Magnalia Christi Americana:
OR, THE
Ecclesiastical History
OF
NEW-ENGLAND
FROM
Its First Planting in the Year 1620. unto the Year
of our LORD, 1698

In Seven BOOKS.

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

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Book II. CHAP. IV.

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

Quicquid Venti erant, Ars nostra certe non aberit. Cicer.

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

§. 2. A stock of Heroes by right should afford nothing but what is Heroical; and nothing but an extream Degeneracy would make any thing less to be expected from a Stock of Winthrops. Mr. Adam Winthrop, the Son of a Worthy Gentleman wearing the same Name, was himself a Worthy, a Discreet, and a Learned Gentleman, particularly Eminent for Skill in the Law, not without Remark for Love to the Gospel, under the Reign of King Henry VIII. And Brother to a Memorable Favourer of the Reformed Religion in the Days of Queen Mary, into whose Hands the Famous Martyr Philpot committed his Papers, which afterwards made no Inconsiderable part of our Martyr-Books. This Mr. Adam Winthrop had a Son of the same Name also, and of the same Endowments and Imployments with his Father; and this Third Adam Winthrop was the Father of that Renowned John Winthrop, who was the Father of New-England, and the Founder of a Colony, which upon many Accounts, like him that Founded it, may challenge the First Place among the English Glories of America. Our John Winthrop thus Born at the Mansion-House of his Ancestors, at Groton in Suffolk, on June 12. 1587. enjoyed afterwards an agreeable Education. But though he would rather have Devoted himself unto the Study of Mr. John Calvin, than of Sir Edward Cook; nevertheless, the Accomplishments of a Lawyer, were those wherewith Heaven made his chief Opportunity to be Serviceable.

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

§ 4. Accordingly when the Noble Design of carrying a Colony of Chosen People into an American Wilderness, was by some Eminent Persons undertaken, This Eminent Person was, by the Consent of all, Chosen for the Moses, who must be the Leader of so great an Undertaking: And indeed nothing but a Mosaic Spirit could have carried him through the Temptations, to which either his Farewel to his own Land, or his Travel in a Strange Land, must needs expose a Gentleman of [II.iv.9] his Education. Wherefore having Sold a fair Estate of Six or Seven Hundred a Year, he Transported himself with the Effects of it into New-England in the Year 1630. where he spent it upon the Service of a famous Plantation founded and formed for the Seat of the most Reformed Christianity: And continued there, conflicting with Temptations of all sorts, as many Years as the Nodes of the Moon take to dispatch a Revolution. Those Persons were never concerned in a New-Plantation, who know not that the unavoidable Difficulties of such a thing, will call for all the Prudence and Patience of a Moral Man to Encounter therewithal; and they must be very insensible of the Influence, which the Just Wrath of Heaven has permitted the Devils to have upon this World, if they do not think that the Difficulties of a New-Plantation, devoted unto the Evangelical Worship of our Lord Jesus Christ, must be yet more than Ordinary. How Prudently, how Patiently, and with how much Resignation to our Lord Jesus Christ, our brave Winthrop waded through these Difficulties, let Posterity Consider with Admiration. And know, that as the Picture of this their Governour, was, after his Death, hung up with Honour in the State-House of his Country, so the Wisdom, Courage, and Holy Zeal of his Life, were an Example well-worthy to be Copied by all that shall succeed in Government.

§ 5. Were he now to be consider’d only as a Christian, we might therein propose him as greatly Imitable. He was a very Religious Man; and as he strictly kept his Heart, so he kept his House, under the Laws of Piety; there he was every Day constant in Holy Duties, both Morning and Evening, and on the Lord’s Days, and Lectures; though he wrote not after the Preacher, yet such was his Attention, and such his Retention in Hearing, that he repeated unto his Family the Sermons which he had heard in the Congregation. But it is chiefly as a Governour that he is now to be consider’d. Being the Governour over the considerablest Part of New-England, he main’tain’d the Figure and Honour of his Place with the Spirit of a true Gentleman; but yet with such obliging Condescension to the Circumstances of the Colony, that when a certain troublesome and malicious Calumniator, well known in those Times, printed his Libellous Nick-Names upon the chief Persons here, the worst Nick-Name he could find for the Governour, was John Temper-well; and when Calumniates of that ill Man caused the Arch-Bishop to Summon one Mr. Cleaves before the King, in hopes to get some Accusation from him against the Country, Mr. Cleaves gave such an Account of the Governour’s laudable Carriage in all Respects, and the serious Devotion wherewith Prayers were both publicly and privately made for His Majesty, that the King expressed himself most highly Patience, and with how much Resignation to that Worthy a Person should be no better Accommodated than with the Hardsips of America. He was, indeed, a Governour, who had most exactly studied that Book, which pretending to Teach Politics, did only contain Three Leaves, and but One Word in each of those Leaves, which Word was, Moderation. Hence, though he were a Zealous Enemy to a Vice, yet his Practice was according to his Judgment thus expressed; In the Infancy of Plantations, Justice should be administered with more Lenity than in a settled State; because People are more apt then to Transgress; partly out of Ignorance of new Laws and Orders, partly out of Oppression of Business, and other Straits. [Lento Gradu.] was the old Rule; and if the Strings of a new Instrument be wound up unto their heighth, they will quickly crack. But when some Leading and Learned Men took Offence at his Conduct in this Matter, and upon a Conference gave it in as their Opinion, That a stricter Discipline was to be used in the beginning of a Plantation, than after its being with more Age established and confirmed, the Governour being reader to see his own Errors than other Mens, professed his Purpose
to endeavour their Satisfaction with less of 

lenity in his Administrations. At that Conference there were drawn up several other Articles to be observed between the Governour and the rest of the Magistrates, which were of this Import: That the Magistrates, as far as might be, should beforehand ripen their Consultations, to produce that Unanimity in their Publick Votes, which might make them liker to the Voice of God; that if Differences fell out among them in their Publick Meetings, they should speak only to the Case, without any Reflection, with all due Modesty, and but by way of Question; or Desire the deferring of the Cause to further time; and after Sentence to imitate privately no Dislike; that they should be more Familiar, Friendly and Open unto each other, and more frequent in their Visitations, and not any way expose each other’s Infirmities, but seek the Honour of each other, and all the Court; that One Magistrate shall not cross the Proceedings of another, without first advising with him; and that they should in all their Appearances abroad, be so circumstances as to prevent all Contempt of Authority; and that they should Support and Strengthen all Under Officers. All of which Articles were observed by no Man more than by the Governour himself.

§. 6. But whilst he thus did as our New-English Nehemiah, the part of a Ruler in Managing the Publick Affairs of our American Jerusalem, when there were Tobijahs and Sanballats enough to vex him, and give him the Experiment of Luther’s Observation, Omnis qui regit, est tanquam signum, in quod omnia Jacula, Satan & Mundus dirigunt; he made himself still an exacter Parallel unto that Governour of Israel, by doing the part of a Neighbour among the distressed People of the New-Plantation. To teach them the Frugality necessary for those times, he abridged himself of a Thousand comfortable things, which he had [II.iv.10] allow’d himself elsewhere: His Habit was not that soft Raiment, which would have been disagreeable to a Wilderness; his Table was not covered with the Superfluitates that would have invited unto Sensualities: Water was commonly his own Drink, though he gave Wine to others. But at the same time his Liberality unto the Needy was even beyond measure Generous; and therein he was continually causing The Blessing of him that was ready to Perish to come upon him, and the Heart of the Widow and the Orphan to sing for Joy: But none more than those of Decease’d Ministers, whom he always treated with a very singular Compassion; among the Instances whereof we still enjoy with us the Worthy and now Aged Son of that Reverend Higginson, whose Death left his Family in a wide World soon after his arrival here, publicly acknowledging the Charitable Winthrop for his Foster-Father. It was oftentimes no small Trial unto his Faith, to think, How a Table for the People should be furnished when they first came into the Wilderness! And for very many of the People, his own good Works were needful, and accordingly employed for the answering of his Faith. Indeed, for a while the Governour was the Joseph, unto whom the whole Body of the People repaired when their Corn failed them: And he continued Relieving of them with his open-handed Bounties, as long as he had any Stock to do it with; and a lively Faith to see the return of the Bread after many Days, and not Starve in the Days that were to pass till that return should be seen, carried him cheerfully through those Expences. Once it was observable, that on Feb. 5. 1630. when he was distributing the last Handful of the Meal in the Barrel unto a Poor Man distressed by the Wolf at the Door, at that Instant they spied a Ship arrived at the Harbour’s Mouth laden with Provisions for them all. Yea, the Governour sometimes made his own private Purse to be the Publick; not by sucking into it, but by squeezing out of it; for when the Publick Treasure had nothing in it, he did himself defray the Charges of the Publick. And having learned that Lesson of our Lord, That it is better to Give, than to Receive, he did, at the General Court when he was a Third time chosen Governour, make a Speech unto this purpose, That he had received Gratuities from divers Towns, which he accepted with much Comfort and Content; and he had likewise received Civilities from particular Persons, which he could not refuse without Incivility in himself: Nevertheless, he took them with a trembling Heart, in regard of God’s Word, and the Conscience of his own Infirmities; and therefore he desired them that they would not hereafter take it ill if he refused such Presents for the time to come. ‘Twas his Custom also to send some of his Family upon Errands, unto the Houses of the
Poor about their Meal time, on purpose to spy whether they wanted; and if it were found that they wanted, he would make that the Opportunity of sending Supplies unto them. And there was one Passage of his Charity that was perhaps a little unusual: In an hard and long Winter, when Wood was very scarce at Boston, a Man gave him a private Information, that a needy Person in the Neighbourhood stole Wood sometimes from his Pile; whereupon the Governour in a seeming Anger did reply, Does he so? I'll take a Course with him; go, call that Man to me, I'll warrant you I'll cure him of Stealing! When the Man came, the Governour considering that if he had Stolen, it was more out of Necessity than Disposition, said unto him, Friend, It is a severe Winter, and I doubt you are but meanly provided for Wood; wherefore I would have you supply yourself at my Wood-Pile till this cold Season be over. And he then Merrily asked his Friends, Whether he had not effectually cured this Man of Stealing his Wood?

§. 7. One would have imagined that so good a Man could have had no Enemies; if we had not had a daily and woful Experience to Convince us, that Goodness it self will make Enemies. It is a wonderful Speech of Plato, (in one of his Books, De Republica) For the trial of true Vertue, 'tis necessary that a good Man μηδὲν άδικν, δοξάν χείρι η μεγίστην δίκαια. Tho' he do no unjust thing, should suffer the Infamy of the greatest Injustice. The Governour had by his unspotted Integrity, procured himself a great Reputation among the People; and then the Crime of Popularity was laid unto his Charge by such, who were willing to deliver him from the Danger of having all Men speak well of him. Yea, there were Persons eminent both for Figure and for Number, unto whom it was almost Essential to dislike every thing that came from him; and yet he always maintained an Amiable Correspondence with them; as believing that they acted according to their Judgment and Conscience, or that their Eyes were held by some Temptation in the worst of all their Oppositions. Indeed, his right Works were so many, that they exposed him unto the Envy of his Neighbours; and of such Power was that Envy, that sometimes he could not stand before it; but it was by not standing that he most effectually withstood it all. All Great Attempts were sometimes made among the Freemen, to get him left out from his Place in the Government upon little Pretences, lest by the too frequent Choice of One Man, the Government should cease to be by Choice; and with a particular aim at him, Sermons were Preached at the Anniversary Court of Election, to dissuade the Freemen from chusing One Man Twice together. This was the Reward of his extraordinary Serviceableness! But when these Attempts did succeed, as they sometimes did, his Profound Humility appeared in that Equality of Mind, wherewith he applied himself cheerfully to serve the Country in whatever Station their Votes had allotted for him. And one Year when the Votes came to be Numbered, there were found Six less for Mr. Winthrop, than for another Gentleman who then stood in Competition: But several [II.iv.11] other Persons regularly Tending their Votes before the Election was published, were, upon a very frivolous Objection, refused by some of the Magistrates, that were afraid lest the Election should at last fall upon Mr. Winthrop: Which though it was well perceived, yet such was the Self-denial of this Patriot, that he would not permit any Notice to be taken of the Injury. But these Trials were nothing in Comparison of those harsher and harder Treats, which he sometimes had from the Frowardness of not a few in the Days of their Paroxisms; and from the Faction of some against him, not much unlike that of the Piazz in Florence against the Family of the Medices: All of which he at last Conquered by Conforming to the Famous Judges Motto, Prudens qui Patiens. The Oracles of God have said, Envy is rottenness to the Bones; and Gulielmus Parisiensis applies it unto Rulers, who are as it were the Bones of the Societies which they belong unto: Envy, says he, is often found among them, and it is rottenness unto them. Our Winthrop Encountred this Envy from others, but Conquered it, by being free from it himself.

§. 8. Were it not for the sake of introducing the Exemplary Skill of this Wise Man, at giving soft Answers, one would not chuse to Relate those Instances of Wrath, which he had sometimes to Encounter with; but he was for his Gentleness, his Forbearance, and his Longanimity, a Pattern so
worthy to be Written after, that something must here be Written of it. He seemed indeed never to speak any other Language than that of Theodosius, *If any Man speak evil of the Governour, if it be thro’ Lightness, ‘tis to be contemned; if it be thro’ Madness, ‘tis to be pitied; if it [be] thro’ Injury, ‘tis to be remitted.* Behold, Reader, the Meekness of Wisdom notably exemplified! There was a time when he received a very sharp Letter from a Gentleman, who was a Member of the Court, but he delivered back the Letter unto the Messengers that brought it with such a Christian Speech as this, *I am not willing to keep such a matter of Provocation by me!* Afterwards the same Gentleman was compelled by the scarcity of Provisions to send unto him that he would Sell him some of his Cattel; whereupon the Governour prayed him to accept what he had sent for as a Token of his Good Will; but the Gentleman returned him this Answer, *Sir, your overcoming of your self hath overcome me,* and afterwards gave Demonstration of it. The French have a saying, *That Un Honeste Homme, est un Homme meslé!* A good Man is a mixt Man; and there hardly ever was a more sensible Mixture of those Two things, Resolution and Condescention, than in this good Man. There was a time when the Court of Election, being for fear of Tumult, held at Cambridge, May 17. 1637. The Sectarian part of the Country, who had the Year before gotten a Governour more unto their Mind, had a Project now to have confounded the Election, by demanding that the Court would consider a Petition then tendered before their Proceeding thereunto. Mr. Winthrop saw that this was only a Trick to throw all into Confusion, by putting off the Choice of the Governour and Assistents until the Day should be over, and therefore he did, with a strenuous Resolution, procure a disappointment unto that mischievous and ruinous Contrivance. Nevertheless, Mr. Winthrop himself being by the Voice of the Freemen in this Exigence chosen the Governour, and all of the other Party left out, that ill-affected Party discovered the Dirt and Mire, which remained with them, after the Storm was over, particularly the Serjeants, whose Office ‘twas to attend the Governour, laid down their Halberts; but such was the Condescention of this Governour, as to take no present Notice of this Anger and Contempt, but only Order some of his own Servants to take the Halberts: And when the Country manifested their deep Resentments of the Affront thus offered him, he prayed them to overlook it. But it was not long before a Compensation was made for these things by the doubled Respects which were from all Parts paid unto him. Again, there was a time when the Suppression of an Antinomian and Familistical Faction, which extremely threatened the Ruin of the Country, was generally thought much owing unto this Renownd Man; and therefore when the Friends of that Faction could not wreathe their Displeasure on him with any Politick Vexations, they set themselves to do it by Ecclesiastical ones. Accordingly when a Sentence of Banishment was passed on the Ringleaders of those Disturbances, who

>—Maria &Terras, Calumq; profundum, Quippe ferant, Rapidi, secum, vertantq; per Auras;

many at the Church of Boston, who were then that way too much inclined, most earnestly solicited the Elders of that Church, whereof the Governour was a Member, to call him forth as an Offender for passing of that Sentence. The Elders were unwilling to do any such thing; but the Governour understanding the Ferment among the People, took that occasion to make a Speech in the Congregation to this Effect. ‘Brethren, Understanding that some of you have desired that I should Answer for an Offence lately taken among you; had I been called upon so to do, I would, First, Have advised with the Ministers of the Country, whether the Church had Power to call in Question the ‘Civil Court; and I would, Secondly, Have with the rest of the Court, whether I might discover their ‘Counsels unto the Church. But though I know that the Reverend Elders of this Church, and some ‘others, do very well apprehend that the Church cannot enquire into the Proceedings of the Court; ‘yet for the Satisfaction of the weaker who do not apprehend it, I will declare my Mind concerning it. ‘If
the Church have any such Power, they have it from the Lord Jesus Christ; but the [II.iv.12] Lord Jesus Christ hath disclaimed it, not only by Practice, but also by Precept, which we have in his Gospel, Mat. 20. 25, 26. It is true indeed, that Magistrates, as they are Church-Members, are accountable unto the Church for their Failings; but that is when they are out of their Calling. When Uzziah would go offer Incense in the Temple, the Officers of the Church called him to an account, 'and withstood him; but when Asa put the Prophet in Prison, the Officers of the Church did not call him to an account for that. If the Magistrate shall in a private way wrong any Man, the Church may call him to an Account for it; but if he be in Pursuance of a Course of Justice, though the thing that he does be unjust, yet he is not accountable for it before the Church. As for myself I did nothing in the Causes of any of the Brethren, but by the Advice of the Elders of the Church. Moreover, in the Oath which I have taken there is this Clause, In all Causes wherein you are to give your Vote, you shall do as in your Judgment and Conscience you shall see to be Just, and for the publick Good. 'And I am satisfied, it is most for the Glory of God, and the publick Good, that there has been such a Sentence passed; yea, those Brethren are so divided from the rest of the Country in their Opinions and Practices, that it cannot stand with the publick Peace for them to continue with us; Abraham saw that Hagar and Ishmael must be sent away. By such a Speech he marvellously convinced, satisfied and mollified the uneasie Brethren of the Church; Sic cunctus Pelagi cecidit Fragor—. And after a little patient waiting, the differences all so wore away, that the Church, meerly as a Token of Respect unto the Governour, when he had newly met with some Losses in his Estate, sent him a Present of several Hundreds of Pounds. Once more there was a time, when some active Spirits among the Deputies of the Colony, by their endeavours not only to make themselves a Court of Judicature, but also to take away the Negative by which the Magistrates might check their Votes, had like by over-driving to have run the whole Government into something too Democritical. And if there were a Town in Spain undermined by Coneyes, another Town in Thrace destroyed by Moles, a Third in Greece ranversed by Frogs, a Fourth in Germany subverted by Rats; I must on this Occasion add, that there was a Country in America like to be confounded by a Swine. A certain stray Sow being found, was claimed by Two several Persons with a Claim so equally maintained on both sides, that after Six or Seven Years Hunting the Business, from one Court unto another, it was brought at last into the General Court, where the final Determination was, that it was impossible to proceed unto any Judgment in the Case. However in the debate of this Matter, the Negative of the Upper-House upon the Lower in that Court was brought upon the Stage; and agitated with so hot a Zeal, that a little more and all had been in the Fire. In these Agitations the Governour was informed that an offence had been taken by some eminent Persons, at certain Passages in a Discourse by him written thereabout; whereupon with his usual Condescendency, when he next came into the General Court, he made a Speech of this Import. 'I understand, that some have taken Offence at something 'that I have lately written; which Offence I desire to remove now, and begin this Year in a reconciled 'State with you all. As for the Matter of my Writing, I had the Concurrence of my Brethren; it is 'Point of Judgment which is not at my own disposing. I have examined it over and over again, by 'such Light as God has given me, from the Rules of Religion, Reason and Custom; and I see no cause 'to Retract any thing of it: Wherefore I must enjoy my Liberty in that, as you do your selves. But for 'the Manner, this, and all that was blame-worthy in it, was wholly my own; and whatsoever I might 'allege for my own Justification therein before Men, I waive it, as now setting my self before another 'Judgment-Seat. However, what I wrote was upon great Provocation, and to vindicate my self and 'others from great Aspersion; yet that was no sufficient Warrant for me to allow any Distemper of 'Spirit in my self; and I doubt I have been too prodigal of my Brethren's Reputation; I might have 'maintained my Cause without casting any Blemish upon others, when I made that my Conclusion, 'And now let Religion and sound Reason give Judgment in the Case; it look'd as if I arrogated too 'much unto my self, and too little to others. And when I made that Profession, That I would maintain 'what I wrote before all
The Kingdom, The Power, & The Glory

*the World*, though such Words might modestly be spoken, yet I perceive an ‘unbecoming Pride of my own Heart breathing in them. For these Failings I ask Pardon both of God ‘and Man.

*Si et dux citius Tumida Æquora placat, Collectasq; fugat Nubes, Solemq; reductit.*

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

§. 9. But the stormiest of all the Trials that ever befel this Gentleman, was in the Year 1645. when he was in *Title* no more than Deputy-Governour of the Colony. If the famous Cato were Forty-four times call’d into Judgment, but as often acquitted; let it not be wondred, and if our Famous Winthrop were one time so. There hapning certain Seditious and Mutinous Practices in the Town of Hingham, the Deputy-Governour as legally as prudently interposed his Authority for the checking of them: Whereupon there followed such an *En-[II.iv.13]* chantment upon the minds of the Deputies in the General Court, that upon a scandalous Petition of the Delinquents unto them, wherein a pretended Invasion made upon the Liberties of the People was complained of the Deputy-Governour, was most Irregularly call’d forth unto an Ignominious Hearing before them in a vast Assembly; whereto with a Sagacious Humilitude he consented, although he shew’d them how he might have Refused it. The result of the Hearing was, That notwithstanding the touchy Jealousie of the People about their Liberties lay at the bottom of all this Prosecution, yet Mr. Winthrop was publicly Acquitted, and the Offenders were severally Fined and Censured. But Mr. Winthrop then resuming the Place of Deputy-Governour on the Bench, saw cause to speak unto the Root of the Matter after this manner. ‘I shall not now speak any thing about the past Proceedings of this Court, or the ‘Persons therein concerned. Only I bless God that I see an Issue of this troublesome Affair. I am well ‘satisfied that I was publicly Accused, and that I am now publicly Acquitted. But though I am ‘justified before Men, yet it may be the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my Administrations, as ‘calls me to be humbled; and indeed for me to have been thus charged by Men, is it self a Matter of ‘Humiliation, whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If Miriam’s Father spit in her ‘Face, she is to be Ashamed. But give me leave before you go, to say something that may rectifie the ‘Opinions of many People, from whence the Distempers have risen that have lately prevailed upon the ‘Body of this People. The Questions that have troubled the Country have been about the ‘Authority of the Magistracy, and the Liberty of the People. It is *You* who have called us unto this ‘Office; but being thus called, we have our Authority from God; it is the Ordinance of God, and it ‘hath the Image of God stamped upon it; and the contempt of it has been vindicated by God with ‘terrible Examples of his Vengeance. I intreat you to consider, That when you chuse Magistrates, ‘you take them from among your selves, *Men subject unto like Passions with your selves.* If you see ‘our Infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe Censurers of Ours. We count him ‘a good Servant who breaks not his Covenant: The Covenant between *Us* and *You*, is the Oath you ‘have taken of us, which is to this Purpose, That we shall govern you, and judge your Causes, ‘according to God’s Laws, and our own, according to our best Skill. As for our Skill, you must run ‘the hazard of it; and if there be an Error, not in the Will, but only in the Skill, it becomes you to bear ‘it. Nor would I have your to mistake in the Point of your own Liberty. There is a Liberty of corrupt ‘Nature, which is affected both by *Men* and *Beasts*, to do what they list; and this Liberty is consistent ‘with Authority, impatient of all Restraint; by this Liberty, *Samus Omnes Deteriores:* ‘Tis the Grand ‘Enemy of Truth and Peace, and all the Ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a Civil, a ‘Moral, a Federal Liberty, which is proper End and Object of Authority; it is a Liberty for that only ‘which is just and good; for this Liberty you are to stand with the
hazard of your very Lives; and `whatsoever Crosses it, is not Authority, but a Distemper thereof. This Liberty is maintained in a way `of Subjection to Authority; and the Authority set over you, will in all Administrations for your good `be quietly submitted unto, by all but such as have a Disposition to shake off the Yoke, and lose their `true Liberty, by their murmuring at the Honour and Power of Authority.

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

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

In the Year 1632. the Governour, with his Pastor Mr. Wilson, and some other Gentlemen, to settle a good understanding between the Two Colonies, travelled as far as Plymouth, more than Forty Miles, through an Howling Wilderness, no better accommodated in those early Days, than the Princes that in Solomon’s time saw Servants on Horseback, or than Genus and Species in the old Epigram, going on Foot. The difficulty of the Walk, was abundantly compensated by the Honourable, first Reception, and then Dismission, which they found from the Rulers of Plymouth; and by the good Correspondence thus established between the New Colonies, who were like the floating Bottels wearing this Motto, Si Collidimur, Frangimur. But there were at this time in Plymouth two Ministers, leavened so far with the Humours of the Rigid Separation, that they insisted vehemently upon the Unlawfulness of calling any unregenerate Man by the Name of Good-man such an One, until by their indiscreet urging of this Whimsey, the place began to be disquieted. The wiser People being troubled at these Trifles, they took the opportunity of Governour Winthrop’s being there, to have the thing publicly propounded in the Congregation; who in answer thereunto, distinguished between a Theological and a Moral Goodness; adding, that when Juries were first used in Eng.-[II.iv.14] land, it was usual for the Crier, after the Names of Persons fit for that Service were called over, to bid them all, Attend, Good Men, and True; whence it grew to be a Civil Custom in the English Nation, for Neighbours living by one another, to call one another Good-man such an One: And it was pitty now to make a stir about a Civil Custom, so innocently introduced. And that Speech of Mr. Winthrop’s put a lasting stop to the Little, Idle, Whimsical Conceits, then beginning to grow Obstereous. Nevertheless there was one Civil Custom used in (and in few but) the English Nation, which this Gentleman did endeavour to abolish in this Country; and that was, The usage of Drinking to one another. For although by Drinking to one another, no more is meant than an act of Courtesie, when one going to Drink, does Invite another to do so too, for the same Ends with himself; nevertheless the Governour (not altogether unlike to Cleomenes, of whom ‘tis reported by Plutarch, κόντο δεις ποτήριον προσέπηςεν, Nolenti poculum nunquam præbuit,) considered the Impertinency and Insignificance of this Usage, as to any of those Ends that are usually pretended for it; and it ordinarily served for no Ends at all, but only to provoke Persons unto unseasonable, and perhaps unreasonable Drinking, and at last produce that abominable Health-Drinking, which the Fathers of old so severely rebuked in the Pagans, and which the Papists themselves do Condemn, when their Casuists pronounce it, Peccatum mortale, provocare ad Æquales Calices, & Nefas Respondere. Wherefore in his own most Hospitable House he left it off; not out of any silly or stingy Fancy, but meerly that by his Example a greater Temperance, with Liberty of Drinking, might be Recommended, and sundry Inconveniences in Drinking avoided; and his Example accordingly began to be much followed by the sober People in this Country, as it now also begins to be among Persons
of the Highest Rank in the English Nation it self; until an Order of Court came to be made against that Ceremony in Drinking, and then the old Wont violently returned, with a Nitimur in Vettimum.

§. 11. Many were the Afflictions of this Righteous Man! He lost much of his Estate in a Ship, and in an House, quickly after his coming to New-England, besides the Prodigious Expence of it in the Difficulties of his first coming hither. Afterwards his assiduous Application unto the Publick Affairs, (wherein Ipse se non habuit, postquam Respublica eum Gubernatorem habere capuit) made him so much to neglect his own private Interests, that an unjust Steward ran him 2500 l. in Debt before he was aware; for the Payment whereof he was forced, many Years before his Decease, to sell the most of what he had left unto him in the Country. Albeit, by the observable Blessing of God upon the Posterty of this Liberal Man, his Children all of them came to fair Estates, and lived in good Fashion and Credit. Moreover, he successively Buried Three Wives; the First of which was the Daughter and Heiress of Mr. Forth, of Much-Stambridge in Essex, by whom he had Wisdom with an Inheritance; and an excellent Son. The Second was the Daughter of Mr. William Clopton, of London, who Died with her Child, within a very little while. The Third was the Daughter of the truly Worshipful Sir John Tyndal, who made it her whole Care to please, First God, and then her Husband; and by whom he had Four Sons, which Survived and Honoured their Father. And unto all these, the Addition of the Distempers, ever now and then raised in the Country, procured unto him a very singular share of Trouble; yea, so hard was the Measure which he found even among Pious Men, in the Temptations of Distempers, that when the Thunder and Lightning had smitten a Wind-mill, whereof he was Owner, some had such things in their Heads, as publicly to Reproach this Charitablest of Men, as if the Voice of the Almighty had rebuked, I know not what Oppression, which they judged him Guilty of: Which things I would not have mentioned, but that the Instances may fortifie the Expectations of my best Readers for such Afflictions.

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

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

he then wrote this account of himself, Age now comes upon me, and Infirmities therewithal, which makes me apprehend, that the time of my departure out of this World is not far off. However our times are all in the Lord’s Hand, so as we need not trouble our Thoughts how long or short they may be, but how we may be found Faithful when we are called for. But at last when that Year came, he took a Cold which turned into a Feaver, whereof he lay Sick about a Month, and in that Sickness, as it hath been observed, that there was allowed unto the Serpent the bruising of the Heel; and accordingly at the Heel or the Close of our Lives the old Serpent will be Nibbling more than ever in our Lives before; and when the Devil sees that we shall shortly be, where the wicked cease from troubling, that wicked One will trouble us more than ever; so this eminent Saint now underwent sharp Conflicts with the Tempter, whose Wrath grew Great, as the Time to exert it grew Short; and he was Buffetted with [II.iv.15] the Disconsolate Thoughts of Black and Sore Desentions, wherein he could use that sad Representation of his own Condition.

Nuper Eram Judex; Jam Judicor; Ante Tribunat,
Subsistens paveo, Judicor ipse modo.
But it was not long before those Clouds were Dispelled, and he enjoyed in his Holy Soul the Great Consolations of God! While he thus lay Ripening for Heaven, he did out of Obedience unto the Ordinance of our Lord, send for the Elders of the Church to Pray with him; yea, they and the whole Church Fasted as well as Prayed for him; and in that Fast the venerable Cotton Preached on Psal. 35. 13, 14. When they were Sick, I humbled my self with Fasting; I behaved my self as though he had been my Friend or Brother; I bowed down heavily, as one that Mourned for his Mother: From whence I find him raising that Observation, The Sickness of one that is to us as a Friend, a Brother, a Mother, is a just occasion of deep humbling our Souls with Fasting and Prayer; and making this Application, ‘Upon this Occasion we are now to attend this Duty for a Governour, who ‘has been to us a Friend in his Counsel for all things, and Help for our Bodies by Physick, for our ‘Estates by Law, and of whom there was no fear of his becoming an Enemy, like the Friends of ‘David: A Governour who has been unto us as a Brother; not usurping Authority over the Church; ‘often speaking his Advice, and often contradicted, even by Young Men, and some of low degree; yet ‘not replying, but offering Satisfaction also when any supposed Offences have arisen; a Governour ‘who has been unto us as a Mother, Parent-like distributing his Goods to Brethren and Neighbours at ‘his first coming; and gently bearing our Infirmities without taking notice of them. Such a Governour after he had been more than Ten several times by the People chosen their Governour, was New-England now to lose; who having, like Jacob, first left his Council and Blessing with his Children gathered about his Bed side; and, like David, served his Generation by the Will of God, he gave up the Ghost, and fell asleep on March 26, 1649. Having, like the dying Emperour Valentinian, this above all his other Victories for his Triumphs, His overcoming of himself.

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

ΕΡΙΤΑΡΗ.

ν ρ γένετο χριστ ζ τ ν ϕ σιν, κα δ καιος,
Κα περ το ζ μεθνε ζ φιλοτη τατος:
Μνημε ον ι νιον α τω καταλιτ ν τ τ ν
ερισολ. μων τε χη.

VIR FUIT INDOLE BONUS, AC JUSTUS:
ET POPULARIUM GLORIÆ AMANTISSIMUS:
QUIBUS ETERNUM RELIQUIT MONUMENTUM,
Novanglorum MŒ N I A.

Book VI. CHAP. II. Hosaea.

[VI.ii.9]

Relating Remarkable Salvations experienced by others besides the Sea faring.

Pars mihi semper erit, servari velle salutis Maxima—

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THE Good People of New-England may tune their Praises to a Consort, with those of the good Psalmist, *He that is our God, is the God of Salvation, and unto God the Lord belong the Issues from Death*. How many *Extraordinary Salvations*, have been granted unto particular Persons, among that good People, a small Volume could not enumerate.

Remarkable Answers of Prayer have been receiv’d by the most of those who have experimentally know the Meaning of Wrestlings in Prayer among us. How many Thousands have upon very notable Experiments been able to say, *This Poor Man cried, and the Lord heard and sav’d him*! One very surprizing Instance hath been seen several times in this Land, when infinite Swarms of *Caterpillars* have devour’d our Fields, and carry’d whole Fields before them: Some very pious and praying Husbandmen in the extrem Exigency, when the Devourers have just been entring on their Fields, have pour’d out their fervent Prayers unto the God of Heaven for their Deliverance; immediately hereupon *Flocks of Birds* have arriv’d that have devoured the Devourers, and preserv’d those particular Fields, when others have been horrible wasted. Moreover, when any Neighbours have labour’d under desperate Maladies; or been tempted, or distracted, or possess’d, it hath been a common thing for a Knot of Godly People to meet, and fast, and pray, and see the Afflicted gloriously deliver’d. Furthermore, when any *Droughts, or Floods* have threatened the Ruins of our Harvests, these and those Congregations mostly concern’d, have pray’d with Fasting one those Occasions; and God hath wondrously deliver’d them, with a Distinction from others that have not so call’d upon him. The very Pagans in this Wilderness have been sometimes amazed at what they have seen of this nature among us, and cried out, *That the Englishman’s God was a Great and a Good God!* It may be added, Some of our Churches have once in a considerable while kept a Day of Prayer for the Success of the Word of CHRIST, upon the Souls of their Children in the rising Generation among them: And the Success hath been such, that all the Churches in the Land have took notice of it.

[VI.ii.10] Again, Remarkable Rescues from *Death* have been receiv’d by so many Thousands among us, that there hath been scarce one *Devout Family* which hath not been able to bring in something unto the *Heap* of these Experiences. *Fallen Persons* that have had *Carts* and *Ploughs* just running over them, the Beasts which drew them have suddenly stop’d, unto the Surprize of the Spectators. Persons on the very Point of mortal *Bruising or Drowning*, have been snatch’d out of the Jaws of *Destruction* in Ways that are not accountable: Even *Ejaculatory Prayers* have had Astonishing Answers. For Instance,

An honest Carpenter being at work upon an House, when Eight Children were sitting in a Ring at some childish Play on the Floor below; he let fall accidentally from an upper Story, a bulky Piece of Timber just over these little Children. The Good Man, with inexpressible Agony, cry’d out, *O Lord direct it*, and the Lord did so direct it, that it fell on End in the Midst of the little Children, and then canted along on the Floor between two of the Children, without ever touching one of them all. But the Instances of such Things would be numberless. And if I should with a most Religious Veracity, relate what *Wounds* many Persons have surviv’d, I should puzzle *Philosophy* and make her have some Recourse unto *Divinity*.

One *Abigail Eliot* had an Iron struck into her Head, which drew out part of her Brains with it: A Silver Plate she afterwards wore on her Skull where the Orifice remain’d as big as an *Half-Crown*. The Brains left in the Child’s Head would swell and swage, according to the *Tides*; Her Intellectuals were not hurt, by this *Disaster*, and she liv’d to be a Mother of several Children.

One *John Symonds* about the Age of Ten Years, had some affrighted Oxen with a Plough, running over him; the Share took hold of his Ribs a little below the left Pap, and rent an Hole in his Breast, so large, that a Man might have put in his four Fingers: His very Heart became visible; his lungs would fly out sundry Inches, as often as the Place was drest. In seven or eight Weeks he recover’d and became an healthy Man. But an *History* of Rare Cures in this Countrey would fill more Pages than
may here be allow’d. Yet let me take the Leave to enquire what shall be thought of the Case of one Sarah Wilkinson, who dy’d of a Dropsie. For a long while before her Death she had no Evacuation except only by a frequent and forc’d Vomit of Water in huge Quantities, with which her Dissolv’d Bowels came up in successive Potions of them. When she was open’d, there were no Bowles to be found in her, except her Heart, which was exceeding small, and as it were perboil’d; and her Milt, or Spleen, one End whereof stuck to her Back, and the other to her Ribs; as also a small part of her Liver or Lungs, corrupted so much, that they knew not which of the Two it was, and this no bigger than the Palm of ones Hand. Other Bowels, none could be found: Yet in this Condition she liv’d a long while, and retain’d her Senses to the last.

But we will content our selves with annexing to these things, a Narrative of a Woman celebrating the wonderful Dispensations of Heaven.

A NARRATIVE of Hannah Swarton, containing Wonderful Passages, relating to her Captivity and her Deliverance.

I was taken by the Indians when Casco Fort was taken (May 1690.) My Husband being slain, and four Children taken with me. The Eldest of my Sons they kill’d, about two Months after I was taken, and the rest scatter’d from me. I was now left a Widow, and as bereav’d of my Children; though, I had them alive, yet it was very seldom that I could see ‘em, and I had not Liberty to discourse with ‘em without danger either of my own Life, or theirs; for our condoling each others Condition, and shewing Natural Affection, was so displeasing to our Indian Rulers, unto whose share we fell, that they would threaten to kill us, if we cry’d each to other, or discoursed much together. So that my Condition was like what the Lord threatned the Jews in Ezek. 24. 22, 23. We durst not Mourn or Weep in the Sight of our Enemies, lest we lost our own Lives. For the first times, while the Enemy feasted on our English Provisions, I might have had some with them; but then I was so fill’d with Sorrow and Tears, that I had little Stomach to eat; and when my Stomach was come, our English Food was spent, the Indians wanted themselves, and we more: so that then I was pin’d with Want. We had no Corn or Bread; but sometimes Groundnuts, Acorns, Purslain, Hogweed, Weeds, Roots, and sometimes Dogs Flesh, but not sufficient to satisfie Hunger with these; having but little at a time. We had no Success at hunting; save that one Bear was killed, which I had part of; and a very small part of a Turtle I had another time, and once an Indian gave me piece of a Moose’s Liver, which was a sweet Morsel to me; and Fish if we could catch it. Thus I continued with them, hurry’d up and down the Wilderness, from May 20. till the middle of February; carrying continually a great Burden in our Travails; and I must go their Pace, or else be killed presently; and yet was pinch’d with Cold for want of Cloathing, being put by them into an Indian Dress, with a sleight Blanket, no Stockins, and but one pair of Indian Shooes, and of their Leather Stockins for the Winter: My Feet were pricked with sharp Stones and prickly Bushes sometimes, and other times pinch’d with Snow, Cold, and Ice, that I travell’d upon, ready to be frozen, and faint for want of Food; so that many times I thought I could go no further, but must lie down, and if they would kill me, let ‘em kill me. Yet then the Lord did so renew my Strength, that I went on still further as my Master would have me, and held out with them. Though many English were taken, and I was brought to some of ‘em at times, while we were about Casco Bay and Kennebeck River, yet at [VI.ii.11] Norridgawock we were separated, and no English were in our Company, but one John York and my self, who were both almost starv’d for Want; and yet told, that if we could not hold up to travel with them, they would kill us. And accordingly John York growing weak by his Wants, they killed him, and threatened me with the like. One time my Indian Mistress and I, were left alone, while the rest went to look for Eels; and they left us no Food from Sabbath-day
Morning till the next Saturday; save that we had a Bladder (of Moose I think) which was well fill’d with Maggots, and we build it, and drank the Broth; but the Bladder was so tough we could not eat it. On the Saturday I was sent by my Mistress to that part of the Island most likely to see some Canoo, and there to make Fire and Smoke, to invite some Indians if I could spie any, to come to relieve us; and I espied a Canoo, and by Signs invited ‘em to come to shore. It prov’d to be some Squaws; who understanding our Wants, one of ’em gave me a roasted Eel; which I eat, and it seem’d unto me the most savory Food I ever tasted before. Sometimes we liv’d on Wortle berries, sometimes on a kind of Wild Cherry, which grew on Bushes, which I was sent to gather once in so bitter a cold Season, that I was not able to bring my Fingers together to hold them fast: Yet under all these Hardships the Lord kept me from any Sickness, or such Weakness as to disenable me from Travelling when they put us upon it.

My Indian Mistress was one that had been bred by the English at Black-Point, and now married to a Canada Indian, and turned Papist; and she would say, That had the English been as careful to instruct her in our Religion as the French were, to instruct her in theirs, she might have been of our Religion: and she would say, That God delivered us into their Hands to punish us for our Sins; And this I knew as true as to my self. And as I desired to consider of all my Sins, for which the Lord did punish me, so this lay very heavy upon my Spirit many a time, that I had left the Publick Worship and Ordinances of God, where I formerly lived (viz. at Beverley) to remove to the North Part of Casco Bay, where there was no Church or Minister of the Gospel; and this we did for large Accommodations in the World, thereby exposing our Children, to be bred Ignorantly like Indians, and our selves to forget what we had been formerly instructed in; and so we turned our Backs upon God’s Ordinances to get this World’s Goods. But now, God hath stript me of these things also; so that I must justify the Lord in all that has befallen me, and acknowledge that he hath punish’d me less than my Iniquities deserved. I was now bereav’d of Husband, Children, Friends, Neighbours, House, Estate, Bread, Cloaths, or Lodging suitable; and my very Life did hang daily in doubt, being continually in danger of being kill’d by the Indians, or pinned to Death with Famine, or tired to Death with hard Travelling, or pinch’d with Cold till I died, in the Winter Season. I was so amazed with many Troubles, and hurry’d in my Spirit from one Exercise to another, how to preserve my self in Danger, and supply my self in the Want that was present; that I had not time or Leisure so composedly to consider of all my Sins, for which the Lord did punish me, so this lay very heavy upon my Spirit many a time, that I had left the Publick Worship and Ordinances of God, where I formerly lived (viz. at Beverley) to remove to the North Part of Casco Bay, where there was no Church or Minister of the Gospel; and this we did for large Accommodations in the World, thereby exposing our Children, to be bred Ignorantly like Indians, and our selves to forget what we had been formerly instructed in; and so we turned our Backs upon God’s Ordinances to get this World’s Goods. But now, God hath stript me of these things also; so that I must justify the Lord in all that has befallen me, and acknowledge that he hath punish’d me less than my Iniquities deserved. I was now bereav’d of Husband, Children, Friends, Neighbours, House, Estate, Bread, Cloaths, or Lodging suitable; and my very Life did hang daily in doubt, being continually in danger of being kill’d by the Indians, or pinned to Death with Famine, or tired to Death with hard Travelling, or pinch’d with Cold till I died, in the Winter Season. I was so amazed with many Troubles, and hurry’d in my Spirit from one Exercise to another, how to preserve my self in Danger, and supply my self in the Want that was present; that I had not time or Leisure so composedly to consider of the great Concernments of my Soul, as I should have done; neither had I any Bible or Good Book to look into, or Christian Friend to be my Counsellour in these Distresses: But I may say, The Words of God, which I had formerly heard or read, many of them came oft into my Mind, and kept me from perishing in my Afflictions. As when they threatened to kill me many times, I often thought of the Words of our Saviour to Pilate, Joh. 19. 11. Thou couldest have no Power at all against me, except it were given thee from above. I knew they had no Power to kill me but what the Lord gave them; and I had many times Hope, that the Lord would not suffer them to slay me, but deliver me out of their Hands; and in his time I hoped, return me to my Countrey again. When they told me that my Eldest Son was kill’d by the Indians, I thought of that in Jer. 33. 8. I will cleanse them from all their Iniquities whereby they have sinned against me, and I will pardon all their Iniquities. I hoped, tho’ the Enemy had barbarously killed his Body, yet that the Lord had pardoned his Sins, and that his Soul was safe. When I thought upon my many Troubles, I thought of Job’s Complaint, Chap. 14. 16, 17. Thou numberest my Steps, and watchest over my Sin; my Transgression is sealed up into a Bag; and thou soweest up mine Iniquity. This was for my Humiliation, and put me upon Prayer to God, for his Pardoning Mercy in Christ; and I thought upon David’s Complaint, Psalm 13. 1, 2. And used it in my Prayers to the Lord; How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord, for ever! How long wilt thou hide thy Face from me! How long shall I take Counsel in my Soul, having Sorrow in my Heart! How long shall my Enemy be exalted over me? I sometimes bemoaned my self, as Job, Chap. 19. 9, 10. He hath stripped me of my Glory, and taken my Crown form my Head; he hath destroyed me on every side, and I am
gone, and my hope hath he removed like a Tree. Yet sometimes encourag’d from Job 22. 27. Thou shalt make thy Prayer to him, and he shall hear thee, and thou shalt pay thy Vows. I made my Vows to the Lord that I would give my self to him, if he would accept me in Jesus Christ, and pardon my Sins; and I desired and endeavour’d to pay my Vows unto the Lord. I pray’d to him, Remember not against me the Sins of my Youth; and I besought him, O God, and plead my cause against an Ungodly Nation; deliver me from the deceitful and unjust Man. Why go I mourning because of the Oppression of the Enemy? And by many other Scriptures that were brought to my Remembrance, was I instructed, directed and comforted.

I travell’d over steep and hideous Mountains one while, and another while over Swamps and Thickets of fallen Trees lying one, two, three Foot from the Ground, which I have stepp’d on from one to another, nigh a thousand in a Day, carrying a great Burden on my Back. Yet I dreaded going to Canada, for fear lest I should be overcome by them to yield to their Religion; [VI.ii.12] which I had vowed unto God, That I would not do. But the Extremity of my Sufferings were such, that at length I was willing to go to preserve my Life. And after many weary Journies thro’ Frost and Snow, we came to Canada about the middle of February 1690. and travelling over the River, my Master pitch’d his Wigwam in sight of some French Houses Westward of us, and then sent me to those Houses to beg Victuals for them; which I did, and found the French very kind to me, giving me Beef, and Pork, and Bread, which I had been without near Nine Months before; so that now I found a great Change as to Diet. But the Snow being Knee deep, and my Legs and Hams very sore, I found it very tedious to travel; and my Sores bled; so that as I travell’d, I might be track’d by my Blood that I left behind me on the Snow. I asked leave to stay all Night with the French when I went to beg again, which my Master consented unto, and sent me Eastward, to Houses, which were toward Quebec (though then I knew it not) So, having begg’d Provisions at a French House, and it being near Night, after I was refresh’d my self, and had Food to carry to the Indians, I signified as well as I could, to make the French Woman understand, that I desir’d to stay by her Fire that Night. Whereupon she laid a good Bed on the Floor, and good Coverings for me, and there I lodg’d comfortably; and the next Morning, when I had breakfasted with the Family, and the Men-kind were gone abroad, as I was about to go to my Indian Master, the French Woman stept out, and left me alone in her House; and I then staid her Return, to give her Thanks for her Kindness; and while I waited, came in two Men, and one of ‘em spake to me in English I am glad to see you, Country Woman! This was exceedingly reviving to hear the Voice of an English man, and upon Inquiry I found he was taken at the North-West Passage; and the other was a French Ordinary Keeper. After some Discourse, he ask’d me to go with him to Quebec, which he told me was about four Miles off: I answer’d, my Indian Master might kill me for it, when I went back. Then, after some Discourse in French with his Fellow-Traveller, he said, This French Man engag’d, that if I would go with them, he would keep me from returning to the Indians, and I should be ransom’d: And my French Hostess being now return’d in a-doors, persuaded me to go with ‘em to Quebec; which I did, and was convey’d unto the House of the Lord-Intendant, Monsieur le Tonant, who was Chief Judge, and the Second to the Governour; and I was kindly entertain’d by the Lady; and had French Cloaths give me, with good Diet and Lodging, and was carry’d thence unto the Hospital, where I was Physick’d and Blooded, and very courteously provided for. And some time after my Indian Master and Mistress coming for me, the Lady Intendant paid a Ransom for me, and I became her Servant. And I must speak it to the Honour of the French, they were exceeding kind to me at first; even as kind as I could expect to find the English: so that I wanted nothing for my bodily Comfort which they could help me unto.

Here was a great and comfortable Change as to my Outward man, in my Freedom from my former Hardships, and Hard-hearted Oppressours. But here began a greater Snare and Trouble to my Soul, and Danger to my Inward Man. For the Lady my Mistress, the Nuns, the Priests, the Friers, and the rest, set upon me with all the Strength of Argument they could from Scripture, as they interpreted it, to
persuaded me to turn Papist; which they press’d with very much Zeal, Love, Intreaties and Promises, if I would turn to ‘em; and with many Threatnings, and sometimes hard Usages, because I did not turn to their Religion. Yes, sometimes the Papists, because I would not turn to them, threatened to send me to France, and there I should be burn’d, because I would not turn to them. Then was I comforted from that in 2 Cor. 1. 8, 9, 10. We were press’d out of measure above Strength, insomuch that we despaired even of Life; but we had the sentence of Death in our selves, that we should not trust in our selves, but in God, who raises the Dead, who deliver’d us from so great a Death, and doth deliver; in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us. I knew God was able to deliver me, as he did Paul, and as he did the Three Children out of the Fiery Furnace; And I believ’d he would either deliver me from them, or fit me for what he call’d me to suffer, for his Sake and Name. For their praying to Angels, they brought the History of the Angel that was sent to the Virgin Mary, in the first of Luke. I answer’d them from Rev. 19. 10. And 22. 9. They brought Exod. 17. 11. of Israel’s prevailing while Moses held up his Hands. I told them, we must come to God only by Christ, Joh. 6. 37, 44. For Purgatory, they brought Mat. 5. 25. I told them, to agree with God while here on Earth, was, to Agree with our Adversary in the way; and if we did not, we should be cast into Hell, and should not come out until we paid the utmost Farthing, which could never be paid. But it’s bootless for me a poor Woman, to acquaint the World, with what Arguments I used, if I could now remember them; and many of them are slipt out of my Memory.

I shall proceed to relate what Trials I met with in these things. I was put upon it, either to stand to the Religion I was brought up in, and believ’d in my Conscience to be true; or to turn to another, which I believ’d was not right. And I was kept from turning, by that Scripture, Mat. 10. 32, 33. Whosoever shall confess me before Men, him will I confess before my Father which is in Heaven; and whosoever denies me before Men, him also will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven. I thought, that if I should deny the Truth, and own their Religion, I should deny Christ. Yet, upon their Perswasions, I went to see and be present at their Worship sometimes; but never to receive their Sacrament. And once when I was at their Worship, that Scripture 2 Cor. 6. 14 to the End, came into my Mind: What Communion hath Light with Darkness! what Concord hath Christ with Belial! what part hath he that believeth with an Infidel! and what Agreement [VI.ii.13] hath the Temple of God with Idols? Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my Sons and Daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. This Scripture was so strong upon my Spirit, that I thought I was out of my way to be present at the Idolatrous Worship, and I resolv’d never to come unto it again. But when the time drew nigh, that I was to go again, I was so restless that Night, that I could not sleep; thinking what I should say to ‘em when they urg’d me to go again, and what I should do. And so it was in the Morning, that a French Woman of my Acquaintance, told me, if I would not be of their Religion, I did but mock at it, to go to their Worship, and bid me, that if I would not be of their Religion, I should go no more. I answer’d her, That I would not be of their Religion, and I would go no more to their Worship: And accordingly I never went more, and they did not force me to it.

I have had many Conflicts in my own Spirit fearing that I was not truly converted unto God in Christ, and that I had no saving Interest in Christ. I could not be of a False Religion, to please Men; for it was against my Conscience. And I was not fit to suffer for the True Religion, and for Christ: For I then fear’d I had no Interest in him. I was neither fit to live, nor fit to die; and brought once to the very Pit of Despair about what would become of my Soul. In this time I had gotten an English Bible, and other good Books by the help of my Fellow Captives. I looked over the Scripture, and settled on the Prayer of Jonah, and those Words, I said I am cast out of thy sight, yet will I look again towards thy Holy Temple. I resolv’d I would do as Jonah did: And in the Meditation upon this Scripture the Lord was pleased by his Spirit to come into my Soul, and so fill me with ravishing Comfort, that I cannot express it. Then came to mind the History of the Transfiguring of Christ, and Peter’s Saying,
And Oh! how affectionate was my reading of the 84th Psalm, my Prayer and Supplication, and maintained my Cause, and accordingly did so, and hoped the Lord would hear, and he hath heard from Heaven his Dwelling were to carry Captive, did turn, did pray, and endeavour to bethink themselves, and turn, and pray. So we did bethink our selves in the Land where we were Lord had promis’d, Though they were scattered for their Sins, yet there should be a Return, if they did bethink themselves, and turn, and pray. So we did bethink our selves in the Land where we were scattered. And the Lord hath heard the Prayer of the scattered.

These are some of the Scriptures which have been my Support and Comfort in the Affliction of my Captivity among the Papists. That in Ezek. 16. 6.—8. I apply’d unto myself, and I desir’d to Enter into Covenant with God, and to be His; and I prayed to the Lord, and hoped the Lord would return me to my Country again, That I might Enter into Covenant with Him, among his People, and enjoy Communion with Him in His Churches and publick Ordinances. Which Prayers the Lord hath now Heard, and graciously answer’d; praised be his Name! The Lord enable me to live suitably to his Mercy, and to those publick and precious Privileges which I now enjoy. So, that in Ezek. 11. 16, 17. was a great Comfort unto me in my Captivity; Although I have cast them far off among the Heathen, yet will I be a little Sanctuary to them.—I will gather you from the People,—where you have been scattered. I found that God was a Little Sanctuary to me there, and hoped, that the Lord would bring me unto the Country from whence I had been scattered. And the Lord hath heard the Prayer of the Destitute, and not despis’d my Prayer, but granted me the Desire of my Soul, in bringing me to his House, and my Relations again. I often thought on the History of the Man born blind; of whom Christ, when his Disciples asked, Whether this Man had sinned, or his Parents? answered, Neither this Man nor his Parents; but this was, that the Works of God might be made manifest in him. So, tho’ I had deserved all this, yet I knew not but one Reason of God’s bringing all these Afflictions and Miseries upon me, and then enabling me to bear them, was, That the Works of God might be made manifest.

And in my great Distress I was revived by that in Psal. 118. 17, 18. I shall not die but live, and declare the Works of the Lord: The Lord hath chastened me sore, but he hath not given me over to Death. I had very often a secret Persuasion, That I should Live to declare the Works of the Lord. And 2 Chron. 6. 36, 37, 38, 39. was a precious Scripture to me in the Day of Evil. We have read over, and prayer over this Scripture together, and talk’d together of this Scripture, Margaret and I; how the Lord had promis’d, Though they were scattered for their Sins, yet there should be a Return, if they did bethink themselves, and turn, and pray. So we did bethink our selves in the Land where we were carried Captive, did turn, did pray, and endeavour to Return to God with all our Hearts. And, as they were to pray towards the [VI.ii.14] Temple, I took it that I should pray towards Christ; and accordingly did so, and hoped the Lord would hear, and he hath heard from Heaven his Dwelling-place, my Prayer and Supplication, and maintained my Cause, and not rejected me, but returned me. And Oh! how affectionate was my reading of the 84th Psalm in this Condition.
The means of my Deliverance, were by reason of Letters that had passed between the Governments of New-England and of Canada. Mr. Cary was sent with a Vessel, to fetch Captives from Quebeck; and when he came, I among others, with my youngest Son, had our Liberty to come away: And by God’s Blessing upon us, we arrived in Safely, at Boston in November 1695. our desired Haven. And I desire to praise the Lord for his Goodness, and for his wonderful Works to me. Yet still I have left behind Two Children; a Daughter of Twenty Years old at Mont Royal, whom I had not seen in Two Years before I came away; and a Son of Nineteen Years old, whom I never saw since we parted, the next Morning after we were taken. I earnestly request the Prayers of my Christian Friends that the Lord will deliver them.

What shall I render to the Lord for all his Benefits?