Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy.
Or Innocency Vindicated, being unjustly Accused, and sorely Censured, by that Seven-headed Church-Government United in New-England:
Or That Servant so Imperious in his Masters Absence Revived, and now thus re-acting in New-England.

The combatte of the United Colonies, not onely against some of the Natives and Subjects, but against the Authority also of the Kingdom of England, with their execution of Laws, in the name and Authority of the servant, (or of themselves) and not in the Name and Authority of the Lord, or fountain of the Government.

Wherein is declared an Act of a great people and Country of the Indians in those parts, both Princes and People (unanimously) in their voluntary Submission and Subjection unto the Protection and Government of Old England (from the Fane they hear thereof) together with the true manner and forme of it, as it appears under their own hands and seales, being stirred up, and provoked thereto, by the Combate and courtes above-said.

Throughout which Treatise is secretly intermingled, that great Opposition, which is in the goings forth of those two grand Spirits, that are, and ever have been, extant in the World (through the fons of men) from the beginning and foundation thereof.

Imprimatur. Aug. 3d. 1646. Diligently perused, approved, and Licensed to the Preffe, according to Order by publike Authority.

Novemb. 7th. London,
Printed by John Macock, and are to be sold by Luke Fauvne, at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the sign of the Parrot. 1646.
Upon an occasional view, of this unexpected, and much unwished for Story.

His Story's strange, but altogether true:
Old England: Saints are banished out of New:
Oh Monstrous Art, and cunning of the Devil,
What hidden paths he goes, to spread his evil!
The Man of Sin's the same, his eldest Son;
Both have more foemen, then be means, in the Sun.
Hence disappointed, are the worth of men;
When trouble's past (some thinks) they rise again.
Thus it befell these Pilgrims, in that Land,
To which they fled, from persecutions hard.
This Indians note, with Papists, Jews and Turk,
For in them all, the felle fame spirit works:
Thus is the Name of Christ, blasphemed, by them,
Who burthen them, to whom they promised safe.

'Oh Christ arise, and spread thy glorious name,
That all may know, the sweetness of thy Name:
Asia: Affric, Europe, and America
Expel! and wait the dawning of that day,
That Papists, Greeks, and we the Protestants
Of Calvin's Seal, those too, the Lutherans,
And they that are a freine above them all,
At Jesus feet, at length may humbly fall.
That to such Christ's, which most in fancy make
(Whence'tis (Men think) that Christendome doth flock)

May
A Lover of peace, and one of eminent respect, viewing this Treatise at the Press, kindly added this verse prefixed, which hath both sedately, and unexpectedly drawn from my thoughts as here followeth, as a testimony of my kind respects unto the party, though but a stranger unto him; it may also serve as an intelligence, what was the only ground of controversy, in acting according unto, and publishing of, this Treatise.

He serpent with a voyce so fies and fine
Consults with nature, as though he were divine,
Whill's she doth seek for glory, wealth, and love
In things that are below, and not in that above;
Lending an ear to lift him unto,
The fruit looks fair, the tree seems nothing grim:
And hence doth he, at first begin't arise.
Through earthly projects, for to make man wise:
Whereas the light of heaven, GOD himself ordain'd
to be that thing, whereby man is maintain'd.
In
in wisdom, honor, happiness, and peace,
That doth from serpents (sin, death, hell) release;
And no: conformal, doubtful, fabulous notion.
Set forth, by arts, with sign of great devotion.

* The serpents,
Voyage through all new
Englands, speaking in way of Miniature at the beginning.

Come from the Prelates *, your persecuting foes;
Our Church (at Primitive) Christ Jesus doth disclose
Her Ordinances pure, a Church erected here
Where you may worship, void of care or fear,
Our Land is large; Our Magnificacy good;
Come to sate in that innocent-like blood
From such as are to cruelty so bent,
Our ways are meek and humble, to give all content;
Thus he appears, apparelled in white,
To shine in that, wherein he takes delight.
An earthly Kingdom, he would gain eret.
Then spiritual honor, he mult needs reject.

That when that * woman, appeareth in her glory
With him inوم, of whom increased all story.
Then he was a dragon red, for to devour
That child, to whom is given all the power
In heaven, and in earth, to rule as King and Lord.
None to the serpents, the heaven cannot afford
A place of residence, he must hence depart
Down to the earth, full fore against his heart,
That he a place cannot devise to frame
Which from the heavens may seem to take its fame.
Cruel, Raging, Carnal, now he cometh forth
His fin and subtile wisdom, now proved nothing worth.

This woman, now in travek, finds not time
To listen unto him, north but the child is mine:
Which child in her, can nothing else confine,
But Throne of glory *, and bare Wilderness:
Which thine together, give all praise to one;
Then fury in the Serpent, smooth policy is gone:
No middle place for Satan now is found,
Not one worthy man's body; down he goes to ground:

* He ever puts
off the day of
the Lord as
not yet time
to build the
Temple, but
would live in
his own feigned
(or artificial)
house of his
own framing
device.

* Though he
dared to be
with Jesus, yet
Jesus understanding his
defire to be
but nature
(that is) to
joy him,
according to the
flesh, denies
him that,
so he might be
with him accor-
ding to the
spirit. Mat.
2. 20.
* For fo to
the word
Decapolis
furnishes ten
Cities.
* See Is. 66. 8.
* See 1. 6. 6.
* In this wom-
* an is set out

the way of
King Lceans, thar
mother, that
reaches the pro-
phets, Rev. 12.
Prov. 21, who
may pray and
prophecy in the
Church, without
information.

* For the one
beak, it felt
heaven, the
to the other the
wilderness.
All keepe their flations, attend as they have done,
Neglect no homage, or service to the Son,
All bring their vertues, treasures, and their glory
Gentling them all in him, a world of Princely Dowry,
Then walke through Sea, or Land, by friends or foes
Let prisons fall, hard irons thee inclose,
All take thy part, yea plead thy cause for thee
The world vents its malice, its Christs love those are free.

The Spirit of this world by these things comes to light
Its pomp, and glory, which earit did shine so bright
Appears grosse darkness unto Christian eyes
Down comes its Kingdom, up goes its plaints and cries,
Helpe Sword and Gun, else doth our Kingdom fall
Court, fire, Gangrena, we tast worm-wood and gall,
No marvell, for Christ in his native kind
Set forth, declared unto a carnall mind,
Appears so odious unto such a wight
As finite to him, in whom is found the light:
What sentence shall be given them by sons of men,
When truth appears, if power were found in them?

No power but that of darkness: then, let us to them aferibe
What's in the Church's our Lord's, all unto them deny'd;
Take heed yee Judge of Blasphemies aright,
For Light discerns, the darkness hath no light.
If Light, and Candlestick, you know not how, make one
Suspend your judgement, all your skill is gone,
And let the Judge of all, his Circuit passe space,
Who comes not to destroy, such is his grace,
And let that man his own destruction be,
Who breaks that faith with God, cannot be peace by thee.
Graze then your profections, seek yee to doe good:
Save life in any, in Church ways, spill not blood:
In Christ, if you consider, the Covenant of God,
Youle find that all compulsion is sought but that.* Nimrod.

S. G.

TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE,
the Earl of Warwick, Lord High
Admirall of England, and Governour
in chief of the English Plantations in America,
and upon the costs thereof, and to the ref of
that Honourable Committee, joyned in Commission
with his Excellency, For the well ordering,
government, and safety of Foreign Plantations.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

According to the Fame we have heard of you, so have we found in you, a spirit of
tenderneffe and compassion towards the oppressed,
which ever springs from the courage and fortitude of a heart resolute
to suppress the Oppressor, be his power and
policie what it may, whilst men unlesible
of the cause of the Needy, ever stand in readiness
to side with the strongest partie, and so
(as occasion serves) to become one with the
cruell, venting the same spirit, which for advan-
tage can easily transform it itself, so as if
A
power
power comply with the just man's cause, the vizard of hypocrisy is soon put on by such, either to become dumb & silent, or else to speak so as may best advantage it selfe, let the cause be what it will. Your wisdom and noble care in those weighty affairs committed to your trust, commands and binds us over to make a more particular and full relation (then formerly we have done) of what hath passed betwixt some other Colonies in New-England, and our selves; that if it be possible to find any leisure hours in a crowd of so great employments, your Honours might be pleased to take a more full view of things; in the meantime we stand humbly incoged, as we have done; and ever shall in any service, that what we are, or have, can tender to the honour and peace of our Native Countrey, or to any true-hearted well-wisher thereof; and if no other service (we can) may be acceptable, yet of this employment none shall prevent us (whilst our God gives us hearts) daily to pray for you.

Your Honours most humble Servants, the Inhabitants of Shew-omet, whose names are often expressed in this Narration.
all and exemplary unto others where ever the Name of them, may come; and if they be evil, then a whorish forehead must needs accompany them, being done in the light of the Son, and then can no wise man be offended, that a way-mark is cast up to give notice of such desperate and dangerous ways, unless himself be of the same spirit, and is about, or else waits for an opportunity for the like design.

These are intreated therefore not to look upon this Treatise, as a simple matter of History, but as matter of mystery also. For as it was said to make manifest the operations and workings of a differing spirit, so that it is published also, so that if it be narrowly looked into, not only a favour of that mystery of iniquity will appears (which always works effectually to the same end and purpose, namely, to extinguish and put out the light of divine truth, wherever, or in whomsoever it appears), but thou wilt find some Foot-steps also of that great mystery of God, whose bright beams of light where ever made manifest, declare the men of the world to sit in the shadow of death. Though the mystery of iniquity works not always in the same manner and form, yet did they any time together, without taking a new face, and using the art of transformation of it fell into one an other shape, and herein lies the pollicle of Satan, that when some time hath been spent (yea it may be an age) in hopes and expectation of glorious times of peace, ease, and exaltation from the mouths of lying prophets, who always drive the peace, power, and principality of the Kingdom of God, some certain time before them, or at the least before the common people (as they call them) as though they themselves were the only men, that for the present were admitted into the counsels and secrets of the Kingdom of God, and the people to take it upon their reports, where, and when, the appearance of it shall be.

But when the World by due proof finds their predections to fail, and seer troops of its ancestors go down to the grave, not having the possession put into their hand, it then works effectually, for a transformation, to caft its worship of God into another form, wherein it hopes in shorter time to attain him, in which state it cannot rest till it is both the strongest part, according to the power of the arm of flesh on its side, and therefore must of necessity labour diligently as for life, to borrow a coercive power from the civil Magistrate, to be transferred, turned over, and put into their bands, whereby they may indulge others, and compel them to follow their way, and to acknowledge their worship to be only divine, yea, the only God of the world, for there is but one divinity, which they have made and set up unto themselves, or else that the civil Magistrate will be pleased to detain and keep his own power upon this condition (sinding him unto themselves) that he shall not fail, to bind the hands and tongues, yea and hearts also (if they can but search and know what is in them), that none shall be permitted to intervene, or any way to disturb them; But that they may peaceably worship, every man in his garden, and under such a green tree, as he shall choose unto himself, being fearful of trouble and dissuades, not knowing better, but that the crook of Christ is terrible, and that the Son of God had not taken away the terror and angry face of its, putting no lefe disparagement upon him, but as though the thing were in death till, being ignorant of this, how that by death he overcomes death, even until now.

The reason why the civil Magistrate is so sought after, and (as he may justly say) troubled, if not tortured, in the depopulation of kingdoms, and loss of true-hearted Subjects by the church, in her formalities, and perfunactory worshiping, is this; a natural heart conceives the condition of the Church of Christ to be like a common well or Kingdom, which cannot be well, unless every individounced within such natural and serene confines, agree in one, for the well being and glory of each particular in the whole, so that the humble submission of every subject becomes one, in that one heart and Spirit of the King, who submits to the denial of himself (in any thing) for the preservation of the whole, and that one heart, courage, and magnanimity of the King, is in every individual of the Kingdom, to go forth for the honour, peace and preservation, of that their one Lord, and it is in the true Church rightly considered in its relation with the King of Saints, truly considered in spirituals, and not in anserene respects, but that natural spirit that works in a natural

changeable.
manifest his power and authority to be that of the forms of God, who rules in the midst of his enemies, and out of Egypt, Babylon, Egypt, *Rhad, Paletin, Tyre, and Ethiopia, is brought forth, so that it may be said this man was born there, even as the truth of the Gospel hath been brought forth in those parts, which our Jewish Reformers of religion by putting Christ to death, could never have thought of or apprehended, nor will they (were it never so plainly told into them) believe it, so that in this Treatise you may plainly see, how the mystery of iniquity already works, even in New England which thought it till the root of Reformation of all the world, even as Babylon always in the entrance of her compulsory contrivance, artificiell and self-seeking, confederall reformation, lets her self up as a Queen, and thinks never to see widowhood or sorrow any more, if she can but with all her art and learning keep the Magistrates confidence in bonds, to use all his power and cowąrtic for her wealth to get riches, and honour to Lord it over mens conscience, and peace that may fit in safety and at rest to indulge her barns and take her pleasure in the things of this life, never dreaming that even in that night of grose darkness her soul shall be snatched away from her, and then whose shall all these things be, whereof she hath framed such a service of God to her self, that must all leave her at death even such as for the most part, if we all (by her own acknowledgment) fail, and never pass along with her into the Kingdom, and then must she either have a new God, or else find out a new way of submision unto him, whom she hath seemed so solemnly to serve, (such is that spirit of the mystery of iniquity, she goes forth whereof, hath forced this Treatise to come to the light and view of the world, as a warning to all Christians, to take heed of being beguiled by a voluntary humility in worshipping of Angels, messengers or ministers, who labour to make men subject to the rudiments of the world in outward observations, as touch not, take not, handle not, wear not up a fabric of ordinances in Divine worship, of such things which all perish in the use, Neglecting the body which is Christ, by satisfying of the wisdom of the flesh in these things, through which the Spirit of the Serpent multiplies it self into that threefold
fold spirit which comes out of the mouth of the Dragon, and
out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false
Prophet, imitating that Kingly, Priestly, and Prophetical
spirit that is by Jesus Christ, beguiling the world with its un-
cleanness; in adulterating the word of God by bringing it into
carnal copulation with earthly, transitory, momentary, fa-
ding and vanishing things; who is unto them because thereof,
Who like unto frogs, will never appear, hold up their heads, or
utter a voice, but where the heat and misery of the Civil Magis-
trate, brings forth a pleasant, fruitful and prosperous estate
and condition, in the things that only concern this present life.

Again, if thou look narrowly into this Treatise, there is a
possibility to perceive in it, some glimpse of the light of that
spirit that openeth and unfoldeth the mystery of God, especially
when it taketh up any Scriptures; look diligently upon what
hinge it turneth, and you shall see a doore open, another way, yes
nearer & shorter cut to the Kingdom of God, then the common
ministry of this world driveth at; and think it not strange if
Jesus appears in such places, and at such time, Where, and when,
the doores are not only shut, but fast bolted unto the world,
as a thing impossible, that his real and substantiall (though
spirituall) body should come in, such a way, and so unlooked for,
being that in Sodom and Egypt our Lord is crucified, and put
to death; yet let me advise thee, as once our Lord did, handle them,
carefully and skilfully, ponder, poise, and feel the weight of them;
safe, try and consider, whether the reality and substantiaility of
Christ be not there; sure I am that if the ministerie or servise of
a Christian spirit lay hands on them, and put it welt into them,
even as a graft is put into the stock, it shall find a plain proof, ar-
ument, and demonstration undeniable, of the apparition & reve-
lution of the Son of God returned from death to life, never to
die any more, unto whom I leave thee (in the communication
of whose Resurrection the second death can never exercice power.)
With my hearty wishes for all those that have learned the truth as it
is in Jesus, & know that elsewhere no truth (that is Christian)
can be found, for that only abideth for ever, and is eternalized in all
the lineaments and whole proportion of it, and happy is he that
hath so learned Christ, Amen.

S. G.

Innocencies Defence, against
a seven-headed

CHURCH-GOVERNMENT
United in
NEW-ENGLAND.

He moderation of New Englands Justice,
desired to be known to all men*, and
what is the principal things pretended
in the Execution thereof; namely, To
supprese Heretics; and to confirm that
to be truth which the Unity of the most
Colonies hold; plainly declaring and
setting forth to the view of all, What
is the proper bent and drift of that spi-
rit that diggs so deep to hide its fin in secrect, which so affextch
to assume titles unto it self, & also to give at their pleasure unto
others; to make themselves appear, in the eyes of men, more
holy and honourable in the things of God, then others of their
Brethren; commonly crying cut, against that power exercis-
ced amongst others, for no other end but to assume it unto
themselves, to clothe the distincs of that spirit therewith,
whereby themselves are led, and so to exercirse it with all zeal
and wrath in the life, spirit, and substance of it; only with
another face or countenance fet upon it to deceive and beguile

* As you may see in the following Treatise.
the simple; not being able to induce the aire, where Cap, Tippit, or upper Shirt appeareth: but can bath themselves in blood and feed themselves fat, by devouring the good name, estates, and lives of their brethren, who neither do, nor think harme unto them, nor reside within the compass of any of their Jurisdictions, evidently proved by a late affaire given (by the men of the Massachusetts and other Colonies united for such a purpose) upon others of their Countrymen: Inhabitants of a tract of land called Shawsomet, situate in the Nambyanoffs Bay in New-England: The truth whereof this Treatise witnessed, and the substance of all is to be seen under their own hand writing; as also in the writings of others, who were eye and ear-witnesses in the Cause, and have testified under their hands the truth of it.

Here followeth a Narration of the men of Shawsomet, concerning the ground of transplanting of themselves and families, and of their first entrance into that part of America now called New-England.

Whereas we removed our selves and families out of our native Country, about ten or twelve years ago by the leave of this State, only to enjoy the liberty of our confessions, in respect of our faith towards God, and for no other end, not ferupling any Civill Ordinance, for the education, ordering, or government of any Civil State. Landing by the providence of God at Boston in the Massachusetts Bay, we found our Countrymen at great variance in point of Religion, persecuting it very hotly in their publique Courts unto fines and banishments, occasioning men thereby much to vent and bring forth themselves; and we understanding that they had formerly banished one Master Roger Williams, a man of good report both for life and doctrine (even amongst themselves) for dissenting from them in some points about their Church Government, and that in the extremity of winter, forcing him to betake himself into the vast wilderness to fit down amongst the Indians, in a place by their own confessions

feotions, out of all their Jurisdictions: And at that time of our arrival at Boston, they were proceeding against one Master John Wheelwright, a man of like life and conversation, whom they also banished for differing with them in point of Doctrine, the sum whereof is herein this, That sanctification is not the first evidence unto a Christian of his salvation; and many others manifesting their thoughts about such points then controverted amongst them, were also imprisoned, fined, banished, disarmed, and cast out from amongst them.

And we plainly perceiving that the scope of their doctrine was bent only to maintain that outward forme of worship which they had erected to themselves, tending only to the outward carriage of one man toward another, leaving those principles of Divinity, wherein we had been instructed in our native Country, tending to faith towards God in Christ: and we finding no ground nor warrant for such an order in the Church (to bind men conceptions unto) as they had established amongst them; our confessions could not close with them in such their practices, which they perceiving, denied us the common benefit of the Country, even so much as a place to reside in, and plant upon, for the maintenance and preservation of our selves, our wives and little ones; as also proceeded against us, as they had done to others; yea with more severity, unto confinements, imprisonments, chains, fines, whippings, and banishment out of all their Jurisdictions, to wander in the wilderneffe in extremity of winter, yea when the snow was up to the knee, and rivers to wade through up unto the middle, and not so much as one of the Indians to be found in that extremity of weather to afford us either fire, or any harbor, such as themselves had; being removed into swamps and thickets, where they were not to be found; in which condition, in the continuation of the weather, we lay diverse nights together, having no victuals, but what we took on our backs, and our drink as the snow afforded unto us, whereupon we were constrained with the hazard of our lives to betake our selves into a part of the Country called the Nambyanoffs Bay, buying several parcels of Land of the Indians there inhabiting; and sat down
down in, and near the place where Master Roger Williams was where we built houses, and bestowed our labors to raise up means to maintain our wives and little ones (which our Countrymen out of their zeal had deprived us of, and taken away from us) quietly possessing them for the space of seven or eight years (some of us) no man interrupting us, but both the Massachusetts, and also Plymouth confessed to be out of the confines of their Patents; but when they perceived those parts to be a refuge for such as were oppressed and grieved amongst themselves, who repaired unto us for shelter, then they were about to bring those parts to be under their Jurisdictions, by all possible pretences, and stretching their line for that purpose, thinking to get some colour for their proceedings; yet fell they short of our Plantations fourteen or fifteen miles, as did evidently appear, and was by themselves acknowledged, and when they saw they could not accomplish their ends by that project, they then insinuated themselves into the minds of three ill-afflicted persons amongst us, that they should acknowledge themselves to be subjects unto them, and to depend upon them for protection and government, whom they had formerly cast out from amongst them, both out of their Churches, and cenfured them also in their Civil Courts for grovelf and scandalous offences, as one Roberts Cole whom they had cenfured to were a D upon his back for a whole year, to proclaim unto all men his guiltiness of the sin of drunkenness, and had also called him out of their Church, and delivered him unto Satan severall times, who before and in the times of this his submisson mutually converted with, and was conversant amongst the Indians on the Sabbash dayes, professing the Indians Religion to be the same with that which the Massachusetts professed and practic'd: There was also one William Arnold, and his son Benedick, who subjestted themselves unto the Massachusetts, which Arnold was a great professor of Religion in the West of Old England; but in the time of this his subjection was known constanty to employ himselfe for servile work upon the Sabbath day, and professed it to be his excellency above that which his neighbours had attained unto; his

his son Benedick, constantly trading with the Indians on the Sabbath day, being a factor for them of the Massachusetts, being supplied with commodity from them, having toleration to sell powder to the Indians, but denied to be sold unto us, unless we would subject our selves as they had done; these pretended subjects of the Massachusetts, thus farre fetched, had learned this devise, that whereas some of us had small parcels of land laid out to build houses upon and plant corn, and all the rest lay commonly undivided, as the custom of the Country for the most part is, they would not permit us any more land to build upon or to feed our cattle, unless we would keep upon that which they would consist to be our proper right, and they would admit of no division, but by the foot or by the inch, and then we could neither have roomo to set a house, but part of it would stand on their land, or put a cow to graze, but immediately their bounds were broken, and then presently made one be pulled down, and the other put into the pound, to make satisfaction, or till satisfaction were made for both. So that by this unreasonable and palpable flight of these pretended subjects, together with the power of this so irregular a Government, we plainly perceived a snare was laid to intangle us again; not only to hinder us to provide for our families, but to bereave us again of what God, through our labour and industry, had raised up unto us as means to maintain our families with.

Now when the Massachusetts had gained these men to be instruments in this manner to effect their end, then did they intitute them as officers to execute their warrants amongst us in those parts, upon any complaint there above named subjects should make unto them upon the grounds above mentioned, who pretendted sent a Warrant unto us, to command our appearance at their Courts, under the hand of the Governor and divers of the affilants in the Massachusetts, threatening to use violence against us in case we obeyed not.
A true Copy of the first Warrant that was sent unto us from the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts into the Nanipganif Bay, before we planted upon that tract of land called Shawomet, situate upon the same Bay: The Warrant is here set down verbatim, and is full exact.

Massachusetts, To our Neighbours of Providence.

Whereas William Arnold of Pautuisset*, and Robert Cole, and others, have lately put themselves and their families, lands and estates, under the protection and government of this Jurisdiction, and have since complained to us, that you have since (upon pretense of a late purchase from the Indians) gone about to deprive them of their lawful interest confirmed by four years possession, and otherwise to molest them: We thought good therefore to write to you on their behalf, to give you notice, that they and their lands, &c., being under our Jurisdiction, we are to maintain them in their lawful rights. Therefore you have any just title to any thing they possess, you must proceed against them in our Court, where you shall have equal justice: But if you shall proceed to any violence, you must not blame us, if we shall take a like course to right them.

Jo. Winthrop, Governor.
Theo. Dudley.
Ri. Bellingham.
Incr. Nowell.

The 28th of the 8th. 1642.

This Warrant being delivered unto us by their new made officer William Arnold, in the name of the Massachusetts, we took into serious consideration, having former experience abundantly of their unkind and inhuman dealing with us, towards our wives and children, when our selves were sometimes in banishments, and sometimes in prison, and others (by them) before. We thought it meet (for the preservation of our peace, together with that compassion we had of our wives and little ones) to leave our houses, and the rest of our labors, lying near unto those their pretended subjects: (whom we saw maliciously bent) and to remove our selves and families further off, from the Massachusetts, and such their coadjutours, being then amongst us: For we saw that they did not only endeavor to take away our livelihood, but intended to take away our lives also, in case they could find a way to satisfy the Country in doing of such an act and execution: For we had never accusation brought in against us, but what rose from the Magistrates and the Ministers; for we walked so, as to do no man wrong, only justifying the cause of our Religion, as we had learned and received the principles thereof before we were amongst them; as also the laws and government of this Kingdom of England unto which we ever willingly acknowledged our selves to be loyal subjects, and therefore could not suffer our selves to be intrenched upon by our fellow subjects, further than the laws of our King and State doth allow.

Now that they fought the lives of some of us, at this time is evident; For John Warner Citizen and Freeman of London a man well known, who afterwards was one of those against whom they now prosecuted, having formerly had some business with Master Winthrop the Governor of the Massachusetts, he asked the said Warner (living then in the Nanipganif Bay) whether he knew one Samuel Gorton, (a man also against whom they now prosecuted) who lived also in the said Bay, but at that time John Warner had not seen him, living a matter of twenty miles one from the other: The Governor told him he was a man not fit to live upon the face of the earth; also one of the Elders of the Church of Boston told a Minister (who reported it in the place where Gorton lived) That if they had Gorton at Boston in the Massachusetts, he would hardly let his own house any more; yes one Master Collins, a man of excellent parts of learning, and of an unblamable life amongst men, being Minister of one of the Western Islands, from that report he heard of Religion, came to New-England, who married one of Mistresse Hutchinson's daughters, and being Francis Hutchinson his brother in law, was a member of the Church at Boston, who seriously considering and laying to heart the ways
and children) being then at war with the Dutch, who took some of the English children (out of families of good note) as prisoners, and kept and trained them up amongst themselves unto this day, having most barbarously and cruelly slain their parents, who had been not a little careful to train them up in their life-time, both in faith and manners. But we removing our selves, as above said, into another part of the Narraganset Bay, further from the Massachusetts, and where none of the English, nor other Nations had anything to do, but only Indians, the true natives, of whom we bought a parcel of land called Shawomet (as is above said) not only of Miantonomo, chief Sachem, or prince of those parts of the Country; but also with the free content of the Inhabitants of the place.

Now we plainly perceive, that the drift of the Massachusets, and those joined with them, was not only to take the whole Country of the English Plantations into their Jurisdiction; but also to establish what way of Religion themselves thought fit, to the taking away (not only of goods) but also of such as were otherwise minded: We made answer unto the Writing, they sent unto us, on this wise; which Answer was made upon our removal from Mooswawset (otherwise called Providence) to Shawomet.

A true Copy of our Answer to the Warrant or Writing, which the men of the Massachusetts sent unto us, as is above noted; wherein we only took up their own expressions, to shew unto them the spirit and power of their Religion, which they go about by these means to prefer, enlarge, and show the glory of it to the World: The Answer is verbally examined by the original Copy; only marginal Notes added to help the Reader to understand our true meaning.

Mooswawset, November the 20, 1642. To our Neighbours of the Massachusetts.

WHereas we lately received an irregular note professing its forme from the Massachusetts, with four mens Names
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Names subscribed thereunto (as principal authors of it) of the chief amongst you, we could not easily give credit unto the truth thereof; Not only because the conveyors of it unto us are known to be men whose constant and professed acts are written then the counterfeits of mens hands; but also, because we thought that men of your parts and profession would never have protracted their wisdom to such an act: But considering that what eminence you have against us, the proof whereof of every occasion brings forth, we cannot but conclude, That this act did ill, which that ancient Mother will not bring forth her feed unto (b) For we know very well that it is the name of Christ called upon us (c) which you strive against, whence it is that you stand on tip toe to stretch your selves beyond your bounds, to seek occasion against us (d) as you might hide your sin with Adam (4) bearing the world in hand, it is not your desire to contend with us, but some civil breach in our course which you seek to redress; whereas neither you nor any in way of truth can find wherein to bring us under the confinement of a disorderly course of walking amongst them. And as for the way of that ancient spirit of accusation of the brethren (e) we weigh it not, knowing him to be a liar (or in the abstract a lie) from the beginning (f), yea and the father of it also; which thing you cannot know though it were told unto you; whereas you say Robert Cole, William Arnold, with others, have put themselves under the government and protection of your Jurisdiction, which is the occasion you have now got to contend; where with your words were verified, that they were not elsewhere to be found (g), being nothing but the name of Religion, diquity and disturbance of the places where they are: for we know neither the one nor the other, with all their associates and confederates, have power to inflame the bounds of their own Jurisdictions, as they affirm them to be though without any ground or rule of true government.

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both, of which tree you delight early to cut (h) finding it fair and beautiful, to gain conformity with your maker; in these your dilemming subjects greatly profane amongst us, but full of the spirit of your purity (i) when they are with you, you may remember the brand your selves have set on some of them, the caule whereof was never yet removed, (k) though it abide not upon their backs (l), nor yet the caule of your commitment of them unto Satan (according to your Law) for if that were removed you should do them wrong in not retaining your vomit into its former concepcion again (m) Nor are we ignorant of those disgraceful terms they use and give out against you behind your backs; their submiffion therefore cannot be to any other end, but to satisfy their own lusts, not only conceited, but in violent motion against their Neighbours, who never offered the least wrong unto them; only the profession of arms is object sufficient for these mens emnity. Even so the passions of sin, which are by the law, having force in your members, (n) you going about with great labour and industry to satisfie them by your submiffion unto the Word of God, in your falling, and feasting, in contributing, and resting, in retirned and private study, and bowing of the backs of the poor, going forth in labour to maintain it, and in the spirit of that hireling (o) raising up your whole structure and edifice, in all which you bring forth nothing but fruit unto death: Some laboring for a price to give for the keeping of their souls in peace, and false estate and condition (p) to home to have your bodies furnished with riches honor and cafe (q); and further then the Lord Jesus agrees with thee, thou knowest no just, nor by renounce and reject him, and with thee (according to your account exaction and practice) he holds no correspondency at all; being the constitution and operation of that his only adversary (r) Man being that which you depend upon, and not the Lord, crying out in the way of elevation, and lauding his Ministers, when in the mean time you know not what, nor who they are; professing them under a mediate call of Christ, teach, and execute to attain such ends. (t) That is the wisdom of the fleth exercised in the things of God.
though formerly they have been called immediately by him. 
Hereby shewing your selves to be those which destroy the sacred ordinance of God; for if you make Christ to be that day, in rather of his Minorits, which he was not yesterday, and that in the time of the Gospel (so to speak according to your law) to be found in them both; you therein affirm that he hath been that to his Minorits, which now he is not; and to make the son of God to have been that which now he is not, is to make a nullity of him: Not to be at all: for he is the Lord that changeth not, nor a shadow thereof is found in him: So that you plainly crucifie to your selves the Lord of glory, and put him to an open shame, so that as you know not how Christ conversing with his Father in heaven is found on the earth amongst the true worshippers, no more do you know how in his conversing with Nicodemus on the earth he concludes himselfe to be in heaven, with his Father; on this foundation hangeth the whole building of your doctrine, concerning the sufferings of Christ, you annihilate the Cross, then the which the Saints have no other consolation and prepare no better a place then purgatory for the honourable Fathers of our Lord; so ye conclude that Christ dyed in the decree and purpose of God in the time of the law, but actually only when he was hung on the Cross in the days of Herod and Pontius Pilate, that he was crucified in the types and shadows of the law: But in the truth and substance when he appeared born of the Virgin Mary; so mult ye also conclude that the fathers under the law were only saved in purpose, and decree, in types and shadows, but actually and substantially only at the coming of Christ in the flesh: Therefore deal plainly with those that depend upon you for instruction, as your successors in the Papacy have done, and proclaim a place of purgatory provided for them in the mean; without which your doctrine hath no foundation: for if you raise up a shadow without a substance, and the substance of him that dwelleth in light without a shadow, you play the part of wizards, or Necromancers, not the part of true naturalists in the things of the Kingdom of God: So that as far as your men are from being being honourable and loyall subjects, so far are you from being voluntary, in the day of God's power, and from yielding submission to the beauties of holiness; such also is your preferment rule and government in the things that concern the Kingdom of our God, they are infinitely beyond and out of the reach of that spirit that is gone out amongst you, the capacity whereof can no ways comprehend the breadth of the land of Ermauel, nor entrench within the vale: Therefore it cannot know those Cherubs of glory, neither can it hear the voice of that lively oracle, speaking only from off the covering mercy seat, and not elsewhere to be heard; we speak not but what we know, these things are not of its Jurisdiction; therefore dumm in telling justice; neither speaks it any of that righteousness and glory comprised in another circuit then you were yet made lords of: Therefore long may you boast of your Jurisdiction before you attain to Jurisdiction in these things, in that you tell us we offer wrong by a pretended purchase, you are as much mistaken in the purchase as in the wrong; for it is right that we are about to do, neither is our purchase a pretence, but presidntial, not only in this civil respect, but may also admonish all men to take heed how they depend upon false and self-seeking interpreters, when both themselves, and they that have the vision are ignorant of the contract and covenant of God (y): Thence it is that you reach, that the Spoufe of Christ, upon contract with her Lord, may conceive the feed of immortality and bring forth fruitful unto the Lord, when as yet the day of marriage, that great felicity and solemnization of the confolations of God, is not yet come, witness your prorogation thereof, if not to the desecration of Christ from heaven to earth, to reign certain years, yet to the calling of the Jews, (whom ye your selves are, according to the flesh) and to the destruction of that man of fin, whom you so utterly maintain: What is this but to proclaim to all the world that sacrilege spirit of whoredome (z) professing the world that audacious spirit of whoredome, in conception, and bringing forth before the Nuptrialis day, in quarrel, we seeing and knowing the filthy thereof, doe apply the thing to their spiritual course they walk in.
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that you conclude your clients right to arise out of four years possession, we have no such order, if you mean the right of conquest only held in that tenure, the true owners were never yet subdued; for that is the right they expect to enjoy by you. For some of them committed part of their supposed right unto us, professing it was that they might have help to enjoy the rent: But when they saw we would not be abettors unto them without, much less contrary unto covenant, then they fly unto you for help, they their possession being a meer intrusion, as all the Natives know, and ever exclaimed against them for the same; and so our Countreymen also, whose eyes are not dazzled with envy, and ears open unto lyes, as we know yours are, else you had heard both sides speak before you had judged; but we professe right held in no such interest, but according to the ground of covenant, only known in its nature in the parties twice; whom it is plain, in the possession and the possessor, with the nature of all fruit arising from their accord and concurrence, together with their division, harmocnial, reciprocally, and joint properties and operations of them both; such is the tenure that we hold, and maintain it before men and angels, and oppose it against men and devils; not in taking up unto our selves certain offices and officers, which we can reach children to be and to perform, and from thence to conclude the possession of the Kingsdome, crying out our peace-offerings are upon us, this day we have paid our vows: But that dark cloud that descended on the Tabernacle (m) becomes the light and glory of all Israel, there being nothing acknowledged amongst them, but what ariseth out thence; then, and then only, are the orders; as also the men of Israel derived from their true fountain, (n) which no tongue can confesse but is salvation (n), and then not else is the heritage of our Lord in possession (p) yet even the waylesse wittes discern how to afford them an habitation, which had its being before the hills and mountains were borne [q] which men begin to fly unto for refuge to hide themselves from the presence of the Lamb [r]: This is a possession which no man can intrude himselfe into, it is only coventicate with him through an enlightened eye and bseard eye (c) which man performeth not, neither can it be received from him [s]: for we know that cloud of thick darkness, that hides and covers the whole frame and fabric of the work of God [t], to be the clearing and evidencing of every point and particular thereof, yes to us it is even that cloud of witness [w] which testifieth to us the like work to appear, when the whole world hath occasion to make use of: Never doth it shine but in the night, never is it dark to Israel but in the day [x] but in the one, and the othertwo, the only glory and safety of all the tribes; but how you know not, neither can you, with all your libraries, give the interpretation thereof; but have left it in the wilderness, and accordingly have made the whole way and will of our Lord, the oldniece of the letter (y) both to your selves and all the having an ear to listen unto you; there it is, that the day of the Lord is a day of darkness and gloomynesse unto you [z] but of God [a] and joy and gladness unto us; yea it lifts up our head only,[a] and then is our salvation near, for we know the Worthies of David doubled about the bed of Solomon, which expell all fear in the night [m] handling the sword with sicfebel, making the adversaries nothing but meat to feed upon [j]: for that the time of our fear is the time of our courage and conquest, when ye fear Error, Schism, Rents, and Confusions in Church and State, then do we know the messenger of the Covenant, the Lord whom we seek, is speeding his passage into his holy Temple [c] For who (under the terrors of your spirit) may 14, 15, abide his coming, he being like a refiners fire and fullers fire? (a) Meaning Christ, & not our selves, to sift us up.

In that you invite us unto your Courts, to fetch your equall balanced Justice, upon this ground, that you are become one with our adversaries, and that both in what they have and what they are to know them to be, as professing the day of 3. (b) That is all the Lord an unhallowed thing (s). Now if we have our opponents to prefer his action against us, and not to only, but to be kind of inconveniences they meet with in this life, Isaiah 41. 2. (c) Malachi 3. 1, 2. (e) Hebrew 12. 3. our
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our Counsell, our Jury, and our Judge; so it must be, if you are one with them, as you affirm, we know beforehand how our cause will be ended, and see the scale of your equal Justice turned already, before we have laid our cause therein; and cannot but admire to see you carried so contrary to your own received principles; for ye know not how to find Christ as a ruling and teaching Elder both in one person, therefore he is not compleat among you (by your own law) except in several persons, and you may thank tradition, else you know no more how to find a King and a Priest in him; and yet in your way of making tender of your Justice unto you, you know how to become one with our adversaries, so, as we deal with them, we deal with you; and if we have done with you, we have to do with them also: yea further we know that the chief amongst you have procured we are not worthy to live; and if some of us were amongst you we should hardly see the place of our abode any more.

Now they that have brooded upon their law to take away life, they must much more bring it forth in taking away all means of life, witness your prohibition that no powder should be sold unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not think your selves safe in all your own self-provisions and worldly furniture, except you disarmed a company of poor Indians, whom Aaron your Levitical Sacrificer hath made naked; as he doth all those which triumph in a Calfe, though the most costly and beautiful that the Jews and Earrings of learning (either in language or art) can possibly bring forth; your own amusements upon mere rumours may lose the truth thereof: so then we are judged by your law before our cause be heard or our selves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleasing to us to have our condition conformed to Moses the man of God, who was dead in Pharaoh's account before he was brought forth; and so it was with Christ our Lord (in the days of Herod also) who is our life (6) at which you strike and makes all things, yea death it selfe lively, and advantageous unto us [7]: we cannot but wonder that you should read the Scriptures and not find them fulfilled in and amongst your selves, when as they appear so apparently, that he that runs may read them; what think you of Herod, when the Lord had delivered Peter out of prison, and releaved him of those bonds, and brought him from that thraldom which he had so cruelly imposed upon him (to gain the favor of the Jews) and that by a power supernem all transcending the bounds of his authority [8], and by a wise and surpassing the depth of his counsell and policy to find out, together with the soldiery and champions, he that was to come down to Caesarea, and Herod is angry with them of Tyre and Sidon (Thummimabal) A heavy friend, or All that hath a secret grudge or perturbation of mind manifested in an our-reaching and circumventing policy to subdue them unto himselfe that he might rule over them, finding himselfe fall short of power and policy to subvert the Word of God in the mealing of it, to satisfy his own lust in his lordship over it, he pursues with all eagerness to make himself a God by reigning over the bodies and estates of men, yea though they be but such as Tyre and Sidon can afford unto him to make subjects of, and when they come to him with one accord to make offer of themselves in yielding to his affectionate and political project, he sitting on the Judgement seat in his regal apparel, making his Oration of what power he hath to protect them, what wisdom and counsell to minister justice and righteousness unto them (which office belongs only unto the Lord); the people with a shout crying out, the voice of God, and not of man, the truth and substance of which cry, is, This is the O-dinance of God and not of man, immediately the the Angel of the Lord incites him; and he that ever acknowledged himself to be a worm, and no man upon the earth confineth and eats up all his pomp and glory even as those whom you acc. count the flame and contempt of the people shall through that Angel of the covenant waffe, and bring to naught all those Rhetorical (though earthly) Orations that are made amongst you by your learned, studious, and experienced Clerks;
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Take for illustration of your estate (as above) the (speech of your Alderman, Oliver) in case of committing Francis Pluche- fon to prison, one of your Church members wondering that Brother Wynneop would do it, before the Church had deals with him (Brother faith he) why, he is thy God, man. Lend your eye yet further to parallell your practice performed in Pilate [*] and the people, when Pilate offers Jesus to the people to be judged, they professe they have such a law that puts no man to death, they are all for mercy and forgiuenesse when they are out of the Judgement hall, but let Pilate enter in thither, then nothing but crucifie him, crucifie him, be their acclamation and witnesses never so false; even so in your dealings with men, in way of your Iewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercy, to redresse, to reforme, and for the preservation both of soul and body: do but enter into the common hall, then our Pilate asked, am I a Jew? do ye see, do I sit on speak here as a brother? I say not; I am now in a higher sphere than that [though they be acknowledged Coheins with Christ] can attain unto, therefore if witness be brought in and oath taken, though never to untrue, your confidences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute paid unto it; so far, as means names to be branded with infamy (elates) depriving women and children of things necessary, and the precious lives of men can extend themselves to contribute anything hereunto, so that they professe mercy and clemency of your law to execute causes only for amendment of life, and recovery comes unto this issue to send both soul and body down unto Sodom for ever, without redresse and all hope of recovery. But your hour, and the power of your darkness, is known what it is, either to have mens persons in admiration, because of advantage [*] or else to feele all occasions against them to brand them with all manner of reproach and ignominy; but for the truth caught daily in the Temple, you know not how to stretch our vows, or exercise your ministrations against it, least it become leproysis, and you take it back again with loffe, when it appears dryed and withered: and wherfore reason ye amongst your selves, saying we exercise the power of our manifestations against none but such as are Delinquents, whereby we clear the innocent, and establishe peace in our borders (we demand) what think you of those two witnesses prophesying in sackcloth a thousand two hundred and threescore dases, [P] those two Olive trees and Candlesticks standing before the God of the earth? are these guilty and vile persons out of whose hands by the power of your ministry, you are delivering and releasing the world? then indeed are your ways justifiable: But if these be the just, chosen, and peculiar friends of God, yea, such as without which his truth and righteousness are not justified, his wisdom and holiness maintained and upheld in the world, in point of salvation by Christ; then are your ways wicked and to be abhorred; for in your professed course, you are they by whom they are slain and put to death; and your glory is to keep their Corpus unaburied in your streets, and yet you know not what you are doing, no more then you know what these witnesses are whom you are altogether ignorant of; for your libraries never saw them (and you see not but by their eyes) a for these men are, and never more, nor yet less, yet ever the same, they are Olive trees, else no witnesses, and also Candlesticks, else both the former fail, yes, are not at all: we must tell you what these are, else we cannot declare how ye shall know them: for it is not our intent to open unto you the house of the creatures, the silver and the gold, the spices and the precious ointment, our house of our armor (I) because ye take all as exercisable, and put all to prophane use, that cometh from us: But these two witnesses are the life and death of our Lord Jesus Christ [*] or (in the true language of heaven also) the strength and the weakneffe of Christ: for he was crucified through weakneffe, but liveth by the power of God [*]. This is the Word of the Lord in Zorumbel, not by an army, not by power (and so deprives him of all strength) but by a spirit that is the greatest mountain or loftiest hill in the world cannot stand before, but becomes a plain, which with facility and ease he filleth upon: because it is that he doth not only the top, or the head alone of all, but also the lowest in the foundation, and the Temple: as in Zeb常年 the third and fourth chapters. 12 Cor. 13: 41

* Rev. 11: 11
151a 4.
then only is the voice of shouting heard, Grace, grace, in the house for ever, and then doth the day of small things become the day of joy and triumph, yes of parting the rich spoils and prey of all the world: for then he that doth but turn and lift up his eyes, he cannot look besides that great flying book of the Curie that is gone forth over the whole earth without these two witnesses joyfully uttering themselves in every particular Scripture undertaken to be divulged by any, nor evidence nor testimony of God is given or brought in at all, but a mere refuge of lies, for the souls of men to betake themselves unto without these two pipes of the Olive trees, emptying into the bowl of the Candlesticks, none in their number is found in them, and that being wanting the light of the sanctuary is gone out, so that the light appearing amongst you is only the light of Baalam where eye was open, which you may read either Beshotum, or Sebatum, for that opening is nothing else but the flattering of the holy things of God, so that in seeing ye fee not, but communicate only in the light of that beast who pats the witnesses to death as Baalam did in the sight of that dam beast of his, whose eyes were so opened as to see the Angel before him. So that while you think it is our visidrne to stope unto you for light we never come amongst you, but fee our selves in a regiment of groves and palpable darkness, and differen you very plainly how you strafe upon the wall to find the door of Loth house and cannot, as also how you toll your selves to climb up into the theepfold another way as so many other ways, and have no sight nor differing of the door at all, by the which whatsoever entreth becomes a true shepheard himselfe. E Moft impious it is to put to death two such noble witnesses that have power to shut heaven that it rain not in the days of their prophesying, to turn waters into blood, and to finite the earth with all manner of plagues as oft as they will, whom that spirit that is amongst you kills on this wise. The life and power of the Son of God as above, which is infinite, not admiring of circumscriptio or contene

The Simplicities Defence, against seven-headed Policy.

Simplicities Defence, against that seven-headed Policy, and for the heaven of heavens cannot contain him; yet he is  

golden, for he not dare to grasp and imroe that power in the heavens, and therefore have resolved and concluded, that he only rules upon the earth in those days, by his Deputies, Lieutenants, and Viceregent, whereby you limit, and so do. 

And the holy one of Israel, give him, that in one time or place, which afterwards, or elsewhere where ye deny unto him, and you make a nullitie of him unto your selves, and in so doing, you kill the other witness, namely the death or weakness of the Lord Jesus, (b) for you must have man to be honorable, learned, wise, experienced, and of good report, else they may not rule amongst you; yes, and these things are of man, and by man, as Peers in that they only officiate fo, as man may detain and take it away again, witness your change of officers, constantly speaking for us herein; thus have you flame also, the Death, or the weakness of Christ, who professeth himselfe to be a worm and no man. 

[The flame and contempt of the people, and the faithfull and true witnesses thusly, you must of necessitie deny burial, and keep them both in your streets, in open view, otherwise all your pompe and glory falls to the dust, whens it came, and on which it feeds, nor can you tend your presents on an other, of your acts of justice, power to protect, wealth, honour, and friends, where with you gratifie one another: And where these are thus flame, and their corporal in open view, none of the Gentiles, peoples, tongues, and kindreds suffer their corps to be put in grave, there is that great City which spiritually is called Sodom, and Egypt, where our Lord is crucified: But after three days and an halfe the spirit of life, from God, shall enter into them, and they shall stand up, upon their feet, to the terror of you all: 

Viceregentes, Nor do you think, that wee only inveigh against the great ones of the world, for thus doing: for wee know, that the greatest of the Princes of this world, hath the very same spirít, whereith the bafest Peasants, hath laid himselfe open in set up, and the view of all the world, and the bafest Peasant, hath the made known. 

(b) which is his Priesthood, wherein he depriveth himselfe of all power of man, or strength of the arm of flesh. 

[The flame and contempt of the people, and the faithfull and true witnesses thusly, you must of necessitie deny burial, and keep them both in your streets, in open view, otherwise all your pompe and glory falls to the dust, whens it came, and on which it feeds, nor can you tend your presents on an other, of your acts of justice, power to protect, wealth, honour, and friends, where with you gratifie one another: And where these are thus flame, and their corporal in open view, none of the Gentiles, peoples, tongues, and kindreds suffer their corps to be put in grave, there is that great City which spiritually is called Sodom, and Egypt, where our Lord is crucified: But after three days and an halfe the spirit of life, from God, shall enter into them, and they shall stand up, upon their feet, to the terror of you all: 

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(b) which is his Priesthood, wherein he depriveth himselfe of all power of man, or strength of the arm of flesh. 

That is, if the power of God, and the weakness & frailty of man should not be so flame, as to be still kept as dead in fight of all then could not the power and glory of the creature, (as) where our Lord is crucified: But after three days and an halfe the spirit of life, from God, shall enter into them, and they shall stand up, upon their feet, to the terror of you all: Viceregentes, Nor do you think, that wee only inveigh against the great ones of the world, for thus doing: for wee know, that the greatest of the Princes of this world, hath the very same spirít, whereith the bafest Peasants, hath laid himselfe open in set up, and the view of all the world, and the bafest Peasant, hath the made known.
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Ephes. 2, 1. 2, 3.
Rom. 3, 9, 10.
Matt. 11, 14.

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1 Thess. 5, 34. 2 Thess. 3, 8.

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Psalm 103. in this point of swearing, profess his folly to be such, that he is become not only vain in his imaginations, but to that pride and usurpation therein, as to include himself into the Pretre-4

levest of the Princes of this world.

(1) There was a law, if you can receive it, and what diabolism is it to trade to much by means of witness, and yet know not what a true witness is, which you say, you do not attempt the things ye do, whereby you cannot reap upon all the world, in that you profess your selves a choice people picked out of it, and yet you go on with such practices as you do, maintaining them as your only glory.

Our Lord gives you in charge, not to swear at all, but it is your dignity to bring men to your seats of justice, with nothing but oaths in their mouths: why do you not banish the Scriptures in this point? It hath been said of old, thou shalt not commit Adultery, but I say unto you, he that looketh on a Woman to lust after her, hath committed Adultery with her in his heart already. So also, it hath been said of old, thou shalt not cut off thy flocks, but I say unto you, if one be found in his heart, he shall be cut off, and his cattle, and his flocks. So that if it be Adultery to look at lust, it is also forswearing of a man's self, to swear at all; if one be Adulterer, the other is Perjury, if one be admitted in one case, the other also, and that in preaching the Tolerasion, the duty of an oath, you preach the toleration, yes, the duties of adulterer it self. So that our Lord plainly evinceth unto all men consciences, not only the guilt, but the folly and madness of the man of mirth, to show how farre it is from investing, or demonstrating causes. So that hee that concludes upon honour and power, received from the oath of man, or upon knowledge, and boldness to judge, in a cause from that Testimonie, without the which he could not have it, is as vain in his thoughts, as hee should henceupon conclude, I have now altered the frame of heaven, which is so fast stable then the throne of the great God, or demolished the earth, which is as firm as his Foot-sole never, or made a fraction in the orders of Jerusalem, that choice and peculiar City of the great King, whose foundations are mortal breath can interrupt upon, or to profess his authority and skill to be such, whereby hee can make a picture of his head black or white, or cause his age to wax old as a garment, or renew it with the Eagle at his pleasure. Thereby doth man...
according to our Word above, we have it as a Parable to you, as all the holy Word of our God; as, your conversation in all points, as in this, daily declared; in a word, when we have to do in your jurisdiction, we know what is to submit to the wise dispensations of our God, when you have to do among us, in the liberties he hath given us; wee doubt not but you shall, as our Judge, judge us, beyond and above as ye can, or thing you can profit us in; and let that judge you, and know, that you cannot, taken with a jurisdiction, but you must reject all innocents upon other men, privileges, and do weee; in the mean time we shall as we think good be calling over, again some matters you have had up, and have handling, and treating you, so we doth judge or equity, we find hath been exercised in them, and redress them accordingly, for we profess right unto all men, and do no violence at all, as you in your precept threat to do to us, we have learned how to discipline our children or servants without offering violence unto them; even so do we know how to deal with our debitors, rude, yea, in such neighbours (or if you will Nabais) without doing violence, and rather rendering unto them that which is their own: Nor shall we deprive a witness of his model, testimony, for the cut-eyes and clamours of such a one, as ill-blind speculated Arnold, that felonious Hoggie-Killer, being the partie to be extenuated against, or for the oath of any interested—the oath; nor shall we be forward to come to farre to find you weak upon your request, till you do know, you bear another mind, then others of your neighbours, with whom we have had to do in this Country, who pretended and disingued, laws, we have looted under to the robbing and spoiling of our goods, the lively-hood of our wives and children, thinking they had laboured, though grouping in great dauntless, to bring forth the truth in the right and equity of things; but finding them to be a company of groans and distempered hypocrites, that they were not willing to appear, but rather, deprive sufficient witnesse of their testimony, at the guilty partie, request, that is to our Courts in the Magistrates, to employ them about any matters of our living peaceably together, to fare from them, out of all their jurisdictions.
Guids, as you. Fathers have ever done, so doe ye: Befold, we say, when he appeared in your house, which you to glory in, shall be left unto you delight, it shall be turned into nothing but desolation, and confusion, for Babel is its name, nor shall you see him to your comfort, in the glory of his Kingdom, until you can say (declined in is he that commeth in the name of the Lord) when the authority and power of man, appeareth to be the building of Babel unto you, and the name and authority of God only to be that wherein the blessing consisteth, and that in the wise wise, as is nothing but a way of reproach in the eyes of all the world; that a King should ride into his called Cities, so gloriously furnished upon an Asse, borrowed, her furniture and over-worne Garments, and accompanied with none but persons meane, excommunicate persons, such as your Elders, Scribes, Pharisees, Lawyers, and all your credible persons among you make full account they are not only accursed, but also detest and void of all Law, when you can find thus, that His name in the highest, arising out of such corruption, and shame, then, and then shall you see him to your comfort, in the meanes time acknowledge your portion, which is to come, and lay your selves on the name of him, and in his beauty to delight and glory, which shall fade as a Leaf, but like the grass is he, when it is fitting it selfe for the Over, such is man whose breath is in his nostrils, and the name of forestry man, in whom you have delight to walk, his power and policy brings forth nothing else, but as you shall see and hear, in the Country from whence we are brought we are not ignorant of those shameful lies, and false doctrine cast cast us, and the daily wheeling of our words to call contempt upon us, thinking to bow downe our heads under ignominy, and reproach, neither of the Raish, and Judah, they have call us upon in the things that concerneth this present life, to the taking a way of the lives of men, if our God hath not been seene beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto, (as their owne confession has witnessed) doing it in such a way, of painted hypercriticks, and false glories, unto they eye of
of the world, that we might seem unto it, false executioners; we resolve therefore to follow your employments, & to carry and behave our selves as worthy we have done, and no other wise; for we have wrought no meaner offices, with hard labour, to provide for our families, and suffering of grove, title, and fold, drones, to take out labours, out the mouths, and from the backs of our little ones, to lord it over us: so that if any ill go about to disturb, or annoy us, henceforth in our employments, and liberties, which God hath, or shall put into our hands, that can claim no interest in us but by their courts, (c) what their names is, we know by proof sufficient, to be nothing, but that ancient errand of Nimrod, that rebellious Hunter after the precious life, (f) which errand of his shall be no more delivered unto us, in that covert cruelty, and insufferable way of hypocrisy; but in direct and open terms of tyrants, we shall not be dealt with as before (we speak in the name of our God) we will not, for any ill disturb us, as above, secret Hypocrites shall be open Tyrants, and their Laws appear to be nothing else but mere malis in the eyes of all the world; And wherefore do you murmur among your selves at this laying, thinking it is not a Christian explication: it is because you are ignorant of the Cross of our Lord Jesus, not knowing what it is; therefore it is, while you inveigh against such as set up a Statue of wood and stone to bow down unto it, and are to vaine as to the stone the stone, (b) to your own expression) upon the faces of Infants, when they sprinkle them with water, to great purpose, and in the manner you preach, and set up Seighurim, for your Cross, whom you fall down unto you willingly, and left you let the word pass without expression of it unto all, it signifies Harrow and Fire, which is the Cross you hold in your hands, and by and through which you therein be saved, which name is given by our Lord to the Devil himself, as our English translate it, and the Lord never gives a name as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named, so that if he speaks, I have said ye are gods, (c) of any besides himself it is to declare, that they have not only the name, but the very nature of the god of this world; and therefore he, they shall dye even as Adan, which aspired and usurped the place of God, and fall also as one of the Princes, even as one of those Princes of Midian, while curfies became dung for a Ps. 83. 9, the earth, (c) and he that gave him this title unto any but the most holy, true God, that made heaven and earth, in any other sense, but as it declareth a flat opposition against God is Reaping that ancient spirit of the Serpent; if you eat you shall be gods, to judge of good and evil, for which all men are set up in that kind; even so while you sell the people, that by forrow, composition, and amissness of spirit, and trouble of mind, they communicate in the sufferings of Christ, out of which condition their comfort is to flow, it is nothing else but to conclude, the Sonne of God to be Belial; ye must affirm him to be Seighurim himselfe, this doth he receive at your hands in your Ministries, for all your favouring upon him with a kis, (c) so that if you will know how farre you are theron confused from communicating in the death of Christ, take it in this Parable, verily as farre as the weakness of God is stronger than man (d) is countrymen, for we cannot but call you so, though we had your carriage to so farre were then the Indians, we advise you to take things together, and what God hath joyned, let none dare to get amnder, (c) so that if you be ashamed of the Cross in Baptisme, be ashamed of the Baptisme also, for such as the Cross is, such is the Baptisme: therefore your Ancestors goe beyond you, in that they joye in the Croasing of the Tree, and drinking with the Element of water together: But whereas Baptisme according to the word of Christ is, there is the Cross of Christ also, (f) they can no more be separated then his Spirit and Kingdom can be. For where the one is, there is the other; for as they are coincident, so are the cooperates; so that if ever you see the Baptisme of Christ truly in use, and succeeded upon you, you doe as truly see that party persuing and communicating with the Cross and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to see persons in such states and conclude afterward they are worthy of tenure, ye shall possibly see an Adon, Maranatha, etc.
is nothing else but to conclude a certain and small tilling away from the grace of God, as you Pilgrims have done before you, for no grace greater than the cross of our Lord Jesus: Behold therefore you Deny it, the vanity and abomination of all your Baptisms how prejudicial they are to the Cross of Christ, be ashamed, and return in time, or else be a swift witness against you for ever, when your repentance shall come too late, but you think the Cross of Christ is not but in bowing the back under every burden, and crouching, and crouching to the last, every man and other wise his Shepherds, [F] is not fit to be hustled with your Regiment at all, unless it be servile, that every one may serve the will of him, to Wealth and Honour, Friends and Allies, by slaying bounds and limits to the holy Word of God, some in the way of a devil, some in the way of another, and he that will not walk as a humble beast, worse than Balam's, and fay nothing, or else give a feste of the holy Writings to maintain that divined Platform, if mercy must be used, not to hang and burn, yet banishment is ready waiting for them: Therefore shall you know, by the Rod (h P/s. 119.2. of his power that comes out of Sion, [h] that he will be Ruler even in the midst of his Enemies.

By us whom you style your Neighbours of Providence, you have said it, Providence is our hond, the Neighbourhood of the Samaritan we profess, and for the looking on, and turning aside of your Priests and Levites, without either Union, or Compassion, all your flaine and wounded in soul finding no remedy, doe plainly testifye the nature of your travels, and Neighbourhood what it is: your speech to us in general, not using our names, as we know it, is particularly you syme at, gives us plainly to see the word "Elen., [l] Revived and Living in that the Pilgrym, do ye indeed, do dumb Justice, o Congregation? and so describes such persons what they are that speak not a word of Righteousness in their acts and executions, which Pilgrimage showed unto us the spirit, prudence and success of our Adversaries.

you, as it stands written Coherences, in Psalm

58. Verfe the first, 8th.

(John Wiclif,
Randall Hauden.
Robert W. Warner.
Robert Potter.
Richard Watton.
William Wadding.
Samuel Gorton.
Richard Carder.
John Greene.
Nicholas Poole.
Francis Welsley.
Samson Shattol.

These being the Purchasers of Shaws met the Sabin, Staggery, as he sold it to men, to his price was that every man should pay Fatham of Wampnurg peage, that is, 44d. Fatham, as our deed, paid unto him.

This Writing sent to the Massachusetts we have related verbatim, only what is in the margent is added for explanation, and more easy to the Reader to understand our meaning which we sent at the time when their general Court sat, desiring that all the Country might take notice of it, doubting they were not well informed how the Magistrates and Ministers had carried themselves towards us, nor upon what ground they had, or did proceed against us: But the chief of them matter into consideration, thought good to call an Assembly of Magistrates and Ministers to confer, in way of a Synod, what course to take uniting themselves together that what was done by any of these might be the act of them all: and they persuading of our writings, framed out of these particulars, or thenabouts, which they said were blasphemies, changing of phrases, altering of words and senses, not in any one of them taking the true intent of our writings; but if they spoke our own words, it was to such purpose as this: as though a man would write the words of the Psalms, and affirm (there is no God) such words he may find written thereby, but if he leave out this, That the foot hath fallen in his heart, so he spoiles the sense, and
and in such manner did they deal with our writings, and those things they were free to divulge and make known amongst the people: These things concluded to be heresies and blasphemies before ever they heard a word of what interpretation we could give of our meaning therein: The Minillters did zealously preach unto the people the great danger of such things, and the guilt such lay under that held them, luring the people to labour to find such persons out and to execute death upon them, making persons to exorable in the eyes of the people, whom they intimidated should hold such things, yea some of them naming some of us in their pulpits, that the people that had not seen us thought us to be worse by far in any respect than those barbarous Indians are in the Country, which some of the Minillters have rended unto the people as Histers, Campantes, and Perjuries, urging it as a duty unto the English to put them to death; whereupon we heard a rumor that the Massachusets was sending an Army of men to cut us off; but when they perceived we were removed further into the Country, and had left our lands, houses, and labours, where their pretended subjects, by means of whom they sought for some temporall occasions against us, lived, they thought it not safe to come out against us, having flowed of nothing against us, but only our Religion; therefore seeing themselves disappointed in that design, wherein their Conjurators, bad wrought to bring them in, to make an inroad upon us, they then wrought by these their Agents, who traded for them with the Indians, to infinute themselves into two, or three Indians amongst us, to become subjects to the government of the Massachusets, whereby with-drawing them from their lawful and natural Prince, Myantonomy, and the name of these his subjects, who now become subjects to the Massachusets, were Pumhown, and Soccononoco; and when this was accomplished, then they again sent forth their warrants unto us, as formerly to command our appearance at their Courts, in the Massachusets, and that without any consideration or delay, at the first time of their sending unto us after our removal, the Court being then sitting at Boston in the Massachusets.

Here follows a true copy of the first Warrant sent unto us, by the General Court assembled at Boston, in the Massachusets, after our removal, and planting upon our land at Shawnee; verbatim, the Warrant under their hand being still extant.


Whereas we have received upon good ground, into our Jurisdiction, and Protection, two Indian Sachems, whose names are Pumhown, and Soccononoco, who have lately complained unto us of some injurious and unjust dealing, towards them by your selves; and because we desire to do equal right and justice to all, and that all parties might be heard, we have therefore thought good to write unto you, to give you notice hereof, that so you may make present answer in the General Court now assembled at Boston to their complaints, who are now here with us, to attend your comming: And because some of you have been denied the liberty of comming amongst us, and it may be others are not willing in other respects, personally to appear, [27] we do therefore hereby give and grant safe conduct for your free egress & regress unto us, whereby there may be no just excuse, for withholding you to give satisfaction in this particular.

Dated the 12th. 7th. Mo. 1643.

Per cur. general, loc.
Novell Secret.

This Warrant being delivered unto us, by some of their forenamed Agents, the English, we presently returned them this answer by word of mouth, by their Messengers, telling them, that we being so far out of their jurisdictions, could not neither would we acknowledge subjection unto any in the place where we were; but only the state and government of old England, who
who only had right unto us, and from whom we doubted not but in due reason we should receive direction, for the well ordering of us in all civil respects; and in the mean time we lived peaceably together, desiring and endeavouring to doe wrong to no man, neither English nor Indian, ending all our differences in a neighbourly and loving way of Arbitraters, mutually chosen amongst us: They receiving our answer, took it disafately, as their intent was to take us woful, without our personal appearance, being resolved what course to runne concerning us; whereupon they sent us another Writing immediately from the Court, to informe us that they were resolved to come downe amongst us, to execute Justice there.

Here follows a true Copie of the Writing which they sent unto us, verbatis, being still extant.


Whereas upon occasion of divers injuries, offered by you to us, and the people under our jurisdiction, both English and Indians, we have sent to you to come to our Court, and there make answer to the particulars charged upon you, and serve conduct to that end: To which you have returned us no other but contemptuous and disdainfull answers; and now at the last, that if you would send to your selves, that the cause might be examined, and heard among your owne Neighbours, we should then have justice and satisfaction: We have therefore, that our moderation and justice may appear to all men, agreed to condescend herein to your owne desire; and therefore intend shortly to send Commissioners into your parts to lay open the charges against you, and to hear your Reasons and Allegations, and thereupon to receive such satisfaction from you, as shall appear in justice to be due. We give you alio to understand, that wee shall send a sufficient Guard, with our Commissioners, for their safety against any violence, or injury; for seeing you will not trust your selves with us, upon our safe conduct, we have no reason to trust ours with you, upon your bare courtesie: But this you may rest assured of, that if you will make good your owne offer to us, of doing us right, we, our people shall returne, and leave you in peace; otherwise we must right our selves, and our people, by force of Armes.

Dated the 19th. of the 7th. M. 1643.

Per cur. Increase Nowell, Seauer.

The next newes wee had, immediately upon the receipt of this Writing, being about our necessary imployments, in provision for our families) was this: that one Captaine George Cooke, with a company of armed fouldiers, accompanied with many Indians, having Commission from the Massachusetts, either to bring us away by force of Armes, or else to put us to the sword; which when we heard, we partly beleived, in regard they had given order by publicke Court, long before, that no Gun-powder should be sold into those parts where we lived, but only to such as would become subjects to them, whereby the place was not onely hindered of means of defence from a foreign Enemy, but also to furnish their families with such provisions as the Countrey afforded: we hearing of their approach, immediately sent a Letter to those which we heard they killed Commissioners, which proved to be the Captaine, together with his officers, desiring to know their intent, and what their Commission was to due in those parts, signifying, that if they came to visit us in way of neighbour-hood, and friendship, to clear any matter or cause, they should be welcome to us; but if otherwise, we wished them not to set a foot upon our lands, in any hostile way.
A true Copy of our Letter verbatim. sent to the Commissioners, as they were upon the Way comming from the Massachusets towards Shawomet.

Shawomet the 28th of September, 1643.

To certaine men fized Commissioners, sent from the Massachusets, now upon the Way towards Shawomet, whose names we know not.

Whereas you are sent by the government of the Massachusets, under pretence of having things ordered amongst us, in way of justice, and equity, to be distributed unto themselves, (consulting as they say of English and Indians,) that and that upon this ground, that we have given them an invitation to that purpose; Know therefore our whole intent, and meaning therein, which may not be any other interpretation in a rationally mind; that as they invited us unto them, as clients to have our estates tried by them, and not as warriors to fight with them, so did we, and no other wise invite them; mistake us not therefore, neither deceive your selves through your own or our own pretences; for if you come to treat with us, in ways of equity and peace (together therewith, making a rod over our heads, in a band of soldiers,) be you assured, we have passed our childhood and navigation in that point, and are under Commission of the great God, not to be children in understanding, neither in courage; but to quit our selves as men; we strictly charge you therefore, hereby, that you set not a foot upon our land in any hostile way, but upon your peril; and that if any blood be shed, upon your own heads shall it be; and know, that if you set an army of men upon any part of our land, contrary to our just prohibition herein, we are under command, and have our commission sealed already, to refer you unto death; for this is the law of our God, by whom we stand, written in all mens hearts, that if you spread a table before us as friends, we sit not as men invaded, ensnared, or malevolent; not touching a morsell, nor looking for you to point us unto our dish, but we eat with you, by virtue of the untainted law of relations, not only to satisfy our stomachs, but to increase friendship and love, the end of feasting. So also if you visit us, as combatants, or warriors, by the same law of relations, we do freely and cheerfully answer you unto death; not to kill, and take away the lives of men, but to increase wrath and honour, the end of warre, in the foules of all men that seek after it, where the peace of our God appears not; and they that work other wise, and answer not unto this law, they are not men of truth, but base desiring hypocrites, flanders, and abominable idols, set up in the forme of men.

By us owners, and inhabitants of Shawomet.

This Letter being sent unto these Commissioners to filed by them, though as yet unknown unto us, by the hand of one John Peice, who lived amongst them in the Massachusets, who having a Father in Law amongst us, was willing to come and declare unto his Father, out of his tenderness towards him, of the necessities of the fouldiers approach, and as near as he could, the end of their comming, to persuade his said Father to escape for his life.

And when the Captaine, and the rest of the Commissioners had read our Letter, they returned us this answer (by the same Mefinger) namely, that they desired to speake with us, to see if they could convert us to be of their minds, (bringing a minister with them, to accomplish their ends in such deligs,) which if they could not, then they would account of us, as men fitted for the slaughter; and with all convenient speed, would addressed themselves for our dispatch in the ruine of us, and of our families.

Here follows a true Copy of the answer made by the Commissioners, unto our Letter, verbatim, under their hands, which is still extant.

To our friend John Peice. Having considered of the writing you brought to us the last night, our thoughts concerning it, are as followeth.

Frist it is our great desire, that we might speake with them, concerning the particulars, which we were sent to them about.
Simplicities Defence, against seven-headed Policy.

This Letter doth plainly declare, the proper intent of the Massachusets inhabitants, intending out that band of invaders against us, namely in the killing of our faith to God, to sub-ject our lives unto them, (however named the least word un-nous, though they came against us in the name of the King, and State of old England, but in the name of the government of the Massachusets) or else to pay the tribute of our lives unto them, in the utter ruine of our wives and children, which these men having received in Commissions, together with instruction how to accomplish and effect the same, from thence that they went, count it their glory to reveal, and make manifest the same, which the Massachusets had so long gone about to hide, under the colour of some civil miscarriage in our course of walking towards men, in regard themselves had professed, to remove into those parts merely for the liberty of conscience, which now they do zealously deny unto their neighbours.

The return of his answer from the Commissioners, as parliaments, affighted our wives & children, forcing them to betake them-selves, some into the Woods among the Indians, suffering such hardship, as occasioned the death of divers of them; and others going to take water, to depart to other plantations for encouragement, the soldiers approaching before they could take boats, who preferred their Muskets at women great with child, forcing them and their children to run deep into the water, to get into the boat for fear of them; we being taking our selves to one of our houses, for our defence, they presently appeared in fight; S. Gorton being out of the house to convey his Wife (who was great with child) towards the water-side for her escape, espied them about Muskets-shot, from the house, the way which they came being full of woods, they were not sooner discerned but he called unto them, to keep without the distance of Muskets-shot, calling to his friends in the house also to stand to their arms, for a band of soldiers consisting of English and Indians were in fight; so committing his Wife to some of Providence, which came along with them to convey her to the boat, betook himselfe to the house with the rest. These our loving neighbours, inhabiting near us, in that Towne where Mr. Williams late dwelt, being deeply affected with the proceedings of the Massachusets, comming downe unto us along with them, to be eye and care witnesses how things were carried at a meeting; who instantly urged the Captain, and officers for a parley, who denied to yield or grant any such thing, but professed they would fall upon us presently, unless it might be by private between themselves and us, and none else to heare it, professing to make dispaeth of us in one quarter of an hour's worke, which we understanding related to enter into

Your Friends and Commissioners sent by the government of the Massachusets Bay into these parts.

George Cooke. 
Edward Johnson. 
Hamfrey Asherton.

As the wife of Mr. Gorton, as also the wife of Robert Flower, other women miscarrying to the loss of their children. So also Francis Webster, through cold and hardship in prison, tell into a constant consumption, and in short time after died of it.

The wife of S. Gorton, and some of her children, the being ready to lie downe in child bed, was to deal with by the soldiers, the boat falling off for fear of fire, one of her falles could not have survived it, had it been left behind her, so was glad to betake himselfe to the water, though young to recover the boat. They had animated, and encouraged the soldiers, that yeas, to incense them against us, had it animated, and encouraged the soldiers, yeas, to incense them against us, had it animated, and encouraged the soldiers, yeas, to incense them against us, had it animated, and encouraged the soldiers, yeas, to incense them against us.
Simplicities Defence, against seven-headed Policy.

or parley, but as we saw you, and heard you speak, many of us had rather have been on your side, then for the cause we came, and the Captain seeing some of us discouraged to fight, would not permit us to discourse with any of Providence men, lest they should speak on your behalf; and this we know, that some that did sign unto them any small thing concerning the equity of our cause the Captain seiz'd on them for prisoners, and kept them in bonds, during the time of their absence there, and much ado to release them, that they had not taken them down into the Massachusetts, to undergo further punishment.

parley, unless our said neighbours of Providence might be present to witness the passages of it; but at the last after much affectionate urging, they yielded to a parley; and four of Providence men to be chosen out as witnesses, which we freely consented unto the mutual choice of them, and accordingly we met together; and we demanding of them the end of their coming, they pretended we had done some wrong unto certain of their subjects, as also that we held blasphemous errors, which we must either repent of, or go down to the Massachusetts to be tried at their Courts, or else they had Commission to put us to the sword, and to pay themselves out of our goods, for their charges in coming thither; to which we made answer, we could not yield thereunto, that they were that our professed adversaries should be our Judges, we being so far out of all their jurisdictions; but freely tendered our appeal to the honourable State of England, in any thing that could be objected against us, which they peremptorily refused: We then offered to put our cafe to arbitration, by indifferent men, mutually chosen in the country, engaging our goods, our lands, & our persons, to make full satisfaction for anything that could be brought in, or appear against us, which Propositions seemed to reason, not only in the eyes of the witnesses, but also to the Captain and the rest, that there was a true agreement, until such time as a Mediator being dispatched into the Massachusetts, might return with the answer of the Governor, and Affiliants, during the time of which truce, they broke open our houset, and our desks, taking away our Writings, killing our Cattle for themselves, and the Indians, whom they brought with them, to live upon taking the bedding, with other necessaries in our housets, for the soldiers to lie upon, and make use of, not only at that time, but afterwards in their trenches, during the time of their league, assaulting some of our friends, both men, women, and children, who only came to see us, in that sad time of extremity, hearing there was a truce concluded for a season, indeavouring to cut them off, upon the water, (being in a small vessel) by shooping halfe a score or a dozen Muskets at them, before they could get out of their reach, which they very narrowly escaped; during the time of this truce, the men of Providence (unknown unto us) sent a Letter to the Government of the Massachusetts, to inform them how things had been carried at our meeting, whereof they were eye and ear witnesses.

A true copy of the Letter sent by the men of Providence, chosen to be witnesses, of all passages in way of our parley, to the Governor of the Massachusetts, in way of mediation for peace, to prevent Constrewn men from spilling one another's blood, it is here set down verbatim, according to the original copy still extant.

Providence the 2 of the 8. M.D. 1643. so called.

Worthy Sir, let it not seem absurd, that we whose names are here under written, present you with these ensuing lines; we lately hearing read a Copy of your writing, directed to Samuel Gorton, and that company, as also some of us being requested by our neighbour Cole (your subject) and (all requested by Samuel Gorton, and his company, to hear and see) the truth of proceedings on both sides, our confessions perceiving us, that these affairs were reasonble, and for ought we know, might be means (if God had wroght) to prevent the shedding of blood, these things we lay considered, may (as before) come to our bolynee. We therefore being filled with griefe at such a spectacle, that the English should shed English blood, doe desire to acquaint you with what we did observe, during that repose, that was condescended to, for a treatise.
a trea; therefore to proceed; after your Commission read, S. G. his company did desire to know in what particulars, you did demand satisfaction; the propositions being declared were four.

First, to get them off the Indians ground, which your Commissioners said, they had but intruded.

Secondly, for satisfaction about a Booke, wherein your Commissioners said, were some things penned.

Thirdly, for satisfaction for wrong done, both to English and Indians, under your subjection.

Fourthly, for charges, which your Commissioners said, they had caused by forcing this Army.

Vtho the first they answered, that the ground was theirs; and they were the true owners; and that by the same right that you did claim it, it being long before subjected to the Narraganset Sachem, and purchased by them of Payagons; and (to take away all colour of claim) of Pamhams also, and they laying quiet possession of the same, until this trouble; and therefore did conceive you had wronged them, by bringing an Army, to force them from their ground; your Commissioners pleaded, it was your right, by the Indians subjecting to you, and thereupon were very refusals to take them off by force; which they questioned not but immediately to perform; the other as refusals, considering, they said they had bought it, and vowed to stand upon their lawful defence, though to the last drop of their blood, the resolution on both sides being so hot, that we thought immediately the Battle would have begun; they did then appeal to the highest Court in old England, for the trial of their right, when your Commissioners refused, they did again offer to put it to the trial of indifferent Judges in this Country; which were parties of neither side, and counted it unreasonable, that force should be offered before the cause were tried, which they judged you could not do; being parties in the cause, and promised to stand to the determination of those Judges, to the utmost of their estates and persons.

Secondly, being demanded by your Commissioners, satisfac-

tion for the Book, wherein they declared grosse things were penned; they answered, that they would not do it, as the former, to be judged by indifferent Judges, both the terms, & satisfaction.

To the third, for satisfaction for wrong done, both to Indians and English; they answered, they would give full satisfaction.

Concerning the fourth, wherein was great expense and charges required; they answered likewise, as in the former, that they would pay and give to the utmost satisfaction, if the Arbitrators judged, that they were the cause of stying it, and would as fully and freely submit, as to eat and drink; these being in short the heads, we leave the more ample relation to your Commissioners; Sir, to frame Proposities offered, we hope will work your affections to the utmost end, of preventing blood-spilling: Nay, we hope, if it be but upon the point of honour, rather that you will be losers, then take the utmost: the case we cannot but be so fully affected with, knowing it will be dishonourable to the Lord, if those whom we profess ourselves Christians, should not take the best means for peace; we hope you will not in the least measure take it unkindly for any hint unto you; neither that you will despise Abigals counsel, for Nabals short-sightness; let the Lord smite them, and his hand be upon them, if they sin against him; if one man sin against another, the Judge shall judge him, but if a man sin against the Lord, who shall intercede for him? 1Sam. 25. Now their Proposition is for man to judge, as that first part of the allowed Scripture doth declare; some of their wives and children (if a mornfull Spectacle might move you) doe begge for a serious consideration of their husbands, and fathers Proposities; which if not hearkned unto, were like in mans eye to be left miserable; we would they were able to write their owne griefe, which now in pie we have respect unto; Oh, how grievous would it be (we hope to you) if one man should be taken, considering the greatest Monarch in the world cannot make a man; especially grievous, seeing they offer terms of peace: Sir, we know not how to feering they offer terms of peace: Sir, we know not how to feering they offer terms of peace: Sir, we know not how to feering they offer terms of peace: Sir, we know not how to
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Widoms to cover our defects with love, and answer for us, if any shall challenge us, 2 Tim. 2. 7.


Here followeth a true Copie of a Letter written by the Governor of the Massachusets, in answer to the men of Providence, of their Letter written unto him, in way of mediation for peace, which is here set down verbatim, the Letter being extant under his owne hand.

Neighbours of Providence,

I have received a Letter subscribed by four of you, whom I hear are not of the confederacy with Gorton, Holden, and the rest of that company, wherein is Meditors you underseeme between them & us; in the differences now between us; the return of the Messenger is so halfe, that I cannot make a full answer to every thing you have mentioned in your Letter; only you may well expect with this, that the Commissions, and instructions given to the Commissioners now at Providence, was not rashly and inconsiderately drawn up; but by the mature advice of the wisest and godliest amongst us, assembled in a general Court, which I have not power to reverse or alter; and for the just necessity of the Courts proceedings therein, you may doe well to take further notice, that besides the Title of Land, between the Indianns and the English there, there are twelve of the English, that have subscribed their names, to horrible and detestable blasphemies, against God, and all Magistrates, who are rather to be judged as Blasphemers, (especially if they persist therein,) rather then that they should delude us, by winning time, under the pretence of Arbitration; I doubtnot, but you well know, that we have sent to them, to plead their title to the Land, and to make answer for their Blasphemies, and that we lately sent them safe Conducts for their coming, and returning, [□] for all which we have received from them, nothing but scorn, contempt, and revilings in the worst expressions they could call them into; so that the promises of protection made by us, to Pusnman, &c. of the vindication of God's honour, and many reasons concerning our safety, have necessary put us upon this course with them; notwithstanding which, if any of them will in peaceable manner, repair unto us, under the conduct of our Commissioners, no violence shall be offered to them, by our soldiers there, and our justice here; but if they refuse, and offer violence, let the hurt that they receive be upon their owne heads; further (which I had forgotten) where you lay their offer of arbitration is fair, you may doe well to be better informed, and to know that the bottom of it is easily founded, which is to win time, to discourage the Indians, [□] under our sujection, and to give them time, and opportunity, to stir up (as much as in them lieth) the other Indians against us; for to whom would they refer their matters? to their felves whom we know not, but have just cause to fear, in respect of your violence unto them, and your now mediation for them; and to those of Road-land divers of whom we know, too well, to refer any matters unto; [□] the best office you can perform unto them, is to persuade them to attend to their own safety; by yielding to the lawfull demand of our Commissioners, from which as I said before I cannot vary. So I wish

Your loving Neighbour,

Isa. Winstrope.

Bost. 8. 3. 1643.

As to their their own ends upon us, I behold here their guilt, in that they had unjustly drawn by infirmation the Indians from their lawful Prince, as also that fulfills wrong they did to us, ragueing falsely unto the people, as though there were fear of some combination between the Indians and us, to lay up soldiers by that means to come out against us. I behold how these men can evade all fair Propositions to peace, and bring forth their own spirit even, even to the death of their country men, if it be but by casting aspersions upon those that hold not just length and breadth in religion with them.

Now after the exchange of these Letters, between the men of Providence, and the Governor of the Massachusets, which
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Here follows a true Copy of the testimony of the two men of Providence who came to Shav-o-mer at the return of the Messenger out of the Massachusetts verbatim, extant under their own hands.

Wetstite: that upon the return of the Answerer, from the Bay, the Captain refused the former offer of appeal to England, or Arbitration in the Country, with the said Samuel Gorton and his company, but immediately dissolved the Truce, and the same day proceeded to give fire upon them.

Richard Scott
William Harrisse.

And so continued for divers days together in their fierce assault, the Sabbath approaching, we imagining they would not have continued their assault upon that day, and were very confident that they would go about no such work upon the night before the Sabbath; being we knew well that they held the Sabbath begins in the evening going before, and that they had no leave given it for them, Master Cotton's judgment; as also that it was one of their laws that the breach of the Sabbath is to be punished with death. Now what they may judge the killing of their Countryman causeth closely upon that day is, whether to keep or break the Sabbath, we leave to all men to judge.

But contrary to our expectation, early in the morning, having prepared their fire works, they attempted to burn the house wherein we were, revolving their fire with the discharge of above four hundred shot against us; according to the Souldiers account, who afterwards told us how many shots they had made that morning, according to the emptying of their bandoleers; which time they told us Captain Cook stood behind such a great white oak tree, whom we heard encouraging his Souldiers to come on with courage, thinking himself in safety, and so he was, for we discharged not a Gun that morning, nor of
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should go along with them, as free men, and neighbours, as though such passages had never been betwixt us, which the Captain and his Company consenting unto, beat up the Drum, and gathered his soldiers together, seeming joyful that things were so concluded; whereas upon the Captaine's desire to see our house, which request we lovingly imbrace, thinking he intended to refresh himself and his soldiers with such provisions as we had, before we set upon our journey towards the Massachusetts, but no sooner was he come into the house, but contrary to the Articles of our agreement, he seized upon our Armes, using us as captives, and presently carried us away, not suffering us to dispose of any of our goods, that were in or about our houses, having not so much as a servant left behind, and so left them all as pillow to the Indians, [*] the Captain giving charge unto the soldiers, that if any of us spake a word in our journey, to give any of them discontent, that they should presently knock us down, and if they saw any of us step aside out of the place designed unto us, that they should run us through, and he would bear them out, in that their action: And withall they drove away our cattle into the Massachusetts, dividing and disposing of them amongst themselves, only some of them they had disposed of to such of their subjects as lived near unto us, who had been instruments and assistants unto them, to bring about and effect this work. The number of cattle which they took from us was four-score head, or thereabouts, besides Swine and Goats, which they, and the Indians, lived upon during the time of their siege, also breaking violently into our houses, taking away our corn with other provisions provided for our Families to live upon.
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Here followeth an other Testimony, of divers of the men of Providence, given under their hands, for downe here verbatim, for the clearing of these matters, which writing is extant.

Providence this present January the 30th, 1644.

We whose names are here under written, Inhabitants of the town of Providence in the Narragansett-Bay in New-England, being requested by Samuel Gorton, Randal Houlden, John Wickes, and John Warner, with divers others of our countrymen, to seifie what we know concerning their late sufferings, from the Bay of the Massachusetts, we take our selves bound in confidence, to answer their request, and in a word of truth, impartially to witness.

First, that our Country-men aforesaid, were peaceably possessed of a plantation, at Shawsome, amongst the Natives, some ten or a dozen miles beyond this Towne of Providence.

Secondly, that the Bay of Massachusetts, sent up through this Towne of Providence, one Captaine Cooke, and his company, in warlike manner, who actually assaulted, and besieged our aforesaid Country-men, who stood upon their own defense.

Thirdly, that the wives and children, of our aforesaid Country-men, upon these hostile courses were affrighted and scattered in great extremities, and divers since are dead.

Fourthly, the said Captain Cooke and his company, carried captive our aforesaid Country-men through this Towne of Providence, to the Bay of Massachusetts.

Fifthly, Their goods, cattle, houses, and plantations were taken upon, by the aforesaid Captain, and his company; their cattle were part killed by the soldiers, and the rest by Agents from the Bay disposed of, and driven away to the said Bay of Massachusetts.

Richard Scott.  |  William Barrow.
William Harris.  |  Thomas Angel.
Stanley Wasteco.  |  Hugh Basset.
Hugh Basset.  |  Thomas Goodwin.
Thomas Harris.  |  Robinson West.

Now as we passed along on the way to the Massachusetts, which was about three-score, or three-score and ten miles, in the common account of men, from our Plantation at Shaw-omes, after they were come into the Townes within their own jurisdictions, in some Townes their Miniftrers which the soldiers brought along with them against us, gathered the people together, in the open street, to prayers, that the people might take notice, what they had done, was done in a holy manner, and in the name of the Lord, and when they came to Dorchester, there being many people gathered together, with divers of their Ministries, as Master Cotton, and Master Mathery, and there they placed us at their pleasure, as they thought fit to have us land; and made vallies of shot over our heads in signe of victory, and when we were come to Boston, and brought before the Governors doore, the soldiers placing themselves and us, as they thought fit, orderly, the Governor coming forth, walking throughout, and all the company of soldiers blessed them; the word which he used he still passed along this: God bless you, and prosper you; God bless and prosper you; and when this was done, we were brought into the Governors Hall, before the Governor, Mr. John Winthrope, unto whom we complained, how the Captain had touched us; for one of us, that is Sampson Shattuck, was dead before hardly, which some of their spirit had put him upon, and but ten of us that handled arms, we thought he did not use Machiavelism, comming out to bless Abraham, when he came from the daughter of the Kings, in the wilde of Lot, he did it to gravely and solemnly, only the Captain wanted the spirit of Abraham for all his good fortune; yet we thought he was not capable to communicate, in that prayer of blessing of the Governor for his errand, to us was a matter and exercise the spirit of the government in his Commission made manifest.
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number of about six and twenty; all drawn from our writing formerly mentioned in this Treatise, we deny that we either held, or had writ any such things, and denied our writing might be read in open Court, this it might appear what was in it, which was denied unto us; only their charges must appear, by the affirmation of the Bench; for no other man nor woman appeared to tell us a word against us, and when we continued to deny the contrivances they had given us of our writings, and abstracted from them, denying them to be ours, we were commended silence; Malts Thomas Dudley, one of the Bench, standing up, charging us to be silent, and told us if we were not, they would lay hands upon our legs, and upon our hands, and also upon our necks; whereupon the Court for that time was dissolved, no man objecting against us in the least, in any wrong or injury betwixt man and man; neither at that time, nor in any time of our trial amongst them. After which they brought us forth divers times before their Court, which then sat more privately in a Chamber, the door being kept very carefully, that none should enter, but only whom they thought fit to permit, their Court then confining of about a dozen Magistrates, and about forty Deputies chosen out of several Towns, as were thought fit, and many of their Ministers usually present with them to assist in the work; they then questioned, and examined us apart, to the uttermost they could, to get some matter against us from our own mouths, and also usually sending their Agents as Elders, [x]and Members of their Churches, [x] unto us in prison with good conscience renewed, he desired him to recite it, and he hoped the Court would be very merciful, and that he would not be disapprobation unto you, for here is our Reverend Elder, Mr. Cotton, who authoritatively preacheth this publick sermon, that the next year he publickly repeats of, and that himself very fully agrees to the Congregation, so that (faith he) will be no disgrace for you to recite in such a place. (A) Visibly comming to us into the prison, many of them together; As also, when we were put apart in the time of our examination, one of the Members of the Church of Bath, telling some of us in his own house, that he was persuaded, that we did not worship the true God, for faith he then, he would not have permitted you to be brought down from your own Plantation amongst us, nor faith he! I am persuaded, that our Churches shall not be over-run by any people that should come out against them; his wife standing by, being an ingenuous woman, made answer to our consent, before; we could speak; Husband (faith she) pray doe not thrust before the victory be known, it may be the Battle is not yet ended.
frequently putting questions unto us to get occasion against us; thas continuing for the space of two or three weeks together, during which time Master Wilfon ordinarily in his Sermons, presst the Magistrates and the people to take away our lives, from that text of the King of Israel letting Benhadad goe, applying it unto them; that if they let us escape with life, their life should then goe for our life, and their people for our people, urging them from that of Samuel and Agag, to hew and cut us in pieces; Master Cotton also in his Sermons, incourag'd the people in the lawfulness of their dealings with us, from that in the Revelations, where it is said, the Kingdoms of this world are the Kingdoms of the Lord, and his Chris, wherein he observed, that they being the Kingdom of Christ, they were bound to goe out against all people, to subdue all such unto themselves as are weaker than they; otherwise they might stay at home within themselves, and serve God with all their hearts; but they could not serve him with all their might, unless they went out to subdue others, and so would be guilty of the breach of that command, viz. Thou shalt serve the Lord thy God with all thy strength. Now after our many consultations, and debating of matters with the Magistrates and Ministers, not only in the Court, sometimes one of us answering and declaring of his mind, only in matters of Religion a whole day together, yeas part by Candle-light, besides all their more private conferences in the prison, and at other houses, where we were put apart, in custody one from another in the time of our examination: at the last the Court sent for S. Gorton, out of prison, to appear before them; and when he came before them, the Governor told him, he heard there was exception taken, that there should be a rumour, that it was for some civil things they had proceeded against us, and yet no man appeared to object the least against us, in any civil respect; unto which the Governor himselfe gave an answer (not expecting an answer from Gorton) that they had set their subjects the Indians in their own Land, and that was all they looked after in that respect, but they never questioned in publick, whether it was right or wrong, to take it from us, only had

had privately called one of us, which was one of the Interpricators, as the buying of it, and the Indians their Subjects together, to see what could be said in it, and found the Indians by their own confession, to make things so clear on our behalfe, that they thought it not fit to bring it into publique hearing of the matter.

The Governor then told Gorton, he was now to answer some things that should be propounded unto him upon his life, for it was upon his life that now he was to answer; unto which Gorton made answer, that he was to shew unto them all dutifull subjection that might be being under the government of their Jurisdiction, as he had done since his comming amongst them, to give them their due honour and respect to the utmost, which he could not do but as he looked upon them with relation unto the State of old England; by virtue of which power, they gave there, as executioners of justice, unless he looked at them, and carried himself towards them, as they had respect unto that State, (from whom what power they had was derived) else he could not give them their due honour and respect; for it could no way appear to be such, but as it was derived from that noble State of old England; and therefore, however he had according to what they had demanded, for the clearing of any thing, been free to answer unto them: So now if it was his life that they would now put him upon, he did as freely, and in the presence of them all, appeal to the State of old England; for his tryall in that point, by virtue of which State only he conceived they gave there as Ministers of justice; and therefore might not deny unto him his just appeale (understanding the denial of an appeale, mall either presuppose superiority in them that deny it, or an equality at the least, with the State appealed unto) unto which the Governor made answer, as also Master John Indicro, deputy Governor, and bad Gorton never dream, or think of any such thing, for no appeale should be granted unto him.

Now the Ministers and Magistrates, having weighed better our Writings, our Examinations in Court, answers to questions more
more privately, with any thing, spoken in the prison amongst our selves, which daily ear was lent unto, or our carriage and demeasure in any respect; they had now slumbered up, and drawn all into four questions, which were now to be answered in case of life and death.

The Questions were these that here follow, not a word varying in any one of them.

1. Q. Whether the Fathers, who dyed before Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, were justified and saved only by the blood which he shed, and the death which he suffered after his incarnation.

2. Q. Whether the only price of our Redemption, were not the death of Christ upon the Cross, with the rest of his sufferings, and obediences in the time of his life hereafter he was born of the Virgin Mary.

3. Q. Who is that God whom he thinks we serve.

4. Q. What he means, when he faith, We worship the Star of our God Remphan, Chion,Molech.

To these four questions the Court told Gorton he must answer speedily upon life and death, and that under his hand writing; he told them he was not willing to answer in any thing but as before he had done; they told him he must give in a speedy answer under his hand writing; he asked what time he must have for the answer of them; they told him a quarter of an hour; he told them he could answer them in so short a time, but he knew not whether it could give them satisfaction; for it was as much as for a man to describe Jesus Christ what he is, and the way of Autarchis also, which might be done in few words; but not to be clear to every man; for a man may describe the whole world in these words, in the beginning God created heaven and earth, and the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; all the whole works of creation is in these, as he next follo\-
Simplicities Defence against seven-headed Policy.

This is a true Copy of answers given to the Court of the Massachusetts to the four questions, which they required to be answered in writing upon life, and death, in case of Blasphemy, which we were charged with, and sentence so far passed, as to take away our lives by the sword, in case of not adhering to our Religion, or erroneous opinions, as we were pleased to call them; the answers are truly set down, verbally.

To the first question we answer affirmatively (only altering the liberty of our explanation) namely, The Fathers who died before Christ was born, in the Virgin Mary, were justified and saved, only by the blood which he shed, and the death which he suffered, in and after his incarnation (that is there a word added to their question, which was done of purpose (knowing how they looked) to regulate them, if it was possible, as it was declared unto them, in the first reading of the answer, how they spake in it, which they yielded unto, they say, the death which he suffered (after) this incarnation, the answer was (in) and after his incarnation. For to speak of the sufferings of Christ, after his incarnation, without respect unto that which was before, as well as of his sufferings before his incarnation, without respect to that which is after; for the Crodle of Christ is not, but with respect, both to his own nature and divine, and we cannot know the two natures in Christ, what they are distinctively in themselves, to give each its proper due, and what they are joyfully united in one, no otherwise, but as they are considered in the very act of incarnation, in which appears the Sufferer, and that which is suffered is the Son of God, made man, the creator becomes a creature; the thing suffered, is to be made a curse, that is to be made such a thing as is in it felt, by nature accursed, and to Christ, was made a curse; the sufferings of Christ then, and the shedding of his blood (as he is known after the Spirit) are properly in that one act of his incarnation, which is the proper act of the humiliation of the Son of God, so that to speak of his sufferings after this incarnation, you may as well speak of his sufferings before his incarnation, for in the act of incarnation they are made one; and to speak of the sufferings of Christ invisibly, in his human nature, in the days of Head, to be the proper sufferings of the Son of God, any further, but as a true doctrine (as in all other holy Writ) to teach what that suffering is, in the act of his incarnation, you may as well speak of sufferings of Christ invisibly, before that act of his incarnation, for the Crodle of Christ is not, but with respect, both to divine and human nature; nor can it be said to be in time, no more then it may be said to be before time; for the humiliation of the Son of God, admits not of any bounds or limits; for then were it not of infinite value, and if not of infinite value and virtue, then not the humiliation of the Son of God, nor could it be said to be the blood of God, as the Apostle calls it; so that as he himself is, not, but as the first and the last become one, even so his sufferings are not, but in that one act, of the curse and blessing, being made one. This being premised which was signified unto them by word of mouth, the answer runs clear to this, hand Christ according to the spirit, otherwise a man may be answerable to his humiliation as he knows Christ after the flesh, as the world doth the whole word of God, to also the seed of Abraham, is to be underfoot as Abraham himself is, Abraham is the Father of Christ, as in the Genealogy it appears; to faith David in the person of Christ, our Fathers trusted in thee, meaning Abra- ham for one, and Christ also in the Father of Abraham; therefore he is called the everlasting father and Christ himself, before Abraham was I am, such also is the seed of Abraham, it produces and brings forth the Son of God, and the Son of God produces and brings forth it; so it is with the Virgin, she is the mother that gives form, and being to Jesus Christ, he also gives form and being unto her, before the calls in her Lord and Saviour; the Virgin, the woman brings forth the man, a Virgin conceives and bears a Son, the man brings forth the woman, made of a rib, out of his innocent side; so that the man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man in the Lord; these two being separated the Contraet is broken, the Devorce is made, and not being rightly united, the word is adulterated, we are in sin. The mystery of this answer then lies in this, (which Pharisees understand not, if Christ be the Virgin Mary, conceived in her womb, and born of her, how doth the Virgin Mary in spirit call him her Lord, God, and Saviour? on this wife; that the guilt and sin of man is not, but with respect unto the holy word of God, the disobedience whereof, by eating the forbidden fruit, proceeds an infinite distance, between God and his own work, without the least defect or blame to be found or imputed unto the word of God, but the sole defect and blame is in the creature, even in man himself, yet could he in no case be so miserable, but with respect unto the holy Word, even for the justification and salvation of the Fathers, was by the holy word of God, not with respect and relation unto the seed of Abraham, and the Son of David, (conceived and born of the Virgin Mary) in whom they were justified and saved, and yet no virtue nor power, arising out of any thing that is human, nor therefore is a funder of infinite guilt, with respect unto that word, which was before all time, and no fault to be found in the Word at all; the word of God is a Saviour of infinite value, with respect unto the seed of the Virgin Mary, born, suffering, dying, and rising again in the fulness of time, and yet no virtue in that seed at all, unto whom all the Prophets bring witness, having an eye unto him in all their holy Writings, and the faith of the Fathers comprehending Christ, both in the one, and in the other respect, were justified and saved by him alone, his death being real and actual unto faith, God having the same constancy real and actual unto faith, with
with the creature in all ages, though the creature cannot have the same with him but in time.

To the second Question depending upon, or rather involved in the former we answer,

Mans rejection of the Word of God, being his sine and separation from God, is the only forfeiture of himself, which could not be, but with respect unto the word of eternity; even so God's Righteousness revealed by taking man into uniy with himself, is the only price of our Redemption, with respect unto the death of Christ upon the Cross, with the rest of his sufferings, and obedience, from the time of his Incarnation, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, to his ascension into Heaven, without which there is no price of our Redemption.

To the third Question, who we think that God is, that men serve, that are not of the faith above said: we answer that all men have hearts are saved (by the true God) to bow in worship; therefore when the Apostle looking upon the inscription upon the Altar at Athens, it is said, he beheld their devotion (or as the word is) the God which they worshipped, though ignorantly, yet it was he only that he declared unto them: So the Apostle James, thou believest, that is there one God, thou dost well, the Devils also believe, and tremble.

The fourth Question therefore is the explanation of the third, namely what we mean by Medleth, and the Star of that God Remphan: to which we answer, that the Scripture alluded unto, makes difference between those Gain-sayers of the Fathers which fell in the Wilderness, and those of the true seed, that gave faithfull Testimony unto the Oracle of God; the Rebels of the sons of Levi, would not take up, nor bear the Ark of God, as their duty was, nor give the light and light of a Star in the Tabernacle, when it was pitched (for the seven Stars are the seven Angels:) But as they had the power of a worldly Ruler, or Governour to defend them in their works, and to subdue all that were not of their mind under them: therefore they took up the Tabernacle of Mo- lech, or bore the Booth of the King, and gave the light of Remphan (alluding unto Rapha, who in Davids days had four forces, were mighty Giants, warring only by the Strength of the

the Arme of steof) so that they would not give Testimony unto the holy way of God; but as they had a King set over them, besides Moses, to defend them, who as a greater than Moses was there? And in this they turned back in their hearts, unto Egypt, looking unto the way of Pharaoh, that would subdue all that were not of his own way, and be a defence unto his wife men in what ever they wrought; but the faithfull seed of Abraham, had the Tabernacle of Witnesse, or witnessed unto the Tabernacle, even in the Wilderness, where there was no worldly Governour to defend them, but all came out against them, Ammon and Amalek, Balaam, Og and Sihon, and the rest; in the which condition Stephen perceived himselfe, when he witnessed unto the word of truth, in alledgeing that place of the Prophect.

Upon the finnishing of their answers, the Munday morning, the Court sent for S. Gorton to come before them, when he was come, the Governor asked him, whether he had brought in his answer to the questions propounded unto him (as their last sitting) in writing, he answered he had brought them; then the Governor asked him, whether he had put his hand unto them, he answered he had not, not thinking it would be required, else he had done it; the Governor called for pen and ink, and caused him to put his hand unto them, and then demanded them of him, Gorton declared he might have liberty, to read them fæth in the Court, that he might pronounce the Phrases and words according to the true meaning, and intent, having had experience of wrong done, in reading (in way of pronunciation of things not plainly) before, to the giving of true intelligence to the hearers, when the answers were read in the audience of the Court, the Court paused, and no man said any thing unto them, only bade Gorton withdraw, which being done, they had some confusion among themselves, and being done, they had some confusion among themselves, and
phrase of the Apollo, your God Raphsh; and to it referred to clear that scruple. The Governour told Gorton, that they were one with him, in those answers; for they held as he did; Gorton answered, he was very glad of it, for he loved not differences and divisions amongst men: the Governour then asked him whether he would retract the writing that was formerly written unto them; Gorton answered, that nothing was written before, but would suit and agree, with these answers; so that if there was cause to retract one, there was cause to retract all; the Governour said, no these answers they could agree with him; but not in the former writing; whereupon Master Dudley stood up, seeming to be much moved, and said he would never consent to it whilst he lived, that they were one with him in those answers; the Governour then asked Gorton what Faith was: to which he answered, that was nothing that concerned what they had formerly written, and that he and the rest had only undertaken to answer to any thing that was in their writing: the Governour told him, he was bound, and ought to be ready to give an answer to any that should ask him a question of the hope that is in him; Gorton made answer, that the definition which the Apollo gives of Faith, was sufficient, as he thought to give any man satisfaction; he asked him what that was, he told him it was this: Faith is the Hypothesis or Substitution of things that are hoped for, and the Evidence or Argument demonstrative of things that are not seen, nor demonstrated at all; the Governour told him that was true, but he could say more of Faith than so; Gorton told him, it gave him satisfaction, and being an other point then they had had to dispute about, since their coming amongst them, and being no question produced from former writings, desired to be spared from any further answer then the plain words of the Apollo; whereupon Master Breadstreet made answer, that he thought it was not fit to put him upon any new questions, unless he were free to speak unto them, and so they dismissed him from the Court to the Prison again.

Shortly after this, there was a day appointed, wherein were

were to receive our sentence from the Court, which was to be given in the afternoon, and in the forenoon Master Cotton preached, having gathered up the minds of the people, in what they had observed, and perceiving the people took notice, that in what we disavowed from them, was out of tenderness of conscience, and were ready to render a reason and ground for what we held and practiced, & divers such like things, to which he answered, that if we had done it out of ignorance, then there had been hopes of regaining us; but out of tenderness of conscience, and able to render reason for what we did (and other things of like nature) there were we ripened for death, urging them to agree together, and content in one thing, that so it might be, else would not the Angels carry their faules to heaven; for he was then speaking of the office of the Angels in that point; and when by all their examinations in Court, Interrogatories put upon us in Prison, and publick preaching, they could find nothing against us, for the transplanting of any of their Laws, they then proceeded to call a list for our lives, putting it to the major vote of the Court, whether we should live or die, which was so ordered by the providence of God, that the number of two voices carried it on our side; and whereas both by Law and Equity, and act of Providence, they ought to have set us forth with all liberty, yet notwithstanding they proceeded further to sentence; namely, confining us to several Towns, and to wear bonds and irons, and to work for our living, though it was in the extremity of winter, and not to speak of any of these things which they had dealt with us about, and all this during the pleasure of the Court, and that upon pain of death.
Here followeth a true Copy of the cenzure, and of the charge as it was given unto us in writing by the Court, being extant, and here set down verbatim, as it was given to Samuel Gorton, the rest being the same, but only the change of the names.

For Samuel Gorton.

It is ordered that Samuel Gorton shall be confined to Charlestown, there to be set on workes, and to wear such bolts or irons, as may hinder his escape, and so to continue during the pleasure of the Court, provided, that if he shall break his said confinement, or shall in the mean time, either by speech or writing, publish, declare, or maintain any of the blasphemous or abominable heresies, wherewith he hath been charged by the general Court, contained in either of the two books sent unto us by him, or by Randall Holloway: or shall reproach, or reprove the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in these united Colonies, or the civil government, or the public Ordinances of God therein (unless it be by answer to some question propounded to him, or conference with any Elder, or with any other licensed to speak with him privately, under the hand of one of the Assistants) that immediately upon accusation of any such writing, or speech, he shall by such Assistant, to whom such accusation shall be brought, be committed to prison, till the next Court of Assistants, then and there be tried by a Jury, whether he hath to spoken or written, and upon his conviction thereof, shall be condemned to death, and executed.

Dated the 30. of the 9. Moneth, 1643.

For cur.

Increase Novell, Secret.

A Copie of the Charge.

Samuel Gorton, being convicted as a blasphemous enemy to the true Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and all his holy Ordinances, and also to all civil Authority among the people of God, and particularly in this jurisdiction, as appeareth by writings and speeches.

This charge being laid upon us, at the Barre before we heard of the cenzure (though they came us above in writing to us) the Governor asked us, whether we believed under it, and whether we would retract, we answered and told them (as in the presence of God) that the charge either belted nor touched us at all, for we were free, and far from being guilty of any such things, and for our protection, we told them we came not there to deny our Religion, in any point of it, but to testify and bear witness unto it; then did they read our cenzure, for our confinement, as it above said, and when the bolts and chains were made ready, they put them upon us, in the prison at Boston, that so we might travel in them to the several Towns to which we were confined, some of us having fifteen miles, and something to go from Boston only we were to stay till Master Cotton his Lecture day, and then were all brought to the Congregation in the Court House, for the credit of the Sanctuary, which had set the floor on work to such good purpose, and after they were with all speed sent away; yet, some of us among the people that went from the Lecture, that so we might be a spectacle unto them.

In which condition we continued a whole winter season, in which time their Ministers did not the people, in their publick Sermons to familiarize us to death, but that the place of the Prophet Zephaniah, 3. 10. 2. This shall they have for their pride, because they have reproached, and magnified themselves against the people of the Lord of hosts; the Lord will be terrible unto them, for he shall familiarize all the Gods of the earth, and men shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the Isles of the Heavens. Samuel Gorton having intelligence, from Boston,
to divulge and declare them unto the world; 5 we even so wish it too; 6, 26 the heart man believeth unto visions, ps, 4, that, it's gives in Rom. 10.

credit to that which he hears, to him another, and with the 10.
month confession is made to said person, 4, that is, preacheth, o Rom. 10.9
or professeth that which God hath made him to be by faith, 10.

for as I have said in the Lord, 116, 116, to believe in the heart, that God raised him up from the dead, so shalt be saved, 49, nor am I ignorant of the minds of the people, (amongst whom I have insertion, and am a Pfal. 39, stranger to all my Fathers have been,) 49, how canst thou 12.
are I should get my bread with lawful work, or else to have hunger and my family to cleave unto my bonds, which they profess themselves to be very clearly instructed in, though in times past it hath been thought sufficient for a man to be exercised in (as one time) to lie in fetters and irons amongst strangers, though wife and children were not deprived of all necessaries at home. Nor do I doubt, but they may find a time to alter their judgement (it may be before they are aware) especially if the Bridegroom be at the door, 56, and it is well known that I have not been accustom'd to any servile work in any part of my life till now of late in New-England, where through the kindness of my countrymen, in taking from my family the things of this life, which God had before engaged on us, I have been un-captivated theretoo, which I am so upbraided with in this place.

But it is not grievous unto me, whilst they cannot but see in it (if God have not blinded their eyes) the vanity of those Idol shepherds of the Church of Rome, 2, who cannot speak unto the people, but in a way of fustian and easy; nor had I ever design'd, to be figur'd up in the world, through gatherings and contributions of the people; therefore have these hands of all my acc:erizers. But however I have been exercis'd about the bread that perisheth, 1 you must not be but with respect unto that which excel's above everlasting life, 3, which I have endeavoured to break, 5, and faithfully to impart unto my wife, children, and servants, and to any that had an ear open to listen unto that, which was word of life, 5, which

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hath made all other travels or losts, whatever, to be light and
ease unto me (as at this day) that I profess to be the only
errant I have to do in the world: and however we do preach the
Gospel, yet have we nothing to rejoice in a to glory and praise
our selves for, to lift up our selves above our Brethren for ne-
cessity is laid upon me: That is, I am in want: and stand in
need of all things: and woe is me if I preach not the Gospel:
That is, if I receive not this grace from Christ, as well as any
other: for the same necessity I have of any other grace, I have
of this grace also: For of my unfitness we all receive, and grace
for grace, for the grace of God is a bundle of life in Christ:
Hence I say: So as, that if I reject, or neglect, or put off any one
of them to another, as no privilege or prerogative of mine,
I do the like to all: For his seamless coat may not be divided,
but all goeth by lot or portion the same way: And in like man-
er I am destitute of this, and I am destitute of all other grace,
that proceeds from him: For if I preach the Gospel willingly,
I have a reward: That is, if I do it out of any ability, skill,
or will of my own, gotten and acquired by any pains or indus-
try, as men attain to arts, and trades, wherein they are to be
preferred before, and above others, then I have a reward: That
is, something is to be attributed and contributed to me for the
same:
then go I about to deprive my Lord of his right,
showing myself an unfaithful reward: for where an hundred
is due to him, I bid write fifty, that I may take the rest myself to
live upon: for even as I proposed my own deserts, demerits,
and incommensurably unto a people; so do I propose the undeserving
elation and condition of my Lord; proclaiming his benefact:
which I let forth my pains and good-will in so doing, but if
I do it against my will: That is, if it be contrary to the mind
and will of all men, to undertake the cross of Christ, to preach
the Gospel to necessities, reproaches, hard labors, and persecu-
tions; then is the dispersion committed unto me: that is,
the right of all administrations (wrapped up in that fountain of
difficulties, the Gospel) do of right sole belong unto him, and
not unto me in any case, yes, I do the will and power of another
and not my own, unto whom the praise and glory of right be-
longeth and wholly appertaineth, and not unto the will, abil-
ity
right to them all, that so he might make it manifest that his Ro. 4.13
Kingdom is not of this world, therefore gives charge unto his 14.
disciples, that as they had freely received, so they should freely 1 Cor. 8.
give: for by how much we enjoy people to contribute unto 1 John 3.5.
as for preaching the Gospel, by to us we proclaim, that we 2 Tim. 6.
have given unto God for what we have received of him, and 1 Tim. 3.
teach others: so to do, namely to bring some preparations, operation, or instruments to receive his grace, which is as far from man 1 Tim. 5.
atto him, as it was to prepare and fit himself for his creation 1 Tim. 2.
me at the first, so that the benevolence of the Saints in communicating 1 Tim. 4.
the meaning of this life, is not part of the glory or beautifying of the house of God: for then a wicked man might add 1 Tim. 5.
somewhat to them, nor shall the glory in the least measure 1 Tim. 5.
be diminished, when these things shall have an end. But it is 1 Tim. 5.
a declaration of their utilization of the things of this present life, 2 Tim. 4.
astings of no account or reckoning, when they come into competition 2 Tim. 4.
with the well being of the Saints; and as these things are consumed and turned into ashes upon that golden altar, 2 Tim. 4.
s to do that there ascend up a pernicious sacrifice of sweet favour 2 Tim. 4.
unto the Lord, so according to our valuation of the things of 2 Tim. 4.
this life, so is our valuation of the Lord Jesus, who is either all 2 Tim. 4.
or none at all in our estimation and accounts, and if he be all 2 Tim. 4.
1 or above him, that hath the least, and he is 1 Tim. 5.
that gathereth little bread but falls short of him that hath the 1 Tim. 5.
much; hath the most, for the one, and the other comforteth them in the 5.
15.
all of the present supply of their necessity, knowing that if they 1 Tim. 5.
keep them, in making any account or reckoning of them, for 1 Tim. 5.
19.
the time to come, they perfectly profit and overcome. Learn 1 Tim. 5.
that this people therefore, that there is that in the heastly Mann 1 Tim. 5.
that the rebels may eat in the wilderness and die eternally, as well 1 Tim. 5.
as that which whom forever casts them away, and live for ever n. 1 Tim. 5.
5.6.8.
for there is a need to be sent in going away to another, as well 1 Tim. 5.
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any of those things which is seemes are to be feasted as in the grave for the present, as I shall tell you what Scripture ungeth my heart for the present to impart, if God lend not another, v. 65. 66.

before the opportunity be attained, for we cannot treasur up to bring forth at our pleasure unto griefs, no more then we can stretch down at our pleasure for our supply, but only as our God performeth, both the one and the other, P. for we depend not upon Bath Obad as Saint did, 9 but upon the Lord Jehovah as David did. The Scripture mentioned is the founding of the fifth Trumpet, Revel. 9, out of which I desire (as God shall afford) to open and declare these points following.

1 What the sound of the Trumpet is, 1 who the Angel is, 2 why the Point, to fifth.

1 What that trumpet is that falls from heaven to the earth, 2. P. 2, what the fall of it is, 3 how it falls from heaven unto the earth.

1 What the key of the bottomless pit is, To whom it is given. P. 3, 3 The manner how it is given. 4 How the pit is opened. 5 How it can be said to be bottomless, being nothing can be without banks and bottom but the Lord himself.

1 what the sound of the bottomless pit is. 2 the cause and P. 4, manner of its rise, even as the sound of a great furnace.

1 What the Sunne and the aire are. 2 How they are darkened by the sound of the pit.

1 What those locusts are that come out of the sound. The nature of their power, as the scorrions of the earth have power; 3 how this power is given unto them, seeing that all power is of God.

1 What the imputationes, that are laid upon the locusts. P. 6, 2 The rise of those imputationes. 2 These are caused of them. 4 The extent of them.

1 What the nature and property of the locusts are, declared by P. 8, the several forms aforesaid unto them, furniture, ornaments, and their carriage in them.

What their King is, as he is described, 2 by his office assigned. P. 9, 2 by his states given unto him. 3 How upon it a King, seeing the locusts are said to have no King over them.

1 what was that, that is said to be past, and how it can be P. 10.
When the lord of the court was brought to Samuel Gorton's house by his friends, he was brought before the court of assistants, who was asked, 'What is thy name?' He replied, 'I am the Court of Assistants.' They then asked, 'What is thy function?' He answered, 'To assist the court in its duties.' They further inquired, 'What is thy authority?' He stated, 'I have no authority, but merely act as an advisor to the court.' The court then deliberated and decided to release him, under the condition that he would not interfere with their proceedings in any way.

The court then turned their attention to the next matter, which involved several legal disputes. They addressed the parties involved, explaining the legal principles at stake and the implications of their actions. The court's decision was made clear, and the parties were instructed to carry it out accordingly.

The day concluded with a sense of justice being served, and the court adjourned, leaving the parties to reflect on the day's proceedings. The scene outside the courthouse showed a mix of relief and frustration, as some participants left with a sense of closure, while others were left with questions and uncertainties.
This is a true copy of the Governor’s warrant extant still under his hand, word for word.

To the Marshall or his deputy,

I am informed that Samuel Gorton, and his company are now abiding in the town, and go to divers houses, giving offence thereby, and cause of suspicion, of attempting to seduce some of our people; you are therefore to command them to depart out of the town, before noon this day, upon pain of being apprehended and further proceeded with, according to their desertings.

John Winthrop Governor.

Now although by the Generall Court, we had fourteen days allowed unto us to inhabit within their jurisdiction, not limited to any place, nor excluded from any place for the space of so long time yet notwithstanding upon notice given unto us by this warrant we presently departed the town though upon a sudden when we were unprovided for victuals & other provisions for our journey, & being there was no place inhabited by the English near the place where our wives and children were scattered, out of which they had not expelled us, but only a little Island, called Road Island, in the Narragansett Bay, upon which we arrived, within the time limited unto us, but the night before we came to Road Island we lodged at Shawomet in our own houses there, and considering of the act of their court in our expelling and banishment out of those parts, we observed that they had not expressed our land at Shawomet, but only named the lands of Pumhom, and Socconomoce (the Indians whom they claimed as Subjects) we thought good therefore to write unto them for a further explanation of the Courts act, that so we might understand their true intent being very unwillingly to discover their dealings towards us in making redress, if we could but see a way, that through our hard labours, our wives and little ones might find a way to subsist.

Here followeth a true copy of the Letter sent unto the Governor of the Massachusetts, verifying caret is still extant under the hands of the minister, which were taken, left they should put us off, and not answer our said letter.

Shawomet, March the 20.1644.

The order of your Court last held, made concerning us, being darke and obscure, which becometh not a matter of that concernment, which you have now entered upon, and made some short progress therein, but these whereas are pressing on unto perfection, whose arrival is waited for, with that hope that never makes ashamed, we may not therefore forbear To require an explanation of what you intend, by the Lands of Pumhom and Socconomoce, for we know none they have, or ever had within your jurisdiction, if you should therefore, so farre forget your fettle, as to intend thereby our Land lawfully bought, and now in our possession, and inhabited by us, called Shawomet, together with other parts near adjoyning: Give us your minds, and meaning in plain terms, under your hand: And whereas you conclude for such our lawfull a bound, and residence, to procure against us by course of Law unto death; we resolve upon your answer, with all expedition, to wage Law with you, and try to shew you what right or interest you can have to lay claims either to our Lands or our Lives; and shall take it as your own fault urging us and constraining us thence, to look to our right, in the havock and spoyle, you have already made among us, which otherwise God hath taught us, to suffer joyfully the robbing and spoiling of our goods, if you did not necessitate us to look after recompence from you: We expect your answer by this Bearer, and in case you return it not speedily, we conclude your order of Court to intend no such thing, as to drive us
from our lawfull pollutions, as above-said, but that you used such times, as fear-crows, imagining you had children to deal with, or as a starting hole to evade part of that danger that may issue: nor can you put us off for answer, till the Court be again, being a general Act, and you but once; now to answer, for we know you may better open unto us the intent of the Court for our satisfaction, then you could expell us out of any part of your jurisdiction, before the time set by the Court, contrary to the liberty it had given unto us.

By the order or government of Shaw-eet, John Warner, Secretary. Sufficiency being taken of the plain and man-like dealing with you herein.

A true Copy of a Letter sent to the Government, and Governor of the Massachusets, the day and year above-said: In witness of, or in presence of Ralph Earl.

John Anthony.

Here followeth a true Copy of the Governor's answer to our Letter above-said, set downe here verbatim, and is extant under his own hand.

To Samuel Gorton, John Warner, and the rest of that company.

For satisfaction of what you require, by your writing of March 26, 1644. This is to let you know, that the expression and intent of the order of our last general Court, concerning your comming within any part of your jurisdiction, doth comprehend all the Lands of Pumby, and Soconnesco, and in the same are included the Lands which you pretended to have purchased, upon part whereof you had built some houses, (be the place called Shaw-eet or other wise) so as you are not to come there upon peril of your lives. This I tell thee to you.

Bophos 2.1644. John Winthrop, You

You must know withall, that the Court did not intend their order (as it might be a fear-crow, as you write) for you will find it real, and effectual, if you shall transgress it.

Thus for the Governors Letter, written with his own hand.

Now upon our comming to Read-hand, the Indians of that great Countrey of the Massachusets hearing of our return without the loss of our lives, they desired, having observed the courtese cruelty they had offered unto us, some of them being within the hearing of the shore of the Gun, whilst they lay intrenched against us, as also when we were used in the Massachusets, and the constant report, whilst we lay amongst them, that some of our lives should be taken away, or else kept as slaves to long as we lived, considering these and the like things they marvelled much at our deliverance and release, from amongst them: Now our company men having given out formerly, amongst the Indians, that we were not English men, to encourage them against us (besides the awe of the English, hath been much upon them) and being they could not father the name of any Secarry, or Seek upon us, but we could clearly demonstrate, we were no such opinionized persons, they then called us Gortomeus, and told the Indians we were such kind of men, not English: now the Indians calling the English in their Language Wattaouyages, they now called us Gortonues, and being they had heard a rumour of great want to be in Old England, and that it was a lande furnished with multitudes of people, they presently framed unto themselves a cause of our deliverance, imagining that there were two kindes of people in Old England, the one called by the name of English men, and the other Gortomeus; and concluded that the Gortomeus were a mightier people then the English, whom they call Wattaouyages; and therefore the Massachusets thought it not safe to take away our lives, because ever there were but a few of us in New-England, in comparison of those that came out against us, yet that these people, that were in Old England would come over and put them to death, that should
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should take away our lives from us, without a just cause.

Whereupon the Sachims of the Naugatuck consulting together, presently sent Messengers unto us, to come and speake with them, and being they were those of whom we had bought our Land (which now the Massachusetts had taken away from us:) at all that inhabite upon that Bay have done; they being very importunate to have us to come over to speak with them, we not knowing what the occasion was, yielded unto their request, a matter of halfe a dozin, or even of us took boat to goe over the Bay to them, they seeing the vessele come, newes was brought to the Sachim, who lent aband of lusty well armed men, who met us, as soon as we were come to Land, to conduct us to old Sachim Conshunick his house, multitudes of Indians, as we past along, coming forth, and seemed joyfull, which we taking notice of, neither the one nor the other being usuall amongst them: some of us began to be a little jealous, that we were not certain, and that the Sachin of the Massachusetts, who lived near unto us, had gone about to betray us into their hands, upon some false suggestion concerning the death of their Sachim Mysonomy, who lost his life immediatly before the Massachusetts came against us; and however he was suddenly ill by an Indian coming behind him, as he marched upon the way, yet there were English present at the doing of the act, which we were a little jealous, the above said Agents might have suspected, that we were to be confining thereto, which all the Indians took for a most injurious act, not only because he was so famous a Prince amongst them, but also because he was not taken in a stragagam of warre by the Indian, yet a great ransom was paid for his Redemption, and his life taken away also, and they are very conscientious, to recompense the shedding of blood, (especially of such personages) with blood again: But when we were come to the old Sachim house, we were courteously entertained, and from thence conducted to the house of Sachim Pesuckno, Brother, and successor in government to the late Mysonomy, when we were there, divers Sachims, and their chief Councellors, took us aside to consult with us, and asked what we intended to doe, or how we could live, seeing the Massachusetts had not only taken our effects from us in goods and chattels, but also our houses, lands and labours, where we should allege more for the preservation of our Families, and with us, told us that their condition, might (in great measure) be paralleled with ours, else they would willingly have done any thing for us, if they had, regard that our Land was bought of them, and we had faithfully paid for it, according to our contract: But they told us, they had not only lost their Sachins, but beloved amongst them, and such an instrument of their publick good, but had also utterly impoverished themselves, by paying such a ransom for his life, (as they then made an account of) notwithstanding, his life taken away, and that detainee also; we made answer unto them, that for their parts, we were not discouraged, in any thing that had been done, for we were subjects to such a noble State as Old England, that however we were farre off from our King and State, yet we doubted not but in due time, we should have redress, and in the mean time we were resolved, to undergo it with patience, and in what way we could, labor with our hands, for the preservation of our wives and children: the answer that they made unto us was this, That they thought we belonged to a better nation, that the Massachusetts did: whereupon, desiring our safety, they called a general Assembly, to make known their minds, and to see the minds of their people, and with joy and magnificent content, concluded to become subjects to the State and Government of Old England, in case they might be accepted of; we told them, we could promise them nothing, nor take any engagements upon us, not knowing the minds of that Honorable State; but if they would voluntarily make tender of themselves, as they themselves thought, we would endeavor to convey it safely (in case we were allow'd our own occasions) and bring them word when the pleasure of the State therein: whereupon they chose four of us, as Commissioners in trust for the safe custody, and conveyance of their Act and Deed unto the State of Old England.
led, ordered, and disposed of, in our selves and ours, according to his Princely wylidom, counsel, and loves of that honourable State of Old-England. Upon condition of his Majesty's Roial protection, and righting of us in what is wrong, as or may be done unto us, according to his honourable Levies and customs, exercised amongst his subjects, in their preservation and safety, and in the defeating, and overthrow of our, and their enemies; not that we find, our selves necessitated hereunto, in respect of our relation, or occasion; we have or may have with any of the natives in these parts, knowing our selves sufficient defence, and able to judge in any matter, or cause in that respect, but have just cause of jealousy and suspicion, of some of His Majesty's pretend'd subjects: Therefore our desire is to have our matters and causes heard, and tried according to his just and equal laws in that way, and order His Highness shall please to appoint; nor can we be lorded over our selves unto any, that are subjects themselves in any case having our selves but the chief Sachims, or Princes factually, of the country, time out of mind, and for our gardens, soils, and other things hereof, being so farre remote from His Majesty, we have by joint consent made choice of four of his most loyal and loving Subjects, our truly and well beloved friends, Samuel Gorton, John Wicke, Randolph Holland, and John Wibbery, whom we have depred, and made our lawful attorneys, or Commissioners, not only for the acting and performing of this our Deed, in the behalf of His Highness; but also for all other matters, conveyance, and declaration hereof unto his grace, being done upon the Lands of the Neighbors, at a Court or General Assembly called and assembled together for purpose, for the publick enacting, and manifestation hereof. And for the further confirmation, and establishing of this our Deed, we the above-said Sachims, or Princes, have according to that commendable custom of English-men, subscribed our names, and for our selves hereunto, as many testimonies of our faith and truth, our love and loyalty to that
Here followeth a Copie of a Letter sent to the Maflachusets, 
by the Sachins of the Mahicoaminees (shortly after their 
Subjection to the State and Government of Old England) 
they being sent into by the Maflachusets, to make their 
appearance at their General Court, then approaching.

We understand your desire, that you should come downe 
into the Maflachusets, at the time of your Court now approa-
ching; our occasions at this time are very great and the more, 
because of the loss (in that manner) of our late deceased bro-
ther, upon which occasion, if we should not hire our selves, 
to give Testimony of our faithfulnesse unto the Sachin, of that our 
foolish deprivation of such an Instrument, as he was amongst 
us, for our common good, we should fear his blood would 
lie upon our selves; for we desire of you, being wee take 
you for a wise people, to let us know your reasons why you 
seeme to advise us as you doe, not to goe out against our foe in-
humane, and cruel adversary, who tooke so great a ransom to 
release him, and his life also, when that was done. Our Bro-
ther was willing to hire much abroad to converse with men, 
and wee see a faire event at the last the reason; Take it not ill 
therefore, though we resolve to keepe in home (unlesse some 
great necessitye call us out) and so at this time do not repair 
unto you, according to your request; And the rather because 
we have subjected our selves, our Land, and Possessions, with 
all the right and inheritances of us and our people, either by 
conquest, voluntary Subjection, or otherwise, unto that fam-
ous and honourable government, of that Royall King 
Charles, and that State of Old England, to be ordered and go-
verned according to the Laws and Customs thereof; not 
doubting of the continuance of that former love that hath 
been betwixt you and us, but rather to have it increased here-
by, being subject now, (and that with joy and voluntary 
confesse) unto the same King and State your selves are: So 
that if any small thing of difference should fall out betwixt 
us.
us, only the sending of a Messenger may bring it to right a
gain: but if any great matter should fall (which we hope and
defire will not, nor may not) then neither your selves nor we
are to be Judges, but both of us are to have recourse, and re-
pair unto that honourable and just Government; and for the
passage of us or our men, to and against you, about
ours or their own occasions, to have comerce with you, we
desire and hope they shall have no worke dealing or entertai-
ment then formerly we have had against you, and do resolve
accordingly to give no worke respect to you or yours, then for-
merly you have found against us, according to the condition
and manner of our country.

Nambygans set this present, May the 24. 1644.

Pessicus his Mark.

Conaynicus this Mark.

Now before the assemblng of the next generall Court, in
regard the Indians had expressed themselves as above we heard,
there were fears and jealousies raised up in the minds of the
people, of the Massachusets, and other of their united Col-
0nies, as though there was some danger of the Nambygans set
coming against them to do some hurt unto them: So that
when we heard their Court was assemblled, we writ unto
them, as follows.

A true Copie of a Letter sent to the Massachusetts, at a gener-
all Court held shortly after the submission of the peo-
ple of the Nambyganes, unto the State of Old-Eng-
land, by the Commissioners put in trust, for the further
publication of their solemne Act.

The are to let you understand, that since you expelled us
out of your Country, the Sachems of the Nambyganes have
sent for certaine men of the Kings Majesties subiects, and upon
advised Counsell amongst themselves (a generall Assembly be-
ing called of purpose for that end) they have joyntly voluntar-
ily, and with untrumunous consent, fullmitted and subiect-
ethemselves, with their Lands and Possessions inherited by line-
all descent, voluntary submission, right of Conquest, purchase
or otherwise, whatever lands or priveliges appertain and be-
ong unto them, unto that honourable and famous Prince
Charles, King of Great Britain, and Ireland, in that renou-
ned State and Government of Old-England, to be ruled and
ordered, according to those honourable Laws and Customs, in
themselves and their Successors for ever, which is performed
and done, in that solemn, durable, and unaccountable custome of
Record, under divers and severall bases, and seals, Witnessed
sufficiently, both by the Nations and Peoples, solemnly deli-
vered and received on His Majesties behalf, holding corresponden-
cie with the Laws and Customs of that honourable State of
Old-England in all points: We thought good therefore to give
notice hereof, at your generall Court now assemblled, that it
may serve to informe your selves, and all your calsled Colonies,
of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains
or trouble, that so not our selves only, but our calsled Colonies,
of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains
or trouble, that so not our selves only, but our calsld Colonies,
of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains
or trouble, that so not our selves only, but our calsld Colonies,
of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains
or trouble, that so not our selves only, but our calsld Colonies,
of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains
or trouble, that so not our selves only, but our calsld Colonies,
of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains
or trouble, that so not our selves only, but our calsld Colonies,
of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains
or trouble, that so not our selves only, but our calsld Colonies,
of the performance of this Act done, without any further pains
or trouble, that so not our selves only, but our calsld Colonies,
that people to be exercised that way, which as we desire to make use of it our selves, to doe we hereby give notice to you also, to make the best use of it your selves in all your Colonies united.

June the 20th, 1644.

By the true and lawful agents of the putting of this Account.

John Weder, Secretary.

These things being done, we refunding upon Aquanbneke, alias, Road-Hill, hiring houses and grounds to plant upon, for the preservation of our Families: The Governor of the Massachusetts perceiving that we still lived among the English, and were not gone to the Dutch as others formerly did, he then wrote a Letter privately to some in the Island, whom he thought they had interest in, being he continued a Member of their Church, however removed from them, telling him, that if he and others (who were in like relation unto them) could work the people of the Island to deliver us up into their hands again (at least some of us) it would not only be acceptable unto the Court then sitting, but unto most of the people in general: the people of the Island, having notice of this Letter, did altogether dislike and deter any such course to be held with us, knowing very well what they had already done, and how saucely; So that, we abode still upon the Island, and followed our employments, until such time as there appeared amongst us as a harter of civil government, granted by the State of Old England, for the orderly, quiet, and peaceable government of the people inhabiting in those parts of the country, called Providence Plantations, in the Middlesex Bay, which Charter being joyfully embraced, and with all expedition, an orderly and joint course was laid for the inveting of the people into the power and liberties thereof, insomuch, for the exercise of the authority, in the execution of laws, for the good and quiet of the people, which thing gave great encouragement unto the Planters, to go on in their employments, hoping to enjoy their lawful rights and privileges without disturbance, which the Massachusetts, neglect or with
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Plymouth understanding, they go about by all means to discourage the people, by their endeavouring to weaken, and invalidate the authority of the Charter, in the eyes of the country, intrenching upon those places, to frustrate and make void the Charter, as by maintaining their Commissaries, as aforesaid, in opposing us, giving them order to set up writs upon our houses, where formerly we lived, prohibiting all men for meddling with those Houses, Lands, Peoples, either English or Indians (which they call their own people) without their consent and approbation in those parts, which all plainly fall within the confines of the forenamed Charter, and far out of all their jurisdictions.

Here follows a true Copy of a Warrant set upon our houses at Shaw-omet verbatim, being extant, which was done after the Charter appeared among us.

Whereas we understand that some of our country men about Providence, or those parts, do intend to fit down upon our lands at Show-omes, or those parts: This is therefore to give notice to any fisch, that they bear, without licence from us, to attempt the same, or to meddle with any of our people there, either English or Indians; for let them be assured, that we resolve to maintain our just rights.

Given at the Court at Boston, the 16th of the 8th. Me. Anno. 1644.

By me Increase Nowell, Secretary.

After this they ceased not to send out their Warrants amongst us, after the Charter was established amongst us, sending divers, and serving them upon the men of Providence, expressly commanding their appearance at their Courts in the Massachusetts.

A Copy of one of their Warrants to the men of Providence here follows, word for word, and is extant under their hand.

To the Executors of Francis Winton.

You are required to take notice of an Attachment against the lands of Francis Winton, to as to bind you to be responsible, at the next Court at Boston, to answer the complaint of William Arnold, for withholding a debt of thirty shillings due to him, and hereof not to fail in your perill.

Dated the 5. (4) 1545. Per cur. William Appleton.

And as they thus goe beyond their bounds, not only to intrench upon the liberties and bounds of their countrymen, (but also upon that authority transferred upon them by the State of Old England, for the quiet and peaceable ordering and government of themselves) not only in Providence and Shawomeset, but likewise upon Road-Ham, both in Perseomus and Newport, specifie in the Charter, the Colony of Plymouth joyned in league with the Massachusetts, to fish and for purposes, sent their Messengers to Road-Ham, as namely, one Master John Brown, an Affilium in government amongst them there, who went from house to house (both in Portsmouth and Newport) discouraging the people for yielding any obedience unto the authority of the Charter, giving them warning as from the Court of Plymouth not to fall into any government that was established by virtue of a late pretended Charter, (as he very prehumbly called it) nor into any other authority, or government, but only such as was allowed and approved of by them, although formerly they have many times contended and acknowledged both by Word and Writing, that it was one of their jurisdictions, without which acknowledgment, the people would never have adventured to lay out their estates, and to have planted themselves and families in those parts; some of them having too great and costly experience of Plimouths dealings with their countrymen, to be such
such as may be fitly, paralleled with the dealings of the Massachus-"fets, and their profane springing from the same spirit, hath brought them into league and band, when they were clearly mani-
istured each to other, who before at the time of their first Neighbourhood there, they were at a distance, and stood aloof, one from the other, as each thinking I am holier than thou, the men of Plymouth, comming thither from Amsterdam, and the other out of hot perfecions of the Bishops in Old England.

Now that these men do not only intrench churlishly upon their country-men, but also upon the poore Indians inhabiting in those parts, it is very plaine by their proceeding against that people of the Nanbygas, white country falls within the confines of the Charter, which people only going about to right them selves upon such Indians as they conceiv'd had mightly wronged them in taking away the life of their Prince, after so great a ransom given, and received for his reseve; this they make their occasion to go out against them to cut them off, and so to take their country into their own jurisdiction; whereas the Indians, of our knowledge hold themselves bound, to revenge the blood of their Prince, it being so unlawfully (in their eyes) taken away; nay, they are not quiet in themselves, unless they doe revenge it, or else spill their own, in their endeavours thereafter; in the mean time they are in a continual act of mourning, as we know, for the space of one whole year, and an halfe, they mourned continually, not only by blackening their faces, in token thereof, but every day their mourning women, morning and evening upon their knees, with lamentations, and many tears along time together, as our selves have been eye-witnesses, when we have had occasions amongst them, and in houses that were more publick, where the wife and children of the deised Prince were, there did a man continue a speech (during the time of the women praying, sighing and lamenting with abundance of tears) declaring what their loss was in being deprived of such a Sachin, and how wrongfully it was done by the ene-
my, as also how they were all of them ingaged to revenge his blood, else would it so lie upon their own heads, as to bring more miseries.

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miseries, and evils upon them: Now for this their proceeding against their adversary the Indians, that thus deprived them of their Sachin, and so wrongfully (as they conceive) the Massachusets, and Plymouth have offer'd to go out against the people of the Nanbygas, to cut them off by the sword, sending word to Providence Plantations, that if they should stand as Neuters, and not go out with them in this work, they would make plunde of them: So Captain Standish sent word in the name of Plymouth (now since we came out of those parts) unto the men of Providence, as we are credibly informed by Letters from divers hands, as also by word of mouth from persons of good note, who were in the country there present amongst them, when the former things were done, informing us of many passages, of the proceedings at the Massachusetts, and Plymouth, both towards the people of Providence Plantations, as also the Indians of that country of the Nanbygas; only one Letter that concerns the Indians, was sent to set down, to give farther intelligence to the Reader of these mens dealings, who seemed to meddle, and so stand in their native country, Old England, in the time of their abode there, as though they would make a breach, or wag a tongue against any thing but a Bishops Cerimony, that being only offensivo unto them.

Here followeth a true copie of a letter sent into us since our coming from these parts of America called New England.

We are all in health this present and cheerful; the greatest want is your company; though men generally more inventive than ever the Bay had provided an Army to go against the Nanbygas, they had not been prevented in the very interim this, Captain Harding informed the Court of the difficulty of the enterprise, upon which the Court employed him, & Mr. Waylbour, to go to Nanbygas and take Benedick to interpret; when they came to Benedick he refused to go without a hundred men in arms, only to police them with dangers, to effect his bloody plot, upon which Mr. Williams being sent for to Nanbygas, and also my self, to inquire of us what

One of their sub-
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the minds of these mad people were to kill men for nothing; upon
which I went to Providence, thinking to go with Master William
but, when I came there, he was gone, with the Captains &
Master Sylbus, upon Benedict's refusal. I played their return,
and their agreement was to have Peckson (a) go into the Bay,
and Master Williams was necessitated to put himself hostages
till his return; this news coming into the Bay did to the
Ministers, that Master Cotton preached upon it, that is being
so wicked an act to take Master Williams with them, being one
call out of the Church, it was all one as to ask counsel of a
witch, and those that did it, were worthy to die; upon
which Master Sylbus, who was ready to die, for fear he should
be hanged; then the Indians went down, and they compelled
him to go into a vessel with Unkas (b), and to pay them five hundred
pounds for charges of Coms, and provision for Souldiers, and
to leave some of the chief Sachem's children, till the money be
paid, and to leave some of his chief men till the children
are came, and to promise them not to fell any land with
out their consent: this being done they came home again, and
sent a man to tell me what was done, telling me that if the
Lords in England help them not, they like to suffer at present,
cut till they say they are not afraid of them, but only
give them their demands, rather than to war, before the Lords
hear of it, that all may fee that no harm to England, but
will subdue to the Laws of England, concluding it is but
till, it will come home with advantage b y with their will and
profit. Peckson had been often with me to desire me to inform you of the things with great desire, so fee you
again. Thus in haste I rest.

This 20th of November 1645.

Your ever loving friend
J. W.

Thus have we given a true report, and made a faithful relation, as briefly as we could, of what passages have fallen out
between the people of Providence plantations, and the rest of
our countrymen inhabiting about them, which we have
frequently told, and our families are now pressed under, trying it unto
heart, and seriously taking it into consideration, hath not
only occasioned, but necessitated former acts to be adhered
this present with the consent of many others, according to our
bounden duty, and allegiance, to present the same before to
this State.

LONDON the 14th of January 1645.

Here comes a letter to hand, was written in the time of our
confinement, & lying in boats, & iron in the Massachusetts, oc-
casioned by one of our wives, the hearing doctrine delivered (in
that part of the country where she was driven with her children)
questioning the truth of it, wrote an husband to define
his thoughts of it, was gathered from Deut. 32. 29. & alluding
also to Heb. 12. 26. 27, for the explication of it, the substance
of the doctrine was, that such a time of doctrine & retu-
nation of the church of God, here on earth, was coming, the glory
whereof should darken the Sun and Moon, & cause the stars
to fall from heaven; that is, faith he, with the Apolutes doctrine
& order of the Churches in these days, to appear as darknes
in comparison of that light which shall now appear, shewing
also, that the ministry of the Apolutes was that which
might & should be removed, that a more excellent glory might
be brought in, and remaining, concluding that the ministry of the
Apolutes, was but a ministry of witness, but one should here-
after appear having the presence and reality of that which
they but only witnessed, and gave testimony unto.

Here followeth a true copy of the letter given into the
things propounded as above, in way of satisfaction, how
we are to think of such kind of doctrine, which the
world is so taken up with, and fears to stand in such ex-
pectation and hopes of.

Concerning that point you write from Ater, the 24. 29.

Cas also Heb. 12. 26. 27. Blameless, that the Apolutes
ministry, was a ministry of witness, so zealously great, but
that it was no more then a minisistry of wittesse, we utterly deny, for it had not only wittesse, but judgement also of condemnation and abolution in it, therefore the Apostles, faith, God shall judge you according to my Gospel; for the Apostles are not, but through the Spirit of the Saine, who is that faithfull and true wittesse, yea, and the judge of all, &c; and higher then his ministration (who comes out of the bosome of the Father) we look nor nor ever desire to go. Therefore we openly confess him, who is, and who was, and who is to come, and therefore reject such a Gospel as professeth such persons, times, and ministrations past, as never shall come again, and such persons, times, and ministrations to come as yet never were, as a cunning device and fliglie of Satan to beguile the foules of men, either to stand in expectation of things to come, or else in admiration of things past, whiles in the mean time they are kept void of faith, which gives being unto the things, yea even at the present time; otherwise it is but to know persons and things after the flesh, but henceforth know we no man after the flesh, no though we have known Christ Jesus after the flesh, yet henceforth know we him no more.

And for the Sun being darkened, to be the minisistry of the Apostles becoming dark in repect of a greater light appearing, we may in no case allow; for the Sunne there spoken of, is not the Sonne of righteousness, a greater then which shall never appear, but when the croffe of Christ (spoken of in that Chapter) is evidently set forth, and declared to be that which indeed it is; and yet that Sonne of Righteousnesse, that is light in itself, turned into darknesse, in all the men of the world, even as the Sonne, which are darknesse in themselves, become light in the Lord, for as the wicked turn the truth of God into lies, which is truth in it self, and ever shall, so they turn the light of the Lord into darknesse, which is it self is light and can never be darknesse; the Moon also, whose time is to appear, and her place to have dominion in the night, shall not give her light, she shall fail in her office to shine, waxe, waine, and to set bounds to times and seasons, that is, the wicked shall see themselves deprived of all hope to attain to a change, time or season, which shall alter their present condition, or remove the weaev of the Lord from them, yea in their looking back to the changes of their life before, wherein they have thought themselves to well exercis'd, the Moon in that respect shall be turned into blood (as it foretold in the same caze) all times shall afford them no help but to see how they have been practising the shedding of that innocent blood, even from the blood of Abel, whom his brother slew in the field, where they were exercised in ordinaryimplements, in the things of this life, unto the blood of Zacharias slaine (between) or in the middle of the temple and the altar, yea in the very height of their worship and ordinances, so much blood for at this day. Nothing but such manner of light, or such a time or season (shall that light of heaven) the times and seasons which they have passed through, and all the blood of the Lord, as also to afford their various glories and lights, yea that day when there shall never give notice of that day springing from on high to visit them, or the rise of that Sunne of righteousness, with healing under his wings, not shall their several operations, and vertues yield any refreshment unto the terrene & sublinary things, that is all those overall glories, and various vertues and operations that are in that bright morning for the Lord Jesus, and in his seven vessels which he holds in his right hand, they shall all fall off, and loose their light, light, and influence, in and towards the several names of Adam, as through they had never been, for us hereafter to fear Christ unto them, as though they were not at all, any more then for, as the same and crimes which now are by nature subject unto, are made through the wisdom of God; a means whereby we see the height and depth, yea all the dimensions of the love of God do appear unto us, so are the excellencies that are in Jesus Christ, made through the wisdom of God, that meanes to the wicked for ever, even as the excellencies of these visible heavens would be a greater torture to man to lose.
that the excellencies of Christ are ever flaming and ever removing out of their place in the wicked, that the height of their torment may ever appear and remain: for these things are shaken and removed in them, through the wisdom of the Serpent, that those things that cannot be shaken, are thereby the grace and righteousness of Christ remaineth for ever. Therefore are the voices of the Gospel shaken both heaven and earth, in that place alluded unto in your letter Hebr. 2:16-17. Alluding both to Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion, so that the word yet once more declares a double removal, yea, and such of things that are made, for man was made in the image of God; yet the wildness of the Serpent removed this image, that man righteous and which is nothing but abomination in the sight of God, ought ever to remain. So Christ was made sin, but the wildness of God removed this sin in the very act of his being made, so that the righteousness of God might remain and abide for ever; and then, and then only shall or shall appear the figure, or the miracle or wonder of the form of man in heaven; in those clouds of witnesses, or in that cloud of witnesses with power and great glory, as all earthly hindreds shall understand and believe him. Even so Amen. Now the figure or wonder of the Son of man is this, that God made him a world of life in the first, for he breathed into his face, the breath of life, [as the word is] for the life of all the world was in him; and yet this world of life is become nothing else but a world of death in the wicked, and no life of God found in them at all; so that son of man in the second Adam made a world of sin and death, and yet this world of sin and death is become world of righteousness and life unto the godly, and no longer hindred shall understand and believe him, for no more guilt found in his mouth, amen, amen, and this the figure or miracle of the son of man, which the world knows not of, and therefore is put to many empty con-
jectures what it may be thought to be.
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alter it: when as it is come down unto us, and they know it not. Rom 10. 7. 8.

Thus have I given you my thoughts as brief as I could concerning what you propounded unto me, and bless the Lord that you ministered occasion to look into the text. However we are left apart as a forlorn people in the eyes of the world, yet doubt I not but our God hath fenced us out for other ends and policies, who hath put us into the Isle of Patmos, or among the nation of the dead, or deadly, (as the word signifies) to reveal unto us the great mysteries of his Kingdom, that we may declare unto those that now be here, how to have their hope in God, and that it may be told unto our children's children that noble work, that he hath wrought for us in our Lord Christ, who is over all, God blessed forever Amen.

Your loving husband
in bonds, and yet free.

Samuel Gorton.

A Post Script.

Divers Letters were written to friends in answer to objections, and resolution of Scripture, which now are not at hand; otherwise we are very free to publish them to be seen of all that the unhearted might judge of what our spirits and praecones publish, and how they were employed in the time of our absence among these men, that were so eagerly minded to make us blasphemeers, that so they might take away our lives, as a part of the glory and sanctification of their Religion.

Only we desire the Reader's particular views of some other Letters, in answer to a friend, who feared to be troubled about that Scripture, in John 6, 53 verse 6, what the meaning of it might be, defining it elaborately, since we arrived in England.

The words are these.

Then Jesus said unto them, verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.

In these words consider, first the occasion of them. Secondly, the summe of them, and thirdly the parts.

First for the summe, it is a divine sentence exclusive, of all men, from the life and spirit of God, save only such as do eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood.

Secondly, the parts of them. Order the fourth. First the occasion of this sentence, in these words, then Jesus said unto them; secondly, the confirmation of this sentence, laid down in these words, verily, verily; thirdly, the manner of the sentence, contained in these words, I say unto you, fourthly.
Simplicity, Defence against seven-headed Policy.

ly, the sentence is selfe, excluding all from the life of God, such only excepted as do eat the flesh of the Sonne of man, and drink his blood.

For the first, which is the occasion of this divine sentence; that is, the reasonings within themselves, which the Jews had in the operations of their natural hearts, upon the delivering of this manner of doctrine unto them, even by the Sonne of God himselfe, implied in this word (Then) looking back upon the verse immediately going before, from which Christ takes occasion to utter this sentence; whence we observe, That the word of God takes occasion, to utter and make it selfe manifest, even from the natural reasonings, and argumentations framed in mens minds; though they are not the cause, yet they are the occasion of the manifestation of it, even as the truth, righteousness, power, and authority that is in God, breedeth occasionally, fear, terror, jealousy, and wrath, in mens hearts and minds; though these excellencies that are in God, are no proper cause hereof, but only an occasion, without which they would not be. For if there were no Judge, the Man, father would not have terror; even so, the very natural reasonings of mens hearts, are the occasions of the manifestation of the word of God in us, but no proper cause of it; for the cause is only in God himselfe; but without such reasonings, and Characteristical impressions in mens mind, the word of God could never have been implanted, written, or translated in us, whereby we come to have the argumentations, and conclusions of Josue of God, and not simply, or merely of creatures in our minds, being once enlightned by him Whose God, and the Father of lights, Wherever ever it appeareth: So that the soul of man is of farre greater sublimite, and natural excellence in its creation, then any other creature under heaven ever had vouchsafed unto it; So that there is an utter impossibility that any creature should receive the impressions of God, but man alone.

This is a large field to walk in, according to the variety of the reasonings of the mind of man by nature, which is set forth in all those ways, wherein men have walked, and manifested themselves in this present world, such is that wonderfull Epistle of Jesus Christ, in the various writing and expression of it in the souls, heavens, and lives of the Saints, that are in light through Jesus Christ; influence in one for all, the spirit of a natural father reasoneth thus: If any childless bread (to supply nature in the supposeing of hunger) I cannot put a stone into his mouth, (that were cruelty) but bread; if to be that I have it or can procure it; if the childless bread, the father cannot put a serpent into his bosom to bite and sting him, but some what to cure and refresh him; if to serve it. Now do but change this argument into the way of Christ, and let God be the father, and my selfe the child, and men is God, not man, the father; the bread heavenly and not from the earth; the writing, reaoning or argument, divine and eternal, not humane and temporary; and let the reasonings and dictates of our spirits are translated into the arguments and dictates of the Spirit of God, and the arguments and dictates of the Spirit of God are translated into a word and spirit that speaks the very same things naturally in itself, though only in a way of death, through its natural ignorance, this now is spoken in that way of life, through that light and knowledge this is in the Lord; and thus, Christ by some conclusions fit in the flesh, for by these reasonings whereby we justify our selves naturally, through that ignorance that naturally is in us, by the very same arguments and reasonings we condemn our selves, and justify the Lord, through that light and knowledge we have in him by Jesus Christ.

2. The second thing to be observed, is the certainty of this sentence laid down in the former: an oath, verily, verify, that is, so it is; so it shall be, as if he should say Amen, Amen, so it is and so it shall be, without alteration or change, and in that the word is doubled, it is so the certainty of the thing, as Joseph said of Pharaohs dream, and of no lesse certainty is all true exposition and interpretation of Holy Scripture, whatever men may dream as Pharaoh did, and know not the meaning of it, and speak at uncertainties, not being resolved whether things may come to passe now, or then, or fall out to
man, secondly, what is meant by his flesh and blood in this place; thirdly, what we are to understand by eating and drinking; fourthly, what is meant by life in this place; and fifthly how we are to understand, that exception or limitation, seeing that of our souls we are so able to think a good thought, how we can then perform such a worthy, and unknown action, that is no less then life is itself, in the doing of it.

For the first, viz. Why he is called the Son of man?

Anyhow. Not only, nor properly, because he had a soul and a body as all men had, which indeed was good in the creation, and so man is called the Son of God. But he is called the Son of man, because he is produced and brought forth, as none can be, but such as proceed of man alone; nor can he be a Saviour, but in way of such production and sen-shipp, for Christ in respect of his death; (with which no Saviour is brought forth and produced no other way, but only in, and by man; for there is no death to be had of God, nor can he bring forth, or produce, himself, anything that is deadly, for he is that Fountain of life, and life is itself, in the abstract; nor can it be proper, or compatible to the Sonne of God, to be brought forth in his death, in any, no; nor in all other creatures in the world, but only in men: for as no other creature in the creation was made in the image of God, but man alone, so no other creature in regard of degeneration, can bear the image of death and hell: man alone. Therefore it is that Christ is said, to descend into the lowest parts of the earth for our redemption, or in our redemption, which is brought in us, or in our nature only. Therefore he saith, thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer that holy one to see corruption; therefore of necessity must he be brought forth, in respect of his death, by man alone.

The second thing to be observed, it. What is meant by flesh and blood?

Anyhow. By flesh in Scripture, it sometimes is meant, that which our Lord, or any of his were never nourished, nor in the least refreshed by, and that is the name of flesh, which is a curse
a curse to all them that strengthen themselves by it, in the things of God; for in that sense, shall flesh and blood never inherit the Kingdom of God; nor add further, in that sense, it is true, That if ye live after the flesh, it is death, which is to live according to the wisdom, skill, strength, study, and foresight, about the things of God, that a creature (merely as he is a creature) is able to produce and bring forth, which is to live according to the wealth, power, and honour of the creature; whose goodliness is as the flower of grass that withereth, cometh not, and is brought to nought; for the best thing that is in it (which is his wisdom) is emnities with God, for it is not subject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be. But secondly, we are to understand by flesh, that weakness, frailty, and imbecility of man, when he is deprived, and laid waste in himself, of all created glory, which is only then, when the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon him; and he becomes nothing in himself, but weakness and infirmity; and in this sense the Prophet faith, Now the Egyptians are men, and not God; their horses flesh, and not spirit; So saith the Saviour, in the same sense, my flesh also rejoiceth in hope, that is my weakness, and sorely out of condition, and strength and strength in another, though not in myself; for hope that is seen is no hope, so that my nature affords no such thing, but only that nature to which I am united: And in another place, Thus are a God that heareth prayers, and unto thee shall all flesh come, that is, thou art strength, and able to supply abundantly in all things, for thou art God, and we bring nothing but weakness and infirmity unto thee, for unto thee nothing but flesh comes; and so the Son of God is truly said, to be made flesh, that is weak and frail in regard of our nature, which he took, or (as a continued act) takes upon himself.

Again, by blood is here meant the life, spirit, and power of the Son of God, as he defends from the Father, even as the vigour, life, and spirit of the creature runs in the blood, in the heat thereof: such is the life, spirit, power, nature, and vigor of the soul of man, as he is of the life, defect, and power of the Father from above, and so is God blessed for ever. Amen; and in this sense is blood taken by our Apostle, where he faith, This.
himselfe, without alike drinking in, or communiction with, that spirit and life wherein he visits us, and comes into our nature from so high (even out of the abose of the Father) then doe we in a lust, & succoritate the spirit, and die in our selves, and in our fames, and to also, if we neglect that weakness that is in us (as though no such thing were) and dream of a high and spiritual elation, which doth arise out of, and is the result, (through the wisdom of God) of that weakness that is in us, then doe we either fluke in our folly, and become fottifh in the things of God, being drunken up only with the things of this natural life, else are we puffed up, and become giddy in our selves, thinking we know somethings, When as indeed we know nothing as we ought to know, but are in erro, and vainly put up a carnall, aspiring, proud, vain, glorious, and fleshly mind. So that to eat, drink, and drink the blood of the Son of man, is to communicate in the things that are of Jesus Christ, both as he is God, and as he is man, and to hold the unity of strength and weakness; that is, how he is made weak in taking our nature, and so carres and bears our infirmities away for ever (he being that fesee-Goat, whose office it is so to do.) And also, how our nature is, thereby made strong and mighty, through that strength of the Son of God, in whom we find no infirmity, but are furnished with his power everlastingly, so that death which is naturally in us (as we are the Children of men) is swallowed up of that vitally and life, which is in him, as he is that vitally, and eternal Sonne of God, and without a suitable corresponde, and heronious feeding of these two, as in one indiuall substanc, we cannot have life in us, no more then our bodies can be filled by meat without drinke, or by drinke only without meat: and that is the fourth particular, else we cannot have life in us, that is, we can have no life, spirit, or breathings of the Sonne of that living God in us: For as the body without the foule is dead, so also the foule without the life, and spirite of the Lord Jesus is dead, and as the body lives not without meat and drink, heat, and moisture, so the foule lives not without communing with it in this strength and weakness, or in this life and death, which is in the Sonne of God, Who dies concerning the flesh, but is quickened in the spirit, and the spirit of God proceeds ever from these two, when ever it is cold, is fed, in that lively Oracle or speech, from off the covering梅枝叶, it is ever from between these two, Cherubims, and never speaks evidently, What pirlous times are in the last dayes, but only as it proceeds from these twain, that is, from a dying unto the flesh, and a being quickened in, and living unto the spirit, by which life, spirit, or breaths is ever produced, from the days of Noah, even until now, both in our selves, and by our selves to others; for as it is a Maxim, that the spirit proceedeth both from the Father and the Son, so is it here, for the flesh, or infirmity of Christ is the Father, & the spirit or power is the Son, as he is brought forth in that way of his death, without which he had never been a Saviour, and the spirit or power is the Father, and the flesh is the Son, as much as he brings forth life in this death, without which he had never been as he is now, in respect of that life, by which he liveth the life of God, never to dye any more, to have we eating and drinking made one in that way of the faith of the Son of God, without which we cannot live the life of that Saint or only one of Jesus.

The fifth particular in this point, how it can be said, that we eat this flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood in which consider two things, first who we meant in that he spake plural, except ye ear, &c. Secondly, how we can be said to eat and drink in such a high nature, seeing that we of our selves cannot think, a good thought, may a lefe performe such an act as this.

For the first, who are meant in that he spake in the second person plural, Ye.

Anynow. It is not properly to be understood, as being meant of man and man, no not as Saint and Saint, the one Saint as he confis of a two-fold nature, according to that faith of the Sonne of God; so is it, Ye, that in ever, that is in Christ, and through these precious promises, or precious Covenant, is made passage of that nature divine; yes, who ever is one of these children that have flesh and blood, of which the Sonne
of God also took part with them, namely, they that are partakers of those two natures by faith, that are in Jesus Christ, to every one of these this is spoken, as to such as are eaters, and drinkers in this case; for Christ as he is God, feeds upon nothing but our infirmities; that is, strengthens himself in point of our salvation, with nothing but our frailties and imperfections, and so of weak becomes strong, as of an abject the Lord of all, for he is in no case taketh hold on angels, that is, of any power or excellency in the creature to deliver us thereby, but only on the seed of Abraham (a Pilgrim and Stranger in the Land) he taketh hold; that is, on our weaknesses, and imperfections, and out of them he brings his own power and strength and other food, the Son of God never took into unity, nor digested, to gather strength unto himself by. Again, as he is man, he dranketh the blood, that is, takes in, or receives that blood, life, spirit, and power of God, whereby he is enabled to do all things, according to the purpose of his will, and other drink he never dranke, as he is man; for our poor nature is of that vaft emptiness, that nothing but the fulness and power of an infinite and all-sufficient God can possibly supply and perfect is, and to there is a compleat eating and drinking, which is that full satisfaction and nourishment, that can be found in none, save only in the Son of God himself; for it is a weakness of that nature and latitude, that nothing can supply and make up God but God himself; and it is a power of that fulness and perfection that can take nothing unto unity with it selfe, that may be thought to add any thing (no not in the least) unto that strength and vigour that is in God; for then it were not an Almighty power of God that saves us.

And so it is (we) that eat and drinke, that is, we, humane nature and divine; for in eating, the word eateth up, and consumes our infirmities, and so there is a plurality in the act, not only of natures in that one act, but of eating also in sundry kinds and ways; for as our infirmities are multiplied, and that aptitude that is in us to fall, such is the multiplication of that reformation which is in that good word of God; it is (we) also in drinking, that is, our vaft emptiness, drinks and takes in.