Spewing, and anon Sleeping, till she was well again. At last the Demons put her upon saying that she was dying, and the matter prov'd such, that we fear'd she really was; for she lay, she toss'd, she pull'd, just like one dying, and urg'd hard for some one to die with her, seeming loth to die alone. She argu'd concerning Death, with Paraphrases on the *Thirtieth Psalm*, in Strains that quite amaz'd us: And concluded, that tho' she was loth to die, yet if God said she must, she must! Adding, that the Indians would quickly shed much Blood in the Countrey, and horrible Tragedies would be acted in the Land. Thus the Vexations of the Children ended.

But after a while, they began again; and then one particular Minister taking a particular Compassion on the Family, set himself to serve them in the Methods prescrib'd by our Lord Jesus Christ. Accordingly, the Lord being besought thrice in Three Days of Prayer, with Fasting on this occasion, the Family then saw their Deliverance perfected; and the Children afterwards all of them, not only approv'd themselves Devout Christians; but unto the Praise of God reckon'd these their Afflictions among the special Incentives of their Christianity.

The Ministers of Boston and Charlestown, afterwards accompany'd the printed Narrative of these things with their Attestation to the Truth of it. And when it was re-printed at London, the famous Mr. Baxter prefixed a Preface unto it, wherein he says, *This great Instance comes with such convincing Evidence, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee, that will not believe it.*

The Tenib Example.

William Davies with Nine Sailers, whereof one was a Negro, and one Boy, and one Passenger, sail'd out of Boston, Dec. 28. 1695. in the Ship called *The Margaret*, of about Eighty Tuns, bound for Barbadoes, laden with Fish, Beef and a small parcel of Lumber. Within a few Days, one of the Sailers, nam'd Winlock Curtis, being at the Helm, about 8 a-clock at Night call'd unto the Captain, telling him, that he cou'd see no longer; whereof, when the Captain ask'd him the Reason, he besought the said Captain to think him neither drunk nor mad, and then added, *That he had but a little time to tarry here; constantly affirming therewithal, That a Spirit appearing by the Biddekel, accus'd him of killing a Woman, (which the Sailer said, that he had left alive.)* and reported unto him that the rest of the Ships Company had signed *The BOOK*, which he was from that Argument now urg'd also to sign. The Sail.

Sailer declared his Resolution, that he would never hearken to the Devil, and requested that he might be furnish'd with a Bible; in the reading whereof he was at first greatly interrupted; but at length he was able distinctly to read it. On the day following he was violently and suddenly seiz'd in an *unaccountable manner*, and furiously *thrown down* upon the Deck, where he lay *wallowing* in a great Agony, and foam'd at the Mouth, and grew black in the Face, and was near strangled with a *Great Lump* rising in his Neck nigh his Throat, like that which *bewitch'd* or *possess'd* People use to be attended withal. In a few days he came a little to himself; but still behav'd himself, as one much under the Power of some Devil; talking of the Visions which he *saw* in the Air, and of a Spirit coming for him with a Boat. The Ships Company, to prevent his going over-board to that *Invisible Spirit*, which he attempted once to do, *confin'd* him to his Cabin, and there ty'd him, and bound him so that they thought they had him fast enough: But he soon came forth without Noise, to their great Astonishment. He then fell into a Sleep, wherein he continu'd for *Twenty four Hours*; after which he came to himself, and remain'd very sensible, giving a particular Narrative of the odd Circumstances which he had been in, and calling for *Pen, and Ink*, to *write them down*. But he put off doing it until the Ship, then under a fresh Gale, should be a little quieter; and so it came to be altogether neglected.

Upon *Jan. 17.* in the North Lat. 19. sailing S.W. with a fresh Gale East, and E. and by S. about 9 at Night a small White Cloud arose without Rain, or any extraordinary Increase of Wind; Which falling upon the Ship, immediately press'd her down to Star board at once: And the Hatches flying out, she was immediately so full of Water, that it was impossible to recover her. If she had not been laden with Lumber, she must have sunk to the Bottom: Whereas now being full of Water, which *drown'd* the Boy sleeping in the Cabin, She soon righted, but floated along *overflow'd* with the Sea, after this, for Eleven Weeks together, in which time there hapned the *Ensuing Passages*.

First, Within a few Days, one Mr. Dibs, the Passenger, who formerly had been very undaunted and courageous, began to talk oddly of several Persons in Barbadoes; adding, *That one stood at the Main Mast who came for him with a Wherry*. And soon after this, he was gone insensibly, none knowing *when or how*. About a Fortnight after this, one John Jones was in the same *insensible manner* carry'd away, and so was the above mention'd *Winlock Curtis*. Within about a Fortnight more, one of their Number dy'd, thro' the unconquerable Difficulties of the Voyage. And about a Fortnight further, the Negro sitting as not in his right *Mind*, and another Sailer, were in the Night *insensibly* carry'd away. About a Week after, one *Sterry Lion*, the Carpenter, not being in any disorder of Mind at all, often spoke of his End being at hand, and that it would be by a *Wave* of the Sea, fetching

him away. Him they *saw* carry'd away by a Wave about Nine a-clock in the *Morning*.

All this while their *Food* was *only* Flesh, which they eat raw, because they could *now* have no Fire; and fresh *Fish*, which in great *Quantities* came into the Vessel unto them. At several times, and especially before the taking away of any one of their Number, they heard various and wondrous Noises like the Voice of Birds, as Turkeys and other *Fowl*. While they were in this *Condition*, they saw three Vessels, and judg'd that all the three *saw* them: Nevertheless none came a-near them to relieve them. Their Lodging was on two Boards plac'd *abwart* the Rail, near the *Taffril*, cover'd with a Sail: And the first Land they discover'd, was *Desiada*; but a Northerly Current hinder'd their landing there. The next Land was *Grand Terra*; but the Wind in the North binder'd their landing there also. At last, with a little Sail, being reduc'd unto Three in Number, they ran their Ship ashore at *Guadalupa*, the sixth of *April*, about 2 a-clock on *Monday morning*, where the *French* kindly entertain'd them, not as *Prisoners* but as *Travellers*. Thence they came to *Barbadoes*, and there they made Oath to the Truth of this Narrative.

The Eleventh Example.

Reader, into this Chapter, with too much of Reason, may be *transcrib'd* a Passage, which I have had occasion formerly to publish in a Book about *the Cause and Cure of a wounded Spirit*.

' There are very cruel *Self Murders* whereto
' the Wounds on Peoples *Consciencs* have driven
' them. Such a *Consternation* is upon them, that
' they can't pitch upon any other Project for
' their *own* Repose, than that of *Hanging, Drown-*
' *ing, Stabbing, Poisoning*, or some such *foaming*
' piece of *Madness*. But, in God's Name, *think*
' *again*, before you do so vile a thing! Think, by
' whole *Impulse* 'tis that you are dragg'd into this
' *curs'd* Action. Truly 'tis a more than ordinary
' *Impulse* of the Devil, wherof I have seen
' most prodigious *Evi lences*.

' One that came to me with a *wounded Soul*,
' after all that I could plead with him, left me
' with these Words, *Well, the Devil will have me*
' *after all!* And some Company just then *bin-*
' *dring* me from going after him, as I *intended*,
' ere I could get at him, he was found sitting in
' his Chamber, choak'd unto death with a *Rope*,
' which *Rope* nevertheless was found, not about
' his Neck, but in his *Hand* and on his *Knee*.

' The sensible *Assistance* which the Devil has
' frequently among us, given to these *unnatural*
' *Executions*, does manifestly shew, that They
' who dogg'd the *Swime* into the Deep of old, are
' the same that compel Persons to be so much
' worse than *Swime*, as to kill themselves. These
' *doleful* Creatures we have seen sometimes hang
' themselves to death, while their Feet are yet
' upon the Ground: Yea, by a Line which hath
' presently broken, and yet left them dead. And,

' I think some that have been found and fetch'd
' before their Life was wholly extinguish'd in
' them, have confess'd unto me to this purpose :

' *That they had no sooner given the first stop unto their
' Breath, but they presently lost all sort of Sense : On-
' ly they felt such a Load immediately upon their
' Shoulders, that they could not help themselves, tho'
' their Knees were upon the Floor all the while.*

' Moreover, the strange Obstructions that are
' given to Mens coming into a Probability of
' Deliverance from their Hurries, do further ma-
' nifest, that the Armies of Hell are herein be-
' leaguering of them. How often have People
' been at a Minister's door to have spoken with
' him ; but having no power to knock, they
' have gone away and laid violent hands upon
' themselves ! People at the Threshold of this
' very Meeting-house, have had a forcible and
' furious kind of Whisper made into their Minds
' that they must be gone to some other Congre-
' gation : But at length overcoming their invi-
' sible Pull-backs, they have come in ; and a
' large part of my Sermon hath been to dissuade
' any hurry'd Souls from the murdering of them-
' selves : which God has bless'd unto the saving
' of them. It seems the bloody Demons had
' unto their Vexation, some way learnt what I
' was to preach about. The Result of all is thus
' much, since 'tis the Devil which puts you upon
' thus wronging of your selves, don't resign your
' selves unto the Conduct of that hellish Murder-
' er. Are the Devil's Hands, I pray, so desira-
' ble, that you will needs throw your selves into
' them, while the Hands of the Saviour are
' yet open to receive you, to relieve you ! *Oh, do
' thy self no harm !*

The Twelfth Example.

Strange Premonitions of Death approaching,
are matters of such a frequent occurrence in Hi-
story, that one is ready now to look upon them
as no more than matters of common Occur-
rence. The Learned know that *Suetonius* hard-
ly lets one of his Twelve *Cæsars* die without
them : And the Vulgar talk of them as things
happening every day amongst their smaller
Neighbours.

Even within a Fortnight of my writing this,
there was a Physician who sojourn'd within a
Furlong of my own House. This Physician
for three Nights together was miserably distress'd
with Dreams of his being drown'd. On the
third of these Nights his Dreams were so trouble-
some, that he was cast into extream Sweats, by
struggling under the imaginary Water. With
the Sweats yet upon him, he came down from
his Chamber, telling the People of the Family
what it was that had so compos'd him. Im-
mediately there came in two Friends that ask'd
him to go a little way with them in a Boat upon
the Water. He was at first afraid of grati-
fying the Desire of his Friends, because of his
late Pretences. But it being a very calm time, he
recollected himself, *why should I mind my Dreams,
or mistrust the Divine Providence ?* He went with

them, and before Night, by a Thunder-storm
suddenly coming up, they were all three of them
drown'd.

I have just now enquir'd into the Truth of
what I have thus related ; and I can assert it.

But Apparitions after Death are things which
when they occur, have more of *Strangeness* in
them. And yet they have been often seen in
this Land : Particularly, Persons that have died
abroad at Sea, have within a day after their death
been seen by their Friends in their Houses at
home. The Sights have occasion'd much No-
tice and much Discourse at the very time of
hem ; and Records have been kept of the time,
(Reader, I write but what hath fallen within my
own Personal Observation ;) and it hath been
afterwards found that they dy'd near that very
time when they thus appear'd.

I will, from several Instances, which I have
known of this thing, single out one, that shall
have in it much of *Demonstration*, as well as of
Particularity.

It was on the Second of *May*, in the Year
1687. that a most ingenious, accomplish'd,
and well-dispos'd young Gentleman, Mr. *Joseph
Beacon* by Name, about 5 a-clock in the Morning
as he lay, whether sleeping or waking, he could
not say, (but judg'd the latter of them,) had a
View of his Brother then at *London*, although he
was now himself at our *Boston*, distant'd from
him a thousand Leagues. This, his Brother ap-
pear'd to him in the Morning, (I say) about five
a-clock, at *Boston*, having on him a *Bengale* Gown
which he usually wore, with a Napkin ty'd a-
bout his Head : His Countenance was very pale,
ghastly, deadly, and he had a bloody Wound on
one side of his Forehead. Brother ! says the as-
trighted *Joseph*. Brother ! answer'd the Appa-
rition. Said *Joseph*, what's the matter Brother !
How came you here ! The Apparition reply'd,
Brother ! I have been most barbarously and inhuman-
ly murder'd by a debauch'd Fellow, to whom I never
did any wrong in my Life. Whereupon he gave a
particular Description of the Murderer ; ad-
ding, Brother, this Fellow, changing his Name, is
attempting to come over unto New England, in Foy
or Wild : I would pray you, on the first Arrival of either
of these, to get an Order from the Governour to seize the
Person whom I have now describ'd ; and then do you
indict him for the Murder of me, your Brother I'll
stand by you, and prove the Indictment. And so he
vanish'd. Mr. *Beacon* was extreamly astonish'd
at what he had seen and heard : And the People
of the Family not only observ'd an Extraordina-
ry Alteration upon him for the Week following,
but have also given me under their Hands a full
Testimony that he then gave them an Account
of this Apparition. All this while, Mr. *Beacon*
had no Advice of any thing amiss attending his
Brother then in *England* : But about the latter
End of *June* following, he understood by the
common ways of Communication, that the *A-
pril* before his Brother going in haste by Night to
call a Coach for a Lady, met a Fellow then in
Drink with his Doxy in his hand. Some way or

other the Fellow thought himself affronted in the hasty Passage of this *Beacon*, and immediately ran in to the Fire side of a neighbouring Tavern, from whence he fetch'd out a Fire-Fork, where-with he grievously wounded *Beacon* on the Skull, even in that very part where the Apparition shew'd his Wound. Of this Wound he languish'd until he dy'd, on the 2d of *May*, about 5 of the clock in the *Morning*, at *London*. The Murderer, it seems, was endeavouring an Escape, as the Apparition affirm'd; but the Friends of the Deceas'd *Beacon* seiz'd him; and prosecuting him at Law, he found the Help of such Friends, as brought him off without the loss of his Life: Since which, there has no more been heard of the Business.

This History I receiv'd of Mr. *Joseph Beacon* himself, who, a little before his own pious and hopeful Death, which follow'd not long after, gave me the Story, written and sign'd with his own Hand, and attested with the Circumstances I have already mention'd.

I know not how far the Reader will judge it agreeable unto the Matters related in this Article, if I do insert,— But I will here insert a Passage which I find thus enter'd among my own *Adversaria*.

14 d. 2m. 1684.

Mr. *J. C.* a Deacon of the Church in *Charlstown*, told me, that his Wife having been sick for divers Months, was on the 31st of *August* last, seiz'd with the Pangs of Death; in which being delirious, and asking divers times who would go with her, whither she was going? At length she said, *Well; my Son Robert will go.* and addressing her Speech thereupon as unto him, she express'd her Satisfaction that they should go together. This Son of hers was at that time in *Barbadoes*; and his Friends here have since learn'd that he also dy'd there, and this at the very Hour when his Mother here gave up the Ghost; and (which is further odd) not without the like Expressions concerning his Mother, that his Mother had concerning him.

The Thirteenth Example.

In this present *Evil World*, it is no Wonder that the Operations of the Evil Angels are more sensible than of the Good ones. Nevertheless 'tis very certain, that the Good Angels continually without any Defilement, fly about in our defil'd *Atmosphere*, to minister for the Good of them that are to be the Heirs of *Salvation*.

The Natives of Heaven, as Dr. *Fuller* phraseth it, grudge not to guard those who are only Free Denizens thereof. The Excellent *Rivet* hath well express'd what is to believ'd of this matter, *That every one of them, who shall be Heirs of Salvation, hath, besides what may be with him on Extraordinary Occasions always one particular Angel with him, is a probable Truth,*

and not against the Scripture. Albeit, we cannot from thence infer that it is always the same Angel. Now, tho' the *Angelical Ministration* is usually behind the Curtain of more visible Instruments and their Actions; yet sometimes it hath been with *Extraordinary Circumstances* made more obvious to the Sense of the Faithful.

Of all that hath occur'd in this Land, this only shall here be express'd.

I find in the Diary of my Dear, and Reverend, and Excellent Friend Mr. *John Baily*, a wonderful Passage concerning his Eminently pious Wife, who dy'd at our *Watertown*; which I will here transcribe.

April 14. 1691. she was dying all day. Toward Sun-set she said unto me especially, and also unto others, that we had done her the greatest Diskindness that ever she met with since she was born, in keeping her back, and not delivering her up to God in Christ, whom she lov'd above all, and long'd to be withal. She begg'd as for her Life, that *We* would, and I especially, take off our Love wholly from her, and give our All to the Lord Jesus Christ, as she had often done, and was now willing again to do. She would never be quiet, until I promised before all those Witnesses present (which were many) and before the *Holy Angels*, who she desired would seal to it with their Golden Seals, that I would be willing to part with her and let her go; and that I would give my All up to the Lord Jesus Christ (even Her self, and every thing else :) which in the Name of Christ, I promis'd to labour to be willing, and I would be willing to do.

This gave her some Content; and she said, that God had appear'd unto her, and that she was full of the Joys of the Holy Ghost, and that she had whole Floods of the Love of God in her Soul, and she could not stand under it. She often said, that she had Rivers of Joy, and that she could scatter it about the Town, and that all this was to her the worst of Sinners; and that it was not only undeserv'd, but also unexpected. She desir'd every one to take heed of slighting the Lord Jesus Christ; and she assur'd them, that if they entertain'd him, they should be as full of Love and Joy as she: And she advis'd them to give up all unto God, and make much of him; for there was none like him; and as long as she had a Tongue or a Breath, she would praise him: And she ask'd us all, that if we would not, or could not praise him on our own Accounts, yet we would do it on hers; for she was Top-full, Brim-full, and running over. She said, Death had no Terror at all in it; but she could as freely die as ever she went to sleep. She said, *I deserve none of this Love; but if Christ will give it, who can hinder it? Goto him; he is no Niggard, he has Love and Grace enough for you all: I cannot bear it, it is so heavy! Ay, said she, my poor Husband, tho' a disconsolate Man, Jesus Christ will fit him with all this Love before he dies; and he will fill you all, if it be not your own Fault.* She said unto me, *If any body want me, this poor Man will:*

'will: Yet, as well as I love him, and I now love
'him better than ever, and shall bless God through
'all Eternity for him; Yet I would not be br'd by
'Millions of Worlds to live a Day or an Hour with
'him from Christ: And yet, if God would have me
'to live, I would live. This Hour is the happiest
'Hour that ever I had since my Mother bound my
'head. There was never such an Instance of Free-
'Grace, as I am perswaded, since the World begun.
'Let all take notice, to the Glory of Free Grace, that
'I go off the Stage nobly and honourably. She said,
'That she was going to the Lord, and if thousands
'of Devils should tell her otherwise, she would
'not believe them. God had now made her a-
'men's for all the Troubles she had met withal
'in the World. She then desir'd that we would
'sing some Psalm of Praise to the Riches of
'Free Grace: But our Harps were hang'd on
'the Willows we did it not. Yet there was me-
'lancholous Singing at that very time! I heard it
'my self, but intended never to speak of it until
'the Nurse B. and M. S. spoke of it. They
'went unto the Fire, thinking it was there; but
'they heard it best, when within the Curtains.
'God, by his Holy Angels, put an Honour upon
'my dear little Woman; and by it reprov'd us
'that seeing we would not sing, (being bad at
'it) they would!

The Fourteenth Example.

To conclude our Wonders of the Invisible World, there will doubtless be expected an Account of the Wonders that afflicted *New-England* in the Year 1692. Now having in my Hands a most unexceptionable Account thereof written by Mr. *John Hales*, I will here content my self with the Transcribing of that. And I will assure the Reader that he hath now to do with a Writer, who would not for a World be guilty of over-doing the Truth in an History of this importance.

Sadducismus debellatus.

§. 1. **I**N the latter end of the Year 1691. Mr. *Paris*, Pastor of the Church in *Salem-Village* had a Daughter of Nine, and a Niece of about Eleven Years of Age, sadly afflicted of they knew not what Distempers: And tho' he made his Application to Physicians; yet still they grew worse. At length one Physician gave his Opinion *That they were under an Evil Hand*. This the Neighbours took up, and concluded, they were bewitch'd. He had also an *Indian* Man-servant, and his Wife, who afterwards confess'd that without the Knowledge of their Master or Mistress, they had taken some of the afflicted Persons Urine, and mixing it with Meal, had made a Cake, and bak'd it, to find out the Witch, as they said. After this, the afflicted Persons cry'd out of the *Indian* Woman nam'd *Tituba*, that she did pinch, prick, and

grievously torment them; and that they saw her here and there, where no body else could; yea, they could tell where she was, and what she did when out of their Humane Sight. These Children were bitten and pinch'd by invisible Agents; their Arms, Necks, and Backs turn'd this way and that way, and return'd back again; so as it was impossible for them to do of themselves, and beyond the power of any *Epileptick Fits*, or natural Diseases to effect.

Sometimes they were taken dumb, their Mouths stopp'd, their Throats choak'd, their Limbs rack'd and tormented, so as might move an Heart of Stone to sympathize with them, with Bowels of Compassion for them. I will not enlarge in the Description of their cruel Sufferings, because they were in all things afflicted as bad as *John Goodwin's* Children at *Boston* in the Year 1689. So that he that will read Mr. *Mather's* Book of *Memorable Providences*, may read part of what these Children, and afterwards sundry grown Persons suffer'd by the Hand of Satan at *Salem-Village* and Parts adjacent, *An. 1691*. Yet there was more in these Sufferings than in those at *Boston*, by Pins invisibly stuck into their Flesh, pricking with Irons, &c. as is in part publish'd in a Book printed 1693, viz. *The Wonders of the Invisible World*.

Mr. *Paris* seeing the distress'd Condition of his Family, desir'd the Presence of some worthy Gentlemen of *Salem*, and some Neighbour-Ministers, to consult together at his House; who, when they came, and had enquir'd diligently into the Sufferings of the afflicted, concluded they were preternatural, and fear'd the Hand of Satan was in them.

§. 2. The advice given to Mr. *Paris* about them, was, That he should sit still and wait upon the Providence of God, to see what Time might discover, and to be much in Prayer for the Discovery of what was yet secret. They also examin'd *Tituba*, who confess'd the making a Cake, as is above-mention'd, and said, her Mistress in her own Countrey was a Witch, and had taught her some means to be us'd for the Discovery of a Witch, and for prevention of being bewitch'd: but said, that she her self was not a Witch.

§. 3. Soon after this, there were two or three Private Fasts at the Minister's House; one of which was kept by sundry Neighbour Ministers; and after this, another in publick at the Village; and several Days afterwards of Publick Humiliation, during these Molestations, not only there, but in other Congregations for them: and one General Fast, by order of the General Court, observ'd throughout the Colony, to seek the Lord, that he would rebuke Satan, and be a Light unto his People in this Day of Darknes. But I return to these Troubles. In a short time after, other Persons who were of age to be Witnesses, were molested by Satan, and in their Fits cry'd out upon *Tituba*, and *Goody O.* and *S. G.* that they or Spectres in their Shapes, did grievously torment them. Some of their Vil-
lage

lage-Neighbours complain'd unto the Magistrates at *Salem*, desiring they would come and examine the Afflicted and the Accus'd together; the which they did: The effect of which Examination was, that *Tituba* confess'd she was a *Witch*; and that she, with the two others accus'd, did torment and bewitch the Complainers; and that these, with two others, whose Names she knew not, had their *Witch-meetings* together, relating the times when, and places where, they met, with many other Circumstances elsewhere to be seen at large. Upon this, the said *Tituba* and O. and G. were committed to Prison upon suspicion of acting *Witchcraft*. After this, the said *Tituba* was again examin'd in Prison, and own'd her first Confession in all points, and then was her self afflicted, and complain'd of her Fellow-Witches tormenting of her for her Confession, and accusing them; and being search'd by a Woman, she was found to have upon her Body the Marks of the Devil's wounding her.

§. 4. Here were these things rendred her Confession credible:

1. That at this Examination she answer'd every Question just as she did at the first. And it was thought, that if she had feign'd her Confession, she could not have remember'd her Answers so exactly. A Lyar, we say, had need have a good Memory: But Truth being always consistent with it self, is the same to day as it was yesterday.

2. She seem'd very penitent for her Sin in covenanting with the Devil.

3. She became a Sufferer her self, and, as she said, for her Confession.

4. Her Confession agreed exactly (which was afterwar'ds verify'd in the other Confessors) with the Acculations of the Afflicted.

Soon after, these afflicted Persons complain'd of other Persons afflicting of them in their Fits, and the Number of the Afflicted and the Accus'd began to increase. And the Success of *Tituba's* Confession encourag'd those in Authority to examine others that were suspected; and the Event was, that more confess'd themselves guilty of the Crimes they were suspected for. And thus was the matter driven on.

§. 5. I observ'd in the Prosecution of these Affairs, that there was in the *Justices, Judges,* and others concern'd, a conscientious Endeavour to do the thing that was right; and to that end, they consulted the Precedents of former times, and Precepts laid down by learn'd Writers about *Witchcraft*; as, *Keeble* on the Common Law, Chapt. *Conjuration*, (an Author approv'd by the Twelve Judges of our Nation:) Also Sir *Matthew Hales's* Trials of Witches, printed An. 1682. *Glanvil's* Collection of sundry Trials in *England* and *Ireland* in the Year 1658, 61, 63, 64, and 81. *Bernard's* Guide to Jury-men; *Baxter's* and *R. B.* their Histories about Witches, and their Discoveries; *C. Matber's* Memorable Providences relating to *Witchcrafts*, printed 1685.

§ 6. But that which chiefly carry'd on this matter to such an Height, was the increasing of Confessors until they amounted to near upon fifty; and Four or Six of them upon their Trials own'd their Guilt of this Crime, and were condemn'd for the same, but not executed. And many of the Confessors confirm'd their Confessions with very strong Circumstances; as their exact agreement with the *Accusations* of the *Afflicted*, their punctual agreement with their Fellow-Confessors, their relating the Times when they covenanted with Satan, and the Reasons that mov'd 'em thereunto; their *Witch-meetings*, and that they had their Mock-sacraments of *Baptism* and the *Supper*, in some of them; their signing the Devil's Book, and some shew'd the Scars of the Wounds which they said were made to terch Blood with to sign the Devil's Book; and some said they had Imps to suck them, and shew'd Sores raw, where they said they were suck'd by them.

§. 7. I shall give the Reader a Taste of these things in a few Instances. The *Afflicted* complain'd that the Spectres which vex'd them, urg'd them to set their hands to a Book, represent'd to them (as to them it seem'd) with Threatnings of great Torments if they sign'd not, and Promises of Ease if they obey'd. Among these, *D. H.* as she said (which sundry others confess'd afterwards) being overcome by the Extremity of her pains, did sign the Book presented, and had the promis'd Ease, and immediately upon it a Spectre in her Shape afflicted another Person, and said, *I have sign'd the Book, and have Ease: now do you sign, and so shall you have Ease!* And one day this afflicted Person pointed at a certain place in the Room, and said *There is D. H.* Upon which, a Man with his Rapier struck at the Place, tho' he saw no Shape; and the *Afflicted* call'd out, saying, *You have given her a small Prick about the Eye.* Soon after this, the said *D. H.* confess'd her self to be made a *Witch*, by signing the Devil's Book, as above said, and declar'd that she had afflicted the Maid that complain'd of her, and in doing of it, had receiv'd *Two Wounds* by a *Sword* or *Rapier*; a small one about the Eye, which she shew'd to the Magistrates, and a bigger on the Side, of which she was search'd by a discreet Woman, who reported that *D. H.* had on her Side the Sign of a Wound newly heal'd. This *D. H.* confess'd that she was at a *Witch-meeting* at *Salem Village*, where were many Persons that she nam'd, some of whom were in Prison then, or soon after, upon suspicion of *Witchcraft*; and she said *G. B.* preach'd to them, and such a Woman was their Deacon, and there they had a Sacrament.

§. 8. Several others after this, confess'd the same things with *D. H.* In particular, *Goody F.* said, that she, with two others, (one of whom acknowledg'd the same) rode from *Andover* to the same Village *Witch-meeting*, upon a Stick above the Ground, and that in the Way the Stick brake,

brake, and gave the said *F.* a Fall, whereby, said she, *I got a Fall and Hurt, of which I am still sore.* I hapned to be present in Prison when this *F.* own'd again her former Confession to the Magistrates — I asked her if she rode to the Meeting on a Stick? She said, *Yea.* I inquired what she did for Victuals: She answered, That she carried Bread and Cheese in her Pocket, and that she and the *Andover* Company came to the Village before the Meeting began, and sat down together under a Tree, and eat their Food; and that she drank Water out of a Brook to quench her Thirst; and that the Meeting was upon a plain Grassy Place, by which was a Cart-path, in which were the Tracks of Horses Feet; and she also told me how long they were going and returning, and some time after, told me she had some Trouble upon her Spirit; and when I enquired what, she said, she was in fear that *G. B.* and *M. C.* would kill her; for they appeared unto her (in Spectre, for their Persons were kept in other Rooms in the Prison) and brought a Sharp-pointed Iron, like a *Spindle*, but four-square, and Threatned to stab her to death, because she had confessed her Witchcraft, and told of them that they were with her; and *M. C.* above-named was the Person that made her a Witch. About a Month after, the said *F.* took occasion to tell me the same Story of her Fears that *G. B.* and *E. C.* would kill her; so that the thing was much on her Spirit.

§. 9. It was not long before *M. L.* Daughter of the said *F.* confess'd that She rode with her Mother to the said Witch-meeting, and confirm'd the Substance of her Mother's Confession. At another time *M. L. junior*, the Grand daughter, aged about 17 Years, confesses the Substance of what her Grand-mother and Mother had related, and declares that when they, with *E. C.* rode on a Stick or Pole in the Air, she the said Grand-daughter, with *R. C.* rode upon another (and the said *R. C.* acknowledged the same) and that they set their Hands to the Devil's Book: and (*inter alia*) said, *O Mother, why did you give me to the Devil? twice or thrice over.* The Mother said, she was sorry at the heart for it; it was through that wicked one. Her Daughter bad her repent and call upon God, and said, *Oh Mother! your Wishes are now come to pass; for how often have you wished that the Devil would fetch me away alive!* and then said, *Oh, my Heart will break within me!* Then She wept bitterly, crying out, *O Lord comfort me, and bring out all the Witches.* And she said to her Grandmother, *Oh Grandmother, why did you give me to the Devil? Why did you persuade me? O Grandmother, do not deny it.* Then the Grandmother gave account of several things about their Confederates and Acts of Witchcraft, too long to rehearse. Moreover, another declared, that she with Widow *S.* went to Captain *W. S.* and the said *S.* gave him a Blow with a great Stick, and yet was to him invisible. Captain *W.* declar'd he had a fore Blow, as if with a great Stick, but saw no body. The Widow *S.* denied that she struck him. Then *M. P.* the Confessor

very boldly look'd up into her Face, and said, *Geody S. you know you did strike him, and I saw you do it,* and then told the manner how it was done, and how they came to him, and returned.

§ 10. Nextly, I will insert the Confession of a Man, about forty years of age, *W. B.* which he wrote himself in Prison, and sent to the Magistrates, to confirm his former Confession to them.

God having call'd me to confess my Sin and Apostacy in that Fall, in giving the Devil Advantage over me, appearing to me like a Black, in the Evening, to set my hand to his Book, as I have own'd to my shame. He told me that I should not want, so doing. At Salem-Village, there being a little off the Meeting-house, about an hundred fine Blades, some with Rapiers by their sides, which was call'd (and might be more for ought I know) by B. and Bu. and the TRUMPET sounded, and Bread and Wine which they called the Sacrament: but I had none; being carried over all upon a Stick, never being at any other Meeting. I being at Cart Saturday last all the Day, of Hay and English Corn, the Devil brought my Shape to Salem, and did afflict M. S. and R. F. by clitching my Hand: And on Sabbath day my Shape afflicted A. M. and at Night afflicted M. S. and A. M. E. J. and A. F. have been my Enticers to this great Abomination, as one hath owned and charged her other Sister with the same. And the Design was to destroy Salem Village, and to begin at the Minister's House, and to destroy the Churches of God, and to set up Satan's Kingdom, and then all will be well. And now I hope God hath made me in some measure sensible of my Sin and Apostacy; begging Pardon of God, and of the honourable Magistrates, and all God's People; hoping, and promising by the Help of God, to set to my Heart and Hand to do what in me lieth to destroy such wicked Worship; humbly begging the Prayers of God's People for me, I may walk humbly under all this great Affliction, and that I may procure to my self the sure Mercies of David.

Concerning this Confession, note, 1. It was his own Free Act in Prison. 2. He said [*The Devil, like a black Sheep.*] This he had before explain'd to be like a *Black Man.* 3. That on a certain day was heard in the Air the Sound of a Trumpet at Salem-Village, nigh the Meeting-house, and upon all Enquiry, it could not be found that any mortal Man did sound it. 4. The Three Persons, he saith, the Devil in his Shape afflicted, had been, as to the time and manner, afflicted as he confesseth. 5. That *E. J.* confessed as much as *W. B.* chargeth her with. 6. Many others confess'd a Witch meeting or Witch-meetings at the Village as well as he.

Note also, that these Confessors did not only witness against themselves, but against one another, and against many, if not all those that suffer'd for that Crime. As for Example: When *G. B.* was tried, seven or eight of these Confessors, severally call'd, said they knew the said *B.* and saw him at a Witch-meeting at the Village, and heard him exhort the Company to pull down the Kingdom of God, and set up the

Kingdom of the Devil. He deny'd all; yet said he justify'd the Judges and Jury in condemning, of him: because there were so many positive Witnesses against him; but said he dy'd by false Witnesses. *M.C.* had to witness against her two or three of her own Children, and several Neighbours, that said they were in Confederacy with her in her Witchcraft. *A.F.* had three of her Children, and some of the Neighbours, her own Sister, and a Servant, who confess'd themselves Witches, and said, she was in Confederacy with them. But alas, I am weary with relating Particulars: Those that would see more of this kind, let them have recourse to the Records.

§. 11. By these things you may see how this matter was carry'd on, *viz.* chiefly by the Complaints and Accusations of the Afflicted (Bewitch'd ones, as it was suppos'd) and then by the Confessions of the *Accus'd* condemning themselves and others. Yet Experience shew'd, That the more there were apprehended, the more were still afflicted by Satan; and the Number of Confessors increasing, did but increase the Number of the *Accused*; and the executing of some, made way for the apprehending of others: For still the *Afflicted* complain'd of being tormented by new Objects, as the former were remov'd. So that those that were concern'd, grew amaz'd at the Number and Quality of the Persons accus'd, and feared that Satan by his Wiles had enwrapped Innocent Persons under the Imputation of that Crime. And at last, it was evidently seen, that there must be a Stop put, or the Generation of the Children of God, would fall under that Condemnation. Henceforth therefore the Juries generally acquitted such as were tried, fearing they had gone too far before. And Sir *William Phips* the Governour, reprieved all that were condemn'd, even the Confessors as well as others. And the Confessors generally fell off from their Confession, some saying, *They remembred nothing of what they had said*; others said, *They had belied themselves and others*. Some broke Prison and ran away, and were not strictly searched after. Some acquitted, some dismissed, and one way or other, all that had been accused, were set or left at Liberty. And, altho' had the Times been calm, the Condition of the Confessors might have called for a *Melius inquirendum*; yet, considering the Combustion and Confusion this matter had brought us unto, it was thought safer to under-do than over-do, especially in matters Capital, where what is once compleated, cannot be retrieved; but what is left at one time, may be corrected at another, upon a Review, and clearer Discovery of the State of the Case. Thus this matter issued somewhat abruptly.

§. 12. It may be queried, How doth it appear that there was a going too far in this *Affair*?

A. 1. By the Numbers of the Persons accus'd, which at length increas'd to about an hundred;

and it cannot be imagin'd that in a place of so much Knowledge, so many in so small a compass of Land, should so abominably leap into the Devil's Lap all at once.

2. The Quality of several of the *Accus'd* was such, as did bespeak *better things, and things that accompany Salvation*; Persons, whose blameless and holy Lives before did testify for them; Persons that had taken great pains to bring up their Children in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord; such as we had Charity for, as for our own Souls: And Charity is a Christian Duty commended to us.

3. The Number of the Afflicted daily increased until about fifty Persons were thus vex'd by the Devil. This gave just ground to suspect some Mistake, which gave advantage to the *Accuser of the Brethren* to make a Breach upon us.

4. It was considerable, That *Nineteen* were executed, and all denied the Crime to the death, and some of them were knowing Persons, and had before this been accounted blameless *Livers*. And, it is not to be imagin'd, but that if all had been guilty, some would have had so much Tenderness, as to seek Mercy for their Souls, in the way of Confession and Sorrow for such a Sin. And as for the *Condemn'd Confessors* at the Bar (they being reprieved) we had no Experience whether they would stand to their self-condemning Confessions when they came to die.

5. When this Prosecution ceas'd, the Lord so chain'd up Satan, that the *Afflicted* grew presently well: The *Accused* are generally quiet; and for five years since, we have no such Molestation by them.

6. It sways much with me, which I have since heard and read, of the like Mistakes in other Places. As in *Suffolk in England*, about the year 1645. was such a Prosecution, until they saw, that unless they put a stop, it would bring all into Blood and Confusion. The like hath been in *France*, until Nine hundred were put to death. And in some other places the like. So that *New England* is not the only place circumvented by the *Wiles of the wicked and wily Serpent* in this kind.

Wierus de Præstigiis Demonum, pag. 678. relates, That an Inquisitor in the *Subalpine Valleys*, enquir'd after Women witches, and consum'd above an hundred in the Flames, and daily made New Offerings to *Vulcan* of those that needed *Hellebore* more than Fire. Until the Countrey-People rose, and by force of Arms hinder'd him, and referr'd the matter to the Bishop. Their Husbands, Men of good Faith, affirmed, that in that very time, they said of them, that they had play'd and danc'd under a Tree, they were in Bed with them.

In *Chelmsford in Essex*, Anno 1645. there were thirty try'd at once before Judge *Coniers*, and fourteen of them hang'd, and an hundred more detain'd in several Prisons in *Suffolk* and *Essex*.

As to our Case at *Salem*, I conceive it proceeded from some mistaken Principles: As, that Satan cannot assume the Shape of an *Innocent Person*, and in that Shape do mischief to the Bodies and

and Estates of Mankind: and that the Devil when he doth harm to Persons in their Body or Estate, it is (at least, most commonly, generally and frequently) by the help of our Neighbour, some Witch in covenant with the Devil; and that when the Party suspected looks on the Parties suppos'd to be bewitch'd, and they are thereupon struck down into a Fit, as if struck with a Cudgel, it is a Proof of such a Covenant. *Cum multis aliis.*

The worthy Author, from whose Manuscript I have transcrib'd this Narrative, does there confute these mistaken Principles; and in his confuting of one, *viz.* That if the Party suspected appear in Spectre to the Afflicted, and the Afflicted give a Blow with Knife, Sword, &c. (or some other on their behalf) and the Spectre seems wounded or Bleeding, or to have their Garment torn by the Blow receiv'd; and the party Spectrally represented, be presently searched, and there is found upon their Body a Wound or Blood, even on the same part of their Body, or a Rent on the same part of the Garment which appeared on the Spectre to the Afflicted, this hath been accounted a strong Evidence to prove the Party suspected to be a Confederate with Satan in afflicting the Complainer. He hath divers notable Passages. One of them is this:

'The Person or Garment so represented to the Afflicted by the Spectre, was wounded, or bleeding, or cut, or rent before: And the Devil knowing this, represents to the Afflicted that part of the Spectre which answer'd to the Body wounded, or Garment rent; and then the Searchers finding such Wounds upon, or Rents about the Person suspected, are ready to conclude it was done by the Stroke at the Spectre, which was done before. There was at *Chelmsford* an afflicted Person, that in her Fits cried out against a Woman, a Neighbour, which *Mr. Clark*, the Minister of the Gospel there, could not believe to be guilty of such a Crime. And it hapned, while that Woman milked her Cow, the Cow struck her with one Horn upon the Forehead, and fetch'd Blood: And while she was thus bleeding, a Spectre in her Likeness appear'd to the Party afflicted; who pointing at the Spectre, one struck at the place, and the Afflicted said, *You have made her Forehead bleed!* Hereupon some went unto the Woman, and found her Forehead bloody, and acquainted *Mr. Clark* with it; who forthwith went to the Woman, and ask'd, *How her Forehead became bloody?* and she answer'd, *By a Blow of the Cows Horn*, as above said: Whereby he was satisfi'd, That it was a Design of Satan to render an innocent Person suspected.

Another Instance was at *Cambridge* about 40 years since. There was a Man much troubled in the Night with Cats, or the Devil in their Likeness, haunting of him. Whereupon he

'kept a Light burning, and a Sword by him as he lay in Bed; for he suspected a Widow-Woman to send these Cats or Imps, by Witchcraft, to bewitch him. And one Night as he lay in Bed, a Cat, or Imp, came within his Reach, and he struck her on the Back: and upon Enquiry, he heard this Widow had a sore Back. This confirm'd his Suspicion of the Widow, he supposing it came from the Wound he gave the Cat. But *Mr. Day*, the Widow's Chirurgeon, clear'd the matter; saying, this Widow came to him, and complain'd of a Sore in her Back, and desir'd his Help, and he found it to be a Boyl, and ripen'd and heal'd it as he us'd to do other Boyls. But while this was in cure, the suppos'd Cat was wounded, as is already rehears'd. Again, I knew a Woman that was Spectrally represented unto an Afflicted Maid, who complain'd that she was in such a part of the Room; whereupon one struck at it with his Rapier in the Scabbard, and the afflicted said, *You have rent her Gown in such a Place, and her Gown is green.* Afterwards this Woman was observ'd when apprehended, to have that green Gown on (which doubtless she would not have worn then, if she had known any thing of its being rent, by striking at her Spectre) and there was found a Rent sow'd up, just in the place the Afflicted had said it was torn by the Scabbard in the same manner. I afterward ask'd this Woman how her Gown came so torn: She answer'd, by going into such a Yard about a Year before, and such an one knew it to be so.

The Author elsewhere speaking of another *mistaken Principle*, takes occasion to mention the following Passage.

'I remember, when there was a great Discourse about Witches, a very holy Man heard his Wife say, she desir'd a Sucking Pig: and he going to a Neighbour's House, saw a Sow with a Litter of Pigs, and took a Fancy to one of them in particular for his Wife, and asked the Owner for that Pig. The Owner denied him: Hereupon he went away in a great Passion, very unsuitable to such a Person; and that very Pig left its Dam and Company, and followed this Man to his home. This was observ'd, and it was suppos'd Satan might have some hand in it; taking advantage upon the Passion of so good a Man, to render him suspected by such an Accident, if he could.

Upon the whole, the Author spends whole Chapters to prove that there yet is a Witch: and he gives this Definition of one, *viz.* a Person, that having the free use of Reason, doth knowingly and willingly seek and obtain of the Devil, or of any other God, besides the true God *Jehovab*, an Ability to do or know strange things, or things which he cannot by his own Humane Abilities arrive unto. This Person is a Witch.

But thus much for that Manuscript.

A N
A P P E N D I X.

A Token for the Children of *NEW-ENGLAND*.

O R,

Some Examples of Children in whom the Fear of God was remarkably Budding before they died; in several Parts of *NEW-ENGLAND*. Preserved and Published, for the Encouragement of *PIETY* in other Children.

IF the Children of *New-England* should not with an early Piety, set themselves to know and Serve the Lord Jesus Christ, the God of their Fathers, they will be condemn'd, not only by the Examples of pious Children in other parts of the World, the publish'd and printed Accounts whereof have been brought over hither; but there have been *Exemplary Children* in the midst of *New-England* it self, that will rise up against them for their Condemnation. It would be a very profitable thing to our Children, and highly acceptable to all the Godly Parents of the Children, if, in Imitation of the Excellent *Janoway's Token for Children*, there were made a true Collection of Notable Things, Exemplified in the Lives and Deaths of many amongst us, whose Childhood have been signaliz'd for what is Vertuous and Laudable.

In the *Church-History of New-England* there will be found the Lives of many Eminent Persons, among whose Eminencies, not the least, was *Their fearing of the Lord from their youth*, and their being loved by the Lord when they were Children.

But among the many other Instances, of a Childhood and Youth deliver'd from Vanity, by serious Religion, which *New-England* has afforded, these few have particularly been preserved.

EXAMPLE I.

Little more than Thirteen Years old was *John Clap of Scituate* when he dy'd; but it might very truly be said of him, *That while he was yet young, he began to seek after the God of his Father*. From his very Infancy he discover'd a singular Delight in the Holy Scripture, whereby he was made wise unto Salvation; and he also made himself yet further Amiable by his Obedience to his Parents, and his Courtesie to all his Neighbours. As he grew up, he signaliz'd his Concern for Eternity, not only by his diligent Attendance upon both Publick and Private Catechising, but also by the like attendance on the Ministry of the Word, which he would ponder, and apply, and confer about, with much Dilcretion of Soul, and pray for the good Effect thereof upon his own Soul. Yea, 'twas even from his Childhood observable in him, that ever after he began to speak reasonably, he would both affectionately regard the Family Prayers, and likewise, both Morning and Evening, with a most unweari'd Constancy recommend himself by his own Prayers unto the Mercies of God.

Arriving higher in his *Age*, he was very conscientious of his Duty, both to God and Man; and particularly caretul of his Father's Business, which now became his own Calling. At Work with his Father in the Field, he would frequently be propounding of Questions, by the *Answers* whereof

whereof he might be promoted in the knowledge of God: and at the seasons which others usually employ to vain purposes, he would be abounding in the Exercises of Devotion. But of all the imitable things to be seen in him, he was exemplary for nothing more than his Endeavours in *Preparation* for, and *Sanctification* of, the Lord's Day. Yea, his Parents have affirmed, that for a year or two before he dy'd, *They never heard an unprofitable Word come out of his Mouth*; but he would often bewail the Idle, Trifling, Vain Discourses of other People.

About a Year and a half before he died, the good Spirit of God, bless'd him with yet a more thorow Conviction of his Misery by reason of *Sin* both Original and Actual: Whence, tho' he had been such a Pattern of *Innocency*, yet he would aggravate his own *Sinfulness* with Lamentations truly extraordinary. And for his Relief against the Terrors of God, wherewith he was now distracted, he was brought unto an utter Despair of his own Righteousness and Abilities; but in this condition he came to adore the Grace of God, offering a *JESUS* who is able to save unto the uttermost: In his Longings to enjoy the Love of God through *Jesus*, he was like the *Hart panting after the Water brooks!*

The Wounds of his Spirit were accompanied with a *Languishing* and *Consuming* of his *Flesh*; yet with great Patience he endur'd the Hand of God, and he follow'd the Lord with Prayers, with Cries, with Tears, for the *Manifestation* of the Divine Love unto him.

It was also observ'd and admir'd, that when he was abroad at the publick Worship in the time of his Weakness, he would stand the whole time of the long Exercises, and be so affectionately attentive, that one might see every Sentence utter'd in those Exercises, make some Impression upon him. The best Christians in the place profess'd themselves made ashamed by the Ferency of this young *Disciple!* And in Days of *Publick Humiliations*, or *Thanksgivings*, kept with regard unto the general Circumstances of the Countrey, he would bear his part with such a sense of the publick *Troubles* or *Mercies*, as argu'd more than a common measure of a publick Spirit in him.

The Minister of the Place visiting of him, after Sicknes had confin'd him, found him in an extreme Dejection of Soul; his very Body shook through his Fear lest the Day of Grace were over with him; yet justifying of God, though he should be for ever cast among the Damned. But yet his Fears were accompany'd with Hopes in the all sufficient Merits of the blessed *Jesus*: in which Hopes he continu'd, using all the means of Grace according to his Capacity and Lamenting after those whereof he was not Capable.

A Month before he dy'd, he kept his Bed; the *First Fortnight* whereof he was very comfortable, and yet very patient; abounding all this while in Gracious Admonitions unto other *Young People*, that they would be concern'd for their own *Eternal Salvation*. And you should not

now have heard him complain, that he wanted *Health* and *Ease*, though he did so; but that he wanted *Faith*, and *Peace*, and *Christ*: Yet expressing a profound Submission to the Will of God. But in the *Last Fortnight* of his Life, this poor Child of God had his weary Soul more comfortably satiated with the Promises of the new Covenant. God fill'd him with a marvellous Assurance of his Love, and so seal'd him with his own Spirit, that he rejoic'd with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory. He would often be saying, *Whom have I in Heaven but thee? and there is none on Earth that I desire besides thee: My Flesh and my Heart faileth, but God is the Strength of my Heart, and my Portion for ever. And, I know that my Redeemer lives, and that he shall stand at the Latter day upon the earth. And, if I live, I shall live unto the Lord; if I die, I shall die unto the Lord; and whether I Live or Die, I am the Lord's. And, When Christ, who is my Life, shall appear, then shall I also appear with him in Glory.* He would profess that his Communion with the Lord *Jesus Christ*, was inexpressible, and the Spectators judg'd his Consolations to be as great as could be born in a mortal Body. Being now asked, *whether the Thoughts of dying troubled him or not?* He reply'd, *No, Death is no Terror to me, because Christ has taken away my Sin, which is the Sting of Death.* But being ask'd, *Whether he was willing to live?* He answer'd, *I am willing to submit unto the Will of God; but if God hath appointed me to Life, I desire I may live to his Glory.* And being asked, whether God had put out of doubt, his Interest in a dying and rising *Jesus*? He return'd, *Yes; and God has fully answer'd my Desires; I am now going to a thousand times better World.* He told his Mother, *I love you as dearly as my own Life; yet I had rather die, and be with Christ.*

He continu'd *Six Days* with his Teeth so shut, as that they could not be open'd: and for the first *Three Days* and *Nights* he took no Sustenance; afterwards, though this but seldom, he suck'd in between his Teeth nothing but a little *Cold Water*; in which time, they that laid their Ears to his Lips could over hear him continually expressing his Comfort in God. But just before his Death, his Teeth were open'd; when he would often say, *Oh! how precious is the Blood of Christ, it is worth more than a thousand Worlds!* and often pray, *Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!* and at last, he gave up himself to God in those Words, *Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit.* He desired his Mother to turn his Face unto the Wall; whereupon she said, *John, dost thou now remember Hezekiah's turning his Face unto the Wall?* He said, *Yes, I do remember it:* and as she turn'd him in her Arms, he so quietly breath'd his Soul into the Arms of his blessed Saviour.

Extracted out of the Account written and printed by Mr. *Wetheral* and Mr. *Baker*, Ministers of *Scituate*; and Prefac'd by Mr. *Urian Oakes*, who takes that occasion to say of this *John Clap*, *He was a young old Man, full of Grace, though not full of Days.*

EXAMPLE. II.

MR. *Thomas Thornton*, the aged and faithful Pastor of *Yarmouth*, was blest'd with a Daughter nam'd *Priscilla*, which at the Age of Eleven, left this World, having first given Demonstrations of an Exemplary Piety.

She was one remarkably grave, devout, serious; very inquisitive about the matters of Eternity; and in her particular Calling very diligent. She was nevertheless troubled with fore Temptations and Exercises about the State of her own Soul; the Anguish of her Spirit, about her *Body of Death*, caus'd her to pour out many Tears and Prayers; and she press'd, That some other pious Children of her acquaintance might with her keep a Day of Humiliation together, *That* (as she expressed it) *they might get power against their sinful Natures*. But it pleas'd God at length to bless the Words of her Godly Mother, for the quieting of her Mind. It was her singular Happiness, that she had such Godly Parents; but it was her Opinion and Expression, *We trust too much to the Prayers of our Parents, whereas we should pray for our selves*.

At last she fell mortally sick. In the beginning of her Sickness, she was afraid of dying: For, said she, *I know of no Promise to encourage me*. She could not but own that she had in some measure walked with God; yet she complain'd, *That she had not found God meeting her in her Prayers, and making her Heart willing to be at his Disposal*; and that the Pride of her Heart now lay as a Load upon it. She own'd, *That she had many Thoughts of Jesus Christ, and that it griev'd her that she had sinned against him, who had Done and Dy'd for her*.

But many Days were not past, before she could profess her self willing to die, with some Assurance of her then going to Eternal Blessedness. Many Thanks and Loves did she now render to one of her Superiours, declaring, *'twas because they had curb'd her and restrain'd her from sinful Vanities*. And she said, *Were I now to choose my Company, it should be among the People of God; I see plainly that they are the only Company*. She was not without her Conflicts in this time, wherein one of her Speeches was, *' Damnation, that is the worst thing of all, but Christ is of all, the best: I find it so: Christ is to me Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification and Redemption*. She told her Father, she knew she was made up of all manner of Sin; but, said she, *' I hope God has humbled me, and pardon'd me in the Merits of the Lord Jesus Christ*. Unto her affectionate Mother she said, *' Mother, why do you weep, when I am well in my Soul? Well, Will you mourn, when I am so full of Joy? I pray rejoice with me*.

When she was extremely spent, she said unto her Parent, *' O my Father, I have been much troubled by Satan, but I find Christ is too hard for him, and Sin and all*. She now said, *I know*

now that I shall die. And being ask'd whether she were afraid of Death, with a sweet Smile she replied, *No, not I; Christ is better than Life!* And so she continu'd in a most joyful frame till she died; a little before which, it being the Lord's Day, she ask'd what time of the day 'twas, and when they told her, 'twas Three of the clock, she reply'd, *What? Is the Sabbath almost done? Will, my Eternal Sabbath is going to begin, wherein I shall enjoy all Felicity, and sing Hallelujahs to all Eternity*. And hereupon she quickly fell asleep in the Lord.

EXAMPLE. III.

MR. *Nathanael Mather* dy'd Oct. 17. 1688. at the age of Nineteen, an Instance of more than common Learning and Vertue. On his Grave-stone at *Salem*, there are these Words deservedly inscribed, *The Ashes of an hard Student, a good Scholar, and a great Christian*.

He was one who us'd an extraordinary Diligence to obtain Skill in the several Arts that made an accomplish'd Scholar; but he was more diligent in his Endeavours to become an experienc'd Christian.

He did with much of Solemnity enter into Covenant with God when he was about fourteen years old, and afterwards he renew'd that solemn Action in such a Form as this:

' I do renounce all the Vanities and wretched Idols and evil Courses of the World.

' I do choose, and will ever have the Great God for my best Good, my last End, my only Lord. He shall be the Only One, in the glorying and enjoying of whom shall be my Welfare, and in the serving of whom shall be my Work.

' I will ever be rendring unto the Lord Jesus Christ my proper Acknowledgements, as unto my Priest, my Prophet, and my King; and the Physician of my Soul.

' I will ever be studying what is my Duty in these things; and when I find my self to fall short, I will ever count it my Grief and Shame; and betake my self to the Blood of the Everlasting Covenant.

' Now, humbly imploring the Grace of the Mediator to be sufficient for me, I do as a further Solemnity hereunto subscribe my Name with both Heart and Hand.

Having done this, he did for the rest of his Life, walk with much Watchfulness and Exactness.

One of the Directories which he drew up for himself, was This:

' O that I might lead a Spiritual Life! Wherefore let me regulate my Life by the Word of God and by such Scriptures as these.

' 1. For regulating my Thoughts, *Jer.* 4.
' 14. *Isa.* 55. 7. *Mal.* 3. 17. *Psal.* 104. 34.
' *Phil.* 4. 8. *Prov.* 23. 26. *Deut.* 15. 9. *Eccles.*
' 10. 20. *Prov.* 24. 9. *Mat.* 9. 4. *Zech.* 8. 17.

' 2. For regulating my Affections, *Col.* 3. 2, 5.
' *Gal.* 5. 24. For my Delight, *Psal.* 1. 2. *Psal.*
' 37. 5. For my Joy, *Phil.* 4. 4. *Psal.* 43. 4.
' My Desire, *Isa.* 26. 8, 9. *Ezek.* 7. 16. My
' Love, *Mat.* 22. 37. *Psal.* 119. 97. My Ha-
' tred, *Psal.* 97. 10. My Fear, *Luke* 12. 4, 5.
' My Hope, *Psal.* 39. 7. My Trust, *Psal.* 62. 8.
' *Isa.* 26. 4.

' 3. For regulating my Speech, *Eph.* 4. 29.
' *Col.* 4. 6. *Deut.* 6. 6, 7. *Psal.* 119. 46.
' *Psal.* 71. 8, 24. *Prov.* 31. 26.

' 4. For regulating my Work, *Tit.* 3. 8.
' 2 *Tim.* 2. 12. 1 *Tim.* 5. 10. *Tit.* 2. 14.
' *Mat.* 5. 47. 1 *Tim.* 6. 8. *Rev.* 3. 2. *Rom.* 13.
' 12. *Acts* 26. 20.

Another of his Directories was form'd into an Hymn.

' Lord, what shall I return unto
' Him from whom all my Mercies flow?
' (I.) To me to live, it Christ shall be ;
' For all I do, I'll do for Thee.

' (II.) My Question shall be oft beside,
' How thou mayst most be glorify'd?

' (III.) I will not any creature love ;
' But in the Love of Thee above.

' (IV.) Thy Will I will embrace for mine,
' And every Management of thine
' Shall please me. (V.) A Conformity
' To thee, shall be my Aim and Eye.

' (VI.) Ejaculations shall ascend
' Not feldom from me. (VII.) I'll attend
' Occasional Reflections, and
' Turn all to Gold that comes to hand.

' (VIII.) And in particular among
' My Cares, I'll try to make my Tongue
' A Tree of Life, by speaking all
' As be accountable who shall.

' (IX.) But last, nay, first of all I will,
' Thy Son my Surety make, and still
' Implore him that he would me bless
' With Strength as well as Righteousness.

He would also keep whole Days of Prayer and Praise, by himself : And he would set himself to consider much on that Question, *What shall I do for God ?*

He was much in Meditation, and often wrote the chief Heads of his Meditation. He would read the Scripture with a Note, and a Wish fetched out of every Verse. And at Night he would ask,

I. *What has God's Mercy to me been this day ?*

II. *What has my Carriage to God been this day ?*

III. *If I die this Night, is my immortal Spirit safe ?*

Many more such imitable things are in the History of his Life (divers times printed at London) reported of him.

EXAMPLE IV.

ANNE GREENOUGH, the Daughter of Mr. William Greenough, left the World, when she was but about five years old, and yet gave astonishing Discoveries of a Regard unto God and Christ, and her own Soul, before she went away. When she heard any thing about the Lord Jesus Christ, she would be strangely transported, and ravished in her Spirit at it ; and had an unspeakable Delight in Catechising. She would put strange Questions about Eternal Things, and make Answers her self that were extremely pertinent. Once particularly she asked, *Are not we dead in Sin :* and presently added, *But I will take this way : the Lord Jesus Christ shall make me alive.* She was very frequent and constant in Secret Prayer, and could not with any Patience be interrupted in it. She told her gracious Mother, *That she there prayed for her !* And was covetous of being with her Mother, when she imagin'd such Duties to be going forward. When she fell sick at last of a Consumption, she would not by Sports be diverted from the Thoughts of Death, wherein she took such pleasure, that she did not care to hear of any thing else. And if she were asked, *Whether she were willing to die ?* She would still cheerfully reply, *Ay, by all means, that I may go to the Lord Jesus Christ.*

EXAMPLE V.

AT Boston, 12 d. 3 m. 1694. there died one Daniel Williams, in the Eighteenth year of his Age.

There was a Collection made of some of his dying Speeches.

Being asked, *Whether he loved God,* he replied, *Yes, I love him dearly ; for, Lord, whom have I in Heaven but thee ?*

He said, *' God has promis'd, They that seek him early, shall find him : Ever since I was a Child, I dedicated my self to seek and serve the Lord. Though I have not had so much time as some others, yet that little time which I had, I spent in waiting on, and wrestling with God by Prayer : and I said, I will not let thee go, till thou hast blessed me.*

Seeing some of his Relations weep, he said, *Why do you cry, when I am ready to sing for joy ?*

They saying, They knew not how to part with him, he reply'd, *Why ? are you not willing I should go to my heavenly Father ? I shall quickly be*

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with my heavenly Father, and with his holy Angels, where they are singing of Hallelujahs. It is better being there than here. When I am there, I shan't wish my self here in this troublesome World again. I have a Desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is best of all.

He was much concerned for poor perishing Souls. He would say, 'Oh, that I had but Strength! How would I pray, and sigh, and cry to God for the poor World that lives in Sin and Pride!

He expressed himself most pathetically to his Relations, when he took his leave of them.

At last, he asked, *What Angel that was that he saw before him?* Well, said he, *I shall quickly be with him: Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!*

A Friend asking him how he did, he said, 'I am one bound for Heaven: I would not have you pray for my Life; I am afraid you do.'

On the day of his Death, being full of pain, he said, 'Jesus Christ bore more than this, and he died for me; and shall I be afraid to die, and go to him? No, I am not.'

Then said he, *O Death, where is thy Sting! O Grave, where is thy Victory!*

F I N I S.

Ecclesiarum Prælia :

O R,

A Book of the Wars of the Lord.

The Seventh B O O K

O F T H E

New English History :

R E L A T I N G T H E

Afflictive Disturbances

W H I C H T H E

Churches of New-England

H A V E

Suffered from their Various ADVERSARIES:

A N D

The Wonderful METHODS and MERCIES where-
by the Churches have been Delivered out of their
Difficulties.

Composed by COTTON MATHER.

Nunquam Bella piis, nunquam Certamina desunt.

*Nunquam Majori Triumpho Vicinus quam
Cum Decem Annorum Strage Vinci non
Potuimus. Sulpic.*

*Niteris incassum Christi Submergere Navim ;
Fluctuat, at Nunquam Mergitur illa Ratis.*

L O N D O N :

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

By the Hon. the Lords of the Council
A Book of the Wars of the Lord

The Second Part
New English History:

Volume the Second

Printed in Great Britain

By J. Sturges, Printer, in Pall Mall

1725

Printed by J. Sturges, in Pall Mall

The INTRODUCTION.

IF any one would draw the Picture of of the Church, (*saieth Luther*) Let him take a silly poor Maid, sitting in a Wilderness, compassed about with hungry Lions, Wolves, Boars and Bears, and all manner of Cruel and Hurtful Beasts; and in the midst of many Furious Men assaulting her every Moment. For, this is her Condition in the World. Behold that Picture of the Church Exemplified in the Story of New-England, and now Writ under it, Having obtained help from God, she continues to this Day.

But before I have done my Work, I should remember, without having Pliny for my Remembrancer, *Ingenuum est Confiteri per quos profeceris.* Indeed our History of New-England is as little to be compared with Sir Walter Rawleigh's Famous History of the World, as New-England it self is to be compared with the Whole World. Nevertheless, the Incomparable Colonel Sydney assures me, He was so well assisted in his History of the World, That an ordinary Man with the same Helps might have performed the same Things. Whereas I must in the first place humbly Complain of it, that, I believe, such a Work as this was never done with so little Assistance from the Communications of Inquisitive and Intelligent Friends. Two Reverend Persons, indeed, namely, Mr. John Higginson and Mr. William Hubbard, have assisted me, and much obliged me with Informations for many Parts of our History; and I have a Parent also, who has often, to full Satisfaction, answered many things that I have therein had occasion to be asking after. Some

other particular Persons have sometimes favoured me with Memorable Passages, which they knew concerning their own Relations; and yet I know that many will ungratefully complain of me for not Inserting of things which they never sent me, tho' they had an early Advertisement of my Undertaking: Yea, the Absurd and Brutish Treats which I have sometimes had from the Relations of some whose Lives and Names I have heretofore, unto the best of my Capacity, Eternized in Composures already Published, have caused me to know that there are Base People descended from Good ones. But every Undertaking of this Nature being Expensive, 'tis highly Reasonable that I should make a Publick and Thankful mention of those Worthy Persons who have generously expressed their good Will to my Endeavours, by bearing some of the Expences which this Work hath called for. Our Honourable Lieutenant Governour, WILLIAM STOUGHTON, Esq; the Worshipful Samuel Sewal, Esq; the Worshipful John Foster, Esq; the Worshipful Adam Winthrop, Esq; and my good Friends, Mr. Robert Bronsdon, and Mr. Samuel Lilly; are those that have kindly Mecenated these my Labours: May their Names be found Written in the Lamb's Book of Life, as well as ours!

After all, and above all, I must not incur that Rebuke, *Deus hic nihil fecit!* I do on the Bended Knees of my Soul give Thanks to the Lord JESUS CHRIST, thro' whom strengthening of me, I have done all that I have done. Bless that Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within me, Bless his Holy Name!

The Seventh B O O K.

Ecclesiarum Prælia :

OR, THE

DISTURBANCES

GIVEN TO THE

Churches of New-England.

CHAP. I.

Mille Nocendi Artes: Or, Some General Heads of TEMPTATION with which the CHURCHES of NEW-ENGLAND have been Exercised.

Habet & Ecclesia Dies Caniculares. Tert.

§. 1. **I**T is Written concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, *That he was led into the Wilderness to be Tempted of the Devil*; and the People of the Lord Jesus Christ, *led into the Wilderness of New-England*, have not only met with a continual Temptation of the Devil there; the *Wilderness* having always had *Serpents* in it; but also they have had in almost every new *Lustre* of Years, a new Assault of Extraordinary Temptation upon them; a more than Common *Hour and Power of Darkness*. Besides the general Disturbances which were given unto the Minds of Men, when the *Ecclesiastical Controversies*, which called for *Synods* to Compose them, were generally agitated; there have been successive *Days of Temptation*, relating to the Posture of Things in the *Commonwealth*. Sometimes the Contestations about the *Negative*, have made us too nigh the *denying* of Reason to one another: Sometimes the Measures of *Compliance* with Demands from the other Side of the *Water*, have occasioned some *Fire* of Contention among us. And there have been successively many *Days of Temptation*, in this and that particular *Plantation* throughout the Country: One while the *Rebuilding* and *Removing* of *Meeting Houses*, has unfitted the Neighbours for lifting up of *Pure Hands* without *Wrath* in those Houses: One while the *Enclosing* of *Commons*, hath made Neighbours,

that should have been like *Sheep*, to *Bite and Devour one another*; and one while the *Disposal* of little Matters in the *Militia*, has made People almost ready to fall upon one another with *Force of Arms*. It is to be added, there scarce ever was any *One Great Man* engaged much in the Service of this People, but the People have at some time or other made it an Extraordinary *Day of Temptation* for that Man. And sometimes little *Piques* between some *Leading Men* in a Town, have *missed* all the Neighbours far and near into most unaccountable *Party-making*. Reader, every Clause that thou hast hitherto read in this Paragraph, is a Subject upon which my Observant Countrymen can give themselves an *Ample History*; and unto their own Reflections I leave it, with the Confessions which the *Synods* in the Primitive Times often (and I think, *too often*) made, *Peccavimus Omnes!*

§. 2. There have been in the Country, on the one side, Rigid and High-flown *Presbyterians*, on the other side, Separating, *Morellian*, and *Brownistical Independents*: And not only have both of these had such a *Jealous Eye* upon one another, as has produced much *Temptation* unto both but also the true *Congregational Man*, asserting the *Authority* of the *Presbytery*, and yet not rejecting the *Liberty* of the *Fraternity*, maintaining the *Decisive Power* of *Synods*, and yet leaving to *Particular*

lar Churches the management of their own Particular Affairs, with a Power of Self-Preservation and Self-Reformation; these have, between both, met with such things as have had no little Temptation in them. One of our Magistrates, namely, Major-General Denison, has written an *Irenicum*, relating to these Differences, which has a Good Spirit breathing in it; whereas there have been Persons among us which would make one think of Dr. Sibb's memorable Words; *When Blindness and Boldness, Ignorance and Arrogance, Weakness and Willfulness meet together in One, it renders Men Odious to God, Burdensome in Society, Dangerous in their Counsels, Troublers of better Designs, Untractable and Uncapable of better Direction, Miserable in the Issue.* Between such Violent Persons on both Extreams, the truly Moderate have sometimes been so crushed, that they have thought themselves, with Ignatius, between the Teeth which would have Ground them, to be made *Manchet* for Heaven: For it has not at all times been the Good Hap of all Men to believe with Ambrose of Old, *Si Virtutum Finis ille sit maximus, qui Plurimorum Spectat Profectum, Moderatio prope Omnium est Pulcherrima.* Yea, so Violent once was one of these *Fallions*, that in a General Court of a Colony they Exhibited a certain Instrument, whetein the Ministers of the Churches indefinitely were charged with *A Declension from Primitive Foundation-Work, Innovation in Doctrine and Worship, Opinion and Practice, Invasion of the Rights, Liberties and Priviledges of Churches, Usurpation of a Lordly Prelatical Power over God's Heritage, and the like things, which are the Leaven, the Corrupting Gargreen, the Infecting, Spreading Plague, the Provoking Images of Jealousie set up before the Lord, the Accursed Thing which hath provoked Divine Wrath, and furiber threatens Destruction.* Even Good Men have terribly and openly, at this rate, charged one another:

Tantæ ne Animis Celestibus Iræ?

§. 3. If the Ministers in this Country, from the very beginning of it, might have their Complaints heard, they would complain of extream Temptation attending them in the Business of their Maintenance. The People being, as one of the Ancients expresses it, *πρὸς τὰ βῆα μεγαλοζήμιοι*, have many times been content, that their Pastors be accounted rather the Stars than the Lamps of the Churches. provided, like the Stars, they would Shine without the Supply of any Earthly Contributions unto them. All the Provision hitherto made for the Maintenance of the Ministry, has been this: That while many Ministers chuse to leave their Salaries unto the Voluntary Contributions of the People, who upon the First Day of the Week make their Collections, as the Apostles directed the Primitive Churches to do; there are other Ministers, who (sen-

sible of what the great Voetius Writes, *Hominum sæpe tanta est Injustitia, Fallacia, Lubricitas, Profanitas, ut expediat Contractum intercedere,*) make their Contracts with the People at their first coming among them, or, perhaps, from Year to Year, for certain Stipends; and though the Stipends, by these Contracts engaged, are usually small enough; yet by bad Payments, (which are in the Country known by the Name of *Synecdoctrical Pay*, being a certain Figure in our Avaritious and Sacrilegious Rhetoric, by which there passes, *pars pro Toto*;) they are usually made much smaller; nevertheless, if any should go to take the Remedy which the Law gives him for the Recovery of his Arrearages, he would find the Remedy much worse than the Disease, and by using the Law, wound all his future Success in Preaching the Gospel. Rabbi Tarphon, (who was probably the Tryphon; with whom Justin Martyr had his Famous Disputations.) was called, *הכדון העשיר* The Wealthy Priest. But such a fight has been much a Stranger in any of our Christian Synagogues.

The National Synods, in the French Churches, were often put upon renewing of Declarations; like that at Poitiers; The Consistories of the Respective Churches shall be advis'd, that for the time to come they do better discharge their Duty towards their Ministers, by succouring them in their Necessities, and raising Maintenance for them and their Families, because Forreign Countries have been exceedingly Scandalized at the Neglect and Ingratitude of divers Churches, even in this particular: And like that at Paris; A Minister complaining of his Churches Ingratitude, the Provincial Synod shall take Cognisance thereof, weighing diligently the Poverty of the Church, and the Temporal Estate of the Minister; and in case that Church be guilty of very Great and Notorious Ingratitude, the Synod shall have full Power to remove him for his better Accommodation elsewhere; and all the Churches shall be desired to shun Ingratitude unto their Ministers (a Sin too rise among us) and to take special Care that they be more respected, and their Labours better rewarded; not to enrich or fatten them, but to give them a becoming and a sufficient Maintenance: And like that at Montauban; Forasmuch as the Ingratitude of divers Persons in not contributing to their Ministers Subsistence, is more Notorious than ever, and that this crying Sin threatens the Churches with a Total Dissipation; after Mature Deliberation, we do Decree, That in case these ungrateful Wretches, having been several times admonished by their Consistory, do persist obstinately in this their Sin, their Consistory shall deprive them of Communion with the Church in the Sacraments. The Crime of Ingratitude unto their Ministers in the French Churches, has been too frequent in the New-English; but with this Difference, that here no Synods ever did, as there the Synods often did, with just

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Corrections Animadvert upon it. The best Ministers of *New-England* have generally been *Calvinists*, in respect of that Contempt of Riches which the Great *Calvin* expressed, when he wrote, *Clara Voce pronanciavimus, Episcopum Eurem esse, qui ex Quibus Ecclesiasticis; plus in Usu suum convertit, quam, quod necesse est ad Sobriam frugalemq; vitam Sustinendum: Testati sumus, Ecclesiam pessimo veneno tentatam esse, dum tanta Opum affluentia. Onerati sunt Pastores, que ipsos postea obrueret; Consilium dedimus ut Ministris tantum erogaretur, quantum ad frugalitatem Ordine suo Dignam sufficeret, non quod ad Luxum redundaret.* But they have not all enjoyed the *Competent* and *Moderate* Subsistence, which would thus have well contented them; while the *Law* has exempted them from *Taxes*, they have in Reality been *Taxed* above any one Rank of Men whatsoever; nor does any but the Lord *Jesus Christ* know the *Temptation* that many of them have endured, when they have been cheated of the *Dues* promised unto them, and when a *Res Angusta Domi* has broken their *Spirits*, and hindered their *Studies*, and ruined the *Liberal Education* of their Families. *Antigonus* wondering to see that *Studious Philosopher Cleanthes* grinding his own Corn at the Mill, *Cleanthes* told him, *I must either Grind, or Starve*: Whereupon *Antigonus* noted it as a great Indignity, That the *Hands* whereby Excellent things had been Written, should be galled with *Mechanick Labours*. But *New-England* hath often caused the *Hands* which *Baptized* its People, and broke the *Bread of Life* unto them, to be Galled with *Inferiour Labours* for the getting of *Bread*; they must either *Plough* or *Starve*. The People have usually pretended their *Poverty* as the Cause of their thus withholding more than is meet; but it would be a *Scriptural*, and therefore a *Rational Conclusion*, if they should conclide, that their thus withholding more than is meet has been one Moral Cause of their *Poverty*. However, there has been the Wisdom of the Lord *Jesus Christ* in thus ordering his Ministers to Preach *under the Cross*!

§. 4. Sometimes in this Country there have been *Prodigious* and *Astonishing Scandals* given, by the *Extraordinary Miscarriages* of some that have made a more than ordinary *Profession of Religion*; and *Incredible Temptation* has hereby been laid before the Minds of Multitudes. The Wise Man says, *A Righteous Man falling before the Wicked, is as a Troubled Fountain, and a Corrupt Spring*. There have been among us those Persons who have made such a *Profession of Righteousness*; that much notice has been taken of them, and others have been ready to think, *Surely Christianity is just such a thing as the Lives of these*

Men do represent it: Now the *Falls* of these Men, before the *Wicked* among us, have been as a *Troubled Fountain and a Corrupt Spring*; just as if one had thrown *Poison* into the *Well* that all the *Town* was to fetch *Water* at. So were the *Heathen* of *Old* Poisoned, when they said, *Christiani Sancte Vixissent, si Christus Sancta Docuisset*. Alas, How often have we seen this *Lamentable thing*! *Satan*, who is often the Executioner of the *Wrath of God* upon a *Sinful World*, hath desired leave to single out some *High Professors of Religion*, and push them on to some *Scandalous Enormities*; he hath desired leave to do the Part of a *Devil*, it may be, on some one Man, that he might *Poison* all the *Town* by the *Falls* of that Man. The *Dreadful Justice of God*, who gives none Account of his Matters, has permitted the *Experiment*; and lo, upon the *Experiment*, some *Strict*, and, it may be, some *Old Professor*, that had been formerly *Troublesome* to all the *Sinners* in the *Neighbourhood*; he has not only proved a *Covetous*, and a *Self-seeking* sort of a Person, in his whole Conduct of himself; but some *Unclean Devil*, or some *Drinking Devil*, or some *Cheating Devil*, or some *Lying Devil*, has drawn him to do monstrous things, and he hath played the *Devil* horribly! Such *Doleful Instances* hereof there have been among us, as would *Poison* a whole *Neighbourhood*, yea, a whole *Colony*, with *Atheism*, if the Lord *Jesus Christ* had not an *Almighty Arm* to secure his own Religion. *Wo* hath been to *Hundreds of Souls* among us for the *Offences* that have thus been given! The *Scandalous Fall of David*, is by as *Transcendent a Mystery of Divine Sovereignty Recorded*, as it was *Ordered*. Some of the *Pagans* in the *Primitive Times* would not be *Christians*, because *David* was one of our greatest *Saints*, though he did such *Damnableness*; and many of the *Christians* would Sin as *Damnably* as the *Pagans*, pleading, *Si David, cur non & ego?* Why maynt I, as well as *David*? I believe there are a *Million of Men* in *Hell* whose *Damnation* was occasioned by the *Fall of David*, though *David* himself be gone to *Heaven* after all: But perhaps in his *Fall*, and not in his *Rise* again, *David* has been sometimes too much follow'd by some *Eminent Professors of Religion* in this *Land*; and the *Land* has been fill'd with *Temptation* by so *Venemous* a *Mischief*.

— Quis Talia Fando
Temperet a Lachrymis?

Such as these have all along been the more *Comprehensive Temptations* that have exercised the Churches of *New-England*. But we will proceed unto an *History of Troubles* more particular.

C H A P. II.

Little Foxes: Or, The Spirit of Rigid Separation in one Remarkable Zealot, vexing the Churches of NEW-ENGLAND; and the Spirit of Giddy Familiarity in another. And some Lesser Controversies arising about The Cross in the Banner, and about Swearing on the Gospels.

Hic se aperit Diabolus!

§. 1. **I**T is Remarkable, that in the Sacred Annals of that Matchless and Blessed Church-History, which our God has given us in our Bible, there is a special Mark often set upon the first Persons that were eminent in this or that way of Sinning, and were upon that score, The Chief of Sinners; and they who have observed this Remarkable, have particularly Marked the Intamous Corah, the first Rebel against the Divine Church-Order established in the Wilderness, as one Instance to confirm the Observation. There are some, not thoughtless Persons, who Innumering the Troublesome and Scandalous things that have disturbed us in our New-English Wilderness, have complained of a Crime, which they have distinguished by the Name of *Coxahism*; or that Ligitious and Levelling Spirit, with which the Separation has been sometimes Leavened. Now tho' I would chuse rather to leave a Veil than a Scar upon the Memory of any Person, that by his Murther hath made himself too Memorable; yet our Church-History will be but an Unfinished Piece, if we do not set a Mark upon that Man who was one of the first that made themselves notable by their Opposition to the Church-Order of these Plantations; and this we may the more freely do, because of an Injunction upon us, To mark them that cause Divisions.

§. 2. In the Year 1654. a certain Windmill in the Low Countries, whirling round with Extraordinary Violence, by reason of a Violent Storm then blowing; the Stone at length by its Rapid Motion became so intently hot, as to Fire the Mill, from whence the Flames, being dispersed by the High Winds, did set a whole Town on Fire. But I can tell my Reader, that above Twenty Years before this, there was a whole Country in America like to be set on Fire by the Rapid Motion of a Windmill, in the Head of one particular Man. Know then, that about the Year 1630. arrived here one Mr. Roger Williams; who being a Preacher that had less Light than Fire in him, hath by his own sad Example, Preached unto us the Danger of that Evil which the Apostle mentions in Rom. 10. 2. They have a Zeal, but not according to Knowledge. Upon his Arrival, the Church of Salem invited him to assist Mr. Skelton in the Charge of their Souls; but the Governour and Council fearing least not only that Church would soon come to have nothing of Salem in it, but also that the whole Political, as well as Ecclesiastical Constitution of the

Country, would suffer by employing a Minister of his Character, did advise them to desist from Laying Hands too suddenly upon him. And that which increased in them the Suspicion of his Ill Character, was partly, indeed, his refusing to Communicate with the Church of Boston, because they would not make a Publick and Solemn Declaration of Repentance, for their Communicating with the Church of England, while they were in the Keam of England; (which the New-English Reformers thought then would be to carry the Matter as far beyond their Sense, as the Vulgar Translation hath done to the Text in Luke 15. 8. Where, instead of *Everru domum, She swept the House*; it reads, *Evertit domum, or, She Overjet it*;) but partly his violent urging, that the Civil Magistrate might not punish Breaches of the first Table in the Laws of the Ten Commandments; which Assertion, besides the Door which it opened unto a Thousand Profanities, by not being duly Limited, it utterly took away from the Authority all Capacity to prevent the Land, which they had purchased on Purpose for their own Recess from such things; its becoming such a Sink of Abominations, as would have been the Reproach and Ruin of Christianity in these Parts of the World. The Church taking the Advice of their Fathers in the State, on this Occasion Mr. Williams removed unto Plymouth, where he was accepted as a Preacher for the Two Years ensuing.

§. 3. But at Plymouth his Turbulent and Singular Opinions, not finding the Entertainment which he expected, he desired a Dismission back to Salem from them; and they perceiving the Giddy Courses of Separation, whereto he would Abandon himself, and whereby he might Endanger them, wisely Humour'd what he Desired. Coming to Salem, in the Time of Mr. Skelton's Illness, the Church, Affected with the Fierceness of his Talking in Publick, and the Starchness of his Living in Private, so far forgot themselves, as to renew their Invitations unto him to become their Pastor; and tho' the Government again renewed their Advice unto the People to forbear a thing of such Ill Consequence, yet they rashly pursued their Motion, and he quickly accepted it. It happened that soon after this, the Church made Suit unto the Court for a parcel of Land, which lay Commodious for their Affairs; but the Court offended at the Slight lately put upon them, delay'd their Grant of what the Church Petitioned for; whereupon,

incented

incensed Mr. Williams Enchants the Church to join with him, in Writing Letters of Admonition unto all the Churches, whereof any of the Magistrates were Members, that they might Admonish the Magistrates of Scandalous Injustice for denying this Petition. The Neighbouring Churches, both by Petitions and Messengers, took such Happy Pains with the Church of Salem, as presently recovered that Holy Flock to a Sense of his Aberrations; which Mr. Williams perceiving, tho' he had a little before bragg'd, *That of all the Churches in the World, those of New-England were the purest; and of all in New-England, that whereof himself was the Teacher*; yet he now staying at Home, sent unto the Church of Salem, then Assembled, a Letter, to give them notice, *That if they would not separate as well from the Churches of New-England, as of Old, he would separate from them.* His more considerate Church not yielding to these lewd Proposals, he never would come to their Assemblies any more; no, nor hold any Communion in any Exercise of Religion with any Person, so much as his own Wife, that went unto their Assemblies; but at the same time he kept a Meeting in his own House, whereto resorted such as he had Infected with his Extravagancies.

§. 4. These things were, indeed, very Disturbant and Offensive; but there were Two other things in his Quixitism, that made it no longer Convenient for the Civil Authority to remain unconcerned about him. For, First, Whereas the King of England had granted a Royal Charter unto the Governour and Company of this Colony; which Patent was indeed the very Life of the Colony; this Hot-headed Man publickly and furiously Preached against the Patent, as an Instrument of Injustice, and pressed both Rulers and People to be humbled for their Sin in taking such a Patent, and utterly throw it up; on an Insignificant Pretence of Wrong thereby done unto the Indians, which were the Natives of the Country, therein given to the Subjects of the English Crown. Secondly, An Order of the Court, upon some Just Occasion had been made, That an Oath of Fidelity should be, though not Imposed upon, yet Offered unto the Freemen, the better to distinguish those whose Fidelity might render them capable of Employment in the Government: Which Order this Man vehemently withstood, on a Pernicious Pretence, that it was the Prerogative of our Lord Christ alone to have his Office Established with an Oath; and that an Oath being the Worship of God, Carnal Persons, whereof he supposed there were many in the Land, might not be put upon it. These Crimes at last procured a Sentence of Banishment upon him.

§. 5. The Court, about a Year before they proceeded unto the Banishment of this Incendiary, sent for the Pastors of the Neighbouring Churches, to Intimate unto them their Design of thus proceeding against him; which yet they were loth to do, before they had Advised

the Elders of it, because he was himself an Elder. Mr. Cotton, with the Consent of the other Ministers, presented a Request unto the Magistrates, that they would please to forbear Prosecuting of him, till they themselves, with their Churches, had in a Church-way Endeavoured his Conviction and Repentance; for they alledged, that they hoped his Violences proceeded rather from a Misguided-Conscience, than from a Seditious Principle. The Governour foretold unto them, *You are deceived in the Man, if you think he will Condescend to learn of any of you*; however the Proposal of the Ministers was approved and allowed. But several of the Churches having taken the best Pains they could, tho' they happily brought the Church of Salem to join with them in dealing with the Man, yet the Effect was, that he renounced them all, as no Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ. Whereupon the Court Ordered his Removal out of the Jurisdiction.

§. 6. One Passage that happened at his Trial was a little odd. He complained in open Court, that he was wronged by a Slandorous Report, as if he held it unlawful for a Father to call upon his Child to eat his Meat.

Mr. Hooker then present, being moved hereupon to speak something, replied, *Why? You will say as much again, if you stand to your own Principles, or be driven to say nothing at all.* Mr. Williams expressing his Confidence that he should never say it; Mr. Hooker proceeded, *If it be Unlawful to call an Unregenerate Person to Pray, since it is an Action of God's Worship, then it is Unlawful for your Unregenerate Child to pray for a Blessing upon his own Meat. If it be Unlawful for him to Pray for a Blessing upon his Meat, it is Unlawful for him to Eat it, for it is Sanctified by Prayer, and without Prayer, Unsanctified: [1 Tim. 4. 4, 5.] If it be Unlawful for him to Eat it, it is Unlawful for you to call upon him to Eat it; for it is Unlawful for you to call upon him to Sin.* Hereupon Mr. Williams chose to hold his Peace, rather than make any Answer: Such the Giddiness, the Confusion, the Antocatartie of that Seditarian Spirit. I have read of a Gentleman who had an Humour of making Singular and Fanciful Expositions of Scripture; but one Doctor Sim gave him a Dose of Physick, which when it had wrought, the Gentleman became Orthodox immediately, and expounded at the old rate no more. Pity but this Dr. Sim had undertaken the Cure of our Mr. Williams.

§. 7. Upon the Sentence of the Court, Mr. Williams with his Party going abroad (as one says) *To seek their Providences*, removed into the Southern Parts of New-England, where he, with a few of his own Sect, settled at a place called Providence. There they proceeded not only unto the Gathering of a thing like a Church, but unto the Renouncing of their Infant-Baptism; and at this further Step of Separation they stopped not, but Mr. Williams quickly told them, *That being himself misled, he had*

had led them likewise out of the way; he was now satisfied, that there was none upon Earth that could Administer *Baptism*, and so that their *Last Baptism*, as well as their *First*, was a Nullity, for the want of a called Administration; he advised them therefore to Forego all, to Dislike every thing, and Wait for the coming of *New-Apostles*; whereupon they dissolved themselves, and became that sort of Sect which we term *Seekers*, keeping to that one Principle, *That every one should have Liberty to worship God according to the Light of his own Conscience*; but owning of no true Churches or Ordinances now in the World. It is a memorable Reflection made on this Occasion by Mr. Cotton, in a Book which he Published for his own Vindication from the Printed Calumnies of Mr. Williams: 'It is a Wise Proverb, saith he, of a wiser than Solomon; *The Backslider in Heart (from any Truth or Way of God) shall be filled with his own ways. They that separate from their Brethren further than they have just Cause, shall at length find Cause, or at least think they have found Cause just enough to separate from one another. I never yet heard of any Instance to the contrary, either in England or Holland; and for New-England, there is no such Church of the Separation at all that I know of. That separate Church, (if it may be called a Church) which separated with Mr. Williams, first broke into a Division about a small Occasion (as I have heard) and then broke forth into Anabaptism, and then into Antibaptism and Familism, and now finally into no Church at all.*

§. 8. Mr. Williams after this was very Instrumental in obtaining a Charter for the Government of Rhode-Island, which lay near and with his Town of Providence, and was by the People sometimes chosen Governour: But for the most part he led a more private Life.

It was more than Forty Years after his Exile that he lived here, and in many things acquitted himself so laudably, that many Judicious Persons judged him to have had the Root of the Matter in him, during the long Winter of this Retirement: He used many commendable Endeavours to Christianize the Indians in his Neighbourhood, of whose Language, Tempers and Manners he printed a little Relation, with Observations, wherein he Spiritualizes the Curiosities with Two and Thirty Chapters, whereof he entertains his Reader. There was also a good Correspondence always held between him and many Worthy and Pious People in the Colony, from whence he had been Banish'd; tho' his keeping still so many of his Dangerous Principles, kept the Government, unto whose Favour some of the English Nobility had by Letters Recommended him, from taking off the Sentence of his Banishment. And against the Quakers, he afterward maintained the main Principles of the Protestant Religion with much Vigour in some Disputations; whereof he afterwards Published a large Account, in a Book against George Fox and Edward Burrowes, which

he Entituled, *George Fox digg'd out of his Burrowes*. But having reported thus much concerning Mr. Williams, we shall now supersede further mention of him, with the mention of another difference which happened in our Primitive Times, wherein he was indeed (but Obliquely and Remotely) concerned.

§. 9. It was about the Year 1633. that one in some Authority, under the Heat of some Impressions from the Ministry of Mr. Williams, did by his own Authority cut the Red-Cross out of the King's Colours, to Testifie a Zeal against the Continuance or Appearance of a Superstition. This Hot Action met with a Warm Censure; and besides the Mischiefs hereby occasioned among the Trained Soldiers, whereof some were loth to follow the Colours which had the Cross, least they should put Honour upon a Popish Idol; others were loth to follow the Colours which had not the Cross, lest they should seem to cast off their Allegiance to the Crown of England; the Business fell under Agitation in the General Court.

The Freemen of the Colony show'd their Displeasure at the Gentleman chiefly concerned in this Business, by Discarding him from his Place in the Government; and a Committee of those Freemen, chosen by both Magistrates and People, judged him to be guilty of a great Offence, and worthy of Admonition, and so to be one Year disabled for bearing any Publick Office. An Harder Sentence was not passed, because real Tenderness and Perswasion of Conscience, and not any Ill-affected Mind, was the real Original of his Offence: But so hard a Sentence was passed, as a Signification of the Desire which was rooted in the Heart of the Country, to approve themselves in all Points thorough Englishmen and Good Subjects. Now though the Action of Defacing the Colours was generally disapproved, yet the Rite of the Cross in the Banner became on this Occasion a Matter of Controversie, wherein many Pious and Able Men were differently perswaded; and some of our Chief Worthies maintained their different Perswasions with Weapons indeed no more dangerous than easie Pens, and Effects no worse than a little Harmless and Learned Ink-shed, It will not be a thing Unuseful or Unpleasant unto a Curious Reader, to have a brief Display of that Controversie.

§. 10. On the one side, they that pleaded against the Use of the Cross in the Banner, argued after this manner. The Question is not, whether a Private Man may not march after his Colours, which have the Cross in them? For the Christian Legions never scrupled following the Labarum of the Roman Emperor, which was an Idolatrous Ensign. Yea, the Jews themselves, that made such earnest suit, first unto Pilate, and then unto Petronius, to have such an Idolatrous Ensign removed from the Walls of their Temple, yet without any scruple followed it in the Field. Nor is it the Question, whether the Cross may be used in our Colours, as a Charm to protect us from Enemies,

Enemies, to defend us from Disasters, to procure Victories unto us. The Faith which the Roman Catholics have in it mentioned by Hoveden in the Reign of Henry II. when England, France and Flanders distinguished themselves by their Varieties of it, ever since retained, is abominable to all real Protestants. But the Question is, whether the Cross, as representing the Cross of Christ, erected as a Badge of Christianity, and a Sign of Distinction between Christians and Infidels, may by any Prince or State be now in their Banners Reserved and Employed: This they approved not, and that for these Reasons. First, That which God hath Commanded utterly to be Destroyed, should not be Retained for the Important Uses of Men; but God has Commanded the Cross in the Banner to be Destroyed. This may be thus proved; Images of Idols are Commanded utterly to be Destroyed: But the Cross in the Banner is the Image of an Idol, and the greatest Idol in the Church of Rome. The Text in Deuteronomy, where this is Commanded, will affect Christians as well as Jews; for the Moral Reason of the Command still continues. If it be objected, that then the Temples of Idols were to be destroyed, it may be answered, Theodosius made a Law that they should be so. However, we may distinguish between Temples Dedicated unto Idols, and such Temples as were Dedicated unto God with Creatures. The Papists, with Aquinas, deny their Temples to have been Dedicated unto Saints; but affirm them Dedicated unto the Honour and Service of God, for his Blessings Communicated by the Saints, whose Names are used on this Occasion. These Temples being purged from their Superstitious Designations, may be still used for our Christian Assemblies, as our Saviour used the Jewish Water-Pots to turn the Water into Wine, tho' they were Superstitious Purifications for which they were placed there. Again, there is no Civil Honour to be given unto the Image of an Idol; the Second Commandment forbids all sort of Honour, not only Sacred, but Civil also, to such an Image; yea, and elsewhere, all mention of it with Honour is prohibited. But now to advance the Cross into the Banner, is to put a Civil and no little Honour upon it: It is the Cross in the Ensign, which does now Insignire, and render it Insign; and it was the Intention of Constantine to Honour the Cross, when he Interdicted all Executions of Malefactors upon it, but improved it for his Banner. Further, if the Figure of the Altar in Damascus might not be used as a Badge of the Religion and Profession of the Israelites, then the Figure of the Cross may not be used as a Badge of the Religion and Profession of the Protestants. For there is a like Proportion; the Papists regard the Cross as the Altar whereon our Lord was offered: Now such a Figure of an Altar was unlawful to the People of God. Once more, that which was Execrable to our Lord, the Sign of it should not be Honourable to us. But so was the Cross of our Lord; it made

his Death Accursed; nor was it a pure Instrument of meer Martyrdom unto him. Moreover, if the partaking of Idolothytes in the places where the Idols are worshipped, express a Communion with Idols and Idolaters, then the setting up of the Cross in the places where Idolaters do Worship it, namely, in the Banner, is an Expression of Communion in their Idolatry. 'Tis true, such Meats when sold in the Shambles, might be Eaten without scruple of Conscience; but besides this, that it was only a Common Place where these might be eaten; whereas the Cross in the Banner is in the Temple, where the Apocalyptic Gentiles do adore it; you may add, they were Creatures of God, whereas the Cross in the Banner is only an Humane Contrivance. If it had been lawful for a Man to have bought the Silver-Shrines of Diana, and have caused them to be worn for the Cognisance of his Family, or his Attendants; the Cross might perhaps have been lawfully used in the Banner for a Cognisance. Finally, if the first use of the Cross in the Banner, by Constantine, were Superstitious; then the First Fruits being unclean, the whole Lump of the following use is also unclean. But now Eusebius will tell you, That this saving Sign the Emperor used as a Protection against all Warlike and Hostile Powers. And Sozomen will tell you, That the Emperor changed the Image in the Roman Labarum for the Sign of the Cross, that so the Soldiers, who were accustomed to Worship the Heathen Imperial Ensign, by the continual Sight and Worship of the Cross might be weaned from their Country-Rites, and brought on to Worship that God alone whose Sign it was. These were the Chief of the Considerations then urged against the Cross by the Faithful that were themselves in a Wilderness, now Preaching and Suffering under the Cross. That they thus argued, was not because they were those whom the Apostle calls Enemies unto the Cross of our Lord; they knew, they felt, they consented, that, Omnis Christianus est Crucianus, every Christian must be a Cross-Bearer. Our King Edward I. was the Comeliest of Men, tho' commonly called Crook-Back, by a mistake of the Name Crouch-Back, [that is, Cross-Back] which Name he has worn, because of his wearing a Cross on his Back. Our good Old Planters had the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ laid upon their Back, by the manifold Afflictions which they underwent for his Truths and Ways; but Mankind will be mistaken, if they imagine those Blessed Soldiers, under the Banners of their Lord Redeemer, to have been of a Defective Stature in Christianity, because of their not affecting to make the Cross in their Banners the Mark of that Christianity. It is Catholicly, that is Ridiculously, enough given as the Answer to the Second Question in the Catechism, wherein the French New-Converts are instructed; the Question, Whereby shall one know a true Christian? The Answer, A ce qu'il fait le Signe de la Croix; that is, By

By this, that he makes the Sign of the Cross. Our New-Englanders were Good Christians, but yet were loth to give the Cross for the Sign of their being so; they chose a better Sign of it, by being themselves Crucified unto the Vanities of the World; that which made the Cross disagreeable to them, was its being the great Idol of Popery, which is but revived Paganism: And as the Primitive Christians, when the Pagans charged them with the Veneration of the Cross, answered, *Cruces nec Colimus, nec Optamus*; this might a Minutius on the behalf of our New-English Christians have given for their Answer also: If Tertullian reckoned it a Scandal raised upon the Primitive Christians, that they were, *Crucis Religiosi*, you see the New-English Christians took an Effectual Course that they might not on that part be Scandalized.

§. 11. On the other side, they that pleaded for the use of the Cross in the Banner, argued after this fashion. To state the Question, we must know, that it is necessary that there should be a Banner displayed; and a Banner with a Cross in it, serves the end of a Banner as much as any other. Had the Cross never been Superstitiously abused, the Civil use of that Figure could not be questioned; but the Superstitious Abuse is a thing that is added unto the Civil Use, and accordingly the Superstitious Abuse may again be removed from it, otherwise what a Desolation of Bells must be produced by a just Reformation of Superstitions? Wherefore, if the present Authority does neither appoint nor declare any Superstition in the Observation of any Civil Usage, the Superstition of that Usage is at an end. Thus, tho' it be notoriously known, that many Persons in Authority have their Superstitious Conceits about Churches; yet inasmuch as there is no Injunction of Authority upon private Persons, to approve any such Conceits, 'tis no Superstition in such Persons to use those Churches unto lawful Purposes. The Question then is, whether the Civil Use of the Cross in the Banner may not be separated from the Superstitious Abuse of it? It seems that it may; for, First, If Names that have been abused for the Honour of Idols, may in a Civil way be still used, then things that have been so abused, may be in like manner used for a Civil Distinction. But we find the Names of Apollo and Phæbe, and the like, used in the Apostolical Salutations, altho' it had been a less difficulty for those Persons to have changed the Names at first sinfully impos'd on them, than for the Cross in the Banner to be now wholly laid aside. If any Heathen King put an Honour upon his Idol Bel, by saying, O Beltesbazzar, the Spirit of God may speak it without any Honour to that Idol at all. Again, it is one thing to describe a Cross, as an Artificial thing, by way of Civil Signification, and another thing to employ a Cross, as a Sacramental thing, by way of Sacred Observation; and in the Banner, 'tis the former, not the latter way, that it is considered; when I am relating how a Papist Crosses himself, I may lawfully express it by

making an Aerial Cross like his; whereas it would not be lawful for me to make such a Cross upon the same ends with him. Add, what if the Cross, as first used by Constantine, had in it somewhat unwarrantable? It follows not, that the following Use of it is of the same Lump with the First; for if it now be used upon another Design, the Uncleaness is taken away. Besides, Constantine brought the Cross with as much Unwarrantableness into his Coins, as into his Colours; but it is believed, that most Men, at this Day, would count themselves very sorely cross'd, and their Purse very unhappy, if there were none of those Crosses in them. To proceed, Meats that were Sacrificed unto Idols might be eaten, when Sold and Bought in the Market; now a Cross, as an Effect of Art, is a Creature of God's, as well as any of the Meats Bred and Cooked by Men. And what if the Banner be like the Temple to the Idol? One might have eaten the Idolobytes in a Chamber or Corner of an Idol Temple, if there had been any such, where Beholders would not have been scandalized. Such were the Colours of Good and Evil, which were put upon the Use of the Cross in the Colours, at the first Settlement of the Militia in these Plantations. But there was nothing like a War appearing in the Disputations of the good Men, that thus flourished the Matter on both sides. All the Velitations were peaceably furl'd up in this Result; that the Cross was kept in the Banners of Castles and Vessels where it was necessary; and in the Banners of the Trained Bands it was generally omitted, until it was very lately introduced.

§. 12. It will be now not Improper, I am sure it will not be Unchristian, in the same Chapter, which Reports the Disturbances of New-England raised by Mr. Williams, to relate some further Disturbances of the Country, to the extinguishing whereof, Mr. Williams very commendably contributed his Assistances: For I freely acknowledge with Tully, *Est iniqua in omni re Accusanda, prætermisiss Bovis, malorum Enumeratio, vitiorumque Selectio*.

Know then, that in the Year 1636. arrived at Boston one Samuel Gorton, who by one of the best Pens in those Times is described as, A most prodigious Minter of Exorbitant Noveltyes, and the very Dregs of Familism. This Gorton continued at Boston, till some Directions were sent hither to Demand from him considerable Sums of Money, which he had Borrowed as London; and then he removed out of the Massachusetts-Colony. Coming to Plymouth, he began to spread his Blasphemous and Enormous Opinions; but being upon some Civil Controversie with a Neighbour brought before the Court, he behaved himself so Mutinously, Seditiously and Outrageously, that he was Fined and sent out of that Colony. From thence he went into Rhode-Island, where he affronted what little Government they had, with such Intolerable Insolencies, that he was

there Whipped, and sent out of that Colony. The Knight Errant then made his Progress over to Providence, with a mislaid Knot of Squires, where the Humanity of Mr. Williams to them in that Winter Season was requited, Snake-fashion, with such cruel Stings, as made the Inhabitants implore Aid from the Massachusetts-Bay. These wicked Gortonians began to seize the Lands of certain Indians, which had submitted themselves unto the Protection of the King of England, and sow such Discords among the English, as threatned all manner of bloody Confusion. Wherefore the Authority of the Massachusetts-Bay being Addressed by the Distressed People, sent their Agents to adjust the Differences which had happened, and prevent the Ruin of the King's Interests, not merely in that *Fug-end of the World*, but in all these Plantations. In the mean time, this Crew of Miscreants not only kept blowing up a Flame of War between the English and the Indians, but also sent unto the English in the Bay one Libel upon the back of another, stuff'd with Scores of such envenomed Reproaches against the Rulers and Churches, Denials of all Order, and Blasphemies against every sacred thing, that the Massachusetts-Colony could not in this Extremity do God and the King better Service, than by going out of their Line, (if it were a going out of it, for to send thus unto the help of our Confederates, under whose weaker Jurisdiction those Wretches were so Obstreperous, and upon whose Earnest Application it was undertaken) to lay hold on these Malefactors as the Enemies of Mankind. Accordingly, being by a Band of Men brought unto Boston, whither Mr. Williams and his Fellow-Planters had referred their Cause, against a Knot of Incendiaries that had expressly Declared, *All Courts whatsoever to be Idols and the Devices of Satan, and all pretended Officers and Lieutenants of Christ to be Destroyers of the Holy One of Israel*: The Court proceeded unto an Examination of their Misdemeanours. About Six of the Chief Ringleaders received Sentence to be kept at Work, in so many several Towns, during the Pleasure of the Court; and they were also required, on a very severe Penalty, to utter none of their profane Heresies, except in Conference with Ministers, or such as might be allowed thereupon to Confer with them; thus they were Confined for one Winter, and then Banished. It were endless to reckon up the Frensies of this Exorbitant and Extravagant Generation; but they held, *That Christ was but a Shadow, and Figure of what is done in every Christian*; they held, *That Christ was incarnate in Adam, and was that Image of God wherein Adam was Created*; they held, *That our Lord's being Born afterwards of the Virgin, and Suffering was but a Manifestation of his Suffering in Adam*; they said, *That Man's losing of God's Image was the Death of Christ*; they said, *That Faith and Christ is all One*; Sermons they called Lies, Tales and Falshoods; Churches, their Name for them was, *Devised Platforms*;

Baptism, they called, Vanity and Abomination; *The Lord's Supper, they called, An Abomination and a Spell*; and they called, *Ministers, Magicians*. Now, tho' the Ministers, whom they so called, used all due Pains to Charm these Adders with convincing Disputations, when they were in the Bay, and indeed often drove them to a Bay with Argument, yet they would obstinately maintain their unmaintainable Tenets. By the same Token, that unto that Nonsensical Assertion of Gorton, *That the Death of Christ, was the Death of God's Image in the Fall of Adam*; it being reply'd by Mr. Cotton, *That the Death of Christ was the Price of our Redemption; whereas the Fall of Adam was not the Price of our Redemption, but the Cause of our Condemnation*; the Man by Silence thereupon, loudly proclaimed himself Confounded, and yet ye would not Revoke or Disclaim his Heretical Nonsense. Gorton lived many Years after this; degenerated into such a Beast, that professedly as well as practically he declared, *That there is no Happiness to be expected but in this Life*; and he would advise his Followers, *To make much of themselves, because they must have no more than what they should enjoy in the World*. But it pleased God thus mercifully to deliver this his New-English People from the Troubles with which these Pestilences did endanger them.

§. 13. Reader, Be content that the same Chapter which has related the Controversies that have sometimes disturbed the Churches of New-England about Matters, the Lawfulness whereof has been scrupled, should leap over half an Hundred Years to grasp at another of those Controversies, which as late as the Year 1688. was an Occasion of some further Disturbance: The Affinity, rather than the Chronology of the thing inviting us, in this Place to lodge the History of that Controversie.

When the Charter of New-England were taken away, the Governour, who with a Treasonable and an Arbitrary Commission then Tyrannized over the Colonies, at length drove the New-Englanders, to imitate the whole English Nation, in an happy Revolution, on the Eighteenth of April, 1689. And in the Declaration, which they published at and for this Revolution, One Article was this: *To plunge the poor People every where into deeper Incapacities, there was one very Comprehensive Abuse given to us: Multitudes of pious and sober Men thro' the Land scrupled the Mode of swearing on the Book, desiring that they might Swear with an unlifted Hand, agreeable to the ancient Custom of the Colony; and tho' we think we can prove, that the Common Law amongst us (as well as in some other places under the English Crown) does not only Indulge, but even Command and Enjoin the Rite of lifting the Hand in Swearing, yet they that had this doubt were still put by from serving upon any Juries, and many of them were most unaccountably Fined and Imprisoned. This one Grievance is a Trojan Horse, in the Belly of which*

'tis

'tis not easie to recount how many insufferable Vexations have been contained. The Christians of New-England were not the only Persons that have scrupled the Lawfulness of Swearing. *Tallis Evangeliiis*, on and by the Gospels. Those famous Divines, *Rivet*, *Paræus* and *Voetius*, have all of them Written against it; *Dr. Goodwyn*, and *Mr. Nye*, reckoned it the worst of all the English Ceremonies: And that blessed Martyr, *Mr. William Thorp*, did refuse to comply with that Mode of Swearing. Declaring that *Chrysoſtom* long before him was against a Book-Oath, as well as he; and arguing, *If I touch the Book, the meaning of that Ceremony is nothing else, but that I Swear by it, when it is not Lawful to Swear by any Creature.* It is well-known, that in Scotland, and the Reformed Churches abroad, that Ceremony is not used; and even in the English Courts of Admiralty, another Form of Swearing is frequently practised: Yea, there was once an Ordinance of Parliament in England, for the ease of those Consciences, which doubted such a Form of Swearing. The varieties among the Primitive Christians, in the Modes of Swearing, are too Many, and some of them too Faulty to be recited; but this I am sure of, *Athanasius* of old would use no Rite in Swearing, but that of lifting up the Hand unto Heaven. However, it may be the Christians of New-England are the only Ones in the World that ever suffered a Formal Persecution, by Fines and Gaols, for bearing their Testimony unto Purity of Worship, in that great Point of Worship, an Oath: And perhaps these Christians might bear a part in Finishing the Testimony to be born unto the Laws of our Lord Jesus Christ in the World, by patiently Suffering this Persecution, while the Quakers, who refused all Swearing at all, did undergo no such Hardships from the Government. Now the Reasons that moved these Confessors hereunto are easily understood. They were of this old Puritan Principle; that all Religious Worship, not Com-manded by God, is Forbidden; and that all Symbolical Ceremonies enjoined on Men in Religious Worship, are made parts of it. More closely; they judged that our Swearing ON the Gospel, is a Swearing BY the Gospel, and therefore Idolatrous. That this Mode of Swearing was Originally a signification of Swearing BY the Gospel, is evident from all the Interpretation, which not only the old Canon-Law, but also the old Common-Law, explain'd in old Precedents, has given of it; and no particular Magistrate has power to put any other Interpretation upon the Law, than what the Law has given of it self; much less can a private Person do so. Yea, the Mode is Naturally and Necessarily, as well as Originally, a Swearing BY the Gospel; for else it must signifie only the Presence and Consent of the Person that Swears. But first, our Statute-Law has positively Superſeded any

such pretence wherein the Oath of Supremacy concludes. By the Contents of this Book: And besides, there is no Proportion of things to countenance that Pretence: The touching of a Table, would signifie this, as much as the touching of the Bible. The Bible is a Sacred thing; to put it unto a meet Civil Use, is a Profane Abuse of it, in such a solemn and serious Business, as the dispensing of Right between Man and Man: Why? It leaves out a respect unto the Bible, which is always due unto it. With a Contingent and Overly Act, I may perhaps look on the Bible only as a Book made of Paper and Cover; but in a Stated, Solemn, Serious Act, such as a Process of Law, the Bible may not be singled out for a less use, than what the Word of the most High God is to be preferred for. Whereas, if we take the general Acknowledgment of them that Swear ON the Gospel, they tell us, 'tis to procure Devotion, and affect them with the Consideration of the Rules they are to use in Swearing, and the Woes they incur if they use them not. Now say we, our Lord hath directed us to do this, by Hearing and Reading his Word; not by a bare Touching of it: Nor may a Transient Motive to Piety, be made a Stated Medium. Or else, they tell us, 'tis to express Devotion; 'tis in this way that they make their Imprecation, and their Invocation; 'tis their external Declaration, That they Swear by the God who made this Book, and expect the Plagues written in this Book, if they Swear a Falshood: Now this is a way of Worship which the Lord never Instituted. In fine, 'tis a wrong Religious Application in a Prayer; an Oath is a Prayer, and a Creature is in this Mode of Swearing applied unto, as well as Almighty God; yea, God is applied unto thro' a Creature: And Non-Conformists reckon the Second Commandment violated by such Applications. The Religious Forms of Addressing to God, we say, are to be appointed by none but God himself: Whereas the Elevation of the Hand, has even for Sacred as well as for Civil Uses, and in an Oath particularly, had such unexceptionable Aprobation, that the Faithful of New-England chose it, and chose rather to suffer Affliction, than to use a Rite in the Worship of God, which they suspected Sinful.

Reader, We will only take this Occasion to recite a good Passage of *Dr. Owen's*. If instead of driving all sorts of Persons, the Worst, the Vilest of Men, on Slight, or Light, or no Occasions unto Swearing, none might be in any Case admitted thereunto, but such as Evidence in their Conversations such a regard unto the Divine Rule and Governmen of the World, as is required to give the least Credibility to an Oath, it would be much better with Humane Society. And now we'll pass on to other Matters.

C H A P. III.

Hydra Decapitata : Or, *The First SYNOD of NEW-ENGLAND, quelling a Storm of Antinomian Opinions, and many remarkable Events relating thereunto.*

*Sic Deus inducta nostras Caligine Terras
Occulit.*

§. 1. **T**HE Church of God had not long been in this *Wilderness*, before the *Dragon* cast forth several *Floods* to devour it; but not the least of those *Floods* was one of *Antinomian* and *Familistical* Heresies, with which the Country began betimes to be infested. That which was then the most considerable of our Churches, had several considerable Persons belonging thereunto, who Broached certain *Opinions*; first of an *Antinomian*, and then of a *Familistical* Tendency; and the stir which they made about these *Opinions* grew so general, that they quickly affected all the Publick Affairs of the Country; but that which made the whole Business to be the more perplexed, was, that as that horrid Montanist, *Wightman*, professed that he had all his Grounds from the Great *Arthur Hildersham*, so the Name of the no less Great *John Cotton* was abused by these busie *Sectaries*, for the Patronage of their Whimsies. 'Tis believed, that Multitudes of Persons, who took in with both Parties, did never to their dying Hour understand what their *Difference* was; by the same Token, in the height and heat of all the *Difference*, when some Ships were going from hence to *England*, Mr. *Cotton*, in the whole Congregation, advised the Passengers to tell our Countrymen at Home, *That all the strife here was about magnifying the Grace of God; the one Person seeking to advance the Grace of God within us, as to Sanctification; and another Person seeking to advance the Grace of God towards us, as to Justification; and Mr. Wilson stood up after him, declaring on the other side, That he knew none that did not Labour to advance the Grace of God in both.* Nevertheless there did arise in the Land a *Distinction* between such as were under a *Covenant of Works*, and such as were under a *Covenant of Grace*; wherein the bigger Part of the Country in the management of that Enquiry, *By what Evidence must a Man proceed in taking to himself the Comforts of his Justification?* Laid upon our *Sanctification* the first and main Stress of our Comfortable Evidence. But the *Opinionists* were for another sort of Evidence as their Chief; namely, *The Spirit of God by a powerful Application of a Promise*, begetting in us, and revealing to us a powerful Assurance of our being *Justified*. Now tho' the Truth might easily have United both of these Perswasions; yet they that were of the latter way, carried the Matter on to a very Perillous Door, opened not only for New Enthusiastical Revelations, but also for a neglect of such Qualifications in all Godliness and Honesty, as must be found in all that would be Prospered, and not Rejected in their Confidences. Yea, they employed their Distinctions about a *Covenant of Works*, and a *Covenant of Grace*, at so Extravagant a rare, as threatned a Subversion to all the peaceable Order in the Colonies. They drove at this, that the most Virtuous Man upon Earth might not be admitted into the Churches, without professing that Renouncing of *Sanctification*, as the Evidence of his good State, he waited for *Immediate Revelations* to assure him of it; and such as were already in *Church-Communion*, unless they became fond of the *New-Lights* in this thing pretended unto, were presently branded as favouring *A Covenant of Grace*. The Contention spread it self even into *Families*, and all private and smaller *Societies*, who were to be accounted under a *Covenant of Works*, and so Enemies unto the Lord Jesus Christ; and who were not? Which was determined among the busie *Sectaries*, by a Person's accommodating himself unto their *Fine-spun Speculations*. *Illic ipsum esse fuit promereri.* The Disturbance proceeded from thence into all the General Affairs of the publick: The Expedition against the *Pequet-Indians* was most shamefully discouraged, because the Army was too much under a *Covenant of Works*; and the *Magistrates* began to be contemned, as being of a *Legal Spirit*, and having therewithal a tang of *Antichrist* in them; nor could the ordering of *Town-Lots*, or *Town-Rates*, or any Meetings whatsoever, escape the Confusions of this Controversie. 'Tis incredible what Alienations of Mind, and what a very *Calenture* the Devil raised in the Country upon this *Odd Occasion*: But it may not be amiss to describe a little more particularly the *Methods* whereof the Devil therein served his Interests. The *Sectaries* acquainted themselves with as many as possibly they could, and carried on their Acquaintance with all the *Courtesies* and *Kindnesses* that they could contrive to Ingratiate themselves in the Hearts of others, especially of *New Comers* into the place. They herewithal appeared wondrous Holy, Humble, Self-denying and Spiritual, and full of the most charming Expressions imaginable. *Free Grace, Gospel Truth, Glorious Light, and Holding forth of Christ*, was all their Tone; and meeting with Christians that had any *Doubts* in their Minds about their own future Happiness, they would insinuate into them, that they had

had never taken a *Right Course for Comfort*, by going to *Evidence* their good Estate by their *Sanctification*, but that there was a more Evangelical way to peace, by which they themselves were got above all their Feats for ever. They began usually to seduce *Women* into their Notions, and by these *Women*, like their first Mother, they soon hook'd in the *Husbands* also. Having wrought themselves any where into a good esteem, they set themselves with a manifold Subtilty to undermine the esteem of the *Ministers*, and intimate, that their *Teachers* themselves, never having been *Taught of God*, had mis-taught and mis-led the People; whence it came to pass, that even some who had follow'd these *Ministers* Three Thousand Miles, thro' Ten Thousand Deaths, yet now took up such Prejudices, not only against their *Doctrines*, but against their *Persons* also, that they did never care to hear them, or see them any more. They administr'd their *Poisons* in smaller *Doses*, and not without *Preparatives*, wherein if any made any Boggle, they would presently retreat, and say, *Nay, don't mistake me, for I mean the same that you do; we differ only in Words.* And they would be sure still to Father their Whimnies upon such Persons as were held in most *Veneration* throughout the Country; but if they were brought Face to Face, they would still winde out with some cunning *Evasions*. Thus they went on, until they had got some Noted Persons in *all Orders* to Patronise them; and then 'tis impossible to describe the *Censures*, the *Contempts*, the *Affronts* cast upon the best Men in the Law, as Men *Ignorant of Christ*; and the Terrible Disorder and Contention that ensued in all Societies.

§. 2. The Ministry of the Country awakened by these *Noises* about the *Temple*, had several Meetings that they might set Matters to Rights, all which were ineffectual, until the *General Court* called a *Synod* of all the Churches in the Country to meet at *Cambridge*, in the Year 1637. In Preparation whereunto there were Three things attended. One was a Solemn Fast kept in all the Churches for the good Success of the Approaching *Synod*. Another was a *Collection* of all the Erroneous and Offensive Opinions, which called for the Disquisitions that might extinguish them. A Third was a *Conference* with Mr. Cotton about any Positions or Expressions of his that might have Countenanced any of those Opinions. But that my Reader also may be prepared for the Actions of the *Synod*, I would humbly ask him what he thinks of the Relation given us of the first *Nicene Synod* by *Eutychius*, an Author of the First Ages, recommended by *Selden* and *Pocock*, as one of Irreproachable Fidelity? That Author, whose History in *Arabic*, never seen, I suppose, by *Salmasius* or *Blondel*, is by some thought in this Matter much more probable than that of *Eusebius* and *Socrates*, does relate unto us, that upon the Letters of *Constantine* summoning the *Synod*, there were no less than Two Thousand and Forty-eight Bishops who came

to Town; but that the most by far of them were so grossly Ignorant and Erroneous, that upon the Recommendation of *Alexander*, the Bishop of *Alexandria*, the Emperor singled out but Three Hundred and Eighteen, who were all of them *Orthodox Children of Peace*, and none of those Contentious Blades that put out *Libels* of Accusation one against another; and that by the Emperor's happy chusing and heeding of these Three Hundred and Eighteen; [Reader, compare *Gen. 14. 14.*] the *Orthodox Religion* came to be Established. Reader, The Government of *New-England* was not now put upon the *singling out* of a few *Bishops* from a Multitude Convened in a *Synod*, for the securing of the *True Faith*; but thou shalt see them all of one Heart in contending for the Faith once delivered unto the Saints.

§. 3. Tho' the Fast Prefatory to the *Synod* were not for *Strife*, yet there happened something on the *Fast* which did but more increase and inflame the *Strife*. A Minister who then Preached at *Boston*, where was then the Chief Audience of the Country, in the Sermon let fall many Passages which amounted unto thus much, *That the Magistrates and Ministers of the Country walked in such a Way of Salvation, and the Evidence thereof, as was a Covenant of Works*: Which Passages were Aculeated by resembling such as were under that *Covenant*, unto *Jews*, and *Herods*, and *Philistines*, and *Antichrists*; and exhorting such as were under the *Covenant of Grace*, to Combate those as their greatest Enemies, and quickening those who feared, lest a *Combustion* should hence arise in the Commonwealth, by telling them of *Michael* and the *Dragon*, and the *Burning of the Whore*.

For these things, the Court proceeding to Animadvert upon this Preacher as guilty of great *Sedition* [having for this their Interpretation of his Misdemeanour, a Warrant of both *Cicero*, according to whom, *Seditio, est Dissentio Omnium inter se, cum eunt alii, in aliud*; and *Isidore*, according to whom, *Seditiosus est, qui Dissentionem animorum facit & Discordias gignit*:] he was under such *Enchantment* that he could be brought by no means to see his Evil; but they were compelled by his Obstinacy to order his *Removal out of their Jurisdiction*. However, being a Man that had the *Root of the Matter* in him, after Six or Seven Years he awoke out of a *Sleep*, which had been as long as what *Granzius* tells us besel a Scholar at *Lubeck*, he addressed the Government, with acknowledging; 'Upon the
' Long and Mature Consideration of things, I
' perceive that the main difference between
' your selves, and some of the Reverend Elders
' and me, in point of *Justification*, and the E-
' videncing thereof, is not of that Nature as
' was then presented unto me in the *False Glass*
' of Satan's *Temptations*, and my own distemper-
' ed Passions; which makes me unfeignedly
' sorry that I had such an Hand in those
' sharp and vehement *Contentions* raised there-
' abouts,

abouts, to the great Disturbance of the Churches of Christ. It is the Grief of my Soul that I used such *Veheement, Censorious Speeches* in the Application of my *Sermon*, or in any other Writing, whereby I reflected any Dishonour on your Worships, the Reverend Elders, or any of the contrary Judgment unto my self. I repent me that I did so much adhere to Persons of Corrupt Judgments, to the Countenancing and Encouraging of them in any of their Errors or Evil Practices, tho' I intended no such thing; and that in the *Synod* I used such *Unsafe and Obscure Expressions* falling from me, as a Man *Dazzled with the Buffetings of Satan*. I confess, that herein I have done sinfully, and do humbly crave Pardon of your Honoured Selves; and if it shall appear to me by Scripture Light, that in any Carriage, Word or Writing, I have walked contrary to Rule, I shall be ready, by the Grace of God, to give Satisfaction. Upon this most Ingenious Acknowledgment he was restored unto his former *Liberty and Interest* among the People of God; and lived almost Forty Years after a valued Servant of the Church in his Generation. But that I may in all things do the part of an *Impartial Historian*, I must add, that this good Man being moved by *Jerome's Maxim*, *In Suspicione Hæreseos nolo quæquam esse patientem*; and by *Austin's*, *Qui fidens Conscientiæ suæ negligit famam suam, crudelis est*; Published a Vindication of himself against the Wrongs that by *Mr. Weld*, and by *Mr. Rutherford*, had been done unto him. In this Vindication, he not only produces a Speech of *Mr. Cotton*, *I do conceive and profess, that our Brother Wheelwright's Doctrine is according to God in the Points controverted*; but also a Declaration from the whole General Court of the Colony, signed by the Secretary, *Aug. 24. 1654.* upon the Petition of *Mr. Wheelwright's Church at Hampton*: In which Declaration they profess, *That hearing that Mr. Wheelwright is, by Mr. Rutherford and Mr. Weld, rendred in some Books Printed by them as Heretical and Criminalous, they now signifie, that Mr. Wheelwright hath for these many Years approved himself a Sound Orthodox, and Profitable Minister of the Gospel among these Churches of Christ.*

§. 4. The *Synod* being Assembled, with the Reverend *Mr. Thomas Hooker*, and *Mr. Peter Bulky*, chosen its *Moderators at Cambridge* (then called by the Name of *New-Town*) on *Aug. 30. 1637.* there were produced about *Eighty Two* Erroneous Opinions and Expressions, which had been uttered in the Country by several Men at several times. The *Authors* of those Errors were neither Mentioned nor Enquired; but the *Errors* themselves were Considered, Confuted and Condemned from the plain *Word of God*: For, indeed, the Design of the *Synod* was not, *Fus Dare*, but only, *Fus Dicere*, and to exercise only a *Power Decisive of Doctrines*, not *Judicial*, on *Persons*; leaving it unto particular Churches to pass their Censures on the *Persons*, who should hold the *Doctrines* by the

Determination of the *Synod*, found subversive to the *Fundamentals of Religion*. And hence, when some of the more Hypocritical *Sectaries* began to grow at last pretty clamorous, in demanding the *Names* of such as held the *Dogmes* then opposed (for the *true Parents* of the Brats, began to discover themselves when the *Synod* was going to employ the *Sword* upon them!) some of the *Civil Magistrates* then present, as *Members* of the Assembly, were forced, as *Justices of the Peace*, to preserve the *Peace* of the Assembly, by Commanding Silence to those *Lirigious Talkers*. What these Errors were, 'tis needless now to repeat; they are *Dead and Gone*; and, for me, beyond hope of *Resurrection*; 'tis pity to rake them out of their *Graves*; 'tis enough to say, they were of an *Antinomian* and *Familistical* Tendency. All that needs to be added, is, that the *Synod's* Result upon these *Heterodoxies*, was not formed into such Arbitrary and Hereticating *Anathem's*, as were practiced in the Councils of the Ancients; but the *Error* being first fairly recited, there was only a short Reflection made upon it after this manner, *This is contrary to such and such a Text of Scripture*, [then and there subjoined] which in the Quotation thereof being briefly applied unto the Case, did unto *Reasonable Men* immediately finite the *Error* under the *Fifth Rib*.

The Result of the *Synod* was Published; and tho' the *Hydra of Error* were now stirring in the Country with such a *Virulent and Malignant* Influence, yet that *Sword of the Lord*, the *Sacred Scripture*, being thus wisely employed, soon dispatched the *Apostate Serpent*.

§. 5. The *Synod* then thought it *Convenient*, nay, *Necessary* for them to come into a good Understanding with *Mr. Cotton*, who was himself not the *Least part* of the Country; the rather, because the *Sectaries*, through the Country, had basely made use of his Name to patronize their *Opinions*; and, indeed, his *Charity*, wherein he was known to be truly Eminent, inclining him to suspect no more *Evil* of them, than what they would profess, or confess to him in their Personal Conversation with him, exposed him the more to their Pretences of his Patronage.

There were Five Questions offered unto that Great Man, unto which *Questions* he gave *Answers*; and unto those *Answers* the *Synod* gave *Replies*; and unto those *Replies* he gave *Returns*; and unto those *Returns* the *Synod* gave *Rejoinders*; till their *Collisions* fetch'd I know not whether more *Light* or *Love* unto one another. Because 'twill not be easie to give a fair and full Representation of what passed on both sides, without the Trouble of Transcribing whole Sheets of Paper, I shall not now Trouble the World with the *Debated Questions*, much less with the *Debates* upon the *Questions*: The *Reader* that is desirous to see them, shall find them in *Mr. Cotton's* Treatise about the *Way of Congregational Churches*: Only let it be remarked, that the Nature and Import of the *Questions*, and the Zeal with which they were

were handled, intimate something of the *Holy Temper*, then prevailing among the Body of this People. The *Questions* were about the Order of things, in our *Union* with our Lord Jesus Christ; about the Influence of our *Faith*, in the Application of his *Righteousness*; about the Use of our *Sanctification*, in Evidencing of our *Justification*; and about the Consideration of the Lord *Jesus Christ* by Men, yet under a *Covenant of Works*.

Briefly, they were the Points whereon depend the Grounds of our *Assurance* for Blessedness in another and a better World. Now I cannot learn that Mr. *Cotton* ever made any notable Variation of his Opinions or Expressions in these Matters, from what we find published afterward in his Treatise of *The New Covenant*; a Treatise whereof I need say no more, but that the Famous Mr. *Caryl* ushered it into the World with his Recommendations. Nor indeed am I without a vehement Suspicion, that Mr. *Cotton* was really *One* with his Antagonists, whatever seeming *Difference* there was between them. And if my Reader will, as I do, believe Mr. *Baxter*, that neither *Nestorius* nor *Cyril* were Heretical *De Re*; but that both of them were of *One Mind*, the one speaking of the *Abstract*, the other speaking of the *Concrete*; and, that yet Interest, Prejudice and Faction put them upon such Quarrellsome *Herclications* one against another, as enkindled a lamentable Flame in the World, which is not even to *this Day* extinguished; he will easily believe, that these good Men might misunderstand one another. However, Mr. *Cotton* came to such an Amiable and Amicable Correspondence with the rest of the Ministers, that altho' in this *Time of Temptation*, he had throughout these Churches laboured under the hard Character of being the Chief *Abettor* to the Errors whereby the Tranquility of the Churches had been disturbed, yet he now most effectually joined with the other Ministers in Witnessing against those *Errors*; and having, like the *Moon* in its Eclipse, with an Exemplary Patience held on his Course of serving the Church of God, until the strength of the *Enchantments* attending this *Hour of Temptation* was a little dissolved, he recovered all his former *Splendor* among the other *Stars*,

—*Velut inter Ignes Luna Minores.*

Yea, his latter Days were indeed like the clear shining of the Sun after the Rain. But if my Reader will not be satisfied without a more particular Account of Mr. *Cotton's* Conduct in the *Synod*, I shall honestly tell him, that albeit, when the *Eighty-two Errors* were finally Condemned in the *Synod*, Mr. *Cotton* did (without setting his Hand unto the Condemnation) freely declare, *That he disrelished all those Opinions and Expressions, as being some of them Heretical, some of them Blasphemous, some of them Erroneous, and all of them Incongruous.* Nevertheless there was a *Dark Day* in the *Sy-*

nod, wherein Mr. *Cotton* did, with the great *Chamins*, seem to assert, *That the Habit of Faith in us, is the Effect of our Justification*; and Solemn Speeches were made with Tears, lamenting it, that they should in this Important Matter dissent from a Person so Venerable and Considerable in the Country. Such Arguments were brought, as being first *Called*, and then *Justified*: And *Faith* being in our *Union* with Christ, but our *Union* being in Order to our being *Justified*, and our being under the *Wrath* of God, while yet *Unbelievers*; and *Abraham's* Believing, and so being *Justified*; and that otherwise, a Man must seek to be *Justified*, that so he may *Believe*; not seek to *Believe*, that so he may be *Justified*: And that the *Justification* handled in the Epistle to the *Romans* is God's Judicial Act, and not our bare Apprehension thereof; and that the *Place* which the *False Teachers* assigned unto *Works* in *Justification* was before it, and that *Faith* took the place of those *Works*. But after sorrowful Discourses, *Pro* and *Con*, upon these Arguments, Mr. *Cotton* the next Morning made an Excellent Speech unto the Assembly, tending towards an Accommodation of the Controversie. This Disposition in Mr. *Cotton* was very Nettling to the *Sectaries*, who still promised themselves great Advantages from his remaining in any thing a *Dissenter*; and they tried by all the Obstreperous Ways imaginable to hinder the Reconciliation. But the *Synod* greedily and joyfully laid hold on the Reconciling Offers of Mr. *Cotton*; and they at length agreed, *That we are not United and Married unto the Lord Jesus Christ without Faith, giving an actual Consent of Soul unto it: That God's Effectual calling of the Soul unto the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Soul's apprehending by an Act of Faith the offered Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, is in Order of Nature before God's Act of Justification upon the Soul: That in the Testimony of the Holy Spirit, which is the Evidence of our good Estate before God, the Qualifications of Inherent Graces, and the Fruits thereof, proving the Sincerity of our Faith must ever be Co-existent, Concurrent, Co-apparent, or else the Conceived Testimony of the Spirit, is either a Delusion or Doubtful.* An Happy Conclusion of the whole Matter.

§. 6. Mankind has heard the Doleful and Woful Complaints of the Renowned Gregory *Nazianzen*, concerning the *Councils* in his Days: 'Tis known in what *Epistle* of his he says, *If I must Write the very Truth, I am of the Mind to fly from every such Meeting; for I never saw a joyful and happy End of any Council; nor any that procured not a greater Augmentation than Reformation of Mischiefs; and in what Oration of his, he says, Our Votes follow either our Hatred or our Friendship; we are not constant to our selves, but even like the waving Euripus; and for my part I count it as unseemly for me to join with them in their Councils, as it would be for me to leave my Studies, and go play with the Boys in the Streets.*

But had our *Gregory* seen the Blessed Effects of this *Council*, he would not have expressed his Complaints in Terms thus *Universal*. The Ministers returning from the *Synod* unto their several Churches, applied themselves with a vigorous Unanimity in their Ministry, to *Root up* the Errors which had been by the *Synod* Thunder-struck; and the good Understanding produced among the Members of the *Synod*, extended its influence unto all the Churches therein represented. But before the breaking up of the *Synod*, there were Two other things particularly spoken to. One thing was this, it had been a *Custom* in many Congregations, that the Ministers allowed their People the Liberty still, after Sermon, to propose what *Questions* they thought fit for their further Satisfaction, about any Points which had been delivered; which Liberty was oftentimes made an Occasion of much Contention, Vexation and Folly in the Assemblies: But this Custom now underwent the Condemnations of the *Synod*. Another thing was this. The Governour knowing that the Country had been exercised with some Difficulties about *The way of raising a Maintenance for the Ministry*, now desired that the *Synod* would propound the most *Evangelical* way for it, which the General Court might enact into a *Law*: But they one and all said, *That they did not care to meddle with that Matter, lest it should be reflected on them, that they were for their own Ends there come together*. At last, for the Close of all, Mr. *Davenport*, at the Request of the *Synod*, Preached on *Phil. 3. 16. Nevertbeless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same Rule, let us mind the same Thing*; from whence laying down the true Original of Differences among the People of God, he Declared the Result of the present *Synod*, and Exhorted all to Endeavour the Peace of the Churches in the Prosecution of that Result. And from this time accordingly there was *Peace* with *Truth* Established.

§. 7. Among the more Memorable *Occurrents*, which were the *Consequents* of this most useful *Synod*, one was the *Discipline* Exercised in the Church of *Boston* upon the Principal of the *Sectaries*; but I must herewithal put my Reader upon the *Wonder* of beholding, that as for the *Seditious Disturbance* raised in the Country by the Distinction between *People under the Covenant of Works*, and *People under the Covenant of Grace*, whereby People were sometimes hurried into *Works* that shew'd little of *Grace* in them, *Dux Femina Falli*.

The whole of *Tertullian's* Complaint about the Antient *Gnosticks* was instanced, and indeed overdone in our Opinionists, *Omnes tument, Omnes scientiam pollicentur, ipse Mulieres Heretica quum sunt procaces!* It is the Mark of *Seducers*, that they lead *Captive Silly Women*; but what will you say, when you hear of *Subtil Women* becoming the most Remarkable of the *Seducers*? 'Tis noted of *Seducers*, that like their Father the *Devil*, the Old, the First *Seducer*, they usually have a

special Design upon the *Weaker Sex*, who are more easily *Gained* themselves, and then are fit Instruments for the *Gaining* of their Husbands unto such *Errors* as will cause them to *Lose* their Souls at last. *Simon Magus* Traded with his *Helena*, and *Montanus* with his *Maximilla*, for the more Effectual Propagation of their Heresies, as *Jerom* long since observed; and as *Epiphanius* tells us, *Arius* promoted his Blasphemies by first Profelyting Seven Hundred *Virgins* thereunto. Indeed a *Poyson* does never Infiltrate so quickly, nor Operate so strongly, as when *Womens Milk* is the *Vehicle* wherein 'tis given. Whereas the *Prime Seducer* of the whole Faction, which now began to threaten the Country with something like a *Monster Tragedy*, was a *Woman*, a Gentlewoman of an *Haughty Carriage*, *Basie Spirit*, *Competent Wit*, and a *Voluble Tongue*; among whose Relations at this Day, there are so many *Worthy* and *Useful* Persons, that for their sakes I would gladly contrive some way to relate so Important a Story as that of her Affairs, without mentioning of *Her Name*; and therefore I will cover it with a *Convenient Periphrasis*. Behold, Reader,

Nulla fere causa est, in qua non Femina Litem Moverit.

§. 8. This our *Erroneous Gentlewoman*, at her coming out of *Lincolnshire* in *England* unto *New-England*, upon pretence of Religion, was well respected among the Professors of this Religion; and this the more, because at the Meetings of the *Women*, which use to be called *Gossipings*, it was her manner to carry on very *Pious Discourses*, and so put the Neighbourhood upon Examining their *Spiritual Estates*, by telling them how far a Person might go in *Trouble of Mind*; and being restrained from very many *Evils*, and constrained unto very many *Duties*, by none but a *Legal Work* upon their Souls, without ever coming to a *Saving Union* with the *Lord Jesus Christ*, that many of them were convinced of a very great Defect in the Settlement of their *Everlasting Peace*, and acquainted more with the *Spirit of the Gospel*, than ever they were before. This mighty *Show* and *Noise* of Devotion, procured unto our Dame, [ANAGR.] *The Non-such*, the Reputation of a *Non-such* among the People; until at length, under the Pretence of that Warrant, *That the Elder Women are to Teach the Younger*, the set up weekly *Meetings* at her House, where to Threescore or Fourscore People would Resort, that they might hear the Sermons of Mr. *Cotton* repeated, but in such a sort, that after the *Repetition*, she would make her *Explicatory* and *Applicatory Declamations*, wherein what she confirmed of the Sermons must be *Canonical*, but what she omitted all *Apocrypha*.

It was not long before 'twas found, that most of the *Errors*, then crawling like *Vipers* about

about the *Country*, were hatched at these Meetings; where this notable Woman, who called her self another *Priscilla*, to *Instruct others more perfectly*, did set her self *most perfectly to confound* all the Interests of Christianity with Damnable *Doctrines*, which maintained our *Personal Union with the Spirit of God*; and, *The Insignificancy of Sanctification to be any Evidence of our good Estate*; and, *The Pertinency of Commands to work out our own Salvation with Fear and Trembling, and give all diligence to make our Calling and Election sure, unto none but such as were in a Covenant of Works*; and, *The setting up of Immediate Revelation about Future Events, to be believed as Equally Infalible with the Scriptures*: And it was wonderful to see with what a speedy and spreading *Fascination* these *Doctrines* did bewitch the Minds of People, which one would not have imagined Capable of being so *Befotted*.

She was all this while so cunning, that Mr. Cotton could get no better *Evidences* of her broaching these Opinions, than she had of her own *Justification*; but still unto him, and such as came from him, she would express her self with a satisfying *Orthodoxy*; however, whilst Mr. Cotton's Candor was thus abused, he faithfully told her, That he doubted she would at last be found *Not Right*; and this for *Three Things* which he had observed in her; one was, that her *Faith* was not *produced*, and scarce ever *strengthened*, according to her own Relation, by the *publick Ministry* of the Word, but by her own private *Meditations* and *Revelations*; another was, that she clearly discerned her *Justification*, according to her own Confession, but little or nothing at all her *Sanctification*: A third was, that she was more sharply *Censorious* about the States and Hearts of *other People*, than the *Self-judging Servants of God* used to be. And now attend the Issue!

§. 9. At last full proof was obtained, that this Gentlewoman was not the *Priscilla* pretended, but rather deserving the Name of the Prophetess in the Church of *Thyatira*; it was proved, that more than a Score of *Antinomian* and *Familistical* Errors had been *held forth* by her, and the Church was Resolved that she should no more *seduce* the *Servants* of our Lord. The *Admonitions* of the Church were by the Elders, according to the Rule of the Gospel, given unto her; and after many Endeavours of Mr. Cotton to convince her, she did seem to be convinced of her many Erroneous Ways, both in *Judgment* and *Practice*; therewithal presenting under her own Hand, before the whole Church of *Boston*, yea, before many Churches then assembled at the Lecture in *Boston*, a *Recantation* of them. Nevertheless, under such an Infatuation of *Pride* she was, that whilst the Church was debating about this *Recantation*, she did with a strange Confidence and Impudence Assert, *That she never was really of any Opinion contrary to the Declaration she had now made*; however, some of her Expressions had been misconstrued; whereupon many Witnesses

arose, which demonstrated her guilty of gross *Lying* in that Assertion: And that caused Mr. Cotton to say, that her *Case* was now altered; for being now Convicted of *Lying*, he thought she was to be *cast out* with them that *Love and Make a Lie*. So, with the full consent of the Church, the Sentence of *Excommunication* was passed upon her.

§. 10. But the *Seditions* raised in the Country by the means of this *Virago*, procured the Animadversions of the *Court*, as well as the *Church*, upon her; before which being brought, she made a canting Harangue about her *immediate Revelations*; concluding her Speech with these Words, *I will give you one Place more which the Lord brought to me by immediate Revelation; and that doth concern you all; it is in Dan. 6. When the Presidents and Princes could find nothing against him, because he was faithful, they sought Matter against him concerning the Law of his God, to cast him into the Lion's Den. So it was Revealed unto me, that they should Plot against me; but the Lord bid me not fear, for he that delivered Daniel and the Three Children, his Hand was not shortened. And see this Scripture this Day fulfilled in mine Eyes; therefore take heed what you go about to do unto me; for you have no Power over my Body, neither can you do me any Harm; for I am in the Hands of the Eternal Jehovah my Saviour; I am at his Appointment; the Bounds of my Habitation are cast in Heaven; I fear none but the great Jehovah, who hath foretold me of these Things; and I do verily believe that he will deliver me, and this by Miracle, out of your Hands. Therefore take heed how you proceed against me; for I know, that for this you go about to do to me, God will Ruin you, and your Posterity, and this whole State.* She also insisted much upon that Scripture, *Tho' I make a full End of all Nations, yet will I not make a full End of thee.*

But the Court put an *End* unto her vapouring Talk; and finding no hope of Reclaiming her from her Scandalous, Dangerous and *Enchanting* Extravagancies, ordered her to depart out of the Colony: So she went first unto *Rhode Island*; but not liking to stay there, she removed with her Family unto a *Dutch* Plantation called *Hebgate*: Where, within a little while, the *Indians* Treacherously and Barbarously Murthered *them*, to the Number of Sixteen Persons, on the Occasion of a Quarrel they had with the *Dutch* thereabouts; and made an *End* of scarce any but her Family among all the Neighbour *Nations*.

§. 11. While these things were managing, there happened some very surprizing *Prodigies*, which were lookt upon as Testimonies from Heaven, against the ways of those greater *Prodigies*, the *Sectaries*. The *Erroneous Gentlewoman* her self, convicted of holding about *Thirty* Monstrous Opinions, growing Big with Child, and at length coming to her time of Travail, was delivered of about *Thirty* Monstrous Births at once; whereof some were Bigger, some were

Leffer; of several Figures; few of any *Perfect*, none of any *Humane* Shape. This was a thing generally then Asserted and Believed; whereas, by some that were Eye-witnesses, it is affirmed, that these were no more *Monstrous Births*, than what it is frequent for Women, labouring with *false Conceptions*, to produce. Moreover, one very nearly Related unto this Gentlewoman, and infected with her Heresies, was on *October 17, 1637.* delivered of as hideous a *Monster* as perhaps the Sun ever lookt upon. It had no *Head*; the *Face* was below upon the *Breast*; the *Ears* were like an *Apes*, and grew upon the *Shoulders*; the *Eyes* and *Mouth* stood far out; the *Nose* was hooking upwards; the *Breast* and *Back* were full of short Prickles, like a *Thorn-back*; the *Navel*, *Belly*, and the Distinction of *Sex*, which was *Female*, were in the place of the *Hips*; and those *Back-parts* were on the same side with the *Face*; the *Arms*, *Hands*, *Thighs* and *Legs*, were as other Childrens; but instead of *Toes*, it had on each Foot three *Claws*, with *Talons* like a *Fowl*; upon the *Back* above the *Belly* it had a *Couple* of great *Holes* like *Mouths*; and in each of them stood out a *Couple* of pieces of *Flesh*; it had no *Forehead*, but above the *Eyes* it had *Four Horns*; Two of above an *Inch* Long, *Hard* and *Sharp*; and the other Two somewhat *Less*. The *Midwife* was one strongly suspected of *Witchcraft*; and a *prime Familist*: Thro' whose *Witchcrafts* probably it came to pass, that most of the *Women* present at the *Travel* were suddenly taken with such a violent *Vomiting* and *Purging*, tho' they had neither *Eaten* or *Drunken* any thing to *Occasion* it, that they were forced immediately to go *Home*; others had their *Children* so taken with *Convulsions*, which they never had before or after, that they also were sent for *Home* immediately; whence none were left at the time of the *Monster's Birth*, but the *Midwife* and *Two* more, whereof one was fallen asleep: And about the time of the *Monster's Death*, which was *Two Hours* before its *Birth*, such an odd *Shake* was by invisible *Hands* given to the *Bed* as terrify'd the *Standers-by*. It was *Buried* without any *Noise* of its *Monstrosity*; but it being whisper'd a few *Days* after about the *Town*, the *Magistrates* ordered the opening of the *Grave*, whereby there was discovered this

Monstrum, Horrendum, in forme, Ingens.

But of this *Monster*, good Reader, let us talk no further: For at this *Instant* I find an odd *Passage* in a *Letter* of the famous *Mr. Thomas Hooker* about this *Matter*; namely this, *While I was thus Musing, and thus Writing, my Study where I was Writing, and the Chamber where my Wife was sitting, shook, as we thought, with an Earthquake, by the space of half a quarter of an Hour. We both perceived it, and presently went down. My Maid in the Kitchen observed the same. My Wife said, it was the Devil that was displeas'd that we confer about this Occasion.*

§. 12. It was but a few *Years* after these things, namely in the *Year 1643.* that the *Government* of *Barbados* being disturbed by such *Turbulent* and *Tumultuous Familists*, as those which now pestered *New-England*, were forced by their *Outrages* to sentence them with *Banishment*. Nor must it be made a *Reproach*, if *New-England* also ordered a sort of *Banishment* for these intoxicated *Sectaries*, who began to *Deny* or *Degrade* the *Magistracy* of the *Country*, and call the *King of England* the *King of Babylon*; but you shall hear the effect of that *Procedure*. Being advised of an *Island* beyond *Cape-Cod*, and near the *Narraganset-Bay*, they fairly purchased it of the *Natives*; thither they transplanted themselves with their *Families*; in this *Transplantation*, accompanied by many others of their own *Uncertainty* in *Religion*; who yet had not come under any *Censures* of either the *Court* or the *Church* for their *Misdemeanours*. Having peopled this *Island*, now known by the *Name* of *Rhode Island*, they swarmed over unto the *Main*, where they also purchased some *Tracts* of *Land*, now covered with the *Two Towns* of *Providence* and *Warwick*; for all of which they obtained at last a *Charter* from *King Charles II.* with ample *Priviledges*. I cannot learn that the *First planters* of this *Colony* were agreed in any one *Principle* so much as this, *That they were to give one another no disturbance in the Exercise of Religion*; and tho' they have sometimes had some *Difference* among them, as to the *Exercise* of that *Principle* also, I believe there never was held such a variety of *Religions* together on so small a *Spot* of *Ground* as have been in that *Colony*. It has been a *Colluvies* of *Antinomians*, *Familists*, *Anabaptists*, *Antisabbatarians*, *Arminians*, *Socinians*, *Quakers*, *Ranters*, every thing in the *World* but *Roman Catholicks*, and *Real Christians*, tho' of the *Latter*, I hope, there have been more than of the *Former* among them; so that if a *Man* had lost his *Religion*, he might find it at this *general Muster of Opinionists!* 'Tis a good *Peice* of *Antiquity* that *Josephus* has given us, when he tells us the *Consequences* of *Nebemias's* chafing away a *Son* of *Jofada*, the *Son* of *Eliash* the *High-Priest*, for *Marrying* the *Daughter* of *Sanballat* the *Horonite*, the *chief Person* among the *Samaritans*. The *Father-in-law* of this *Menasses* (for it seems that was his *Name*) built a *Temple* on *Gerizzim*, in *Opposition* to that at *Jerusalem*, and obtained a *Charter* from the *Kings* of *Persia* for the *Encouragement* thereof, that so his *Daughter Nicass* (for so she was called) might not lose her *Husband*, who was thus made a *Metropolitan*. After this time, all that were *Indited* for *Crimes* at *Jerusalem* would fly to *Gerizzim*, and *Sichem* was now the *common Receptacle* and *Sanctuary* of *Jewish Offenders*: This, as *R. Abrah. Zaccuth* tells us, *This was the beginning of Herese!* And now, with some *Allusion* to that *Piece* of *Antiquity*, I may venture to say, *That Rhode Island* has usually been the *Geriz-*

sim of New-England. The Island is indeed, for the Fertility of the *Soil*, the Temperateness of the *Air*, the Commodiousness of *Scituation*, the best *Garden* of all the Colonies; and were it free from *Serpents*, I would have called it, *The Paradise of New-England*: But the number of Sensible and Ingenious Gentlemen, whereof there are some upon the Island, will find it hard enough to Rescue it from an extream Danger of that Character, *Bona Terra, Mala Gens*. The Condition of the *Rising Generation* upon that Island, is indeed exceeding Lamentable! *Lactantius* complains of *Arcefilaus*, that having much considered the *Contradictions* of the Philosphers one unto another, at last he contemned them all, and instituted a *New Philosophy*, of *Not Philosophising at all*. The former *Generation of Rhode Islanders* is now generally gone off the Stage; and all the Messengers which the Churches of the *Massachusetts-Colony*, whereto any of them did belong, sent with Admonitions after them, could Reclaim very few of them: The *Rising Generation*, confounded by the *Contradictions* in Religion among their Parents, are under many horrible *Temptations*, and under some unhappy *Tendencies*, to be of *no Religion at all*: And when the *Ministers* of this Province have several times, at their own united Expences, employ'd certain *Ministers* of the Gospel, to make a *Chargeless* tender of Preaching the Word among them, this *Charitable offer of Ministers* has been refused: Tho' it seems they are now beginning to embrace it; the Indefatigable, and Evangelical, and very Laudable Industry of Mr. *John Danforth*, the Minister of *Dorchester*, has, with the Blessing of our Lord thereupon, overcome a Number of them, not only to hear the Gospel, from a worthy young Preacher, Mr. *Nathanael Clap*, sent thither, but also to build a Meeting-

house for that purpose: Yea, and the liberal Merchants of *Boston* have in this present Year 1695. been exemplary, by their bearing the Expences of *Ministers* which we have sent forth to make *Tenders* of the Gospel unto other *Paganizing Plantations* on the *Main* belonging to that Colony; albeit some of those *Tenders* also have been Scandalously Rejected by the Inhabitants. If I should now Launch forth into a Narrative of the Marvellous *lewd Things* which have been done and said by the giddy Sectaries of this *Island*, I confess the *Matter* would be agreeable enough to the Nature and the Design of a *Church History*, and for a Warning unto all to take heed, how they forsake the *Word of God* and His Ordinances in the Societies of the Faithful, and follow the conduct of *New Lights*, that are no more than so many *Fools-Fires* in the Issue; but the *Merriment* arising from the Ridiculous and Extravagant Occurrences therein, would not be agreeable to the *Gravity* of such an History. Wherefore I forbear it; only wishing that the People of this Island may effectually feel the favourable Influences and Protections of the *Crown of England*, extended unto them, inasmuch as the Ridiculously Comical Expressions of their late Address to the *Queen*, *Jan. 30. 1689.* are, *May it please Your Excellent Majesty: We humbly Petition Your most Excellent Majesties Grace and Favour towards us Your most humble Subjects and Supplicants, that You would please, being Pater Patriæ, to extend your Fatherly Care, in Granting a Confirmation to our Charter.* Whereupon they add, *Your Transcendent Love and Favour extended towards us, hath so Radicated it self in our Hearts, never to be forgotten, that it obliges us to offer up our Selves, Lives and Fortunes, to be at Your Majesty's Service, beyond the power of any Command.*

C H A P. IV.

Ignis Fatui: Or, The Molestations given to the Churches of New-England by that Odd Sect of People called Quakers. And some uncomfortable Occurrents relating to a Sect of Other and Better People.

Hereses non dolemus venisse, quia novimus esse Prædictas. Tertul.

§. 1. **I**F the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ must in every Age be assaulted by Hereticks, acting under the Energy of that old *Serpent*, who knowing that as the *First Creation*, so the *New Creation* begins with *Light*, hath used Thousands of *Blinds* to keep a saving *Light* from entering into the Souls of Men, that being a *People of wrong Understanding*, be that made them shall not have Mercy on them: It must be Expected that the Churches of *New-England* should undergo some Assaults from the worst of *Hereticks* that *this Age* has produced. Now I know not whether the

Sect, which hath appeared in our Days under the Name of *Quakers*, be not upon many Accounts the worst of *Hereticks*; for in *Quakerism*, which has by some been called, *The Sink of all Heresies*, we see the *Vomit* cast out in the By-past Ages, by whole *Kennels* of *Seducers*, lick'd up again for a *New Digestion*, and once more exposed for the *Poisoning* of Mankind; though it pretends unto *Light*, yet by the means of that very Pretence it leaves the bewildred Souls of Men in *Chains under Darkness*, and gives them up to the Conduct of an *Ignis Fatuus*: But this I know, they have been
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the most Venemous of all to the Churches of *America*. The beginning of this *Upstart Self* has been declared, by one who was a *Pillar* of it, in a Pamphlet written in the Year 1659. where this Passage occurs, *It is now about Seven Years since the Lord raised us up: And the Norih of England was reckon'd the Place of its Nativity*. Nevertheless, I can tell the World that the First *Quakers* that ever were in the World, were certain *Fanaticks* here in our Town of *Salem*, who held forth almost all the Fancies and Whimfies which a few Years after were broached by them that were so called in *England*, with whom yet none of ours had the least Communication; except my Reader will rather look for the First *Quakers* at the *Delphian* Oracle upon *Parnassus*, [Originally perhaps פֶּרְעֻזָּה *Parai-nabus*, i. e. *Hiatus Divinationis*] where the Usage was, for a certain Woman sitting upon a *Tripod* over a Cave, to be possessed with a *Demon*, in the Scripture called *Ob*, which entering into her, she was immediately taken with an extraordinary *Trembling* of her whole Body, and *Foaming* horribly, there issued from her the *Prophecies* which enchanted all the World into a Veneration of them. Our *Salem Quakers* indeed of themselves died *Childless*; but the Numbers of those in *England* increasing, they did in the Year 1657. find a way into *New-England*, where they first infested *Plymouth* Colony, and were for a while most unhappily successful in seducing the People, not only to attend unto the *Mystical Dispensations* of the *Light within*, as having the whole of *Religion* contained therein, but also to oppose the good *Order*, both *Civil* and *Sacred*, erected in the Colony. Those Persons in the *Massachusetts-Colony*, whose Office it was to be *Watchman* of it, were much Alarumed at the Approach of so great a *Plague*, and were at some Loss how to prevent it, and avoid it. Altho' *Quakerism* has been by the *New-Turn*, that such ingenious Men as *Mr. Penn* have given to it, become quite a *New Thing*; yet the old *Foxian Quakerism*, which then visited *New-England*, was the grossest Collection of *Blasphemies* and *Confusions* that ever was heard of. The *Christ* then witnessed by the *Quakers* was, *A certain Heavenly, Divine Body, constituted of invisible Flesh, Blood and Bones, in which Christ came from Heaven; and he put that Body into the other Body of our Nature, which he took of the Virgin, and that outermost Body he left behind, when he ascended into Heaven, no Body knows where; and this heavenly and spiritual Body, (which the Quakers at length Evaporate into a meer Mystical Dispensation, and at last it is nothing but that Excusing and Condemning Principle in Man which we call, The Natural Conscience!) is the Man Christ, a measure of which is in the Quakers; upon which Accounts the Quakers made themselves to be Christs, as truly as ever was Jesus the Son of Mary*. There is in every Man a certain excusing and condemning Principle; which indeed is nothing but some Remainder of the *Divine Image*, left by the com-

passion of God upon the *Conscience* of Man after his Fall; and this Principle the *Quakers* called, *A measure of the Man Christ, the Light, the Seed, the Word*. The whole History of the *Gospel* they therefore beheld as Acted over again every Day as *Literally* as ever it was in *Palestine*; and what befalls this Principle in us, they advanced as the Truth of *Christ Sacrificed for us, Dying, Rising, Sitting at the Right Hand of God, and coming in Clouds to Judgment*. They set themselves hereupon to extinguish our whole *Christian Religion*, for these airy Notions to succeed in the Room thereof; they scoffed at our *Imagined God beyond the Stars*; and said, *Your Carnal Christ is utterly denied by the Light*; the exprets Words in the Preachments of these *Quaking Holders-forth* (as 'tis in Print attested by some of themselves that had so much Christianity as to leave them upon the *Scandal* of it) have been; *it is the Work of the Devil to cause People, that have profest the Appearance of Christ in the Heart, to respect the Person without them*. And, *it is a Delusion to direct the Minds of the People to respect Christ, as he is now in Heaven above the Clouds*. They Stiled those *Blind Beasts and Liars, who should say that the Scriptures reveal God*; and affirm'd it, *The greatest Error in the World, and the Ground of all Errors, to say, The Scriptures are a Rule for Christians*. They said, *That the Scripture does not tell People of a Trinity, nor Three Persons in God, but that those Three Persons are brought in by the Pope*. They held, *That justification by that Righteousness, which Christ fulfilled in his own Person without us, is a Doctrine of Devils*. They held, *That they that believe in Christ are not miserable Sinners, nor do those things they ought not to do*. They said, *If the Bodies of Men rise again, then there is a Prebeminence in the Bodies of Men above the Bodies of Beasts, which is to give Solomon the Lie*. They said, *They are like to be deceived, who are expecting that Christ's second coming will be Personal*. They said, *Those things called Ordinances, as Baptism, Bread and Wine, rose from the Pope's Invention*. They said, *As for that called, The Lord's Day, People do not understand what they say; every Day is the Lord's Day*. And for *Prayer* it self, they said, *All must cease from their own Words, and from their own Time, and learn to be Silent, until the Spirit give them Utterance*. The said— But it would be Endless to Enumerate their *Heresies*; what we have already Enumerated is enough to Astonish us; in all of which I solemnly protest unto the Reader, that I have not wronged them at all, but kept close to their own *Printed Words*. Reader, Thou canst not behold these *Heresies*, without the Exclamation Ordinarily used by the *Blessed Polycarp*, when he heard any such Matters uttered; *Good God, unto what Times hast thou reserved me!* The Zeal of the *Massachusetts-Colony*, to preserve themselves from the Annoyances of such a *Blasphemous* and *Confused* Generation of Men, caused them to make

Sharp Laws against them, in hopes that the *Terror* thereby given to these *Evil Doers*, would keep them from any *Invasion* upon the Colony. But *They must needs go whom the Devil drives*; these *Devil-driven* Creatures did but the more furiously push themselves upon the Government, for the *Sharp* which had been turned upon them; whereupon the Government unhappily proceeded unto the Execution of the *Laws* in *Scourging*, and then *Banishing*, and (upon their Mad return) *Executing* Three or Four of the *Chief Offenders*: But they considered these Wretches, *Non qua Errones, sed qua Turbones*, in thus proceeding against them. If the Reader enquire with what *Spirit* they died, I must sincerely say, that as far as I can learn, they shou'd little enough of the *Spirit of Martyrdom*. They did not like the true *Martyrs* of Jesus Christ, with the *Glorious Spirit of God resting* on them. A Fierce, a Raging, a Sullen, and a Revengeful *Spirit*, and a Degree of *Madness* rather inspired them; nor is the Fallacious History of *Gerard Croese* concerning these Matters to be credited.

§. 2. A great Clamour hath been raised against *New-England* for their *Persecution of the Quakers*; and if any Man will appear in the *Vindication* of it, let him do as he please; for my Part I will not. I am verily perswaded these miserable *Quakers* would in a little while (as we have now seen) have come to nothing, if the *Civil Magistrate* had not inflicted any *Civil Penalty* upon them; nor do I look upon *Hereticide* as an *Evangelical way*, for the extinguishing of *Heresies*; but rather say with the *Judicious Hominus, Magistratus, propter Solum Hereseos Crimen, non quinquam occidat, nisi forte horrendæ atq; intolerandæ in Deum Blasphemia, vel manifestæ Seditiois Crimen accedat*. 'Tis true, these *Quakers* did manifest an intolerable Contempt of *Authority*, and needlessly pull upon themselves a Vengeance, from which the *Authority* would gladly have released them, if they would have accepted of a Release; but it is also true, that they were *Madmen*, a sort of *Lunaticks, Demoniacks* and *Energumens*: He was a Wife and a Good Counsellor in *Plymouth-Colony* who propounded, *That a Law might be made for the Quakers to have their Heads Shaved*; the *Punishment*, I confess, was in some sort *Capital*; but it would have been the best *Remedy* for them; it would have both *Sham'd* and *Cur'd* them: Or perhaps the *Punishment* which *A. Gellius* reports the *Romans* on certain *Special Occasions* used upon their *Soldiers*, namely, *To let 'em Blood*, had been very agreeable for these *Quakers*. A *Berlethem* seems to have been fitter for them than a *Gallows*. Nevertheless, I am not unwilling to Transcribe one Passage on this Occasion, that so my Reader, upon the whole, may proceed unto what *Censure* he shall please to bestow upon the Matter.

It shall be a few Lines of *A Declaration of the General Court of the Massachusetts, held at Boston, Octob. 18. 1659.* Published for the

Satisfaction of the People; a great part of whom were much dissatisfied at what had been done.

'About Three Years since, diverse Persons professing themselves *Quakers* (of whose Pernicious Opinions and Practices we had received Intelligence from good Hands) both from *Barbados* and *England*, arrived at *Boston*, whose Persons were only secured to be sent away by the first Opportunity, without Censure or Punishment, although their professed Tenets, Turbulent and Contemptuous Behaviour to Authority, would have justified a severer Animadversion.—A Law was made and Published, Prohibiting all Masters of Ships to bring any *Quakers* into this Jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on Penalty of the House of Correction, till they could be sent away. Notwithstanding which, by a *Back-door* they found Entrance; and the Penalty inflicted on them proving insufficient to restrain their Impudent and Insolent Obtrusions, was increased—which also being too weak a Defence against their Impetuous and Fanatick Fury, necessitated us to Endeavour our Security; and upon serious Consideration, a Law was made that such Persons should be *Banished on Pain of Death*, according to the Example of *England*, in their Provision against *Jesuites*; which Sentence being regularly pronounced, at the last *Court of Assistants* against these Parties, and they either returning, or continuing presumptuously in this Jurisdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themselves to be the Persons *Banished*, were sentenced by the Court to *Death*—which hath been Executed upon Two of them. *M. D.* upon the Intercession of a Son, had Liberty to depart, and accepted of it.—The Consideration of our *Gradual Proceedings*, will vindicate us from the Clamorous Accusations of *Severity*. Our own just and necessary Defence calling upon us (other Means failing) to offer the *Point*, which these Persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby became *Felones de se*,—as well as the sparing of *One* upon an Inconsiderable Intercession, will manifestly Evince we desire their *Lives absent*, rather than their *Deaths present*. Thus the Declaration.

Reader, If this also will further alleviate the Business, I must not conceal it; that it was very enraging unto the *Zeal* of those Godly Men, who then govern'd us, to hear these Wretches ordinarily saying among the People, *We deny thy Christ! We deny thy God, which thou callest Father, Son and Spirit! Thy Bible is the Word of the Devil!* And the Spirit of that Crew was yet more Provoking, Pernicious and Perilous, as one of them has discovered it in a Writing Published, *Against all Earthly Powers, Parliaments, Laws, Charters, Magistrates and Princes.* *George Fox*, who of a *Shoemaker*, became the Grand *Apostle* of the *Quakers*; tho' he were unable to Write Common Sense, yet wrote several Pamphlets; in one of which (Entituled,

(Entituled, *Papers given forth*) he bitterly inveigh'd against those who *doated on an Earthly King*; and added, *Neither do you read that there were any Kings since the Apostles Days, but among the Apostate Christians and the False Church.* And one, who yet calls himself a *Quaker*, hath lately so far forsaken them, as to Publish a Discovery of the horrible Doings that he hath found among his *Friends*; and he particularly proves, that they do not own any *Government for God's Ordinance*, but that of those who Witness to their *Light within*; and that they call every *other Government*, consisting of *Rulers, Judges, Justices, Lawyers and Constables, a Tree that must be cut down*, for the *Light* alone to Rule. I appeal to all the reasonable part of Mankind, whether the Infant Colonies of *New-England* had not cause to guard themselves against these *Dangerous Villains*. It was also thought that the very *Quakers* themselves would say, that if they had got into a Corner of the World, and with an Immense Toyl and Charge made a *Wilderness Habitable*, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the Exercises of their Worship, they would never bear to have *New-Englanders* come among them, and Interrupt their Publick Worship, and Endeavour to Seduce their Children from it, yea, and repeat such Endeavours after mild *Entreaties* first, and then just *Banishments*, to oblige their departure. What shall I say? There was the Phrensie of the Old *Circumcellions* in those *Quakers*; and according to that Passage of the *Tragedian* in his *Hercules Furens, Solus, te jam prestare potest Furor, infonem*, thus I must say upon the *Mad Subjects* of these *Tragedies*: If they had not been *Mad*, they had been *Worthy to die*. But I will inform the World of a better *Vindication* for my Country than all *this*; namely, that they did by a Solemn Act afterwards Renounce whatever *Laws* are against a Just *Liberty of Conscience*. I would also intreat the World, that they would not be too ready to receive all Stories told by the *Quakers* about their *New-England-Persecution*; because the *Quakers* have in Print complained of a *New-England-Persecution* upon Two Women of their Sect, who came Stark Naked as ever they were Born into our Publick Assemblies, and they were (*Baggages* that they were!) adjudged unto the Whipping-Post for that Peice of *Devilism*. Their Stories about the *Sufferings* are as little to be credited, as their Stories about their *Miracles*; and particularly that of *George Fox* having the *Gift of Tongues*; because that proud Fool, who could scarce Write his Name, hath set his Name to a Book of above Thirty Languages, [called, *The Butteldoor*,] when it was afterwards found that certain *Jews* were hired to do that Work, and had Fourscore Pounds for their Pains, and a Dozen Bottles of Wine over and above.

§. 3. The more sensible sort of Men, that go under the Name of *Quakers*, finding the gross *Heresies* of the Old *Foxian-Quakerism* to be so Indefensible and Abominable in the

Resentments of reasonable People, have of later time set themselves to refine it with such *Concessions and Confessions of Truth*, as that in their *System* it is quite another thing than what once it was. But the *New-England Quakerism*, in those Nooks of the Country where this *Choakwood of Christianity* yet remains, is, as far as I can understand, still that Old *Foxian Quakerism*, which does utterly renounce the *Letter* of every thing, that the *Finer sort of New Quakers* are compelled now to own something of; nevertheless these *New Quakers* cover their Sentiments with such *Fallacious and Ambiguous Expressions*, that all *Fox's* gross *Quakerism* can be at once either asserted or denied, under those *Modes of speaking*, which *Penn, Barclay, Whitehead*, and others use to serve their *Finer Hypothesis*; and in our *Combates* with them, *Difficilis est Invenire quam Vincere*. There was one *Keith* particularly, who differed almost as much from the generality of the *New-English Quakers*, as *we* that *Persecuted* them; and yet he did such an *Unaccountable thing*, as to appear like a *Champion* for them, in Opposition to the Churches of *New-England*, until the Ministers of *Boston* were put upon Publishing of divers Books to maintain the Religion of our Churches against his *Impetuous Batteries*. But it came to pass, that afterwards this very *Keith* appeared publicly in the *Confutation* of those *Quakers*, that are by far the most numerous of any so Denominated, not only in *New-England*, but also in *Pensylvania*. In the Year 1694. he Printed a *Quarto Treatise*, in *Confutation* of above Thirty *Gross Errors*, commonly held among them; and his *Testimonies*, at last, procured him and his few Adherents a Storm of *Persecution* from the *Friends* at *Pensylvania*, who had formerly made such *Tragical Outcries* against the *Persecution* which *New-England* had heretofore used upon far greater Provocation. By the same Token that an *Almanack* for the Year 1694. composed by one of them, has this Article of *Chronology*.

Since the English in New England }
Hanged their Countrymen for } Years 36.
Religion. ————— }

Since at Philadelphia some did little }
less, by taking away Goods, and Im- }
prisoning some, and Condemning o- } — 3.
thers without Trial, for Religious }
Dissent. ————— }

There are many Grounds of Hope, That the Days of prevailing *Quakerism* will be but *Threescore Years and Ten*; and if by reason of *Mens weakness* they be *Fourscore Years*, yet the *Strength* of it will then be wasted, it will soon be cut off and fly away: And among those Grounds, I cannot but reckon the *Alterations* which the Sect of *Quakers* do experience, not only in the Points of their *Faith*, but also in that odd Symptom of *Quaking*, which

which by its using to Arrest the Bodies of their Converts, gave Denomination to them; for as one of their own expresses it, *The mighty Motions of the Bodies of the Friends are now ceased, and Friends are still cool and quiet; the Shaking and quaking of Friends Bodies were to purge out Sin; but the stillness being come, the Mind is brought into a Capacity to discern the Voice of the Lord.* And indeed, as the Quaking which distinguished these poor Creatures, was a Symptom of *Diabolical Possession*; so e'er I dismiss this Matter, I must observe to my Reader, that there could be nothing less than a *Diabolical Possession*. in many other things that attended and advanced *Quakerism* at its first appearance in the World, and that are in some sorts of *Quakers* unto this Day to be Exemplified. It was no rare thing for the Old Set of *Quakers* to Profelyte People meerly by *Stroaking* or by *Breathing* on them; they had no sooner used some such Action toward such as they had a Design upon but the *Bewitched* People would behave themselves just as if a *Philtre* had been given them and would follow their Converters in every thing, without being able to render any *Reason* for it. And there is, even at this Day, a Crew of *Quakers* called *Cafe's Crew*, the Disciples of one *Tom Cafe*, who have been so Troublefome and Vexatious, even to the other *Quakers* themselves, that they have denied these; but of this Prodigious *Tom* and his Crew, there are things well known throughout this Country that are indeed prodigiously *Diabolical*. 'Tis well known, that some of those whom this Villain had led *Captive at his Will*, were so much under his Influence, that if upon their coming where he was he fastned his Eye upon 'em, they would presently Tremble, and Stagger, and Fall, and Foam like *Epileptical* Persons, and roul about upon the Ground, until they had roul'd themselves unto his Feet, where he did what he pleased unto them. I am well acquainted with one very Devout Gentleman, recovered happily from the *Captivity* wherein this Fellow for many Years had held the Soul of him, who has assured me, that he was himself thus *Epileptical*, as often as this *Elymas* would please with his *Fascinating* Eye to make him so, but never any such way affected before or after, or upon any other Occasion. 'Tis well known, that this Villain pretending to show a *Miracle*, did but look upon a very Mad *Bull*, one perhaps as *Mad* as himself, and one that would approach no Man, except it were to Mischiefe him, and this *Bull* would come tamely, gently, strangely to him, and lick his Hands like a *Spaniel*. Nevertheless, when this *Coxcomb* once attempted the *Miracle* of a Resurrection upon a *Dead Friend*, the Friend, it seems, was not in a Disposition to Rise upon his calling of him.

I will give my Reader the Entertainment of Two or Three very well attested Stories, and then ask his leave to have done with a Generation which it can be no great Satisfaction to meddle with.

About the beginning of *November, 1681.* a Man whose Name was *Denbam*, with Two Women, all belonging to *Cafe's* Crew, went unto *Southold* upon *Long-Island*, where they met with one *Samuel Banks* of *Fairfield*, the most Blasphemous Wretch in the World. These joining together with some others of their *Brax* at *Southold*, went into the Company of one *Thomas Harris*, a Young Merchant of *Boston*, who had before this been a little inclining to the *Quakers*; and they fell to *Dancing* and *Singing* after their Devilith manner about him. After some time, *Thomas Harris* fell to *Dancing* and *Singing* like them, and speaking of Extraordinary *Raptures*, and calling those *Devils* that were not of this Religion, and a perfect Imitation of all their *Devilism*. When he had shewn these Tokens of *Conversion*, as they accounted it, they solemnly admitted him into their Society, and one of them thereupon promised him, *Henceforward thy Tongue shall be as the Pen of a ready Writer, to declare the Praises of our Lord.* The Young Man, who before this was of a compos'd Behaviour, now ran about with an odd Note of *Joy! Joy! Joy!* And called them *Devils* that any way opposed him, and said, (more than he intended) *That his own Father was a Devil!* Quickly after this, going to Lodge at a Farm not far off, where dwelt a *Quaker* of the *Same Spirit*, he would go to Bed before the rest of the Family; but upon another Young Man's coming to him, he said, he must get up and return that Night unto *Southold*, where he had left his Company; and though the Young Man would have perswaded him to lye still until Day, he would not be perswaded, up he got, and went his way. Within some while he was missing, and upon enquiry he could not be heard of, only his Hat, and Gloves, and Neckcloth were found in the Road from the Farm to the Town: Two Days after which, *Banks* looking into a Bible, suddenly shut it again, crying out, his Friend *Harris* was dead. On the Day following *Harris* was found by the Sea-side, about a quarter of a Mile from the place where his Appurtenances had been found before, having Three Holes like Stabs in his Throat, and *No Tongue* in his Head, not the least sign thereof, but all clear to his Neck-bone within; his Mouth close shut, and one of his Eyes hanging down upon his Cheek out of his Head, the other sunk so deep in his Head, that although it was whole there, it was hardly to be come at. This was the end of a *Tongue* that was to be *as the Pen of a ready Writer!* The Night after he was Buried, Colonel *Young*, the *High Sheriff*, as himself assured me, was in the Dead of the Night awaked by the Voice of this *Harris*, calling very loudly at his Window, with a demand of him to see Justice done him; the Voice came Three times that Night with the like demand; and the Night after it came into the Colonel's House, close to his Bed-side, very loudly repeating of it. But the Author of the Murder could never be discovered!

About a Year or Two before this Tragical Accident, there was another not quite so Tragical. Some of *Cafe's* Crew howled a Young Woman into their Company, who immediately fell to *Railing* on all the World, and then to *Raving* at such a rate, that several Persons watched her, though she was now grown so preternaturally strong, as to break away from them, let 'em do what they could. In the Dead of the Night, those that watched her heard a doleful Noise, like the Crying of a Young Child, in the Yard or Field near the House, which filled the Auditors with fearful Apprehensions; but the Young Woman then violently broke from them, saying, *The Lord calls me, and I must go!* It was a considerable while before they could find her, and when they did find her, she was bereaved of her Understanding, full of horrid and uncouth Actions; and so she continued until Justice *Wood*, by the use of means, recovered her, which none of her *Quaking* Friends were able to do: But this convinced the Neighbours that the *Devil* was among them!

I'll give but one Instance more of their Exorbitancies. It was much about this time that one *Jonathan Dunen*, of *Cafe's* Crew, drew away the Wife of a Man to *Marshfield* in *Plymouth-Colony*, to follow him, and one *Mary Ross* falling into their Company, presently was possessed with as *Frantick a Demon* as ever was heard of; she burnt her *Cloaths*; she said that she was *Christ*; she gave Names to the Gang with her, as *Apostles*, calling one *Peter*, another *Thomas*; she declared, that she would be *Dead* for Three Days, and then *Rise* again; and accordingly she seemed then to *die*. *Dunen* then gave out, that they should see Glorious things when she *Rose* again; but what she then did, was thus: That upon her Order *Dunen* Sacrific'd a *Dog*. The Men and the Two Women then Danced Naked altogether; for which, when the Constable carried 'em to the Magistrates, *Ross* uttered Stupendous *Blasphemies*, but *Dunen* lay for Dead an Hour on the Floor, saying, when he came to himself, that *Ross* bid him, and he could not resist.

O Capita Anticyris vix Expurganda duabus!

More Passages, akin to these, may be read in *Dr. More's* Addition to *Mr. Glanvil's Saducismus Triumphatus*.

Reader, I can foretel what Usage I shall find among the *Quakers* for this Chapter of our *Church-History*; for a Worthy Man that Writes of them has observed, *For Pride, and Hypocrisie, and Hellish Reviling against the painful Ministers of Christ, I know no People can match them.* Yea, prepare, Friend *Mather*, to be assaulted with such Language as *Fisher* the Quaker, in his Pamphlets, does bestow upon such Men as *Dr. Owen*; *Thou Fiery Fighter and Green-headed Trumpeter; thou Hedgehog and Grinning Dog; thou Bastard that tumbled out of the Mouth of the Babilonish Bawd; thou*

Mole; thou Tinker; thou Lizzard; thou Bell of no Metal, but the Tone of a Kettle; thou Wheelbarrow; thou Whirlpool; thou Whirlegig. O thou Firebrand; thou Adder and Scorpion; thou Louse; thou Cow-Dung; thou Moon-Calf; thou Ragged Tatterdemallion; thou Judas; thou Livest in Philosophy and Logick, which are of the Devil. And then let *Penn* the Quaker add, *Thou Gormandizing Priest, one of the Abeminnable Tribe; thou Bane of Reason, and Beast of the Earth; thou Best to be spared of Mankind; thou Mountebank Priest.* These are the very Words, (I wrong them not!) which they Vomit out against the best Men in the *English* Nation, that have been so hardy as to touch their *Light within*: But let the *Quills* of these *Porcupines* fly as fast as they will, I shall not feel them! Yea, every *Stone* that these *Kildebrands* throw at me, I will wear as a *Pearl*; and as *Dr. Holland*, when he took his leave of his Friends, would say, *Commenda vos omnes Dilectioni Dei, & Odio Papatus*, thus I will here take my leave, with saying, *I commend thee to the Love of God, and the Dislike of Quakerism.*

In aliis Mansuetus ero; at in Blasphemiis contra Christum, non ita.

§. 4. Now having done with the *Quakers*, let it not be misinterpreted, if into the same Chapter we put the Inconveniencies which the Churches of *New-England* have also suffered from the *Anabaptists*; albeit they have infinitely more of *Christianity* among them than the *Quakers*, and have indeed been useful Defenders of *Christianity* against the Assaults of the *Quakers*; yea, we are willing to acknowledge for our *Brethren* as many of them as are willing to be so acknowledged.

It hath been a fore Disadvantage unto the Reputation of the *Anabaptist* way, that wherever any *Reformation* has been carried on, a sort of People under that Name have been most unhappy Impediments unto the *Progress* of it; and thrown it into those Confusions that have extremely *Scandalized* it, if not utterly *Extinguished* it. The Histories of the *Prodigious Heresies* that have been held, and *Actions* that have been done, by a set of Men wearing the *Anabaptist* Name, not only in the *Low-Countries* in *Germany, Switzerland, Swedeland* and *Poland*, which *Melancthon, Luther, Calvin, Bullinger, Zuinglius, Gualter, Sleidan, Zanchy*, who lived in the very time of those Extravagances, have related, but in *England* and *Ireland* also, long since that time, have been improved, *In perpetuam Erroris Infamiam*. All the World knows, that the most Eminent *Reformers*, writing against the *Anabaptists*, have not been able to forbear making their Treatises, like what *Jerom* says of *Tertullian's* Polemical Treatises, *Quot Verba, tot Fulmina*; and the Noble Martyr *Philpot* expressed the Mind of them all, when he said, *The Anabaptists are an Inordinate kind of Men, stirred up by*

the Devil to the Destruction of the Gospel, having neither Scripture, nor Antiquity, nor any thing else for them, but Lies and New Imaginations, feigning the Baptism of Children to be the Pope's Commandment. Nevertheless it is well known, that of later time there have been a great many Antipedobaptists who have never deserved so hard a Character among the Churches of God; *Infant-Baptism* hath been scrupled by Multitudes in our Days, who have been in other Points most Worthy Christians, and as Holy, Watchful, Fruitful, and Heavenly People, as perhaps any in the World. Some few of these People have been among the Planters of *New-England* from the beginning, and have been welcome to the Communion of our Churches, which they have enjoy'd, reserving their particular Opinion unto themselves. But at length it came to pass, that while some of our Churches used, it may be, a little too much of Cogency towards the Brethren, which would weakly turn their Backs when *Infants* were brought forth to be Baptized in the Congregation, there were some of these Brethren, who in a Day of Temptation broke forth into *Schismatical Practices* that were justly Offensive unto all the Churches in this Wilderness; which were on that Occasion willing to Justifie what the Renowned *Parker* said on the behalf of the Old *Non-Conformists*, when the Prelates charged them with being Favourers of *Anabaptism*, *Disciplina Ecclesiastica tantopere distat ab Anabaptistica Confusione, quanto-pere Christus ab Antichristo*, we have as much Favour for *Anabaptism*, as *Christ* for *Antichrist*. And it may be there was herein too much Occasion to think on the Observation which I find made by *Mr. Flavel*, *The Non-Improvement of our Baptismal Covenant unto the great and solemn Ends thereof, in our Mortification, Vivification, and Regular Communion with the Church of Christ, into which Society we were Matriculated by it, is punished in those fiery Heats, and fierce Oppositions, [about Infant-Baptism] unto which God seems to have penally delivered us.* Our *Anabaptists*, when somewhat of *Exasperation* was begun, formed a Church at *Boston* on *May 28. 1665.* besides one which they had before at *Swansey*, not only with a manifest Violation of the *Laws* in the *Commonwealth*, relating to the orderly manner of gathering a Church, but also with a manifold Provocation unto the rest of our Churches, by admitting into their own Society such as our Churches had excommunicated for *Moral Scandals*, yea, and employing such Persons to be Administrators of the *Two Sacraments* among them. Unto these Dissatisfactions of good Men at their Proceedings, there was added the Consideration of their uncharitable Disposition to *Unchurch* all the Faithful upon Earth besides themselves: 'Tis a Principle in the Confession of their Faith, *Believers being Baptized are visible Saints, and the true Matter of a visible Church*; now they declared our *Infant Baptism* to be a meer Nullity, and they Arrogate unto themselves the Title of

Baptists, as if none were Baptized but themselves: With them therefore our Churches were no Churches of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, nor are there any visible Saints among us. Accordingly, when a Publick Disputation was had with them, it was earnestly and charmingly put unto them in a great Assembly, whether they did own the Churches of *New-England* for *True Churches* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; but they would not own it: And when I my self have told some of them, that without putting themselves to so much of Travel and Expence, as their Separation cost them, they might enjoy all Ordinances in the Fellowship of our Churches, without being treated as Offenders for it, if their Conscience tied them up to withdraw when an *Infant* was Baptized; they have Replied unto me, *That in as much as I was in their Judgment an Unbaptized Man, they could not Communicate with me at the Table of the Lord.* Nor did it at all take off the Prejudice of many wise Men against them, that they did seem to do what *Fereboom* was Taxed for, in making *Priests of the lowest of the People*; or as the *Belgic*, and others do Read it, *Of both Ends of the People*: And as the Learned *Zepperus* lamented the wrong done to Religion in it, that they made *Ministros de Extremitatibus Populi, Sartoribus, Sutoribus, Idiotis, Taylors, and Cobblers, and other Mechanicks, to be Ministers*; thus these People chose an Honest *Shoemaker* to be their Pastor, and used other *Mechanicks* in the Constant Preaching of the Gospel: Which caused some other People of a more Liberal Education to reflect, that if *Goodman* such an One, and *Gaffer* such an One, were fit for *Ministers*, we had befool'd our selves in Building of *Colleges*;

*Frangere Leves Calamos, & scinde Thalia Libellos
Si dare Sutori, Calcens ista potest.*

Yea, some observed, and in Print asserted, that this thing was the real Bottom of their Combining into a distinct Society by themselves from divers Parts of the Colony; these Men having privately exercised their Gifts in Meetings with Applause, began to think themselves wronged, that their Light was put under a Bushel; and finding no Remedy in our Churches, they threw on a Cloak of *Anabaptism*, and so gained the thing that they aimed at in a Disguise. However it were, the general Court were so afraid, lest matters might at last from small beginnings grow into a *New Munster Tragedy*, that they Enacted some Laws for the Restraint of *Anabaptistical Exorbitances*; which Laws, though never Executed unto the Extremity of them, yet were soon laid by, as to any Execution of them at all. There were in this unhappy Schism several truly godly Men, whom it was thought a very uncomfortable thing to Prosecute with severe Imprisonments on these Controversies; and there came also a Letter from *London* to the Governour of the *Massachusetts*

chuset-Colony, (like that which our Blessed Martyrologist, *John Fox*, once wrote unto Queen *Elizabeth*, to prevent the Persecution with which the *Anabaptists* were then threatened) subscribed by no less Persons than Dr. *Goodwyn*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryl*, and Nine other very Reverend Ministers, wherein were these among other Passages.

‘ We shall not here undertake (in the least) to make any Apology for the Persons, Opinions and Practices of those who are censured among you.—You know our Judgment and Practice to be contrary unto theirs, even as yours; wherein (God assisting) we shall continue to the End. Neither shall we return any Answer to the Reason of the Reverend Elders, for the Justification of your Proceedings, as not being willing to engage in the Management of any the least Difference with Persons whom we so much Love and Honour in the Lord.—But the Sum of all which at present we shall offer to you, is, that though the Court might apprehend, that they had Grounds in General warranting their Procedure (in such Cases) in the way wherein they have proceeded; yet that they have any Rule or Command rendring their so proceeding indispensibly Necessary, under all Circumstances of Fines or Places, we are altogether unsatisfied; and we need not Represent unto you how the Case stands with our selves, and all your Brethren and Companions in the Services of these latter Days in these Nations.—We are sure you would be unwilling to put an Advantage into the Hands of some who seek Pretences and Occasions against our Liberty, and to Reinforce the former Rigour. Now we cannot deny but this hath already in some measure been done, in that it hath been Vogued, that Persons of our Way, Principles and Spirit, cannot bear with Dissenters from them.—And as this greatly Reflects on us, so some of us have observed how already it has Turned unto your own Disadvantage.—We leave it to your Wisdom to Determine, whether under all these Circumstances, and sundry others of the like Nature that might be added, it be not Adviseable at present to put an End unto the Sufferings and Confinements of the Persons censured, and to Restore them to their former Liberty. You have the Advantage of Truth and Order; you have the Gifts and Learning of an able Ministry to Manage and Defend them; you have the Care and Vigilancy of a very Worthy Magistracy to Countenance and Protect them, and to preserve the Peace; and (above all) you have a Blessed Lord and Master, who hath the Keys of *David*, who openeth and no Man shutteth, living for ever to take Care of his own Concernments among his Saints; and assuredly you need not be disquieted, though some few Persons, (through their own Infirmity and Weakness, or through their Ignorance, Darkness and Prejudices) should to their Disadvantage turn out of the Way, in some lesser Matters, into By-Paths of

‘ their own.—We only make it our hearty Request to you, that you would Trust God with His Truths and Ways so far, as to suspend all Rigorous Proceedings in Corporal Restraints or Punishments, on Persons that Dissent from you, and Practise the Principle of their Dissent without Danger, or Disturbance to the Civil Peace of the Place— Dated *Murch* 25. 1669.

I cannot say that this Excellent Letter had *Immediately* all the Effect which it should have had; however, at length it has had its Effect; And as *Origen* Pleads against *Celsus*, that there ever were Differences among Professors of Christianity from the Beginning, and it was impossible but that there should be so; nevertheless these Differences hindered not their Faith, and Love, and Obedience: As *Justin Martyr* pleaded for Forbearance, even in the Churches, towards Christians that yet thought themselves under Obligation to observe the *Mosaic Ceremonies*; as *Ignatius*, before either of them, in his Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, professes, *To Persecute Men on the account of Religion, is to make our selves Conformable to the Heathen, who know not God*: The Christians of *New-England* seem generally to be of such a Tolerating Disposition towards the *Anabaptists*: With the Synod of *Alexandria*, Condemning all *External Force* in Religion, of which the *Arians* were the First among pretended *Christians*, that were the Inventors and Promoters: Nor hath *Anabaptism* had one Jot the more of Growth, I suppose, for it. But the Alienation continued so long, that a Synod of our Churches in the Year 1679. having mentioned the Miscarriages of these People, among the *Sins* to be Reformed in the Land, there was Published the Year following, *A Narrative of some Considerable Passages*, relating to their Church by their Pastor, with consent of the whole: Which Narrative had so many gross Mistakes in it, making

Candida de Nigris & de Candentibus Atra,

That such an Answer unto it, as is directed for *Cretians*, was Published under the Title of, *Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam*. And that Answer endeavours to Demonstrate, that if Persons of any Perswasion whatsoever, even the very same with what is held by the Churches of *New-England*, should have Acted with as much *Irregularity* as our *Anabaptists*, they would have deserved greater Punishment than any that had been inflicted upon *These*.

§. 5. *Sed jam Tempus Equum Spumantia Solvere Colla*; 'tis time to have done with these Contentious Matters; and thanks be to God we have done with them; and all the Foam whereinto we were chased by them, is now comfortably wiped off.

The great Noise that hath been made in the World about the Persecution made in *New-England*, I will now stop with only Transcribing the Words uttered in the Sermon to the

first

first *Great and General Assembly* of the Province of the *Massachuset-Bay*, after the Two Colonies of *Massachuset* and *Plymouth* were by a *Royal Charter* united.

‘ Things will *go well*, when *Magistrates* are great Promoters of the *thing that Good is*, and of *what the Lord Requireth of them*. I do not mean, that it would be well for the *Civil Magistrate*, with a *Civil Penalty* to compel Men to this or that *way of Worship*, which they are *Conscienciously* indisposed unto. He is most properly the Officer of *Humane Society*, and a Christian by Non-Conformity to this or that *imposed way of Worship*, does not break the Terms on which he is to enjoy the Benefits of *Humane Society*.

‘ A Man has a *Right* unto his Life, his Estate, his Liberty, and his Family, although he should not come up unto these and those *Blessed Institutions* of our Lord. When a Man *Sins* in his *Political Capacity*, let *Political Societies* Animadvert upon him; but when he *Sins* only in a *Religious Capacity*, Societies more purely *Religious* are the fittest then to deal with him. Indeed in the *Old Testament* the Magistrate was an *Ecclesiastical Officer*; and Compliance with the *Mosaick Rites* was that which Entitled Men unto the Benefits of *Canaan*, the Typical and Renowned Land: But now these *Figurative* Things have more *Spiritual* Things to Answer them. It may be feared, that Things will not *go well*, when *Heresies* are not exterminated; but I Pray, when (except once perhaps or so in the Case of *Donatism*) did *Fines* or *Gaols* ever signify any thing for the Cure of *Hereticks*? The *Primitive Church* for the First Three Hundred Years of Christianity, cut off a Thousand new *Hydra’s Heads*, without borrowing such *Penal Laws* as have since been used; it was by *sound Preaching*, by *Discipline*, by *Catechising*, and by *Disputation*, that they *turned to flight the Armies of the Aliens*. Then ’twas that Christians did use to say, *Non Gladiis, aut Faculis, aut Militari manu, veritas predicatur, sed Suadendo & Consulendo*. Afterwards indeed the *Orthodox* engaged the Emperors unto Severities upon the *Hereticks* of those Days, but what got they by it? When a wicked *Manichee*, a sort of *Quaker*, was put to Death, an Excellent Historian says, *’Twas a most wretched Example, and it made the Heresie spread the more*. Such Prosecutions do but give a *Principle* which would be most Fatal to the Church of God; yea, they do but afford a Root for *Cain’s Club* to grow upon. These *Violences* may bring the Erroneous to be *Hypocrites*, but they will never make them to be *Believers*; no, they naturally prejudice Mens Minds against the *Cause*, which is therein pretended for, as being a *Weak, a Wrong, an Evil Cause*. Wherefore

that things may *go well*, I would willingly put in a *Barr* against the *Persecution* of any that may Conscienciously Dissent from our Way. Possibly the Zeal in some famous and worthy *Disciples* of our Lord among our selves has been Reported and Reckoned, as having once had a little too much *Fire* on this Account; but the Churches of God abroad counted that things did not *go well* among us, until they judged us more fully come up unto the Apostolical Rule, *To leave the otherwise minded unto God*. Nor would I desire my self to suffer *Persecution* upon a clearer Cause than that of testifying against our *Persecution* of other Christians that are not of my own Opinion. I am sure that things will not *go well* as long as we incur the fulfilment of that awful Word. *If ye Bite and Devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another*. Nevertheless, when things *go well*, there are *Magistrates* that will set themselves to advance all the *Truths* and *Ways* of God among their People: *Magistrates* are not only themselves to *Profess* the *Truths*, and *Practise* the *Ways* of God, but also to *Protect* and *Favour* all them that shall do the like. There is an Aspect of *Singular Kindness*, Defence and Support, which *Magistrates* are to bear unto them that *Embrace*, and much more to them that *Declare* the *Truths* and *Ways* of God. *Things went well* when it could be said, as in 2 *Chron.* 30. 22. *Hezekiah spake comfortably unto all that taught the good Knowledge of the Lord*. Moreover it belongs unto *Magistrates* to punish all the *Vices* which disturb the good Order and Repose of *Humane Society*; and hence also *Liberty of Conscience* is not to be admitted as a Cloak for *Liberty of Prophaneness*. To Live without any *Worship* of God, or to *BlaspHEME* and *Revile* his Blessed Name, is to be Chastised as abominably Criminal; for there can be no *Pre- tence of Conscience* thereunto. Things will *go well* when we *go thus*, and when there is an Accomplishment of that Word in *Rom.* 13. 3. *Rulers are not a Terror to Good Works, but unto the Evil*.

These things (which were then utter’d with many others, from 2 *Chr.* 12. 12. *In Judah things went well*;) having the *Thanks* of them that represented the Province then returned for them, I chose in these Terms here to represent the *Temper* in this Matter, which I suppose the Considerate part of the Province are now come unto: And so long as they continue of it, I durst almost Prophesie, that *Sectaries* will never be able to make any great Impressions upon them.

Well, the Enemy of the *New-Englist Churches* is hitherto disappointed, *Hac non Succesfit, alia Aggrediatur via*.

C H A P. V.

Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing : Or, An History of several Impostors pretending to be Ministers remarkably detected in the Churches of New-England. With a faithful Advice to all the Churches Emitted by some of the Pastors on that Occasion.

Mendacia ad modicum placent, sed diu non durant. Hieron.

SINCE *de Tristibus* may be a proper Title for the *Book* I am now Writing, it will not be an improper *Chapter* in the *Book*, if some things calling for the *Sorrow* of all that count *Sin* a *Sorrowful* Thing, be now Related. But can any things more do it, than horrible and villainous *Impostures* detected among the Churches in pretended Preachers of the *Glorious Gospel of God*? Reader, consider the *Advice* here fetch'd from and to the Ministers of *New-England*; and then consider our *Account* of the Criminals that occasion'd it. In considering these things, thou wilt not only observe some of our *Temptations*, but thou wilt also observe many *Notable* and *Wonderful* Displays of the *Divine Providence*.

A Faithful Advice from several MINISTERS of the Gospel in and near Boston, unto the Churches of New-England, relating to the Dangers that may arise from Impostors pretending to be Ministers.

IT is not without some concern upon our Minds, that in the late Writings of our Presbyterian Brethren in *England*, we find awful Complaints about *Bold Intruders* into the Work of the Ministry, and the swarming of that *Vermine*, with an hideous Noise, nor in Corners and Chambers, but in the very Pulpits, likely to prove an *Egyptian Plague*; upon which they add, 'If these Illiterate Usurpers are not speedily and effectually discountenanced by Ministers and People too, they who are already the *Blemish of Nonconformity*, will quickly prove the total Ruin of it. But it satisfied us more than a little to hear of their care, that the Confusions thus complained may be prevented, by a *Vote* of this Importance, that they would Employ none to *Preach* in any of their *Pulpits*, but such as either arrived unto them with credible *Testimonials*, or submitted themselves unto a solemn *Trial* of their Qualifications for the *Evangelical Ministry*. Our Congregational Brethren in *England* being Alarmed with a clamour of the Dangers hence arising to the Interests of our Holy Religion, we do with a like satisfaction find they have lately published a Declaration, wherein signifying, 'That inasmuch as they count none meet to dispence the Oracles of God unto others, who are not themselves Qualified for Communion in all Ordinances, their joining themselves to a particular Church of Christ would be a good Expedient to prevent *Ignorant and Rash Intruders into the Ministry*; seeing then it would be the Duty of *Particular Churches* and their Officers to take special care, that none of their Communion, who are not *Qualified*, may enter on that Work; they thereupon add, We express our Dislike, and witness against all *Ignorant and Scandalous* Persons entering on the Ministry; and we do in the Bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ pray and beseech all such as fear God, that they give not the least Encouragement unto the Preaching of Men, either *Ignorant or Erroneous*, in the Great Articles of Faith, or *Scandalous* in their Lives and Conversations, or otherwise *Unmeet for this Holy Employment*, lest they bring the *Guilt of these Mens Sins on their own Souls*.

In Conformity to this *Watchfulness* of our *United Brethren*, we cannot but in the most Publick manner call upon our Churches, that they beware of all undue *Precipitancy*, in their admitting *Unqualified Persons* to be received and employed in the Character of *Preachers* unto them.

We have indeed often wished, that the Young Men brought up in our own *University*, might appear with *Testimonials* under the Hands of the *President and Fellows*, that upon *Trial* they are found *Able and Pious*, and likely to be *Blessings* unto the Churches, before the Churches venture too far in setting of them up for *Preachers*.

But inasmuch as there have sometimes arrived among us *Deceitful Strangers*, who have set up themselves for *Preachers*, and many unwary People have discovered much sinful Folly, in suffering themselves to be *strangely deceived*

ceived by those *Impostors*, it obliges us unto a further point of *Pastoral Vigilance* over the Churches, whereof we are made the *Overseers*.

'Tis well known, that Worthy *Ministers* of the Gospel, retiring to *New-England* from other Countries, have all along met with Respects from our Churches, *Equal* (to say no more) unto what they have shown unto any of the *Pastors* bred among themselves: Heaven is Witness to the Injustice of the Slander by some uttered against us, *That we have been ever uncivil to Strangers*; and the *Strangers* themselves have been Witnesses, that no where under Heaven could they expect more *Civility* than that wherewith we have ever treated them.

Nevertheless we have, upon sufficient Occasions, resolved, 'That for the future, no *Stranger* coming, as a *Preacher* among us, without sufficient Assurances of his being what he pretends to be, shall be employ'd in our *Pulpits* without a solemn Examination of his *Capacities*, for the Tremendous Work of Preaching the *Glorious Gospel of God*. And we earnestly request the Reverend Ministers of the Gospel, in the several Associations and Vicinities throughout the Country, to join with us in such a necessary Resolution.

We do also solemnly Advise all our People to beware of running after *New Preachers*, of whose Endowments and Principles they have not had a reasonable Attestation, lest they unawares run themselves into shameful and woful Reflections. The Apostolical Injunctions, *To prove all things*, does not invite Unstable People to *Run after all Preachers*, (as they too often pervert the Sense of it,) but it only directs People to *Examine* by the Word of God, the Doctrine which they hear from those that in an orderly way are to be heard as their *Teachers*.

The *Preaching of the Gospel*, being that grand Institution whereon depends the Everlasting Salvation of Men, Satan seeks it as a mighty Triumph, to pervert it unto their Everlasting Destruction. And a People that *having itching Ears, do after their own Lusts heap up Teachers to themselves*, do miserably render themselves obnoxious unto the Impressions of those *New Preachers* that will seduce them unto *Damnable Heresies*. Or suppose the *New Preachers* do Broach no *New Errors*, yet if they shall prove *Cheats*, that have made the *Preaching of the Gospel* only a *Cloak* for their *Covetous*, or *Lascivious*, or other Prophanes Designs, they that shall have *too suddenly improved* those Men, will be *Partakers of their Sins*. And the Glorious Ordinances of God will be likely to fall into a loathsome Contempt among the People, if Contemptible Fellows can easily prostitute them unto their pernicious Purposes.

The *Sermons* wherein the *Everlasting Gospel* is Preached, as well as the *Prayers* made in our Congregations, are to be considered as a Prin-

cipal part of the *Worship of God* among the People of God: They are to glorifie God and our Lord Jesus Christ, with agreeable *Confessions* of the *Truths* he has revealed unto us; and as in the *Peace-Offering* of Old, God hath his part in them, as well as the People *theirs*. Hence, whether the People that are the Hearers be many or few, learned or weak, forward or meek, the *Preacher* must prepare an *Offering*, as far as he can, suitable for that God, who is a *Great King, and whose Name is dreadful*. But if every piece of Ignorance and Arrogance be set up for a *Preacher*, the Name of the Holy God will be prophaned with an *Offering* that is made a *Ridicule* in the *Repetition*.

We are not unensible, that one thing which has much exposed some *Injudicious People* among us, is an Opinion that *Illiterate Men* may be Serviceable and Admirable *Preachers*. Now inasmuch as the *Jesuites* have given this among their Instructions to their *Emissaries*, *To teach that Learning is needless in a Minister, and if they understand the Gospel it is sufficient*, we are sorry that any of our People should be so *Besotted*, not to say, *Bejesuited*. When the Knowledge of the *Tongues and Arts* revived, *Religion* had a revival with it: And though some *Unlearned Men* have been useful to the Interests of *Religion*, yet no Man ever decried *Learning*, but what was an Enemy to *Religion*, whether he knew it or no. When our Lord chose *Fishermen* to be *Ministers*, (which often is impertinently pleaded) he would not send them forth until they had been a considerable while under his *Tuition*, (a better than the best in any *Colledge* under Heaven!) and then also he miraculously furnished 'em with more *Learning* than any of us by *Seven Years hard Study* can attain unto. If God should be provoked by the *Unbankfulness* of Men, to send the Plague of an *Unlearned Ministry* upon poor *New-England*, soon will the *Wild Beasts of the Desert* lye there, the *Houses will be full of doleful Creatures, and Owls will dwell there*. Ordinarily, that Man who undertakes the *Ministry* of the Gospel without some *Education* for it, is, we doubt, in as presumptuous an Error as the unhappy *Uzzah* that perished in his *Error*; though we also allow different *Measures and Places* for that *Education*. And that Man was never worthy to *Preach one Sermon*, who did not feel, and would not own, that all the *Learning* that can be had, is little enough to accomplish an *Able Minister of the New Testament*.

Upon the whole, as *Luther* observed, that God punished the Primitive Churches with *False Teachers*, for their starving and slighting of their faithful *Ministers*; thus, we fear the Churches of *New-England* may suffer Mischiefs in time to come from *False Teachers*; and we see cause to admire the *Compassion* of Heaven unto this Land, that such dangerous things have all his time done so little Damage unto any of our Churches. But as the Church

of *Ephesus*, having been warned by the Apostle, *That grievous Wolves would enter in among them*, was afterwards commended by our Saviour for so taking the warning, that they *Tried them who said they were Apostles when they were not so, and found them Liars* : Even so we would hope, that after this Day no *Untried Persons* will be Entertained for Preachers in any of our Colonies.

We lay this Advice before our Churches, purposing to do our part in attending to it.

Increase Mather.
James Allen.
Samuel Willard.
Moses Fiske.
Nehemiah Hobart.
John Dansforth.
Cotton Mather.
Nehemiah Walter.
Jonathan Pierpont.
Joseph Belcher.

Boston, Decemb 28. 1699.

An History of some Impostors Remarkably and Seasonably Detected in the Churches of New-England ; Written to maintain the Advice Published by some of the Pastors in those Churches relating to Impostors, and prevent all future Mischiefs from them.

IT was a notable Discipline by which the Reformed Churches in *France* preserved themselves from the Intolerable Mischiefs arising by the allowance of *Unworthy Preachers* : Their National Synods every time they sat, would Publish a Roll of those *Unworthy Preachers* that could be found creeping in among them, and with a Description of their Feature and Stature, and other Circumstances like what uses to be given in an *Hue in Cry*, this Roll would notify the Crimes laid unto their Charge, and admonish all People to beware of Entertaining them.

The Churches of *New-England* have heretofore been in such *Good Order*, that no Man could be Ordained and Received as a Pastor in them, without the Concurrence of the Churches in the Vicinity, and a very Solemn and Publick Action. But a *Good Order* has never yet been provided among us, that no Untried and Unfit Person shall set up for a Preacher, and run about from Town to Town, getting into the too much *unguarded Pulpits*, and threatening our Holy Religion with no little *Inconvenience*. Now to prevent and redress this *Inconvenience*. it has been by some Considerate Persons desired, that something like the *French Roll* may be Exhibited unto the Churches of *New-England*, which may exemplifie some few of the many *Cheats* that have gone to impose upon them. It is unreasonable to complain that the Crimes of those Cheats are thus *openly exposed* ; for I beseech you, Sirs, are they not as *openly Committed* ? Men are too insensible of the horrible *Villany* and *Blasphemy* in the Crimes of those Fellows, who set up for Teachers to the People of God, when God knows they are wicked *Vagrants* and *Varlets*, designing to abuse the Honest People ; if they imagine it a *Severe* thing to Stigmatize them in the View

of all the affronted Churches. The Faults of the *Penitent*. indeed, should be *Concealed* ; but these pretended *Preachers of Repentance* are not known to *Practise* the Repentance which they *Preach*. A Pillory were a very gentle Punishment for the Wretches, who, wholly unqualified. *Steal* into a *Pulpit*, and *Forge* a *Commission* from the King of Heaven unto his Churches. Our *Laws* not providing such a Punishment for them, they that would be faithful to the Churches, will do well (for did not the Apostle as much to *Hymeneus* and *Alexander* ?) to set them up in an *History* instead of a *Pillory*. with a *Writing* as it were in *Capitals*, to signifie, THESE WERE IMPOSTORS THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN ESTEEMED MINISTERS.

The Consequence and Advantage of this Action 'tis hoped will be, that both Pastors and People will be more weary of being too sudden in asking to *Preach* for them those to whom they are utter *Strangers* : That needy and prophane *Strangers* will no more venture to *Preach* in a Country, where their detected Wickedness will be Proclaimed for the *Terror* of all that shall come after them : That all Pious Minds will give Glory to the Lord Jesus Christ, who *Walks in the midst of his Churches*, when they see what *Quick Work* he has ordinarily made in these Churches, to discover those *Atheistical Preachers*, that have so horribly mocked him ; and admire his Gracious and Watchful *Providence*, in still delivering his Churches from those *Little Foxes* that would have spoiled them. And now we will Address our selves to do that, which when 'tis done, what will they merit but the Cardinal's Blessing who will take no warning ?

§. 1. The very *First Minister* (one *Lyford*) that ever came into *New-England*, (which was in the Year 1624.) at his first coming did *Care* the good People at *Plymouth* with such extream shows of *Affection* and *Humility*, that the People were mightily taken with him; nevertheless, within a little while he used most malignant Endeavours to make *Factions* among them, and confound all their *Civil* and *Sacred* Order. At last there fell into the Hands of the Governour his *Letters* home to *England*, fill'd with wicked and lying *Accusations* against the People, of which things being shامتully *Convicted*, he did publickly in the Church confess with *Tears*, That he had *standerously* abused the good People, and that *God* might justly lay *innocent* Blood unto his Charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come through his *Writings*, and that *Pride*, *Vain-glory* and *Self-love* had been the *Causes* of his *Miscarriages*. These things he uttered so *Pathetically*, that they again permitted him to *Preach* among them: And yet in *Two* or *Three* Months he so notoriously renewed his *Miscarriages*, which he had thus bewailed, that his own *Wife*, thro' the *Affliction* of her *Mind* at his *Hypocritie*, could not forbear declaring her *Fears*, that *God* would bring some heavy *Judgment* upon their *Family*, not only for these, but some former *Impieties* by him committed, especially in fearful *Breach*es of the *Seventh Commandment*, which he had with an *Oath* denied, though they were afterwards *Evinced*. Being thereupon *Banished*, he went unto *Virginia*, where he soon ended his *Days*.

The *Disaster* thus befalling of this Country in the *First Minister* that ever came into it, seems to have been an *Intimation* from *Heaven* unto the Country, to beware in all *After-times* how they suffered *Cheats* in the *Evangelical Ministry* to be imposed upon them. Nevertheless, there have crept in several *Cheats* among the Churches which have been speedily and notably detected. It will be neither *Needful* nor *Useful*, that they should be all *Enumerated*: *Some* of them shall.

§. 2. Many among us do still remember a *Fellow* that made himself memorable by *Preaching* *Zealously* on that *Text*, *Let him that Stole Steal no more*; when he had at that very time a parcel of *Stolen Money* in his *Pocket*. The *Sum*, as I remember, was *Five Pounds*; but in the dozed *Conscience* of the *Thief* it hardly made the weight of a *Scruple*.

§. 3. I have been informed, that a certain *Gentleman* in the *Southern Parts* of this *Land*, having with much *Pains* taught an *Irish Servant* in his *Family* to be almost able to read *English*; this *Fellow*, after his time was out, set up for a *Preacher* in a *Neighbouring Plantation*: But the *Gentleman* his *Master* happening some time after to meet our *Preaching Teague*, severely *Chid* him for his *Presumptuous* *Air*ogance; and among other *Expressions*, bestowed this pretty *Satyricall* *Scourge* upon him; *If such Fellows as thou art may set up*

for Preachers, there will be one Text impossible ever to be Preached upon, or to be fulfilled or understood: The Almighty in one Text threatens as a Judgment, a Famine of hearing the Word of the Lord; but if such Varlets as thou art may be Preachers, 'tis impossible that such a Judgment should ever be Executed!

§. 4. Many of those Persons who have gone to insinuate themselves into our Churches, with *Spirits* in them that were, for their *Covetous*, or *Contentious*, or *Ambitious*, or otherwise *Evil Inclinations*, displeasing to the *God of the Spirits of all Flesh*, have been immediately and remarkably confounded by their being left unto the *Criminal Foily* of *Preaching Stolen Sermons*. The detected *Plagiaries* have gone off, as a *Thief is ashamed when he is found*. One happy hindrance to the *Designs* of the *Fiercy Serpent* have been this way afforded among us.

Others *Remember* *Instances*; I shall not mention them.

§. 5. A *Young Fellow*, (one *Dick Swayn*) that had been *Servant* unto a *Captain* of a *Ship* in *Boston*, after a *Thousand Rogueries*, had his *Time* given him by the *Widow* of the *Captain*, when she became so, because that she would not be troubled with so *Thievish*, *Lying* and *Wicked* a *Villain*. This *Fellow* was afterwards detected in *Villanies* enough to fill a *Volume*, which procured his going in *miserable* *Circumstances* to *Virginia*; from whence he got through several *Stages* at length unto the *Island of Providence!* There the *Monster* set up for a *Preacher* of the *Gospel*, and putting on a *mighty* *show* of *Religion*, he was mightily followed and admired; and the *People* treated him with a more than ordinary *Liberality*. Perceiving that it was time to be gone from thence, he *Forged* *Letters* of his *Father's* *Death* in *England*, by which a *vast Estate* was fallen to him; under the *Umbrage* of that *Forgery*, he gets off immediately by a *Vessel*, that must first carry him to *New-England*. Having *Preached* several *Sermons* in the *Southern Parts* of *New-England*, he comes to *Boston* in the Year 1698. where in *private Houses* he would be *ridiculously* forward in thrusting himself upon *Prayer*, which he would manage with a *Noise* that might reach all the *Neighbourhood*. He began to *Court* *Opportunities* of *Preaching* among the *Neighbours*; but forgetting to change his *Name*, the *Gentlewoman* to whose *Deceased* *Husband* he had been a *Servant*, accidentally coming into the *House* where he *Lodged*, and hearing one of that *Name* exceedingly cried up, as a *Worthy*, *Able*, *Eminent* *Man*, asked for a *fight* of him. When to her *Astonishment* she found it was *Dick*, even that very *Scandalous* *Dick* that had play'd so many *abominable* *Pranks* in her own *Family* some *Years* ago, the *Gentlewoman* could scarce believe her *Eyes*; and finding the *Vagrant* not give her any *Intelligent* *Account* how he became a *Christian*, it was yet more *Unintelligible* to her how he became a *Minister*. He begg'd her

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Pardon

Pardon for all his old *Knaveries*, but the being advised that he was now practising of *New* ones, took a Course that the People should be deprived of so *Charming* a *Preacher*, as no doubt some of the giddy Populace would have counted him. So without any more Disturbance, but only the cheating some Credulous Folks of considerable Sums of Money, he marched off.

§. 6. A Fellow in this present Year 1699. appeared in *Boston*, pretending to be a Minister; concerning whom an Honest and a Discreet Man in the Country having a just fear, lest our Charity should unjustly and unawares take too kind notice of him, wrote me the following Account.

' This Day a Man, whose Name is *Eleazer Kingsberry*, — in Discourse with him, told me he had Preached the Gospel Four Months; he shewed me a *Certificate* to prove it, with about Twelve Names to it, all Written by his own Hand, (the Instrument was drawn by another,) he also told me he Preached the last Sabbath between *Tanton* and *Freetown*, before a considerable Assembly; which was confirmed by a Man of *Tanton* then present. Considering how God is likely to be dishonoured, and the Gospel scandalized by him, I thought it my Duty to undeceive you, by giving you the following Relation. He was Born and brought up in *Wrentham*, and Bound Prentice to a *Taylor*, but so Vicious a Servant, that his Master could do no good with him. He gat *Free*, and Married a Wife; but not long after *Stole*, and left her; and adding to his *Felony* several other Vicious Tricks, he went to the *Westward*. From thence he wrote a Letter to *Wrentham*, which consisted chiefly of *Lies* and *Curses*. When I now spake with him, I advised him to follow his *Calling*, and provide for his *Wife*, and not seek to Dishonour God and deceive his People. He replied, As for his Wife she was a Devilish Jade, and he would never take her more; but when he was settled, and had an House, he would take her as a Servant; and if she would not obey him, he would kick her into the Fire; but he would go on in *Preaching*, — and he would wage *Twenty Pieces of Eight*, he would get Money and Credit in a short time. — I could fill a Sheet of Paper, but I hope I have said enough to prevent his having any Encouragement from you; and what further ought to be done concerning him I leave to your Consideration.

One of the Ministers in *Boston* immediately sent after him a Letter under a flying Seal, solemnly charging him to leave off the Presumptuous and Blasphemous Course that he had thus taken up, and return unto his Family and Employment; and giving him to understand, that the *Justices* everywhere should be informed of him, as being a *Vagabond*. Hereupon the *Vagabond*, as I am told, changed his Name into *Berry*, and ran away to a place called *Cape May*, where I am also told the People were so Bewitched with him, that they were almost

ready to tear in pieces any Man that should speak diminutively of him.

§. 7. But tho' this Bird flew away to the Southward, unto *Cape May*, another, whose pretended Name was *May*, came upon this Coast about the same time. And on that Occasion an Excellent and Ingenious Person wrote unto me such Passages as these.

' *May* uses to prove Pleasant and Healthy; but the *Mob* are wont to Dance at the Entrance of it, let it prove how it will. Mr. *Parker* used to say, *The People love to Tap a new Barrel*. I think I once told you of *E. F.* and *M. J.* but lest I have not, I'll give you a Word of each.

' *E. F.* sometimes of *Salem*, coming to *New-Haven* on Saturday Even, being clothed in *Black*, was taken for a Minister, and was able to Ape one, and humoured the mistake like him that said, *Si vult populus decipi, decipiatur*. Word being carried to Mr. *J. T.* that a Minister was come to Town, he immediately procured him to Preach both parts of the Day. The first was to Acceptation; but in the last Exercise he plentifully shewed himself to be a Whimsical Opinionist, and besides, railed like *Rahshakeb*, and Reviled the Magistrates, Ministers and Churches at such a rate, that the People were ready to pull him out of the Pulpit.

§. 8. 'The same Worthy Person goes on. *M. J.* A *Welch* Tanner by Trade, some time Servant unto Captain *P.* at *Salem*, left *Salem*, went to *Say-Brook*, work'd at his Trade, and stole Mr. *W's* Leather Breeches. Thence he went to *Staten-Island* by *New-York*, and set up for a Preacher, being a ready Prater. At the Information of a Pedling Trader, he had an Invitation by some few of *Killingworth* to Visit them, and Preach in Order to Settlement. He came, but happening to speak irreverently of something in the Scripture before some of the People, it occasioned such Division and Tumult, that he was not suffered to Preach before Mr. *Buckingham's* Advice and Consent was obtained; which when sought, he advised them to enquire first whether this were not the Fellow that Stole the Leather Breeches. This proving even so, prevented him at *Killingworth*. Thence he went to *Brainford*, the Night before a Fast, and making known his pretended Function, it was counted a good Providence; for they had no Minister, and he was earnestly desired to Preach, and as readily accepted it. But one *Peter Stent*, a Brother that used to Pray and Read a good Sermon among the People, when they had no Minister, knew nothing of this (for he lived at a Farm,) but in the Morning came provided to read one of Mr. *A. Gray's* Sermons. But he found *Morgan* at it when he came; and when he named his Text, it was the same *his* intended Sermon was on; and out of Curiosity to see how Mens Wits jumpt in Prosecuting the same Text, he turned to his Book, and found *Morgan* the same

same with Mr. Gray Word for Word. He followed him while he was weary, and at length run before to a place in the Sermon that spoke of *Glasgow Sinners*, and there lay wait for *Morgan*; but when he came there, he turned it, *New-England Sinners*; and that was all the Variation in the whole Sermon. The People were mightily Affected with the Sermon, and were hot upon calling *Morgan* to the Ministry. But *Stent* discovered the Cheat. So they dismissed him, and the *Tanner* departed with Liberty to go as far as a New Pair of *Shoes* would carry him.

§. 9. *Fascination* is a thing whereof Mankind has more Experience than *Comprehension*. And *Fascination* is never more notoriously sensible, than in Mens running after *False Teachers* of Religion. When *False Teachers* imposed on the *Galatians*, the Apostle said, *O Foolish Galatians, who hath Bewitched you!* One cannot easily ascribe unto a truer Cause, than a *Satanick Energy*, the strange *Bias* upon the Minds of a Multitude, forceably and furiously sometimes carrying them into Follies, from whence the plainest Reason in the World will not Reclaim them. What but such an *Energy* could be upon the Minds of many People in *Boston*, after the Arrival of one that went by the Name of *Samuel May*, about the beginning of *July*, 1699. The wonderful Success of *Mahomet* upon a World, where Christianity was to another Degree lost than it is yet in *Boston*, was no longer a Wonder unto us, when we saw the Success of *May* in a place of so Christian a Character as *Boston*. It was all over pure *Enchantment!* He shew'd unto one Minister at his first Arrival a *Testimonial* of little, but some hopes of his being a Man of a *sweet Gospel Spirit*, signed with Two Names, whereof one was of a Man that once had been a *Scandalous Fire-Ship* among the Churches in this Country: Which when this Blade understood, he would never after show his *Testimonial* to any more of our Ministers, tho' they earnestly and frequently ask'd him for it. So *Silly* and *Shallow* a Person he was, that it was impossible for any but such to be many Minutes in his Company without being sensible of it. The first thing that made some to suspect him, was his using to lift up his *Eyes* and *Hands*, with strains of Devotion used by none others in the Assembly, after he had first look'd about to see who look'd upon him. Numberless Marks of a *Cheat* were daily more and more discovered in him; nevertheless, he was able to imitate a plausible *Utterance* and *Action*, and seem'd so *Zealously* set upon *Inviting Men to Christ*, that after Sermon was over he would make *another Speech* to put 'em in Mind on't. Abundance of the People became so fiercely set for him, that they poured out a Thousand Expressions of Rage upon the Faithful Pastors of the Town, that thought not such an *Illiterate Creature* (who by his own Confession had never been one Year under any Education,) worthy to be set up in the Publick Pulpits. Though the bigger

and wiser part of the Town were not seized with this *Bigotry*, yet a Multitude became so Furious, that making it their Business to Solicite all sorts of Persons to go a *Maying* with them, if any refused, they could hardly escape some Reproach for it. The *Jews* were hardly more engaged for their *Sabatay Sevi*. The Disciples of this *Money-catcher* became, so *Exceeding Fierce*, many of them, that some sober Men became afraid of *Passing by that-way* where one must Encounter them. Though he were detected in several Crimes, as pretending to *Languages* which he knew nothing of, and this in the special Service and Presence of the Lord; and *Preaching Stolen Sermons*, wherein he could not produce one material Sentence of his own; and horrid *Lying* in very repeated Instances: Yet his Followers would go on, making *Ridiculous Apologies* for him, and *Malicious Invektives* against any that would not yet believe him an *Eminent Saint*. Yea, they began to throw *Libels* into the Houses of the Ministers, the most insolent that ever I saw. The *Anabaptists* employed him at their *Meeting-House*, which was now filled with great Congregations; and it was an undeserved, an astonishing, a very memorable *Mercy* of God unto the Town, that this Man was now kept from venting any *Heresies* among a People, that made themselves to become such *Tinder* for any Sparks that he might strike into them: And yet it was another *Mercy* as great as this, that the Young Women in the Town were not betray'd and debauch'd into fearful Whoredoms: For at length Witnesses, Good, Virtuous, Credible Witnesses appear'd, that shew'd him to have been as dangerous a *Devil* as the poor Young Women could have met withal, when by a certain Reverence for him as a Minister they were prepared for his vile Solicitations. He perceived these things beginning to break out, and away he flew; none of the Endeavours used by his Admirers to make him stay could stop him. The Pastors of the Churches had before made this Reflection, That after Men of the most unspotted Piety have spent whole Prenticeships of Years in the Faithful, Watchful, Painful Service of the Churches, and have served them Day and Night with Prayers, with Tears, with Fastings, with their most Studied Sermons and Writings, and have never such a Reputation with the Churches in Countries afar off; yet if any *Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing* do come with a few good Words among them, the *simple Souls* of many will not only follow the *Wolf*, but on his Account Bark at the *Shepherds*. This is a *Vanity* that I have seen under the *Sun*. But the People had now this Reflection to make, that since they had sinfully slighted their most Serviceable Pastors, who never craved after the *Riches* of this World, they should by the just Judgment of God be left unto such an *Infatuation*, as to enrich a *Craving Beggar* with many Pounds of their Substance; which *Beggarly Stranger* immediately apply'd

himself, (not to instil the Fear of God, and Love of Christ, into your Children, O Injured People, as your *Pastors* do, with a most indefatigable Application! but) to teach them, that Fornication and Adultery is no Sin, and to watch Opportunities of making them like himself, the *Children of the Devil*. Repent, O In-

fatuated People; Repent of what you have done; and let the ensuing *Letter* help you more thoroughly to consider the Occasions for your doing so.

Religio Contaminata ad omnium Pertinet injuriam.

Boston, 25 d. 10 m. 1699.

A Letter, containing a Remarkable History of an Impostor.

S I R,

I Am going to Entertain you with a very surprising Story, by the Communication whereof, the Wisdom, and Goodness, and Justice of *Heaven*, will become Observable to many Christian Minds, and the *Devices of Hell*, against the Interests of *Heaven*, be a little more fully understood, and by being understood, for the future prevented.

The last Summer, in the very Ship that brought us Letters from our Friends in *England*, advising us of much Inconvenience arising to the Non conformists, from ill Fellows that pretended unto the *Preaching of the Glorious Gospel*, there arrived unto us a Man that pretended the Name of *Samuel May*, and the Character of a *Preacher*, having with him a Woman whom he call'd his *Wife*, but used her with an *Unwisely Crabbedness*, that gave Scandal to the People aboard. Albeit this Man gave me much cause to be suspicious, lest he might be one of those whom our Letters complained of, yet my Compassion towards a *Needy Stranger*, whom I saw in Ragged, Wretched, Forlorn Circumstances, caused me, among other ways, of being Helpful unto him, to seek that he might be twice Employ'd in, and Requit for Preaching at our *Private Meetings*; hoping thereby to have a little *Trial* of him. His *Plausible Delivery* presently *Enchanted* abundance of honest People, who thought *all was Gold that glistered*; but many Days passed nor before I found several things which made me say, *I doubt he was a Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing*. They that now say, They follow'd this Man because I commended him, wrong me very much; for though 'tis not my manner *to speak ill* of Men, till I *know* what I *speak*, and that it is my Duty to *speak*; yet I let fall words from the very first, that any Intelligent Hearer might see I had some *Fear* about him. The cause of that *Fear* was this; I found, that altho' 'tis no time of any *Persecution* that should force any but ill Men to *conceal themselves*, yet he came Aboard the Vessel under some *concealment*, not professing, nor supposed for to be a *Minister*, but rather a *Mendicant*, until they had sailed

many Leagues. I found that he could mention the Name of no one *Minister* in *London* with whom he durst say that he had any Acquaintance; lest, as it should seem, he should happen to mention one with whom we should be better Acquainted. I found that he was unaccountably *Shy* of giving us any satisfactory Account of his Original, his Education, his former Circumstances; by no means could I get him to tell me in what Employment he had spent the First Six or Seven and Twenty Years of his Life. What appear'd most *probable* (and since more *probable*) was, That he was a *Barber*. A *blind Charity* would still have persuaded me to keep alive some *hope*, that *Folly*, rather than *Design*, might lye at the bottom of his odd Conduct; but I soon observed *something* that made me say to some of my Intimate Friends, *That I fear'd he would prove at last a smutty, filthy, wanton Fellow*. However, things not being yet come to that maturity, I contented my self with calling to mind the Rule which the old *Britain* gave his Countrymen, to discover whether *Austin the Monk* were a *Man of God* or no. Thought I, 'If this be an honest Man, he is an humble Man: If he be a Faithful Servant of Christ, he'll plainly let his Fellow Servants know what he is, what he intends, what he can do, and humbly refer himself to Them for *Direction* and *Assistance*. We found nothing of this; but though he were wholly *Illiterate*, and not able even to write a little Common English, (for instance, there were *Eighteen* horrid *false Spells*, and not one *Point*, in one very short Note that I received from him) yet this proud *Thraso* would in his Preaching Ostentate Skill in *Latin*, and in *Greek*, yea, and in *Hebrew*; but God left him to such *Folly* in his *Pride*, that he frequently pronounced the *Exotic Words* in a manner so ridiculous, as to render it plain that he knew nothing of them: And in one of those two or three private *Preachments*, by which 'twas hop'd we might have some Taste of his Faculties, he was under such an Infatuation, that he would needs give some *Hebrew* to us; but what he gave us might be *Welch* or *Irish*, or the *Vagabonds*

gabonds Cant, for ought I knew; one Minister present knew it was not in six or seven Languages, in all which himself had in various Writings Address'd the World, and others of his Hearers, besides I, knew that there was no such Hebrew in the *Lexicon*. Who but one Hypocritically disposed would have done so? If he were a *Shaver*, 'twas plain however he was not the most *Cunning* in the World: In the mean time, 'twas a strange *Enchantment* upon the People, that they should after these things put themselves into his Hands. But that his *Humility* might be the more Notorious, I was presently informed, that the Blade, with an *Arrogance* equal to his *Ignorance*, began to complain. That the *Ministers* of the Town did not immediately Invite him into their Pulpits; and upon his Complaints, many sinful People (who have great Cause to take no little shame unto themselves for their causeless and thameless Iniquity) began to Defame the Ministers with Slanderous Outcries, *That they were always uncivil to Strangers*; and some could bestow this Comparison upon them, *That here was come a better Workman than themselves, whom therefore they would not suffer to stay in the Town if they could help it*. The Pastors of the Churches being desirous to answer the Expectations of the People, as far as they could in Conscience unto the People themselves, and with Credit unto the Evangelical Ministry, they sent unto this Man in as Loving and as Tender Terms as they could a Message to this purpose, *That they being sincerely desirous to Encourage him in doing all the good he should be found Able to do, and he not having brought satisfactory Testimonials into the Country with him, they pray'd a visit from him, in which they would inform themselves of his Abilities for the Evangelical Ministry, and with all possible easiness proceed in their Examining and Advising of him*. To this Message there was brought us from him an Answer of this purport, *That he knew no Authority the Ministers had to Enquire after him, and he was not bound to give them an account of himself, and more to that Effect*. The Ministers had now done but the Duty of *Watchmen* that would be found faithful to the Churches and Neighbours; but none of their *Watchfulness* could hinder many of the People from the great fault of *running themselves into Temptation*, by giddily running after the Instructions of a Fellow that had *Shunn'd the Light, because his Deeds were Evil*. The People, (whose Charity has been for the most part so *Exemplary*, that methinks 'tis pity it should ever be *misplaced* and *perverted*) some of them not only made a large Collection to pay the Passage of this mischievous *Beggar*, and put Money into his Pocket; but also fill'd the Town with so much Lying and Outrage against their faithful Ministers, for not counting such an *Unlettered Thing* a fit Instructor for their Flocks, that I could not but think an hundred times of the People bewitched by *Simon the Sorcerer*, and say, *That the greatest Blemish that ever beset*

the Town, was in the madness which they now discovered. Who would have believed it, that in a Town so Illuminated as *Boston*, there should be any People of such a Principle, *That if the greatest Villain in the World should arrive a total Stranger among us, and for his True Name give us perhaps only the first Syllable of his Name, and of a Barber turn a Preacher, the Pastors here must immediately Set him up in the publick Pulpits, or else the People unjustly load them with all the Calumnious Indignities that can be thought of?* However, the Ministers bore with Patience all the Contempt which their Great Lord saw the People foolishly cast upon them; and no two of them that ever I heard of, ever let fall one word publickly to *Rebuke* their Folly; But, Sir, you shall see anon whether the Lord himself will not *Rebuke* it, and make the People with, *They had hearkned unto the Voice of their Teachers*.

We have in our Vicinity a *Small Congregation* of *Anabaptists*, with whom I had always lived in a *Good Correspondence*. Forgive me the vanity if I say, without judging proper in this place, to *prove* what I say, That never any Minister, so distant from their Perswasion, carried it with more Civility and Affection towards Persons of their Perswasion, than I made it my Endeavour to do. Because I believed there were godly Persons among them, I offered them, that if they should come (as they were likely) to have the *Divine Institutions* fail among themselves, I would freely accept them to Communion with my own Flock; and though they should be so scrupulous as to turn their Backs as often as an *Infant* was *Baptised*, it should not be made an Offence. This offer I made them, I hope not out of a sinful Affectation to *Enlarge* my Flock; the most undeserved Favour of Heaven has employ'd my poor Services in such Assemblies, that I have cause to Study how I may *serve* them *Better*, before I go to get them *Larger*; but it was purely from a *Spirit of Charity*. Indeed I had no Answer but this, *We look upon you as an Unbaptized Man, and therefore we cannot hold Communion with you*: But tho' this *New Comer* were in their Opinion, *An Unbaptized Man*, yet they now took this opportunity to Invite him unto publick and constant Preaching every *Lord's Day*, and a *Lecture* besides in their *Meeting-House*. Indeed I must so far *Vindicate* these *Brethren*, as to tell you, That they do not seem to me so much in *Fault*, as divers other People of my own Profession who Solicited them, and Instigated them, to set up a Preacher for them, which their own *Pastors* had *Refused*; and it was on some Accounts a time of *Temptation* with them. Nevertheless I cannot wholly *Justifie* this *Faulty Action*: And their setting up such a Fellow, under all these ill Circumstances, to be their *Publick Teacher*, look'd the worse, because they could not but see that it nourished in his Numerous Profelytes, not only the sleight of a *Learned Ministry*, but also a Disposition which ordinarily Inspired those that were

were profelyted by him to become *Enemies* and *Revilers* of the *Ministers* of the Town. One of those *Ministers* beholding the *Spirit* which this thing was done withal, freely told the *Anabaptists*, That the *Lord Jesus Christ*, who saw what *Principles* they acted upon, would certainly make this very Man the *Occasion* of the greatest *Confusion* that ever befel them: And at the same time saw cause to foretel unto many others, That the *Devices* of *Satan* in this Matter were for this Man to engage many of our weaker People to be his *Hearers*, by his not professing himself an *Anabaptist*, but when he had them fast, then about three or four Months hence to profess himself an *Anabaptist*, and lead them, who could say whither, with him. Unto the Man himself also, that Person having signified his Dislike of what he had seen in him, Concluded, 'The *Ministers* of this Town, who have by your means been greatly and ungratefully *Reviled*, will, I suppose, trouble themselves no farther about you, except some remarkable *Occasion* oblige them to it: but they will carry their *Flocks* to the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and they will carry their *Names* to the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and they will carry You also unto the *Lord Jesus Christ*; but I believe the *Consequence* of this will very speedily be unto You very uncomfortable. He and his Creatures went on filling the Town with *Slander*, in Instances which I desire to *Forgive* and *Forget*: Only one of them I will mention, because they made more than ordinary Noise about it. Having too just Cause to fear, that this Insolent Fellow would *Steal* an *Admission* to the *Lord's Table* in my own Church, I went unto his House on purpose to *Forbid* him from it; but they spread a *Story* over the Town that I came to *Invite* him to it. Many Days did not now pass before I did, by a singular *Accident*, meet with a *Book* of *Dr. Samuel Bolton's*, wherein there is a *Discourse* about *The Royalties of Faith*, and this *Discourse*, to my *Surprize*, I found so very much the same with what I had myself heard this Man deliver, that I thought the two Boys in *Plautus* were not more alike, — *Dixitque sibi sua Concio, Fur es*. I sent for many other of the *Hearers*, who had better *Memories* than myself, and offered them to give them a considerable *Price* for every *Sentence* they could call to *Mind* in their *Dr. Samuel May's* *Discourse*, that I could not show them in my *Dr. Samuel Bolton's*; which offer they some of them took, but could not find one *Sentence* for their *Advantage*: The exact *Agreement* between *Samuel the Doctor*, and *Sam. the Dunce*, was a diverting *Surprize* to all that saw it. Hereupon a *Minister* of the Town visited the Man himself, and profered him a *Piece* of *Eight* for every material *Sentence* that he could produce of his own *Discourse* about *The Royalties of Faith*, which could not be produced from the *Author*, and in the *Order*, and with his *Flourishes* and *Expressions*, that were most *Peculiar*; and he set before him the *Cheat* and the *Crime* that there is in *Preaching Stolen Sermons*. In-

deed, because the Man had no *Academical* Education (except one should suppose at *Samourgan*, a certain famous Academy in *Lithuania*;) it was to no purpose to quote unto him the Saying of *Synecius*, *Magis impium esse mortuorum Lucubrations, quam vestes furari*; But I did in plain *English* tell him the *Dishonesty* of the Matter. He not only *Denied* that ever he had us'd or seen any of *Dr. Bolton's* Works, (though he was also detected of *Stealing* Three or Four more *Sermons* out of this very *Book*!) but he also called the *Great* and *Dreadful* God to *Witness*, That the *Discourse* he delivered was the pure effect of his own *Industry* and *Invention*; adding, That he had no other way to give *Satisfaction*, but by *Preaching* on any *Text* that *Minister* should give him. The *Minister* told him, that he was astonished at his horrid *Wickedness* and *Atheism*, and that if he were to be believed in this thing, all *Humane Proof* of any thing must come to an *End*. He proceeded, That he had outgone all the *Cheats* that ever had appear'd among us, for being so hardned in *Impiety* and *Stupidity*, as to deny a *Fact* wherein he was as plainly *Dereccted* as ever any *Thief* that was taken with the *Stolen Goods* about him. And he concluded, 'Miserable Man, do you ask me for a *Text* to *Preach* upon? I have a *Text* more than One for you to think upon. Go *Preach*, if you dare to do it, upon that *Text*, *Psal. 101. 7. He that telleth Lies, shall not tarry in my sight*. *Preach*, if you dare to do it, upon that *Text*, *Psal. 50. 16. Unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my Statutes?* *Preach*, if you dare to do it, upon that *Text*, *Rev. 21. 8. All Liars shall have their Part in the Lake*. And if you dare carry on your *Impiety* so far, *Preach* upon that *Text*, *Rev. 2. 23. All the Churches shall know, that I search the Reins and the Hearts*. But let me *Faithfully* and *Solemnly*, and as a *Minister* of *God*, and as one speaking to you in the *Name* of *God*, and in the *Fear* of *God*, *Admonish* you to *Repent* of your *Wickedness*. I doubt you will not *Repent*, and therefore I tell you, *I am verily perswaded* the *Lord Jesus Christ*, who knows your *Secret Wickedness*, will bring it out. *I verily Believe*, That in your *Detention*, the *Glorious Lord Jesus Christ* will make all the *Churches* to know, that *He searches the Reins and the Hearts* of the *Children* of *Men*. Remember I told you so, and that many Months will not pass before this come to pass: It may be I may Live to see it. He *Trembled* and *Quivered* when the *Minister* spoke these things unto him; yet he *Repented* not, but in a few Hours he set the People a *Railing* at that *Minister* in many *Corners* of the Town, for *Abusing* a *Precious*, *Godly*, *Worthy* Man. Some advised the *Arresting* of that *Minister* in *Great Actions* for *Defaming* of this *Excellent Person*; And others had the *Fear* of *God* so little in exercise with them, as to cry out, That if this Man had been guilty of all that was charg'd on him, yet for that *Minister* to speak such things to him, was as great an *Offence* as his.

I had Reason to desire that the Truth might now appear a little more irrefragably, and therefore I went unto the Officers of the Anabaptist Church, declaring, That I apprehended my self able to convict the Man whom they employ'd as a Publick Teacher among them of being a Cheat, and of having horribly Ly'd against his Conscience in several Repeated and Notorious Instances. and that I desired on my own behalf, and on the behalf of the other Ministers in the Town, that they would appoint a Place the next Week, where I might prove my Charge to his Face, and they should be Judges of it. I could not have Imagined it, but the Church being informed of my Demand, immediately Renewed as I am told their Call unto him, to continue his Preaching among them; and by their Minister and Another there was an Answer of this Importance brought unto me, That inasmuch as this Man was not a Member of their Church, they did not apprehend themselves concerned to take any notice of what I had offered. Whereunto my Reply was, Well. I have done my Duty, and I hope you have considered, Whether it will be for Christ's Honour, or for your own, to employ a Man as a Publick Preacher, against whom such a Charge is urg'd, and may be prov'd, if you will but bear it. And thought I, how much will Christians act besides themselves when Led into Temptation. From this time, even from September (I think to December, I concern'd my self no further; being satisfied that it would not be long before the Lord Jesus Christ, who saw how impiously this Man mock'd him, would Search him out, and Cloath with perpetual Confusion those that would persist in Assisting such a Mocker of Heaven. One would have thought that considerate People after this warning would have been as much afraid of seeing such a Spet're in a Pulpit, as if he had been the Holder-forth, which they say sometimes appears in the Copper Mines of Sweden. But many People, instead of taking the warning, went on still, under the Influences of this Ignis Fatuus, to treat me (and much better Men) with Numberless and Furious Abuses for giving it; and with a practical Commentary upon the Distempers mentioned in the Beginning of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. I praise the Lord for his making me unwilling to Remember them, and I pray him to cast them out of his Remembrance. At last the Malice went so far, that they began to throw into my House insolent, bitter, bloody Libels, wherein, albeit the nameless Writers confess a great Esteem for me for my moderate Spirit towards them that differ from me, yet they now in most venomous Terms of Rage flew upon me for my Reviling an Eminent Worthy Stranger, (as they express it) and Persecuting one who had the Root of the matter in him, and one who had now the Liberty of a more Unstained Pulpit than any of those which had been deny'd him. All these, and many more such things, wherein I heard the Defaming of many, I bore, I hope I may say, Silently, and Patiently, and it was a great

Fault in me, if not Prayerfully: And if I did not set my self to consider, What Holy Lessons were to be learnt out of such Temptations: In which Lessons I should have been sufficiently Requited Good, for the Cursing of all the Shime's in the Town. But thought I, what Spirit possesses these Touchy Folks that they can't let me be quiet? I do nothing to Disquiet them: Or does that Spirit see that his time is but Short, e'er the Displeasure of Heaven put this Boutefeu and his Disciples to the Blush which had been foretold unto them? Truly, Sir, I had no Remedy, but humbly to carry my Complaints unto the Lord, who knew my Faithfulness.

This Evil Worker now apply'd himself unto the Anabaptists with private intimations, that for Four or Five Years he had been convinced in his Conscience that their way was the Right way, and that he was now in some Trouble of Conscience for his having delay'd so long to Declare himself, but it should not now be long before he did. When things were now become just Ripe for the Devices of Satan to take effect, behold how the Wonderful Providence of Heaven defeated them! The Lord sent an Evil Spirit between this Man and the Anabaptists that had adhered unto him. Even they began to find their Eminent Worthy Stranger guilty of such Lying, and such Lewdness, and such Damnable Covetousness, (especially when upon their not carrying Money to him on a Lord's Day wherein he Preached not, he flew out, as I am told, like a Dragon, spitting this among other Fire at them, I see, no longer Pipe, no longer Dance!) that they came to fear he was a Cheat, and wished they had never seen him. While things were thus operating, the guilty Fellow having bubbled the silly Neighbours of incredible Scores of Pounds, and thinking that the Answers of my Letters to Europe about him were not far off, all on the sudden he will be gone; and none of the charming offers that were made him if he would continue, could procure his continuance any longer in the Country. He that had often told us, his coming from England was with a purpose to see his Uncle in Virginia, whom it may be no Man else ever saw, now without one look towards Virginia Ships himself to Return for England. But God will no longer be mocked!

A Virtuous and Laudable Young Gentleman in the Neighbourhood lets fall a Word unto one of his Friends, That he was informed this Man had used some unevill Carriage towards a Woman that belonged unto one of the Churches in the Town. Some of the Hearers go and complain that this Gentleman said, The Man had got such a Woman with Child, whereupon some of the Man's Friends began to be obstreperous. The Ingenuous Young Gentleman was too well beloved by all that knew his constant Piety, to be suspected of speaking a Falshood; and the trouble on the Minds of his Friends for him immediately made several Discreet and Honest Women to speak out more plainly, how able

able they were to assert the Truth of what he had really spoken. Horrid things began to be muttered about this Wretch for divers Weeks before; and no doubt the apprehension of their taking Air hastened his Flight; but a modest Woman, especially if she don't know of any one else to sustain with her the weight of the Testimony, appears with no small Reluctancy to Testifie an Affront offered unto her. It had been remark'd by some, that this Villain, though in *Publick Prayer* he were extraordinarily Devout, yet he had a strange Indisposition to *Private Prayer*. And there was enough to render *Prayer* uneasy to his guilty Soul; for while he was *Feasting* with the abused Neighbours, he had *Eyes full of Adultery that could not cease from Sin*. The burning Jealousie of the Lord Jesus Christ will now bring out the Villany of this Man, and make all the Churches to know that he searches the Reins and the Hearts. The Hypocrite had made such a show of Zeal in his Performances on the Stage, that every one said, *This Man must be either a great Saint, or a great Rogue*; and as to one of these, I question whether a greater ever came into this Land.

Sir, I durst not blot my Paper with all the abominable things that are testified upon Oath against this *Eminent Worthy Stranger*. But the Sum of the Testimonies deposed upon Oath before the Magistrate, Decemb. 7. 1699. by several Women of unblemish'd Reputation, is, 'That he would often watch Opportunities of getting them alone, and then would often affront them with Lewd, Vile and Lascivious Carriages, which rendered it a dangerous thing to be alone with him, and abundantly assured them, that he was a *great Rogue*, and that if they had been for his Turn, he would have stuck at no Villany towards them. That he would also talk at a vile rate, and among other things he would plead, *That there was no Sin in Adultery*.

The Testimonies after this increased on our Hands, which assured us, That on a *Saturday*, with his *Bible* in his Hands, he could Solicite Young Women to Wantonness; Yea, and Endeavour to Intoxicate them, that he might pursue his vile Purposes upon them. Yea, that when he heard of a Young Woman affected with his *Ministry*, he would find her out, and spend several Hours together in rude Actions and Speeches to her, and urging her to Lye with him, which he said was *no Sin*, for *David* and *Solomon* did as much; and adding, *They need not fear being with Child by him, for none ever were so!* More of this prodigious Devilism was testified against this *Eminent Worthy Stranger*; and other horrid stuff begins to come to Light, and I suppose would soon be found, if sought for; but I abhor to rake any further in such a *Dunghil*.

They that fill'd the Town with other Impiety, by setting up this *Filthy Dreamer*, have now a time to admire the Favour of Heaven, (more than their own *Prudence*) that there was not

set up a Congregation of *Nicolaitans* in the Town, and that the Young People have not been debauched into fearful Whoredoms, and led away to the *Unclean Spirit*, like the *Transylvanian Children*, which Danced after the *Pied Piper* into the Cave of *Hamelon*.

But I have observed, That whereas grievous *Times of Temptation* are ever now and then sent upon our Churches, if the Servants of the Lord Jesus Christ can, for a while, bear to be buffeted by the foolish Rage of those *Times*, and apply themselves to humble *Prayer* and *Faith* before the great Lord, who holds the *Tempter* in a Chain; and if instead of answering to *Revilings* with *Revilings*, they are only quickned unto more of *Holiness* and *Usefulness*; the *Times* do not prove *Days of Temptation*, but meer *Hours of Temptation*; and, *Nubecule cito transitura*, presently at an end. And so it was in the *Storm of Temptation*, which by *Satan* was now raised in our Neighbourhood.

It has in some former Years commonly happened unto me, that when I visited in the way of my *Pastoral Duty* Persons Possessed with *Evil Spirits*, the Persons, though they knew every one else in the Room, yet through the unaccountable Operation of the *Evil Spirits* upon their Eyes, I must appear so Dirty, so Ugly, so *Disguis'd* unto them, that they could have no Knowledge of me. I have a Thousand times thought that the Lord ordered this for some Intimation unto me, that when *Times of Temptation* come, wherein *Evil Spirits* have as much Operation on the *Minds* of many People, as they have upon the *Eyes* of *Energumens*, a Minister of the Lord Jesus Christ, that will be faithful unto his Interests, must look to be all over *Disguis'd* by Misrepresentations unto the *Minds* of them that are under the Power of *Temptation*. A Minister shall strictly impose that *Law of Kindness* upon his *Lips*, to speak not one Intemperate or Injurious Word on the greatest Provocation, and yet be represented as a Man full of *Bitterness*. He shall be always *Devising things* to relieve the miserable, and spend more than many others do imagine possible to be spent in *Pious Uses*, and scorn to take many *little Gains*, that might lawfully be taken, and yet they shall cry out of him for *Uncharitableness* and *Incivility*. He shall never once in his Life ask a *Salary* from his Flock, nor agree with them about a *Salary*, nor have his dependance on the *Lord's-Day Collections* for a *Salary*, nor be in any likelihood of seeing the *Lord's-Day Collections* to fail, and yet they shall flout at him, as one afraid of losing his *Contribution*. A Minister shall be of such a Temper, that perceiving a considerable and valuable part of his Flock to put themselves unto a deal of Trouble to attend upon his Ministry (by passing a large Ferry every *Lord's-Day*;) he shall one Year after another call upon those beloved Christians to leave his Ministry, and set up a *New Church* by themselves, and set a *Worthy Pastor* over them, to support whom he shall offer to contribute not a little, and part with some

of his own *Salary*; and yet this Minister shall be represented as *Afraid of nothing more than losing his Hearers*. He shall — but I don't love to mention these things; the Lord of Heaven teach us by these things to *Long for Heaven*, and even while we are on *Earth to Live in Heaven*.

You will doubtless make some Advantage to your Holy Thoughts from this Remarkable Story; and my other Neighbours will make, I hope, at least this Advantage from it, that if another *Barber*, instead of the other Courses that bring so many to *Tyburn*, come over from *London* hither, to recruit his *Broken Fortunes* by the *Blasphemies of Stolen Sermons*, plausibly and fervently delivered; the People have now

learnt a little more Wit, than to Pamper such a Fellow with their plentiful Cookery, and Equip him with Score of Pounds in his Pocket, and send him to *London* again to Laugh at the Folly of them that will permit themselves to be so Abused.

'Tis time for me now to Subscribe my self, (inasmuch as I am not Writing a *Libel*)

S I R,

Your Sincere Servant,

Cotton Mather.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THE Country has been so fill'd with *Lies*, on the Occasion of the things which have been truly represented in this my *Letter*, that I suppose I shall Publish the *Letter* unto the Country. And if any blame the Publication, I think they will forget *What is required in the Ninth Commandment*; and I fear they will but expose themselves unto the Censures of Wise and Good Men, as the Friends of this *Impostor*, not out of *Charity*, (as divers Worthy Christians before they knew him were) but from a Principle of *Impiety* and *Malignity*. Among the an-

cient *Israelites*, when a *False Prophet*, or an *Unclean Priest* was found, every Man had a *Commission*, in the Presence of *Ten Men*, to execute the *Law* upon him, (as *Grotius* tells us) *Non Expectato Judice*. But when one of those Wretches received his Punishment, it was the Custom, *That a Letter concerning it should be dispatch'd unto all the Cities of Israel*. As for this *Unclean Prophet*, the *Letter* it self *that is now dispatch'd unto all the Churches*, is the chief *Punishment* hitherto inflicted on him.

C H A P. VI.

Arma Virosq; Cano: Or, The Troubles which the Churches of NEW-ENGLAND have undergone in the WARS, which the People of that Country have had with the Indian Salvages.

S. I. TWO Colonies of Churches being brought forth, and a Third conceived within the Bounds of *New-England*, by the Year 1636. it was time for the *Devil* to take the *Alarm*, and make some attempt in Opposition to the Possession which the Lord Jesus Christ was going to have of these utmost Parts of the Earth. These Parts were then covered with Nations of Barbarous Indians and Infidels, in whom the *Prince of the Power of the Air* did *Work as a Spirit*; nor could it be expected that Nations of Wretches, whose whole Religion was the most Explicit sort of *Devil-Worship*, should not be acted by the *Devil* to engage in some early and bloody Action, for the Extinction of a Plantation so contrary to his Interests, as that of *New-England* was. Of these Nations there was none more Fierce, more

Warlike, more Potent, or of a greater Terror unto their Neighbours, than that of the *PEQUOTS*; but their being so much a Terror to their Neighbours, and especially to the *Narragansets* on the East-side of them, and the *Monbegins* on the West, upon whom they had committed many Barbarous Outrages, produced such a *Division in the Kingdom of Satan* against it self, as was very serviceable to that of our Lord. In the Year 1634. these terrible Salvages killed one Captain *Stone*, and Captain *Norton*, with Six Men more, in a Bark sailing up *Connecticut River*, and then sunk her. In the Year 1635. a Bark sailing from the *Massachusetts-Bay* to *Virginia*, being by a Tempest cast away at *Long-Island*, the same terrible Salvages killed several of the Shipwrack'd Englishmen. In the Year 1636. at *Block-Island*

coming Aboard a Vessel to Trade, they Murdered the Master. And another coming that way, found that they had made themselves Masters of a Bark, which occasioned the sending of an Hundred and Twenty Soldiers thither, under the Command of Captain *Endicot*, Captain *Underbil*, and Captain *Turner*, by the Governour and Council at *Boston*, upon whom, at their Landing, the *Indians* violently shot, and so ran away where no *English* could come at them. Travelling further up to the *Pequot* Country, the *Pequots* refused, upon a Conference, to Surrender the Murderers Harboured among them, which were then demanded; whereupon a Skirmish ensued, in which, after the Death of one of their Men, the *Indians* fled, but the *English* destroyed their *Corn* and their *Hutts*, and so returned.

Moreover, a Fort, with a Garrison of Twenty Men, being by some Agents that were sent over by the Lord *Say* and the Lord *Brook*, formed at the River's Mouth, (a place called *Say-Brook*) the *Piquots* after this lay sculking about that Fort almost continually; by which means divers of the *English* lost their Lives, and some that were seized by the *Indians* going up the River, were most horribly Tortured by them, and Roasted alive; and afterwards the *Taw-nies* would with Derision in the *English* hearing, imitate the doleful *Ejulations* and *Invocations* of the poor Creatures that had perished under their cruel Tortures, and add infinite *Blasphemies* thereunto. Unto all which there was annexed the Slaughter of *Nine Men*, with the taking of *Two Maids*, by this horrid Enemy lying in Ambush for them as they went into the Fields at *Weatherfield*. So that the Infant Colonies of *New-England* finding themselves necessitated unto the *Crushing of Serpents*, while they were but yet in the *Cradle*, Unanimously resolved, that with the Assistance of Heaven they would root this *Nest of Serpents* out of the World.

Reader, it is remark'd concerning one *Anab*, in very early Times, [*Gen.* 36. 24.] That he found *Mules in the Wilderness*. But these *Mules* were, if I been't mistaken, as very *Men* as the *Pequots*, whom the First Planters of *New-England* found in the *Wilderness*. We are convinced by such Incomparable Writers as *Boehart*, that the Mountainous Parts of *Scir*, where our *Anab* dwelt, was a Country no ways Famous for *Mules*; but we may then incline rather to the Opinion of *Sanbert*, who maintains, that the מים here by us Translated *Mules*, are the same that elsewhere are called, מים of which Variety in Writing the same Name the Scriptures have many Instances. Now these *Emim*, were the well-known *Giants*, which Inhabiting the *Horraean* Regions in the Neighbourhood, struck *Terror* (as their Name signifies) unto all the Neighbours, till the Posterity of *Essau* vanquished them; a Matter which many Passages in the Bible intimate. Our *Anab* is here distinguished from another so called, by a notable Exploit which he per-

formed for the Service of his Country. He Found, that is, he Surprized and Assaulted the *Emim*, those terrible *Giants* with which the Neighbourhood was infested. By this Heroick Act he signalized himself, while the Prince his Father, employed him in managing and ordering his Estate in the *Wilderness*, which according to the use of those Times lay more in Cattel than in any other Substance. But this Digression serves only to excite my Reader's Expectation of *Pequot Giants* to be found in our *Wilderness*.

§. 2. When these *Ammonites* perceived that they had made themselves to stink before the *New-English Israel*, they tried by all the Enchanting Insinuations that they could think upon, to reconcile themselves unto the other Nations of *Indians*, with whom they had been heretofore at Variance: Demonstrating to them how easie 'twould be for them, if they were *United*, quickly to extirpate the *English*, who if they were *Divided*, would from thence take their Advantage to Devour them one after another. But although no *Machiavel* or *Achitophel* could have insinuated this Matter with more of Plausibility, yet the prospect of a *Sweet Revenge*, which the other Nations of the *Indians* did now hope to have by the help of the *English* upon these their Old Enemies, prevailed with them to renounce all Proposals of Accommodation; which thing was of the Lord! Wherefore, in the beginning of *May*, 1637. *Connecticut-Colony* set out against these *Pequots* Ninety Men, under the Command of that Worthy Gentleman, Mr. *John Mason*, whose Worth advanced him afterwards to be the *Deputy Governour* of the Colony; and these were accompanied with one *Uncas* an *Indian Sachem*, newly revolted from the *Pequots*. Captain *Underbil* also being with the Garrison at *Say-brook*, obtained leave to assist the Service now in Hand with *Nineteen* Men and himself, who was not the *Twentieth*, but as good as *Twenty* more. *Massachuset-Colony* were willing to do their part in this *Expedition*, with an *Army* (Reader, considering the small Number of Inhabitants then in these Territories, let it pass for an *ARMY*!) consisting of an Hundred and Sixty Men, under the Chief Command of *Israel Stoughton*, Esq; a Gentleman of great Merits; but the Matter calling for a real *Expedition*, one Captain *Patrick*, with Forty Men, was dispatched away before. *Plymouth-Colony* cheerfully offer'd Fifty Men, as their *Quota*, to the Service now *Undertaken*; but it being *Accomplished*, as well as *Undertaken*, before their Complement of Men could arrive, the *Will* was taken for the *Deed*. The *Connecticut* Forces being Shipp'd in *Connecticut-River*, they chose *Narraganset-River* to Land at, rather than *Pequot-River*, where the Enemy kept a continual Guard; and from thence they marched with a Design to Surprize them, while the *Narraganset-Indians*, whereof about Five Hundred now joined them, as they approached near to the Enemies Head Quarters, discovered so much Fear,

Fear, that they either quite ran away, or fell into the Rear. Captain *Mason* was by this time informed, that the *Pequots* had retired themselves into Two Impregnable Forts, whereof one was the Rendezvous of *Sassacus* the Chief Tyrant, and that fierce Tyger, at the very mention of whose Name the *Narragansets* trembled, saying, *He was all one a God, no Body could kill him.* The Council of War determined it necessary to fall first upon the Fort which they could find first; and on their silent March in the Moonshiny Night, an *Indian-Spy* that had been sent upon Discovery, brought them Word that the *Pequots* were in a Profound Sleep: For having seen the *English Vessels* not come to any Port in the next River, they presumed the *English People* to be afraid of them, and had newly tired themselves with Dancing and Singing until Midnight upon that Presumption. Our Guide was one *Wequash*, an *Indian* revolted from the *Pequots*, among whom he had been a Captain; and now Captain *Mason*, with Captain *Underbil*, coming up to the next Fort about break of Day, the *Indian Auxiliaries* were to dispirited, as to retire where they might lye *Pest Principia*, hardly so much as the Spectators of the ensuing Action. The Two Captains, with their Two Companies, took *Mason* the East-side, and *Underbil* the West-side of the Fort, for them to make their Assaults upon; and as they approached within a Rod of the Fort, a Dog Barking awaked another *Cerberus*, an *Indian* that stood Centinel, who immediately cried out, *Wannux, Wannux*, i. e. *English, English!* However, the Courageous Captains presently found a way to enter the Fort, and thereupon followed a Bloody Encounter, wherein several of the *English* were wounded, and many of the *Indians* killed: But the *Wigwams* or Houses which filled the Fort consisting chiefly of Combustible *Mats*, we set Fire to them, and presently retiring our of the Fort, on every side surrounded it. The Fire by the Advantage of the Wind carried all before it; and such horrible Confusion overwhelmed the *Salvages*, that many of them were Broiled unto Death in the revenging Flames; many of them climbing to the Tops of the *Palizados*, were a fair Mark for the Mortiferous Bullets there; and many of them that had the Resolution to issue forth, were Slain by the *English* that stood ready to bid 'em Welcome; nor were there more than Two *English Men* that lost their Lives in the Heat of this Action. It was on Friday, May 20. 1637. that this memorable Action was performed; and it was rendred the more memorable by this, that the very Night before what was now done, an Hundred and Fifty *Indians* were come from the other Fort unto this, with a purpose to go out with all speed unto the Destruction of some *English Town*; whereas they were now suddenly destroy'd themselves; and in a little more than One Hour, Five or Six Hundred of these Barbarians were dismissed from a World that was Burdened with them; not more than Seven or

Eight Persons escaping of all that Multitude. But e'er we pass any further, we will take this place to Commemorate Famous *Wequash*, the *Indian* whom we newly mentioned as the Guide of the *English* to this *Indian Fort*. Know, Reader, that after this Battel *Wequash* had his Mind wonderfully struck with great Apprehensions about the Glory of the *Englishman's God*; and he went about the Colony of *Connecticut* with bitter Lamentations, *That he did not know Jesus Christ*, until the good People there instructed him. When he had understood and embraced the *Christian Religion*, he made a most Exemplary Profession of it; he reformed all his former Ways of Sin and Lust, and with prodigious Patience bore a Thousand Injuries from the other *Indians* for his Holy Profession, while he went up and down Preaching of *Christ* among them. At last the *Indians* Murdered him, and Poisoned him for his Religion; and I find no less a Person than Mr. *Thomas Shepherd* of *Cambridge* in Print reporting his Death with such Terms as these. *Wequash, the Famous Indian at the Rivers Mouth, is dead, and certainly in Heaven: Gloriously did the Grace of Christ shine forth in his Conversation a Year and a half before his Death; he knew Christ; he loved Christ; he preached Christ up and down; and then suffered Martyrdom for Christ; and when he died, he gave his Soul to Christ, and his only Child to the English, in this hope, that the Child should know more of Christ than its poor Father did.*

§. 3. *Sampson* was not in much greater Distress by Thirst, after his Exploit upon the *Philistines*, than our Friends the Day after this Exploit upon the *Pequots*; being distressed with the wants of a Thousand Necessaries, in the Country of an enraged and a numerous Enemy in the other Fort, from whence they expected that the mighty *Sassacus*, with all his Might, would pour forth upon them. Nevertheless, by the good Providence of God, their Pinaces, with all other necessary Provision for 'em, arrived in the *Pequot Harbour* at the very nick of time, when they were most wishing for them; whether while our Forces were Marching, the Enemy came up, Three Hundred of them, from the other Fort, like *Bears bereaved of their Whelps*. They now continued a Bloody Fight for Six Miles together; in which the *Indians* meeting with much loss, notwithstanding their making a Fort of every *Swamp* in the way, were so discouraged, that for the present they gave over; but when they came to see the Ashes of their *Friends* mingled with the Ashes of the Fort, and the Bodies of so many of their Countrymen terribly *Barbikew'd*, where the *English* had been doing a good Mornings Work, they Howl'd, they Roar'd, they Stamp'd, they Tore their Hair; and though they did not *Swear*, (for they knew not *how!*) yet they *Curs'd*, and were the Pictures of so many *Devils* in Desperation. Captain *Patrick*, and quickly after him Captain *Stoughton*, were now come into those Parts of the Country, to Prosecute the

Work which had been so notably begun by the *Connecticotians* : And there was yet *Work* for them to do ; we have sometimes read of *A Gleaning as good as a Vintage*. For the whole Body of the Surviving *Pequots* repairing to the *Fort* where *Sassacus* resided, upbraided him as the Author of all their Disasters, and were as full of Mutiny against him, as the *Ninevites* were against *Sennacherib* after his Disasterous Expedition against *Jerusalem* ; upon which they presently dispersed themselves into several Dangerous, Rambling and Raging Parcels, and became like so many *Unkennell'd Wolves* about the Country. However, Heaven so smil'd upon the *English Hunting* after them, that here and there whole Companies of them were, by the Informations of other *Indians*, Trepanned into the Hunters Hands ; particularly at one time some Hundreds of them were seized by Captain *Stoughton* with little Opposition, who sending away the Females and Children as Captives, put the Men on Board a Vessel of one Skipper *Gallop*, which proved a *Charon's Ferry-Boat* unto them, for it was found the quickest Way to feed the *Fishes* with 'em. Our Forces pursued the rest of the *Pequots* which way soever they could hear of them, and frequently had the Satisfaction of cutting them off by *Companies* : But among others, they met with one Crew which afforded them *Two Sachims*, both of which they Beheaded, and unto a Third they gave his Life, on Condition that he would effectually enquire after *Sassacus*, the Grand one of them all. This Wretch overlooking all National or Natural Obligations, proved faithful to his Employers ; and in a few Days returning with Advice of the Place where *Sassacus* was Lodg'd, *Sassacus* from his withdraw, suspected the Matter, and so fled away with Twenty or Thirty of his Men to that People which are known by the Name of *Maqua's*, a fierce Generation of *Man-Eaters*, for whom the Name of *Cannibal* or *Hannibal*, (of a Signification Originally much more *Gracious* !) has been carried with them out of *Africa* into *America* ; but these *Maqua's* being by the *Narragansets*, as was thought, hired thereunto, with a most *Indian Hospitality* cut 'em all to Pieces. By such Methods as these there was a quick period givento the *Pequot War* ; and the few *Pequots* that survived, finding themselves a Prey to all the other *Indians*, who now prided themselves in presenting the *English* with as many *Pequot Heads* as they could, whether by *Violence*, or by *Stratagem*, seize upon, submitted themselves unto the *English Mercy*. But the rest of the *Indians*, who saw a little handful of *Englishmen* *Massacre* and *Captive* seven Hundred of their Adversaries, and kill no less than Thirteen of their *Sachims* or little *Kings* in one short Expedition, such a *Terror from God* fell upon them, that after this the *Land rested from War for near Forty Years together*, even until the time when the Sins of the Land called for a *new Scourge* ; and the *Indians* by being taught the Use of *Guns*, which hitherto they had not learnt, were more capa-

ble to be made the Instruments of inflicting it. The *English Interest* in *America* must at last with *Bleeding Lamentations* cry out,

Heu! Patior Telis, Vulnera facta meis.

For after this, the *Auri sacra Fames*, that *curfed Hunger of Lucre*, in the diverse Nations of *Europeans* here, in diverse Colonies bordering upon one another, soon furnish'd the *Salvages* with *Tools* to destroy those that furnish'd them ;

—Tools, pregnant with *Infernal Flame*,
Which into *Hollow Engines*, long and round,
Thick Ramm'd at th' other Bore, with Touch
of Fire
Dilated and *Insuriate*, doth send forth
From far with *Thund'ring Noise* among their
Foes
Such *Implements of Mischief*, as to dash
To Pieces and or'whelm whatever stands
Adverse.—

§. 4. Indeed, there were some Approaches towards a *War* between the *English* and several Nations of the *Indians* divers times after this ; but they were happily prevented with an *Obsta Principiis*. In the Year 1638. sundry *Vagabond English* murdered an *Indian* in the Woods, upon which the *Narragansets*, whereof he was one, were going to rise : But when they saw the Justice of the Country in Executing Three *English* for the Murder of one *Indian*, it so Astonished them that they laid aside their Inclination to *Insurrection*. In the Year 1643. *Miantonimo* the King of the *Narragansets*, having foully hired an *Indian* to *Assassinate Uncas* the King of the *Mobeags*, (but fail'd in the Attempt) a Disturbance was thereby Occasion'd ; which proceeded so far, that *Miantonimo* went forth to a *Battel* against *Uncas*, wherein *Uncas*, though he had but half the Number of Men, took *Miantonimo* Prisoner, and very fairly cut off his *Head*. In the next Year, an *Indian* murdering an *Englishman* in the Woods near *Connecticut*, and the *Sagamore* whereto he belonged refusing to Surrender the Murderer, things went on so far that the *Heady Indians* began to do *Hostile Actions*, until upon Second and Wiser Thoughts the *Salvages* did make a Surrender of the Murderer, and then those Clouds blew over also.

About the same Year, the *Narragansets* were so set upon Destroying the *Mobeags*, that the *New-Englanders* reckon'd themselves bound in Justice and Honour to defend *Uncas*, who had ever been true to the *English Interests* ; and upon this Account there was an Army raised from all the Colonies, which being on their March towards the Enemies Country, the Principal *Sachims* of the *Narragansets*, by an early Application to *Boston* for Peace, put an happy stop to their Marching any further.

The *Narragansets* obliged themselves to pay the Charges which in this Matter they had put
the

the English unto, and send the Sons of their *Sachims* for *Hostages* until the said Payment should be made; but the *Indians* observing but a *Greek Faith* in the slow Fulfillments of their Promises, one Captain *Aiberton* had the Courage, with a very few *English*, to visit and enter the very *Wigwam* of the old *Sachim Nini-gret*, and catching the *Sachim* there by his Hair, with a Pistol at his Breast, in plain *English* protested, *That if he did not immediately take effectual Order to Answer the English Demands, he was a dead Man.* An horrid Consternation seized all the *Indians* upon the sight of so Extravagant an Action; and though Multitudes of them stood ready to let fly upon Captain *Aiberton*, yet their Hearts failed them: *They submitted, and there was an End.* A Plot of one *Se-quasson*, an Indian Prince near *New-Haven*, to Assassinate the chief Magistrates of the Neighbour Colony, and some other Villainous and Injurious Actions of the *Indians* towards divers other English People, caused more Disturbance in the Year 1646. but at last this also came to nothing. In the Year 1647. not only the *Narragansets* but the *Mobeags* also, by new Insolencies, obliged the English to demand Satisfaction from them, which being obtained, they proceeded unto no further Action; and in the Year following the *Narragansets* hiring the *Miqua's* to Assist them in the Prosecution of their old Pique against *Uncas*, were again upon the very point of Committing Outrages upon the *English* too; but a merciful Providence of Heaven over-ruled it, as it in like manner did the Effects of a *General Uproar* likely to ensue upon certain Murders perpetrated by *Outrageous Indians* upon certain Persons of *New-Haven*, and of *Long-Island*, in the Year ensuing. About the Year 1653. there was a great *Commotion* and *Agony* raised in the Spirits of People throughout the Country, upon the Apprehension of an horrid Conspiracy among the *Indians* throughout the Country to cut off all the *English*; and there appeared strong Evidences to Confirm that Apprehension; but these Troubles likewise vanished. In the Year 1662. *Alexander*, the Son and Heir of old *Massasoit*, not being such a Friend to the English as his Father had been before him, solicited the *Narragansets* to join with him in a Rebellion; upon the good proof whereof, the Government of *Plymouth* sent that Valiant and Excellent Commander, Major General *Winslow*, to fetch him down before them. The Major General used such Expedition and Resolution in this Affair, that, assisted with no more than Ten Men, he seized upon *Alexander* at an Hunting-House, notwithstanding his Numerous Attendants about him, and when the Raging *Sachim* saw a Pistol at his Breast, with a Threatning of Death to him if he did not quietly yeild himself up to go down unto *Plymouth* with him, he yeilded, though, it may be, not very quietly thereunto. *Alexander* was thereupon treated with no other than that *Humanity* and *Civility* which was always *Essential* to the Major General; nevertheless the in-

ward Fury of his own guilty and haughty Mind threw him into such a *Fever* as cost him his Life. His Brother *Philip* succeeded him in the *Sagamore-ship*, who after he had solemnly Renewed his *Covenant of Peace* with the English, most perfidiously broke it by making an attempt of *War* upon them in the Year 1671. wherein being seasonably and effectually Defeated, he humbly Confessed his Breach of *Covenant*, and subscribed Articles of *Submission*, whereof one was, *That in case any future Difference did arise between him and the English, he would repair to the Government there to Relieve Matters, before he Engaged in any Hostile Attempts.* Indeed, when the Duke of *Archebette*, at his being made Governour of *Antwerpe Castle*, took an Oath to keep it faithfully for King *Philip* of *Spain*, the Officer that gave him his Oath used these odd Words, *If you perform what you promise, God help you; if you do it not, the Devil take you Body and Soul!* And all the *Standers-by* cried, *Amen.* But when the Indian King *Philip* took an Oath to be faithful unto the Government of *New-England* no Body used these Words unto him; nevertheless you shall anon see whether these Words were not Expressive enough of what became of him!

§. 5. In the Year 1674. one *John Sausaman*, an Indian, that had been sent forth from the *English* to Preach the Gospel unto his Country-Men, addressed the Governour of *Plymouth* with Informations, that *Philip*, with several Nations of the *Indians* besides his own, were plotting the Destruction of the English throughout the Country. This *John Sausaman* was the Son of *Christian Indians*; but he *Apostatizing* from the Profession of Christianity, lived like an *Heathen* in the Quality of a *Secretary* to King *Philip*; for he could Write, though the King his Master could not so much as Read. But after this, the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ Recovered him from his *Apostasie*, and he gave such notable Evidences and Expressions of his *Repentance*, that he was not only admitted unto the Communion of the *Lord's Table* in one of the *Indian Churches*, but he was also employed every *Lord's Day* as an *Instructor* among them. Nevertheless, because there was but this one Testimony of an *Indian*, and therefore of a *suspected Original*, there was little notice taken of it, until the *Artificial Arguments* of some too probable and unhappy *Circumstances* confirmed it. But before the truth of the Matter could be enquired into, poor *John* was Barbarously Murdered by certain *Indians*, who, that the Murder might not be Discovered, cut an Hole through the Ice of the Pond, where they met with him, and put in the Dead Body, leaving his *Hat* and his *Gun* upon the Ice, that so others might suppose him to have there drowned himself. It being rumoured that *Sausaman* was missing, the Neighbours did seek, and find, and bury his Dead Body; but upon the Jealousies on the Spirits of Men that he might have met with some *soul Play* for his Discovering of the *Indian Plot*, a *Fury* was empannell'd, unto whom

it appeared that his Neck was broken, which is one Indian way of Murdering, and that his Head was extremely Swoln, and that he had several other Wounds upon him, and that when he was taken out of the Pond, no Water Issued out of him. It was remarkable, that one Tobias, a Counsellor of King Philip's, whom they suspected as the Author of this Murder, approaching to the Dead Body, it would still fall a Bleeding afresh, as if it had newly been Slain; yea, that upon the Repetition of the Experiment it still happened so, albeit he had been deceased and interred for a Considerable while before. Afterwards an Indian, called Patuckson, gave in his Testimony, that he saw this Tobias, with certain other Indians, killing of John Sausaman; and it was further testified, that John Sausaman before he died had expressed his Fears, that those very Indians would be his Death. Hereupon Tobias, with Two other Indians, being apprehended, they were, after a fair Trial for their Lives, by a Jury consisting half of English, and half of Indians, Convicted, and so Condemned; and though they were all successively turned off the Ladder at the Gallows, utterly denying the Fact; yet the last of them happening to break or slip the Rope, did, before his going off the Ladder again, confess, That the other Indians did really Murder John Sausaman, and that he was himself, though no Actor in it, yet a Looker on. Things began by this time to have an Ominous Aspect. Yea, and now we speak of things Ominous, we may add, Some time before this, in a Clear, Still, Sunshiny Morning, there were divers Persons in Maldon who heard in the Air, on the South-East of them, a Great Gun go off, and presently thereupon the Report of Small Guns like Musket Shot, very thick discharging, as if there had been a Battel. This was at a time when there was nothing visibly done in any part of the Colony to occasion such Noises; but that which most of all Astonished them was the Flying of Bullets, which came Singing over their Heads, and seemed very near to them, after which the sound of Drums passing along Westward was very Audible; and on the same Day, in Plymouth Colony in several Places, invisible Troops of Horses were heard Riding to and fro. Now, Reader, prepare for the Event of these Prodigies, but count me not struck with a Luvian Superstition in Reporting Prodigies, for which I have such Incontestable Assurance.

§. 6. Philip, conscious to his own Guilt, pushed on the Execution of his Plot as fast as he could; he Armed his Men, and sent away their Women, and entertained many strange Indians that flock'd in unto him from several Parts of the Country, and began to be Tumultuous. The English, whose Innocency and Integrity had made them too secure, nevertheless, on these Alarums made several friendly Applications unto Philip, with their Advice, that he would no more allow of any thing that should look like Tumult among his People; but they were entertained with a Surly, Haughty, and Provoking

Insolence. The Indians proceeded in the Month of June unto the Rifling of several Houses in the Plantations near Mount-Hope, which was the Seat where Philip was Kennell'd with the Rest of these horrid Salvages; and hereupon the Governour of Plymouth sent forth a small Army for the Defence of the Exposed Plantations. On June 24. a Day of Solemn Humiliation was kept through the Colony for the success of the Expedition; and, Reader, behold what a Solemn Humiliation the displeasure of Heaven then dispenced unto them; for at the Conclusion of the Day, as the Inhabitants of Swanzy were coming from their Prayers, the Lurking Indians discharged a Volley of Shot upon them, whereby one Man was Killed, and another Wounded; and the Two Men that were sent for a Chirurgeon to relieve the Wounded, were also Killed: Which Slaughter was accompanied with the Murder of Six Men more in another part of the Town. So that now the War was begun by a Fierce Nation of Indians, upon an Honest, Harmless, Christian Generation of English, who might very truly have said unto the Aggressors, as it was of old said unto the Ammonites, *I have not sinned against thee, but thou dost me wrong to War against me; The Lord the Judge be Judge this Day between us!* Plymouth-Colony being thus involved in a War, immediately sent unto the other United Colonies for their Aid, who according to the Articles of the Union whereinto they were Confederated, immediately approved themselves true Brethren to the Colony in Adversity. On June 26. a Company of Troopers under the Command of Captain Thomas Prentice, and Footmen under the Command of Captain Daniel Herchman, marched out of Boston towards Mount-Hope; and though some of a Melancholy Complexion had their Dark Thoughts, that a Total and Central Eclipse of the Moon in Capricorn, which gave them some Dark Hours the first Night of their March, might be Ominous of ensuing Disasters; yet the Soldiers were generally of the Mind with Marcus Crassus, the Great Roman General, *That there was more Cause to be afraid of Sagittarius than of Capricornus.* A Company of Brisk Volunteers, under the Command of Captain Samuel Mosely, quickly overtook them, and so joined with Plymouth Forces, under the Command of Captain Cudworth at Swansey, June 28. Twelve of our Men, unwilling to lose a Minute of time, went that very Evening to discover the Enemy, who from the Bushes fired upon them, Killed One, and Wounded another, but were soon by our handful of Men put unto a shameful Flight. Our Army the next Morning made a Resolute Charge upon the Enemy, who presently fled from their Quarters, and left their whole Territory open to us; entring whereof we found the mangled Bodies of some of our Country Men, whose Heads they had also stuck upon Poles; and we found Bibles torn to Pieces in Defiance of our Holy Religion; but we found in the Wigwams of the Enemy all the Marks of an hasty

hasty departure; nor was *Philip* any more seen in his Country, till he returned thither the next Year to receive the Recompence of his *Perfidy*.

§. 7. The *English* little Army scoured the Woods, and with some loss to our selves, we now and then had Opportunity to inflict a greater loss upon the Enemy. But we took this Opportunity to March over into the *Narraganset*-Country, that with a *Sword* in our Hands we might renew and confirm our Peace with a most considerable Nation of *Indians* there, of whose Conjunction with *Philip* and his *Wompanoags* (for so were *Philip's* Nation called) we had more than ordinary cause to be afraid. The Effect of which was, that the *Sachims* of the *Narragansets* did, on *July 15*. Sign and Seal Articles of Peace with us, wherein they engaged that they would not only forbear all Acts of Hostility against the *English*, but also use their utmost Ability, by all Acts of Hostility, to destroy *Philip* and his Adherents, calling the God of Heaven to Witness for the true Performance of these Articles. In the mean time, Captain *Cudworth*, with his *Plymouth*-Forces, went upon the like Account unto another small Nation of the *Indians*, at a place called *Pocasset*, with a Design to hasten further afield for the help of the Two little Villages of *Middlebury* and *Dartmouth*, now suffering under the Depredations of a Sculking Adversary. Captain *Fuller* and Captain *Church*, with Two small Detachments, had spent some time in the Woods of *Pocasset*, before a great Company of *Indians* compelled Captain *Fuller*, with his Men, to seek some shelter from a Shower of Bullets, in an House near the Water-side, where they defended themselves till a Sloop from *Rhode-Island* fetch'd them off; but Captain *Church* was got into a *Peace-Field*, where he, with his *Fifteen* Men, found himself suddenly surrounded with an Hundred and almost Five times *Fifteen* terrible *Indians*: Nevertheless, this Gentleman, like another *Shamgar*, had Courage enough in himself alone to have served an Army; he assured his Men with a strange Confidence, that not a *Bullet* should hurt them; which one, that was more Faint-hearted than the rest, not believing, this Valiant Commander set him to gather a few Rocks together for a little Barricado to them; in the doing whereof, as he was carrying a Stone in his Arms to the Bank intended, a *Bullet*, which else would have killed him, struck upon that very Stone, and miss'd him, which Experiment presently restored *Manhood* unto him: So they fought it out bravely that whole Afternoon, without the least *Hurt* unto any *One* of their Number, but with *Death* given to as many as their Number of their Enemies. And at last, when their Guns by often Firing were become unserviceable, a Sloop of *Rhode-Island* fetch'd them off also. This Action was but a Whet unto the Courage of Captain *Church*, who hastening over to the Main, borrowed Three Files of Men from the *Massachusetts*-Forces, and re-

turned unto *Pocasset*, where he had another Skirmish, in which he slew Fourteen or Fifteen of the Enemies, and struck such a Terror into the rest, that if they could have got away, those Quarterers would for a while have heard no more of them.

§. 8. The little Forces of the Two Colonies coming together again after the Treaty of *Narraganset*, they march'd from *Taunton*, *July 18*. Eighteen Miles, to a mighty *Swamp* where the *Indians* were lodged; and the *Indians* covering themselves with *Green Boughs*, a Subtilty of the same *Nature*, though not of the same *Colour*, that they affirm to be used by the *Cuttle-Fish*, took the Advantage from the Thick Under-Woods to kill several of the *English*. But the *English* pursuing of them, they presently deserted an Hundred of their *Wigwams* which they had there Erected, and retired further into the Prodigious Thicket, where we presumed that we had 'em in a Pound; and so scarce Two Hundred Men being left there to keep an Eye upon them, the rest (except such as returned unto *Boston*) were dispatched unto the relief of *Mendham*, where, about *July 14*. the *Nipmuck-Indians*, another Nation of them that were Well-willers to *Philip's* Design, began to *Philippize* in Barbarous Murders. Our Forces kept a strict Eye upon the Motions of the *Enswamped* Enemy; but finding if once we squeezed our selves into those Inaccessible Woods, we meerly Sacrificed one another to our own Mistakes, by firing into every Bush that we saw to stir, as expecting a *Thief in every Bush*; we were willing rather to Starve the Beast in his Den, than go in to Fight him there. Heaven saw more *Blood* must be drawn from the Colonies, before *Health* could be restored to them: *Philip* would have surrendered himself, if we had gone in to take him; whereas now becoming desperate, he with his best Fighting Men taking the Advantage of a *Low Tide* in the middle of the Night, waded themselves over on small Rafts of Timber, into the Woods that led unto the *Nipmuck*-Country, while our Forces that lay Encamped on the other Side perceived it not. An Hundred of the miserable Salvages that were left behind, made a Surrender of themselves to our Mercy; but *Philip's* escape now soon after Day-light being discovered, the *English*, assisted with a Party of *Monhegin-Indians*, pursued them as fast as they could, and in the pursuit slew about Thirty of them e'er the Night obliged 'em to give over. However, *Philip* now escaping to the Westward, he enflamed the several Nations of the *Indians* in the West where-ever he came, to take part with him, until the Flame of War was raging all over the whole *Massachusetts-Colony*. The First Scene of the Bloody Tragedy was in the *Nipmuck*-Country, whither Captain *Hutchinson*, accompanied with Captain *Wheeler*, went, *Aug. 2*. upon a Treaty of Peace with the *Indians* there, who had agreed with him a place of Meeting for the Consummation of the Treaty, and the Renovation of the Covenant, wherein they had the

the Month before promised under their Hands, that they would not assist *Philip* in his Hostilities. The *Indians* not coming to the place assigned, Captain *Hutchinson* rode a little further, and so far, that the Perfidious Villains, from an *Ambuscado*, mortally wounded him, and shot Eight more dead upon the Spot; but the rest fled back by a By-Path to *Quaboag*, a small Village, where all the Inhabitants were just got into one House, resolving there to Live and Die together. The *Indians*, with *Philip's* Army newly arrived unto them, rush'd in like a Storm of Lightning upon this distressed Village; and having burnt all the rest, they furiously beset that one House, where a little Handful of Men bravely defended the little *Cottage*, which was all their *Castle* against an huge Army of cruel Tawnies, who kept perpetually pouring in their Shot upon them for Two Days together, and thrusting Poles with Brands and Rags dipp'd in burning Brimstone, and many other Tricks, to set the *Cottage* on Fire. At last, after Six Ineffectual Attempts to Burn this poor Hovel, (so in *Six Troubles they were delivered*, yea, in *Seven* the Evil touch'd 'em not!) they fill'd a *Cart* with Flax, Hemp, and other Combustible Matter, and kindling of it, they push'd it on with very long Poles that were Spliced one unto another; by which means this *Petite Flock* must have unavoidably become a Prey to these horrid *Wolves*, if a mighty Storm of Rain had not suddenly extinguished it. But, *Blessed be the Lord*, (might the Seventy Men, Women and Children in that House anon Sing!) *who hath not given us a Prey to their Teeth; our Soul is escaped as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers!* Our memorable Major *Willard*, on *Aug. 4.* in the Morning, setting forth with a Party of Men to visit and secure a *Nation* of *Suspected Indians*, in the Neighbourhood received, by a strange Accident, some seasonable Advice of the doleful Condition wherein our Brethren at *Quaboag*, Thirty Miles distant from him, were *Ensnared*; and thereupon turning his Course thither, it came to pass, that although the *Indians* had placed sufficient *Ambushments* to cut off any Succours that should come that way, yet there was an *Unaccountable Besotment* so fallen upon them, that this Valiant Commander, with Forty-eight Men, arrived at Night unto the help of these *Besieged People*, and bravely raised the *Siege*, by driving the *Beasts of Prey* back to their *Dens*, after he had First Sacrificed many Scores of them unto the *Divine Vengeance*. Thus remarkably was this poor People delivered; but the Enemy Steering further Westward, Captain *Lathrop*, Captain *Beers*, and others, were sent with more Forces to Track 'em; and if it were possible, to prevent their Poisoning and Seducing of the *Indians* upon *Conneticut-River*, whose Fidelity was now extremely doubted of.

§. 9. The Towns belonging unto the *Massachusetts-Colony* upon *Conneticut-River*, assisted now by Forces also from *Conneticut*, under the Command of Major *Robert Treat*, sent Soldi-

ers on *Aug. 25.* to Demand from their *Indians* a Proof of that Faithfulness which they had hitherto professed, but *Philip* had Bewitched them; they were fled from their Forts, having first killed an Old *Sachim* of their own that was not willing to go with them; they fired upon our Men from a *Swamp* when we were looking after them; and a Dispute continued for some Hours, wherein we lost *Nine Men* belonging to *Nine Towns*. Thus the Desolations of *War* were carried into these Parts of the Country, while small Crews of *Salvages* here and there, in other Parts of the Country, were distressing People wonderfully. On *Sept. 1.* the *Indians* laid most of the Houses belonging to the hopeful Plantation of *Deerfield* in *Athes*, while the Garrison was not strong enough to Salley forth upon 'em: and on the Day following they flew Eight Men abroad in the Woods at *Squakbeag*, without making any Attempts upon the Garrison. Captain *Beers*, with about Thirty-six Men, were sent up to fetch off the People in these little *Garrisons*, but they found a *Serpent by the Way*, and *Adder in the Path*: Hundreds of *Indians* from a thick *Swamp* Fired upon them, whereupon followed a desperate Fight, wherein the Captain and a Score of his Men sold their Lives at as good a Price as they could, but the rest fled into *Halley*, leaving Major *Treat* a few Days after to finish what they had undertaken.

The Towns thereabout now being tollerably Garrison'd, Captain *Lothrop*, with about Eighty Men, carried Carts to fetch off the Corn that lay *Thresh'd* in *Deerfield*; but they fell themselves into a terrible *Tribulation*; for on *Sept. 18.* a vast Body of Seven or Eight Hundred *Indians* on the Road entertained them with an Assault, wherein the Courageous Captain having taken up a wrong Notion, that the best Course was to Fight with *Indians* in their own way of Sculking behind the Trees, and thence aiming at single Persons, thereby exposed himself to Ruin. If they had fought more in a Body, they might have carried all before them; for it has been observed, that *Indians* never durst look *Englishmen* in the Face; whereas now above Threescore of our Men, and most of them hopeful *Young Men*, were killed. Captain *Mosely* hearing the *Reports* which the *Guns* gave of this *Battel*, came up with an Handful of Men, though too late for the Rescue of Captain *Lothrop*; and several times he Marched through and through that prodigious Clan of *Dragons*, and raked them for Five or Six Hours together, with the loss of no more than Two Men of his own; albeit the *Indians* afterwards confessed that they lost Ninety-six of themselves, and had more than Forty wounded. *New-England* had never yet seen so black a *Day!* The Inhabitants of *Springfield*, notwithstanding the firmest Assurances which the Nations of *Indians* near to them had given them of their Friendship and Faithfulness, were awakned by these things to enquire how far they might rest assured thereof, when

when all o'th' sudden the *Hostages* which these *Indians* had given were fled; and some *English* going to Visit them at their Fort, were Treacherously saluted with a Volley of Shot, which miserably wounded them; whereupon the Town was in all the Ungarrison'd Parts of it Fired by these Perfidious Cairifs. Thirty two Houses, and amongst the rest, the Minister's with his well-furnished Library, were consumed before the Arrival of Major *Treat*, Major *Pinchon*, and Captain *Appleton*, put a stop to the Fury and Progress of an Insulting Enemy: Nor had the Inhabitants themselves escaped a *Massacre*, if an *Indian*, privy to the *Plot*, had not just in the *Nick of time* discovered it unto them. After this, the *English* Forces were ordered, by a merciful Providence of Heaven, to Rendezvouz about *Northampton*, *Hadley*, *Hatfield*, until it might be consider'd what there was further to be done; and now behold, Reader, a Comfortable Matter in the midst of so many *Tragedies*! The General Court then Sitting at *Boston*, appointed a Committee, who with the assistance of the *Ministers* in the Neighbourhood, might suggest what were the *Provoking Evils* that had thus brought the Judgments of God in a *Bloody War* upon the Land, and what *Laws* might be Enacted for the *Reformation* of those *Provoking Evils*! The return of which Committee to the General Court was kindly received on *Oct. 19.* and Care taken further to Prosecute the Intentions of it. Now as our Martyrologist, *Mr. Fox*, observes, that at the very *Day* and *Hour* when the Act of *Reformation*, in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* was put in Execution at *London*, God gave the Nation a Signal Victory at *Muscleborough*: Thus it was remark'd by some Devout Men, that on the very *Day* when the Vote was pass'd at *Boston* for the *Reformation* of Miscarriages in the Land, our Forces had a notable Success an Hundred Miles off against the Common Enemy. Seven or Eight Hundred *Indians* broke in upon *Hatfield* at all Quarters, but our Forces being beyond their Expectation lodg'd in the Neighbourhood, the *Indians* were so terribly Defeated, that after the killing of but *One* *Englishman* in the Fight, they confessed the *Town too hot* for them, and fled so fast, that many of them lost their Lives in the *River*. This resolute Repulse gave such a Check to the Enemy, that the Western Plantations for a long while heard little or nothing further from them; some straggling Parties, indeed, were here and there Mischievous; but as Winter drew on, they generally retired unto the *Narraganset-Country*, where the Reader must now expect a considerable Action! 'Tis true, the *European* Campaigns for the *Numbers* of Men appearing in them, compared with the little *Numbers* that appear in these *American* Actions, may tempt the Reader to make a very Diminutive Business of our whole *Indian-War*; but we who felt our selves Assaulted by unknown *Numbers* of *Devils in Flesh* on every side of us, and knew that our Minute *Numbers* em-

ploy'd in the Service against them, were proportionably more to us than mighty *Legions* are to Nations, that have existed as many Centuries as our Colonies have *Years* in the World, can scarce forbear taking the Colours in the *Sixth Book of Milton* to describe our Story: And speaking of our *Indians* in as high Terms as *Virgil* of his *Pisnires*: *It nigrum campis Agmen!* At least we think our Story as considerable as that silly Business of the Invading and Conquering *Florida* by the *Spaniards*, under *Fernando de Soto*; and yet that Story the World has thought worthy to be read in divers Languages.

§. 10. The Commissioners of the *United Colonies* having manifest and manifold Proofs that the Great Nation of *Narraganset-Indians*, with whom the rest were now Harbour'd, had not only broken their Articles of *Peace* with the *English* in divers Instances, but were also Plotting to begin a *War* against us in the Spring, when they should have the *Leaves* of the *Trees* to Befriend them, took up a general Resolution, in the depth of *Winter*, to make a Vigorous Expedition against them. Accordingly an Army consisting of a Thousand at First, and afterwards Fifteen Hundred Men, under the Conduct of the truly Honourable *Josiah Winslow, Esq;* marched into the *Narraganset-Country*, where they no sooner arrived on *Dec. 12.* but about Forty *Indians* fell into their Hands; among whom, one was a Fellow named *Peter*, who having received some Disgust from his Countrymen, proved so Faithful and Useful a Guide unto our Forces, that they afterwards found that they could not well, have liv'd without him. Several Mischiefs were done by the *Indians* whilst our Army were here waiting for their Brethren from *Connecticut*; especially their Surprisal of a remote Garrison belonging to one *Ball*, where about Fourteen Persons were Baited to Death by the terrible *Dogs*. But the *Connecticut-Forces* being also arrived on *Dec. 18.* they presently marched away by break of Day, the next Morning, through Cold and Snow, and very amazing Difficulties, enough to have Damn'd any ordinary Fortitude, for Eighteen Miles together. The *Indians* had a Fort raised upon an Island of about Five or Six Acres, in the midst of an horrid *Swamp*, which Fort, besides its *Palisadoes*, had a kind of Wall or Hedge about a Rod thick encompassing of it. The Entrance of this Fort was upon a long Tree over the Water, where but one Man could pass at a time, and this was way-laid after such a manner, that if our Men had attempted that Passage, they must have perished. Only by the help of *Peter* they discovered a *Vulnerable Heel*, as I may call it, yet left in the Fort at one Corner, where there was a Gap supplied only with long Trees about Four or Five Foot from the Ground, over which Men might force their way; though against this they had Built a Block-House, from whence a Bloody Storm of Bullets, (and enough to make every Man like the poor Man in the *Twelve Signs of the*

Almanack) was to be expected by them that should make their Approaches there. Our Men came up to the *Swamp* about One a Clock, and Immediately and Courageously pressing through the *Swamp*, from whence the *Indians* began to Fire upon 'em, they advanced unto that part of the Fort which was most accessible : Now having of nothing, but, *Mors certa, aut Victoria Leta*, in their Eye. Brave Captain *Mosely* and Captain *Davenport* led the *Van* ; Captain *Gardner* and Captain *Johnson* were in the *Center*, Major *Appleton* and Captain *Oliver* brought up the *Rear* of the *Massachusetts-Forces* : General *Winslow* with *Plymouth-Forces*, under Major *Bradford* and Captain *Goram*, marched in the *Center* ; and *Connecticut-Forces*, under Major *Treat* and Captain *Siely*, Captain *Gallop*, Captain *Mason*, Captain *Wats*, and Captain *Marshal*, made the *Rear* of the whole Body. Nothing in the World could be more Magnanimous than the Spirit which now carried on both Leaders and Soldiers in the Enterprize now before them : They leaped over the *Trees of Death*, into the Spot of Ground where *Death* in all its Terrors was to be Encountered ; the Fall of the Valiant Leaders, no less than Six of them, namely, *Davenport*, *Gardiner*, *Johnson*, *Gallop*, *Siely* and *Marshal*, (tho' it rendred the Place worthy of the Name which the *Romans* put upon the abhorr'd Place where their Beloved Commander *Drusus* died, namely, *Scelerata Castra*) did but add *Fire* to the Rage of the *Soldiers* ; they beat the Enemy from one Shelter to another, till they had utterly driven them out of all their *Sconces* ; and at last they set Fire to the Fort, from whence the Surviving *Indians* fled into a vast *Cedar-Swamp* at some distance off. I wish I could particularly give an *Immortal Memory* to all the Brave Men that signalized themselves in this Action. But among them all, *O quam te memorem*, Thou Excellent *SAMUEL NOWEL*, never to be forgotten ! This now *Reverend*, and afterwards *Worshipful* Person, a Chaplain to the Army, was Author to a good Sermon preached unto the *Artillery Company* of the *Massachusetts*, which he Entituled, *Abraham in Arms* ; and at this Fight there was no Person more like a true Son of *Abraham in Arms*, or that with more Courage and Hazardly fought in the midst of a Shower of Bullets from the surrounding *Salvages*. But,

*Longa referre mora est, quæ consilioq; manuq;
Utiliter fecit Spaciosi Tempore Belli.*

No less than *Seven Hundred fighting Indians* were destroyed, as it was afterwards confessed in this desperate Action ; besides *Three Hundred* which afterwards died of their Wounds, and Old Men, Women, Children, *Sans* number ; but of the *English* about *Eighty Five* were slain, and an *Hundred and Fifty* wounded. And now, *Sic Magnis componere Parva !* Reader,

*And now their Mightiest quell'd, the Battel
swerv'd,
With many an Inroad gor'd, deformed Rout
Enter'd, and foul Disorder ; all the Ground
With shiver'd Armour strown, and on a heap,
Salvage and Sagamore lay overturn'd,
And fiery, Foaming Blacks ; what stood recoil'd
Orewearied, and with Panick Fear surpris'd.*

Had the Assault been deferred one Day longer, there fell such a Storm of *Snow*, that for divers Weeks it must have been *Impracticable* ; and at the end of those Weeks there came so violent and unusual a *Thaw*, that by making the way to the Fort Unpassable, it would have render'd it still more *Impracticable*. *Just now* was the *Time* for this Work ; and the Work being so far accomplished, our Forces retreating after Day-light was almost spent, found it necessary to go back with many *Wounded*, and more *Weary* Men, unto their Head Quarters, near *Eighteen Miles* off, in a dismal Night, through *Hardships*, that an whole Age would hardly parallel ; which if the *Remaining Enemies* had known, they might easily have cut off all our *Enfeebled* and *Bewildred* Army. However such a Blow was now given to the Enemy as never could be recovered ! And our Forces having in some following Weeks made now and then some happy *Gleanings* of their late Victory, until the Enemy was gone, they knew not whither, they returned unto their several Homes until the next Occasion.

§. 11. *Deserted Mendam* was this Winter laid in *Ashes*. And the *French* from *Canada* sending Recruits unto the *Indians* for that purpose, the *Indians* thus Recruited on *Feb. 10.* fell upon the Town of *Lancaster*, where they Burned many Houses, and Murdered and Captived more than *Forty* Persons. The Worthy Minister of the Town, *Mr. Rolandson*, had been at *Boston* to Intercede for some speedy Succours ; and though by this Journey from Home he was himself preserved, yet at his return he found his *House* on Fire, his *Goods* and *Books* all burned, and which was worse, his *Wife*, and *Children*, and *Neighbours*, in the Hands of the worst Barbarians in the World. This good Man, like *David* at *Ziklag*, yet believed, for the Recovery of his Relations our of those horrible Hands, which about *Four* or *Five* Months after was accomplished with wonderful Dispensations of Divine Providence, whereof the Gentlewoman her self has given us a *Printed Narrative*. Captain *Wadsworth*, with *Forty* resolute Men, compelled the *Indians* to quit the Place ; but they soon did further Mischiefs at *Malborough*, *Sudbury*, *Chelmsford* ; and *Feb. 21.* Two or *Three Hundred* of them came Wheeling down to *Medfield*, where they burnt near half the Town, and killed near a *Score* of the Inhabitants ; and *Feb. 25.* *Weymouth* also suffered from these *Burners* no little Damage. An Army under the Command of that Expert

Expert Leader, Major *Thomas Savage* about this time did make after the Indians as far as *Northampton*; and there was again a singular Providence of God in ordering this Matter: For had it not been for these Recruits, those Western Plantations had probably been cut off by a vast Body of Indians, which on *March 14.* in Three Places broke in upon the thin *Palasadoes*, wherewith *Northampton* was fortified, and killed Five Persons, and burned Five Houses, but met with a brave Repulse. On *March 10.* they did Mischievous things at *Groton* and *Sudbury*: And on *March 13.* they burnt almost all *Groton* to the Ground, and then called unto the English in the Garrison, *What will you do for an House to Pray in, now we have burnt your Meeting-House!* But the Enemy finding these Parts of the Country too many for them, they again translated the Scene of their Tragedies into *Plymouth-Colony*; where after they had on *March 12.* barbarously cut off Two Families under one Roof in *Plymouth*, and on *March 17.* laid all *Warwick*, but one House, in Ashes: Captain *Pierce* being fitted with Fifty Englishmen, and with Twenty *Christian-Indians*, did Courageously pursue them. This meritorious Captain was unhappily Trepann'd into an Ambushment of the Enemy, who, on *March 26.* 1676. by meer Multitude overpowered him: so that after he had first made a slaughter of an Hundred and Forty of them, he with Forty-nine Englishmen, (an hard Battel truly!) and Eight *Christian-Indians*, expired on the Bed of Honour. This was a very Disastrous Day! For on this Day also the Town of *Malborough* was all in Flames by another Assault from this Treacherous Adversary; and on this Day several People at *Springfield* became a Sacrifice unto their Fury; wherefore methinks, Reader, we want some *Diverging Story* to entertain us in the midst of so many horrible Accidents. I will therefore mention a pleasant Stratagem used by one of our *Christian-Indians* in the Fight when Captain *Pierce* lost his Life. This Indian, who, I durst say, never had read *Polyenus*, being pursued by an Enemy, betook himself unto a great Rock, where sheltering himself, he perceived that his Enemy lay on the other side ready with his Gun to discharge upon him whenever he should stir one step from the Place where he stood. He therefore took a Stick which he had at Hand, and hanging his Hat upon it, he gently and slowly lifted it up, until he thought his watchful Friend on the other side might be sensible of it: And accordingly the other taking this Hat for the Head of his Adversary, let fly immediately, and Shot through the Hat: Whereupon he briskly lift up his Head, and presently letting fly, not upon the Hat, but upon the Head of the Adversary, laid him Dead upon the Spot. In this Fight another Indian luckily saved not only himself, but an Englishman too, by pretending to run after the Englishman with his Hatchet, as if intending to Kill him therewithal. And another Indian as luckily saved

himself by besmearing his Tawny Face with wet Gunpowder, which made him look so like some of the adverse Party, who had Black'd their Faces, that they distinguished him not. Many such Passages and Policies are told of our *Christian-Indians*, who in Truth show'd their *Christianity* by their being wonderfully Serviceable unto us in the War which now perplexed us. But, Reader, be content that this Paragraph relate a few more of the pernicious things done by the Barbarians, about this time, in several Parts of the Country; and for thy Comfort we will give in the Next a Relation of an Unexpected Alteration and Revolution. Know then, that in *March 28.* the Indians burnt about Forty Houses at *Rehoboth*; and on *March 29.* about Thirty Houses at *Providence*: For the English retiring into Garrisons, could not but leave their Houses open to the Impressions of the Adversary. In the beginning of *April* they were Mischievous at *Chelmsford* and *Andover*; and that they might by their Cruelty discover whose Children they were, they would cut out the Tongues of the Dumb Creatures, leaving them alive in Misery; and putting others of those poor Creatures alive into Hovels, they would set them on Fire. And although on *March 27.* about Forty Inhabitants of *Sudbury* made a Salley forth in the Night upon a Body of Three Hundred Indians, Killing Thirty of them, without losing one of their own; yet on *April 18.* the Indians made a fierce Assault upon *Sudbury*, wherein they burnt several Houses, and Killed a Dozen Persons that were coming from *Concord* for the Assistance of their Neighbours. But the worst part of the Story is, that Captain *Wadsworth*, one worthy to Live in our History, under the Name of *A Good Man*, coming up after a Long, Hard, Unwearied March, with Seventy Men unto the Relief of Distressed *Sudbury*, found himself in the Woods on the sudden surrounded with about Five Hundred of the Enemy; whereupon our Men fought like Men, and more than so; but were so Overwhelmed, that he, with another *Good Man*, one Captain *Brattlebank*, and more than Fifty more, sold their Lives for the Deaths of about an Hundred and Twenty Indians. The Indians took Five or Six of the English Prisoners; and that the Reader may understand, *Crimine ab uno*, what it is to be taken by such Devils Incarnate, I shall here inform him: They Stripp'd these unhappy Prisoners, and caused them to Run the Gantlet, and Whipped them after a Cruel and Bloody Manner; they then threw Hot Ashes upon them, and cutting off Collops of their Flesh, they put Fire into their Wounds, and so with Exquisite, Leisurely, Horrible Torments, Roasted them out of the World.

§. 12. But a *Polybius* will tell me, *Non decet Historiæ Scriptorem, duntaxat Res Crudeles Legentibus Exponere*: And, I promised my Reader a Turn of our Affairs. The Prayers of many Thousands of Pious People, poured out with the greatest Solemnity, did all this while,

Cælum Tundere, and now they must, *Misericordiam extorquere*. The Maxim uttered by the Renowned King of Sweden, *The Greater the Army of Prayers is, the more certain and glorious will be the Victory!* Must now be fulfilled; and the *Supplications* for our distressed Case, made by not only the Churches of *New-England*, which were in the Distress, but also by the Churches of *London*, of *Suffolk*, of *Dorset*, of *Devon*, of *Somerset*, of *Lancashire*, of *Dublin*, (for which we now publickly return our Thanks) must now be Answered. The *time limited* by Heaven for the Success of the *Indian Treacheries* was now almost expired: The Blasphemy, and Insolence, and prodigious Barbarity of the Salvages, was come to a sufficient Height, for the *Lord God of Zaboth* to Interpose his own *Revenge*; and the Impossibility which there appeared for our People to attend their *Husbandry* in the *Fields*, or to find out their *Enemy* in the *Woods*, did, as the *Spring* advanced, throw us into an Extremity of *Despair*, to wade through another *Summer* like the Last. But NOW was the time for Deliverance! There was an *Evil Spirit* of *Dissention* strangely sent among the *Indians*, which disposed them to separate from one another: The *Demons*, who visibly exhibited themselves among them at their *Powawing*, or *Conjuring*, signified still unto them that they could now *do no more for them*; the *Maqua's*, a Powerful Nation in the West, made a Descent upon them, ranging and raging through the Desert with irresistible Fury; *Fevers* and *Fluxes* became *Epidemical* among them; and their being driven from their Planting and Fishing Places, drove them into so much of a *Famine*, as brought *Mortal Sickness* upon them: Finally, a *Visible Smile* of Heaven was upon almost all the Enterprizes of the *English* against them: And an unaccountable Terror at the same time so Dispirited them, that they were like Men under a *Fascination*. It was the *Promise* of God unto his Antient People, *The Lord thy God will send the Hornet among thine Enemies, until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed*: And I never saw a more sensible Confirmation of that *Promise*, or Explication of that *Hornet*, than in what now befel the Enemies of *New-England*. They were just like *Beasts* that are stung with a *Garabee*, or *Hornet*; they ran they knew not *whither*, they knew not *wherefore*; they were under such a *Consternation*, that the *English* did even what they would upon them. I shall never forget the Expressions which a desperate Fighting sort of Fellow, one of their Generals, used unto the English after they had Captivated him; *you could never have subdued us, but* (said he, striking on his Breast) *the Englishman's God makes us afraid here!* First, from *Connecticut-Colony*, which the kind Providence of our Lord Jesus Christ kept almost untouched in this bloody War, there went forth in the Month of *April*, under the Command of Captain *Denison*, Sixty-six *Volunteers*, with above an Hundred *Friend-Indians*, who took and slew Seven-

ty-six of the Enemy, among whom were some of their chiefest Princes, and made great Havock on their Stores, without losing any of their own: And a little before this, a Party of *Connecticut* Soldiers, with the like Indian Assistance, took and slew Forty-four of the Enemy, without any loss on our side, but among the Prisoners was *Quanonchet*, the mighty *Sachem* of *Narraganset*, whom the English wisely delivered unto their Tawny Auxiliaries for them to cut off his Head, that so the Alienation between them and the Wretches in Hostility against us might become Incurable. There were still here and there little Mischiefs done by the Enemy; *Plymouth*, *Taunton*, *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Haverhill*, *Bradford*, *Woburn*, and other Places, did sustain sundry Damages: But the main Character of the Occurrences now happening on our Part, was *Victory over them*. Remarkable was the Fate of *Bridgewater*, a most *Praying*, and most *Pious* Town, seated in the very *midst* of the Dangers of the *War*; that although they were often Assaulted by formidable Numbers of the Enemies, yet in all their sharp Assaults they never lost one of their Inhabitants, Young or Old. They were solicited strongly to Desert their *Dwellings*, but they Resolved that they would keep their *Stations*; and now on *May 8.* the Indians began to Fire the Town, but the Inhabitants with notable Courage issued forth from their Garrisons to Fight the Enemy, and *God from Heaven* at the same time fought for them, with a Storm of *Lightning*, *Thunder* and *Rain*, whereby a Considerable part of their Houses were preserved. Thou, Church of *Bridgewater*,

*O nimium Dilecta Deo, cui militat Æther,
Et Conjurati veniunt ad Classica Venti!*

One that was no *Christian* so Sang the Favours of Heaven to the Emperor *Theodosius*; and so might the *Pagan* Foe now Sing of thy Salvations! On *May 6.* our Forces, assisted with some *Christian* Indians, did good Execution upon the Enemy near *Medfield*, and on *May 11.* did the like at *Plymouth*. And on *May 18.* Two Captive Lads escaping from the Hands of the Enemy, informed the Towns about *Northampton*, that a considerable Body of the Indians were securely Clanning together a few Miles further up the *River*; whereupon about an Hundred and Fourscore Active Men went out immediately, and so surprized them, that they Killed, as was judged, about an Hundred on the Spot, and they drove as many more into that *Antient River* that swept 'em away. But the English in the Retreat were unhappily circumvented by a Parcel of the Enemy, who slew Captain *Turner*, and upwards of Thirty more, although not without the loss of Three Hundred of their own, as was afterwards by some of themselves acknowledged. And on *May 30.* the Enemy lost Five and Twenty in one Onset which they made upon *Hatfield*, Five being Slain on our Part in the Action; as the Week before

before this Twelve of them were Slain about *Rehoboth*, with the loss of but One of ours. New Forces, both in *Massachusetts-Colony*, and in *Connecticut-Colony*, were now sent forth to Distress the Enemy in their Places of Planting and Fishing. The *Massachusetts* Forces quickly took and kill'd near Forty Indians, and the *Connecticut* Forces took and kill'd an Hundred; which Exploits were performed without losing a Man of our own. On *June 12.* Seven Hundred Indians made an Assault upon *Hadley*; but they were driven off with much loss to them, and very small to our selves; and at the very time when the Indians were thus Distressing of *Hadley*, the *Maqua's* fell upon their Head-Quarters, and slaughtered their Women and Children, and carried away much Plunder with them. Thus the Conquest of the Indians went on at such a rate, that whereas, *June. 29. 1675.* was the first Fast publickly observed in this Colony on the Occasion of the Indian Troubles, now, *June 29. 1676.* was appointed a Day of *Thanksgiving* through the Colony for the comfortable Steps and Hopes that we saw towards the End of those Troubles.

§. 13. Reader, after this *Day of Thanksgiving* I shall have little to Report unto thee but what is a Cause of *Thankfulness!* The *Maqua's* now fall upon *Philip*, and Kill him Fifty Men at a time; upon as odd an Occasion too as has been ordinarily heard of. He, as it is affirmed, being entertained among the *Maqua's* the last Winter, used many means to seduce 'em, and persuade 'em unto a War against the *English*; and one of those means it seems was This: He kill'd some scattering *Maqua's* in the Woods, and then told the Rest that the *English* did it; but One of them whom he thought Killed, was only Wounded, who, getting home unto his Countrymen, gave 'em to understand who was the true Murderer! And so the *Maqua's*, whom he would have brought upon the *English*, he only brought upon himself: *Nec enim Lex Justior ulla!* *Philip* now returns to *Mount-Hope*, and finds it *Mount-Misery*, *Mount-Confusion!* A Prince in *Germany* long since hearing that a Neighbour Prince intended War upon him, immediately set himself upon the Reforming of the People under his Government; but his Adversary within a while after enquired what Preparation his Neighbour was making to Oppose him? And being informed that his chief Preparation was Reformation, he replied, *Nay then, let the Devil Fight him for all me; if he be at that, he'll be too hard for me to meddle with him.* The Churches of *New-England* now more than ever began to be at that; and now see the Effects of it. The Churches in *Plymouth-Colony* agreed upon a Day solemnly to Renew their COVENANT with God, and one another, on the very next Day, Major *Bradford*, with his *Plymouth* Forces, was not only by a strange Providence delivered from the Stratagems of the Ambushing Adversary, but also took and slew many of them, without the loss of one *Englishman*: And the *Squaw-Sachim* of

Saconet, with Ninety of her Subjects, hearing of his approach, submitted themselves unto his Mercy: Major *Bradford* was the *Oedipus*, by whom that *Sphinx* was conquered! On *July 2.* our Brethren of *Connecticut* in the *Narraganset-Country* took and kill'd an Hundred and Four-score of the Indians, without losing a Man of their own; and in their March home they destroyed Threescore more. Quickly after this, Two Hundred Indians in *Plymouth-Colony* were compelled by the Necessities upon them to surrender themselves; and upon Advice from them of another Party abroad, Eight *Englishmen*, accompanied with Fourteen of them, seized upon Twenty more, without any hurt unto themselves. In the Woods near *Dedham* there was more Execution done upon them: And a *Negro* that had been taken Captive by them, informed us, that near Two Hundred of them had formed a Design of an Attacque upon *Taunton*, which Information proved the Preservation of the Town: For Auxiliaries being seasonably sent thither, the Enemy met with a vigorous Repulse, without the loss of one *Englishman* in the Engagement. The *Massachusetts* Forces returned unto *Boston*, *July 22.* having taken and killed an Hundred and Fifty Indians, with the loss of but One *Englishman*: But the principal Actions, whereof *Plymouth* was now the Stage, must be done by the Hand of that worthy Man, Captain *Church*; whose very Name, now, might suggest unto the miserable Salvages, what, they must be undone, by Fighting against; and whose Lot it was to be employ'd by the Providence of Heaven at the time and place of the Catastrophe, now waiting for a Generation Ripe for Desolation. This Gentlemen made Havock among the Salvages, like another *Scanderbeg*; he went out with a small Party of about Eighteen *English*, and Twenty-two Friend Indians, and in one Week he had Four several Engagements with the Enemy, wherein he took and slew Seventy-nine of them, without losing One of his own; and by a particular Policy he still made his Captives to find out their Fellows for him, and set a Thief to catch a Thief, which facilitated his Enterprizes wonderfully. Nevertheless this hindred not Others from doing their part in Exterminating the Rabid Animals, which by a most unaccountable Syderation from Heaven, had now neither Strength nor Sense left 'em to do any thing for their own Defence. On *July 25.* Thirty-six *Englishmen* from *Dedham*, and *Medfield*, with Ninety *Christian* Indians, pursued, overtook, and captivated Fifty of the Enemy, without losing of a Man; and among these was *Pombam*, a great *Sachim* of the *Narragansets*, who, after he was wounded so that he could not stand, but was left a considerable while for Dead, yet when an *Englishman* came near him, the Dying Beast, with a *Belluine Rage*, got such hold on his Head, that he had killed him if there had not come in help to Rescue him. On *July 27.* *Sagamore John* submitted himself to the *English* Mercy, with an Hundred and Four-score *Nipmuck* Indians; and that

that he might Ingratiate himself with the *English*, he brought in *Matoonas* with his Son, who had begun the War in the *Massachusetts-Colony* a little above a Year ago ; whereupon we ordered this very *Sagamore* to Shoot him to Death. On *July 31.* an Handful of Soldiers issuing out of *Bridgewater*, unexpectedly stumbled upon a Company of the Enemy, who being well armed, snapp'd their Guns at the *English* ; but, which was a Marvellous Accident, not one of them took Fire ; whereat a *Panick-Terror* fell upon them, so that we took Fifteen, we flew Ten, the rest fled ; of whom *Philip* himself was one, who left the Chief of his Treasure behind him. Not one of the *English* was hurt at this time ! This was the Success of a People that had just before solemnly renewed the consent of their Souls to the *Covenant of Grace*, and applied it unto the Holy Purposes of *Reformation* among them. On *August 1.* Captain *Church* again, with about *Thirty English* and *Twenty Friend-Indians*, took *Twenty-three* of the Enemy ; and the next Morning he came upon *Philip's* Head-Quarters, where they took and slew about an Hundred and *Thirty* of the Enemy, with the loss of but *One* of their own : *Philip* himself now also hardly escaping, but leaving his *Peag*, and *Wife*, and *Son* behind him, which was no small Torment unto him. On *Aug. 6.* an *Indian-Deserter* informing the Inhabitants of *Taunton* where they might surprize more of the Enemy, *Twenty Men* of ours immediately brought in *Thirty-six* of them. The *Squaw-Sachim* of *Pocasset* flying from this *Broil upon the Coast*, now in that very place where she had furnished *Philip* with *Canoo's* for his Men a Year ago, she her self could not find a *Canoo*, but venturing over the River upon a Raft, which broke under her, she was drowned ; and some of the *English* not knowing who she was when they found her, stuck her *Head* upon a Pole in *Taunton*, which when the *Indians* that knew her, saw, they fell into such hideous and howling *Lamentations* as can scarce be imitated.

But now, Reader, prepare to make a just Reflection upon that Antient and Famous Passage of Sacred Scripture, *Wo to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled ; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee ; when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled ; and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee !* One thing which emboldned King *Philip* in all his Outrages, was an Assurance which his *Magicians* consulting their *Oracles* gave him, that no *Englishman* should ever Kill him ; and indeed if any *Englishman* might have had the Honour of Killing him, he must have had a good measure of *Grace* to have repressed the *Vanity of Mind* whereto he would have had some Temptations. But this will not extend the Life of that *Bloody* and *Crafty* Wretch above *half his Days !* A Man belonging to *Philip* himself, being disgusted at him for killing an *Indian* who had propounded an Expedient of

Peace with the *English*, ran away from him to *Rhode-Island*, where Captain *Church* was then Recruiting of his weary Forces ; and upon the Intelligence hereof, Captain *Church*, with a few Hands of both *English* and *Indians*, immediately set forth upon a *New Expedition*. That very Night *Philip* (like the Man in the Army of *Midian*) had been dreaming that he was *fallen into the Hands of the English* ; and now just as he was telling his *Dream*, with Advice unto his Friends to fly for their Lives, lest the Knave who had newly gone from them should shew the *English* how to come at them, Captain *Church*, with his Company, fell in upon them ; *Philip* attempted a Flight out of the *Swamp*, at which instant both an *Englishman* and an *Indian* endeavouring to Fire at him, the *Englishman's* Piece would not go off, but the *Indian's* presently Shot him through his *Venemous* and *Murderous* Heart ; and in that very place where he first contrived and commenced his *Mischief*, this *Agag* was now cut into Quarters, which were then hanged up, while his *Head* was carried in Triumph to *Plymouth*, where it arrived on the very Day that the *Church* there was keeping a Solemn *Thanksgiving* to God. God sent 'em in the Head of a *Leviathan* for a *Thanksgiving-Feast*.

ἄτως πᾶς ἀπόλοιτο, ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ἔξει.

Sic pereat quisquis ceptarit talia posthac.

At the time when King *Philip*, the *Beginner* of the *War*, was thus come to the *Conclusion* of his *Life*, several of his Men accompanied him into the other World ; and among the rest, that very *Indian* who Fired the *First Gun* at the *English* in this horrible *War*. But our *Lebbens*, Captain *Church*, irresistably still pursued his *Victories* at such a rare, that in a few Weeks there were, by his Means, at least *Seven Hundred* of the Enemy *Subjugated* ; and some of his *Atchievements* were truly so *Magnanimous* and *Extraordinary*, that my Reader will suspect me to be *Transcribing* the silly *Old Romances*, where the *Knights* do *Conquer* so many *Giants*, if I should proceed unto the particular *Commemoration* of them. Albeit I must also say, there were many other *Commanders*, whom if we should measure by *Conduct* rather than by *Success*, the *Fame* of Captain *Church* ought by no means to bring an *Eclipse* upon theirs ; and though it be an *Envious Phrase* at *Sea*, that the *Vessel* which by any *Advantage* *Outsails* another, does *Wrong* her ; I pray let not that *Phrase* get *ashore*, to make it interpreted as a *Wrong* to any other *Valiant* and *Prudent* *Commander*, that any *One* has had particular *Successes* attending of him. In our *Wars* there were *Captains* engaged, upon whose *Graves* there may be *Engraved* the *Character* given by Sir *Samuel Morland* of Captain *Jabir*, who lost his *Life* in the *Wars* of the poor *Waldenses* : *They were Persons worthy to be Renowned unto all Posterity for their Zeal for*

the Service of God, and the Preservation of his poor afflicted Church; Persons whom all the Terrors of Death could never affright, bold as Lions in all their Enterprizes, but meek as Lambs in the midst of all their Victories: Always lifting up their Hands towards Heaven from whence Deliverance came; and reciting sweet Passages of Scripture, wherein they were versed unto Admiration, to the great Encouragement of all their Followers.

§. 14. While those Parts of New-England, which had the Glory of Evangelical Churches in them, for a Defence to be created upon, were thus Tempestuated by a terrible War; there were other Parts lying in the North-East of New-England of a less Evangelical Temper, which felt a furious Eurocydon also beating upon them. The Designs of Lumber and Fishing, but especially of the Bever-Trade with the Indians, which last was very scandalously managed, had produced many fine Settlements in the Province of Main, and the County of Cornwall, and the brave Regions lying beyond Piscataqua; but a great part of the English there grew too like the Indians, among whom they lived in their Unchristian way of Living; and instead of Erecting Churches among themselves, they neither Christianized the Pagans, nor by avoiding of the Vices which they rather taught the Pagans, did they take a due Course to preserve themselves from losing of Christianity in Paganism. Within Twenty Days after that Philip had begun the War at Mount Hope, in the Year 1675. the Indians, Two Hundred and Fifty Miles distant from him to the Northward; began the same Game upon the Remotest of these Plantations. Misunderstandings happened between the English and the Indians upon very odd Occasions; and many Rude, Wild, Ungovernable English, did, unto the extream Dissatisfaction of the wiser sort, rashly add unto the Occasions which the Indians also took to grow Ungovernable. Their little Swaggering at one another, advanced into Scuffling, and Scuffling into Fighting, so that at length there was Open War between them; and there were many little Encounters in the First Three or Four Months, wherein the English lost Fifty, and the Indians about Ninety of their People; but at last it came to very Cruel Depredations. I am not willing to tire my Reader with another long Walk into the Woods after these Ravening Salvages, or to Enumerate the many Successive Destructions with which the Indians at length broke up all the English Settlements to the Northward of Wells; and if I should particularly relate how Barbarously they Murdered my Dear Friend, that Exemplarily Good Man, Captain Thomas Lake, with many more at Arowsick-Island in Kennebeck-River, on August 14. 1676. I should but unto my self, *Infandum Renovare Dolorem*. Inasmuch as I am Writing a Church-History, I may be excused, though I do not concern my self any further with Provinces, where they made it so little of their own Concern to gather any Churches; it shall suffice

or me to Write thus much, that one of the First notable Outrages done by the Indians was at the House of one Wakely at Casco, whom with his Wife, and Son, and Daughter-in-Law (with Child) and a Couple of Grand-Children, they Barbarously Butchered, and carried away Three Children into Captivity. Now this honest Old Man was one who would often say with Tears, That he believed God was displeas'd at him, inasmuch as albeit he came into New-England for the sake of the Gospel, yet he had left another place in the Country, where he had enjoyed the Gospel in the Communion of a gathered Church, and now had lived many Years in a Plantation where there was no Church at all, nor the Ordinances and Institutions of the Lord Jesus Christ. The Massachusetts-Colony sent our Forces under the Command of Captain Hawiborn, and Captain Syll, and others, for the subduing of these Indians, and the success of Attempts against them was very various. But the Stunningest Wound of all given to them, was, when by a Contrivance of the English, near Four Hundred of them were, on Septem. 6. 1676. surpris'd at the House of Major Waldern in Quechebo; whereof one half which were found Accessories to the late Rebellion were sold for Slaves; the rest were dismiss'd unto their own places; and at last, when both sides were weary, about the latter end of that Year, a sort of Peace was clapp'd up for the whole; so the Land had rest from War.

§. 15. I make no question that the Story of Og, the King of the Woody Bashan, Encountred and Conquered by Joshua, the Lord General of Israel, with his Armies passing into Canaan, was the very thing which the Gentiles, in After-Ages, did Celebrate under the Notion of the Serpent Python (which is the same with Typhon) destroy'd by Apollo. Og signifies a Burner, as well as the Name of Typhon, whom the Poets make a Theomachous Giant; and the Hebrews, for good Causes, affording the Name of Petben or a Serpent unto such an Enemy, we need not wonder that he is also Named Python. The Land where the Gods gave Battel to Typhon, was according to Homer, ἐν Ἀσίῃσι. And as we know Syria was the Land of Aram, so Strabo will tell us, that the Arimi are the Syrians; which, with the River Orontes, called Ophites, as well as Typhon, in Celo-Syria, designates the very Country of Og unto us. The Seat of the Transaction related by Homer to have been in Ἰσσην, which Learned Men have so long sought in Vain, that at last they said it was in Cimmeria, that is to say, No Man knows where; it is doubtless, by a long mistake of the Scribes, pur for Ιουδα, or the Land of Judæa; but when he adds that it was χόρα ἐν ὄρεσσι, in a Region abounding with Oaks, the Region of Bashan is unquestionably pointed at.

What Homer Sings about the Τυφόνος ἰσθαί, Typhonis Cubilia was not understood by Virgil, when he made a Sepulchre thereof, in his Translating

Translating the Matter into his Ninth *Aeneid*, because he had not read the Account which the Scripture gives about *Og's Bedstead of Iron*. 'Tis as clear that *Apollo*, who was Antiently called *Pæan*, or an *Healer*, is the same with *Joshua*, whose Name is of a like Signification: And *Apollo* was called *Anaceus* likewise; but in Commemoration of *Joshua's* Exploits against the *Anakim*; the *Pheniciai*, being also but *Benc-Anak*, or the Sons of *Anak* in the first Original. They by whom *Typhon* was Combated, came out of *Egypt*, and so did the Armies of *Joshua*; an *Hero*, of whose Mother because we read nothing, the must be called, $\Lambda\upsilon\lambda\omega$, or *Latona*, a *Latendo*. *Cadmus* the *Gibeonite* carrying a Colony into *Græcia*, did use there to remember the Victories of *Joshua* in such Hymns as they had learned from their New Masters in *Canaan*; and of those Hymns, it is probable, the Hundred and Thirty-fifth Psalm in our Psalter might be one; yea, the *Græcian*, $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ $\text{I}\acute{\epsilon}$, $\text{I}\acute{\epsilon}$, used in their *Pæanisms*, might be but rude remembrances of the *Hallelujahs* antiently used in these Hymns of *Israel*.

Reader, 'Twas not unto a *Delphos*, but unto a *Shiloh*, that the Planters of *New-England* have been making their Progress, and *King Philip* is not the only *Python* that has been giving them Obstruction in their Passage and Progress thereunto. But if, *Infelix Exitus Persecutorum* is any Note of the *True Church*, I am sure *New-England* has a *True Church* to people it; for all the *Serpents*, yea, or *Giants*, that formerly molested that Religious Plantation, found themselves engaged in a fatal Enterprize. We have by a True and Plain History secured the Story of our Successes against all the *Ogs* in this *Woody Country* from falling under the Disguises of *Mythology*; but it Administers to us the Reflection which has been often made, that as of old the Ruins that still overtook the Persecutors of the poor *Piccardines* caused Men to say, *If a Man be weary of his Life, let him become an Enemy to the Piccardines!* The like Ruins have overwhelmed them that have Persecuted the poor *New-Englanders*. And we will not conceal

the Name of the God our Saviour, as an *Heathen Country* sometimes would, *Ne ab Hostibus Evocatus alio Commigraret*: No, 'tis our Lord **JESUS CHRIST** worshipped according to the Rules of his Blessed Gospel, who is the great **PHOEBUS**, that **SUN** of *Righteousness*, who hath so saved his Churches from the Designs of the *Generations of the Dragon*. 'Tis to our Lord **JESUS CHRIST** that we offer up our *Hallelujahs!*

But it must after all be confessed, that we have had one Enemy more pernicious to us than all the rest; and that is *our own Backsliding Heart*, which has plunged the whole Country into so wonderful a *Degeneracy*, that I have sometimes been Discouraged from Writing the *Church-History* of the Country, lest

————— *Mulier Formosa, superne,*
Definat in Piscem.—————

And since this *Degeneracy* has obtained so much among us, the Wrath of Heaven has raised up against us a Succession of other *Adversaries* and *Calamities*, which have cast the Land into great *Confusions* to Rescue us, from which the Jealous Kindness of Heaven has not made such *Quick Descents* as in *former Times*. Alas, that my Reader must now tell me,

Cæpisti melius quam desinis, ultima Primis
Distant.—————

For which Cause I now conclude our *Church-History*, leaving to the Churches of *New-England*, for their Admonition, an Observation which the Renowned *Comenius* has made upon the Famous Churches of *Bohemia*, *That they were nearer to the Sanctuary than other Churches, by reason of a more pure Discipline professed and embraced among them; and therefore when they came to be depraved with Apostasies, the Lord poured out his Righteous Displeasure upon them, and quickly made them sad Examples to the other Churches of the Reformation.*

God knows what will be the **E N D**.

 APPENDIX.

Decennium Luctuosum.

A N

H I S T O R Y

O F

Remarkable Occurrences

In the Long

W A R,

Which *NEW-ENGLAND* hath had with the *Indian Salvages*, from the Year 1688. to the Year 1698. Faithfully Composed and Improved.

The Second Edition.

The Dedication, Prefaced unto the *First Edition*.

To the People of *NEW-ENGLAND*.

S I R S,

YOU are Welcome unto the *History* of a *Tedious War*, and unto a *Period* of that *War* so far in prospect, as to render its *History* Seasonable.

Every Reasonable Man will readily allow that it is a *Duty* to God, and a *Service* to the World, for to preserve the *Memory* of such Matters, as have been the more *Memorable Occurrences* in the *War* that has for *Ten Years* together been

multiplying *Changes* and *Sorrows* upon us. And the Author, in whose *Historical Writings* the most *Inquisitive Envy* has never to this Hour detected so much as one *Voluntary* and *Material Mistake*, or One *Farthing* paid unto the Readers in the *Coin of Candia*, has now chosen to preserve the *Memory* of these Matters while they are *Fresh* and *New*, and one hath not *Fifty Years*, which is the *Channel of the River of Oblivion*, to pass over unto them. This *Expedition*

H h h h h h

pedition is used in the publication of our *Decennium Luctuosum*, in hope that if any mistake worth noting do appear in these Writings, it may like, and perhaps with, a Second Edition, be Corrected and Amended.

He expects no Thanks for his Essays to do Good, in this way or any other, unto any part of his Country, to whom he would gladly devote all his Talents, if he were a Thousand Times better Talented than he is; and though the most Ungrateful Treats Imaginable (which are too well known by the Name of *Country-pay*) should be given him, he would still be of that Opinion, *Recte fecisse Merces est*, If a Man may do Good, it is enough.

All the Favour he desires of you is, that you would not Enquire after him; or ask, *who he is?* But that as he is at best but an *Obscure* Person, he may continue in yet more *Obscurity*: Which will be a greater Pleasure to him than to be placed among the *great Men of Achaia*.

For indeed, he hath often thought on a passage written by Holy Mr. Row to his Excellent Son, *I pray, That God would make use of myself and you, in such a way as that God only may be seen, and we not be taken Notice of at all; that he may have the Glory, and we may not be seen.*

Could he have invited His EXCELLENCY unto such a Glorious Table as that in a certain Cabinet at *Florence*, which is furnished with Birds and Flow'rs, all consisting of Neatly Polished Jewels inlaid into it; a Work Fifteen Years in Making, and worth an Hundred Thousand Crowns: Or could he have written a Book worthy to belaid up in the Cabinet of *Darius*: The Author might have been under a Temptation to have had his Name Engraved upon his Work. But a little boil'd *Indian Corn* in a Tray, is as much as our Best History of an *Indian War*, compos'd perhaps in fewer Days than there were Years in the War, may presume to be compar'd unto. And since our History will not afford such a Diversion unto His Excellency, under the Indispositions of His Health, as those of *Livy* and *Curtius* did unto the Princes that Recovered their lost Health by Reading them; nor can any passage here be so happy, as that which cured *Laurentius Medices* of a Malady by having it Read unto him: It will require no more than a *Nameless Writer* to assure that Great Person on this Occasion, that all the good People of *New-England* make their Fervent Vows unto the Almighty, *For his Excellencies Prosperity, and the Welfare of his Excellent Lady, and of his Noble and Hopeful Offspring.*

And the Naming of the Author, is as little Necessary to Qualifie him, that he may pay publick Acknowledgments unto the Honourable the *Lieutenant Governour*; not only for his Cares about the Publick, while it was *Tempestuated* with the *Indian War*, which now makes an *History*; but chiefly for his more than ordinary Tenderness of that Society, which has been the very *Decus ac Tutamen* of *New-*

England. The *Nameless Writer* of this History may Report, that with a greater Expence than that of the *First Founder*, this Honourable Person proves that he Loves our Nation, by Building us another Edifice for the Supply of all our *Synagogues*, and *STOUGHTON-HALL* outshines *HARVARD-COLLEGE*: And he speaks kinder Language, as well as better Latin, than that Eminent Statesman in *Flanders*, whose Answer to a Petition for the Priviledges of an Univerfity there to be restored, was, *Non curamus vestros Privilegios*. This Report may he give, without being obliged for to Confess any other Name than this, which he readily Confesses; *One that was once a Member of Harvard-Colledge.*

I Pray, Sirs, ask no further; let this Writing be like that on the Wall to *Belshazzar*, where the Hand only was to be seen, and not whose it was. The History is compiled with *Incontestable Veracity*; and since there is no *Ingenuity* in it, but less than what many Pens in the Land might Command, he knows not why his Writing *Anonimously* may not Shelter him from the Inconveniencies of having any Notice one way or other taken of him. Though among his other small Furniture, he hath not left himself unfurnished with Skill in the *Spanish* Language, yet he never could bring himself to the belief of the *Spanish* Proverb, *Quien no parece, perece*; i. e. He that appears not, perishes; he that shows not himself to the World, is undone. At *Milain* there is an *Academy* of Sensible Persons, called, *The Nascofti*; or, *Hidden Men*; at *Venice* there is one of such Persons called, *The Incogniti*; and at *Parma* there is one of them, called, *The Innominati*. If there were nothing else Disagreeable in them, the Author of this History would be glad of an Admission into such an *Academy*.

The History is indeed of no very *Fine Thread*; and the Readers, who everywhere *Fish for nothing but Carps*, and who Love, like *Augustus*, to Tax all the World, may find Fault enough with it. Nevertheless, while the Fault of an *Untruth* can't be found in it, the Author pretends that the famous History of the *Trojan War* it self comes behind our little History of the *Indian War*; for the best Antiquaries have now confuted *Homer*; the Walls of *Troy* were, it seems, all made of *Poets Paper*; and the Siege of the Town, with the Tragedies of the *Wooden Horse*, were all but a piece of Poetry.

And if a War between Us and an Handful of *Indians* do appear no more than a *Batrachomyomachie* to the World abroad, yet unto us at home it hath been considerable enough to make an *History*. Nor is the Author afraid of promising, that of all the *Thirty Articles* which make up this History, there shall not be One without something in it that may by our selves be justly thought *Considerable*.

Should any *Petit Monsieur* complain, (as the Captain that found not himself in the *Tapestry Hangings*, which Exhibited the Story of the Spanish Invasion in 1588.) that he don't find himself mentioned in this *History*, the Author has his Apology: he has done as *well* and as *much* as he could, that whatever was worthy of a Mention might have it; and if this Collection of Matters be not compleat, yet he supposes it may be more compleat than any one else hath made; and now he hath done, he hath not pull'd up the *Ladder* after him; *others* may go on as they please with a compleater Composure.

If the Author hath taken Delight in this *History*, and at all times, to Celebrate the *Merits* of such as have deserved well of his Country, [which he has here done, it may be, for some that never could afford him a good Word!] Especially, if he do erect *Statues* for *Dead Worthies*, when there is no Room left for Flattery, [for who will bestow *Paint* upon a *Dead Face*!] And if he do all this with all possible Concern, to avoid casting *Aspersions* upon *others*: Why should any betray such *ill Nature* as to be angry at it? *My good Country forgive him this Injury!*

Huic Uni forsā poteram Succumbere culpæ.

But whatever this *History* be, it Aims at the *doing of Good*, as well as the *telling of Truth*;

and if its Aim shall be attained, *that* will be a sufficient *Reward* for all the Trouble of Writing it. When he desires any more, he'll give you his *Name*; in the mean time, as a far greater Man once was called, *Ludovicus Nihili*, which you may make *Lewis of Nothingham*; so the Author will count himself not a little favoured, if he may pass for one of no more Account than a *No-body*; which would certainly make a very *blameless* Person of him.

However, that the *History* may not altogether want a *Subscription*, the Author finding it a Custom among the Christian Writers of the *Orient*, when they have written a Treatise, to Subscribe it after this manner; *Scriptum per Servum vilem pauperem, omnibus Justitiis privatum, peccatorem magis quam omnis Caro: Or, Scripsit hoc pauper N. N. Or, Est Scriptura servi pauperis, Et qui Benevolentia Dei indiget, Et miserationibus*; he will accordingly Subscribe himself, *The Chief of Sinners*. Nevertheless, he will humbly lay claim to the Words used by the *Nameless Author* of a Treatise, Entituled, *The Faithful Steward*: 'Tho' I am worse than they speak of me, who cast disgrace upon me, and I can espy *Ten* Faults in my self, where they can discern *One*; yet I can, thro' Grace, appeal to thee, O Lord, with some Comfort, that I am *Displeas'd* with *my self* for my Sins, and would fain *please thee* in all Things, at all Times, in all Places, and in every Condition.

Decennium Luctuosum :

OR, THE

REMARKABLES

Of a Long

WAR

WITH

INDIAN-SALVAGES.

Nobis in areto, & inglorius Labor. Tacit.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

TWENTY-three Years have Roul'd away since the Nations of Indians within the Confines of *New-England*, generally began a Fierce War upon the *English* Inhabitants of that Country. The Flame of War then Raged thro' a great Part of the Country, whereby many whole Towns were laid in Ashes, and many Lives were Sacrificed. But in little more than One Year's time, the *United Colonies* of *Plymouth*, *Massachuset*, and *Connecticut*, with their united Endeavours, bravely Conquered the *Salvages*. The Evident Hand of Heaven appearing on the side of a People, whose Hope and Help was alone in the Almighty Lord of Hosts, extinguished whole Nations of the *Salvages* at such a Rate, that there can hardly any of them now be found under any Distinction upon the Face of the Earth. Only the Fate of our Northern and Eastern Regions in that War was very different from that of the rest. The Desolations of the War had overwhelmed all the Settlements to the North-East of *Wells*. And when the time arrived, that all Hands were weary of the War, a sort of a Peace was patched up, which left a Body of *Indians*, not only with horrible Murders Unrevenged, but also in the possession of no little Part of the Country, with Circumstances which the *English* might think not very Honourable. Upon this Peace the *English* returned unto their *Plantations*; their Number increased; they

Stock'd their Farms, and Sow'd their Fields; they found the Air as *Healthful*, as the Earth was *Fruitful*; their *Lumber* and their *Fishery* became a considerable Merchandise; continual Accessions were made unto them, until Ten or a Dozen Towns in the Province of *Main*, and the County of *Cornwall*, were suddenly Started up into something of Observation.

But in the Year 1688. the *Indians* which dwelt after the *Indian* manner among them, commenced another War upon these *Plantations* which hath broke them up, and strangely held us in Play for Ten Years together. In these Ten Years there hath been a variety of Remarkable Occurrences; and because I have supposed that a Relation of those Occurrences may be Acceptable and Profitable to some of my Countrymen, I shall now with all Faithfulness Endeavour it. With all Faithfulness, I say; because tho' there should happen any Circumstantial Mistake in our Story, (for 'tis a rare thing for any Two Men concern'd in the same Action, to give the Story of it without some Circumstantial Difference) yet even this also I shall be willing to Retract and Correct, if there be found any just Occasion: But for any one Material Error in the whole Composure, I challenge the most Sagacious Malice upon Earth to detect it, while matters are yet so fresh as to allow the Detection of it. I disdain to make the Apology once made by the Roman Historian; *Nemo Historicus non*

non aliquid mentitus, & habiturus sum mendaciorum Comites, quos Historiæ & eloquentiæ miramur Authores. No, I will write with an Irreproachable and Incontestable Veracity; and I will write not one thing but what I am furnished with so good Authority for, that any Reasonable Man, who will please to Examine it, shall say, *I do well to insert it as I do:* And I will hope that my Reader hath not been Studying of *Godefridus de Valle's* Book, *De Arte nihil Credendi*; About *The Art of Believing nothing.* Wherefore having at the very Beginning thus given such a Knock upon thy Head, O Malice, that thou canst never with Reason Hiss at our History, we will proceed unto the several Articles of it.

ARTICLE I.

The Occasion and Beginning of the WAR.

IF *Diodorus Siculus* had never given it as a great Rule of History, *Historiæ primum Studium, primariaq; consideratio esse videtur, insoliti graviq; Casus principio causas investigare,* yet my Reader would have expected that I should Begin the History of our War, with an History of the Occurrences and Occasions which did Begin the War. Now, Reader, I am at the very first fallen upon a Difficult Point; and I am in danger of pulling a War upon my self, by endeavouring of thy Satisfaction. In truth I had rather be called a Coward, than undertake my self to Determine the Truth in this Matter; but having Armed my self with some good Authority for it, I will Transcribe Two or Three Reports of the Matter now in my Hands, and leave it unto thy own Determination.

One Account I have now lying by me, Written by a Gentleman of *Dover* in these Terms.

The Eastern Indians, and especially those of *Saco* and *Ammonoscoggin*, pretend many Reasons for the late Quarrel against the English, which began this long and bloody War.

1. Because the English refused to pay that Yearly Tribute of Corn, agreed upon in the Articles of Peace, formerly concluded with them by the English Commissioners.

2. Because they were Invaded in their Fishery, at *Saco-River*, by certain Gentlemen, who stopp'd the Fish from coming up the River with their Nets and Sains. This they were greatly affronted at, saying, *They thought (though the English had got away their Lands as they had, yet) the Fishery of the Rivers had been a Priviledge reserved Entire unto themselves.*

3. Because they were Abused by the English, in Suffering, if not Turning their Cattel over to a certain Island to destroy their Corn.

4. But the Fourth and Main Provocation was, the Granting or Patenting of their Lands to some English; at which they were greatly Enraged, threatening the Surveyor to knock him

on the Head if he came to lay out any Lands there.

5. To these may be added the Common Abuses in Trading, viz. Drunkenness, Cheating, &c. which such as Trade much with them are seldom innocent of.

Doubtless these Indian Allegations may be answered with many English Vindications. But I shall at present Intermeddle no further than to offer another Account, which also I have in my Hands, written by a Gentleman of *Casco*.

It runs in such Terms as these.

Many were the Outrages and Insultings of the Indians up the English, while Sir E. A. was Governour. At *North-Yarmouth*, and other places at the Eastward, the Indians killed sundry Cattel, came into Houses, and threatned to knock the People on the Head; and at several times gave out Reports that they would make a War upon the English, and that they were animated to do so by the French. The Indians behaving themselves so Insultingly, gave just Occasion of great Suspicion. In Order for the finding out the Truth, and to Endeavour the preventing of a War, Captain *Blackman*, a Justice of Peace, with some of the Neighbourhood of *Saco* River, seized several Indians that had been Bloody Murderous Rogues in the First Indian War, being the Chief Ring-leaders, and most capable to do Mischiefe. The said Captain *Blackman* seized to the Number of between Sixteen and Twenty, in Order for their Examination, and to bring in the rest to a Treaty. The said *Blackman* soon sent the said Indians with a good Guard to *Falmouth* in *Casco-Bay*, there to be secured, until Orders could come from *Boston* concerning them. And in the meantime the said Indians were well provided with Provisions and suitable Necessaries. The rest of the Indians robb'd the English, and took some English Prisoners: Whereupon Post was sent to *Boston*. Sir *Edmond Andross* being at *New-York*, the Gentlemen of *Boston* sent to *Falmouth* some Soldiers for the Defence of the Country, and also the Worshipful Mr. *Stoughton*, with others, to Treat with the Indians in Order for the settling of a Peace, and getting in of our English Captives. As soon as the said Gentlemen arrived at the Eastward, they sent away one of the Indian Prisoners to the rest of the Indians, to Summon them to bring in the English they had taken; also that their Sachims should come in to Treat with the English, in Order that a Just Satisfaction should be made on both Sides. The Gentlemen waited the return of the Indian Messenger; and when he returned he brought Answer, That they would meet our English at a Place called *Macquoit*, and there they would bring in the English Captives, and Treat with the English. And although the Place appointed by the Indians for the Meeting, was some Leagues distant from *Falmouth*, yet our English Gentlemen did Condescend to it, in hope of getting in our Captives, and putting a stop

a stop to further Trouble. They dispatch'd
 away to the Place, and carried the *Indian*
 Prisoners with them, and staid at the Place
 appointed, expecting the coming of the *In-*
dians that had promised a Meering. But
 they, like False, Perfidious Rogues, did not ap-
 pear. Without doubt they had been Counsel-
 led what to do by the *French* and their Abet-
 tors, as the *Indians* did declare afterwards;
 and that they were near the Place, and saw
 our *English* that were to Treat with them,
 but would not shew themselves; but did en-
 deavour to take an Opportunity to destroy our
English that were to Treat them. Such was
 their Treachery! Our Gentlemen staid Days
 to wait their coming; but seeing they did
 not appear at the Place appointed, they re-
 turned to *Falmouth*, and brought the *Indian*
 Prisoners, expecting that the other *Indians*
 would have sent down some Reason why they
 did not appear at the place appointed, and
 to make some Excuse for themselves. But in-
 stead of any Compliance, they fell upon *North*
Yarmouth, and there kill'd several of our
English. Whereupon the Eastern Parts were
 ordered to get into Garrisons, and to be up-
 on their Guard until further Orders from Sir
Edmond Andros; and that the *Indian* Priso-
 ners should be sent to *Boston*, which was done
 with great Care, and not one of them hurt;
 and Care taken daily for Provision. But Sir
E. A. returning from *New-York*, set them all
 at Liberty; not so much as taking Care to Re-
 deem those of our *English* for them that were in
 their Hands. I had kept one at *Falmouth* a
 Prisoner, to be a Guide into the Woods for
 our *English*, to find out the Haunts of our
 Heathen Enemies; but Sir *E. A.* sent an Ex-
 press to me, that upon my utmost Peril I
 should set the said *Indian* at Liberty, and take
 Care that all the Arms that were taken from
 him, and all the rest of those Captain *Black-*
man had seized, should be delivered up to them,
 without any Orders to receive the like of ours
 from them.

It will be readily acknowledged, that here
 was enough done to render the *Indians* Inexcu-
 sable for not coming in upon the *Proclamation*,
 which Sir *Edmond Andros*, then Governour of
New-England, immediately Emitted thereupon,
 requiring them to Surrender the *Murderers* now
 among them. A *Spaniard*, that was a Soldier,
 would say, *That if we have a good Cause, the*
smell of Gunpowder in the Field is as sweet as
the Incense at the Altar. Let the Reader judge
 after these things, what scent there was in the
Gunpowder spent for Nine or Ten Years together
 in our *War* with the *Indian-Savages*.

Now that while we are upon this Head, we
 may at once dispatch it; I will unto these Two
 Accounts add certain Passages of one more,
 which was Published in *September*, 1689.

Such were the *Obscure Measures* taken at
 that time of Day, that the *Rise* of this *War*
 hath been as dark as that of the *River Nilus*;
 only the generality of *Thinking People* through

the Country can remember *When* and *Why* eve-
 ry one did foretel a *War*. If any *Wild*
English (for there are such as well as of
 another Nation) did then *Begin* to Provoke
 and Affront the *Indians*, yet those *Indians* had
 a fairer way to come by Right than that of
Bloodshed, nothing worthy of, or calling for,
 any such Revenge was done unto them. The
 most *Injured* of them all, (if there were any
such) were afterwards dismissed by the *English*
 with Favours, that were then admirable even
 to *Our selves*; and these too, instead of Sur-
 rendering the *Persons*, did increase the *Num-*
bers of the *Murderers*. But upon the REVO-
 LUTION of the Government, [*April*, 1689.]
 the *State of the War* became wholly *New*:
 And we are more arrived unto *Righteousness*
as the Light, and *Justice as the Noon Day*.
 A great *Sachim* of the East we then immedi-
 ately applied our selves unto, and with no small
 Expences to our selves, we engaged him to em-
 ploy his Interest for a good Understanding
 between us, and the Party of *Indians* then in
 Hostility against us. *This* was the *Likely*, the
Only way of coming at those *Wandering Sal-*
vages: But that very *Sachim* now treacherously
 of an *Embassador* became a *Traitor*, and an-
 nexed himself with his People to the *Head* of
 our Enemies, which have since been Ravaging,
 Pillaging and Murdering, at a rate which we
 ought to count *Intolerable*. The *Penacook*
Indians, of whom we were Jealous, we like-
 wise Treated with; and while we were by
 our *Kindnesses* and *Courtesies* Endeavouring to
 render them utterly Inexcusable, if ever they
 fought our Harm; even *then* did *these* also
 by some *Evil Instigation*, (*the Devils*, no
 doubt!) quickly surprize a Plantation where
 they had been Civilly Treated a Day or two
 before, and Commit at once more *Plun-*
der and *Murder* than can be heard with any
 Patience.

Reader, having so placed these Three Ac-
 counts as to defend my *Teeth*, I think I may
 safely proceed with our Story. But because
Tacitus teaches us to distinguish between the
 meer *Occasions* and the real *Causes* of a *War*, it
 may be some will go a little higher up in their
 Enquiries: They will Enquire whether no Bo-
 dy seized a parcel of *Wines* that were Landed
 at a *French* Plantation to the Eastward? Whe-
 ther an Order were not obtained from the King
 of *England*, at the Instance of the *French* Em-
 bassador, to restore these *Wines*? Whether up-
 on the Vexation of this *Order*, we none of us
 ran a *New-Line* for the Bounds of the Pro-
 vince? Whether we did not contrive our *New*
Line so as to take in the Country of Monsieur
St Casteen? Whether Monsieur *St. Casteen* fly-
 ing from our Encroachments, we did not seize
 upon his Arms and Goods, and bring them a-
 way to *Pemmaquid*? And *Who* were the *We*
 which did these things? And whether the *Indi-*
ans, who were extremely under the Influence
 of *St. Casteen*, that had Married a *Sagamore's*
 Daughter among them, did not from this ve-

ry Moment begin to be obftreperous? And whether all the Sober *English* in the Country did not from this very Moment foretel a *War*? But for any Answer to all thefe Enquiries I will be my felf a *Tacitus*.

ARTICLE II.

The First Acts of Hostility between the Indians and the English.

WHEN one Captain *Sargeant* had feized some of the Principal *Indians* about *Saco* by Order of Justice *Blackman*, presently the *Indians* fell to feizing as many of the *English* as they could catch. Captain *Rowden*, with many more in one Place, and Captain *Gendal*, with fundry more in another Place, particularly fell into the Hands of thefe desperate *Man-Catchers*. *Rowden*, with many of his Folks, never got out of their Cruel Hands; but *Gendal*, with his, got a Release, one can fcarce tell how, upon the return of thofe which had been detained in *Boston*. Hitherto there was no fpillng of *Blood*! But fome time in *September* following, this Captain *Gendal* went up, with Soldiers and others, to a Place above *Cafco*, called *North Yarmouth*, having Orders to Build *Stockado's* on both fides the River, for Defence of the Place, in Cafe of any fudden Invaſion. While they were at Work, an *English* *Captive* came to 'em with Information, that Seventy or Eighty of the Enemy were juſt coming upon 'em; and he adviſed 'em, To yield quietly, that they might ſave their Lives. The Soldiers that went thither from the Southward being terrified at this Report, ran with an haſty Terror to get over the River; but with more Haſte than Good Speed; for they ran direſtly into the Hands of the *Indians*. The *Indians* dragging theſe their Priſoners with 'em, came up towards the *Cafconians*; who having but a very little time to conſult, yet in this time reſolved, Firſt, That they would not be feized by the *Salvages*: Next, That they would free their Friends out of the Hands of the *Salvages* if it were poſſible: Thirdly, That if it were poſſible they would uſe all other Force upon the *Salvages*, without coming to down-right Fight. Accordingly they laid hold on their Neighbours, whom the *Salvages* had feized, and this with ſo much Dexterity, that they cleared them all, except One or Two; whereof the whole Number was about a Dozen. But in the Scuffle one Sturdy and Sarly *Indian* held his Prey ſo faſt, that one *Benedict Pulcifer* gave the *Maſtiff* a Blow with the Edge of his *Broad Ax* upon the Shoulder, upon which they fell to't with a Vengeance, and Fired their *Guns* on both Sides, till ſome on both Sides were Slain. Theſe were, as one may call them, *The Scower-pit* of a long *War* to follow. At laſt the *English* Victoriously chaſed away the *Salvages*, and returned ſafely unto the other ſide of the River.

And thus was the *Vein* of *New-England* firſt opened, that afterwards *Bled* for Ten Years together! The *Skirmiſh* being over, Captain *Gendal* in the Evening paſſed over the River in a *Canoo*, with none but a *Servant*; but Landing where the Enemy lay hid in the *Buſhes*, they were both Slain immediately. And the ſame Evening, one *Ryal*, with another Man, fell unawares into the Hands of the Enemy; *Ryal* was afterwards Ransomed by *Monſieur St. Caſteen*, but the other Man was barbarouſly Butchered. Soon after this the Enemy went Eaſtward, unto a Place call'd, *Merry-Meeting*, (from the Courſe of divers Rivers there) where ſeveral *English* had a *Sal-Meeting* with them; for they were killed ſeveral of them even in cold Blood, after the *Indians* had feized upon their Houſes and their Perſons. And about this time the Town call'd, *Sheepſcote*, was entred by theſe Rapacious *Wolves*, who burnt all the Houſes of the Town, ſave Two or Three. The People ſaved themſelves by getting into the Fort, all but one Man, who going out of the Fort for to Treat with 'em, was Treacherouſly Affaffinated. Thus the Place which was counted, *The Garden of the Eaſt*, was infeſted by Serpents; and a *Sword* Expell'd the poor Inhabitants. Little more Spoil was done by the *Salvages* before *Winter*, except only, that at a place called *Kennebunk*, near *Winter-Harbour*, they cut off Two Families, to wit, *Barrow's*, and *Buffie's*; but *Winter* coming on, the *Serpents* retired into their Holes. When *Summer* comes, Reader, look for *Tornadoes* enough to overſet a greater Veſſel than little *New-England*.

ARTICLE III.

The Firſt Expedition of the English againſt the Indians.

WHEN the Keeper of the Wild Beaſts at *Florence* has entertain'd the Spectators with their Encounters on the Stage, he has this Device to make 'em Retire into the ſeveral *Dens* of their *Scraglio*. He has a fearful *Machin* of Wood made like a great *Green Dragon*, which a Man within it roulſ upon Wheels, and holding out a Couple of Lighted Torches at the Eyes of it, frights the fierceſt Beaſt of them all into the Cell that belongs unto him. *Sir Edmond Andros*, the Governour of *New-England*, that he might Exprefs his Reſolutions to force the Wild Beaſts of the Eaſt into Order, in the *Winter* now coming on, turned upon them as Effectual a *Machin* as the *Green Dragon* of *Florence*; that is to ſay, an Army of near a Thouſand Men. With this Army he marched himſelf in Perſon into the *Caucaſean* Regions, where he built a Fort at *Pemmaquid*, and another Fort at *Pechypſcot* Falls, beſides the Fort at *Sheepſcote*. He and his Army underwent no little Hardſhip, thus in the depth of *Winter* to Expoſe themſelves unto the Circumſtances of a Campaign, in all the Bleak Winds and Thick Snows of that Northern Country. But it was hop'd, that

Good

Good Forts being thus Garrison'd with Stout Hearts in several Convenient Places, the Indians might be kept from their usual Retreats, both for Planting, and for Fishing, and lye open also to perpetual Incurfions from the English in the fitteft Seasons thereof: And it was thought by the most fenfible, this Method would in a little while compel the Enemy to fubmit unto any Terms: Albeit others confidering the Vaft Woods of the Wildernefs, and the French on the back of thefe Woods, fancied that this was but a project to Hedge in the Cuckow. However, partly the Army, and partly the Winter, frighted the Salvages into their Inacceffible Dens: And yet not One of the Indians was killed; but Sicknefs and Service kill'd, it may be, more of our English, than there were Indians then in Hoftility againft them. The News of Matters approaching towards a REVOLUTION in England, caufed the Governour to return unto Boston in the Spring; and upon his return there fell out feveral odd Events, with Rumours, whereof I have now nothing to fay, but that I love my Eyes too well to mention them. Some of the Soldiers took Advantage from the Abfence of the Governour to defert their Stations in the Army; and tho' this Action was by good Men generally Condemned as an evil Action, yet their Friends began to gather together here and there in little Bodies, to protect them from the Governour, concerning whom abundance of odd Stories then buzz'd about the Country, made 'em to Imagine, that he had carried 'em out only to Sacrifice 'em. Some of the principal Gentlemen in Boston confulting what was to be done in this Extraordinary Juncture, they Agreed, that altho' New-England had as much to Juftifie a Revolution as Old, yet they would, if it were poffible, extinguish all Effays in the People towards an Infurrection, in daily hopes of Orders from England for our Safety: But that if the Country People, by any unreftainable Violences pushed the Bufinefs on fo far, as to make a Revolution unavoidable, then to prevent the Shedding of Blood by an ungoverned Mobile, fome of the Gentlemen prefent fhould appear at the Head of it, with a Declaration accordingly prepared. He that Reads the Narrative of Grievances under the Male-Adminiftrations of the Governour then Tyrannizing, Written and Signed by the Chief Gentlemen of the Governour's Council, will not wonder at it, that a Revolution was now rendred indeed unavoidable. It was a Governour, whereof Ned Randolph, a Bird of their own Feather, confefs'd as we find in one of his published Letters, *That they were as Arbitrary as the Great Turk*. And for fuch a Governour a better Similitude cannot perhaps be thought on than that of Monsieur Soulligne; 'Tis like the Condition of Persons poffeffed with evil Spirits, which will go an Hundred Leagues in lefs time than others can Ten; but at the Journys End find themfelves to be fo Bruifed that they never can Recover it. The Revolution (and, ye Tories, a Juft one) was accordingly made on the Eighteenth of April, which

Their Majesties, then happily Seated on the Britith Throne, kindly Accepted and Approved. The Governour and Magiftrates of the *Massachusetts*-Colony, which were in power *Three Years and Half* before, [a Period often obferved!] did fome time after this refume their Places, and apply themfelves to fuch *Acts of Government*, as Emergencies made neceffary for them, fortified with a Letter from the King to *Authorize and Empower them in their Adminiftrations*. Thus they waited for further Directions from the Authority of England, and fuch a Settlement as would moft Conduce (which were the words of the King's Letter, bearing Date Aug. 12. 1689.) to the Security and Satisfaction of the Subjells in that Colony.

ARTICLE IV.

A Flame Spreading upon the 'best Endeavours to Quench it.

IT was hop'd the War would now come to an immediate End; but the Great God who Creates that Evil, had further Intentions to Chastise a *sinful People* by thofe who are not a People. The Governour fent Captain Greenleaf to Treat with the Indians at Penacook, who answered him with fair Pretences and Promifes of Amity. They procured an Interview with fome of the more Eaftern Sagamores, who not only promifed *Friendfhip* themfelves, but alfo undertook to make our Enemies become our Friends. They fent unto the Soldiers yet remaining at Pammaquid for to keep their *Post*, Engaging to them that they fhould not want their Pay. But all this Care was defeated by *Methods of Mifchiefs* too deep for our prefent Penetration. The Salvages began to renew their Hoftilities at Saco Falls, in the Beginning of April, on a Lord's Day Morning, fome while before the Revolution. The Penacook Indians were all this while peaceably Converfant at Quochecho; and fo long as that Converfation continued, the Inhabitants were very feure of any Danger, not only from thofe *Cut-Throats*, but alfo from their Brethren. Happy had it been for thofe honeft People, if their Fear had made fo much Hafte as my Pen has done, to call 'em *Cut-Throats*! For the Penacookian joining with the Sacionian Indians, hovered about Quochecho, where one Mefandowit, a Sagamore, being that Night kindly Entertained by Major Richard Waldein, horribly betray'd his kind Hoft, with the Neighbours, into the Hands of Murderers. Above an Hundred, fome fay Five Hundred of the Indians, about break of Day having Surprized the Secure and Silent English, they particularly rufhed into the Garrison of the Generous Major, which was by Sinon Mefandowit (for beftowing a Heathen Name upon him, we'll now call him *fo*) opened for them, and having firft Barbaroufly Murthered the Old Gentleman, who was Equivalent unto Two and Twenty, they then Murdered Two and Twenty more, and Captived Nine and Twenty of the People; Burnt

Four or Five of the best Houses, took much Plunder, and so drew off; but kill'd Mr. *John Broughton* in their drawing off: While Mr. *John Emmerfon*, a worthy Preacher at *Berwick*, by declining to Lodge at the Hospitable Major's that Night, when strongly Invited, received a remarkable Deliverance. Hereupon Forces were dispatch'd for the Relief of what remained in *Quochecho*; Captain *Noyes* also with more Forces visited *Penacook*, where though the Men escaped him, he destroy'd the Corn of our New Enemies: But the sculking Enemies at the same time slew several Persons at an Out-Farm on the North-side of *Merrimack-River*. A Party of Men were soon after sent out of *Piscataqua*, under the Command of Captain *Wincal*, who went up to *Winnopissag Ponds*, (upon Advice of one *John Church*, who ran from them, that the *Indians* were there) where they kill'd One or Two of the *Monsters* they Hunted for, and cut down their Corn. Four young Men of *Saco*, desirous to join with them, went into the Woods to seek their *Horses*, and found their Deaths by an Ambush of *Indians*. Twenty-four Armed Men going forth from *Saco-Falls* to bury the Slain had a brisk Encounter with the *Indians*, whom they pursued into a Vast Swamp, until a greater Number of *Indians* pouring in upon them, obliged 'em. with the loss of about Five or Six more, to retire from any further Action. But before the *Dog-Days* were out, there was more Bleeding still that prov'd fatal to us. On Aug. 2. one *Starky* going early in the Morning from the Fort at *Pemmaquid* unto New Harbour, fell into the Hands of the *Indians*, who to obtain his own Liberty inform'd them, that the Fort had at that Instant but few Men in it: And that one Mr. *Giles*, with Fourteen Men, was gone up to his Farm, and the rest scattered abroad about their Occasions. The *Indians* hereupon divided their Army; Part going up to the *Falls*, kill'd Mr. *Giles* and others; Part, upon the Advantage of the Tide snapt the rest before they could recover the Fort. From a Rock near the Fort, which inconveniently overlook'd it, the Assaultants now overlook'd it, as over *Lincoln*, and grievously gauled the Defendants. Capt. *Weems* had but few with him that were able to Fight; and his own Face was in the Fight by an Accident horribly Scorched with Gunpowder. Wherefore the Day following they surrendered the Fort upon Capitulations for Life and Liberty; which yet the *Indians* broke, by Butchering and Captiving many of them. Capt. *Skyner*, and Capt. *Farnham*, repairing to the Fort, from an Island about half a Mile distant from it, were both slain as they Landed on the Rocks; and Mr. *Patishal* as he lay with his Sloop in the *Barbican*, was also taken and slain. This, together with more Spoil done by the *Indians* on the *English* at *Sheepscote*, and *Kennebeck*, and other Places Eastward, caus'd the Inhabitants to draw off unto *Falmouth* as fast as they could: And well if they could have made good their Standing there!

M A N T I S S A.

THE foregoing Article of our *Tragedies* hath related the taking of *Quochecho*! The Condition of Two Persons under and after the Fate of *Quochecho*, may have in it an Entertainment acceptable for some sort of Readers. It shall be in this place reported, from the Communications of Mr. *John Pike*, the worthy Minister of *Dover*, to whom I have been beholden, for Communicating to me many other Passages also which occur in this our History.

I. Mrs. *Elizabeth Heard*, a Widow of a good Estate, a Mother of many Children, and a Daughter of Mr. *Hall*, a Reverend Minister formerly Living at *Piscataqua*, now lived at *Quochecho*; happening to be at *Portsmouth* on the Day before *Quochecho* was cut off, she returned thither in the Night with One Daughter and Three Sons, all Masters of Families. When they came near *Quochecho* they were astonish'd with a prodigious Noise of *Indians*, Howling, Shooting, Shouting, and Rouring, according to their manner in making an Assault. Their Distress for their Families carried them still further up the River, till they secretly and silently pass'd by some Numbers of the Raging Salvages. They Landed about an Hundred Rods from Major *Waldern's* Garrison; and running up the Hill, they saw many Lights in the Windows of the Garrison, which they concluded the *English* within had set up for the Direction of those who might seek a Refuge there. Coming to the Gate, they desired Entrance; which not being readily granted, they called earnestly, and bounced, and knocked, and cried out of their unkindness within, that they would not open to them in this Extremity. No Answer being yet made, they began to doubt whether all was well; and one of the young Men then climbing up the Wall, saw a horrible Tawny in the Entry, with a Gun in his Hand. A grievous Consternation seiz'd now upon them; and Mrs. *Heard*, sitting down without the Gate through Despair and Faintness, unable to stir any further, charg'd her Children to shift for themselves; for she must unavoidably there End her Days. They finding it impossible to carry her with them, with heavy Hearts forsook her; but then coming better to her self, she fled and hid among the *Barberry-Bushes* in the Garden: And then hastning from thence, because the Daylight advanced, she sheltered her self (though seen by Two of the *Indians*) in a Thicket of other Bushes, about Thirty Rods from the House. Here she had not been long before an *Indian* came towards her, with a Pistol in his Hand: The Fellow came up to her, and stared her in the Face, but said nothing to her, nor she to him. He went a little way back, and came again, and stared upon her as before, but said nothing; whereupon she asked him, *What he would have?* He still said nothing, but went away

away to the House Co-hooping, and returned unto her no more. Being thus unaccountably preserved, she made several Essays to pass the River; but found her self unable to do it; and finding all Places on that side the River fill'd with Blood, and Fire, and Hideous Outcries, thereupon she returned to her old *Bush*, and there poured out her ardent Prayers to God for help in this Distress. She continued in the *Bush* until the Garrison was Burnt, and the Enemy was gone; and then she stole along by the River side, until she came to a Boom, where she passed over. Many sad Effects of Cruelty she saw left by the *Indians* in her way; until arriving at Captain *Gerrish's* Garrison, she there found a Refuge from the Storm; and here she soon had the Satisfaction to understand, that her own Garrison, though one of the first that was assaulted, had been bravely Defended and Maintained against the Adversary. This Gentlewoman's Garrison was the most Extream Frontier of the Province, and more Obnoxious than any other, and more incapable of Relief; nevertheless, by her Presence and Courage it held out all the *War*, even for *Ten Years* together; and the Persons in it have enjoy'd very Eminent Preservations. The Garrison had been deserted, if she had accepted Offers that were made her by her Friends, of Living in more safety at *Portsmouth*; which would have been a Damage to the Town and Land: But by her Encouragement this Post was thus kept; and she is yet Living in much Esteem among her Neighbours.

II. Mrs. *Sarah Gerish*, Daughter to Captain *John Gerish* of *Quochecho*, a very Beautiful and Ingenious Damsel, about Seven Years of Age, lodg'd at the Garrison of her affectionate Grandfather, Major *Waldern*, when the *Indians* brought an horrible Destruction upon it. She was always very fearful of the *Indians*; but what Fear may we think now Surprised her, when they fiercely bid her go into such a Chamber and call the People out? Finding only a little Child in the Chamber, she got into the Bed unto the Child, and hid her self in the Cloaths as well as she could. The Fell-Salvages quickly pull'd her out, and made her Dress for a March, but led her away with no more than one Stockin upon her, a terrible March through the thick Woods, and a Thousand other Miseries, till they came to the *Norway-Plains*. From thence they made her go to the end of *Winnopisseag* Lake, and from thence to the Eastward, through horrid Swamps, where sometimes they must Scramble over huge Trees fallen by Storm or Age for a vast way together, and sometimes they must Climb up Long, Steep, Tirefome, and almost Inaccessible Mountains. Her First Master was one *Sebundowit*, a dull sort of Fellow, and not such a *Devil* as many of 'em were; but he sold her to a Fellow that was a more harsh and mad sort of a *Dragon*, and he carried her away to *Canada*.

A long and a sad Journey she had of it, thro' the midst of an hideous *Desart*, in the midst of

a dreadful *Winter*: And who can enumerate the Frights that she endured before the end of her Journey? Once her Master commanded her to loosen some of her upper-garments, and stand against a Tree while he charged his Gun; whereas the poor Child shrieked out, *He's going to kill me!* God knows what he was going to do; but the Villain having charged his Gun, he call'd her from the Tree, and torbore doing her any Damage. Another time her Master ordered her to run along the Shore with some *Indian* Girls, while he paddled up the River in his Canoo. As they were upon a Precipice, a Tawny Wench violently push'd her Headlong into the River: But it so fell out, that in that very Place the *Bushes* hung over the *Water*; so that getting hold of them she recovered her self. The *Indians* ask'd her how she became so wet? But she durst not say how, through dread of the young *Indians*, who were always very Abusive to her when they had her alone. Moreover, once being spent with Travelling all Day, and lying down Spent and Wet at Night, she fell into so profound a Sleep that in the Morning she waked not. The Barbarous *Indians* left her *Asleep*, and covered with *Snow*; but at length waking, what Agonies may you imagine she was in, to find her self left a prey for *Bears* and *Wolves*; and without any Sustenance, in an howling Wilderness many Scores of Leagues from any Plantation? She ran crying after them; and Providence having ordered a *Snow* to fall, by means whereof she Track'd them until she overtook them. Now the young *Indians* began to Terrifie her with daily Intimations, *That she was quickly to be Roasted unto Death*; and one Evening much Fuel was prepared between Two Logs, which they told her was for her. A mighty Fire being made, her Master call'd her to him, and told her, that she should presently be Burnt Alive. At first she stood Amazed; afterwards she burst into Tears; and then she hung about the Tygre, and begg'd of him with an inexpressible Anguish, that he would save her from the Fire. Hereupon the Monster so relented as to tell her, *That if she would be a good Girl she should not be Burnt*.

At last they arrived at *Canada*, and she was carried unto the *Lord Intendant's* House, where many Persons of Quality took much notice of her. It was a Week after this that she remained in the *Indian* Hands before the Price of her Ransom could be agreed on. But then the *Lady Intendant* sent her to the *Nunnery*, where she was comfortably provided for; and it was the Design, as was said, for to have brought her up in the *Romish Religion*, and then have Married her unto the Son of the *Lord Intendant*. She was kindly used there, until Sir *William Phips*, lying before *Quebeck*, did, upon exchange of Prisoners, obtain her Liberty. After Sixteen Months Captivity she was restored unto her Friends; who had the Consolation of having this their Desireable Daughter again with them, returned from the

the *Dead*; but coming to be Sixteen Years Old, in the Month of *July* 1697. *Death* by a malignant Feavor, more Irrecoverably took her from them.

ARTICLE V.

New Forces rais'd, and New Actions done.

ON *Aug.* 28 1689. Major *Swayn*, with Seven or Eight Companies raised by the *Massachusetts-Colony*, marched Eastward; and soon after Major *Church*, with a Party of English and *Christian-Indians*, raised in *Plymouth-Colony*, follow'd them. While these were on their March, the *Indians* that lay sculking after the *Indian-fashion* in the thick Woods, took notice how many Men belong'd unto *Lieut. Huckin's Garrison*: And seeing 'em all go out unto their daily Work, nimbly ran so between them and the Garrison, as to Kill 'em all (about Eighteen) but One, who being accidentally gone over the River, escaped them. They then Attacqued the Garrison, in which there now were only Two Boys, (and one of them Lame) with some Women and Children; but these Two Boys very Manfully held 'em in play a Considerable while, and Wounded several of them, and kept 'em off, till the Assailants had found a way to set the House on a light Fire over their Heads. They then urging 'em to Surrender for the sake of the Goods, the Boys [*brave Boys, truly!*] would not, until they had Solemnly promised 'em their Lives: But the perfidious Wretches broke their Promise, for they presently kill'd Three or Four of the Children: However, one of these *Minutius's* the Day after very happily got out of their Clutches. It was by a particular Accident that these *Indians* were delivered from falling into the Hands of *Captain Garner*, who pursued 'em Vigorously. But while the Forces now gone into the East were settling of *Garrisons* in convenient Places, a huge Body of *Indians* fell upon *Casco*, where one of their first Exploits was their killing of *Captain Bracket*. Nevertheless, *Captain Hall*, (a Valiant Soldier in the former War, and a Valiant Commander in this) with his Vigorous Lieutenant *Daves*, just then Arriving with his Company, the English boldly Engaged them for several Hours; and after a deal of true English Valour discovered in this Engagement, and the loss of Ten or a Dozen Men, the *Indians* ran for it, with what loss on their Part we do not know: That with Some we Do. Presently after this, Major *Swayn* passing through Extream Difficulties to get at it, gave some Relief to a Garrison at *Blue Point*, which was beset by the *Indians*; who still Fled into their Inaccessible Swamps when our Bullets began to be hail'd upon them. It was judg'd, That here One or Two Opportunities of bringing the War unto an End were strangely mist and lost: But where the Mismanagement lay I cannot Remember; nor what were the *Faux Pas* of the Actors. Our Honest Major will clear himself, who returning then to his Head Quarters at

Berwick, sent abroad Scouts to learn if it were possible where they might have the best Game at the *Chasse a La Bete noire*, then to be followed. *Captain Wiswel* having with him a Party of *Indian Auxiliaries*, they were sent out under the Conduct of *Lieutenant Flag*: But coming to *Winnopisseag*, these *Indians* had a Consult in their own Language, and sending back their Lieutenant with Two *Indians*, Nineteen of them staid in that Country Eleven Days, not having any English with them: At which the Major was justy and greatly Offended. It was then *Suspected*, and afterwards (by escap'd Captives) Asserted, that these Wretches found the Enemy, and Lodg'd with 'em Two Nights, and told 'em what they knew of the English Numbers and Motions. The Enemy then retired into the howling Desarts where there was no coming at them: And no Endeavours being able to reach them, the Army in the Month of *November* following was Dismissed: Only some Soldiers were left in Garrison at *Wells*, at *York*, at *Berwick*, and at *Quebecho*, for the Assistance of the poor Inhabitants against any more Invasions. There has been little Doubt that our Northern *Indians* are Originally *Scythians*; and it is become less a Doubt, since it appears from later Discoveries, that the pretended *Straits of Anian* are a Sham; for *Asia* and *America* it seems are there Contiguous. Now of these our *Scythians* in *America* we have still found what *Julius Cesar* does report concerning them of *Asia*;

Difficilius Invenire quam Interficere:

It is harder to Find them, than to Foil them:

A Digression,

Relating some Wonderful Judgments of God:

BEfore we pass to another Year, stand Still, Reader, and Behold some Wonderful Events proper here to be Introduced. The Relation thereof shall be given as I have Received it.

Portsmouth, Feb. 27. 1698.

MONsieur *Vincelotte* of *Quebeck* arrived here the 25th of the last Month, and since Embarked for *France* by way of *Bilboa*, as Agent to Represent the Affairs of *Canada*.

He says, That about Nine or Ten Years since, the Earl of *Frontenac*, Governor of that Place, who died last *November*) did personally Attempt to subdue the *Maqua's*, &c. having no less than Fifteen Hundred Soldiers in his Army.

After a few Days March they (being much *Wearied* and very *Thirsty*) came unto a certain small *Well*, of which they drank very plentifully. But in a few Hours after sundry complained of much *Illness*, and according to their various *Constitutions* fell Sick (as it seem'd) of different *Distempers*; which occasioned so great Disorder and Confusion in the Army,

‘ that no less than *Four* well Men, for a while,
 ‘ were engaged in taking Care of every *one* that
 ‘ was Sick. About Three Days after, the *Maqua*
 ‘ Scout narrowly observing the Motions of the
 ‘ *French*, rallied together as many as possible,
 ‘ to give a Check unto their Undertaking ;
 ‘ which they soon accomplished with very con-
 ‘ siderable Advantage. But the *French* appearing
 ‘ so Numerous, forced them to Retreat, and in
 ‘ pursuit of them, took and ransackt a *Small*
 ‘ *Town*.

‘ The *Sickness* by this time increased unto so
 ‘ great an Height, as to occasion a *Council of*
 ‘ *War*. which ordered their speedy Return, and
 ‘ in a short time no less than *Eight Hundred* Per-
 ‘ sons Died out of the Army.

‘ Now about *Three Years* ago a certain Sol-
 ‘ dier, who belong’d at that time to the Army,
 ‘ went into *France*. In a short time after his
 ‘ Arrival, he Robb’d one of the *Churches* of a
 ‘ considerable value of *Plate* ; but being soon
 ‘ discovered, he was Sentenced to be *Burnt* : He
 ‘ then sent unto sundry *Father Confessors*, unto
 ‘ whom he acknowledged his *many Sins* ; parti-
 ‘ cularly the *Fall* for which he was Condemn-
 ‘ ed. But he therewithal said, That he had *some-*
 ‘ *thing else* of more considerable moment to
 ‘ impart, which did much afflict his Conscience ;
 ‘ namely, an Action of his about *Seven Years*
 ‘ before committed, when Listed under the
 ‘ Conduct of the Earl of *Frontenac*, in an Enter-
 ‘ prize against the *Sennakers* and *Maqua*’s ; (for
 ‘ said he) *I was the only Person at that time In-*
 ‘ *strumental to the Death of near Eight Hundred*
 ‘ *Souls*. Having Received some *Affront* from
 ‘ some of the *Officers*, *I was prompted to seek*
 ‘ some speedy *Revenge*, which my own corrupt
 ‘ *Nature*, with the *Instigation of Satan*. did in-
 ‘ stantly accomplish ; for being plentifully stored
 ‘ with some *Rank Poison* upon another Account,
 ‘ *I threw it all into a Well*, of which the *Thirsty*
 ‘ *Army drank freely*, and in the Event it proved
 ‘ so fatal unto them.

‘ For the further Confirmation of this Report,
 ‘ *Monieur Vincelotte* at the same time told me,
 ‘ That he was himself Wounded in the Engage-
 ‘ ment, and should continue *Lame* to his Dy-
 ‘ ing Day.

Reverend Sir, Your most Humble Servant,

S. Penhallow.

ARTICLE VI.

New Assaults from the Indians, with some Re-
markables of Captives taken in those As-
saults.

THE Sun and the War be again Returning !
 The Year 1690. must begin very Inau-
 spiciously. In *February*, the *French* with *Indi-*
ans made a Descent from *Canada*, upon a Dutch
 Town called *Schenectada*, Twenty Miles above
Albany, under the Government of *New-York* ; and

in that surprizing Incurfion, they killed about
 Sixty Persons, whereof one was their Minister,
 and carried about Half as many into Captivity ;
 but the People there, assisted by the *Maqua*’s,
 pursued them, and recovered some of their
 Captives from them. Upon the Advice of this
 Mischief in the *West*, order was dispatch’d unto
 Major *Frost* in the *East*, that the Towns there
 should stand upon their Guard. The Major did
 his Duty ; but they did not theirs : They
 Dreamt that while the Deep Snow of the *Win-*
ter continued, they were safe enough ; but this
 prov’d as Vain as a *Dream of a Dry Summer*.
 On *March 18.* the *French* with *Indians*, being
 half one, half t’other, half Indianized *French*,
 and half *Frenchified* *Indians*, Commanded by
Monfieur Artel and *Hoop-Hood*, fell suddenly upon
Salmon Falls, destroying the best part of the
 Town with Fire and Sword. Near *Thirty* Per-
 sons were Slain, and more than *Fifty* were led
 into what the Reader will by and by call *The*
worst Captivity in the World. It would be a *Long*
 Story to tell, what a particular share in this Ca-
 lamity fell to the Family of *One Clement Short* :
 This Honest Man, with his Pious Wife, and
 Three Children, were kill’d ; and Six or Seven
 of their Children were made Prisoners : The
 most of which arrived safe to *Canada*, through
 a Thousand Hardships ; and the most of these
 were with more than a Thousand Mercies after-
 wards Redeemed from *Canada*, unto their Eng-
 lish Friends again. But my Readers will be so
 Reasonable as to excuse me, if I do not menti-
 on the Fate of every Family that hath suffered
 a share in the Calamity of this grievous War ;
 for ’tis impossible that I should Know *All* that
 hath happened ; and it would be improper for
 me to Write *All* that I know : And very little
 is the Advantage of having a Name standing
 upon Record only among unhappy Sufferers.
 About *Sevenscore English* went out after ’em,
 and came up with ’em : Nevertheless, through
 the Disadvantages of their Feet by the *Snow*, they
 could make no Hand on it. Four or Five of
 ours were kill’d, and as many of the Enemy ;
 but the Night put an End unto the Action. Ours
 took One Prisoner, a *Frenchman*, who Confessed
 that they came from *Canada* ; where both *French*
 and *Indians* were in Pay at Ten Livers per
 Month, and he particularly Declared the State
 of *Canada*. This Prisoner met with such kind
 usage from us, that he became a *Freeman of*
Christ, and Embraced and Professed the *Prote-*
stant Religion. But of the Prisoners which the
 Enemy took from us, there were Two which
 immediately met with a very Different Fate.
 Three *Indians* horly pursued one *Thomas Toogood*,
 and One of them overtaking him, while the rest
 perceiving it, staid behind the Hill, he yielded
 himself a Prisoner. While the Salvage was get-
 ting *Strings* to bind him, he held his *Gun* under
 his Arm ; which *Toogood* observing, suddenly
 pluckt it from his Friend *Stark Naught*,
 Threatning and Protesting that he would Shoot
 him down if he made any Noise ; and to a-
 way he ran with it unto *Quechecho*. If my Rea-
 der

der be inclined now to smile, when he thinks how simply poor *Isgrim* look'd, returning to his Mates behind the Hill, without either *Gun* or *Prey*, or any thing but *Strings*, to remember him of his *own Deserts*, the *Smiles* will all be presently turn'd into *Tears*. The *Indians* had now made a Prisoner of one *Robert Rogers*, and being on their Journey they came to an Hill, where this Man, being through his Corpulency, (for which he was usually Nicknamed, *Robin Pork*) and an Insupportable and Intolerable *Burden* laid upon his Back, not so able to Travel as the rest, he Absconded. The Wretches mistaking him, immediately went in pursuit of him; and it was not long before they found his *Burden* cast in the way, and the *Track* of his going out of the way, which they followed, until they found him hidden in a *Hallow Tree*. They took him out, they stript him, they beat him, and prick'd him, and push'd him forward with their Swords, until they were got back to the Hill; and it being almost Night, they fastned him to a Tree with his Hands behind him, and made themselves a Supper, Singing, Dancing, Roaring and Uttering many Signs of *Joy*, but with *Joy* little enough to the poor Creature who foresaw what all this tended unto. They then cut a parcel of *Wood*, and bringing it into a plain place, they cut off the *Top* of a small *Red Oak Tree*, leaving the *Trunk* for a *Stake*, whereto they bound their Sacrifice. They first made a great Fire near this *Tree of Death*, and bringing him unto it, they bid him take his leave of his Friends, which he did in a doleful manner; no Pen, though made of an *Harpy's Quill*, were able to describe the *Dolour* of it! They then allow'd him a little time to make his *Prayers* unto Heaven which he did with an extream Fervency and Agony: Whereupon they bound him to the Stake, and brought the rest of the Prisoners with their Arms tied each to other, so setting them round the *Fire*. This being done, they went behind the *Fire*, and thrust it forwards upon the Man, with much Laughter and Shouting; and when the *Fire* had burnt some while upon him, even till he was near stifled, they pull'd it again from him. They Danced about him, and at every Turn they did with their Knives cut Collops of his *Flesh* from his naked Limbs, and throw them with his Blood into his *Face*. When he was dead, they set his Body down upon the *Glowing Coals*, and left him tied with his Back to the Stake; where the *English Army* soon after found him. He was left for *Us* to put out the *Fire* with our *Tears*!

Reader, who should be the *Father* of these *Myrmidons*?

ARTICLE VII.

The Condition of the Captives that from time to time fell into the Hands of the Indians; with some very Remarkable Accidents.

WE have had *Some Occasion*, and shall have *More*, to mention *Captives* fal-

ling into the Hands of the *Indians*. We will here, without any thing worthy to be call'd *A Digression*, a little *Stand Still*, and with mournful *Hearts* look upon the Condition of the *Captives* in those cruel Hands. Their Condition truly might be express'd in the Terms of the Ancient *Lamentations*, (thus by some Translated) *Lam. 4. 3. The Daughter of my People is in the Hands of the Cruel, that are like the Ostrich in the Wilderness.* Truly the *Dark places* of *New-England*, where the *Indians* had their Unapproachable *Kennels*, were *Habitations of Cruelty*; and no Words can sufficiently describe the *Cruelty* undergone by our *Captives* in those *Habitations*. The *Cold*, and *Heat*, and *Hunger*, and *Weariness*, and *Mockings*, and *Scourgings*, and *Insolencies* endured by the *Captives*, would enough deserve the Name of *Cruelty*; but there was this also added unto the rest, that they must ever now and then have their Friends made a *Sacrifice of Devils* before their Eyes, but be afraid of dropping a *Tear* from those Eyes, lest it should upon that Provocation be next their own turn to be so Barbarously *Sacrificed*. Indeed, some few of the *Captives* did very happily escape from their Barbarous Oppressors, by a *Flight* wisely managed; and many more of them were bought by the *French*, who Treated them with a *Civility* ever to be acknowledged, until Care was taken to fetch 'em home. Nevertheless many Scores of them died among the *Indians*; and what usage they had may be gathered from the following Relations, which I have obtained from *Credible Witnesses*.

RELATION I.

James Key, Son to *John Key* of *Quochebo*; was a Child of about Five Years of Age, taken Captive by the *Indians* at *Salmon Falls*; and that Hellish Fellow, *Hope-Hood*, once a Servant of a *Christian Master* in *Boston*, was become the Master of this *Little Christian*. This Child lamenting with Tears the want of *Parents*, his Master Threatned him with Death if he did not refrain his Tears; but these Threatnings could not extinguish the *Natural Affections* of a Child. Wherefore upon his next *Lamentations*, this Monster stript him stark Naked, and lash'd both his Hands round a Tree, and Scourg'd him so, that from the Crown of his Head unto the Sole of his Foot he was all over Bloody and Swollen; and when he was tired with laying on his Blows on the Forlorn Infant, he would lay him on the Ground, with Taunts remembering him of his *Parents*. In this Misery the poor Creature lay horribly roaring for divers Days together, while his Master, gratified with the *Musick*, lay contriving of new Torments wherewith to Martyr him. It was not long before the Child had a *Sore Eye*, which his Master said proceeded from his *Weeping* on the forbidden Accounts: Whereupon, laying hold on the *Head* of the Child with his *Left Hand*, with the Thumb of his *Right* he forced

forced the Ball of his Eye quite out, therewithal telling him, *That when he heard him Cry again he would serve no other so too, and leave him never an Eye to weep withal.* About Nine or Ten Days after this Wretch had Occasion to remove with his Family about Thirty Miles further; and when they had gone about Six Miles of the Thirty, the Child being Tir'd and Faint, sat him down to rest, at which this Horrid Fellow being provoked, he Buried the Blade of his Hatchet in the Brains of the Child, and then chopp'd the Breathless Body to pieces before the rest of the Company, and threw it into the River. But for the sake of these and other such Truculent Things done by *Hope-Hood*, I am resolv'd, that in the Course of our Story I will watch to see what becomes of that Hideous *Loup-garou*, if he come to his End, as I am apt to think he will, before the Story.

RELATION II.

M*Ehetabel Goodwin*, being a Captive among the *Indians*, had with her a Child about Five Months Old; which thro' Hunger and Hardship, she being unable to nourish it, often made most grievous Ejaculations. Her *Indian* Master told her, that if the Child were not quiet he would soon dispose of it; which caus'd her to use all possible Means that his *Netop-ship* might not be offended; and sometimes carry it from the Fire out of his hearing, where she sat up to the Waste in Snow and Frost for several Hours until it was lull'd asleep. She thus for several Days preserv'd the Life of her *Babe*, until he saw Cause to Travel with his own *Cubs* farther afield; and then lest he should be Retarded in his Travel, he violently snatch'd the *Babe* out of its Mother's Arms, and before her Face knock'd out its *Brains*, and stript it of the few *Rags* it had hitherto enjoy'd, and order'd her the Task to go Wash the *Bloody Cloaths*. Returning from this *Melancholy Task*, she found the Infant hanging by the Neck in a Forked Bough of a *Tree*. She desired leave to lay it in the *Earth*; but he said, *It was better as it was, for now the Wild Beasts would not come at it, [I am sure they had been at it!] and she might have the Comfort of seeing it again if ever they came that way.* The Journey now before them was like to be very long, even as far as *Canada*, where his Purpose was to make Merchandise of his Captive, and glad was the Captive of such happy Tidings. But the desperate length of the *Way*, and want of *Food*, and grief of *Mind*, wherewith she now Encountred, caus'd her within a few Days to faint under her Difficulties. When at length she sat down for some Repose, with many *Prayers* and *Tears* unto God for the Salvation of her Soul, she found her self unable to rise, until she espied her Furious Executioner coming towards her with *Fire* in his *Eyes*, the *Devil* in his *Heart*, and his *Hatchet* in his *Hand*, ready to bestow a *Mercy-stroak* of Death upon her. But then this miserable

Creature got on her *Knees*, and with Weeping, and Wailing, and all Expressions of *Agony* and *Entreaty*, prevail'd on him to spare her Life a little, and she did not question but God would enable her to *Walk a little faster*. The merciless *Tyrant* was prevail'd withal to spare her this time; nevertheless her former Weakness quickly returning upon her, he was just going to Murder her; but a Couple of *Indians* just at that Instant coming in, suddenly call'd upon him to *Hold his Hand*; wherewith such an Horror surpriz'd his *Guilty Soul*, that he ran away. But hearing them call his *Name*, he returned, and then permitted these his Friends to Ransom his Prisoner from him. After this, being Seated by a River side, they heard several *Guns* go off on the other side, which they concluded was from a Party of *Albany Indians*, who were Enemies unto these; whereupon this bold Blade would needs go in a *Canoo* to discover what they were. They Fired upon him, and Shot through him and several of his Friends before the Discovery could be made unto Satisfaction. But some Days after this, divers of his Friends gathered a Party to Revenge his Death on their *Supposed Enemies*; with whom they joyned Battel, and fought several Hours, until their *Supposed Enemies* did Really put 'em to the Rout. Among the Captives which they left in their Fight, one was this poor *Goodwin*, who was *Overjoyed* in seeing her self thus at Liberty; but the Joy did not last long, for these *Indians* were of the *Same Sort* with the other, and had been by their own *Friends* thus through a strange *Mistake* set upon. However, this Crew proved more favourable to her than the former, and went away silently with their Booty, being loth to have any *Noise* made of their foul *Mistake*. And yet a few Days after such another *Mistake* happened; for meeting with another Party of *Indians*, which they imagined in the *English Interests*, they furiously engaged each other, and many were killed and wounded on either Side; but they proved a Party of the *French Indians*, who took this poor *Goodwin*, and presented her to the *French Captain*, by whom she was carried unto *Canada*, where she continued Five Years, and then was brought safe back into *New-England*.

RELATION III.

M*ARY Plaisted*, the Wife of Mr *James Plaisted*, was made a Captive by the *Indians* about Three Weeks after her Delivery of a Male Child. They then took her, with her infant, off her Bed, and forced her to Travel in this her Weakness the best part of a Day, without any Respect of Pity. At Night the *Cold Ground* in the *Open Air* was her Lodging; and for many a Day she had no Nourishment, but a little *Water* with a little *Bears-flesh*, which rendred her so feeble that she with her infant were not far from totally *Starved*. Upon her Cries to God there was at length some

some Supply sent in by her Master's taking a *Moose*, the Broth whereof Recovered her. But she must now Travel many Days thro' Woods, and Swamps, and Rocks, and over Mountains, and Frost and Snow, until she could stir no farther. Sitting down to rest, she was not able to rise, until her Diabolical Master help'd her up; which when he did, he took her Child from her, and carried it unto a River, where stripping it of the few Rags it had, he took it by the Heels, and against a Tree dash'd out its Brains, and then hung it into the River. So he returned unto the miserable Mother, telling her, *She was now eased of her Burden, and must walk faster than she did before!*

RELATION IV.

MART Ferguson, taken Captive by the Indians at *Salmon Falls*, declares, that another Maid of about Fifteen or Sixteen Years of Age, taken at the same time, had a Great Burden Imposed on her. Being over-born with her Burden, she burst out into Tears, telling her Indian Master, *That she could go no further.* Whereupon he immediately took off her Burden, and leading her aside into the Bushes, he cut off her Head, and Scalping it, he ran about Laughing and Bragging what an Act he had now done; and showing the Scalp unto the rest, he told them, *They should all be served so if they were not patient.*

In fine, when the Children of the English Captives cried at any time, so that they were not presently quieted, the manner of the Indians was to dash out their Brains against a Tree.

And very often, when the Indians were on or near the Water, they took the small Children, and held 'em under Water till they had near Drowned them, and then gave 'em unto their Distressed Mothers to quiet 'em.

And the Indians in their Frolicks would Whip and Beat the small Children, until they set 'em into grievous Outcries, and then throw 'em to their amazed Mothers for them to quiet 'em again as well as they could.

This was *Indian Captivity!*

Reader, A Modern Traveller assures us, that at the *Villa Ludovisa*, not far from *Rome*, there is to be seen the Body of a Petrified Man; and that he himself saw by a piece of the Man's Leg, broken for Satisfaction, both the Bone and the Stone Crusted over it. All that I will say, is, That if thou canst read these Passages without Relenting Bowels, thou thy self art as really Petrified as the Man at *Villa Ludovisa*.

*Nescio tu quibus es, Lector, Lectorus Ocellis;
Hoc Scio quod Siccis Scribere non potui.*

ARTICLE VIII.

A little Account of the greatest Action that ever New-England Attempted.

I Have read or heard, that when the insufferable Abuses which the English Nation suffered from the Abbeys were in the Parliament complained of, the Total Dissolution of those Abbeys was much forwarded by a Speech of a Gentleman in the House of Commons to this purpose; That his own House had been much annoy'd by Rooks building in a Tree near unto it, and that he had used many Ineffectual ways to disturb and disroot these Mischievous Rooks, until at last he found out an Infallible way to be delivered from the Rooks, and that was to cut down the Tree that Lodged 'em. The Distresses into which New-England was now fallen, made this very Comparison to be thought of. The Indian Rooks grievously infested the Country; and while the Country was only on the Defensive Part, their Men were Thinned, their Towns were Broken, and their Treasures Consumed, without any hope of seeing an End of these Troublefome Tragedies. The French Colonies to the Northward were the Tree in which those Rooks had their Nests; and the French having in Person first fallen upon the English of New-England, it was thought that the New-Englanders might very justly take this Occasion to reduce those French Colonies under the English Government, and so at once take away from all the Rooks for ever all that gave 'em any Advantage to Infest us. Accordingly, a Naval Force, with about Seven Hundred Men, under the Conduct of Sir William Phips, was dispatched away to *Laccady* and *Nova Scotia*. This Fleet setting Sail from New-England, April 28. 1690. in a Fortnight arrived at *Port-Royal*, and Sir William having the Fort Surrendred unto him, took Possession of that Province for the Crown of England. But this was only a step towards a far greater Action! There was no Speech about the Methods of Safety made, which did not conclude with a *Delenda est Carthago*. It was become the Concurring Resolution of all New-England, with *New-York*, that a Vigorous Attack should be made upon *Canada* at once, both by Sea and Land. A Fleet of Thirty-two Sail, under the Command of Sir William Phips, was Equipp'd at *Boston*, and began their Voyage, Aug. 9. and the whole Matter was put into Form, with so much Contrivance, and Caution, and Courage, that nothing but an Evident Hand of Heaven was likely to have given such a Defeat unto it, as has been indeed generally and remarkably given unto all the Colonies of America, when they have Invaded one another. If this Expedition did miscarry, and if *Canada* proved unto New-England what it prov'd unto the Spaniards, when at their Deserting it they call'd it, *E Capo de Nada*; or, *The Cape of nothing*, (whence the Name *Canada*) there is no New-Englander but what will

will maintain, that it was with a less Disgraceful Miscarriage, than what baffled every one of those that were made in this War against the *French Islands*, by more powerful Fleets of those who were forward enough to reproach *New-England*. I am sure he that reads the Account of what was done at *Martinico*, in the *Relation of the Voyage of M. de Genes*, lately published must be very easie in his Reflections upon what was done at *Canada*. And I will add that if the *New-England Men* return'd *re in festa* from *Canada*. yet they did not leave Two Hundred Men behind them to the Mercy of the *French*, as they who most reproached *New-England* soon after did at *Guadalupa*.

The fuller Narrative of these memorable things the Reader may find Written in *The Life of Sir William Phips*, lately published, of which I must here give this Attestation, That as my Acquaintance with the Author gives me Assurance of his being as willing to Retract a Mistake, as unwilling to Commit one, and of his Care in whatever he Writes, to be able to make the Profession of *Oecolampadius*, *Nolui aliquid Scribere, quod improbatum putem Christum*: So I have compared this Narrative with the *Journals of the Expedition*; and I find the most Contested Passages of the Story, (nor did I ever hear of any more than one or two little Circumstantial Passages Contested, as carrying a found a little too *Rhetorical*; but I say, I find them) to be the very Express Words thereof contained in those *Journals*; and more than so, that very Credible Persons concerned therein have readily offered their Depositions upon *Oath* to the Truth of what is Written. So I take my leave of that History, and of *Sir William Phips*, the Memorable Subject of that History, whom I leave under this

E P I T A P H.

Bonus non est, qui non ad Invidiam usque Bonus est.

[A Digression.]

Reader, since we can give no better an Account of the *last English Expedition to Canada*, why may we not for a Minute or two retreth our selves with a Story of an *Old one*?

In the very Year when the *Massachuset-Colony* began, the *English* Attempted the Conquest of *Canada*; and though the *First Attempt* Miscarried, the *Second* Prospered. The Story of it makes a Chapter in *Father Hennepin's Account* of the vast Country lately discovered betwixt *Canada* and *Mexico*; and this is the Sum of it.

While a Colony was forming it self at *Canada*, an *English Fleet* was Equipp'd in the Year 1628. under the Command of *Admiral Kirk*, with a Design to take Possession of that Country. In their Voyage having taken a *French Ship* at the

Isle *Percee*, they Sailed up the River as far as *Tadoussac*, where they found a Bark, in which they set a shore some Soldiers to seize on *Cape Tourment*. And here a Couple of *Salvages* discovering them, ran away to advise the People of *Quebeck* that the *English* were approaching. When the Fleet arrived, the Admiral Summoned the Town to Surrender, by a Letter to *Monsieur Champelin* the Governour: But the Governour, notwithstanding his being so surprized with the Invasion, made such a resolute Answer, that the *English* (though as the Historian says, *They are a People that will sooner die than quit what they once undertake*) did conclude the Fort *Quebeck* was in a much better Condition for Defence than it really was, and therefore desisting from any further Attempt at this time, they returned into *England* with Resolution further to pursue their Design at a more favourable Opportunity.

Accordingly on *July 19. 1629.* in the Morning, the *English Fleet* appear'd again over-against the Great Bay of *Quebeck*, at the Point of the Isle of *Orleans*; which Fleet consisted of Three Men of War and Six other Vessels. *Admiral Kirk* sending a Summons torn'd in very Civil Expressions for the Surrender of the Place, the miserable State of the Country, which had been by the *English* Interceptions hindered of Supplies from *France* for Two Years together, oblig'd the *Sieur Champelin* to make a softer Answer than he did before. He sent *Father Joseph Le Caron* aboard the Admiral to Treat about the Surrender, and none of his Demands for Fifteen Day, and then for Five Days time to consider on't, could obtain any longer time than till the Evening to prepare their *Articles*. Upon the Delivery of this Message a Council was held, wherein some urged, that the *English* had no more than Two Hundred Men of regular Troops aboard, and some others which had not much of the Air of Soldiers; and that the Courage of the Inhabitants was much to be relied upon, and therefore it was best for to run the Risk of a Siege: But *Monsieur Champelin* apprehending the Bravery of the *English*, remonstrated unto the Council, that it was better to make a Surrender on good Terms, than be all cut in pieces by an unreasonable Endeavour to defend themselves. Upon this the *Articles*, regulating all Matters, were got ready, and *Father Joseph* had his Commission to carry them aboard the *English Admiral*, where the *Signing* of them was deferred until to Morrow. On *July 20.* the *Articles of Capitulation* were Signed on both Sides, and the *English* being Landed, were put in Possession of *Canada* by the Governour of it. The *French* Inhabitants, who were then in the Country, had Twenty Crowns apiece given them, the rest of their Effects remained unto the Conquerors; but those who were willing to stay, were favoured by the *English* with great Advantages. The Fleet set Sail again for *England*, *Sept. 14.* and arrived at *Plymouth*, *Oct. 18.* in that Year.

ARTICLE IX.

Casco Lost.

WHEN the *Indians* at last perceived that the *New-Englanders* were upon a likely Design to swallow up the *French Territories*, the Prospect of it began to have the same Operation upon them, that the Success of the Design would have made *Perpetual*; that is, to Dispirit them for giving the *New-Englanders* any further Molestations. Nevertheless, *Before and Until* they were thoroughly advised of what was a doing, and likely to be done, they did molest the Country with some Tragical Efforts of their Ferv. Captain *Janes Coverters* was Marching through the vast Wilderness to *Albany* with some Forces, which the *Massachusetts Colony* were willing to send by Land (besides what they did send by Sea unto *Quebeck*;) for the assistance of the Army in the *West*, that was to go from thence over the *Lake*, and there fall upon *Mount Real*; but unhappy Tidings out of the *East* required the Diversion of those Forces thither. About the beginning of *May* the *French* and *Indians*, between Four and Five Hundred, were seen at *Casco*, in a great Fleet of *Canoes* passing over the Bay, but not seeing or hearing any more of them for Two or Three Weeks together, the *Casconians* flattered themselves with hopes that they were gone another way. But about *May* 16. those hopes were over; for one *Gresson*, a *Scotchman*, then going out early, fell into the Mouths of these hungry *Salvages*. It proved no kindness to *Casco* tho' it proved a great one to himself that a Commander so qualified as Captain *Willard* was called off Two or Three Days before. But the Officers of the Place now concluding that the whole Army of the Enemy were watching for an Advantage to surprize the Town, resolv'd that they would keep a strict Watch for Two or Three Days, to make some further Discovery before they Salley'd forth. Notwithstanding this, one Lieutenant *Clark*, with near Thirty of their Scoutest Young Men, would venture out as far as the Top of an Hill in the Entrance of the *Wood*, half a Mile distant from the Town. The out-let from the Town to the *Wood* was thro' a Lane that had a Fence on each side, which had a certain *Block-House* at one end of it; and the *English* were suspicious, when they came to enter the *Lane*, that the *Indians* were lying behind the *Fence*, because the *Cattel* stood staring that way, and would not pass into the *Wood* as they use to do. This Mettlefome Company then ran up to the Fence with an *Huzza!* thinking thereby to discourage the Enemy, if they should be lurking there; but the Enemy were so well prepared for them, that they answer'd them with an horrible Vengeance, which kill'd the Lieutenant with Thirteen more upon the Spot, and the rest escap'd with much ado unto one of the *Garrisons*. The Enemy then coming into Town, beset all the *Garrisons* at once, except the *Fort*; which were Manfully Defended so long as their

Ammunition lasted; but that being spent without a Prospect of a Recruit, they quitted all the Four *Garrisons*, and by the Advantage of the Night got into the *Fort*. Upon this the Enemy setting the Town on Fire, bent their whole Force against the *Fort*, which had hard by it a deep *Gully*, that contributed not a little unto the Ruin of it: For the Besiegers getting into that *Gully*, lay below the danger of our *Guns*. Here the Enemy began their *Mine*, which was carried so near the Walls, that the *English*, who by Fighting Five Days and Four Nights, had the greatest part of their Men killed and wounded, (Captain *Lawrence* mortally among the rest,) began a Parley with them. Articles were agreed, that they should have liberty to March unto the next *English Town*, and have a Guard for their Safety in their March; and the *French Commander* lifting up his Hand, Swore by the Everlasting God for the Performance of these Articles. But the Agreement was kept as those that are made with *Hugonots* use to be: The *English* being first Admonished by the *French*, that they were all *Rebels* for Proclaiming the Prince of *Orange* their King, were Captived, and many of them cruelly Murdered by the *Indians*: Only some of them (and particularly Major *Davis*) were carried unto *Canada*, where the Gentry very civilly Treated them. The *Garrisons* at *Papooduck*, *Spurwink*, *Black Point*, and *Blue Point*, were so disanimated at these Disasters, that without *Orders* they drew off immediately to *Saco*, Twenty Miles within *Casco* and from *Saco* in a few Days also they drew off to *Wells*, Twenty Miles within the said *Saco*; and about half *Wells* drew off as far as Lieutenant *Storer's*. But the Arrival of *Orders* and *Soldiers* from the Government, stopt them from retiring any further; and *Hope-Hood*, with a Party that staid for further Mischiefe, meeting with some resistance here, turn'd about, and having first had a Skirmish with Captain *Sherborn*, they appear'd the next Lord's-Day at *Newichawannick* or *Berwick*, where they burnt some Houses, and Slew a Man. Three Days after they came upon a small Hamlet on the South side of *Piscataqua River*, called *Fox Point*, and besides the Burning of several Houses they took half a Dozen, and kill'd more than a Dozen of the too Securely Ungarrisoned People; which it was as easie to do, as to have spoiled an ordinary *Hen-Roost*. But Captain *Floyd* and Captain *Greenleaf* coming upon those *Indians*, made some slaughter among them, recovered some Captives with much Plunder, and bestow'd a good Wound upon *Hope-Hood*, who lost his *Gun* (which was next his *Life*) in this Action.

[Villain! Thou shalt not escape so: There must quickly be another stroke upon thee!]

All that shall further belong to this Paragraph of our Story, is, that when the *Indians* were got into the Woods, they made one Goody *Stockford* their Messenger to her Neighbours, whose *Charity* she so well Sollicited, that she got a *Shalop* full of it unto *Casco*, where the *Indians* permitted us to Redeem several of the *Prisoners*.

ARTICLE X.

Harm Watch'd and Catch'd by the Indians, and several rare Instances of Mortal Wounds upon the English, not proving Mortal.

THAT memorable Tygre, *Hope-Hood*, (called also *Wob-wa*.) finding the Coast hereabouts too Hot for him, went away with his Crew a great way to the *Westward* with a Design to Bewitch another Crew at *Aquadocta* into his Assistance. Here a Party of *French Indians*, by a strange Mistake, supposing *Hope-Hood* and his Wretches to have been the *Indians* who had lately done some Spoil upon them at *Canada*, furiously fell upon them, and in their *Blind Fury* slew him and a considerable part of his Company. So we have now done with *him*: In the mean time, some other *Indians* came upon an helpless Place, called *Spruce Creek*, and kill'd an Old Man, and carried a Woman into Captivity; but tho' Captain *Convers* pursued 'em Three Days, they were too nimble for him. On *July 4*. Eight or Nine Persons working in a Field at a Place call'd *Lampereel River*, the *Seythe* of *Death* unhappily Mow'd them down in that *Field of Blood*: The *Indians* by Surprize kill'd 'em all, and carried a Lad Captive. About this time a *Council of War* was called at *Portsmouth*, by which 'twas thought adviseable to send out Captain *Wiswel*. with a considerable Scout, for to Scour the Woods as far as *Casco*; and it being resolved, that one of the other Captains, with about *Fourscore* Stout Men, should accompany Captain *Wiswel* in this Action; they *All* with such a generous Emulation offered it, that it was necessary to determine it by a *Lot*, which fell upon Captain *Floyd*. On *July 4*. assisted with Lieutenant *Andrews*, and a Detachment of of *Twenty-two* Men from *Wells*. they took their March from *Quochebo* into the Woods. But the Day following the Enemy set upon Caprain *Hilton's* Garrison in *Exeter*. which Lieutenant *Baneroft* then Posted at *Exeter*, with the loss of a few of his Men relieved. At this time there happened a Remarkable thing. I know not whether the Story told by *Plato* be true, that one *Herus Armenius* (whom *Clemens* will have to be *Zoroaster*) being Slain in War, lay Ten Days among the Dead, and then being brought away, and on the *Twelfth* Day laid on a *Funeral Pile*, he came to Life again. But it is true, that one *Simon Stone* being here Wounded with Shot in *Nine* several places, lay for *Dead*, (as it was time!) among the *Dead*. The *Indians* coming to Strip him, attempted with *Two* several Blows of an Hatchet at his *Neck* to cut off his *Head*, which Blows added you may be sure, more Enormous Wounds unto those *Port-holes* of *Death*, at which the *Life* of the poor Man was already running out as fast as it could. Being charged hard by Lieutenant *Baneroft*, they left the Man without *Scaping* him; and the *English* now coming to Bury the

Dead, one of the *Soldiers* perceived this poor Man to fetch a *Gasp*; whereupon an *Irish* Fellow then present, advised 'em to give him another *Dab* with an *Hatchet*, and so Bury him with the rest. The *English* detesting this Barbarous Advice, lifted up the Wounded Man, and poured a little *Fair Water* into his Mouth at which he Coughed; then they poured a little *Strong Water* after it, at which he opened his *Eyes*. The *Irish* Fellow was ordered now to hale a *Canoo* ashore to carry the Wounded Men up the *River* unto a *Chirurgion*; and as *Teague* was foolishly pulling the *Canoo* ashore with the *Cock* of his *Gun*, while he held the *Muzzle* in his *Hand*, his *Gun* went off and broke his *Arm*, whereof he remains a *Cripple* to *this Day*: But *Simon Stone* was thoroughly Cured, and is at *this Day* a very *Lusty* Man; and as he was Born with *Two* *Thumbs* on one *Hand*, his Neighbours have thought him to have at least as many *Hearts* as *Thumbs*!

Reader, Let us leave it now unto the Sons of *Æsculapius* to dispute out the Problem, *What Wounds are to be judged Mortal?* The *Severeign* Arbitrer of *Life* and *Death* seems to have determined it, *That no Wounds are Mortal, but such as he shall in his Holy Providence actually make so*. On the one side let it be remembered, That a *Scratch* of a *Comb* has proved *Mortal*; that the *Incomparable* Anatomist *Spigelius*, at the *Wedding* of his *Daughter*, gathering up the *Reliques* of a broken *Glass*, a *Fragment* of it scratched one of his *Fingers*; and all his *Exquisite* Skill in *Anatomy* could not prevent its producing an *Empyema* that killed him: That *Colonel Rossiter*, cracking a *Plumbstone* with his *Teeth*, broke his *Tooth*, and lost his *Life*: That the *Lord Fairfax* cutting a *Corn* in his *Foot*, cut asunder the *Thread* of his *Life*: That *Mr. Fowler*, a *Vintner*, playing with his *Child*, received a little *Scratch* of a *Pin*, which turn'd unto a *Gangrene* that cost him his *Life*. And, Reader, let the Remembrance of such things cause thee to *Live*, preparing for *Death* continually. But then on the other side, that nothing may be despaired of remember *Simon Stone*. And, besides him, I call to Remembrance, that the *Indians* making an *Assault* upon *Deerfield* in this *Present War*, they struck an *Hatchet* some *Inches* into the *Skull* of a *Boy* there, even so deep, that the *Boy* felt the force of a *Wrench* used by 'em to get it out. There he lay a long while *Weltring* in his *Blood*; they found him, they *Dress'd* him, considerable *Quantities* of his *Brain* came out from time to time when they opened the *Wound*; yet the *Lad* recovered, and is now a *Living Monument* of the *Power* and *Goodness* of *God*. And in our *Former War* there was one *Jabez Musgrove*, who tho' he were *Shot* by the *Indians* with a *Bullet* that went in at his *Ear*, and went out at his *Eye* on the other side of his *Head*; and a *Brace* of *Bullets* that went into his *Right Side*, a little above his *Hip*, and passing thro' his *Body* within the *Back-bone*, went out at his *Left Side*; yet he recovered and lived many *Years* after it.

Certainly this Fellow was worthy to have been at least a Lackey to the Hungarian Nobleman, whose Pourtraiture Dr. *Pain* saw in a Gallery at *Inprack* representing a Wound made in his Eye with a Lance, which penetrated into the Substance of the Brain even to the hinder part of the Head, and yet proved not a *Mortal Wound*.

ARTICLE XI.

A Worthy Captain dying in the Bed of Honour.

ON July 6. Lord's-Day, Captain *Floyd* and Captain *Wijwel* sent out their Scouts before their *Breakfast*, who immediately returned with *Tidings of Breakfast* enough provided for those who had their Stomach sharp set for Fighting: *Tidings* of a considerable Track of the Enemy going to the Westward. Our Forces vigorously followed the Track, till they came up with the Enemy at a Place call'd *Wheelright's Pond*, where they engaged 'em in a Bloody Action for several Hours. The manner of the Fight here was as it is at all times with *Indians*: namely, what your Artists at *Fighting* do call *A la dishbandad*: And here the Worthy Captain *Wijwel*, a Man worthy to have been *Shot* (if he must have been *Shot*.) with no *Gun* interior to that at *Florence* the Barrel whereof is all pure *Gold* behaving himself with much Bravery. sold his Life as dear as he could; and his Lieutenant *Flag* and Sergeant *Walker*, who were *Valiant in their Lives, in their Death were not divided*. Fifteen of ours were Slain, and more Wounded. but how many of the Enemy 'twas not exactly known, because of a singular Care used by them in all their Battels to carry off their *Dead*, tho' they were forced now to leave a good Number of them on the Spot. Captain *Floyd* maintained the Fight after the Death of Captain *Wijwel* several Hours, until so many of his Tired and Wounded Men drew off, that it was time for him to draw off also; for which he was blamed perhaps, by some that would not have continued it so long as *he*. Hereupon Captain *Convers* repaired with about a Score Hands to look after the *Wounded Men*, and finding Seven yet *Alive*, he brought 'em to the *Hospital* by Sun-rise the next Morning. He then returned with more Hands to Bury the *Dead*, which was done immediately; and *Plunder* left by the Enemy at their going off was then also taken by them. But the same Week these *Rovers* made their Descent as far as *Amesbury*, where Captain *Foot* being *Ensnared* by them, they Tortured him to Death; which Disaster of the *Captain* was an *Alarum* to the Town, and an Effectual Word of *Command*, causing 'em to fly out of their *Beds* into their *Garrisons*; otherwise they had all undoubtedly before next Morning slept their last; their *Beds* would have been their *Graves*. However, the Enemy Kill'd *Three Persons*, Burnt *Three Houses*, Butchered many Cattel; and so that *Scene* of the *Tragedy* being over, away they went.

In fine, from the *First* Mischief done at *Lampereel River*, to the *Last* at *Amesbury*, all belong'd unto one *Indian Expedition*, in which, though no *English Places* were taken, yet *Forty English People* were cut off.

ARTICLE XII.

An Indian Fort or Two taken, and some other Actions.

Reader. I remember the *Prolixity* of *Guicciardine* the Historian gave such Offence, that *Boccalini* brings in an Offender at *Verbosity*, ordered for his Punishment by the Judges at *Par-nassus*. to read that punctual Historian; but the poor Fellow begg'd rather to be Fley'd Alive, than to be Tortured with reading an Historian, who in relating the War between the *Florentines* and *Pisans*, made longer Narrations about the Taking of a *Pigeon-House*, than there needed of the most Fortified Castle in the World. For this Cause let me be excused, Reader, if I make *short Work* in our Story, and leave the Honest Actors themselves to run over Circumstances more at large, with their Friends by the Fire-side.

The Enemy appearing a little Numerous and Vexatious, the Government sent more Forces to break up the Enemies Quarters; and Auxiliaries both of *English* and *Indians*, under the Command of Major *Church*, assisted the Enterprize. About Three Hundred Men were dispatched away upon this Design in the beginning of *September*, who Landed by Night in *Casco Bay*, at a Place called *Macquoit*, and by Night Marched up to *Pechypssect-Fort*; where, from the Information of some escaped *Captives*, they had an Expectation to meet with the Enemy, but found that the Wretches were gone farther afield. They then Marched away for *Amonoseoggin Fort*, which was about Forty Miles up the River; and Wading through many *Difficulties*, whereof one was a *Branch* of the River it felt; they met with Four or Five *Salvages* going to their Fort with Two *English Prisoners*. They sav'd the *Prisoners*, but could not catch the *Salvages*; however, on the *Lord's Day* they got up to the Fort undiscovered, where, to their sorrowful Disappointment, they found no more than One and Twenty of the Enemy, whereof they took and slew Twenty. They found some considerable store of *Plunder*, and rescued Five *English Captives*, and laid the Fort in Ashes; but one Disaster they much complained of, that the Captain of the Fort, whose Name was *Agameus*, alias, *Great Tom*, slipt away from the Hands of his too *Careless* Keepers. But if this piece of *Carelessness* did any *Harm*, there was another which did some *Good*: For *Great Tom* having terribly scared a Part of his Countrymen with the *Tidings* of what had happened; and an *English Lad* in their Hands also telling some Truth unto them; they betook themselves to such a *Flight* in their *Fright*, as gave one Mr. *Anthony Bracket*, then a Prisoner

Prisoner with 'em, an Opportunity to fly Four-score Miles another way. Our Forces returning to *Macquoit*, one of our Vessels was there *Carelessly* ran aground, and compelled thereby to stay for the next Tide; and Mr. *Bracket* had been miserably aground, if it had not so fell out; for he thereby got thither before she was afloat, otherwise he might have perished, who was afterwards much Improved in Service against the Murderers of his Father. Arriving at *Winter Harbour*, a Party of Men were sent up the River, who coming upon a parcel of the *Mankeen Wolves* then hunted for, killed some of them, and seized most of their Arms, and Stores, and Recovered from them an *Englishman*, who told them that the Enemy were intending to Rendezvous on *Pechypscot Plain*, in Order to an Attempt upon the Town of *Wells*. Upon this they Reimbark'd for *Macquoit*, and repaired as fast as they could unto *Pechypscot Plain*, and being divided into Three Parties, they there waited for the Approach of the Enemy. But being tired with one of the Three *Italian* Miseries, *Waiting for those who did not come*, they only possessed themselves of more Plunder there hid by the Enemy, and returned unto *Casco-Harbour*. The Enemy it seems *digg'd* their Motions; and in the Night they made a Mischievous Assault upon such of the *English* Army as were too remiss in providing for their own Safety in their going ashore; killing Five of our *Plymouth* Friends, who had Lodg'd themselves in an House, without *Commanders* or *Centinels*. The *English*, as soon as the Light of the Day (which was the *Lord's-Day*, Sept. 21.) gave 'em leave quickly ran upon the Enemy, and eased the World of some of them, and made the rest Scamper from that part of the World, and got many of their Canoes, and not a little of their Ammunition, and their best Furniture for the Winter. The Army was after this Dismiss'd, only an Hundred Men were left with Captain *Convers* and Lieutenant *Piaisted*, who spent their time as profitably as they could, in Scouting about the Frontiers, to prevent Surprizals from an Enemy which rarely did Annoy but when they could *Surprize*.

ARTICLE XIII.

A Flag of Truce.

New-England was now quite out of Breath! A Tedious, Lingring, Expensive Defence, against an Ever-approaching and Unapproachable Adversary, had made it so. But nothing had made it more so, than the Expedition to *Canada*, which had Exhausted its best Spirits, and seem'd its *Ultimus Conatus*. While the Country was now in too great Amazements to proceed any farther in the War, the *Indians* themselves Entreat them to proceed no farther. The *Indians* came in to *Wells* with a Flag of Truce, and there Ensbud some Overtures with the *English* Commissioners, Major *Hutchinson* and Captain *Townsend*, sent from *Boston* to join

with some others at *Wells*. At length a meeting was appointed and obtained at *Sagadebock*, Nov. 23. where the Redemption of Ten *English* Captives was accomplished; one of whom was Mrs. *Hall*, whom the *Indians* were very loth to part withal, because being able to Write well, they made her serve them in the Quality of a *Secretary*: Another was named *Nathanael White*, whom the Barbarous *Canibals* had already tied unto a Stake, and cut off one of his Ears, and made him Eat it Raw, and intended for to have Roasted the rest of him alive: The poor Man being astonished at his own Deliverance! At last they Signed Articles, dated Nov. 29. 1691. wherein they engaged, that no *Indians* in those Parts of the World should do any Injury to the Persons or Estates of the *English* in any of the *English* Colonies, until the First of *May* next ensuing: And that on the said First of *May* they would bring into *Storer's* Garrison at *Wells* all the *English* Captives in their Hands, and there Make, and Sign, and Seal Articles of Peace with the *English*; and in the mean time give seasonable Advice of any Plots which they might know the *French* to have against them. To this Instrument were set the *Peers* of *Algeremet*, and Five more of their *Sagamores* and Noblemen.

But as it was not upon the *Firm Land* but in their *Canoes* upon the *Water*, that they Signed and Sealed this Instrument; so, Reader, we will be Jealous that it will prove but a *fluctuating* and *Unstable* sort of a Business; and that the *Indians* will *Do a Lie* as they use to do. However, we will dismiss all our Soldiers to their several Homes, leaving only Captain *Convers* to keep *Wells* in some Order, until the First of *May* do show whether any more than a mere *Flag of Truce* be yet shewn unto us.

ARTICLE XIV.

Remarkable Encounters.

AT the Day appointed there came to the place Mr. *Dunforth*, Mr. *Moodey*, Mr. *Vaughan*, Mr. *Brattle*, and several other Gentlemen, guarded with a Troop, to see how the *Frenchified* *Indians* would keep their Faith with the *Hereticks* of *New-England*. The *Indians* being poor *Musicians* for keeping of time, came not according to their *Articles*, and when Captain *Convers* had the Courage to go fetch in some of them, they would have made a Lying Excuse. *That they did not know the time*. They brought in Two Captives, and promised, that in *Twenty Days* more they would bring into Captain *Convers* all the rest; but finding that in *Two and Twenty Days* they came not, with much Concern upon his Mind he got himself supplied as fast as he could with Five and Thirty Men from the County of *Essex*. His Men were not come half an Hour to *Storer's* House, on *June 9. 1691.* nor had they got their *Indian Weed* fairly lighted into their

their Mouths, before fierce *Moxus*, with Two Hundred *Indians*, made an Attacque upon the Garrison. This Recruit of *Men*, thus at the very *Nick of time*, saved the Place; for *Moxus* meeting with a brave Repulse, drew off; and gave *Modockawando* cause to say, (as a Captive afterwards related it) *My Brother Moxus has miss'd it now, but I will go myself the next Year, and have the Dog Convers out of his Hole.* About this time the Enemy slew Two Men at *Berwick*, Two more at *Exeter*, and the biggest Part of *Nine*, loading a Vessel at *Cape Nidduck*. But about the latter end of *July* we sent out a small Army under the Command of Captain *March*, Captain *King*, Captain *Sherburn*, and Captain *Walten*. (Convers lying Sick all Summer. had this to make him yet more Sick that he could have no part in these Actions) who landing at *Macquoit*, marched up to *Pechypscot*, but not finding any signs of the Enemy, *marched down again.* While the *Commanders* were waiting *Ashore* till the *Soldiers* were got *aboard*, such great Numbers of *Indians* poured in upon them, that tho' the *Commanders* wanted not for Courage or Conduct, yet they found themselves obliged, with much ado. (and not without the Death of worthy Captain *Sherburn*) to retire into the Vessels which then lay aground. Here they kept pelting at one another all Night; but unto little other purpose than *this*, which was indeed Remarkable, That the Enemy was at this time going to take the Isle of *Shoales*, and no doubt had they gone they would have taken it, but having exhausted all their Ammunition on this Occasion, they desisted from what they designed. For the rest of the Year, the Compassion of Heaven towards distressed *New-England* kept the *Indians* under a strange *Inactivity*; only on *Sept. 28.* Seven Persons were Murdered and Captived at *Berwick*; and the Day following *Thrice Seven* of *Sandy-Beach*: On *Octob. 23.* one *Goodridge* and his Wife were Murdered at *Rowly*, and his Children Captived: And the Day following the like Fate befel a Family at *Haverhil.* And this Year a very good strong Fort at *Cape Nidduck*, owned by a Widow, was unhappily Deserted; after which the Enemy came and burnt the Houses in it.

ARTICLE XV.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Shubael Dummer, with the Fate of York.

Quoties viri boni violenta morte perierunt toties apud Pios Crevit Fides Resurrectionis.
Grot. in Zech. 13. 7.

BUT the Winter must not pass over without a Storm of Blood! The Popish *Indians*, after long Silence and Repose in their *Inaccessible Kennels*, which made our Frontier Towns a little Remit their tired Vigilance, did, *Jan. 25. 1691.* set upon the Town of *York*, where the Inhabitants were in their unguarded Houses here

and there scattered, *Quiet and Secure.* Upon the Firing of a *Gun* by the *Indians*, which was their *Signal.* the Inhabitants looked out but unto their Amazement, found their Houses to be Invested with horrid *Salvages*, who immediately kill'd many of those unprovided Inhabitants, and more they took Prisoners. This Body of *Indians* consisting of divers Hundreds, then sent in their *Summons* to some of the *Garrison'd Houses*; and those *Garrisons*, whereof some had no more than Two or Three *Men* in them, yet being so well *Mann'd*, as to Reply, *That they would spend their Blood unto the last Drop, e'er they would surrender;* these cowardly Mifcreants had not Mettle enough to meddle with 'em. So they retired into their howling Thickets, having first *Murdered* about *Fifty*, and *Captived* near an *Hundred* of that unhappy People. In this Calamity great was the Share that fell to the Family of Mr. *SHUBAEL DUMMER*, the Pastor of the *little Flock* thus prey'd upon; those Blood-Hounds, being fit on by some *Romish Missionaries*, had long been withing, that they might Enbrue their Hands in the Blood of some *New-English MINISTER*; and in this Action they had their Diabolical Satisfaction. Our *Dummer*, the Minister of *York*, was One of whom for his Exemplary Holiness, Humbleness, Modesty, Industry and Fidelity, *The World was not Worthy.* He was a Gentleman *Well-Descended, Well-Tempered, Well-Educated;* and now thort of Sixty Years of Age. He might have taken for his *Coat of Arms* the same that the Holy Martyr *Hooper* Prophetically did, *A Lamb in a Flaming Bush, with Rays from Heaven shining on it.* He had been Solicited with many Temptations to *leave his Place*, when the Clouds grew Thick and Black in the *Indian Hostilities*, and were like to break upon it; but he chose rather with a paternal Affection to stay amongst those who had been so many of them Converted and Edified by his Ministry; and he spent very much of his own *Patrimony* to subsist among them, when their Distresses made them unable to support him, as otherwise they would have done. In a word, he was one that might by way of Eminency be called, *A Good Man.* This *Good Man* was just going to take Horse at his own Door upon a Journey in the Service of God, when the *Tygres* that were making their Depredations upon the *Sheep* of *York* seiz'd upon this their *Shepherd*; and they shot him so, that they left him Dead among the Tribe of *Abel* on the Ground. Thus was he as *Ambrose* in his Elegant Oration, *De obitu Fratris*, Expresses it, *Non nobis ereptus, sed periculis.* His Wife they carried into Captivity, where through Sorrows and Hardships among those *Dragons of the Desert*, she also quickly Died; and his *Church*, as many of them as were in that Captivity, endured this, among other Anguishes, that on the next *Lord's Day*; one of the *Tawnies* chose to Exhibit himself unto them, [*A Devil as an Angel of Light!*] in the *Cloaths* whereof they had stript the Dead Body of this their *Father.* Many were the *Fears* that

that were dropt throughout *New-England* on this Occasion; and *these* among the rest: For tho' we do not, as Tradition tells us, the *Antediluvians* did use to do by the Blood of *Abel*, yet we cannot but mournfully Sing of the Blood of such an *Abel*.

E P I T A P H.

Dummer the Shepherd Sacrific'd
By Wolves, because the Sheep he priz'd.
The Orphans Father, Churches Light,
The Love of Heav'n, of Hell the Spight.
The Countries Gapman, and the Face
That Snone, but knew it not, with Grace.
Hunted by Devils, but Reliev'd
By Angels, and on high Receiv'd.
The Martyr'd Pelican, who Bled
Rather than leave his Charge Unfed.
A proper Bird of Paradise,
Shot, and flown thither in a Trice.

Lord, hear the Cry of Righteous Dummer's
Wounds,
Ascending still against the Salvage Hounds,
That Worry thy dear Flocks; and let the Cry
Add Force to theirs that at thine Altar lye.

To Compleat the Epitaph of this Good Man,
there now needs no more than the famous old
Chaucer's Motto,

Mors mihi erumnarum Requies.

A R T I C L E XVI.

The Memorable Action at Wells.

A Vessel, the Name whereof I know not, [Reader, let it be *the Charity*] being immediately dispatched unto *Sagadehock*. by the *Charitable Compassions* of the more Southward Neighbours with Effects to accomplish it, happily Effect d the Redemption of many that were taken Captives at *York*. But the rest of the People in that broken Town talking of Drawing off the Government, sent Captain *Convers* and Captain *Greenleaf*, with such Encouragements unto them to keep their *Station*, as prevailed with 'em still to Stand their Ground. In *February* Major *Hutchinson* was made Commander in Chief, and Forces under the Command of Captain *Convers*, Captain *Floyd*, and Captain *Thaxter*, were by him so prudently Posted on the *Frontiers*, that by maintaining a continual Communication, it became a Difficult thing for the Enemy to make any more Approaches. Lieutenant *Wilson* particularly hearing of a Man shot at in *Quochecho-Woods*, went out with a Scout of about Eighteen Men, who came upon the *Indians* that had shot at the Man, and killed and wounded all but one of the whole Company. But now, Reader, the longest Day in the *Year* is to come on, and if I mistake not, the bravest *Act* in the *War* fell out upon it. *Modocka-*

wando is now come, according to his Promise a Twelve-month ago. Captain *Convers* was lodg'd in *Storer's* Garrison at *Wells* with but Fifteen Men; and there came into *Wells* Two Sloops, with a Shallop, which had aboard supplies of *Ammunition* for the Soldiers, and *Contribution* for the Needy. The *Cattel* this Day came *Frighted*, and *Bleeding* out of the Woods, which was a more certain *Omen* of *Indians* a coming, than all the *Prodigies* that *Livy* Reports of the *sacrificed Oxen*. *Convers* immediately issued out his Commands unto all Quarters, but especially to the Sloops just then arrived. The Sloops were Commanded by *Samuel Storer*, and *James Gouge*, and *Gouge's* being Two Miles up the *River*, he wisely brought her down undiscovered unto *Storer's*, by the advantage of a *Mist* then prevailing. A careful *Night* they had on't! The next *Morning* before *Day-Light*, one *John Diamond*, a Stranger that came in the Shallop on a *Visit*, came to Captain *Convers* Garrison, where the Watch invited him in; but he chose rather to go aboard the Sloops, which were little more than a *Gun-shot* off; and, alas, the Enemy issuing out from their *Lurking-places*, immediately seiz'd him, and haled him away by the Hair of the Head, (in spite of all Attempts used by the Garrison to Recover him) for an horrible Story to be told by and by concerning him. The General of the Enemies Army was *Monfieur Barniff*; and one *Monfieur Labrocree* was a principal Commander; (the Enemy said, he was Lieutenant General:) there were also divers other Frenchmen of Quality, accompanied with *Modockawando*, and *Moxus*, and *Egeremet*, and *Warumbo*, and several more Indian Sagamores; the Army made up in all about Five Hundred Men, or Fierce things in the shape of Men, all to Encounter Fifteen Men in one little Garrison, and about Fifteen more Men [worthily called *Such!*] in a Couple of open Sloops. *Diamond* having informed 'em how 'twas in all Points, (only that for *Fifteen*, by a mistake he said *Thirty*.) they fell to Dividing the Persons and Plunder, and agreeing that such an *English Captain* should be Slave to such a one, and such a Gentleman in the Town should serve such a one, and his *Wife* be a *Maid of Honour* to such or such a *Squaw* proposed, and *Mr. Wheelright* (instead of being a *Worthy Counsellor* of the Province, which he now is!) was to be the Servant of such a *Netop*; and the Sloops, with their *Stores*, to be so and so parted among them. There wanted but One Thing to Consummate the whole Matter, even the Chief Thing of all, which I suppose they had not thought of; that was, for *Heaven* to deliver all this Prize into their Hands: But, *Aliter Statutum est in Cælo!* A Man habited like a Gentleman made a *Speech* to them in English, Exhorting 'em to Courage, and Assuring 'em, that if they would Courageously fall upon the English, all was their own. The *Speech* being Ended, they fell to the *Work*, and with on horrid Shout and Shot, made their Assault upon the feeble Garrison: But the English answered with

a brisk Volley, and sent such a Leaden Shower among them, that they retired from the *Garrison* to spend the Storm of their Fury upon the *Sloops*. You must know, that *Wells Harbour* is rather a *Creek* than a *River*, for 'tis very Narrow, and at low Water in many Places Dry, nevertheless, where the Vessels ride it is Deep enough, and so far off the Bank, that there is from thence no leaping Aboard. But our *Sloops* were sorely incommoded by a Turn of the *Creek*, where the Enemy could lye out of danger so near 'em, as to throw Mud Aboard with their Hands. The Enemy was also priviledged with a great Heap of *Plank* lying on the Bank, and with an *Hay Stock*, which they strengthened with *Posts* and *Rails*; and from all these Places, they poured in their Vengeance upon the poor *Sloops*, while they so placed smaller Parties of their *Silvages*, as to make it impossible for any of the *Garrisons* to afford 'em any relief. Lying thus within a Dozen Yards of the *Sloops*, they did with their *Fire Arrows*, divers times desperately set the *Sloops* on Fire: But the brave Defendants, with a *Swab* at the end of a *Rope* tied unto a *Pole*, and so dipt into the *Water*, happily put the Fire out. In brief, the *Sloops* gave the Enemy so brave a Repulse, that at Night they Retreated: When they renewed their Assault, finding that their *Fortitude* would not assure the Success of the Assault unto them, they had recourse unto their *Policy*. First, an *Indian* comes on with a *Slab* for a *Shield* before him: when a Shot from one of the *Sloops* pierced the *Slab*, which fell down instead of a *Tombstone* with the dead *Indian* under it: On which, as little a Fellow as he was, I know not whether some will not reckon it proper to inscribe the *Epitaph* which the *Italians* use to bestow upon their *Dead Popes*: *When the Dog is Dead, all his Malice is Dead with him*. Their next *Stratagem* was this: They brought out of the Woods a kind of a *Cart*, which they Trimm'd and Rigg'd, and Fitted up into a thing that might be called, *A Chariot*: Whereon they built a Platform, shot-proof in the Front, and placed many Men upon the Platform. Such an Engine they understood how to Shape, without having Read (I suppose) the Description of the *Plutus* in *Vegetius*! This *Chariot* they push'd on towards the *Sloops*, till they were got, it may be, within *Fifteen Yards* of them; when lo one of the *Wheels*, to their *Admiration*, sunk into the Ground. A *Frenchman* stepping to heave the *Wheel* with an helpful *Shoulder*, *Storer* shot him down; another stepping to the *Wheel*, *Storer* with a well-placed Shot, sent him after his *Mate*: So the Rest thought it was best let it stand as it was. The Enemy kept *Gauling* the *Sloop* from their several *Batteries*, and calling 'em to *Surrender*, with many fine *Promises* to make them *happy*, which ours answered with a just *Laughter*, that had now and then a mortiferous *Bullet* at the End of it. The Tide Rising, the *Chariot* overset, so that the Men behind it lay open to the *Sloops*, which immediately Disperced an horrible *Slaughter* among them; and they that could get away, got as fast, and as

far off as they could. In the Night the Enemy had much Discourse with the *Sloops*; they enquired, *Who were their Commanders?* And the English gave an Answer, which in some other Cases and Places would have been too true, *That they had a great many Commanders*: But the Indians replied, *You Lie, you have none but Converts, and we will have him too before Morning!* They also knowing that the *Magazine* was in the *Garrison*, lay under an *Hill-side*, Pelting at that by times; but Captain *Convers* once in the Night, sent out Three or Four of his Men into a Field of *Wheat* for a *Shot*, if they could get one. There seeing a *Black Heap* lying together, Ours all at once let Fly upon them a *Shot*, that flew several of them that were thus Caught in the *Corn*, and made the rest glad that they found themselves able to run for it. Captain *Convers* was this while in much Distress about a *Scout* of Six Men which he had sent forth to *Newichawanuck* the Morning before the Arrival of the Enemy, ordering them to *Return* the Day following. The *Scout* return'd into the very Mouth of the Enemy that lay before the *Garrison*; but the *Corporal* having his Wits about him, call'd out aloud, (as if he had seen Captain *Convers* making a *Sally* forth upon 'em) *Captain Wheel about your Men round the Hill and we shall Catch 'em; there are but a few Rogues of 'em!* Upon which the *Indians* imagining that Captain *Convers* had been at their *Heels*, betook themselves to their *Heels*; and our Folks got safe into another *Garrison*. On the *Lord's-Day* Morning there was for a while a deep Silence among the Assaultments; but at length getting into a *Body*, they marched with great Formality towards the *Garrison*, where the Captain ordered his handful of Men to lye Snug, and not to make a *Shot*, until every *Shot* might be likely to do some Execution. While they thus beheld a formidable Crew of *Dragons*, coming with open Mouth upon them to Swallow them up at a Mouthful, one of the *Soldiers* began to speak of *Surrendring*; upon which the Captain vehemently protested, *That he would lay the Man Dead who should so much as mutter that base Word any more!* And so they heard no more on it: But the *Valiant Storer* was put upon the like Protestation, to keep 'em in good Fighting Trim aboard the *Sloops* also. The Enemy now approaching very near, gave Three Shouts that made the Earth ring again; and Crying out in English, *Fire, and fall on brave Boys!* The whole *Body* drawn into Three Ranks, Fired at once. Captain *Convers* immediately ran into the several *Flankers*, and made their best Guns Fire at such a rate, that several of the Enemy fell, and the rest of 'em disappeared almost as nimbly as if there had been so many *Spectres*: Particularly a Parcel of them got into a small deserted House; which having but a *Board-Wall* to it, the Captain sent in after them those *Bullets* of Twelve to the Pound that made the House too hot for them that could get out of it. The *Women* in the *Garrison* on this occasion took up the *Amazonian Stroke*, and not only brought

brought Ammunition to the *Men*, but also with a *Mainly* Resolution fired several times upon the *Enemy*. The *Enemy* finding that things would not yet go to their Minds at the *Garrison*, drew off to try their Skill upon the *Sloops*, which lay still abreast in the *Creek*, lath'd fast one to another. They built a great *Fire-Work* about Eighteen or Twenty Foot Square, and fill'd it up with combustible Matter, which they fired, and then they set it in the way for the *Tide* now to Float it up unto the *Sloops*, which had now nothing but an horrible *Death* before them. Nevertheless their demands of both the *Garrison* and the *Sloops* to yield themselves, were answered no otherwife than with *Death* upon many of them, spit from the Guns of the besieged. Having tow'd their *Fire-Work* as far as they durst, they committed it unto the *Tide*; but the distressed Christians that had this deadly *fire* swimming along upon the *Water* towards them, committed it unto *God*: And *God* looked from Heaven upon them in this prodigious Article of their Distress. *These poor Men* cried, and the *Lord* heard them, and saved them out of their *Troubles*: The *Wind*, unto their Astonishment, immediately turn'd about, and with a fresh Gale drove the *Machin* Athore on the other side, and split it so, that the *Water* being let in upon it, the *fire* went out. So the godly *Men* that saw *God* from Heaven thus Fighting for them, cried out with an Astonishing Joy, *If it had not been the Lord, who was on our side, they had swallowed us up quick; blessed be the Lord who hath not given us a prey to their Teeth; our Soul is Escaped as a Bird out of the Snare of the fowlers!* The *Enemy* were now in a pitiful Pickle with *Toiling* and *Moiling* in the *Mud*, and black'ned with it, if *Mud* could add *Blackness* to such *Miserants*; and their Ammunition was pretty well Exhausted: So that now they began to draw off in all Pairs, and with Rafts get over the *River*, some where of breaking there did not a few *Cool* their late *Heat* by falling into it. But first, they made all the spoil they could upon the *Castel* about the *Town*; and giving one Shot more at the *Sloops*, they kill'd the only *Man* of ours that was kill'd aboard 'em. Then after about half an Hours Consultation, they sent a *Flag of Truce* to the *Garrison*, advising 'em with much Flattery to *Surrender*; but the Captain sent 'em Word, *That he wanted for nothing but for Men to come and Fight him.* The *Indian* replied unto Captain *Convers*, *Being you are so Stout, why don't you come and Fight in the open Field like a Man, and not Fight in a Garrison like a Squaw?* The Captain rejoined, *What a Fool are you? Do you think Thirty Men a match for Five Hundred?* No. (says the Captain, counting, as well he might, each of his *Fifteen* Men to be as good as *Two*!) *Come with your Thirty Men upon the Plain, and I will meet you with my Thirty as soon as you will.* Upon this the *Indian* answered: *Nay, me own English Fashion is all one Fool; you kill me, me kill you! No, better ye somewhere and Shoot a Man, and he no*

see! That the best Soldier! Then they fell to *Coaking* the Captain with as many *fine Words* as the *Fox* in the *Fable* had for the Allurement of his *Prey* unto him; and urged mightily, that *Ensign Hill*, who stood with the *Flag of Truce*, might stand a little nearer their *Army*. The Captain for a good Reason to be presently discerned, would not allow *that*: Whereupon they fell to *Threatning* and *Raging*, like to many defeated *Devils*, using these Words, *Damn ye, we'll cut you as small as Tobacco before to morrow Morning.* The Captain bid 'em to make *Haste*, for he wanted *Work*, to the *Indian* throwing his *Flag* on the *Ground*, ran away, and *Ensign Hill* nimbly Stripping his *Flag* ran into the *Valley*; but the *Salvages* presently Fired from an *Ambushment* behind an *Hill*, near the Place where they had urged for a *Parley*.

And now for poor *John Diamond*! The *Enemy* retreating (which opportunity the *Sloops* took to Burn down the *Dangerous Ivy-Stock*) into the *Plain*, out of *Gun-shot* they fell to *Torturing* their *Captive John Diamond* after a manner very *Diabolical*. They *Stripped* him, they *Scalped* him *Alive*, and after a *castration*, they finished that Article in the Punishment of *Traitors* upon him; they slit him with *Knives* between his *Fingers* and his *Toes*; they made cruel *Gashes* in the most *Hesly* Parts of his *Body*, and stuck the *Gashes* with *Firebrands* which were afterwards found sticking in the *Wounds*. Thus they *Butchered* One poor *Englishman* with all the *Fury* that they would have spent upon them all, and performed an *Exploit* for *Five Hundred Furies* to brag of at their coming home. *Ghastly to Express!* What was it then to *Suffer*? They returned then unto the *Garrison*, and kept *Firing* at it now and then till near ten a *Clock* at *Night*; when they all marched off, leaving behind 'em some of their *Dead*; whereof one was *Monfieur Labocree*, who had about his *Neck* a *Pouch* with about a *Dozen Reliques* ingeniously made up, and a *Printed Paper* of *Indulgencies*, and several other *Impliments*; and no doubt, thought himself in as good *Safety* as if he had all the *Spells* of *Laplana* about him: But it seems none of the *Amulets* about his *Neck* would save him from a *Mortal Shot* in the *Head*. Thus in *Forty-eight Hours* was finished an *Action* as *Worthy* to be *Related*, as perhaps any that occurs in our *Story*. And it was not long before the *Valiant Gouge*, who bore his part in this *Action*, did another that was not much inferior to it, when he suddenly recovered from the *French* a valuable *Prey*, which they had newly taken upon our *Coast*.

I doubt, *Reader*, we have made this *Article* of our *History* a little too long. We will finish it when we have *Remark'd*, that altho' there were too much *Feebleness* discovered by my *Countrymen* in some of their *Actions* during this *War* at *Sea*, as well as on *Shore*, yet several of their *Actions*, especially at *Sea*, deserve to be *Remembered*. And I cannot but particularly bespeak a *Remembrance* for the *Exploit*

performed by some of my Neighbours in a Vessel going into *Barbadoes*. They were in sight of *Barbadoes* assaulted by a *French Vessel*, which had a good number of Guns, and between *Sixty* and *Seventy* Hands. Our Vessel had Four Guns, and *Eight Fighting Men*. [Truly such!] with Two Tawny Servants. The Names of these Men were *Barret*, *Sunderland*, *Knoles*, *Nash*, *Morgan*, *Foslyke*, and Two more that I now forget. A desperate Engagement ensued, wherein our *Eight* Mariners managed the matter with such Bravery, that by the help of Heaven they killed between *Thirty* and *Forty* of the *French Assailants*, without losing one of their own little Number: And they sank the *French Vessel* which lay by their side, out of which they took *Twenty-seven* Prisoners, whereof some were wounded, and all crying for *Quarter*. In the Fight the *French Pennant*, being by the Wind fastned about the Top-Mast of the English Vessel, it was torn off by the sinking of the *French Vessel*, and left pleasantly flying there. So they Sail'd into *Barbadoes*, where the *Assembly* voted them one Publick Acknowledgment of their Courage and Conduct in this brave Action, and our *History* now gives them another.

ARTICLE XVII.

The Fort at Pemmaquid.

HIS Excellency Sir *William Phips* being arrived now the Governour of *New-England*, applied himself with all possible Vigour to carry on the *War*: And the Advice of a New Slaughter some time in *July* made by the *Indians*, on certain poor Husbandmen in their Meadows, at the Northside of *Merrimack-River*, put an Accent upon the Zeal of the Designs, which he was now vigorously prosecuting. He raised about Four Hundred and Fifty Men, and in pursuance of his Instructions from *Whitehall*, he laid the Foundations of a Fort at *Pemmaquid*, which was the finest thing that had been seen in these Parts of *America*. Captain *Wing*, assisted with Captain *Bancroft*, went thro' the former Part of the Work; and the latter Part of it was finished by Captain *March*. His Excellency attended in this Matter, with these worthy Captains, did in a few Months dispatch a Service for the King, with a *Prudence*, and *Industry*, and *Thriftiness*, greater than any *Reward* they ever had for it. The Fort called, *The William Henry*, was built of Stone in a *Quadrangular* Figure, being about *Seven Hundred and Thirty Seven* Foot in Compass, without the *Outer Walls*, and an *Hundred and Eight* Foot Square, within the *Inner* ones; *Twenty-eight* Ports it had, and *Fourteen* (if not *Eighteen*) Guns mounted, whereof Six were *Eighteen-Pounders*. The Wall on the South-Line, fronting to the Sea, was *Twenty-two* Foot High, and more than *Six* Foot Thick at the Ports, which were *Eight* Foot from the Ground. The

greater Flanker or Round Tower at the *Western-End* of this Line, was *Twenty-nine* Foot High. The Wall on the *East* Line was *Twelve* Foot High, on the *North* it was *Ten*, on the *West* it was *Eighteen*. It was computed that in the whole there were laid above *Two Thousand* Cart-Loads of Stone. It stood about a Score of Rods from *High-Water Mark*; and it had generally at least *Sixty Men* posted in it for its Defence, which if they were *Men*, might easily have maintained it against more than *Twice Six Hundred* Assailants. Yea, we were almost ready to flatter our selves, that we might have writ on the Gates of this Fort, as the *French* did over that of *Namur*, (yet afterwards taken by *K. William*) *Reddi, non Vinci potest*. Now as the Architect that built the strong Fortress at *Narne* in *Poland*, had, for his Recompence, his Eyes put out, lest he should build such another; Sir *William Phips* was almost as hardly Recompenced for the building of this at *Pammaquid*. Although this Fort thus Erected in the *Heart* of the Enemies Country, did so break the *Heart* of the Enemy, that indeed they might have call'd it, as the *French* did theirs, upon the River of the *Illinois*, the Fort of *Crevecoeur*; and the Tranquillity *After* Enjoy'd by the Country, (which was very much more than *Before*) was, under God, much owing thereunto: Yet the Expence of maintaining it, when we were so much impoverished otherwise, made it continually complained of as one of the *Countries Grievances*. The Murmurings about this Fort were so Epithemical, that if we may speak in the Foolish Cant of *Astrology*, and Prognosticate from the Aspect of *Saturn* upon *Mars* at its Nativity, *Fort William-Henry, Thou hast not long to Live! Before the Year Ninety-six Expire, thou shalt be demolished*. In the mean time let us accompany Major *Church* going with a Company to *Penobscot*, where he took Five *Indians*; and afterwards to *Taconet*, where the *Indians* discovering his Approach, set their own Fort on Fire themselves, and flying from it, left only their *Corn* to be destroy'd by him. And so we come to the End of 1692. only we are stopt a little with a very strange *Parentthesis*.

ARTICLE XVIII.

A Surprising Thing laid before the Reader for him to judge, (if he can) what to make of it.

Reader, I must now address thee with the Words of a Poet:

*Dicam Insigne Recens, ad huc
Inditum ore alio. Horat.*

But with Truths more confirmed, than what uses to come from the Pen of a Poet. The Story of the Prodigious War, made by the Spirits of the Invisible World upon the People of *New-England*, in the Year 1692. hath Entertain'd a great Part of the English World with a just Astonishment: And I have met with some strange

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things;

things, not here to be mentioned, which have made me often think, that this inexplicable *War* might have some of its Original among the *Indians*, whose chief *Sagamores* are well known unto some of our Captives to have been horrid *Sorcerers*, and hellish *Conjurers*, and such as Converſed with *Demons*. The Sum of that Story is Written in *The Life of Sir William Phips*; with ſuch Irreproachable Truth, as to deſie the utmoſt Malice and Cunning of all our *Sadduces* to confute it in ſo much as one Material Article: And that the Balant and Larrant Noiſes of that ſort of People may be for ever Silenced, the Story will be abundantly Juſtified, when the further Account written of it by Mr. *John Hale* ſhall be publiſhed: For none can ſuſpect a Gentleman ſo full of Diſſatisfaction at the proceedings then uſed againſt the ſuppoſed *Witchcrafts*, as now that Reverend Perſon is, to be a *Superſtitious Writer* upon that Subject.

Now in the time of that matchleſs *War*, there fell out a thing at *Gloceſter* which falls in here moſt properly to be related: A Town ſo ſciuated, Surrounded, and Neighbour'd, in the County of *Effex*, that no Man in his Wits will imagine, that a Dozen *Frenchmen* and *Indians* would come and alarm the Inhabitants for Three Weeks together, and Engage 'em in ſeveral Skirmiſhes, while there were Two Regiments Raiſed, and a Detachment of Threeſcore Men ſent unto their Succour, and not One Man hurt in all the Actions, and all End unaccountably. And becauſe the Relation will be Extraordinary, I will not be my ſelf the Author of any one Clause in it; but I will Tranſcribe the Words of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, who did me the Favour, with much Critical Caution, to Examine *Witneſſes*, not long after the thing happened, and then ſent me the following Account.

A faithful Account of many Wonderful and Surprising Things which happened in the Town of Gloceſter in the Year 1692.

E *Benezer Bapſon*, about Midſummer, in the Year 1692. with the reſt of his Family, almoſt every Night heard a Noiſe as if Perſons were going and running about his Houſe. But one Night being abroad late, at his return Home he ſaw Two Men come out of his Door, and run from the end of the Houſe into the Corn. But thoſe of the Family told him, there had been no Perſon at all there; whereupon he got his Gun, and went out in purſuit after them, and coming a little Diſtance from the Houſe, he ſaw the Two Men ſtart up from behind a Log, and run into a little Swamp, ſaying to each other, *The Man of the Houſe is come now, elſe we might have taken the Houſe*. So he heard nor ſaw no more of them.

Upon this the whole Family got up, and went with all ſpeed to a Garrifon near by;

and being juſt got into the Garrifon, they heard Men ſtamping round the Garrifon. Whereupon *Bapſon* took his Gun and ran out, and ſaw Two Men again running down an Hill into a Swamp. The next Night but one, the ſaid *Bapſon* going toward a freſh Meadow, ſaw Two Men, which looked like *Frenchmen*, one of them having a bright Gun upon his Back, and both running a great Pace towards him, which cauſed him to make the beſt of his way to the Garrifon, where being come, ſeveral heard a Noiſe as if Men were ſtamping and running not far from the Garrifon. Within a Night or Two after this, the Perſons in the Garrifon heard a Noiſe, as if Men were throwing Stones againſt the Barn. Not long after this, *Bapſon*, with *John Brown*, ſaw Three Men about a Gunſhot off the Garrifon, which they endeavoured to Shoot at, but were diſappointed by their running to and fro from the Corn into the Buſhes. They were ſeen Two or Three Nights together; but though the aboveſaid ſtrove to ſhoot at them, they could never attain it. On July 14. *Bapſon* and *Brown*, with the reſt of the Men in the Garrifon, ſaw, within Gun-ſhot, half a Dozen Men; whereupon all the Men but One made haſte out of the Garrifon, marching towards them. *Bapſon* preſently overtook Two of them which run out of the Buſhes, and coming cloſe to them, he preſented his Gun at them, and his Gun miſſing Fire, the Two Men returned into the Buſhes. *Bapſon* then called unto the other Perſons, which were on the other ſide of the Swamp, and upon his call they made Answer, *Here they are! Here they are!* *Bapſon* then running to meet them, ſaw Three Men walk ſoftly out of the Swamp by each other's Side; the middlemoſt having on a white Waſtecoat. So being within Two or Three Rod of them, he ſhot, and as ſoon as his Gun was off, they all fell down. *Bapſon* then running to his ſuppoſed Prey, cried out unto his Companions, whom he heard on the other ſide of the Swamp, and ſaid, *He had kill'd Three! He had kill'd Three!* But coming almoſt unto them, they all roſe up, and One of them ſhot at him, and hearing the Bullet whiſt by him, he ran behind a Tree, and loaded his Gun; and ſeeing them lye behind a Log, he crept toward them again, telling his Companions, *They were here!* So his Companions came up to him, and they all ran directly to the Log with all ſpeed; but before they got thither, they ſaw them ſtart up, and run every Man his way; One of them run into the Corn, whom they purſued, and hemm'd in; and *Bapſon* ſeeing him coming toward himſelf, ſhot at him as he was getting over the Fence, and ſaw him fall off the Fence on the Ground, but when he came to the Spot, he could not find him. So they all ſearched the Corn; and as they were ſearching, they heard a great Diſcourſing in the Swamp, but could not underſtand what they ſaid; for they ſpoke in an unknown Tongue. Afterwards looking out from the Garrifon, they ſaw ſeveral

ral Men skulking among the *Corn* and *Bushes*, but could not have a Shot at them.

The next Morning, just at Day-break, they saw One Man come out of the Swamp not far from the Garrison, and stand close up against the Fence, within Gun-shot. Whereupon *Isaac Prince*, with a long Gun, shot at him with *Swan-shot*, and in a moment he was gone out of sight, they saw him no more. Upon this *Bapson* went to carry News to the Harbour; and being about half a Mile in his way thither, he heard a Gun go off, and heard a Bullet whiff close by his Ear, which cut off a Pine-bush just by him, and the Bullet lodg'd in an Hemlock-Tree. Then looking about he saw Four Men running towards him, one with a Gun in his Hand, and the other with Guns on their Shoulders. So he ran into the Bushes, and turning about, shot at them, and then ran away, and saw them no more. About Six Men returned from the Harbour with him, searching the Woods as they went; and they saw where the *Bullet* had cut off the Pine-bush, and where it was lodg'd in the Hemlock-Tree, and they took the Bullet out, which is still to be seen. When they were come to the Garrison, they went to look for the Tracks of the strange Men that had been seen, and saw several Tracks; and whilst they were looking on them, they saw one which look'd like an *Indian*, having on a blue Coat, and his Hair ty'd up behind, standing by a Tree, and looking on them. But as soon as they spake to each other, he ran into a Swamp, and they after him, and one of them shot at him, but to no purpose. One of them also saw another, which look'd like a *Frenchman*, but they quickly lost the sight of him.

July 15. *Ezekiel Day* being in Company with several others, who were ordered to Scout the Woods, when they came to a certain Fresh Meadow, Two Miles from any House, at some distance from the said Meadow, he saw a Man which he apprehended to be an *Indian*, cloathed in Blue; and as soon as he saw him start up and run away, he shot at him; whereupon he saw another rise up a little way off, who also run with speed; which, together with the former, were quickly out of sight; and though himself, together with his Companions, diligently sought after them, they could not find them. The same Day *John Hammond*, with several other Persons, scouting in the Woods, saw another of these strange Men, having on a blue Shirt and white Breeches, and something about his Head; but could not overtake him.

July 17. Three or Four of these *Unaccountable Troublers* came near the Garrison; but they could not get a shot at them. *Richard Dolliver* also, and *Benjamin Ellary*, creeping down an Hill upon Discovery, saw several Men come out of an Orchard, walking backward and forward, and striking with a Srick upon *John Row's* deserted House, (the Noise of which was heard by others at a considerable Di-

stance;) *Ellary* counting them to be Eleven in all; *Dolliver* shot at the midst of them, where they stood thickest, and immediately they dispersed themselves, and were quickly gone out of sight.

July 18. Which was the time that Major *Appleton* sent about Sixty Men from *Ipswich*, for the Towns Assistance under these *inexplicable Alarms*, which they had suffered Night and Day for about a Fortnight together; *John Day* testifies, that he went in Company with *Ipswich* and *Glocester* Forces, to a Garrison about Two Miles and an half from the Town; and News being brought in, that Guns went off in a Swamp not far from the Garrison, some of the Men, with himself, ran to discover what they could; and when he came to the Head of the Swamp, he saw a Man with a blue Shirt, and bushy black Hair, run out of the Swamp, and into the Woods; he ran after him with all speed, and came several times within shot of him; but the Woods being thick, he could not obtain his design of Shooting him; at length he was at once gone out of sight; and when afterwards he went to look for his Track, he could find none, though it were a low miry Place that he ran over.

About July 25. *Bapson* went into the Woods after his Cattel, and saw Three Men stand upon a Point of Rocks which look'd toward the Sea. So he crept among the Bushes till he came within Forty Yards of them; and then presented his Gun at them, and Snapt, but his Gun mis'd Fire, and so it did above a Dozen Times, till they all Three came up towards him, walking a slow Pace, one of them having a Gun upon his Back. Nor did they take any more Notice of him, than just to give him a Look; though he snapt his Gun at them all the while they walked toward him, and by him; neither did they quicken their Pace at all, but went into a parcel of Bushes, and he saw them no more. When he came home he snapt his Gun several times, sometimes with but a few Corns of Powder, and yet it did not once mis Fire. After this there occurred several strange things; but now concluding they were but *Speltries*, they took little further Notice of them.

[Several other Testimonies, all to the same Effect with the foregoing, my Friend has added, which for brevity I omit; and only add, the most considerable of these Passages were afterward Sworn before one of Their Majesties Council.]

Reverend and truly Honoured Sir, According to your Request I have Collected a brief Account of the Occurrences remark'd in our Town the last Year. Some of them are very Admirable things, and yet no less True than Strange, if we may believe the Assertions of Credible Persons. Tho' because of great Haste it is a rough Draught, yet there is nothing written but what the Persons mentioned would, if duly called, confirm the Truth of by *Oath*.

‘ I might have given you a larger Account ;
 ‘ only several who Saw and Heard some of the
 ‘ most Remarkable things are now beyond Sea.
 ‘ However, I hope the Subtance of what is
 ‘ Written will be enough to satisfie all Rational
 ‘ Persons, that *Glocester* was not Alarumed last
 ‘ Summer for above a Fortnight together by
 ‘ real *French* and *Indians*, but that the *Devil* and
 ‘ his Agents were the cause of all the Molesta-
 ‘ tion which at this time besel the Town ; in
 ‘ the Name of whose Inhabitants I would
 ‘ take upon me to Entreat your Earnest Pray-
 ‘ ers to the Father of Mercies, that those Ap-
 ‘ paritions may not prove the sad *Omens* of
 ‘ some future and more horrible Molestations
 ‘ to them.

‘ May 19.
 1697.

S I R,

Your very humble Servant,

J. E.

NOW, Reader, albeit that passage of the Sacred Story, 2 Chron. 20. 22. *The Lord set Ambushments against the Children of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, and they were smitten*, is by the best Expositors thus understood ; that there was the Ministry of the *Holy Angels* wondrously Employ’d in this Matter ; the *Angels* in the shape of *Moabites* and *Ammonites* fell upon them of Mount *Seir*, and upon this apprehended Provocation they then all fell upon one another, until the whole Army was destroyed : Nevertheless I entirely refer it unto thy Judgment, (without the least offer of my own) whether *Satan* did not now set *Ambushments* against the good People of *Glocester*, with *Demons* in the shape of *Armed Indians* and *Frenchmen* appearing to considerable Numbers of the Inhabitants, and mutually Firing upon them for the best part of a Month together. I know the most Considerate Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood unto this Day believe this whole matter to have been a Prodigious Piece of the Strange descent from the *Invisible World*, then made upon other Parts of the Country. And the publication of this Prodigy, among other *Wonders of the Invisible World* among us, has been delay’d until now, that so the Opinion of our most considerate Gentlemen about it might have time for a thorough *Concoction* : And that the Gentlemen of the Order of *St. Thomas* may have no *Objection* to make against it. But be it what it will, they are not a few profane *Squibs* from the Sons of the Extravagant *Bekkar*, that will be a fit Explication for things thus *Attested*, and so very *Marvellous*.

ARTICLE XIX.

PACEM, Te Poscimus Omnes.

IN the Year 1693. His Excellency sent away Captain *Convers* to draw off the fittest of the Officers and Soldiers quartered in the East

for a March ; and causing about Three Hundred and Fifty more to be Levied, gave him what he had merited above a Year ago ; even a Commission of *Major*, and Commander in Chief over these Forces. While *Major Convers* was at *Wells*, hearing of some *Indians* that were seen in the Woods, he surpris’d them all ; and finding that they had cut off a poor Family at *Oyster River*, he gave the chief of them something of what they also had merited. Going to *Pembaquid* after some Service there, they Sailed up *Sheepscoote River*, and then marched through the Woods to *Faconet*, which being deserted by the *Indians*, they ranged through many other Woods ; but could meet with none of their Enemies. Repairing then to *Sico*, they began another *Fort*, which was carried on by that worthy Gentleman *Major Hook*, and the truly commendable *Captain Hill*, and proved a matter of good Consequence unto the Province. While these things were doing sometime in *July*, the Straggling *Indians* did some Spoil upon *Quaboag*, a remote Village in the Road unto *Connecticut* ; but Advice being dispatch’d unto the Towns upon *Connecticut-River*, a Party immediately Salley’d out after the Spoilers, and leaving their Horses at the Entrance of a *Swamp*, whither by their Track they had followed them, they came upon the secure Adversary, and kill’d the most of them, and recovered the Captives, with their Plunder ; and returning Home, had some Reward for so brisk an Action.

But now the *Indians* in the East, probably disheartened by the *Forts* Erecting that were like to prove a sore Annoyance to them in their Enterprizes ; and by the fear of wanting *Ammunition*, with other Provisions, which the *French* were not so able just now to dispence unto them ; and by a presumption that an Army of *Magua’s*, [part of those terrible *Cannibals* to the Westward, whereof ’tis affirm’d by those who have published the Stories of their Travels among them, that they have destroy’d no less than Two Million Salvages of other Nations about them, through their being supplied with *Fire-Arms*, before Hundreds of other Nations [lying between them and the River *Meschafippi*] was come into their Country, because they found some of their *Squa’s* killed upon a *Whortle-berry Plain* ; all the Charms of the *French Friar*, then Resident among them, could not hinder them from suing to the English for *Peace*. And the *English* being so involved in *Debts*, that they scarce knew how to prosecute the *War* any further. took some Notice of their Suit. Accordingly a *Peace* was made upon the Ensuing Articles.

Province

Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England.

The Submission and Agreement of the Eastern Indians at Fort William Henry in Pemmaquid, the 11th Day of August, in the Fifth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, William and Mary, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith, &c. 1693.

Whereas a Bloody War has for some Years now past been made and carried on by the *Indians* within the Eastern Parts of the said Province, against Their Majesties Subjects the *English*, through the Instigation and Influences of the *French*; and being sensible of the Miseries which we and our People are reduced unto, by adhering to their ill Council: We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, being *Sagamores* and Chief Captains of all the *Indians* belonging to the several Rivers of *Penobscote* and *Kennebeck*, *Amarascogin* and *Sacc*, Parts of the said Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* within Their said Majesties Sovereignty, having made Application unto his Excellency Sir *William Phips*, Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over the said Province, that the War may be put to an end, do lay down our Arms, and cast our selves upon Their said Majesties Grace and Favour. And each of us respectively for our selves, and in the Name and with the free Consent of all the *Indians* belonging unto the several Rivers aforesaid, and of all other *Indians* within the said Province of and from *Merrimack* River, unto the most Easterly Bounds of the said Province, hereby acknowledging our hearty Subjection and Obedience unto the Crown of *England*; and do solemnly Covenant, Promise and Agree, to and with the said Sir *William Phips*, and his Successors, in the Place of Captain General and Governour in Chief of the aforesaid Province or Territory, on Their said Majesties behalf in manner following, *viz.*

That at all time and times for ever, from and after the date of these Presents, we will cease and forbear all Acts of Hostility towards the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, and not offer the least Hurt or Violence to them, or any of them, in their Persons or Estate: But will henceforward hold and maintain a firm and constant Amity and Friendship with all the *English*.

Item. We abandon and forsake the *French* Interest, and will not in any wise adhere to Join with, Aid or Assist them in their Wars or Designs against the *English*, nor Countenance, Succour or Conceal any of the Enemy *Indians* of *Canada*, or other Places, that shall happen to come to any of our Plantations within the *English* Territory, but secure them, if in our Power, and deliver them up unto the *English*.

That all *English* Captives in the Hands or Power of any of the *Indians* within the Limits aforesaid, shall with all possible speed be set at Liberty, and returned Home without any Ransom or Payment to be made or given for them, or any of them.

That Their Majesties Subjects the *English*, shall and may peaceably and quietly enter upon, improve, and for ever enjoy all and singular their Rights of Lands, and former Settlements and Possessions within the Eastern Parts of the said Province of the *Massachusetts Bay*, without any Pretensions or Claims by us, or any other *Indians* and be in no wise molested, interrupted, or disturbed therein.

That all Trade and Commerce, which hereafter may be allowed between the *English* and *Indians*, shall be under such Management and Regulation, as may be Stated by an Act of the General Assembly, or as the Governor of the said Province for the time being, with the Advice and Consent of the Council, shall see Cause to Direct and Limit.

If any Controversie or Difference at any time hereafter happen to arise between any of the *English* and *Indians*, for any real or supposed Wrong or Injury done on one side or the other, no private Revenge shall be taken by the *Indians* for the same, but proper Application be made to Their Majesties Government upon the Place, for Remedy thereof, in a due Course of Justice; we hereby submitting ourselves to be Ruled and Governed by Their Majesties Laws, and desire to have the Benefit of the same.

For the more full Manifestation of our Sincerity and Integrity in all that which we have herein before Covenanted and Promised, we do deliver unto Sir *William Phips*, Their Majesties Governor as aforesaid, *Abassombamett*, Brother to *Edgeremett*; *Wenongahewitt*, Cousin to *Maddockawando*, and *Edgeremett*, and *Bagatawawongon*; also *Sheepscoat John*, to abide and remain in the Custody of the *English*, where the Governour shall direct, as Hostages or Pledges for our Fidelity, and true Performance of all and every the foregoing Articles, reserving Liberty to exchange them in some reasonable time for a like number, to the acceptance of the Governor and Council of the said Province, so they be Persons of as good Account and Esteem amongst the *Indians* as those which are to be exchanged. In Testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our several Marks and Seals, the Day and Year first above-written.

The above-written Instrument was deliberately read over, and the several Articles and Clauses thereof Interpreted unto the *Indians* who said they well understood and consented thereunto, and was then Signed, Sealed, and Delivered in the Presence of us,

John Wing. up
Nicholas Mannin.
Benjamin Jacksh.
Edgeremett

Edgeremett.

Madockawando.

Wassumbomet of Navidgwock.

Wenobson of Teconnet in behalf of Moxis.

Ketterramogis of Narridgwock.

Abanquit of Penobscot.

Bomasceen.

Nitamemet.

Webenes.

Awanfomeck.

Robin Doney.

Madaumbis.

Paquaharet, alias, Nathaniel.

John Hornybrook,

John Bagatawawongo, alias, } Interpre-

Sheepcoat John. } ters.

Phill. Ounsakis, Squaw. }

ARTICLE XX.

Bloody Fishing at Oyster River; and Sad Work at Groton.

A Years Breathing time was a great Favour of Heaven to a Country quite out of Breath with numberless Calamities. But the Favour was not so thankfully enjoyed as it should have been. And now *The Clouds return after the Rain.* The Spectre that with Burning Tongs drove Xerxes to his War upon the Grecians, had not lost his Influence upon our Indians. The Perfidy of the Indians appeared first in their not restoring the English Captives according to their Covenant; but the perfidious Wretches excused this with many Protestations. That which added unto our Jealousies about them, was their Insolent Carriage towards a Sloop, Commanded by Captain Wing; and the Information of a Fellow called Hektor, that the Indians intended most certainly to break the Peace, and had promised the French Priests, taking the Sacrament thereupon, to destroy the first English Town they could surprize. Rumours of Indians Lurking about some of the Frontier-Plantations, now began to put the poor People into Consternation; but upon an Imagination that they were only certain Bever-Hunters, the Consternation of the People went off into Security. 'Tis affirmed by English Captives, which were then at Canada, that the Desolation of Oyster River was commonly talk'd in the Streets of Quebec Two Months before it was Effected; for the Spies had found no Town so secure as That. And now what was Talk'd at Quebec in the Month of May, must be Done at Oyster River in the Month of July; for on Wednesday, July 18. 1694. the Treacherous Enemy, with a great Army fell upon that Place, about break of Day, Kill'd and Captiv'd Ninety Four, (or an ired) Persons; about a Score of whom Men belonging to the Trained Band of the Several Persons Remarkably escaped Bloody Deluge, but none with more Bravery one Thomas Bickford, who had an House, a Pallisado'd, by the River side, but no Man

in it besides himself. He dexterously put his Wife, and Mother, and Children aboard a Canoo, and sending them down the River, he Alone betook himself to the Defence of his House, against many Indians that made an Assault upon him. They first would have perswaded him with many fair Promises, and then terrified him with as many fierce Threatnings, to yield himself; but he Flouted and Fired at them, daring 'em to come if they durst. His main Stratagem was to change his Livery as frequently as he could; appearing sometimes in one Coat, sometimes in another, sometimes in an Hat, and sometimes in a Cap; which caused his Besiegers to mistake this One for Many Defendants. In fine, the pitiful Wretches despairing to Beat him out of his House, e'en left him in it; whereas many that opened unto them, upon their Solemn Engagements of giving them Life and good Quarter, were barbarously Butchered by them; and the Wife of one Adams, then with Child, was with horrible Barbarity ripped up. And thus there was an end of the Peace made at Pemmaquid! Upon this, the Friends of Mrs. Ursula Cutt, (Widow of Mr. John Cutt, formerly President of New-Hampshire,) desired her to leave her Farm, which was about a Mile above the Bank exposed to the Enemy, on the South side of Piscataqua River. She thank'd them for their Care; but added, that she believed the Enemy had now done their Do for this time; and however, by the End of the Week her Business at the Farm would be all dispatched, and on Saturday she would repair to her Friends at the Bank. But alas! before the End of the Week, she saw the End of her Life: On Saturday, about One or Two a Clock in the Afternoon, the Business at the Farm was Dispatched sure enough! The Indians then kill'd this Gentlewoman and Three other People, a little before they had finished a point of Husbandry then in their Hands. Nor did the Storm go over so: Some Drops of it fell upon the Town of Groton, a Town that lay, one would think, far enough off the Place where was the last Scene of the Tragedy. On July 27. about break of Day Groton felt some surprizing Blows from the Indian Hatchets. They began their Attacks at the House of one Lieutenant Lakin, in the Out-skirts of the Town; but met with a Repulse there, and lost one of their Crew. Nevertheless, in other Parts of that Plantation, (when the good People had been so tired out as to lay down their Military Watch) there were more than Twenty Persons killed, and more than a Dozen carried away. Mr. Gershom Hobart, the Minister of the Place, with part of his Family, was Remarkably preserved from falling into their Hands, when they made themselves the Masters of his House; though they Took Two of his Children, whereof the one was Killed, and the other some time after happily Rescued out of his Captivity.

I remember, the *Jews* in their Book *Taanith*, tell us, *The Elders Proclaimed a Fast in their Cities on this Occasion, because the Wolves had devoured Two little Children beyond Jordan.* Truly, the *Elders of New-England* were not a little concerned at it, when they saw the *Wolves* thus devouring their Children, even on this side of *Merrimack*!

ARTICLE XXI.

More English Blood Swallowed, but Revenged.

R EADER, We must after this, ever now and then, expect the happening of some unhappy Accident. The *Blood-thirsty Salvages*, not content with Quaffing the *Blood* of Two or Three Persons, found at Work in a Field at *Spruce-Creek*, on *Aug. 20.* and of another Person at *Tork*, the same Day, (Captivating also a Lad which they found with him;) they did on *Aug. 24.* Kill and Take Eight Persons at *Kittery*. Here a little Girl about Seven Years Old, the Daughter of one *Mr. Downing*, fell into their Barbarous Hands; they Knock'd her o'th' Head, and barbarously Scalped her, leaving her on the *Cold Ground*, (and it was then very *Cold*, beyond what use to be,) where she lay all the Night ensuing: Yet she was found *Alive* the next Morning, and recovering, she is to this Day *Alive* and Well; only the place broke in her Skull will not endure to be closed up. He had another Daughter, which at the same time almost miraculously escaped their Hands. But so could not at another time *Joseph Pike* of *Newbury*, the *Deputy Sheriff of Essex*, who on *Sept. 4.* Travelling between *Amesbury* and *Haverhil*, in the Execution of his Office, with one *Long*, they both had an *Arrest of Death* served upon them from an *Indian Ambuscado*. *Bommafeen*, a Commander of Prime Quality among the *Indians*, who had set his Hand unto the late *Articles of Submission*, came, *Nov. 19.* with Two other *Indians*, to *Pemmaquid*, as loving as *Bears*, and as harmless as *Tygres*, pretending to be just Arrived from *Canada*, and much Afflicted for the late Mischiefs, (whereof there was Witness that he was a Principal Actor,) but Captain *March* with a sufficient Activity seized them; as *Robin Doney*, another Famous Villain among them, with Three more, had been seized at *Saco Fort* a little before. *Bommafeen* was convey'd unto *Boston*, that he might, in a close Imprisonment there, have time to consider of his Treacheries and his Cruelties, for which the Justice of Heaven had thus delivered him up. When he was going to *Pemmaquid*, he left his Company with a strange Reluctancy and Formality, as if he had prefiged the Event; and when at *Pemmaquid* he found the Event of his coming, he discovered a more than ordinary Disturbance of Mind; his Passions Foam'd and Boil'd like the very *Waters* at the Fall of *Niagara*.

But being thus fallen upon the mention of that *Vengeance*, wherewith Heaven pursued the chief of the *Salvage Murderers*, it may give some Diversion unto the Reader, in the midst of a long and a sad Story, to insert a Relation of an Accident that fell out a little after this time.

The *Indians*, (as the Captives inform us) being Hungry, and hardly bestead, passed through deserted *Casco*, where they spied several *Horses* in Captain *Bracket's* Orchard. Their famished *Squad's* begg'd them to Shoot the *Horses*, that they might be revived with a little *Roast-meat*; but the Young Men were for having a little Sport before their Supper. Driving the *Horses* into a Pond, they took one of them, and furnished him with an *Halter*, suddenly made of the *Main* and the *Tail* of the Animal, which they cut off. A Son of the Famous *Hegon* was ambitious to mount this *Pegasean Steed*; but being a pitiful Horseman, he ordered them, for fear of his falling, to tie his Legs fast under the *Horse's* Belly. No sooner was this *Beggar set on Horse-back*, and the Spark, in his own Opinion, throughly Equipt, but the Mettlesome *Horse* furiously and presently ran with him out of sight. Neither *Horse* nor *Man* were ever seen any more; the astonish'd *Tawnies* howl'd after one of their Nobility, disappearing by such an unexpected Accident. A few Days after they found one of his *Legs*, (and that was *all*,) which they buried in Captain *Bracket's* Cellar, with abundance of Lamentation.

ARTICLE XXII.

A Conference with an Indian-Sagamore.

B UT now *Bommafeen* is fallen into our Hands, let us have a little Discourse with him.

Behold, Reader, the Troubles and the Troublers of *New-England*! That thou may'st a little more exactly behold the Spirit of the Matter; I'll recite certain Passages occurring in a Discourse that pass'd between this *Bommafeen* (who was one of the *Indian Princes*, or *Chieftains*;) and a Minister of the Gospel, in the Year 1696.

Bommafeen was with some other *Indians* now a Prisoner in *Boston*. He desired a Conference with a Minister of *Boston*, which was granted him. *Bommafeen*, with the other *Indians*, assenting and asserting to it, then told the Minister, that he pray'd his Instruction in the *Christian Religion*; inasmuch as he was afraid; that the *French* in the *Christian Religion*, which they taught the *Indians*, had abused them. The Minister enquired of him, what of the things taught 'em by the *French* appear'd most suspicious to 'em? He said, the *French* taught 'em, that the Lord *JESUS CHRIST* was of the *French Nation*; that his Mother, the *Virgin Mary*, was a *French Lady*; that they were the *English* who had Murdered him; and that whereas he rose from the Dead, and went up to the Heavens, all that would Recommend

themselves unto his Favour, must Revenge his Quarrel upon the *English* as far as they can. He ask'd the Minister whether these things were so; and pray'd the Minister to instruct him in the true *Christian Religion*. The Minister considering, that the Humour and Manner of the *Indians* was to have their Discourses managed with much of *Similitude* in them, look'd about for some agreeable Object, from whence he might with apt *Resemblances* convey the *Idea's* of Truth unto the Minds of *Salvages*; and he thought none would be more agreeable to them than a *Tankard of Drink*, which happened then to be standing on the Table. So he proceeded in this *Method* with 'em.

He told them, [still with proper *Actions* Painting and Pointing out the *Signs* unto them,] That our Lord **JESUS CHRIST** had given us a *Good Religion*, which might be resembled unto the *Good Drink in the Cup* upon the Table.

That if we take this *Good Religion*, (even that *Good Drink*.) into our Hearts, it will do us *Good*, and preserve us from *Death*.

That God's *Book*, the *Bible*, is the *Cup* wherein that *Good Drink* of *Religion* is offered unto us.

That the *French* having the *Cup of Good Drink* in their Hands, had put *Poison* into it, and then made the *Indians* to Drink that *Poisoned Liquor*, whereupon they run Mad, and fell to killing of the *English*, though they could not but know it must unavoidably issue in their own Destruction at the last.

That it was plain the *English* had put no *Poison* into the *Good Drink*; for they set the *Cup* wide open, and invited all Men to *Come and See* before they *Taste*, even the very *Indians* themselves; for we Translated the *Bible* into *Indian*. That they might gather from hence, that the *French* had put *Poison* into the *Good Drink*, inasmuch as the *French* kept the *Cup* fast shut, (the *Bible* in an *Unknown Tongue*.) and kept their *Hands* upon the *Eyes* of the *Indians*, when they put it unto their Mouths.

The *Indians* expressing themselves to be well satisfied with what the Minister had hitherto said, pray'd him to go on, with showing 'em what was the *Good Drink*, and what was the *Poison* which the *French* had put into it.

He then set before them distinctly the chief *Articles* of the *Christian Religion*, with all the *Simplicity* and *Sincerity* of a *Protestant*: Adding upon each, *This is the Good Drink in the Lord's Cup of Life*: And they still professed, *That they liked it all*.

Whereupon he Demonstrated unto them, how the *Papists* had in their *Idolatrous Popery*, some way or other depraved and alter'd every one of these *Articles*, with *Scandalous Ingredients* of their own Invention; adding upon each, *This is the Poison which the French have put into the Cup*.

At last he mentioned this *Article*.

To obtain the *Pardon of your Sins*, you must confess your Sins to God, and pray to God,

that he would Pardon your Sins for the Sake of *Jesus Christ*, who died for the Sins of his People: God loves *Jesus Christ* infinitely; and if you place your Eye on *Jesus Christ* only, when you beg the *Pardon of your Sins*, God will Pardon them. You need confess your Sins to none but God, except in Cases where Men have known your Sins, or have been hurt by your Sins; and then those Men should know that you confess your Sins; but after all, none but God can Pardon them.

He then added, *The French have put Poison into this Good Drink*; they tell you, that you must confess your Sins to a *Priest*, and carry *Skins* to a *Priest*, and submit unto a *Penance enjoined by a Priest*; and this *Priest* is to give you a *Pardon*. There is no need of all this: 'Tis nothing but *French Poison*, all of it.

The *Wretches* appearing astonish'd to meet with one who would so fairly put them into a glorious way to obtain the *Pardon of their Sins*, and yet take no *Bever-skins* for it, in a Rapture of *Astonishment* they fell down on their *Knees*, and got his *Hand* into theirs, and fell to kissing of it with an extream show of *Affection*.

He shaking them off with dislike of their Posture, *Bommafeen*, with the rest of them, stood up; and first lifting up his *Eyes* and *Hands* to Heaven, declaring, that God should be *Judge* of his *Heart* in what he said, he then said, Sir, *I thank you for these things*; *I resolve to Spit up all the French Poison*; you shall be my *Father*; *I will be your Son*; *I beseech you to continue to instruct me in that Religion which may bring me to the Salvation of my Soul!*—Now God knows what *Heart* this *Indian* had when he so expressed himself: To Him let us leave it.

But so much for this *Digression*.

ARTICLE XXIII.

More Mischiefs in Spite of Treaties.

EXCEPT it were the falling of Two *Soldiers* belonging to *Saco Garrison* into the Hands of the *Enemy*, who took the one, and kill'd the other, some time in *March*, 1695. many Months pass'd away without any *Action* between Them and Us; and it is reported by returned *Captives*, that the *Hand of God* reach'd them, when the *Hand of Man* could not find them, and a *Mortal Sickness* did at a strange rate carry off Multitudes of them. At length, upon the *Mediation* of Old *Sheepscoat John*, once a *Praying Indian* of the Reverend *ELIOT's Catechumens*, but afterwards a *Pagan*, and now a *Popish Apostate*, a great *Fleet of Canoes* came into an *Island*, about a *League* from the *Fort* at *Pemmaquid*, *May 20. 1693.* and after they had laid still there all the *Lord's-Day*, on *Monday Morning* they sent unto the *English* for another *Treaty*. They declared, their *Design* was to *Exchange Captives*, and renew the *Peace*, and condemned themselves for their *Violating the Peace* made

made near Two Years ago. *Eight Captives* they immediately delivered up; and upon a Grant of a *Truce* for Thirty Days, Colonel *John Philips*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Hawiborn*, and Major *Convers*, were sent Commissioners unto *Pemmaquid* for the Management of that Affair. Our Commissioners, with good Reason, demanding a Surrender of all the *English Captives*, according to former Agreement, before they would allow any new Propositions of *Peace* to be offered, the *Indians*, disgusted that their Idol *Bommascen* was left at *Boston*, broke off the Conference, and went off in Discontent. Advice was immediately dispatch'd into all Parts of the *Eastern Country* to stand well upon their Guard: notwithstanding which, on *July 6.* Major *Hammond* of *Kittery* fell into the Hands of the *Lurking Indians*; and the next Week Two Men at *Exeter* were kill'd by some of the same *Dangerous Lurkers*. Major *Hammond* was now aboard a *Canoo*, intending to put ashore at *Saco*; but some of the Garrison-Soldiers there, not knowing that they had such a good Friend aboard, inadvertently fired upon the *Canoo*; and so the *Indians* carried him clear away. They Transported him at length to *Canada*, where he met with Extraordinary Civilities; Count *Frontenac*, the Governor himself, Nobly purchased him of his Tawny Malter, and sent him home to *New-England* by a Vessel which also fetch'd from thence a Considerable number (perhaps near *Thirty*) of *English Prisoners*. In *August* the House of one *Rogers* at *Billerica* was Plundered, and about Fifteen People Kill'd and Taken by *Indians*, which, by appearing and approaching, 'tis said on *Horse-back*, were not suspected for *Indians*, [for, *Who set them on Horse back?*] till they surprized the House they came to. And about the same time, Sergeant *Haley* venturing out of his Fort at *Saco*, stept into the *Snares of Death*. On *Sept. 9.* Sergeant *March*, with Three more, were Killed by the *Indians*, and Six more at the same time Wounded at *Pemmaquid*. Rowing a *Gondula* round an high Rocky Point above the *Barbican*. On *Oct. 7.* the *Indians* entred the House of one *John Brown* at *Newbury*, carrying away Nine Persons with them; whereupon Captain *Greenleaf* nimbly pursuing the Murderers, did unhappily so stumble on them in the Night, that they Wounded the good Man, and made their Escape over the River. The Captain Retook all the Captives; but the *Indians* in their going off strook them all so violently on the *Head* with the *Clubs*, which I remember a *French* Historian somewhere calls by the frightful Name of *Head-breakers*, that they afterwards all of them *Died*, except a *Lad* that was only hurt in the Shoulder. Some of them lingered out for half a Year, and some of them for more than a whole Year; but if the Doctors closed up the *Wounds* of their *Heads*, they would grow *Light-headed*, and Faint, and Sick, and could not bear it; so at last they died with their very *Brains* working out at their *Wounds*.

But having thus run over a *Journal of Deaths*

for the Year 1695. let us before the Year be quite gone see some Vengeance taken upon the *Heads in the House of the Wicked*. Know then, Reader, that Captain *March* Petitioning to be dismiss'd from his Command of the Fort at *Pemmaquid*, one *Chub* succeeded him. And this *Club* found an Opportunity, in a pretty *Clubbed manner*, to Kill the Famous *Edgeremett* and *Abenquid*, a Couple of Principal *Sagamores*, with One or Two other *Indians*, on a *Lord's-Day*, the Sixteenth of *February*. Some that well enough liked the *Thing* which was now done, did not altogether like the *Manner* of doing it, because there was a pretence of *Treaty* between *Chub* and the *Sagamores*, whereof he took his Advantage to lay violent Hands on them. If there were any unfair Dealing (which I know not) in this Action of *Chub*, there will be another *February* not far off, wherein the *Avengers of Blood* will take their *Satisfaction*.

A R T I C L E XXIV.

Still *Mischief upon Mischief*.

THE next whole Year, namely 1696. had it not been for the Degree of a *Famine*, which the *Alteration of the Course of Nature* in these, as well as other Parts of the World, threatened us withal, would have been a Year of *Less Trouble* than some of the rest in our *Troublesome Decad*. The most *uneasie Accident* of this Year shall be told when we arrive unto the Month of *August*; but in the mean time it was a Matter of some *Uneasiness*, that on *May 7.* one *John Church* of *Quochecho*, who had been a *Captive*, escaped from the Hands of the *Indians*, almost Seven Years before, was now Slain and Stript by their Barbarous Hands: And on *June 24.* one *Thomas Cole* of *Wells* and his Wife were Slain by the *Indians*, returning Home with Two of his Neighbours and their Wives, all Three Sisters, from a Visit of their Friends at *York*: And on *June 26.* at several Places within the Confines of *Portsmouth*, several Persons, Twelve or Fourteen, were Massacred, (with some Houses Burnt,) and Four Taken, which yet were soon Retaken; among whom there was an Ancient Woman Scalpt for Dead, and no doubt the *Salvages* upon producing her *Scalp*, received the *Price of her Death* from those that hired them, and yet she so recovered as to be still *Alive*. Moreover, on *July 26.* the *Lord's-Day*, the People at *Quochecho* returning from the Publick Worship of God, Three of them were killed, Three of them were wounded, and Three of them were carried away Prisoners to *Penobscot*; which last Three were nevertheless in less than Three Weeks returned. But now we are got into fatal *August*; on the Fifth or Sixth Day of which Month, the *French* having taken one of the *English Men of War*, called, *The Newport*, and Landed a few Men, who joined with the *Indians* to pursue their Business, *Chub* with an unaccountable baseness

did Surrender the Brave Fort at *Pemmaquid* into their Hands. There were Ninety-five Men double-armed in the Fort, which might have defended it against Nine times as many Assaultants; that a Fort now should be so basely given up! Imitating the Style of *Homer* and *Virgil*, I cannot forbear crying out, *O mere Novangla, neque enim Novangli!* And yet if you read the Story Written by the *Sieur Froger*, how poorly *St. James's Fort* in *Africa* was given up to the *French* in the Year 1695. you'll say the things done in *America* are not so bad as what have been done in either Parts of the World. The Enemy having Demolished so fair a Citadel, now grown mighty *Uppish*, Triumph'd, as well they might, exceedingly; and threatned that they would carry all before them. The Honourable Lieutenant-Governor *Stoughton*, who was now Commander in Chief over the Province, immediately did all that could be done to put a stop unto the Fury of the Adversary. By *Sea* he sent out Three Men of War, who, disadvantaged by the Winds, came not soon enough to engage the *French*. By *Land* the *Indians* being so Posted in all Quarters, that the People could hardly stir out, but about half a Score of the poor People in their Fields here and there were pick'd off; he sent Colonel *Gidney* with Five Hundred Men, who perceiving the *Salvages* to be drawn off, only strengthened the Garrisons, and returned. The Lieutenant-Governor, that he might not in any other Point be wanting to the Publick Safety, hereupon dispatched Colonel *Hawthorn*, with a suitable number of Soldiers and Frigats, unto *St. John's*, with Orders to fetch away some great Guns that were lying there, and join with Major *Church*, who was gone with Forces that way to Attack the Fort at *St. John's*, which was the Nest of all the *Wasps* that stung us; but the Difficulty of the *Cold Season* so discouraged our Men, that after the making of some few Shot, the Enterprize found it felt under too much *Congelation* to proceed any further. So we will afflict our selves no further for this Year; except only with mentioning the Slaughter of about Five poor Soldiers, belonging to *Saco-Fort*, Oct. 13. who had a Discovery of the Enemy seasonable enough to have made their Escape; yet not agreeing about the way of making it, as if led by some *Fatality* to their Destruction, or as if they had been like the *Squirrels*, that must run down the Tree Squeaking and Crying into the Mouths of the *Rattle-Snakes* that fix their Eyes upon them, they went back into the very Path where the *Indian Ambush* was lying for them.

ARTICLE XXV.

A Notable Exploit; wherein, Dux Famina Facti.

ON March 15. 1697. the *Salvages* made a Descent upon the Skirts of *Haverhil*, Murdering and Captiving about Thirty-nine Per-

sons, and Burning about half a Dozen Houses. In this Broil, one *Hannab Duxtan* having lain in about a Week, attended with her Nurse, *Mary Neff*, a Widow, a Body of terrible *Indians* drew near unto the House where she lay, with Designs to carry on their Bloody Devastations. Her Husband hastened from his Employments abroad unto the relief of his Distressed Family; and first bidding Seven of his Eight Children (which were from Two to Seventeen Years of Age) to get away as fast as they could unto some Garrison in the Town, he went in to inform his Wife of the horrible Distress come upon them. E'er she could get up, the fierce *Indians* were got so near, that utterly despairing to do her any Service, he ran out after his Children; resolving that on the Horse which he had with him, he would Ride away with *That* which he should in this Extremity find his Affections to pitch most upon, and leave the rest unto the Care of the Divine Providence. He overtook his Children about Forty Rod from his Door; but then such was the Agony of his Parental Affections, that he found it impossible for him to distinguish any one of them from the rest; wherefore he took up a Courageous Resolution to Live and Die with them all. A Party of *Indians* came up with him; and now though they Fired at him, and he Fired at them, yet he Manfully kept at the Reer of his *Little Army* of Unarmed Children, while they Marched off with the Pace of a Child of Five Years Old; until by the Singular Providence of God, he arrived safe with them all unto a Place of Safety about a Mile or two from his House. But his House must in the mean time have more dismal *Tragedies* acted at it. The Nurse trying to escape with the New-born Infant, fell into the Hands of the Formidable *Salvages*; and those furious *Tawnies* coming into the House, bid poor *Duxtan* to rise immediately. Full of Astonishment she did so; and sitting down in the Chimney with an Heart full of most fearful Expectation, she saw the raging Dragons rife all that they could carry away, and set the House on Fire. About Nineteen or Twenty *Indians* now led these away, with about half a Score other *English Captives*; but e'er they had gone many Steps, they dash'd out the Brains of the Infant against a Tree; and several of the other *Captives*, as they began to Tire in their sad Journey, were soon sent unto their Long Home; the *Salvages* would presently Bury their Hatchets in their Brains, and leave their Carcases on the Ground for Birds and Beasts to Feed upon. However, *Duxtan* (with her Nurse) notwithstanding her present Condition, Travelled that Night about a Dozen Miles, and then kept up with their New Masters in a long Travel of an Hundred and Fifty Miles, more or less, within a few Days ensuing, without any sensible Damage in their Health, from the Hardships of their Travel, their Lodging, their Diet, and their many other Difficulties. These Two poor Women were

now in the Hands of those whose *Tender Mercies are Cruelties*; but the good God, who hath all *Hearts in his own Hands*, heard the Sighs of these *Prisoners*, and gave them to find unexpected Favour from the *Master* who laid claim unto them. That *Indian Family* consisted of Twelve Persons; Two Stout Men, Three Women, and Seven Children; and for the Shame of many an *English Family*, that has the Character of *Prayerless* upon it, I must now Publish what these poor Women assure me: 'Tis this, in Obedience to the Instructions which the *French* have given them, they would have *Prayers* in their Family no less than Thrice every Day; in the *Morning*, at *Noon*, and in the *Evening*; nor would they ordinarily let their Children *Eat or Sleep* without first saying their *Prayers*. Indeed these *Idolaters* were like the rest of their whiter Brethren *Persecutors*, and would not endure that these poor Women should retire to their *English Prayers*, if they could hinder them. Nevertheless, the poor Women had nothing but Fervent Prayers to make their Lives Comfortable or Tolerable; and by being daily sent out upon Business, they had Opportunities together and asunder to do like another *Hannah*, in *Pouring out their Souls before the Lord*: Nor did their praying Friends among our selves forbear to *Pour out* Supplications for them. Now they could not observe it without some Wonder, that their *Indian Master* sometimes when he saw them dejected would say unto them, *What need you Trouble your self? If your God will have you delivered, you shall be so!* And it seems our God would have it so to be. This *Indian Family* was now Travelling with these Two Captive Women, (and an *English Youth* taken from *Worcester* a Year and half before,) unto a Rendezvouz of *Salvages*, which they call a *Town* somewhere beyond *Penacook*; and they still told these poor Women, that when they came to this *Town* they must be Stript, and Scourg'd, and Run the *Gantlet* through the whole Army of *Indians*. They said this was the *Fashion* when the Captives first came to a *Town*; and they derided some of the Faint-hearted *English*, which they said, fainted and swoon'd away under the *Torments* of this Discipline. But on *April 30.* while they were yet, it may be, about an Hundred and Fifty Miles from the *Indian Town*, a little before break of Day, when the whole Crew was in a *Dead Sleep*, (Reader, see if it prove not so!) one of these Women took up a Resolution to intimate the Action of *Jael* upon *Sisera*; and being where she had not her own *Life* secured by any *Law* unto her, she thought she was not forbidden by any *Law* to take away the *Life* of the *Murderers*, by whom her *Child* had been Butchered. She heartened the *Nurse* and the *Youth* to assist her in this Enterprize; and all furnishing themselves with *Hatchets* for the purpose, they struck such home Blows upon the Heads of their *Sleeping Oppressors*, that e'er they could any of them struggle into any effectual

resistance, at the Feet of those poor Prisoners, they bow'd, they fell, they lay down; at their Feet they bowed, they fell; where they bowed there they fell down Dead. Only one *Squaw* escaped sorely Wounded from them in the Dark; and one *Boy*, whom they reserved alleep, intending to bring him away with them, suddenly wak'd and Scuttled away from this Desolation. But cutting off the *Scalps* of the *Ten Wretches*, they came off, and received *Fifty Pounds* from the General Assembly of the Province, as a Recompence of their Action; besides which, they received many *Presents of Congratulation* from their more private Friends; but none gave 'em a greater Taste of Bounty than Colonel *Nicholson*, the Governour of *Maryland*, who hearing of their Action, sent 'em a very generous Token of his Favour.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Remarkable Salvations; and some Remarkable Disasters.

BESIDES a Man taken at *Tork* in *May*, and another Man kill'd at *Husfield* in *June*, and a Third kill'd at *Groton*, and a Fourth with Two Children carried Captives, there fell out more *Mischief*, with no small *Mercy*, on *June 10.* at *Exeter*. The Day before, some Women and Children would needs ramble without any Guard into the Woods to gather *Strawberries*; but some that were willing to Chastise them with a *tright* for their Presumption, made an *Alarm* in the *Town*, whereupon many came together in their *Arms*. The *Indians*, it seems, were at this very time unknown to the *English*, lying on the other side of the *Town* ready to make a *Destruative Assault* upon it; but supposing this *Alarm* to be made on their Account, they therefore supposed themselves to be discovered. Wherefore they laid aside their Purpose of attempting the *Destruction* of the *Town*, and contented themselves with *Killing* one Man, *Taking* another, and *Wounding* a Third. But on *July 4. Lord's-Day*, Major *Charles Frost*, who had been a Person of no little Consequence to our Frontiers, returning from the Publick Worship of God in *Berwick*, (to repair unto which, about Five Miles from his own House, he had that Morning express'd such an *Earnestness*, that much notice was taken of it,) pass'd several more Dangerous Places without any Damage; but in a Place, on a little Plain by the Turn of a *Path*, where no Danger was expected, the *Adder in the Path* surprized him; the *Indians* having stuck up certain Boughs upon a Log, there Mortally Shot him, with Two more, while his Two *Sons* that were in the Front of the Company happily escaped: And the Two Young Men that Rode Post unto *Wells* with these *Tidings*, in their going back had their own Death added for another Article of such unhappy *Tidings*. About the latter end of this Month also, *Three Men* Mowing the Meadows at *Newichawannic*, were

themselves *Cut down* by the *Indians*; tho' one of the *Mowers* bravely slew one of the *Murderers*. But the most Important Action of this Year was a little further off. About the beginning of *July*, Major *March* was employ'd with about Five Hundred Soldiers, not only to Defend the *Frontiers*, but also to seek out, and beat up the Enemies Quarters. In the mean time, the Lieutenant Governor apprehending an *Invasion* from a formidable *French Fleet* on the Coast of *New-England*, with his accustomed Prudence and Vigour applied himself to put the whole Province into a Posture of Defence: And the *Militia*, with the several *Forts*, especially that of *Boston*, (very much through the Contrivance and Industry of Captain *Fairweather*,) were brought into so good a Posture, that some could hardly forbear too much Dependence on our Preparations. But it being more particularly Apprehended, that in the intended *Invasion*, the *Indians*, assisted by the *French*, would make a Descent upon our *Frontiers* by Land, Major *March* was advised therefore to employ some of his Forces in Scouting about the Woods. Before the Major arrived at *York*, a Party of the Enemy kill'd a Man that stood Centinel for some of his Neighbours at Work in the Marsh at *Wells*; and catching another *Alive*, they carried him a Mile and half off, and Roasted him to *Death*: But Captain *Bracket*, that followed them quite as far as *Kennebunk*, did but almost overtake them: For truly, Reader, our Soldiers cannot, as Antiquity reports the Old *Græcian* and *Roman* Soldiers could, March at a running Pace or Trot heavily Loaded, Five and Twenty Miles in Four Hours; but rather suspect whether those Reports of Antiquity be not *Romantic*. Three Soldiers of *Saco Fort*, after this cutting some *Fire-wood* on *Cow-Island*, for the use of the Fort, were by the *Indians* cut off; while that Lieutenant *Fletcher* with his Two Sons, that should have Guarded them, went a *Fowling*; and by doing so, they likewise fell into the *Snare*. The *Indians* carrying these Three Captives down the River in one of their *Canoos*, Lieutenant *Larabe*, that was abroad with a Scout, way-laid them; and Firing on the foremost of the *Canoos* that had Three Men in it, they all Three fell and sank in the *River of Death*. Several were killed aboard the other *Canoos*; and the rest ran their *Canoos* ashore, and escaped on the other side of the River; and one of the *Fletchers*, when all the *Indians* with him were killed, was delivered out of the Hands which had made a Prisoner of him; tho' his poor Father afterwards died among them. Hereupon Major *March*, with his Army, took a Voyage farther Eastward, having several *Transport Vessels* to accommodate them. Arriving at *Casco-Bay*, they did, upon the Ninth of *September*, come as Occult as they could, further East among the Islands, near a Place called *Corbin's Sounds*; and Landed before Day at a Place called *Damascotta River*; where, before half

of them were well got ashore, and drawn up, the scarce yet expected Enemy entertained them with a *Volley* and an *Huzza!* None of ours were hurt; but Major *March* repaid 'em in their own *Leaden Coin*; and it was no sooner Light but a *Considerable Battel* ensued. The Commanders of the *Transport Vessels* were Persons of such a *Mettle*, that they could not with any patience forbear going ashore to take a part of their *Neighbours Fare*; but the Enemy seeing things operate this way, fled into their Fleet of *Canoos*, which hitherto lay out of fight, and got off as *fast* and as *well* as they could, leaving some of their *Dead* behind them, which they never do, but when under extream Disadvantages. Our Army thus beat 'em off, with the loss of about a Dozen Men, whereof one was the Worthy Captain *Dymmock* of *Barnstable*; and about as many Wounded, whereof one was Captain *Philips* of *Charlestown*; and in this Action Captain *Whiting*, a Young Gentleman of much *Worth* and *Hope*, Courageously acting his Part as Commander of the *Forces*; the *Helpers of the War*, which the Colony of *Connecticut* had Charitably lent unto this Expedition, had his Life remarkably rescued from a Bullet grazing the top of his Head. But there was a Singular Providence of our Lord Jesus Christ in the whole of this Matter. For by the seasonable *Arrival* and *Encounter* of our Army, an horrible Descent of *Indians*, which probably might have laid whole Plantations Desolate, was most happily *Defeated*. And at the same time, the Signal Hand of Heaven gave a *Defeat* unto the Purposes of the *French Squadrons* at Sea, so that they had something else to do, than to Visit the Coast of *New-England*.

ARTICLE XXVII.

The End of the Year; and, we hope, of the War.

O Thou Sword of the Wilderness, when wilt thou be quiet? On *Sept. 11*. A Party of the Enemy came upon the Town of *Lancaster*, then prepared for *Mischief* by a wonderful Security, and they did no little *Mischief* unto it. Near Twenty were killed, and among the rest Mr. *John Whiting*, the Pastor of the Church there: Five were carried *Captive*; Two or Three *Houses* were burnt, and several *Old People* in them. Captain *Brown* with Fifty Men pursued them, till the Night stopt'd their pursuit; but it seems a strange *Dog* or two, unknown to the Company, did by their Barking alarum the Enemy to rise in the Night, and Strip and Scalp an *English* *Captive Woman*, and fly so far into the Woods, that after Two Days Bootless Labour our Men returned. *November* arrived before any farther *Bloodshed*; and then 'twas only of one Man in the Woods at *Oyster-River*. *December* arrived with the welcome Tidings of a *Peace* concluded between *England* and *France*; which made us hope that

that there would be little more of any *Bloodshed* at all. The *Winter* was the severest that ever was in the Memory of Man. And yet *February* must not pass without a Stroke upon *Pemmaquid Chub*, whom the Government had mercifully permitted, after his *Examination*, to retire unto his Habitation in *Andover*. As much out of the way as to *Andover*, there came above Thirty Indians, about the middle of *February*, as if their Errand had been for a *Vengeance* upon *Chub*, whom (with his Wife) they now Massacred there. They took Two or Three Houses, and Slew Three or Four Persons; and Mr. *Thomas Barnard*, the worthy Minister of the Place, very narrowly escaped their *Fury*. But in the midst of their *Fury* there was one piece of *Mercy*, the like whereof had never been seen before: For they had got Colonel *Dudley Bradstreet*, with his Family, into their *Hands*; but perceiving the Town mustering to follow them, their *Hearts* were so changed, that they dismissed their Captives without any further Damage unto their Persons. Returning back by *Haverhill*, they kill'd a Couple, and a Couple they took, with some remarkable Circumstances worthy to be made a *distinct History*. But, Reader, we are now in *Haste* for to have our *present History* come unto an End: And though the end of this *Year* did not altogether prove the end of the *War*; for on *May 9. 1698.* the Indians Murdered an old Man at *Spruce-Creek*, and carried away Three Sons of that old Man, and wounded a Man at *York*: Yet we were not without prospect of our Troubles growing towards a Period: And even in that very Murder at *Spruce-Creek* there fell out one thing that might a little encourage our Hopes concerning it. The Murderer was a famous kind of a *Giant* among the Indians; a Fellow Reputed Seven Foot High: This Fellow kill'd the poor old Man in cold Blood, after he had Surrendred himself a Prisoner: But behold, before many Hours were out, this famous and bloody Fellow accidentally shot himself to Death by his Gun going off, when he was foolishly pulling a Canoo to the Shore with it.

The last bloody Action that can have a Room in our Story is this.

The *Indians*, (though sometimes it hath been much doubted, *What Indians!*) have in this War made several Descents upon some of the upper Towns that were our most *Northerly Settlements* upon *Conneticut-River*. But the Pious and Honest People in those Towns, have always given them a brave Repulse, and had a notable Experience of the Divine Favour to them in their Preservations. *Deerfield* has been an Extraordinary Instance of Courage in keeping their *Station*, though they have lived all this while in a very *Pibabiroth*; and their worthy Pastor Mr. *John Williams*, deserves the Thanks of all this Province, for his Encouraging them all the ways Imaginable to *Stand* their Ground. Once the Enemy was like to have surpris'd them into a grievous Desolation; but *he*, with his Praying, and Valiant Little Flock, most hap-

pily repelled them. And now about the middle of *July, 1698.* a little before Sun-set, *Four Indians* killed a Man and a Boy in *Hatfield Meadows*, and carried away Two Boys into Captivity. The Advice coming to *Deerfield* in the Night, they presently Dispatched away Twelve Men to way-lay the Enemy coming up the River; having first look'd up unto the Lord Jesus Christ, that they might find the *Enemy*, and harm none but the *Enemy*, and Rescue the Children which the *Enemy* had seized upon. After a Travel of near Twenty Miles, they perceived the *Indians* in their *Canoos* coming up the River, but on the other side of it, within a Rod or Two of the opposite Shore: Whereupon they so Shot as to Hit one of the *Indians*, and then they all Jump'd out of the *Canoos*, and one of the Boys with them. The wounded *Salvage* crawled unto the Shoar; where his *Back* being broken, he lay in great Anguish, often Endeavouring with his Hatchet for to knock out his own *Brains*. and tear open his own *Breast*, but could not. And another *Indian* seeing the Two Boys getting one to another, design'd 'em a Shot, but his Gun would not go off: Whereupon he followed 'em with his Hatchet for to have knock'd 'em on the Head; but just as he came at 'em, one of our Men sent a Shot into him that spoil'd his Enterprize; and so the Boys getting together into one *Canoo*, brought it over to the Friends thus concerned for them. These good Men seeing their Exploit performed thus far; *Two Indians* destroy'd, and *Two Children* delivered, they fell to *Praising of God*; and One young Man particularly kept thus Expressing himself: *Surely, 'tis God, and not we, that have wrought this Deliverance!* But as we have sometimes been told, that even in the Beating of a *Pulse*, the dilating of the Heart, by a *Diastole* of Delight, may be turned into a contracting of it, with a *Systole* of Sorrow: In the beating of a few *Pulse*, after this, they sent Five or Six Men with the *Canoo*, to fetch the other which was lodged at an Island not far off, that they might pursue the other *Indians*: When those Two *Indians* having hid themselves in the High-grass, unhappily Shot a quick *Death* into the young Man, whose Expressions were but now recited. This hopeful young Man's Brother-in-Law was intending to have gone out upon this Action; but the young Man himself importuned his Mother to let *him* go: Which, because he was an *only Son*, she denied; but then fearing she did not well to withhold her *Son* from the Service of the Publick, she gave him leave: Saying, *See that you do now, and as you go along, resign, and give up your self unto the Lord; and I desire to resign you to him!* So he goes, and so he dies; and may be be the last that falls in a long and sad *War* with *Indian Salvages!*

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Epilogue of a long Tragedy.

FOR the present then the *Indians* have done Murdering; they'll do so no more till next Time. Let us then have done Writing, when we have a little informed our selves what is become of the chief Murderers among those Wretches, for whom, if we would find a Name of a length like one of their own *Indian* Long-winded words, it might be,

Bombar-do-gladio-fun-bastli-flammi-loquentes.

Major *Convers*, and Captain *Alden*, in pursuance of Instructions received from the Lieut. Governour and Council, arriving at *Penobscot* on *Octo.* 14. 1698. were there informed, that *Maddockawando*, the noted Sagamore, with several other *Sachims* of the East, were lately Dead. And Six Days after this, the chief *Sachims* now living, with a great Body of *Indians*, entertained them with a Friendly Discourse; wherein they said, That the Earl of *Frontenac* had sent them word, there was a Peace concluded between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and that one of the Articles in the Peace was, for Prisoners on both sides to be Returned, and they were resolved to Obey the Earl of *Frontenac* as their Father; and accordingly such Prisoners of ours as they had now at Hand might immediately Return, if we could *Perfwade* them, for they would not *Compel* them. When our English Messengers argued with them upon the *Perfidiousness* of their making a *New War* after their *Submission*, the *Indians* replied, That they were Instigated by the *French* to do what they did, against their own Inclinations; adding, That there were Two *Jesuits*, one toward *Annoscoggin*, the other at *Narridgaway*, both of which they desired the Earl of *Bellomont*, and the Earl of *Frontenac*, to procure to be Removed; otherwise it could not be expected that any Peace would continue long. The *Indians* also, and the *English* Prisoners, gave them to understand, that the last *Winter*, many, both *Indians* and *English* Prisoners, were starved to Death; and particularly, *Nine Indians* in one Company went a Hunting, but met with such hard Circumstances, that after they had Eat up their *Dogs*, and their *Cats*, they died horribly Famished: And since the last *Winter*, a grievous and unknown *Disease* is got among them, which consumed them wonderfully. The Sagamore *Saquadock* further told them, That the *Kennebeck* *Indians* would fain have gone to War again this last Summer, but the other *Refused*, whereupon they likewise *Desisted*: And they Resolved now to *Fight no more*; but if any Ill Accident or Action should happen on either side, he did in the Name of the *Indians* Desire, that we would not presently make a *War* upon it, but in a more amicable way compose the Differences.

That the *Indian* Affairs might come to be yet more exactly understood, the General Assembly of the Province employ'd Colonel *John Phillips*, and Major *Convers*, to settle them. These Gentlemen took a Difficult and a Dangerous Voyage, in the Depth of *Winter*, unto the Eastern Parts in the Province-Galley, then under the Command of Captain *Cyprian Southack*; and the Principal *Sagamores* of the *Indians* there coming to them, did again Renew and Subscribe the *Submission* which they had formerly made in the Year 1693. with this Addition unto it.

‘ And whereas, notwithstanding the aforesaid ‘ *Submission* and Agreement, the said *Indians* ‘ belonging to the Rivers aforesaid, or some of ‘ them, thro’ the ill Counsel and Instigation of ‘ the *French*, have perpetrated sundry Hostilities ‘ against His Majesties Subjects the *English*, and ‘ have not delivered and returned home several ‘ *English* Captives in their Hands, as in the said ‘ *Submission* they Covenanted.

‘ Wherefore we whose Names are hereunto ‘ *Subscribed*, Sagamores, Captains, and Principal ‘ Men of the *Indians* belonging unto the Rivers ‘ of *Kennebeck*, *Annoscoggin*, and *Saco*, and ‘ Parts adjacent, being sensible of our great Of- ‘ fence and Folly, in not complying with the ‘ aforesaid *Submission* and Agreement, and also ‘ of the Sufferings and Mischiefs that we have ‘ hereby exposed our selves unto, do in all Hum- ‘ ble and most *Submissive* manner cast our ‘ selves upon His Majesties Mercy, for the Par- ‘ don of all our Rebellions, Hostilities, and Vio- ‘ lations of our Promises, praying to be Recei- ‘ ved into His Majesties Grace and Protecti- ‘ on; and for, and on behalf of our selves, and of ‘ all other the *Indians*, belonging to the several ‘ Rivers and Places aforesaid, within the Sove- ‘ raignty of His Majesty of *Great Britain*, do a- ‘ gain acknowledge and profess our Hearty and ‘ Sincere Obedience unto the Crown of *Eng- ‘ land*, and do solemnly Renew, Ratifie, and ‘ Confirm all and every of the Articles and A- ‘ greements contained in the aforesaid Recited ‘ *Commission*. And in Testimony thereof, we ‘ the said Sagamores, Captains, and Principal ‘ Men, have hereunto set our several Marks and ‘ Seals at *Casco-Bay*, near *Mares-Point*, the Se- ‘ venth Day of *January*, in the Tenth Year of ‘ the Reign of His Majesty King *WILLIAM* ‘ the Third, *Annoque Domini*, 1698.

Subscribed by
In the Presence of *Moxus*, —and a
James Convers. Great Number more.
Cyprian Southack.
John Gills, Interpreter,
And *Scodook*,
alias *Sampson*.

At this time also, the *Indians* Restored as many of the *English* Captives in their Hands as were able to Travel above an Hundred Miles in this terrible Season of the Year, from their Head-quarters down to the Sea-side; giving all possible

possible Satisfaction for the Restoration of the Rest as Early in the Spring as there could be any Travelling.

The Condition of these *Captives* has afforded many very *Remarkable Things*, whereof 'tis a Thousand Pities that so many are lost. But because One of the Two Gentlemen Employ'd as *Commissioners* for the Treaty with the *Indians*, took certain Minutes of *Remarkable Things* from some of the *Captives*, I am willing to give the Reader a Taste of them.

At *Mares-Point* in *Casco-Bay*,
Jan. 14. 1692.

THE *Captives* informed me, that the *Indians* have Three Forts at *Narridgwog*, and *Narrackomogog*, and *Amassucanty*. And at each of these Forts they have a *Chappel*, and have *Images* in them.

They informed me, that Three *Captives* in one *Wigwam* were starved to Death last Winter.

Mary Fairbanks, and *Samuel Hutching*, and some other *Captives*, told me, that *Jonathan Hutchin* belonging to *Spruce-Creek*, a Lad Fourteen Years old, they met him crying for want of *Viſtuals*, for in Two or Three Days he had nothing to Eat. Afterward as he was going to fetch some Wood, he felt something hard in his Bosom. He put in his Hand, and unto his Astonishment he found there Two Great Large Ears of *Indian Corn*, which were very well Roasted. He Eat them, and knew not how they came unto him.

Some other of the *Captives* told me, that one *Mary Catter*, (which Person we now brought home with us, belonging to *Kittery*) her Master, and many other *Indians*, came down to *Casco-Bay*. There seeing some *Sloops*, or *Shallops*, they thought they were the *English* coming upon them, and ran away into the Woods, and left the said *Mary Catter* very Sick in the *Wigwam*, without any thing at all to Eat. They staid away many Days; but left a Fire in the *Wigwam*. She lay withing for something to Eat, and at length in came a *Turtle*. She got that, and Eat it; but afterwards began to Despair of out-living the *Famine*, which was returned upon her. At length, when she was very Hungry, in came a *Partridge*; she took a Stick and Struck it, and Drest it, and Eat it. And by that time she was Hungry again, her Master came to look after her.

They tell of several of the *Indians* that have kill'd themselves with their own *Guns*, in taking them out of their *Canoes*.

Aſſacombuit sent *Thomasin Rouse*, a Child of about Ten Years old, unto the Water-side to carry something. The Child cried: He took a Stick and struck her down: She lay for Dead: He took her up and threw her into the Water: Some *Indians* not far off ran in

and fetch'd her out. This Child we have now brought Home with us.

This *Aſſacombuit* hath killed and taken this War, (they tell me) an Hundred and Fifty Men, Women, and Children. A Bloody Devil.

Thus the Paper of Minutes.

The Reader now has nothing but Peace before him. Doubtless he comforts himself with Hopes of *Times* better to Live in, than to Write of!

BUT that which yet more assures a *Break of Day* after a long and sad *Night* unto us, is, That the Best *King* at this Day upon Earth, and the Greatest *Monarch* that ever Sway'd the Scepter of *Great Britain*, hath Commission'd a Noble Person, who hath in him an Illustrious *Image* of his own *Royal Virtues*, to take the Government of these Provinces; and he is accordingly Arrived now near our Horizon. When the Schools of the Jews delivered, that there were Three Great Gifts of the Good God unto the World, the Law, the Rain, and the Light; *R. Zeira* added, I pray let us take in Peace for a Fourth. All these Four Gifts of God are now enjoy'd by *New England*: But I must now ask, that our Hope of a Fifth may be added unto the Number: which is, A GOVERNOUR of Signalized Virtues. To the truly Noble Earl of BELLOMONT the whole *English Nation* must own it self Endebted while it is a Nation, for the most Generous and Successful Zeal with which he Labour'd for those *Acts of Parliament*; by Assenting whereunto, the Mighty WILLIAM hath Irradiated *England* with Blessings that it never saw before His Happy Reign: Blessings richly worth all the Expences of a Revolution. *England* owes no less Immortal Statues unto the Earl of *Bellomont*, than *Ireland* unto his Illustrious Ancestors. But the Continent of *America* must now Share in the Influence of that Noble Person, whose Merits have been Signalized on the most famous *Islands* of *Europe*; and the greatest Person that ever set Foot on the *English Continent* of *America* is now Arrived unto it. We are now satisfying our selves in the expectations of the Great and Good Influences to be derived from the Conduct of a Governour, in whom there will meet,

—*Virtus & Summa potestas.*

And now, Reader, I will conclude our History of the *Indian War*, in Terms like those used by the *Syrian* Writer at the Conclusion of his Book;

Finis, per Auxilium Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, mense Duodecimo, per manus peccatoris pauperis & Errantis.

ARTICLE XXIX.

Quakers Encountred.

FOR the present then we have done with the *Indians*: But while the *Indians* have been thus molesting us, we have suffered Molestations of another sort, from another sort of Enemies, which may with very good Reason be cast into the same *History* with them. If the *Indians* have chosen to prey upon the *Frontiers* and *Out-Skirts* of the Province, the *Quakers* have chosen the very same *Frontiers*, and *Out-Skirts* for their more *Spiritual Assaults*; and finding little *Success* elsewhere, they have been Labouring incessantly, and sometimes not unsuccessfully, to Enchant and Poison the Souls of poor People, in the very Places where the *Bodies* and *Estates* of the People have presently after been devoured by the Salvages. But that which makes it the more agreeable, to allow the *Quakers* an *Article* in our *History* of the *Indians*, is, that a certain silly Scribler, the very First-born of *Nonsensicality*, (and a *First born* too, that one might Salute as the Martyr *Polycarp* once did the wicked *Murcion*, (One *Tom Maule*, at this time living in *Salem*, hath exposed unto the Publick a Volume of *Nonsensical* Blasphemies and Heresies, wherein he sets himself to Defend the *Indians* in their Bloody Villanies, and Revile the Country for Defending it self against them. And that the *Venom* of this Pamphlet might be improved unto the *Height* of *Slandrous Wickedness*, there hath been since added unto it in another Pamphlet, a parcel of Ingredients compounded for Mischiefe, as it by the *Art of the Apothecary*. None but he whom the Jews in their *Talmuds* call, *Ben-tamalion*, could have inspired such a Slanderer! Have the *Quakers* ever yet Censured this their Author for Holding-forth in his *Alcoran*, [pag. 221.] *That the Devil, Sin, Death, and Hell, are but Nothing, they are but a Non-Entity*: And, [pag. 183.] *That all Men who have a Body of Sin remaining in them, are Witches*? I have cause to believe that they never did! Nor that they ever advised him to pull in his *Horns*, from goring the sides of *New-England* with such Passages as those in [pag. 195.] the same horrible Pamphlet: *God hath well rewarded the Inhabitants of New-England for their Unrighteous Dealings towards the Native Indians, whom now the Lord hath suffered to reward the Inhabitants with a double measure of Blood, by Fire and Sword, &c.* And those *Unrighteous Dealings* he Explains to be the killing of the *Indians*, (or Murdering of them) by the Old Planters of these *Colonies* in their *First Settlement*. Thus are the *Althes* of our *Fathers* vilely *staled* upon by one, who perhaps would not stick at the Villany of doing as much upon their *Baptism* it self. I must tell you, *Friends*, that if you don't publicly give forth a *Testimony* to defie *Tom Maule*, and his *Works*, it will be thought by some, who it may

be don't with you so well as I do, that you own this *Bloody Stuff*: Which doubtless you'll not be so ill advised as to do. But certainly if the good People of *New-England* now make it not a Proverb for a *Liar* of the First Magnitude, He is as very a *Liar* as *TOM MAULE*, they will deprive their Language of one Significant Expression which now offers it self unto them.

Let us now leave our Friend *Maule's Works* as a fit Volume to be an *Appendix* unto the Famous *Tartaretus*, and worthy of a Room in *Pantagruet's Library*. The fittest way to answer him, would be to send him to *Boston Woods!*

In the mean time I owe unto the Publick a piece of *History*, which it may be for the Safety of our *Northern Towns* to be acquainted withal. Know, *Sirs*, that once the Famous *George Keith* undertook to be the Champion of our *New-English Quakers*, and bid fair to be the very *Dalae*, or *Prester John*, of all the English *Tartars*; but a Minister of *Boston*, upon that occasion, publishing a Book, Entituled, *Little Flocks guarded against grievous Wolves*, could not but complain of it as a very *Scandalous Thing* in *George Keith*, to maintain the Points of the *Foxian Quakerism*, while he really differed from them. All this while *George Keith* was admited by our *Quakers* as an *Apostle*, or an *Oracle*: But he finding it impossible to maintain the gross Tenets of the common *Quakers*, preach'd unto them the Necessity of believing on a *Christ without*, as well as a *Christ within*. Hereupon there grew such alienations between him and the other *Quakers*, (who had been taught by *George Fox* to say, *The Devil is in them who say, they are saved by Christ without them*) that he not only has written divers Learned Books to confute those very Doctrines of the Common *Quakers*, which the Pastors of *New-England* had upon his Provocation written against, but also has therefore undergone a Storm of *Persecution* from the *Friends* in *Pensilvania*: Yea, 'tis verily thought that poor *George* would have been made a Sacrifice to Squire *Samuel Jennings*, and the rest of the *Pensilvanian Dragons*; and that since a Crime which their Laws had made *Capital*, was mention'd in the *Mittimus* whereby *Keith* was committed, they would have Hang'd him, if a *Revolution* upon their Government had not set him at liberty. Being by the Fines, and Goals, and Fierce Usages of the *Quakers* in *Pensilvania*, driven over to *England*, the wonderful Hand of God hath made this very Man, I think I may say, incomparably the greatest *Plague* that ever came upon that Sect of *energumens*. Although he do himself still retain the Name of a *Quaker*, yet he hath in one Trearise after another Farnettly called upon the Divines throughout the Nation more Vigorously to Employ their *Talents* against the *Quakers*, as a more *Dangerous Generation* of People than they are well aware: and he did in the Year 1696. with the leave of the *Lord Mayor*, Challenge the *Quakers* to make their

their Appearance at *Turners-Hall*, in the chief City of *Europe*; where he proved unto the Satisfaction of a vast Assembly, that the chief Writers of the *Quakers* assert *Christ* neither to be *God*, nor *Man*; and that they deny *Christ* to be pray'd unto; and that they had affirm'd, *Christ's outward Blood shed on the Ground, to be no more than the Blood of another Saint*; and that they had charged him with *New Doctrine*, for directing to *Faith in Christ without us*, as well as *within us*; and that at their Meetings they had censured him, for saying, *That Christ's Body came out of the Grave, which they say, It never did*: And many more such horrid Matters. To confirm these things, besides the grievous *Bites* which *Francis Bugg*, one of their late *Friends*, hath given them, one *Daniel Leeds*, without wholly casting off the Profession of a *Quaker*, hath lately Printed a Book, wherein he produces above *Threescore* Instances of the *Flat Contradictions* which he hath observed in the Books of the *Friends*, that have most pretended unto *Infallibility*; and he demonstrates from evident Matter or Fact, that though they declared unto the World, *That their Sufferings had been greater, and more unjust, than the Sufferings of Jesus and his Apostles*; yet they themselves were no sooner mounted into the Seat of Government, than they fell to *Persecuting* as bad as any in the World. *Albeit Fox* writes, *They that cause People to be put in Prison, and have their Goods taken away, are Disorderly Treachers, and shall be rooted out*: Nevertheless, *Leeds* proves by many Examples, that the *Pensilvanians* did it even upon their own *Friends*, for meer *Scruples* of their *Consciences*. 'Tis reported, the *Quakers* are so confounded at this Book of *Leeds*, that they have been at the charge to buy up the whole *Impression* of it, and so to *Stifle* and *Smother* it: If it be so, I hope 'twill but produce a *New Impression* of so rare a Book. The *Marvellous Providence* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, having thus employ'd the Pens of the *Quakers* themselves to warn you, that you beware of *Quakerism*, it will be a marvellous *Infatuation* in any of you, after this to be led away with that *Error of the Wicked*. Reader, make a *Pause*, and here Admire the *Marvellous Providence* of our Lord *Jesus Christ*! The first and great *Apostle* of the *Quakers*, even *George Fox*, the *Shoemaker*, in his *Great Mystery*, pag. 94. excludes from the Church of *Christ* those who are not *Infallible in Discerning the Hearts of other Men*. Whereas now in *Spite* of all their *Infallibility*, such *Friends* as *Keith* (and *Leeds*) whom they once admired, profess that they never in their *Hearts* believed, as the *Common Foxian Quakers* do; and *Quakerism* suffers from none in the World more than these. But that I may a little *Suggest* unto you certain *Methods* of *Encountering* those *Adversaries* of your *Faith*, which go about seeking whom they may deceive, and whom I do here offer to prove as horrid *Idolaters*, as even those that worshipp'd the *Rats of Egypt*, if it be fairly demanded of me, I will first *Recite* unto you certain *Passages* of a *Discourse*, which a *Minister of Boston*

had with a very *Busy* and *Noisy* Teacher among the *Quakers*, (and another of the *Friends*) in his return from his *Visitacion* unto some of our *Northern Towns*, where the *giddy* people had cry'd him up for a *None-Such*.

Quaker. We are come to give thee a *Friendly Visit*.

Minister. I am glad to see you at my *House*; you shall be welcome to the best *Entertainment* my *House* can afford you.

But will you do me the *Favour* to let me understand the *Designs* upon which you visit these *Parts* of the *Country*?

Quaker. I come to *Preach Jesus Christ*.

Minister. Excuse me—What *Christ*, I pray?

Quaker. The same *Christ* that appeared unto *Abraham*, and *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; and that appeared unto *Moses* in the *Bush*, and that was with *Israel* in the *Wilderness*—

Minister. I would interrupt you. I perceive that we shall be drawn into some *Discourse*. Matter of *Argument* will occur, I foresee, in our *Discourse*. *Argument* sometimes does draw forth *Words* that may have too much *Warmth* in them, I purpose none such. But if you are sensible that I do let fall any one such *Word* in our *Disputation*, do me the favour to take notice of it unto me, and I'll immediately correct it. Now if you please—

Quaker. Thou speakest very well. This is but according to the good Report we have heard of thee.

Minister. Friend, I am sensible that you are come among us to *Preach a Religion*, different from that which is commonly *Preached*, *Professed*, and *Practised* in the *Country*. If you approve the *Religion* of the *Country*, I can't see where's the *Sense* of it, for you to take such tedious *Journeys* for our *Illumination*. I pray be so kind as to let me know what point in our holy *Religion* you do not Approve?

Quaker. 'Tis not my *Business* here to Enquire into thy *Religion*. I am come to *Preach the Religion of Jesus Christ*; the same that the *Holy Prophets* and *Apostles* believed; even the *inward Manifestation of Christ* in our *Hearts*—

Minister. To make short *Work* on it; I perceive you both to be that sort of *People* we call *Quakers*. Now there is among the *Quakers* that extream *Uncertainty*, *Variety*, and *Contradiction*, that no *Man* can say what you hold, any further than each *Individual Person* will confess his own *Tenets*. I must therefore pray the favour of you to tell me; do you own *George Fox's* Book, Entitled, *The Great Mystery*?

Quaker. 'Tis none of our *Business* to tell what Books we own, and what we do not own: And it is none of thy *Business* to Ask us. I say, we own *Jesus Christ* and his *Inward Manifestation* in our *Hearts*. And that's enough!

Minister. You'll excuse me: I do again ask, whether you do own *George Fox's* Book of *The Great Mystery*? Because doubtless you have Read it. And if you'll ask me as much con-

cerning any Book under Heaven, (that I have Read) *Whether* I own it, or, *How much* I own of it, I'll Answer you with all the Freedom in the World.

Quaker. *I say, what hast thou to do with George Fox? Or to Examine me?*

Minister. Yes, Friend, I do, and must, and will Examine You. For you are come to Hold-forth unto as many of my Flock as you can; and the Word of God bids me to Try you. And I have to do with George Fox too; because George Fox in his Writings has to do with me. And if you will sincerely tell me, whether you own George Fox, or no, I shall more probably tell *who* you are. In short, if you'll say, you Deny and Renounce George Fox, then I must go another way to Work with you. If you'll say, you own him, then I must endeavour to save you from some of his Damnable Heresies.

Quaker. *What Heresies?*

Minister. Numberless. But I do at this time call to mind Three of them.

First, *That the Soul of Man is without Beginning, and Infinite.* This is, if I forget not, in the 90th Page of that Book.

Secondly, *That it is not contrary to the Scripture, that God the Father took upon him Humane Nature.* And, *That the Scripture does not tell People of a Trinity, nor Three Persons in God; but that these Three Persons were brought in by the Pope.*

This is in pag. 145.

Thirdly, *That they that are not compleat in Sanctification, are not compleat in Justification.*

This is in pag. 284.

Now,

What say ye, Sirs?

Quaker. *What hast thou to do to Rake into the Ashes of the Dead? Let George Fox alone. Hast thou any thing to charge upon me?*

Minister. I shall know if you'll tell me, whether you own George Fox, or no. And you can tell me if you will. I would be more Civil to you, Sirs.

Quaker. *I never saw that Book of George Fox.*

[And so said the other Quaker that was with him.]

Minister. Sirs, you astonish me? What! Never see George Fox's Book of *The Great Mystery!* 'Tis impossible! This thing is to me a *Mystery!* Sirs, that Book is the very Bible of Quakerism. 'Tis Essential unto a Quaker; at least unto a Teaching Quaker as you are, to be Indoftrinated from that Book. Never see it, Man!—However, if you say so, I must believe it.

Quaker. [Fell into an Harangue, Repeating what he had Preached abroad about the Country; which, because I would mis-recite nothing, I dare not undertake exactly to Recite in this Place.]

Minister. I perceive our Conversation will be to little Advantage, except we get a little clofer to some certain Point, which I have hitherto endeavoured, but ineffectually.

Sirs, There are several Points which I would willingly bring you to. And there happening

to be several of my honest Neighbours at Hand, I have pray'd them (with your leave) to walk in, that they may be Witnesses of what passes between us.

First, I'll begin, if you please, with *this.*

I told you at the beginning, I would not willingly Treat you with one *hard Word.* There is an *hard Word* which will presently occur by the unavoidable Course of Disputation. I would Pray you to ease me of the Trouble of speaking it. You shall your self have the speaking of it.

Quaker. *What's that?*

Minister. I pray, Friend, what doth the Scripture say of them that say, *They know Jesus Christ, and yet keep not His Commandments?*

Quaker. *Nay, what dost thou say the Scripture says in that case?*

Minister. You will compel me I see—I say then, the Scripture says, *He that says I know Him, and keeps not His Commandments, is a Liar, and the Truth is not in him.* 'Tis in 1 Job. 2. 4.

Quaker. *And what then?*

Minister. Why *this* then. He that says I know Jesus Christ, and yet keeps not the Commandments of Jesus Christ, is a Liar, and the Truth is not in him.

You say, *You know Jesus Christ.* But you must give me leave to say, that you keep not the Commandments of Jesus Christ.

Therefore—pray Sirs, do you help out the Conclusion. I am loth to speak it. You know what it is.

Quaker. *Yes, yes, We know well enough what Conclusion thou wouldest be at: Thou wouldest say, that we are Liars, and that the Truth is not in us.*

Minister. Right! Since it must be so.

Quaker. *But what Commandment of Jesus Christ is there that we don't keep?*

Minister. The Commandment of Jesus Christ is, for his Disciples to be Baptised with Water; but you Quakers do not keep that Commandment of Jesus Christ.

Quaker. *How dost thou prove that Jesus Christ commanded Baptism with Water?*

Minister. I know you must have the word Water, or nothing will content you; else I would have urged for a sufficient Proof, our Lords Commanding His Ministers to Baptise Men, [Matth. 28. 19.] this Command expresses our Duty. 'Tis not our Duty to Baptise Men with the Holy Spirit. This belongs not unto Us, but unto Him, whose that Holy Spirit is. You will not say we Sin, if we don't Baptise the Disciples in all Nations with the Holy Spirit. So then it must be a Baptism with Water which is there Commanded by our Lord. But as I said, you must have the word Water, and you shall have it.

The Apostle Peter said—

Quaker. *The Apostle Peter! The Apostle Peter! Thou wast to prove that Jesus Christ Commanded Baptism with Water, and now thou art come to the Apostle Peter!*

Minister. Stay, Friend, not so fast! Will you say then, that the Commandments brought by the

the Apostle Peter, as the Commandments of Jesus Christ, are not the Commandments of Jesus Christ? But however, I'll mend the Expression--

The Spirit of Jesus Christ in the Apostle Peter, (now I hope it fits you!)—

Quaker. [J. S.] *Thou art a Monster, all Mouth, and no Ears—*

Minister. —Prethee talk Civilly; don't make me believe that I am at Ephesus. If I were in one of your Houses, I would not give you such Language; you had but now a greater Liberty to use your Mouth than I have hitherto taken; and my Ears were Patient. But you foresee my Argument is going to pinch you. 'Tis but Civility to let me finish it.

Quaker. *Thou wast to prove that Jesus Christ Commanded Baptism with Water. And thou hast not proved it. And therefore thou speakest Falsly.*

Minister. What do you mean? These little *Shuffles* won't help you.

I say, The Spirit of Jesus Christ in the Apostle Peter, after our Lord's Ascension, when it was impossible for John's Baptism (which was into the *Mystic* suddenly to come, not already come) to have Place, did say, in *Act. 10. 47.* *Can any Man forbid Water, that these should not be Baptised, which have received the Holy Ghost.*

Quaker. *How does this prove that Jesus Christ Commanded these to be Baptised with Water?*

Minister. Thus—

If Jesus Christ had not Commanded Baptism with Water, any Man might have then forbid it.

But no Man could forbid it.

Therefore Jesus Christ Commanded it.

Quaker. *Therefore! Therefore! Argo! Argo! Why dost thou think Religion is to be proved by thy Therefore's, by thy Argo's?*

Minister. Friend, I perceive the Word therefore is a very dead-doing sort of a Word to ye. I'll dismiss this terrible Word. I'll only say, the Reason why none could forbid Believers to be Baptised with Water, was meerly because Jesus Christ Commanded it,

Quaker. BECAUSE, *Why the Word because is as bad as the Word therefore.*

Minister. [Smiling.] It may be so. But in the mean time you are wonderfully unreasonable! I say, why could none forbid Water for the faithful to be Baptised?

Quaker. *Who says none could forbid Water? 'Tis only said, Can any Man forbid Water?*

Minister. I pray Sirs, and is not this, none can?

But I'll bring the Matter to bear upon you without those Two dangerous Words, THEREFORE and BECAUSE, at which you are so terrified.

I will put the Matter into the Form of a Question: And your Answer to this Question, shall put an End to our present Velitations.

Quaker. *What have we to do to Answer thy Questions?*

Minister. My Question is,

Whether a Man might not forbid in the Wor-

ship of Jesus Christ, what Jesus Christ himself hath no way Commanded?

You can Answer this Question if you will; and I desire; I demand your Answer.

Quaker. *What? For us to answer thy Questions! That would be to Ensnare our selves.*

Minister. I am very sensible of that. Therefore take Notice you are ensnared in the Toils of your own miserable Delusions. But still I say, Answer my Question.

Quaker. *Do you see Neighbours? Friend M. was to prove that Jesus Christ commanded Baptism, and now he's come to a Question!*

Minister. So I am truly. And I see 'tis a Question that puts you into a Sweat. I beseech you to Answer it. I require you to Answer it. What shall I say? I desire you to Answer it. Pardon my Cogency; you Force me to't!

Quaker. *I say, how does a Question prove that Jesus Christ commanded Baptism with Water? And why dost thou Baptise Infants?*

Minister. Nay, I'll keep you to the Question. Your Answer to the Question will prove it; I am designing to make you your selves prove it. And, Sirs, I do here offer to you, that I will give the best Answer I can to any Question in the World that you shall put unto me: Why are you so loth to Answer one short Question of mine?

Quaker. *I be not obliged to Answer thy Question?*

Minister. I must contrive some fair way to Compel some Answer unto this one Question. Give me leave therefore to tell you, that if you do not Answer this Question, you go away conquered and confounded. Yea, Sirs, I must in faithfulness tell you that you carry away the dreadful Mark of Hereticks upon you, even, to be Condemned in your own Conscience: You go away Self-Condemed, that you don't keep the Commandments of Jesus Christ; and therefore that you are— what you Remember the Apostle John said concerning you.

Quaker. *I don't Condemn thee for using Baptism with Water.*

Minister. This is no Answer to the Question still: For you don't observe it your self; neither you, nor any Quakers under Heaven. Wherefore I still urge for an Answer.

Quaker. *Thou art not Civil to us. Is this thy Civility to Strangers? We have heard a great Fame of thee, for thy Civil and Obliging Carriage towards others that are not of thy Perswasion. But now thou are uncivil to us. That which I have to say, is, I will keep to that Book, the Bible, and I will Preach what is in that Book.*

Minister. [Taking up the Bible] Friend, you pretend then to understand this Book. I do here make you this offer, that I will immediately turn you to Ten several Places in one Book of this Holy Bible, [the Chronicles] and if you can give me a Tolerable Solution of any one of them, I'll acknowledge that you are worthy to Preach out of it.

Quaker. *Canst thou do it thy self?*

Minister. I humbly hope I can.

Quaker. *How dost thou know that I can't?*

N n n n n n n 2

Minister.

Minister. I say you Can't. Now do you Accept my offer: If you can I'll own, that I have wrong'd you.

Quaker. What's that to thee what I can do?

Minister. Look you Neighbours; I think 'tis to no purpose to proceed unto any other Points, with such unreasonable Folks as these. You see how 'tis. If you desire it, I'll proceed.

Neighbours. No, Sir, 'tis to no purpose, they are a People of no Reason.

Quaker. Nay, Friend M— I would not have thee to be so Hard upon us; I mean thee no Harm. I hear thou takest a great deal of pains for the good of thy People; and they will do well, to Hearken to thee. I have rebuked some of them for speaking Evil of thee. Yea, it is my Judgment, that thou, and other such Ministers as thou art, ought Honourably to be maintained by the People.

Minister. You differ from all your Friends, methinks. What? Would you have us to be Hirelings? 'Tis very strange to hear a Quaker plead for the Maintainance of our Ministry. But for your satisfaction I'll tell you, the People whom I serve I never once in all my Life ask'd for any Maintainance or Salary; and I never made any Agreement with them about any Salary in all my Life.

Quaker. I say, I would not have thee too Hard upon us. New-England has Persecuted our Friends at a grievous Rate.—

Minister. Nay, Friends, be not you too Hard upon me about that Matter. I approve Persecution as Little as any of you all. I abhor it, I have Preach'd against it, I have Writ against it, I have Bewailed the Mistakes that some good Men have committed in it. I would have you Treated with all the Civility imaginable. I would not have the Civil Magistrate inflict upon you the damage of one Farthing for your Consciences.

Quaker. But now you may see how the Judgments of God are come upon the East-Country, by the Indians for your Persecution.

Minister. I can't tell that neither. For tho' I am sorry at my Heart that ever you were Persecuted: Yet I can't say, That because Boston was guilty of Persecution, therefore New-chawannic, and Casco-Bay, (Places in other Provinces) that never had any such thing in it, must be cut off.

Quaker. Yes, they Persecuted at the Eastward. There were Two Women of our Friends cruelly Scourged there.

Minister. I suppose you refer to a Story published by one George Bishop, a Quaker: He Complains bitterly of the New-England Persecution, because there came Two Quaker Women Stark Naked into our Publick Assemblies, and they were carried unto the Whipping-post for it. This was in the Northern Parts of the Country, as I have been told. These Baggages, I believe, were the Persecuted Women you talk of!

Quaker. Well, and what if they did appear

Naked, to show the People the Nakedness of their Sins?

Minister. For thame, Sirs, let us have no more of this Talk.

Quaker. Why didst thou treat George Keith so hardly?

Minister. He deserved it when I so Treated him. And you Quakers have since Treated him Ten Times worse than ever I did. You write whole Books of Railing against him. I never got him into Goals, and under Fines. I should have been Troubled at any that would have done so. But you have done it. Therefore I believe 'tis best for you to leave that Subject.

And so after a few other small Pulls, the Saw stood still: The Conference ended.

There are Five or Six Witnesses which I have to attest unto the Truth of this Relation which I have here given, of a Conference with a Quaker, which had all the Friends far and near wondering (as well as wandring) after him. And yet these Cretians boasted among their Friends, how much they had confounded the Minister in this Conference.

All that I would presume now to Commend unto those Towns, which have such Quakers annoying of them, is this, Brethren, carry it well, even with all convenient Civility and Humanity, towards this Poor Deluded People; while you Charge your Children and Servants that they do not go unto their Meetings: And cast not your selves also into Temptation by needlessly being there. But after all, yea, before all, make an Experiment which the good People at Lyn made a little while ago, with a Success truly observable and memorable.

The Quakers made a more than ordinary Descent upon the Town of Lyn, and Quakerism suddenly spread there at such a rate as to Alarum the Neighbourhood. The Pastor of the Church there indicted a Day for Prayer with Fasting, to implore the help of Heaven against the unaccountable Enchantment; and the good People presented accordingly, on July 19. 1694. their fervent Supplications unto the Lord, that the Spiritual Plague might proceed no further. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ gave a Remarkable Effect unto this holy Method of Encountering the Charms of Quakerism: It proved a better Method than any Coercion of the Civil Magistrate: Quakerism in Lyn received (as I am informed) a Death-Wound from that very Day; the Number of Quakers in that Place hath been so far from Increasing, that I am told, it hath since rather Decreased notably. Now let other Endangered Plantations go and do likewise.

The Quakers are such Enemies to the Holy Religion, which is the Life of New-England, that you must Excuse my Concern to have you Fortify'd against their Attempts also, while I am giving you an History of your other Enemies. What all of them would be at, methinks, was a little intimated by what One of them once Declared. The Globe-Tavern was near our Publick and Spacious Meeting-House at Salem; and a No-

Noted *Quaker* there caused a Paper to be set up on the Door of that Meeting-House, which had such Stuff as this written in it.

*Beware, Beware, and Enter not!
But rather to the Globe, and spend a Pot.*

This is but like a Passage mentioned in the Life of that Excellent Man, Mr. P. Henry, lately published. A Debauched Gentleman in his Revels, Drinking and Swearing, at *Malpas*, was reproved by a *Quaker* then in his Company. Why, said the Gentleman, I'll ask thee one Question, Whether it is better for me to follow Drinking and Swearing, or to go and hear *Henry*? The *Quaker* Answered; *Nay, of the Two rather follow thy Drinking and Swearing.* Behold the Spirit of *Quakerism*! When I once compelled a *Quaker* to confess that the Body of *Jesus of Nazareth* rose from the Grave, and went up into the Heavens, he begg'd me that I would not improve his Confession, as if made on the behalf of all his Friends. And another of them, as I hear, publicly Held-forth in one of his late *Sermons*, that the *Husks* of the *Swine*, on which the *Prodigal* fed in the *Parable*, were the *Bread* and *Wine* in that which People call *The Sacrament*.

But what will become of those Forlorn Villages, that shall resign themselves to the Conduct of that *Light within*, which our Sacred Scriptures indeed never expressly mention but once or twice, and then call it *Real Darknes*; and which may lead Men to all this Wickedness? There was among the *Mahometans* in the Eastern Parts of the World a Sect called *Batenists*, from the *Arabic*, *Baten*, (which signifies *within*;) who were the Enthusiasts that followed *The Light within*, like our *Quakers*; and on this Principle they did such numberless Villanies, that the World was not able to bear them. None of all their Diabolical *Raveries* which I know I am now pulling on my self, and which I value no more than if they came from the *Pouliats* of *Malabar*, shall frighten me from Solliciting your *Christian* Cares and Prayers, that you be not over-run with *English Batenists*. And I must Sollicitously make the Observation, that although such a Number of *Quakers* in our Nation be a dreadful Judgment of God upon Men, smiting them with *Spiritual Plagues* for their Unfruitfulness and Unthankfulness under the Gospel; nevertheless, 'tis a special *Favour* of God, that the Number of *Quakers* is no greater; for if they should multiply, not only would *Christianity* be utterly Extinguished, but *Humanity* it self Exterminated. It is well known, that when a *Quaker* had Stolen an *Hour-glass*, their *Mahomet*, *George Fox*, (of whom *Sol. Eccles*, in a Sheet, call'd, *The Quakers Challenge*, page 6. says, *He was the Christ*;) thus Vindicated it, [*Great Myst. pag. 77.*] *As for any being moved of the Lord, to take away your Hour-glass from you, by the Eternal Power it is owned.* Reader, dost not thou even Tremble to think what a *Dark*

Land we should have, if it should ever be fill'd with these pretended Followers of the *Light*; who wear the Name of *Tremblers*? In truth, I know not unto what better one might compare them, than unto the *Machevelions*, growing upon *St. Lucia*; Trees which bear Apples of such an Odour and Colour as invites People to Eat thereof; but it is horribly Dangerous to do so; for there is no Antidote that can secure a Man from speedy Death, who hath once tasted of them. The *Leaf* of the Trees makes an Ulcer on any place touch'd with it; the *Dew* that falls from them fetches off the Skin; the very *Shadow* swells a Man, so as to Kill him, if he be not speedily helped.

ARTICLE XXX.

Things to Come.

FROM Relating of *Things past*, it would no doubt be very acceptable to the Reader if we could pass to *Foretelling* of *Things to come*. Our *Curiosity* in this point may easily come to a Degree *Culpable* and *Criminal*. We must be humbly content with what the *God* in whose *Hands* are our *Times* hath *Reveal'd* unto us.

Two things we will venture to Insert.

First, For our selves at home, let us remember an awful saying of our *Goodwin*, quoted by my Reverend Friend Mr. *Noyes*, in his late Excellent Sermon at our Anniversary Election.

'As you look for *Storms* in *Autumn*, and *Frosts* in *Winter*, so expect *Judgments* where the Gospel hath been Preached; for the *Quarrel* of the *Covenant* must be Avenged.

Secondly, For the Church abroad, I am far from deserting what was asserted in the Sermon Preached at our Anniversary Election, in the Year 1696. 'The *Tidings* which I bring unto you are, that there is a *Revolution* and a *Reformation* at the very Door, which will be vastly more wonderful than any of the Deliverances yet seen by the Church of God from the beginning of the World. I do not say that the next Year will bring on this *Happy Period*; but this I do say, the bigger part of this Assembly, may, in the Course of Nature, live to see it. These things will come on with horrible Commotions, and Concussions, and Confusions: The mighty Angels of the Lord *Jesus Christ* will make their Descent, and set the World a Trembling at the Approaches of their Almighty Lord: They will Shake Nations, and Shake Churches, and Shake mighty Kingdoms, and Shake once more, not Earth only, but Heaven also.

Unto these Two Things my Reader will not mis-improve it, I hope, if I add a *Third* lately fallen into my Hands; and never yet so exposed unto the Publick.

A Wonderful Matter Incontestably Demonstrated, and much desired by some good Men to be in this place Communicated.

MR. *John Sadler*, a very Learned and a very pious Man, and a most Exemplary Christian, lay Sick in his Bed at his Manor of *Warmwell* in *Dorsetshire* : In the Year 1653. in the time of his Illness he was visited by Mr. *Cuthbert Bound*, the Minister of *Warmwell*.

Mr. *Sadler* then desired his Man, (one *Thomas Gray*) to see that there should be no Body else in the Room, and lock the Door, and give him the Key.

He then sat up in his Bed, and asked Mr. *Bound* and the Attendant *Gray*, whether they saw no Body? And whether they did not hear what a Person said that stood at the Corner of the Chamber? They replied, *No*. He wondred at it, and said, *The Man spake so loud that the whole Parish might hear him*.

Hereupon calling for a Pen and Ink, he wrote what was told him, and made them set their Hands to it ; for he told them, *The Man would not be gone till he had seen that done*.

The Articles written down were,

I. That there would, after so many Months, be a Plague in London, whereof so many would die, [naming the Number.]

II. That the greatest part of the City would be Burnt, and *Pauls* he particularly show'd him Tumbled down into Ruins, as if beaten down with great Guns.

III. That there would be Three Sea-Fights between the English and the Dutch.

IV. That there would appear Three Blazing Stars; the last of which would be terrible to behold. [He said, the Man show'd him the Star.]

V. That afterwards there would come Three small Ships to Land in the West of *Weymouth*, which would put all England in an Uproar, but it would come to nothing.

VI. That in the Year 1688. there would come to pass such a thing in the Kingdom, as all the World would take notice of.

VII. That after this, and after some further Disturbance, there would be Happy Times : And a Wonderful Thing would come to pass, which he was not now to declare.

VIII. That he and his Man (*Gray*) should Die before the Accomplishment of these things ; but Mr. *Bound* should live to see it.

IX. For the Confirmation of the whole, the Man thus appearing told him, that he should be Well the next Day : and there would come Three Men to visit him, one from Ireland, one from *Guernsey*, and his Brother *Bingham*.

Accordingly the Day following Mr. *Sadler* went abroad : And this Day there accidentally met at his House, and so Dined with him, first the Lord *Steel*, who had been Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and now returning

from thence in his way to London, came to see Mr. *Sadler* : Secondly, Monsieur *de la Marsh*, a French Minister from *Guernsey* ; and lastly, his Brother *Bingham*.

Mr. *Bound* and *Gray*, within Three Days after this, made Affidavit of it before Colonel *Giles Strangeways*, and Colonel *Cocker*, who is yet Alive.

Mr. *Daniel Sadler*, and Mr. *John Sadler*, the Sons of this Old Mr. *Sadler*, very Serious and Worthy Christians, are at this time living in Rotterdam ; one of them is His Majesties Agent for Transportation.

Mr. *Daniel Sadler*, making his Applications to Mr. *Bound* for his Testimony about this Matter, the said Old Mr. *Bound*, in a Letter dated, *Warmwell*, Aug. 30. O. S. 1697. asserts the Matter at large unto him ; and Subscribes, *This I shall Testifie before the King himself, if occasion be, when he comes into England*.

Yours, *Cuthbert Bound*. yet
Minister of *Warmwell*.

Mr. *Daniel Sadler* has this Testimony further fortified by a Letter from one Mr. *Robert Loder* ; telling him, that he had met with an Old Copy of the Depositions aforesaid, which accordingly he Transcribes for him ; and several yet living in *Dorchester* affirmed unto him the Truth of the Story.

The Copies of these Letters are now in Boston in *New-England*.

Mr. *John Sadler* adds his Testimony, That his Father told unto his Mother and himself, that he had been told of Remarkable things to come to pass, particularly the Burning of London and *Pauls*. But that they were not acquainted with all the Matters he foretold unto Mr. *Bound* and *Gray*. Only he Remembers well they Two were with him in his Chamber alone ; and his Father went abroad within a Day or Two ; and that (according to the Sign he had given to them,) the Three Persons aforesaid visited him. He adds, that his Father spoke of leaving in Writing the things that had been shown to him ; and that a little after he saw once a thin *Octavo* Manuscript in his Father's Study, which he believed had those things in it ; but after that he could never find it. This Testimony is dated in October 1697.

A Worthy and a Godly Gentleman, at this time living in Rotterdam, and well acquainted with both Mr. *Daniel* and Mr. *John Sadler*, sends this to Mr. *Increase Mather* in *New-England*, with a Letter dated 26. March. 1698.

Reader, I am not Ignorant that many Cheats and Shams have been imposed upon the World, under the Notion of Communications from the Invisible World ; and I hope I am not becoming a Visionary. But Fancies and Juggles have their Foundation laid in Realities ; there would never have been Impostures of Apparitions, and of Communications from the Invisible World, if there never had been Really some such things

things to be Counterfeited and Imitated. *Wise Men* therefore will count it a *Folly* in its *Exaltation* and *Extremity*, to deride all Instances of *Strange things* arriving to us from the *Invisible World*, because that *Some Things* have been *Delusions*. No, 'tis a *Wisdom* that is pleasing to God, and useful to the World, for a due Notice to be taken of *Rare Things*, wherein we have *Incontestable Proofs* of an *Invisible World*, and of the Interest it hath in *Humane Affairs*. The Narrative of Mr. *Sadler* is advantaged with such *Incontestable Proofs*, and contains in it such notable Passages, that I believe I do well to lay it before *Serious Men*; and I believe no *Serious Men* will play the *Buffoon* upon it. By no means pretend I to pass any Judgment upon this *Remarkable* Narrative; by no means do I presume to tell what I think of it, any more than this, that it is *Remarkable*. Nevertheless, for the Caution of unwary Readers, I will annex the Words of an Excellent Writer upon *Divine Providence*.

'Watch against an *Unmortified Itch* after
'*Excentrical* or *Extraordinary Dispensations* of
'*Providence*. *Luther* said, *The Martyrs, with-*
'*out the Apparition of Angels, being confirmed*
'*by the Word of God alone, died for the Name*
'*of Christ; and why should not we acquiesce?*
'And he observeth how the *Devil* hath greatly
'deluded Parties who have been gaping after
'*Visions*.

Nor will it be unprofitable to recite the Words of another Author, whom I must Quote, as *R. David Kimchi* did use to Quote *R. Joseph Kimchi*, under the Title of *Adoni Avi*.

'*Evil Angels* do now appear more often than
'*Good ones*. 'Tis an unwarrantable and a very
'Dangerous thing for Men to wish that they
'might see *Angels*, and Converse with them.
'Some have done so, and God hath been pro-
'voked with them for their Curiosity and Pre-
'sumption, and hath permitted *Devils* to come
'unto them, whereby they have been Deceived
'and Undone.

*More Particular Prognostications upon the future
State of NEW-ENGLAND.*

BUT, Oh, my Dear NEW-ENGLAND, give one of thy Friends leave to utter the *Fears* of thy best Friends concerning thee; and consider what fearful Cause there may be for thee to expect sad **Things to Come**? If every *Wise Man* be a *Prophet*, there are some yet in thee that can *Prophesie*. *Predictions* may be form'd out of these.

¶ *Reasonable Expectations.*

I. Where *Schools* are not *Vigorously* and *Honourably* Encouraged, whole *Colonies* will sink apace into a *Degenerate* and *Contemptible* Condition, and at last become horribly *Barbarous*: And the first Instance of their *Barbarity* will be, that they will be undone for want of Men, but not see and own what it was that *undid* them.

II. Where *Faithful Ministers* are *Cheated* and *Grieved* by the *Sacrilege* of People that Rebel against the *Express Word* of *Christ*, *Let him that is Taught in the Word, Communicate unto him that Teacheth in all good things*, the *Righteous Judgments* of God will *Impoverish* that People; the *Gospel* will be made lamentably *Unsuccessful* unto the Souls of such a People; the *Ministers* will either be fetch'd away to *Heaven*, or have their *Ministry* made wofully *Inspid* by their *Encumbrances* on *Earth*.

III. Where the *Pastors* of Churches in a *Vicinity* despise or neglect *Formed Associations* for *Mutual Assistance* in their *Evangelical Services*, *Wo to him that is alone*. 'Tis a sign either that some of the *Pastors* want *Love* to one another, or that others may be *Conscious* to some *Fault*, which may dispose them to avoid *Inspection*; but fatal to the *Churches* will be the *Tendency* of either.

IV. Where *Churches* have some *Hundreds* of Souls under their *Discipline*; but the single *Pastors* are not strengthened with *Consistories* of *Elders*, or an agreeable number of *Wise*, and *Good*, and *Grave Men*, chosen to join with the *Pastor*, as their *President* in that part of his Work, which concerns the *Well-ruling* of the *Flock*, their *Discipline* will by *Degrees* be utterly lost; the *Grossest Offenders* will by *Degrees*, and thro' Parties, be scarce to be dealt withal.

V. Where *Pastors* do not quicker *Orderly Private Meetings* of both *Elder* and *Younger Christians*, for *Exercises* of Religion in their *Neighbourhood*, the *Power* of Religion will observably decay among those *Christians*; the *Seed sown* in the *Publick* will not so much prosper, for want of being *Watered in private*: And when the *Pastor* shall fall *Sick*, there will not be so much as one *Company* of *Christians* in all his *Flock* that can come together to pray for his *Life*.

VI. Where *Churches*, professing a great *Reformation*, shall in their *Constitution* cease to *Represent* unto the *World* the *Holiness* of the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and of his *Heavenly Kingdom*, they will become loathsome to that *Holy Lord*; their *Glory* is gone, and their *Defence* goes with it; the dreadful *Wrath* of *Heaven* will *Astonish* the *World* with the things which it will do unto them.

VII. Where *Churches* are loth to give unto *Councils* regularly upon *Complaints* enquiring into their *Administrations*, an Account thereof, 'tis much to be suspected, that they are Chargeable with *Male-Administrations*; and if the Advice of regular *Councils* come once to be *Trod under Foot* by any *Particular Churches*, all *Serious Men* will be afraid of joining to such *Unaccountable Societies*.

VIII. Where a mighty *Body* of People in a *Country* are violently set upon running down the *Ancient Church State* in that *Country*, and are violent for the *Hedge* about the *Communion* at the *Lord's Table* to be broken down; and for those who are not admitted unto the *Communion*, to stand on equal Terms in all *Votes* with them

them that are; the Churches there are not far from a Tremendous Convulsion, and they had need use a Marvellous Temper of Resolution with Circumspection to keep it off.

IX. Where Churches are bent upon Backsliding, and carried away with a strong Spirit of Apostasie, whatever Minister shall set himself to withstand their Evil Bents, will pull upon himself an inexpressible Contempt and Hatred; be his Merits never so Great, a Thousand Arts will be used for to make him Little; he had need be a Man of Great Faith, and Great Prayer; but God will at length Honour such a Man with wonderful Recompences.

X. Where a Fountain shall become Corrupt, there the Streams will no longer Make Glad the City of God.

XI. The Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ we have with much Expence lately sent unto several of our Southern Plantations: If it be rejected, there are Terrible things to come upon them; 'twere better to have lived in Sodom, than in one of those Plantations.

XII. God prepare our dear Brethren in Connecticut, for certain Changes that are Impending over them.

Finally, There was a Town called Amyclæ, which was Ruined by Silence. The Rulers, because there had been some false Alarums, forbid all People under Pain of Death to speak of any Enemies approaching them: So, when the Enemies came indeed, no Man durst speak of it, and the Town was lost. Corruptions will grow upon the Land, and they will gain by Silence: 'Twill be so Invidious to it, no Man will dare

to speak of the Corruptions; and the Fate of Amyclæ will come upon the Land.

Reader, I call'd these things Prophecy; but I wish I be not all this while Writing History.

Now if any discerning Persons apprehend any Dangers to Impend over New-England, from any of the Symptoms mentioned, it is to be hoped they will employ their best Thoughts, how to Anticipate those Dangers. And whereas 'tis the Sense of all Men, who discern any thing, that it is in vain to hope for any Good, until a Spirit of Grace be poured out from Heaven to dispose Men unto it; I beg them to consider, whether the only way to obtain that Spirit of Grace be not humbly to ask it by Prayer with Fasting before the God of Heaven.

It was therefore an Article in an Advice agreed by some of the Principal Ministers in this Province; and with the mention of that Advice, (which doubtless, all but the Sleeping will follow) I'll conclude; 'Solemn Days of Prayer with Fasting, Celebrated in our Churches, to Implore the Grace of God, for the Rising Generation would probably be of Blessed Consequence, for the turning of our Young People unto the God of our Fathers. The more there is this way ascribed unto Grace, the more the Grace of God is like to be Communicated; and there is in this way a natural and a plentiful Tendency to awaken our Unconverted Youth unto a Sense of their Everlasting Interests; which, were it generally accomplished, a Remarkable Reformation were therein Effected.

Observable Things.

THE
 HISTORY
 OF
 TEN YEARS

Rouled away under the great Calamities of a

WAR

WITH

INDIAN-SALVAGES,

Repeated and Improved in a SERMON at *Boston*
 Lecture, 27 d. 7 m. 1698.

JUDG. VI. 3, 5, 6.

The Children of the EAST came up against them; and they entred into the Land to Destroy it; and Israel was greatly Impoverished.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN the *Israelites* were engaged in a WAR, they made choice of a Priest among them, to serve some of their greatest Occasions in it, and after a *Sacred Unction* bestow'd upon him, we are told by *Maimonides*, he was call'd *Mashuach Milchamah*, that is to say, *Unctus Belli*; which was as much as to say, *The Priest of the War*.

To bring unto a People profitable Advices and Reflections upon a WAR, wherein they are Engaged. and found the *Silver Trumpet* of the Gospel, with agreeable Notes unto them in it, is to do in some sort the Office of the *Mashuach Milchamah*; and this Office the ensuing Discourse presumes to do, with Endeavours that the Voice of Heaven, by the *Trumpet* of our late War, may be heard giving a certain Sound in these *Eccho's* of it.

The History of a long War hath with all possible Care of Truth been given you. The Author earnestly prays, that if the least material Mistake have happened in the History, he may be Advised, and it may be Corrected. The Noise that may be made by a few Sordid People here and there in a Room Tophetized with Smoke, and Rhume, and Spittle, and Malice, and Lies, crying out concerning the most Consciencious Essays to preserve Memorable Truths, *They are a parcel of Lies!* He values not. But he now tenders to the Acceptance of the more Civilized Readers an Improvement of Memorable Truths, which it was His Duty to make, and it will be theirs to mind.

O O O O O O

T H E

T H E

REMARKABLES

Of a Long

WAR,

Collected and Improved.

Boston Lecture, 27d. 7m. 1698.

IF a *Book* of some Consequence be laid open before one that cannot *Read*, he may Look and Gaze upon it; but unto what purpose, as long as he cannot understand it? This very Comparison is by the Great *Austin* well applied unto the *Judgments* of God. And I will therefore so far improve the Comparison, as to observe, that the *Judgments* of God, under which we have been Languishing for *Ten Years* together, are a sort of a *Book* put into our Hands; a *Book* indeed all Written in *Blood*; a *Book* yet full of *Divine Lessons* for us. But can every Man Read this Terrible *Book*? No, methinks I see the *Book* managed like the *Book* brought unto the Blessed Prophet of Old in *Isa. 29. 12.* *The Book is delivered unto him that is not Learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I am not Learned.* It will certainly be a Work well becoming a *Minister* of the Gospel, and every serious *Christian* will be glad of seeing the Work done; to take this *Book*, and help you as well as we can to *Spell* the *Divine Lessons* contained in it.

Christians, Let us now do a Work, for which the great God hath given us that Warrant, and that Command in

P S A L. CVII. 43.

Who is Wise, and will observe these Things:

THE Various and Marvellous Dispensations of the Divine Providence towards

the Children of Men, are in this Elegant *Psalms* admirably set before us. Among those Dispensations there is a particular Mark set upon this, That the God of Heaven *Turns a Fruitful Land into Barrenness, for the Wickedness of them which dwell therein; and though Men have Sown Fields there, and have multiplied greatly, yet they are again diminished, and brought low through Oppression, Affliction, and Sorrow.* Of such Dispensations is this Passage to be understood, as a Question, *Who is Wise, and will observe these things?* But if you will rather take it as a Sentence, it still comes to the same Sense, *Who is Wise will observe these things.* And the French Version very Expressively intimates the Design, as well as the Event of this Observation, *that so they may consider the Favours of the Lord.* No less than Ten Years have rouled away since we have been plunged into the Distresses of a WAR with a Barbarous Enemy. In this WAR we have seen the *Fruitful Land* of almost one whole Province, and another whole County, *turned into Barrenness*; doubtless nor without Provocations of *Wickedness in them who dwell therein*; Men had *Sown Fields* there along the Shore in Settlements for an Hundred Miles together, and had *Multiplied Greatly* into a Cluster of Towns, (besides lesser Villages,) that might Challenge the Name of a *Decapolis*, but in this WAR we have seen them *diminished again, and brought low, through Oppression, Affliction, and Sorrow.* I am

to lead you this Day thro' a Spacious Country, which has been on many Accounts the most Charming part of *New-England*; and I must herewithal say, *Come, behold the Works of the Lord, what Desolations he has made in that Land.* Sirs, 'tis time for us to *Observe these things*; and this, not with a meer *Athenian*, but with a more *Profitable* Observation. I must not be Discouraged from this Holy Service, by the vain Scoffs of those that *Blaspheme* all Attempts, to *Consider the Wondrous Works of God*, as if it were nothing but a *Telling of News in the Pulpit*. The biggest part of the Holy Bible, which is but a Relation of such *Wondrous Works*, would be Scoffed by such *Prophane Men*, if they might not thereby become *Obnoxious*. No, if *Whoso is Wise will observe these things*, then let no Man call it *Folly* to make the *Observation*. A long *WAR* is the *Text* which I am now to insift upon: And if we would approve our selves *Wise*, after all the *Stripes* that have in this *WAR* been given us, these things will occur to our *Observation* in it.

I. In the *WAR* that hath been upon us, *Whoso is Wise may observe* the Consequence of Entertaining the *Gospel* of the Lord *JESUS CHRIST*, and Obtaining and Maintaining the *Ordinances* of that *Glorious Gospel*. The *Gadarens* of Old were loth to have any thing of *CHRIST* in their *Coast*: And anon comes a *Roman War* which distress'd all the Land: But the woful Town of *Gadara* was the very first Place *Belieged* in that *War*, and sad things were done unto it. Alas, how little of an *Evangelical Church-State* was there to be seen among all our *Eastern Settlements*! It hath been for the want of this, that the *Judgments* of God have more than once forbidden them to be called *Settlements*. The Towns were generally without *Preachers* of *CHRIST*, and much more generally without *Churches* of *CHRIST*, for to *Irradiate* 'em: Yea, not one of the Towns that are utterly broken up, had any *Minister* in it for a long while before their *Final Darknes* came upon them. Such a *Way of Living* did content many of them, that it were horrible to tell what *Ignorance* of *CHRIST* they were thereby sunk into. I would never have told you, that some *Young Men*, *Twenty Years Old*, in this Land, never so much as once heard the Name of *Christ* in all their Lives, if I did not think that the *God of Heaven* required us all to *Mourn* before him for such an *Horrible thing in the Land*. Indeed, the strange *Disasters* which attended the First *Essays* to settle that good Country, made many People imagine the *Indian Sorcerers* had *Enchanted* the Ground, so that no *English* could Thrive on such an *Enchanted Soil*. But had they carried the *Gospel* of the Lord *Jesus Christ* with them, doubtless they had *Confuted* that vain *Imagination*; all the *Spells* of *Hell* would have been *Insignificant*; there would not have prevailed any *Enchantment* against a *Gods-Spel* which we have in our *Gospel*. The

Original Design of *NEW ENGLAND* was to settle *Congregations*, wherein the Lord *Jesus Christ* should be known and served according to his *Gospel*; and instruct *Families* that should be the *Nurseries* of those *Congregations*. The *Plantations* of the East had little of this *Illustrious Design* in their Eye; the *Enjoyments* of *Gadarens* did seem too much to satishie too many of them. For this Cause we may believe it is, that our Lord *JESUS CHRIST* looking down from Heaven upon these *Unchristian Undertakings*, Thunder-struck them with his *Indignation*: He saw the *Foolish taking Root*, but suddenly he *Cursed their Habitation*. When some of our *Eastern People* have been *Pining* away under the *Fatigues* of their *Captivity* among the *Indians*, who had *Striped* them of all they had, then they cried out, *Now, now the Lord is Punishing of us for our leaving of his Ordinances, and removing to a place of no Gospel for larger Accommodations in the World, and exposing our Children to be Bred up like the very Indians, into whose Hands we are fallen!* That which *Invites* one to think it may be for this Cause, is the *Singular Distinction* and *Protection* which the *CHURCHES* of our Lord have enjoyed throughout the whole *Progress* of our *Calamity*. No *Places* that have had *CHURCHES* gathered in them, have all this while been broken up, however, some of them have had much *Bread of Adversity, and Water of Affliction*. The *Enemy* that have come in upon our Land like a *Flood*, carried all before them as an *Irresistible Torrent*, until they came to *Places* that have *CHURCHES* as it were to *Garrison* them. There the *Almighty Lord* hath check'd the *Proud Waves*, and said, *Hitherto ye shall come, and no further!* But here let me add a very observable thing: The Lord had some of his *Elect* among our *Eastern People*; but he has brought those *Elect Home* unto himself, by *Burning* them out of their *Homes* and *Habitations*. The *Indians* have driven 'em hither, and here they have met with the *Gospel* of *Christ*, and been effectually called unto the Lord, and joined unto our *Churches*, and blessed the Name of *God* for bringing them unto these *Churches*; *Periissent nisi Periissent!* Now *whoso is Wise, and will observe these things*, cannot but with that the *Folly* of *Erecting Plantations*, without the *Worship* of the Lord *JESUS CHRIST*, may be no more committed among us. It was wholesome *Counsel* given, and usually taken in the beginning of *New-England*: 'Let *Christians* not where fit down without good *Ministers*, but let them rather tarry where they are, as *Ezra* tarried by the *River Abava*, till he had got some *Levites* to go with them. And it was even then observed, that *Places* which made *Beginnings* any long while without *Ministers*, were with miserable *Unsettlements* broken all to pieces. I suppose our *Eastern Country* will shortly again be *Peopled*: But let the *People* which intend there to settle themselves in the *Fear* of *God*, remem-

ber this Admonition; don't venture to form *Towns* without the *Gospel* in them any more. If the lamentable Experience which you have more than once had, of a Blast from Heaven upon Enterprizes to Live without the *Gospel* of the Son of God, will not inspire you with more of Wisdom for the future, I will foretel your Fate in those awful Words, *Psal. 28. 5. Because they regard not the Works of the Lord, nor the Operation of his Hands, he shall destroy them, and not build them up.* Yea, but let all *New-England* at the same time learn what the Welfare or the Ruin of all will turn upon. The whole World was made for our *Lord Messiah*, and the Curse of God will more or less plague the World, according to the Respects which that *Second Adam*, our *Lord Messiah* finds in it. But *New-England* is by a more Eminent Profession that *Immanuel's Land*. Let the Interests of the Christian Religion in *Reformed Churches* be pursued and preserved among us, then *All will go well!* Our Acknowledgment of our *Lord JESUS CHRIST* in *CHURCHES*, that shall be so ordered, as to represent him and his Kingdom unto the World, this will be our *Glory*; and this *Glory* will be our *Defence*; or as 'tis promised in *Isa. 4. 5. Upon all the Glory shall be a Defence.* But if once the *Spirit of this World* eat out the Spirit and Power of Religion, and the Order of our *Churches*, and Mens Value for a Room in the *Churches* be lost, then write *Ichabod* upon all our *Glory*; and let us expect that our Holy Lord will *Spew us out of his Mouth.*

II. In the War that hath been upon us, *Who-so is Wise, may observe* in the very *Instruments* of our Calamity, throw'd Intimations of the *Provoking Evils*, for which the Righteous God hath Chastised us by such *Instruments.*

When the Miseries of the *Sword* are inflicted on a People, it becomes them to consider what *Provocations* they have given to the Almighty God, who *makes Peace, and creates Evil*; for 'tis he, the *Lord, who doth all these things.* The *Sword* by which we have been so grievously harrassed, hath been in the Hands of God; and if our Father had not been very angry, would he have taken a *Sword* into his Hands? We are Blind before Lightning, we are Deaf unto Thunder, if we do not sensibly perceive the *Anger* of God in the Tremendous Rebukes that we have suffered: And we are unaccountably and inexcusably Stupid, if we do not enquire, *What means the Heat of this Anger?* It was once the Commination of God in *Ezek. 7. 24, 27. I will bring the worst of the Heathen, and they shall possess their Houses, and the Hands of the People of the Land shall be Troubled:* Such *Trouble* hath come upon us from the *worst of the Heathen!* But what was the Cause of all? It follows, *I will do unto them after their Way, and I will judge them according to*

their Deserts, and they shall know that I am the Lord. It is but seasonable for us now to look back upon our own *Way*, and see how much we have *Deserved* all this Vengeance by going out of the *Way.* Two Persons in their Travels beholding the horrid Ruins of *Germany*, one of them said, *Hic fuit Hostilitas*, behold the Fruit of *Hostility!* His Friend answered, *Hic fuit Iniquitas*, behold the Fruit of *Iniquity!* If you will Travel over our *East Country*, how frequent, how dismal Occasions will you see to Sigh, *See what has been done by Hostility!* But there will be as many Occasions for a sadder Sigh than that: Namely, *See the sad Effects of Iniquity!* Now in this Contemplation I do not go to charge them that were once Inhabitants of the now Ruined Plantations with any *Sins*, but what are more or less to be found in all our Colonies. I ask no more from our Brethren, who yet Survive the Desolations that have come upon their Estates and Neighbours in those Plantations, but that they join with the rest of us all in *Searching and Trying of our Ways*, and in *Judging of our Sets.* For, alas, *Every Mouth must be stopp'd, and all the Land is become Guilty before God!* Let us all then *Enquire*, what may have been those *Provoking Evils*, for which the *Holy and Blessed God* hath given the *Sword* a Commission so dreadfully to devour us? But then let us be sure to *enquire wisely concerning that matter.* And here I will not *Enquire*, whether those that went before us, might never be too forward in any *Unjustifiable Encroachments*, to Possess and Command those Lands which have since proved so Expensive unto us? *Older Men* than I are best able to manage that *Enquiry*, though I also have heard it made. But that whereupon I rather bespeak your Thoughts, is this: Will you please to *Enquire* into the *Properties* and *Qualities* of our *Adversaries?* 'Tis possible, that in their *Properties* and *Qualities* we may read something of those *Miscarriages*, for which our God hath raised them up to be our *Adversaries.* It hath been commonly seen, that when the People of God have sinfully come to *Imitate* the *Evil Manners* of other Nations, God hath made those very Nations to be a fore Scourge unto them. And the Sense of this was that which long ago caused many sensible Persons to foretel, which of the *Neighbour Nations* would bring our dear *England* low. Now since the *Indians* have been made by our God, *The Rod of his Anger*, 'tis proper for us to *Enquire*, whether we have not in some Instances too far imitated the *Evil Manners* of the *Indians?* The *Indians* are infamous, especially for Three Scandalous Vices. First, They are *Liers* of the first Magnitude; one cannot believe a Word they speak. Secondly, They are *Sluggards* to a Proverb; they are for any way of Living rather than Work. Thirdly, They are abominably Indulgent unto their *Children*; there is no *Family Government* among them. Will you now *Enquire*, *Sirs*, how far we have *Indianized* in

very one, but especially the last of these *Evil Manners*? If we find these *Indian Vices* to grow Epidemical among us, Oh! don't wonder, that our God hath been with *Indian Hatchets* cutting down the *Tree* that brings forth *Fruits* thus disagreeable to him that Planted it.

Now *whofo is Wise will observe these things*. And yet the *Observation* may extend it felt a little further. Sometimes the Sovereign God chufes a Nation remarkably Laudable for some *good Thing*, to punish his own People for the want of that Thing. Thus when the *Christian Churches* fell into *Idolatry*, God sent the *Mahometans* upon them, to *Torment* them with one *Woe* after another horribly; and the *Mahometans* are very Remarkable for this, that they are great *Haters of Idolatry*, and where-ever they come they destroy those *Idols, and Works of Mens Hands*, which are adored in the *Antichristian Apostacy*. Well, but can any *good Thing* be reported of our *Indian-Invaders*? Yes, there is one *good Thing* which the *French* have taught them; there is *Family-Prayer* among them, a daily *Family Worship* upheld among them. *I Fear, I Fear*, this is more than can be said of many *English Sufferers*, that have been annoy'd by those *Indian-Invaders*. It may be, the *Wretched Indians* have cut off multitudes of *Families*, to whom they might have said, *These Families never Pray'd unto God once in a Month, and we have done it every Day!* And many of our poor *Folks* never heard any *Family-Prayer* in their Lives, till they were dragg'd into the forlorn and howling *Wigwams* of those wretched *Salvages*. I have heard it said, that in a *Town* of it may be more than *Seventy Families*, there have not been *Twice Seven Families* that have had any constant Invocation of God in them. If it be so, then hear the Voice of God in it, when he sent those *Monstrous and Furious Barbarians* to burn down such *Prayerless Houses*: The Voice of Heaven in it, is, *If Indians will pray in their Families more than English, then let Indians destroy those English Families*. It was once the direful Imprecation, in *Jer. 10. 25. Pour out thy great Wrath upon the Heathen that know thee not, and upon the Families that call not on thy Name*. Truly, God has used a *Sort of Heathen*, to *pour out his great Wrath upon Families*, which in this one Point were worse than those *Heathen*, that they did not call on his Name. For God's sake be so *Wise* as to *Observe these things*, and let *Family-Prayer* be no where neglected throughout the Land, lest while God is punishing us by the *Pagans*, we become worse than *Pagans*. Let me faithfully and solemnly Advise you; Sirs, A *Prayerless Family* is a *Pagan Family*. Do not now imagine, that it is only the more Strict and Severe Doctrine of a *Non-Conformist* that now *Smites your Consciences*; it is the Doctrine of a *Christian*; and it may be, 'twill have the more Force upon some of you, if I tell you, that the late *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, in a

Book on that Subject, has this Passage; *That constant Family Worship is so Necessary to keep alive a Sense of God and Religion in the Minds of Men, that he sees not how any Family that Neglects it can in Reason be Esteemed a Family of Christians, or indeed to have any Religion at all*. I will add but this Word unto all the rest: If after this there be a *Prayerless Family* among us. I would, if I could, Write upon their Door, **Lord Have mercy upon us**; for there is a *Plague* in that *Pagan Family*.

III. In the *WAR* that hath been upon us, *whofo is Wise may observe*, that the very *Objects* of our *Sins* have been made the very *Engines* of our *Plagues*. It is a thing *Extraordinarily Observable*, though it ordinarily happens; that, *In quo quis peccat, in eo punitur*; Men are *Plag'd* by those very things with which they have *Sinn'd*. If an *Eli* omit his Duty towards his *Children*, it follows, in *1 Sam. 2. 33.* those very *Children* shall *consume thine Eyes, and grieve thine Heart*. I am very much mistaken, if our *Eyes* have not been *consumed*, and if our *Hearts* not *grieved*, by those to whom we have omitted our Duty exceedingly. The grand Crime of the *Jews* was in Relation to the *Romans*, and God made the *Romans* the *Destroyers of the Jews*. You will now demand of me, whether I think that we are chargeable with any Crime relating to the *Indians*, which have been so bloodily *Destroying* of us. I must freely tell you, I think we are. The old *Britains* did not what they should have done, to *Convert the Saxons* unto *Christianity*; and when the *Britains* were afterwards fearfully *Destroy'd* by the *Saxons*, their Famous Countryman *Gildas* told them, *This is the Vengeance of God upon you, because you did no more for the Conversion of those Miserable Heathen*. And I admire that the *English Protestants* in *Ireland*, after such *Massacres* from the *Irish Papists*, do no more *Effectually* make this Reflection. But that which I am now to *Reflect* upon, is this: Had we done but half so much as the *French Papists* have done, to *Profelitate the Indians* of our *East* unto the *Christian Faith*, instead of being *Snares and Traps* unto us, and *Scourges in our Sides, and Thorns in our Eyes*, they would have been a *Wall unto us both by Night and Day*. What a *Sting* was there in those Words which the *Indians* have used unto some of our *Captives*, *Had the English been as careful to Instruct us as the French, we had been of your Religion!* Indeed, it can scarce, without an harsh *Catechresis*, be called, *The Christian Faith*, which the *French Papists* have made the *Salvages* to swallow: But if the *Salvages* had been *Enlightened* with *The Christian Faith* from us, the *French Papists* could never have instill'd into them those *French Poisons*, that have made such *Raging Devils* of them. Through the *Blessing of God*, upon the Endeavours of good Men in this one *Massachusetts-Province*, the *Indians* have mostly *Embraced the Christian*

Christian Religion.

[* Of that Matter see a Printed Account, at the end of Mr. Noyes's Election-Sermon; whereto I have here this to add, That an hopeful and worthy Young Man, Mr. Experience Mayhew, omitted in that Printed Journal, meerly because he was more largely mentioned in the annexed Proposals of the Gentlemen that made it, which are not Printed with it, must now have the Justice done him of this Character, That in the Evangelical Service of the Lord Jesus Christ among the Indians, there is no Man that Exceeds that Mr. Mayhew, if there be any that Equals him. So I am informed concerning him.]

the East had so much of their Drink and Bane, what is become of them, every one of them? The Sword has been Drunk with the Blood of the English, in the Hands of those very Indians which have been so often Drunk among them. And these Bloody Merchants of the Souls of the Indians, when they have summed up all their Gains, the Foot of the Account has been this, *Wo to him that gives his Neighbour Drink, that puts the Bottel to him to make him Drunk. Those Men are not Wise, but Mad, who can Observe these things, and now dare to Repeat this Iniquity, or dream that any Gains are to be got by feeding the Indian Lust of Drunkenness.*

IV. In the WAR that hath been upon us *Whofo is wise, may observe* the Loud Calls of Heaven to all Ranks of Men, in the sharp Strokes of Heaven on all Ranks of Men. As it was said in Mic. 6. 9. *The Lord's voice crieth unto the City, and the Man of Wisdom shall see thy Name; hear ye the Rod: So I say,* There has been a Voice of God unto all the Country in that Indian Rod which hath been used upon us: And Men of Wisdom, in all Ranks of Men, will Observe, and See, and Hear, the meaning of this Rod; inasmuch as all Ranks of Men have smarted under it; yea, it has fetch'd Blood from all Ranks of Men among us. We will a little particularize 'em. And first of all, you that are our Honoured Shepherds; will you Observe how many of our Shepherds have been worried unto Death by the Scythian Wolves of our Wilderness? Two of our MAGISTRATES have been Treacherously and Barbarously Killed by the Indian Murderers: They whom God entrusted with the Sword of Justice, have had their Lives taken away by the Sword of the Wicked. I perswade my self, that the rest will be so wise as to Observe these things, and Observe how to answer the just Expectation of God in their Administrations. After this, Oh! Why

should not our Civil Rulers, with more Zeal than ever set themselves to ponder, *How may I most glorifie God and Christ, and serve his dear People with my Opportunities!*

Two of our MINISTERS have been Struck down into the Earth by the Indian Dragons. They that have used nothing but the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, for the faving of all about them, have had the Destroyers coming upon them, and have been waited for of the Sword. I assure my self, that the rest will be so wise as to Observe these things, and Observe how to fulfil our Ministry, with a very Excited Watchfulness. May all our Scattered Pastors, upon such a thing betallen our Brethren, resolve with themselves, *Am unworthy I spared? I will do more for my Lord, and more for my Flock, and more for all the Churches, than ever I did.*

We will pass on, there have been some rich Men, that were finely Scituated, and had all things richly to Enjoy: But this War has reduced them to such Necessity, that within less than One Year they have come to beg their Bread: All their Treasures have been Treasures of Snow; one Summer has melted all away to nothing. I Remember the Jewish Talmuds tell us of a Gentlewoman, who had a Thousand Thousand Pieces of Gold given with her at her Marriage, by her Father Nicodemus for her Portion; and yet she was reduced unto such Penury, that she pick'd Barley-Corns out of the Cattels Dung for her Food. Have not we seen almost such Vicissitudes? Rich Men, if you are Wise, (which the Rich are not always!) you will Observe these things, and upon the Observation say, *Well, what Man in his Right Wits will now set his Heart upon such Transitory, as all Sublunary Vanities! Oh! My Soul, do thou make sure of a better and a lasting Substance in Heaven; for earthly Riches take themselves Wings, and flee away towards Heaven.*

Again, there have been abundance of poor Men, who have been by this War plunged still into deeper Poverty: They have gone without a Bit of Bread for many Days together. The Straits, the Wants, the Cares of Widows, and Orphans, or of those that have had many Mouths to Feed, especially in our Exposed Frontiers, none can Express them, none can Conceive them, but they, (nor they!) who did Endure them all. Poor Men, if you are wise, (which the Poor may be!) You will Observe these things, and upon the Observation say, *Well, I had need make sure that my Soul may not be Starved by wanting the Bread of Life, and that my Soul may not be Naked without the Garments of Righteousness; how dolefully am I Circumstanced, if I go down from one Hell unto another at the Last!*

Once more, how many Women have been made a prey to those Brutish Men that are Skilful to Destroy? How many a fearful Thing has been

been suffered by the *fearful Sex*, from those *Men* that one would fear as *Devils* rather than *Men*: Let the *Daughters* of our *Zion* think with themselves what it would be for fierce *Indians* to break into their Houses, and brain their *Husbands* and their *Children* before their Eyes, and lead them away a long Journey into the *Woods*, and if they began to fail and faint in the Journey, then for a raveny Salvage to come with Hell-fire in his Eyes, and cut 'em down with his Hatchet; or, if they could miraculously hold out, then for some filthy and ugly *Squatos*, to become their *insolent Mistresses*, and intolently to abuse 'em at their Pleasure a Thousand inexpressible Ways; and if they had any of their *Sucking Infants* with them, then to see those tender Infants handled at such a rate, that they should beg of the *Tygres* to dispatch 'em out of Hand. Such things as these, I tell you, have often happened in this lamentable *War*. And now, O ye Handmaids of the Lord, will you not be so wise as to *Observe these things*? But upon the *Observation* say, *Well, I will bless God for my Enjoyments; my Afflictions, be they never so many, are not such as my Neighbours have seen: My Enjoyments are more than my Afflictions. But, Oh! Let me love and serve the good God, that has distinguished me with His Mercies.*

It is to be added: We have had our *old Men*, whose *gray Hairs* have not come down to the *Grave* in Peace. *Young Indians* have with grievous Flouts and Wounds butchered many of our *old English Men*. The *gray Hairs* of our *old Men* have been dyed Red with their own Blood, and their Carcasses have been thrown unto the *Swine* to mangle them. *Old Men*, if you are *wise Men*, you will *observe* these things; but *observing* of them, say, *Oh! Let my hoary Head be found in the Way of Righteousness!*

But our *young Men* are they whom the *Fury* of *War* hath been chiefly poured out upon. Alas, alas, for our *young Men*! They are the Persons with whom it seems to have been the very Errand of this *War*, to manage the terrible Controversie of God. *New-England* sets a peculiar Accent of Grief upon this, among all her Lamentations; *The Lord has trodden under Foot my mighty Men in the midst of me, he hath called an Assembly against me, to crush my young Men.* Come then, my *young Men*, be so wise as to *observe* these things; and upon the *Observation* say, *Lord, let not me, and the rest of my Generation, continue among the Generation of thy Wrath.* Yea, to have done; *Children* also have not been excused from a Share in the Blows of this hideous *War*. *Little Boys* and *Girls*, even these little *Chickens*, have been seized by the *Indian Vultures*. Our little *Birds* have been spirited away by the *Indian Devourers*, and brought up in a vile Slavery, till some of them have quite forgot their *English Tongue*, and their *Christian Name*, and their whole *Relation*. Yea, those *Babylonians* have dashed out the *Brains* of our little ones against the *Stones*. And our little ones have been hideously whipt

unto Death by those merciless *Tygres*, whose *tender Mercies* are *Cruelty*. *Children*, God make you so wise as to *observe these things*; and upon the *Observation*. Oh! see that you become *serious, pious, orderly Children*; obedient unto your *Parents*, conscientious to keep the *Lord's Day*, and afraid of committing any *Wickedness*.

Upon the whole, when a dead Man was thrown into the *Grave* of *Elisha*, a Touch from the *Bones* of the *Prophet* in the *Grave* rais'd him from the *Dead*. I am desiring that *Religion* may be revived out of the *Death* which has too much enfeebled it among us. Behold, *Sirs*, I have now cast you into the *Graves* of our *dead Friends*; it may be, by *wisely observing* of them, and the things that have befallen them, we may be somewhat raised out of our deadly *Security*. Let our *Observation* of these things give some *Life* to the Practice of *Religion* among us.

V. In the *WAR* that hath been upon us, *Whoso is wise, may observe* those *Tragical Things* undergone by many in *Captivity*, that are full of *Admonition* unto us, that have never felt the *Tragedies* of such a *Captivity*. Several Hundreds of our *Neighbours*, first and last, have been carried into *Captivity*, by the most beastly and bloody things that ever wore the *Shape* of *Men* in the *World*. *New-England* makes that *Moan* in *Lam. 1. 18.* *Hear, I pray you, all People, and behold my Sorrows; my Virgins and my young Men are gone into Captivity.* But Oh, the prodigious and stupendious Things that they have undergone in this *Captivity*! What weary Days and Nights have rouled over the miserable *Captives*, while they have not had a Bit of *Meat* allow'd 'em, except what a *Dog* would hardly meddle with. While they have sometimes been pinched with the bitter *Frost*, without Rags to cover their *Nakedness*, and sometimes been parched with the burning *Heat*, without any *Cordial* or *Shelter* to refresh them: While they have seen their nearest *Relations* torn in pieces alive before their Eyes, and yet those Eyes afraid of dropping a *Tear* at the mournful Sight: Yea, while they have every Hour look'd when they should be themselves roasted alive to make a *Feast* and a *Sport* for the horrid *Cannibals*! Need I tell you, That those *Devils Incarnate* have tied their *Captives* unto *Trees*, and first cutting off their *Ears*, have made them to eat their own *Ears*, and then have broiled their whole *Bodies* with slow Fires, dancing the mean while about them, and cutting out Collops of their *Flesh*, till with lingring *Tortures* they have martyred them to *Death*! Such Things have been done by the *Inhumane Salvages* upon our *Captives*, that it is a sort of *Inhumanity* barely to mention them. Now, shall we be wise, to *observe these things*? The *Observation* must be made with that *Admonition* in *Luk. 13. 4, 5.* *Think ye, that these were Sinners above all Men? I tell you, Nay; but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.* Wherefore let us penitently confess, that we have all deser-

ved those *miserable things*, wherewith *some* have been so marked out by the Sovereignty of Heaven. In the things that have been done to our *Captives*, the Great Lord of Hosts hath dealt with us as *Generals* use to do upon the Seditious and Mutiny of *Military Legions*: He makes a sort of *Decimation* among the Offenders, and by what he does to some, he declares what he might justly do to all the rest. We must all ascribe it unto the meek *Sovereign Mercy* of God, that we are not every one of us *broken in the Place of Dragons*, as these desolate Captives were. That which the Scripture calls *the Place of Dragons*, I remember one of the Jewish Rabbi's expounds, *A Wilderness*. Truly our *Wilderness* hath been, *The Place of Dragons*. But while we *observe these things*, we shall not be *wise*, if we do not learn, *Oh! what an evil and a bitter thing is our Sin! And what horrendous Miseries must we expect among the Devils, if we die with our Sin unpardoned!*

VI. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *Whoso is wise, may observe, a Work, a strange Work* of Heaven, as it were *Devising* of Ways, very strangely to distress all sorts of People, in all sorts of Interests. Truly the very Character of our Calamity hath all along been this; the great God has written still upon it, we may read upon it in a very legible Character those Words in *Jer. 18. 11. Thus saith the Lord, Behold I frame Evil against you, I devise a Device against you.* It hath been as if Ways had been deliberately and exquisitely *studied*, and as if with much *Contrivance* plotted for to bring us all within the Reach of the general Calamity. We have now languished thro' *Ten Years*, which have been the saddest, and the darkest, and the stormiest Years that ever we saw. If the *History* of these *Ten Years* were to be written, I am thinking what should be the *Title*; truly it might be entituled, as *Ezekiel's Roll* was, *Lamentation, and Mourning, and Wo.* Yea, you shall now have the *History* of these *Ten Years* written for you; I'll give it you in as expressive Words as can be; even in those Words, *2 Chron. 15. 5, 6. In those times there was no Peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great Vexations were upon all the Inhabitants of the Countries, for God did vex them with all Adversity.* There is a Variety of *Adversity* with which the tedious *War* it self hath vexed us. The general Fate of the *War* hath involved *numberless Families* in several Circumstances of *Adversity*; and the *Expensive* part of the *War* hath been an heavy Scourge of *Adversity* upon those that could not be reach'd by the destructive part of it. You could not but *observe these things*: But then have you not *observed* what a further Variety of *Adversity* hath been contemporary with this *vexatious War*. Alas, there hath been such a Complication of other Distresses added unto the *War*, in the time of it, that *No-body*; no, I say, *No-body* hath been left free from those Dolorous Ejulations, *I am one that hath been afflicted by the Rod of the Wrath of God.*

A great King of *Persia* having by Death lost the nearest Relation he had in the World, and being too passionate a Mourner for his Loss, an ingenious Man undertook to raise the dead Relation unto Life again, if the King would but furnish him in one Point that he apprehended necessary. It was demanded, *What that was?* And it was replied, *Furnish me but with the Names of Three Persons who have never met with any Sadness and Sorrows, and by writing those Names on the Monument of the Dead, I'll bring the Dead Person to Life.* Truly, the *Ten Years* of our *War* have set many *Ten Hundreds* of Persons a mourning over their *dead Friends*; we have seen everywhere the *Mourners* go about the *Streets*: Now I durst make you this Offer, that if you can find *Three Persons* who have met with no Matter of *Sadness and Sorrow* in these *Ten Years*, with the Names of them, we'll fetch your *dead Friends* to Life again. It was said in *Job 21. 17. God distributeth Sorrows in his Anger.* You may *observe* a marvellous *Distribution of Sorrows* made among us by the Anger of God.

And here, *First*, I say nothing of that amazing time, when the evil Angels in a praternatural, and in an unparallel'd manner being let loose among us, *God cast upon us the Fierceness of his Anger, and Wrath, and Indignation, and Trouble.* It was the threatening of God against a People which he had call'd his *Children*, in *Deut. 32. 23, 24. I will heap Mischiefs upon them; I will spend my Arrows upon them; they shall be devoured with a bitter Destruction.* What was the bitter Destruction thus threatened unto an Apostatizing People? I remember the Famous Jew, *Onkelos*, renders it, *They shall be vexed with evil Spirits*; and indeed that Sense well agrees with what follows; *I will send upon them the Poison of the Serpents of the Dust.* Sirs, for our *Apostasie* (which is the very Sin of the *evil Spirits!*) the God of Heaven a while ago turned in the Armies of Hell upon us; and in that matchless Dispensation of God we underwent a bitter Destruction from the *Poison of the Serpents of the Dust.*

But there are other Points, not a few, wherein the great God hath heaped Mischiefs upon us, and fulfill'd unto us that Holy Commination, *Ezek. 7. 26. Mischiefs shall come upon Mischiefs.* What shall I say? While the Lord of Hosts hath been against us, the *Hosts of Lord* have been so too; all the Elements have, as it were, been up in Arms against us.

Particularly you may *observe*, That *Epidemical Sickneses* have, in these Years, been once and again upon us; wherein the Angels of Death have shot the Arrows of Death into such as could not be reached by the Bullets of the *Indian Enemy*. This one Town did in one Year lose, I suppose, at least Six or Seven Hundred of its People by one contagious Mortality. And tho' of about Three and Twenty Hundred Men that we employ'd in one Action, we did, in that Action, lose hardly Thirty Men, yet how many Hundreds did afterwards miserably perish? Again,

Again, you may *observe*, That the *Harvest* hath once and again grievously failed in these Years, and we have been *struck thro' with the terrible Famine*, almost as much as if the *Indian Enemy* had been all the while sculking about our Fields. The very *Course of Nature* hath been altered among us; a lamentable Cry for *Bread, Bread*, hath been heard in our Streets: The Towns that formerly supply'd other Places with *Grain*, had now been famished, if other Places had not sent in a Supply to them, and had a black Prospect of being famished, notwithstanding that Supply.

Once more you may *observe*, That the Sea hath in these Years been swallowing up our Neighbours and their Estates, far more than the *Sword of the Wilderness*. Alas, the devouring Displeasure of God hath said concerning us, *Though they go to hide themselves from my Sight afar off upon the Sea, thence will I command the Serpent, and he shall bite them*. And here, hath it been enough, that our Vessels, enough to make an huge Fleet, have been taken by the *French Enemy*? A certain Writer hath computed it, That in only the first Two or Three Years of the *War* the *English Nation* lost unto the *French* more than Fifteen Millions of Pounds Sterling. But no part of the *English Nation* hath been more frequently or sensibly prey'd upon by the *French*, than what hath gone out of *New-England*, ever since the *War* began. I say, has this been enough? No, the Wrath of God said, *This is not enough!* I appeal to you that have been Owners of Vessels, or Sailors in them, whether horrible Shipwracks have not been multiplied since the *War* began, very much more than ever they were before? *Ab, Lord!* How many of us have shed *Rivers of Tears* over our dear Friends that have been *Buried in the Ocean*.

Moreover, you may *observe*, That in these Years those very things which were intended for our *Defence*, have oftentimes been so much improved for our *Damage*, that it was hard for us to say which was the greater, the *Defence*, or the *Damage*, which we had from them. It was a lamentable rime with the *Jews*, when that *Curse* came upon them, *That which should have been for their Welfare, let it become a Trap, and pour out thine Indignation upon them*. Truly, the *Indignation* of God hath been *poured out* upon us in this Fruit of the *Curse*, no less frequently than sensibly, that some things which should have been *for our Welfare*, have at the same time served also to *entrap* the *Persons* and *Interests* of many People into fore Inconveniencies. There is no need of explaining this Article; they that have been under this *Indignation* of God know the explaining of it.

Finally, You may *observe* what *untimely Ends*, and what *surprizing Fates*, have come upon our *Sons* in these *Years of the Wrath of the Right Hand of the most High*. When *Crasus* was in *War* taken by *Cyrus*, this *Captive* made unto the Conqueror this Remark upon the Difference between *Peace* and *War*; *O Sir, I see that*

in a time of Peace the Sons bury their Fathers, but in a time of War the Fathers bury their Sons. Truly Sirs, our time of *War* has in various Ways of Mortality been embittered with this Remark, *The Fathers have been burying their Sons all the Country over!* Many of us have had our *Sons*, even those very *Sons*, of whom we said, *This same shall comfort us!* We have had them violently snatch'd away from us, and cropt in the very Flower of their *Youth*; and they have left us deploring, *Oh, my Son, with all my Heart could I have died for thee, my Son, my Son!* But in the midst of these deplorable things God hath given up several of our *Sons* into the Hands of the fierce Monsters of *Africa*. *Mahometan Turks*, and *Moors*, and *Devils*, are at this Day oppressing many of our *Sons* with a *Slavery*; wherein they wish for *Death*, and cannot find it; a *Slavery*, from whence they cry and write unto us, *It had been good for us that we had never been born*.

——— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet a Lacrymis? ———

Thus, as *Job*, sometimes complained, *Chap. 10. 17. Thou renewest thy Witnesses against me, and increasest thine Indignation upon me; Changes and War are against me*: Thus in our long *War* we have seen those *Changes* on all Hands, and in all Kinds, which have witnessed against us the dreadful *Indignation* of God. God threatned his People, (so I read it,) *Amos 2. 13. Behold I will press your Place as a full Cart presses the Sheaf*: [Tis an Allusion to the old way of thrething the *Corn*, by drawing a loaden *Cart* with *Wheels* over the *Corn*. *q. d.* You shall undergo *Tribulation*.] Ah, *New-England*, thou hast been under such a *Tribulation!*

Sirs, Have you not *observed* these things? But you must *wisely observe* them. And a *wise Observation* of these things will cause you to see, *That the War which hath been upon us hath been a War of GOD*. The *Indians* have been but a small part of those *Armies*, which the great *GOD* hath been bringing out against us for *Ten Years* together; and we may conclude, that all the Land have been more or less concerned in those Crimes for which the Almighty *GOD* hath been with these *Armies* managing his Controversie with us: Our Confession must be *Peccavimus omnes, We have all gone astray!* But shall we not upon this *Observation* take up some *Resolution*? If we are wise, we shall thus resolve; *'Tis time, 'tis time, 'tis high time for us to make our Peace with God. O let us not go on to harden our selves against God; we are not stronger than he: But let us all fly to the Lord Jesus Christ, who is our Peace, and so lay down the Arms of Rebellion, that God may be reconciled unto us.*

VII. In the *WAR* that hath been upon us, *whoso is wise, may observe* those *Dispensations* of Heaven towards us, that have carry'd more than

ordinary *Humiliations* in them. It was said concerning *Miriam*, (the Type of the now Leprous and Outcast Church of *Israel*, *The Lord hasten that Seventh Day wherein it shall be restored!*) Numb. 12. 14. *If her Father had Spit in her Face, should she not be ashamed? Ah, New-England, thy Father hath been Spitting in thy Face with most humbling Dispensations; God hath been bringing of thee down to sit in the Dust. When the War commenced, New-England might say, My God will humble me!*

For, First, Shall our Heavenly *Father* put a *Rod* into the Hands of base *Indians*, and bid them to Scourge his *Children!* Oh! The *Humiliation* of such *Rebellious Children!* Oh! The *Provocation* that certainly such *Sons* and such *Daughters* have given him! It was a very *humbling* thing that the Lord threatened unto his *Provoking Sons and Daughters* in Deut. 32. 21. *I will move them to Fealouſie with those which are not a People; I will provoke them to Anger with a foolish Nation.* Should a Child of yours be *Refractory*; and you, Sir, should bid a *Negro* or an *Indian Slave* in your House, *Go, take that Child, and Scourge him till you fetch Blood of him!* Surely this would be to *humble* him unto the uttermost. Thus doth thy God *humble* thee, O *New-England*, by putting thee over into the vile Hands of those which are not a *People, but a foolish Nation.*

Again, *Who* are they by whose means we are now crying out, *we are brought very low?* When the most high God was determined Effectually to *humble* his *People*, he said, in Jer. 37. 10. *Though ye had smitten the whole Army of the Caldeans, that fight against you, and there remained but wounded Men among them, yet should they rise up every Man in his Tent, and burn this City with Fire.* Truly we had *smitten* the whole *Army* of the *Indians* that fought against us Three and Twenty Years ago, from one end of the Land unto the other; only there were left a few *wounded Men among them* in the East; and now they have *risen up every Man*, and have set the whole Country on *Fire.* Certainly a more *humbling* Matter cannot be related!

Moreover, Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that when about an *Hundred Indians* durst begin a *War* upon all these *Populous Colonies*, an *Army* of a *Thousand English* raised must not kill one of them all; but instead thereof, more of our *Soldiers* perish by *Sickness* and *Hardship*, than we had *Enemies* then in the *World?* *Our God has humbled us!*

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that when the Number of our *Enemies* afterwards Increased, yet an handful of them should, for so many *Summers* together, continue our *Unconquered Spoilers*, and put us to such vast *Charges*, that if we could have bought them for an *Hundred Pound an Head*, we should have made a saving *Bargain* of it? *Our God has humbled us!*

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that we should have had several fair *Opportunities* to have brought this *War* unto a *final Period*, but we should still, by some *fatal Oversight*, let slip

those *Opportunities?* *Our God has humbled us!*

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that whatever *Expeditions* we have undertaken, for the most part we have come off *Loosers*, and indeed but plunged our selves into *deeper Straits*, by our *Undertakings?* *Our God has humbled us!*

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that more than One or Two of our *Forts* have *Surrendered*, and one of them that was almost *Impregnable* given away with a most *shameful Surrender*, by one that hath since Received something of what he deserved? Thus *our God has humbled us!*

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that we should have *Evil pursuing of us* at such a rate, that in other Lands afar off, and on the *Exchange* in *London* Strangers have made this *Reflection*; *Doubtless New-England is a Country in ill Terms with Heaven?* But so *our God has humbled us!*

What shall I say? Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that when *Peace* is restored unto the whole *English Nation*, and when *Peace* is enjoy'd by all *America*, poor *New-England* should be the *only Land* still Embroil'd in *War?* But thus, *our God, thou hast humbled us, and shown us great and sore Troubles, and brought us down into the Depths of the Earth!*

O my dear *People*, How can I *Observe* these things, and not, like *Joshua*, now fall to the *Earth on my Face before the Lord*, and say, *What shall I say?* But if you will *wisely observe* these things, you will now get up, and *sanctify* your selves, and put away the *accursed thing* from among you, O *New-English Israel!*

Certainly the *high and lofty one*, who dwells in the *high and holy place*, expects that we should be a very *humbled People.* I beseech you, Sirs, *Observing these things*, let us in all the *Methods* of *Repentance* *humble our selves under the mighty Hand of God.* After such *humbling* things as have befallen us, God forbid that it should be said of us, as in Jer. 44. 10. *They are not humbled even unto this Day!*

VIII. In the *WAR* that hath been upon us, *Whoso is Wise, may Observe* the *Compassions* of God, wondrously *Exercised*, and *Manifested*, and *Magnified*, in the midst of our *Confusions.* There was a *Time* when a *Bush* burned with *Fire*, and yet the *Bush* was not consumed: Whereupon said *Moses*, in Exod. 3. 3. *I will now turn aside, and see this great sight!* Sirs, I am now to call upon you, *O turn aside, and see such a great sight as that!*

Indeed, in the midst of all our *Lamentations*, we must own, with the *Church*, in Lam. 3. 22. *It is of the Lord's Mercies that we are not Consumed, because his Compassions fail not.* But there are many particular and astonishing *Articles of Mercy* which we have seen in this tedious *War.* Sirs, *Come* now to *observe* some of those things with prepared *Hallelujahs!*

It was the Petition in *Hab. 3. 2. O Lord, in Wrath remember Mercy. New-England*, thy God hath heard this Petition for thee in very wonderful Instances!

For, First, After a very Amazing manner has *Mercy* been remembered in the midst of *Wrath*, when we have been rescued by the *Mercy* of God, at the very point of our being else ruined by his *Wrath*. Lord, *Thou hast shewed thy People hard things, and made us Drink the Wine of Astonishment.* But our *Extremity* hath been God's *Opportunity* to relieve us. Several times in the late Years of our Affliction we have been brought unto a dismal *Non-plus* in our Affairs, and we would scarce imagine it possible for us to subsist any longer. But just then the Bowels of our Compassionate God have been moved for us! He hath said, *How shall I give thee up, O New-England? How shall I give thee up, O Massachusetts?* And so he would not *Execute upon us the Fierceness of his Anger*, but with some unexpected Succours from the *Machin of Heaven* he hath relieved us. We have several times been like a little Vessel in a *Storm*; the swelling Waves have Dalhed, and Raged, and Roared; the Rude Billows have been going Over us, and we have been ready to Sink. But just then our Compassionate Lord Jesus Christ hath awaked for our Safety, and marvellously calmed our Circumstances! O thou Land, strangely Saved by the Lord, say now, as in *Psal. 136. 23. O give thanks unto the Lord, who remembered us in our low Estate, because his Mercy endureth for ever!* When our *Debts* have become Insupportable, God has then *Remembered us in our low Estate, because his Mercy endureth for ever*, and strangely Extricated us. When our *Foes* have been as an *Overflowing Scourge*, like to carry all before them, God has then *Remembered us in our low Estate, because his Mercy endureth for ever*, and strangely lilted up a Standard against them. When fearful *Divisions* have arisen among us, and horrid *Convulsions* have been ready to pull all to Pieces— I don't care to Remember them any farther than to say, God has then *Remembered us in our low Estate, because his Mercy endureth for ever*, and strangely healed those Breaches that set the Land a Trembling.

Moreover, it hath been a very strange thing, and a wondrous Remembrance of *Mercy* in the midst of *Wrath*, that the *Indians* have been unaccountably *Restrained* from giving us an Hundredth Part of the *Trouble*, which they might have done, had they but *known*, or us'd their own Advantages. This one thing, whosoever does *wisely Observe* it, must needs ascribe it unto a special Operation of that God, who *Forms the Spirit of Man within him*. It was the Promise of God unto his People. *Exod. 34. 24. No Man shall desire thy Land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God.* The Faithful God strangely fulfilled this Promise for many Hundreds of Years together; *no Enemy desired the Land* of that People, at the time of their going up to Worship the Lord in his

Temple. And whereas the *Roman Enemy* did at length *desire their Land*, at the time of their going up to the *Passover*, this one thing was enough to prove that the *Messiah* was come, and the *Passover* no longer Commanded. It shows, that there is a *strange Operation* of God upon the *Minds* of Men, to Curb, and Check, and Blind the *Evil-minded*. Well, we have had our *Frontier Towns*, in many of which the Lord Jesus Christ hath been Worshipped, and Sought, and Serv'd continually. Had the lurking *Enemy* done as they might have done; how easily might one Dozen of them have kept the *Towns* in such perpetual and perplexing *Alarms*, as would have caused them even to have broken up! And what *unknown Mischiefs* might a few more of 'em have brought upon our Scattered Plantations! I do again and again say, This is from the *strange Operation* of God; upon the *Minds* of the *Enemy*, that they have no more *disturbed our Land*. For my own Part I will observe it, and admire it in such Terms as *Austin* used upon a Remarkable Providence; *Quisquis non videt, Cecus; Quisquis videt, nec Laudat, Ingratus; Quisquis Laudanti reluctatur, Insanus*: They are Blind and Mad that are insensible of it!

Yet again, have not our *English Prisoners* been favoured with such a *Remembrance of Mercy* in the midst of *Wrath*, as ought never to be *Forgotten*? The *Mercy* of God inclined the *French* to Buy 'em out of the Hands of the *Indians*, and use them with an Exemplary Humanity and Civility. The *Mercy* of God preserved many of them alive, under prodigious and incredible Hardships, and at length Returned many Scores of them Home. And may not our *English Women*, that were *Prisoners*, take notice of one Singular *Mercy* shown by God unto them, in preserving them from Violations by the *Outrageous Lusts* of the *Salvages*? This one thing will be thought by some almost as great and strange an Instance of an Immediate Interposition of the *Angels* of God, as the muzzling of the *Lions* in the Den of *Daniel*! O ye Redeemed of the Lord, you, whom he hath Redeemed from the Hand of the *Enemy*, give thanks to the Lord, for he is good? Charge your own Souls, that you never forget his Benefits; ask your own Souls, What you shall render to the Lord for all his Benefits: And Remember that Admonition of the Lord Jesus Christ unto you, *Sin no more, lest a worse thing do come unto thee*.

Furthermore, who could not see *Mercy* Remembered in the midst of *Wrath*, when God hath put it into the Hearts of his People in the *Southern* Parts of the Country, to make *Liberal Contributions* of Money, and Corn, and Men, for the Relief of the *Northern* Parts? More than once has the Noble Charity of our Brethren in *Plymouth*, and in *Connecticut*, as well as of this Town, been Expressed in such *Contributions*. Their *Alms* are gone up for a Memorial before the Lord! The *Blessing* of many that have been ready to Perish hath come upon you, O ye Merciful

ciful Children of God, and you shall obtain Mercy from him.

Once more, was every *Mercy Remembered* in the midst of *Wrath*, more conspicuously than when powerful *Adversaries* deligning Inroads upon us, have been diverted wonderfully. Advice hath been seasonably dispatched unto us, of the Intentions in our Enemies to fall upon our Frontiers, and this *Advice* hath proved our *Safety*. Yea, sometimes when we have had no *Advice*, a strange Direction from Heaven has led us to those Actions, which have as much defeated the Intentions of our Enemies, as if we had received the fullest *Advice* in the World. Besides this, *Boston*, and *Salem*, and *Portsmouth* especially, will they ever forget the *last Year*? It was a *Year of Salvation*; yea, it was a *Year of Miracles*! Never, never such a *Year* passed over us. The Almighty show'd that Favour to his People of old, *Zech. 9. 8. I will Encamp about my House, because of the Army, because of him that passeth by, and because of him that returneth.* Alexander in an Expedition to the *Southward* did pass by the Land of *Israel*, and he did *Return* again to the *Northward*, without hurting that Land that had the *House of God* in it. Formidable *French Squadrons* have more than once passed by to the *Southward*, and have returned again to the *Northward*, intending doubtless a *destroying Visit* into this Land by the way; but our Lord *Jesus Christ* hath *Encamped about his House here, because of the Navy*. Yea, once, O *New-England*, the Lord thy God, he that would be the *Holy One of New-England*, gave *Carthage* for thy *Ransom*, he gave *Men for thee, and Spaniards for thy Life*. Another time, when a *Force* likely enough to have carried all before them, were almost arrived unto us, we are advised that God sent such a sudden, and such a wasting *Sickness* among them, as to make them, for want of Hands, to desist from their Attempt. These were illustrious *Deliverances*! And yet give me leave to say, we did the *last Year* see another *Deliverance*, that for ought I know may be equal to any of the rest. There was an *English Fleet* of our good Friends with a direful *Plague* aboard 'em, intending *Hither*. Had they come as they intended, what an horrible *Desolation* had cut us off, let the *Desolate Places* that some of you have seen in the Colonies of the *South* declare unto us; and that they did not come, it was the *Signal Hand of Heaven*, by which the goings of Men are ordered.

In fine, because God being full of *Compassion*, would not stir up all his *Wrath*, he hath *Remembered Mercy* to us in the midst of *Wrath*, by Raising us up *Generous Benefactors*, who have been able and willing to oblige us with their *Benefits*. It must be with shame acknowledged, our Usage of our *Publick Servants* has commonly been such, that for any *thinking Man* to be willing at all to serve the *Publick*, seems to be a *Mark and Fruit* of no little *Generosity*. Nevertheless, we have had Persons of *Exemplary Patience*, and *Prudence*, and *Self-denial*, sitting at

the *Helm* of our *Government*, all this while that the *horrible Tempest* hath been enough to make any Man living *Sick* of being there. We have had Persons who have *Disburfed* and *Expended* of their *Estates*, and considerably *Damified* their *Interests* for us in our *Distresses*, when yet they foreknew what *pay* they should have after all. Yea, we have had, and still have, [I can at this moment fasten my Eye upon some of them in the Assembly where I am now speaking] *brave Men*, who have *bravely Jeopardied their Lives in the high Places of the Field* for our *Defence*. O Treat 'em not with *vile Ingratitude*, after all the *Service* they have done: *Prefer* them on all fit *Occasions* while they Live, *Embalm* their *Memories*, and *Requite* their *Families* when they are *Dead*. But while we are thankful to *them*, let us much more give *Thanks to God* for them, even for such *Gifts* of *Heaven* as we have *Enjoyed* in them.

Well, will you *wisely Observe* these things? *Wisely!* That is to say, *Thankfully* and *Fruitfully*. It may be, if more *Distinct* and *Solemn THANKSGIVINGS* were made unto *God our Saviour* for these things, the *Reliques* of our *Enemies* would quickly feel the *Rebukes* of *God* upon them, not unlike those in *2 Chron. 20. 22. When they began to Sing and to Praise, the Lord set Ambushments against their Enemies, and they were smitten.*

IX. In the *WAR* that hath been upon us, *whoso is Wise, may Observe* those things that may mightily *Encourage* our *Prayer*, and our *Faith*, for a *Total Ruin* to be hastened on the *Remainders* of our *Enemies*.

There yet *Remains* a *Knot* of our *Enemies* in those *Inaccessible Thickets*, where we despair ever to *Find 'em out*; but I will *Read* their *Doom* from *Psal. 21. 8, 9, 10. Thine Hand, O Lord, shall find out all thine Enemies, thy Right Hand shall find out those that hate thee; the Lord shall swallow them up in his Wrath, and the Fire shall devour them; their Fruit shalt thou destroy from the Earth, and their Seed from among the Children of Men.* What *Remains* for us, is, that we do by *Prayer* and *Faith* put our *Enemies* over, into those *Omnipotent Hands* that can *find them out*, and cut them off. Oh! Let us keep our *Hands lifted up in Prayer*, for a *Total Dissipation* of those *Amalekites*, which have thus long and thus far prevailed against us! We have already had many *Notable Answers of Prayer* in this our *War*: Every one of our *Deliverances* have been very *Notably Such*! We cannot say, How many particular Persons have received *Answers of Prayer* in the particular *Troubles* which this *Evil time* hath *Ensnared* them withal. Doubtless many a *Christian* has in this time had opportunity to say, *This poor Man cried, and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his Troubles!* And several *Towns*, that have had a *Remarkable Protection* of *God* upon them in this long *Time of Danger*, they have had a *Praying People* in them, and that

Praying People have been the *Chariots and the Horse-men* thereof. Why else does *Deerfield* Stand? How should our Prayer be *Quickened* by such Experiences! But there is this further *Quickening* for it, that with the Cry of our Prayer, there will go up unto the Lord the Cry of *Blood*; much Innocent, and Righteous, and Precious *Blood*, Cries to Heaven from the Ground against those *Bloody and Crafty Men*, that have Treacherously shed it. Certainly they must not *Live out all their Days!* And we have this prevailing Plea against them in the *Court of Heaven!* That they have most falsely Broken their *Covenants* in their *Outrages*. We may venture to present our *Memorials* in the *Court of Heaven* against these *Covenant-Breakers*, who are *Implacable and Unmerciful*; and we may use the Words of *Jephtah* against his Heathen Adversaries, *The Lord the Judge be Judge between us and them!* We may use the Words of *Jehoshaphat* against his Heathen Adversaries, *O our God, wilt thou not Judge them?* *Uladislans*, the King of *Hungary*, Scandalously breaking his League with *Amurath* the *Turkish* Emperor, brought an Army into the Field against him. The *Turkish* Army being horribly Broke and Slain, and almost Vanquished by the *Hungarian*, *Amurath* in his Anguish took out of his Bosom the written League that *Uladislans* had made with him, and holding it up in his Hands with his Eyes to Heaven, he cried out, *Behold, O Crucified Christ, the League which thy Christians in thy Name have made with me, and now without cause do Violate; if thou be a God, revenge the wrong that is now done unto thy Name, and shew thy Power upon a Perjurious People, who in their Deeds deny their God!* Immediately the Course of the Battel turn'd; the Perjurious King was kill'd; and the *Turks* won a most unexpected Victory. Truly we may in like manner now take the Instrument of the *Submission and Agreement* of the *Eastern Indians*, which Thirteen of their Chief Commanders did Sign more than Five Years ago; and holding it up to Heaven, we may cry out, *Ah, Lord God of Truth, wilt thou not be Revenged upon the false Wretches that have broken this League!* Doubtless our God will Execute a dreadful *Vengeance* upon them, if we humbly make our Suit unto him for it; and he has ways for his *Vengeance* to come at them, which we cannot Imagine. 'Tis affirmed, that several times in this *War* our Enemies have in the Woods met with Parties of *Indians*, which were their *own Friends*, but by a Mistake apprehending each to be Enemies unto each other, they have hotly fallen upon one another, and many have been kill'd on both Sides before the Mistake was discovered. Yea, 'tis affirmed, that not a few of the Chief *Murderers* among our *Enemies* have accidentally killed themselves; the most *Murderous Indians* have in a little while been their own Executioners. Who can tell what *Strange Ways*, the God unto whom *Vengeance* belongeth, hath to inflict it on a Generation of his *Curse*?

Only let us remember to plead the *Sacrifice* of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST* in our Prayer, with our Faith for the *Redemption* of our *Deliverance*. Our Lord *JESUS CHRIST* hath been a *Sin-Offering* for the *Congregation*, and a *Sacrifice* pleadable, not only for *Persons*, but also for *Peoples* that belong unto him. We read in *1 Sam. 7. 9, 10.* *Samuel offered a Burnt-Offering wholly unto the Lord, and Samuel cried unto the Lord of Israel, and the Lord heard him; and the Lord Thundered with a great Thunder on that Day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them.* When we cry to the Lord, let us plead the *Burnt-Offering* of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and plead, that God has more glorified his *justice* in the *Sufferings* of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST*, than if our Houses were all fill'd with the Cries of our People Massacred by *Indian Salvages*. Then will our God *Thunder with a great Thunder* of his Consuming Wrath upon our *Indian Philistines!* That Note which the Great *Calvin* has above an Hundred times over in his Commentaries on the *Psalms*, *Nunquam Irritas fore preces, or, Prayers will never be lost! Prayers will never be lost!* It will much oftner be repeated in our Blessed *Experience*, if our *Prayers* do present before God that Blessed *Sacrifice*, of which he says, *'Tis a sweet Odour to me!*

X. In the *WAR* that hath been upon us, *Whoso is Wise, may observe* those loud Calls to a *Reformation* of our *Miscarriages*, which 'tis a *Dangerous* and a *Desperate* thing to neglect any longer. It was the Voice of the Blessed God in *Psal. 81. 13, 14.* *O that my People had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my Ways! I should soon have subdued their Enemies, and turned my Hand against their Adversaries.* Ah, *New-England*, thy God hath not soon subdued thine *Enemies*, nor soon turned his Hand against thine *Adversaries*; but let 'em Vex thee for *Ten Years* together. Surely thou hast not *Hearkened* unto him, nor *Walked* in his *Ways!* In that which was called, *The Holy War*, the *Embassadors* of a *Saracen Prince* demanded of a *Famous Christian General*, how he came to have, *Manus tam Doctas ad Præliandum*, *Hands* that were so able to *Fight*? The *Christian General* replied, *Quia Manus Semper habui puras*, because I never defiled my *Hands* with any *Notorious Wickedness*. Alas, our *Hands* have made but poor *Work* at *Fighting*. 'Tis time for us then to *Reform* all the *Notorious Wickedness* in our *Hands!* Do we *Dream* that the Almighty hath spent all his *Arrows*? No, after all that for *Ten Years* together have been spent upon us, there are yet more *Arrows* and *Judgments* left in the *Quiver* of God: And except we *Turn* unto him, who can say, what *Arrows* he may next *Ordain* against us? The *Roman Emperor* *Upbraided* his *General Terentius* for losing a *Battel*; but the *General* having too much occasion to say so much, replied, *Sir, I must tell you, that it is you that lost the Day for us, by your open Fighting against the God of Heaven*

Heaven as you do. If it be asked, how 'tis come to pass that we have Sped so ill in many a Battel since this War began? Some will blame one, and some will blame another; but I will take leave to tell all them that lead an Ungodly Life, *Sirs, 'Tis to you that we owe all our Ill Success!* I need not Quote one of the Ancients, namely, *Ambrose*, for that *Observation*, *Graviores Inimici sunt mores pravi, quam Hostes Infensi*: We have had enough in our own Experiments to convince us, *That our worst Enemies are our Vices, which provoke Heaven to Chastise us with all our other Enemies*: And indeed, if our Ways did please the Lord, our Enemies would be at peace with us. Observe wisely, and you cannot but Observe the Language of Heaven in the Circumstances thro' which we have passed for a whole Decad of Years together, to be that in *Lev. 26. 23, 24. If ye will not be reformed by me by these things, but will walk contrary unto me, then will I also walk contrary unto you, and I will punish you yet Seven times for your Sins.* And that the Demand of REFORMATION may be loud enough, it arrives to us now with a more than Ordinary Accent of Authority upon it. We have seen, and blessed be God, that we have seen, the greatest Monarch that ever sat upon the *British Throne*, issuing out his Royal Proclamation, upon the Pious Address of the Commons of *England* Assembled in Parliament; a Proclamation, wherein that Illustrious Prince declares his Royal Resolution to Discountenance all Vice whatsoever, and requires all Officers whatsoever to be Vigilant in the Discovery, Prosecution and Punishment thereof. We have seen a most Excellent GOVERNOR, who is the greatest Person that ever set Foot on the *English* Continent of *America*, beginning his Government with Proclaiming for the Suppression of all Vice in one of his Provinces: That Noble Person has therein done like a Vicegerent of GOD! His very Honourable Lieutenant hath worthily done his part, with the Advice of his Council, in another of his Provinces. If these things prove but meer Formalities among a People, *Hating to be Reformed* after all, what will they be, but more Terrible Prognosticks of Tremendous and Amazing Desolations at Hand, than so ma-

ny *Blazing Stars* on Fire in Heaven over us. It is to be hoped, the Ministers of the Gospel will do what belongs to them for the Assistance of all *Holy Essays* about Reformation; and their Churches, if call'd upon, will join with them in the Methods of Covenant, and of Discipline, for the promoting of it. Yea, it is to be hoped, that we shall all Zealously, in our several Stations, do all that we can for the Pleasing of God, and for the Correction, and Suppression, and Reformation of the Sin that may be Displeasing to him. It is a thing very Notorious unto us, that *Idleness, Drunkenness, Uncleaness, Cheating, Lying, Profane Swearing*, and above all, that which is the Root of all, the *Prophanation of the Lord's-Day*, gains Ground upon us. Let all that have any Power in their Hands, unto the utmost of their Power endeavour to keep under those Enormities. But Last of all, nay, I should rather say First of all, O let every Man set upon Self-Reformation with all his Might! I remember that passage in *Prov. 18. 17. He that is first in his own Cause seemeth right*, is Translated by the *Vulgar Latin*, so as to carry a further and an useful Admonition in it; *Justus primus est Accusator sui*, A Just Man, before he meddles with the Reproof of others, will First Accuse himself, and search the State of his own Soul and Life, and faithfully Reform it. Oh! That very much of this might be done among us! How doth an Army of Thrice Ten Thousand Men presently Turn from East to West, because Every One Turns One? *Sirs, We have Wisely Observed* the things that have in our afflicted Years befallen us, and we have now, to good purpose, heard a Sermon of Observations upon those things, if we will now retire, and ponder seriously with our selves, *What is there amiss in my own Heart, and in my own Life, and in my own Family; and by what Reformation of my self may I best answer the Expectation of the God who has Chastised us all.*

We have been under the Lamentable Punishments of our Sins for Two Lustres of Years together; 'tis time for every Man, and for all of us, as One Man, to say, as in *Lam. 3. 40. Let us search and try our Ways, and turn again unto the Lord.*

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Reader, *Carthage* was of the mind, that unto those Three Things which the Ancients held Impossible, there should be added this Fourth, to find a Book Printed without Errata's. It seems, the Hands of *Briareus*, and the Eyes of *Argus*, will not prevent them.

Faint, illegible text at the top of the page, possibly a header or introductory paragraph.

STATE OF NEW YORK

Main body of faint, illegible text, likely containing a list or detailed report.

THE *Holy Bible* it self, in some of its Editions hath been affronted, with Scandalous *Errors* of the *Press-work*; and in one of them, they so Printed those Words, *Psal. 119. 161. Printers have persecuted me.* The Author of this *Church History* ha's all the Reason in the World then to be Patient, tho' his work, be depraved with many *Errors* of the *Press-work*. The common Excuse in such cases is, The Distance of the *Author* from the *Press*; Here there was the Distance of a thousand Leagues. Tho' the *Errata* are mostly, but *Literals*; and there are few, but what an Intelligent, and Charitable Reader, would correct without any Direction from the Author; yet it was thought fit here, to offer a collection of them; (omitting the *Falſe-Pointings*, which are more Numerous, and leis Important.)

p. stands for *Page*. c. for *Column*. l. for *Line*. (f. b.) is as much as to say, count the Lines from the bottom.

IN Poems p 51. penult f. *Secms*, r joins. p. 61. l. 1 r. *Literarum* p 71. 18 r. *Dumque*.
In General Introduction, p. 1 c 2 l 2 r. Fare. *Ibid* l. last f. *deceod* r. *decried*. p. 2 c 2 l 62 blot out, NOT. p. 3 c 1 l. 43 f. implies, r. employs. p. 4 c 1 l. 41 r. *Lyncei*. p. 5 c 1 l. 32 r. *Jurieu*. p. 6 c 2 l 54 f. *Christ* r. *Aſſit*. p. 7 c 2 l. 41 f. tu r. m.

BOOK I.

PAge 1 c. 1 l 1 r. It was as long ago, *Ibid* c. 2 l 2 r. *com-pilasse*, l 27 r. *il-boding*. p. 3 c 1 l 4 r. *terrarum*. *Ibid* c. 2 l 21 f. *Served*, r. *Scrned*. l 42 r. One Captain. p 5 c 1 l 5 (f. b.) The Sentence is to End at, *Impugued*. p 6 l 12 r. *Adventurers*. p 12 c 1 l 12 f. and r. in. c 2 l 17 r. *Showes*. p 14 c 1 l 40 f. *The*. *Though*. p 15 c 1 l 2 (f. b.) r. *Horror*. p 17 c 1 l 29 f. *Peace* r. *Face*. p 20 c. 1 l 8 (f. b.) r. *Infantia*. c 2 l 3 (f. b.) i. *Nov-Angles*. p 21 c. 2 l. 14 r. *Zone* for the poor. p 22 c 2 l 33 place the (:) at, *Alive*; p 27 c. 2 l 23 r. *Willard* p 28 c. 2 l 28 r. *Lyme*. p 36 c 1 l 39 r. their.

BOOK II.

Title-page l 13 r. *Secli*. l 14 r. *damus*. l 16 r. *Dignitate-panormitan*. p 1 c 2 l 28 r. works. p 7 c 1 l 21 r. *Fortis*. c 2 l 13 r. *Magno*. p 9 c 2 l 39 f. imitate, r. intimate p 10 c. 1 l 51 r. make. p 11 c 1 l 38 r. if it be, p 13 c 1 l 8 r. *Humility*. p 17 c 1 l 9 (f. b.) r. *Eudoxia* 14 r. *Schurman* p 20 c 2 l 23 r. *Successively* And again at l 32. p 27 c 1 l 46 r. *Loving*. p 32 c 1 l 9 r. *Adeptist* c 2 l 2 r. *Loving*. p 41 c 2 l 4 (f. b.) r. 1687. p 61 c 1 l 4 r. *Invisible*. p 64 c 2 l 3 r. *Invisible*: 19 (f. b.) f. under, r. unto. p 69 c 1 l 38 r. *Agellius*. p 70 c 1 l 3 (f. b.) r. few but would... c 2 l 45 f. of r. or p 72 c 1 l 44 f. him r. them.

BOOK III.

PAge 1 c 1 l 14 r. *Calvinianus*. l 34 f. ac r ab. l 35 f. *meus*. *imens* c 2 l 1 f. our r one p 3 c 1 l 27 r. *Maverick*. c 2 l 18 (f. b.) i. *Harford* p 4 c 1 l 61. *Signalize*. p 5 c 2 l 31 r. *Mapalia*, l 3 (f. b.) f. *Patrons* r *Nations* p 13 c 1 l 11 r. It is better. l 47 f. *Faith* r. *Truth*. p 15 c 2 l 32 r. no less than... p 18 c 1 l 23 r. *Temporibus* p 22 c 1 l 2 r. *Sincere*, l 3 (f. b.) r the Name. c 2 l 20 r. *Varia*. p 23 c 1 l 7 r. *Presbyteros*. l 28 r a *Synodo*. p 25 c 1 l 20 r. was by the, l 16 (f. b.) r. *Expound*. p 28 c 1 l 41 f. of r. off. p 30 c 2 l 25 r. more instructed and. p 33 c 1 l 42 f. two r. a... 144 r. unexceptionable p 43 c 2 l 40 r. *Bishops*. p 45 c 1 l 14 Blot out, *He*. p 46 c 2 l. last r. *wish no one ill*. p 49 c 2 l. 7 r. *Antiquitati*. p 55 c 2 l 49 f. will r

might. p 57 c 1 l 2 (f. b.) r. pleasantly said. p 58 c 1 l 21 r. it is in one. c 2 l 43 f. for r. from the Spirit. p 59 c 2 l 38 f. one r. our. p 63 c 1 l 16 Blot out, *And his own*. l 18 f. her r. his. p 64 c 2 l 10 (f. b.) r. it was NOT long. p 66 c 2 l 24 f. yet r. not p 67 c 2 l 12 (f. b.) r. *Souls*. p 68 c 1 l 10 r. that's, p 71 c 2 l 3 (f. b.) f. also r. tho' p 74 c 1 l 37 make a Comma (,) at, *New-England*, p 76 c 1 l 14 r. for as the. c. 2 l 13 r. *Paleas*. p 77 c 2 l. 5 r. *Enatare*. p 80 c 2 l 5 Blot out, *Not*. p 84 c 1 l. 9 Blot out, *Not*. p 85 c 2 l 38 make a Comma (,) at, *Conversion*, p 90 c 2 l 6 Blot out, *His*. l 43 r. *Exeundum*. p 91 c 1 l 38 f. me, r. *Him*. p 93 c 2 l 17 (f. b.) r. *Circumstance*. p 94 c 1 l 3 r. *Transaſion*. l 4 f. her r. *His* p 95 c 1 l 3 r. *regitas*. c 2 l 21 r. *Abraha*. p 96 c 2 l 36 r. *Vicar-General* p 98 c 2 l 6 r. *Nominis*. l 33 r. *Tellus*. l 36 r. *Irati* p 100 c 1 l 29 r. *Mistakes*. l last, Blot out, *As* p 104 c 2 l 5 (f. b.) r. *depulerant*. p 105 c 1 l 14 (f. b.) r. *Cupit*. p 106 c 2 l 19 r. of his. l 41 f. mentioned, r maintained. p 108 c 2 l 20 r. *Periclitati* l 23 r. *fidis* l 48 r. *desideratissimos*. p 109 c 2 l 2 r. *Excitarem*. l 14 r. *Regum*. p 113 c 1 l 17 (f. b.) f and r. in. c 2 l 6 (f. b.) r. make. p 114 c 1 l 23 r. weariness. p 116 c 1 l 34 r. *Irrefragabilis* c 2 l 17 r. *eset*. p 119 c 2 l 18 r. many an. l 20 f. we r. *He*. l 30 f. Twice r. Thrice p 120 c 1 l 14 r. move. p 121 c 2 l 28 f. *Souls* r. *Seals* p 122 c 1 l 18 r. *Likeness*. p 123 c 1 l 15 (f. b.) r. *Orbilian*. l 17 (f. b.) r. *multa* p 126 c 1 l 21 r. by the. c 2 l 19 (f. b.) f. if. r. of. p 127 c 1 l 29 r. find him. p 133 c 1 l 30 r. *navarunt*. l 36 r. *delibuti* l 38 r. *arripiant*. c 2 l 10 r. did. l 21 r. tearful. p 134 c 2 l 41 r. *Paula*. l 9 (f. b.) blot out, *So*. l 3 (f. b.) r. *Hebraicas*. p 138 c 2 l 8 r. *ορθοτακειν* --- *ορθοτροδειν*. l 10 r. make the. p 141 c 2 l 18 (f. b.) r. calling. p 143 c 1 l 20 (f. b.) r. *Foster*, -- *Descensu*. p 144 c 1 l 34 r. *Since* rioris. p 145 c 1 l 2 blot out, *Lutbi*. p 151 c 1 l 27 r. *Abase*. p 152 c 2 l 23 f. her r. their: p 153 c 2 l 28 r. *Caelos*. l 32 r. *novum*. l 36 r. *Indus*. p 155 c 2 l 25 r. grew. p 157 c 2 l 40 f. of r. and. p 158 c 1 l 19 (f. b.) r. that which. p 159 c 1 l 17 (f. b.) r. *Solam* c 2 l 9 (f. b.) r. *Nugae*. p 160 c 1 l 14 (f. b.) r. *Transaſion*, p 161 c 1 l 11 (f. b.) r. *homely*, p 162

c 1 l 24 (f b) r. upon him. p 163 c 2 l 18 (f b) r. *Regula*. p 164 c 1 l 4 (f. b) r. *livelyly*. c 2 l 7 f by r. p 165 c 2 l 32 r. *cernit ovans*. l 25 r. *anticollens* l 38 r. *Principal*. p 166 c 1 l 35 Begin a New Sentence, at, *Coming*. p 169 c 1 l 32 r. *Veratissimus* l 48 r. *Canoro* c 2 l 10 r. *Frangelicos* l 17 r. *Prudentissimus* l 4 (f b) r. *meruis*, *Sortitum* l 2 (f. b.) r. *Marino* p 171 c 1 l 11 End the Sentence. at, *unto* p 186 c 1 l 26 (f. b) r. in one of. p 188 c 1 l 11 f. *Secellion* r. *Secellien* p 189 c 2 l 13 r. *Communicans*. p 193 c 2 l 11 (f b) r. *opporter* p 202 c 2 l 3 f. *Christum*, r. *Christmas*. l 11 (f b) f. *Praver*, r. *Praise*. p 211 c 2 l 7 r. may thus p 212 c 1 l 8 (f b) r. *Prodigi* p 213 c 1 l 23 (f. b.) r. *Ordini* p 214 c 2 l 18 r. are not p 215 c 1 l 12 (f. b.) f. *Thirty* r. *Thirsty* p. 217 c 2 l 28 (f. b) r. be a... p 221 c 1 l 29 r. *Prateo* p. 223 c 2 l last r. *Excidio*. p 227 c. 2 9 (f. b.) r. *relv*. p 231 c 2 l 19 r. *Afflictions* p 234 c 2 l 25 r. That is

BOOK IV.

PAGE 125 l 22 r. *Senatum*. p 126 c 1 l 24 r there were l 34 r. *tradere*. l 10 (f. b.) add, *were*. c 2 l 17 r. 1639 p 127 c 1 l 4 of formidable r. *serviceable* p 128 c 1 l 25 . *Sollice*. l 18 (f. b.) f. the, r. this c 2 l 3 (f. b.) r. 1671. p 130 c 1 l 18 (f. b.) blot out, *That* c 2 l 7 r. *Nov Anglia* l 40 r. for his last r. apprehended p 131 c 2 l 23 f. *id* r. in. l 31 r. *Provincia* l 43 f. *ista* r. *ita* p 132 c 1 l 2 r. they do not. l 33 r. *intelligere* l 40 after, *Anineam*, add, *asserit*. c 2 l 19 (f b) f. *unquam* r. *Unguen*. p 133 c 1 l 11 r. *Potietur* l 40 after, *commutato*, put a, colon (:) c 2 l 26 r. *Sacras* p 134 c 1 l 7 r. *intra* l 15 r. *Herefin*... *Aliquam*. c 2 l 1 r. *Academicos* l - blot out, ad. l 9 *Crescentius* p 136 c 1 l 16 (f. b) to, *Woodbridge*, add, *Mr Oxonii* p 141 c 2 l 21 (f. b.) r. *Momentanei*, l 6 (f. b.) r. and at. p 142 c 2 l 11 c (f. b.) blot out on. p 144 c 1 l 3 r it was c 2 l 22 (f b) r. *afsecutum*. p 147 c 1 l 24 r. as it is p 156 c 1 l 21 r. have been. c 2 l last End the Sentence, not at, *Render*, but at, *You*. p 163 c 1 l 21 (f. b) r. f. *ingenuously* r. *unanimously*. p 166 c 2 l 19 (f. b) Begin a new sentence at, *In*, p 169 c

2 l 11 r. *Three Things*. p 170 c 1 l 11 f. *mane* r. *inane* p 188 c 2 l 13 (f b) r. *celeberrimi* p 191 c 1 l 18 r. *ulam umbram*. p 196 c 1 l 3 r. did Not so p 200 c 1 l 34 r. *Americanam*. *coloniam* p 202 c 1 l 31 f. *Thing* r. *Time*. c 2 l 10 r by his p 203 c 2 l 33 r. you up to. p 204 c 2 l 4 r. *Even* l 32 f. *civility* r. *charity* l 35 r. himself p 205 c 1 l 21 (f b) r. *Errors*. p 207 c 1 l 3 blot out, a. c 2 l 14 f. *Linos* r. *Lives*. p 211 c 1 l 13 (f. b) r. *Save me*. p 217 c 2 blot out, the last four Lines, but four.

BOOK V.

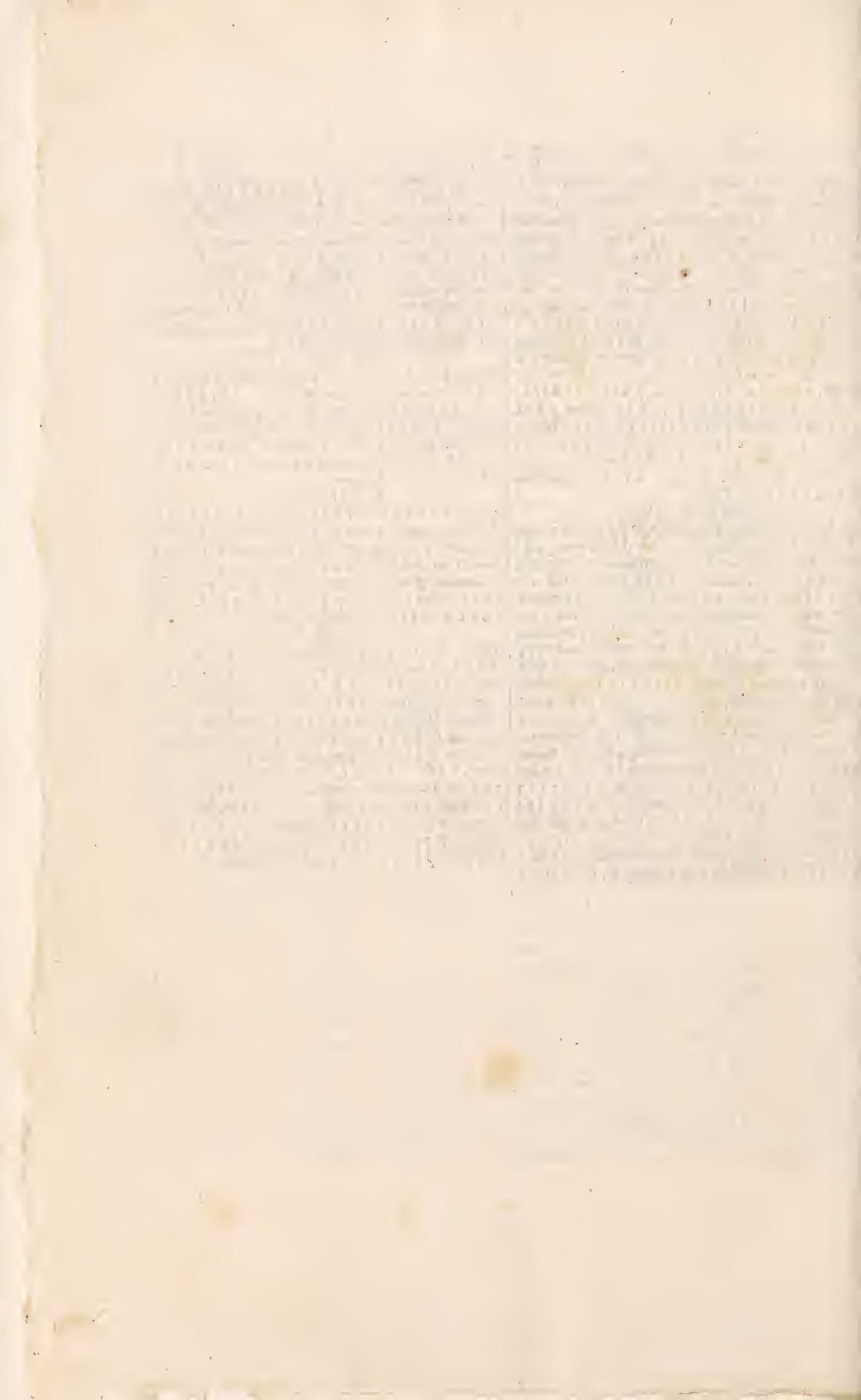
PAGE 4 c 2 l 3 (f. b) r. which are, as. p 17 c 1 l 38 f. mention r. *maintain*. p 27 c 1 l 4 (f b) f. or r. of. p 32 c 2 l 12 f. way r. may p 35 c 1 l 29 r. worthy. p 37 c 1 l 27 f. and r. of. p 67 c 2 l 22 r. *External*. p 68 c 1 l 18 r. *Therefore*. p 77 c 1 l 14 (f b) Begin the sentence at, *For the*. p 81 c 2 l 15 r. *Mitchel*. l 21 r. *Pergama*

BOOK VI.

PAGE 8 c 2 l 9, 10 (f. b) r. *Sea fare*. p 14 c 2 l 14 (f b) r. *Lucis* p 17 c 1 l 15 r. *Showers*. l 34 r. they are called. c 2 l 34, 37 r. *Bath Kol*. p 20 c 1 l 29 f. *Suis* r. *Ovis*. p 21 c 1 l 13 r. *Wretches*. p 23 c 2 l 3 r. *Nemescos* p 25 c 2 l 27 (f. b) r. of the. p 26 c 2 l 35 f. doing r. being p 33 c 2 l 28, 33 r. *Council* p 81 c 2 l 21 (f. b) blot out, *Sheep*.

BOOK VII.

PAGE 7 c 1 l 19 r. *Enumerating*. p 8 c 2 l 20 (f. b) r. *Auto catacritio*. p 10 c 1 l 16 (f b) r. *Insigne*. p 11 c 2 l 21 (f. b) f. *Bovis* r. *Bonis*. p 12 c 2 l 27 f. the r. this. l 42 r. *Charters*. p 14 c 2 l 24 f. *Grace Works*. p 15 c 1 l 35 f. *Law*, r. *Land*. p 22 c 2 l 14 (f b) f. *The* r. *They*. p 28 c 1 l 29 f. *Fines* r. *Times*. p 32 c 2 l 10 add, &c &c. l 36 (f. b) r. wary. p 36 c 1 l 15 (f. b) r. *doubted*. p 49 c 2 l 20 (f. b) f. *damn'd* r. *damp'd*. p 50 c 1 l 14 (f. b) r. *Hazard*. p 60 l 8 r. *ArRo*. p 66 c 2 l 32 blot out, *Having*. p 70 c 1 l 25 r. *Ejulations* p 75 c 1 l 27 r. inferior; p 79 c 2 l 36 r. *Affailants*. p 104 c 1 l last r. to do it. p 105 c 2 l 7 (f. b.) r. *Rhum*.



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